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The Landscape of Longing and Belonging

Temporality in the Kola Sami Writer Askold Bazhanov's Poetry

ABSTRACT The article examines Kola Sami literature, focusing on the autobiographical nature poetry written by the Skolt Sami author Askold Bazhanov (1934–2012) in the 1970s–2000s. The focus is on landscape and temporality in the contexts of Sami and Soviet literature, especially the literatures of small northern peoples. What characterises Bazhanov's nature-centred texts in general is the complex way in which temporality and human and non-human existence are manifested in the northern landscape described. As a case study, the article examines nostalgic discourses, which in Bazhanov's texts are associated with longing for the childhood landscape in Sami villages that were submerged in the 1960s. These discourses are often combined with romanticised idyllic depictions of reindeer herder life, which I analyse as arctic pastorals. In Bazhanov's nature poetry, the temporality of the landscape, particularly the Sami history conveyed within the landscape that is described as strongly local, is an important means by which the identity and agency of the poems' speakers are constructed and reinforced.

KEYWORDS Sami literature, Kola Sami poetry, Soviet northern indigenous literature, Askold Bazhanov, temporality, landscape, nostalgia, pastoral, modernisation

Introduction[1]

The tension between past and present is often central to Sami literature, typically of indigenous writing. On the one hand, the past may be coloured by a nostalgic yearning for a traditional way of life that is depicted as harmonious and holistic and perceived in empowering terms. Hence, even in contemporary literature Sami identity is often constructed and reinforced through myths and narratives that are based on the oral tradition and associated with precolonial times (Hirvonen 2010; Gaski 2011: 51–52). At the same time, literature functions as a forum for addressing the painful aspects of Sami colonial history in the collective memory. Transformations in Sami ways of life during the twentieth century have frequently been reflected upon in fictional writing in the past few decades (Ahvenjärvi 2015: 20, 21).

The connection between the past and the present is also strongly present in the literature of the Kola Sami,[2] who reside in the Russian Federation. Kola Sami literature has evolved as part of Soviet literature, which has had several consequences for its development as a separate tradition from the Sami literatures written in the Nordic countries. For example, critical examination of complex colonial issues has not been possible in the same sense as in late twentieth-century Nordic Sami literature, even if during and after the Khrushchev Thaw it was possible in Soviet literature—within the village prose movement (Ru. *derevenskaia proza*), for example—to address questions such as tradition and modernisation or the relationship between the centre and the periphery. Furthermore, while in contemporary Sami poetry written in the Nordic countries the yoik tradition is rather prominently present, in Kola Sami poetry, the Eastern Sami chant *luvt* does not seem to have been as influential.[3] In general terms, the lyrical form of contemporary Kola Sami poetry is less experimental than in the Nordic countries. Nevertheless, Kola Sami poetic imagery also draws from the northern landscape, myths and oral tradition, and frequently reflects the experiences of rootlessness and hybridity that have been central for Nordic Sami poetry. In Kola Sami writing, these experiences are associated with the traumatic Soviet and post-Soviet history of the Kola Peninsula and its consequences, including state-initiated displacement and emplacement, assimilation into the majority population, language loss, environmental issues and social problems.[4]

The Kola Sami poet and prose writer Askold Bazhanov (1934–2012) is one of the better-known Sami authors on the Russian side. In his poetry written in Russian, he addresses from a Sami perspective the dramatic historical events in twentieth-century Soviet northern minority history, such as relocations, the Second World War and ecological changes (see also Domokos 2009; Caffee 2013: 38). Bazhanov's predominantly autobiographical and nature-centred poetry is often accompanied by nostalgic yearning: the past and its way of life are portrayed as authentic in relation to the present. In particular, his depictions of reindeer herders' everyday lives as harmonious and organic dwelling in an ancient Sami landscape acquire idyllic dimensions. However, Bazhanov's texts also convey a view of the opportunities brought about by modernisation, such as his own educational path and the decision to become a writer instead of a reindeer herder. The temporality discernible in Bazhanov's poetry is complex and seems to elude the most typical definitions of nostalgia.

The purpose of this article is to explore forms of temporality in relation to land-

scape in Bazhanov's nature poetry. Kola Sami literature has been subject to very limited research, and the existing studies are mostly scientific-popular in nature and are published almost entirely in Russian.[5] Hence, this article also aims to bring Bazhanov's work into the sphere of anglophone literary studies, especially in the field of Sami literature. Theoretically and methodologically, the article contributes to discussions on temporality, modernity and nostalgia within Sami literary studies in particular. In what follows, I will set out by outlining Kola Sami literature as a distinctive Sami literary tradition that has evolved and developed within the Soviet Union. I will then introduce Bazhanov and his work, focusing on its nature-centredness and temporality. As a case study, I will examine forms of nostalgia and pastoral elements in his poetry collections *Solntse nad tundroi* ['The sun above the tundra'] (1983; in what follows also ST) and *Stikhi i poemy o saamskom krae—Verses and Poems on the Saami Land* (2009; in what follows also SP), a bilingual collection published by Humboldt University.

Kola Sami Literature

Kola Sami literature is multilingual in the sense that texts are being published both in Russian and in Kildin Sami, which is the strongest Sami language in Russia.[6] Since the late 1980s, approximately 30–40 separate works have been published in Kildin Sami, although most of them are relatively short in length. Sami-language literature is often aimed at children and adolescents and primarily consists of short narratives and poetry, exploring mythological and folkloric themes (Rießler 2018a: 75; Czerwiński 2020: 255). Adult literature is mainly written in Russian. Traditionally, the main genre has been lyrical, often autobiographical poetry. However, Kola Sami literature today also includes short stories, novellas and novels (Bakula 2022: 35–41), such as Nadezhda Bolshakova's lengthy novel-essay *Alkhalalalai* (2003).

The history of Sami literature written in Russian begins at the turn of the 1970s with texts published by Askold Bazhanov in Soviet multi-ethnic literature anthologies and local newspapers, while the history of Sami-language literature in Russia starts only with the bilingual poetry collection by Oktiabrina Voronova (1934–1990), titled *Jālla – Zhizn* ['Life'] (1990), which she published in her native language, Ter Sami, and in Russian. Bazhanov and Voronova are often considered the founders of Kola Sami literature. Sami writers in Russia have largely assimilated into the mainstream population both linguistically and culturally. A close connection with Russian literature is evident in Bazhanov's work, even though he did not pursue a career as a Russian language and literature teacher, unlike several prominent Sami women writers of his generation: in his poems, he cites from and alludes to Russian early nineteenth-century Romantic poetry and often employs iambic pentameter, a common poetic metre in Russian poetry of this era.

The history and current state of Kola Sami literature are closely related to the development of Eastern Sami written languages and Soviet language policies. In the 1920s and 1930s, the development of literacy among Northern minority peoples was supported by creating standard written languages and publishing literature in their native languages.[7] This process was part of a broader policy of indigenisation (Ru. *korenizatsiia*) aimed at bringing cultures that were "lagging behind" into the sphere of socialist modernisation (Slezkine 1994: 221–226; Grenoble 2003; Siegl & Rießler

2015: 200–201). The Eastern Sami language chosen for standardisation was Kildin Sami, which had the most speakers and was presumed to be most understandable to speakers of other Sami languages in the Soviet Union.[8] At first, Kildin Sami was provided with a Latin alphabet-based orthography, and in the early 1930s, educational materials and translations of ideological texts and Russian literature were published.[9] In 1937, in a changing political climate, Cyrillic alphabet was introduced, which has been considered a manifestation of Stalin's monolingual policy and the beginning of the later linguistic Russification of the Kola Sami. From the late 1930s to the 1960s, no Sami-language literature was published in the Soviet Union, and Sami languages were not taught in Soviet schools until the linguistic and cultural revival of the 1970s and 1980s, during which a Kildin Sami primer (including a few small literary texts and poems) and other educational materials were introduced (Siegl & Rießler 2015: 203–207; Rießler 2018a: 73). An important producer of these materials was Aleksandra Antonova (1932–2014), a true proponent of Kola Sami languages and literature. More broadly, the revitalisation of the Sami language and culture was driven by the emergence of Soviet Sami intelligentsia, a generation born in the 1930s who had received higher education in Leningrad and returned to the north as teachers, writers and linguists.[10] At present, only a small number of Kola Sami are active speakers of their own languages, and all the existing three Sami languages that are spoken in the Russian Federation are highly endangered.[11] Skolt Sami is primarily spoken on the Finnish side in Inari municipality, where most of the Petsamo area Skolt Sami were relocated after the area was ceded to the Soviet Union after the Second World War. In practice, only the Skolt Sami living at Lake Notozero (in Skolt Sami, Njuõ´ttjäu´rr) remained on the Russian side. Askold Bazhanov's family belonged to these communities, whose members became linguistic outsiders in the Soviet Union.[12]

Kola Sami literature has thus evolved as part of Soviet multiethnic literature. In Russian-language discourse, it belongs to the so-called *mladopismennye literatury*, or young literary cultures, a term that refers to Soviet indigenous literatures, whose literary languages were established only in the 1920s and 1930s, and emphasises the lateness of their literary traditions and the relative scarcity of texts. *Mladopismennost* distinguishes the literary traditions of the Russian Arctic area from several other ethnic literatures in the former Soviet Union, such as those in the Caucasus region, which had their own literary traditions before the Soviet era. As northern literatures lacked such traditions, the authors drew from oral tradition, folklore, as well as Russian and Soviet models (Smola 2022: 960). Consequently, the development of northern indigenous literatures can be seen to have been influenced by various phases of Socialist Realism, as demonstrated in the case of Nenets literature by Karina Lukin (2020a: 173, 179–190; Lukin 2021: 22–25). Klavdia Smola (2022: 960, 962–963, 969), in turn, has suggested that the emergence of northern literatures without a history of written language had an impact on their development in the late Soviet period, from the late 1960s on, when they received influences from the more liberal trends within Socialist Realism.[13] Village prose writing appears to have been particularly important in this respect, critical as it was of Soviet reforms such as collectivisation that were important issues also for reindeer herders (Lukin 2021: 21–25).

The problems associated with the Soviet legacy in the North became publicly known and were discussed for the first time during the glasnost period in the late

1980s. In these discussions, environmental issues in the Arctic area and their impact on the livelihoods and well-being of Indigenous peoples attracted much attention. The social engineering of minority cultures as part of building the Soviet state was also strongly criticised. The discussions emphasised the northern Indigenous peoples' right to self-determination and often highlighted the significance of preserving traditional ways of life. Indigenous writers, such as the Nivkh author Vladimir Sangi and the Khanty author Eremei Aipin, actively participated in these debates (Forsyth 1992: 403–416; Slezkine 1994: 371–385). These themes are also reflected in perestroika era fictional writing. A notable example is Aipin's major novel, *Khanty, ili Zvezda Utrennei Zari* ['Khanty, or the Star of the Dawn'] (1990), which explores a conflict between the worldviews of Soviet oil prospectors and the Khanty community. The oil-seekers view the taiga as an empty, meaningless space without any semiotic layers, a tabula rasa that can only turn out to be useful by offering its natural resources to the state and to oil companies. For Demian, the novel's protagonist, the same region is on the contrary full of deep meanings, layered over time and linked to a traditional way of life, traditional ways of travelling, reindeer husbandry, fishing and culture.[14] The past and traditional way of life are thus portrayed in the novel as positive entities, and in this sense, the novel can also be seen to continue and develop village prose tradition in the indigenous context. At the same time, Soviet modernisation, and education in particular, also has positive aspects. The entire novel can be seen as a contradictory outcome of northern colonisation: Soviet modernisation has provided indigenous writers with education, enabling, for example, their criticism of Soviet colonisation and an ethnographic understanding of their own culture that is articulated in the novel (see also Smola 2022: 973–975). While Askold Bazhanov was not politically active to the same extent as Aipin or Sangi, these issues are also crucial for his poetry that developed in the context of late Soviet and post-Soviet literature.

Askold Bazhanov and Temporality in his Nature-Centred Poetry

Bazhanov grew up in a reindeer herder and fisherman family in Notozero, a Sami village by Lake Notozero in the parish of Restikent (in Skolt Sami, Risttǩe´dd),[15] approximately a hundred kilometres southwest of Murmansk. His father was Russian and his mother a Skolt Sami. In his childhood, Bazhanov understood spoken Sami, even though at home the family spoke Russian, but as an adult he could only recall some Sami phrases (Bolshakova 2021: 99; Bakula 2022: 37). He attended boarding schools in Iurkino village and in Kola town. Bazhanov's father died in the Second World War, and his grandfather trained him to become a reindeer herder; Bazhanov worked for some time as an assistant reindeer herder in the "Vosmus"[16] collective farm. In the mid-1950s he enrolled to study mathematics and physics at the Institute of the Peoples of the North (*Institut narodov Severa*) at Herzen Pedagogical University in Leningrad, aiming to become a teacher. This institute was founded in the 1920s in the days of indigenisation and was a key educational pathway for northern Indigenous peoples in the Soviet Union. In Leningrad, Bazhanov became acquainted with other future northern writers representing Fenno-Ugric minorities, such as the Nenets Vasili Ledkov and the Mansi Iuvan Shestalov. He did not, however, complete

his studies but returned to the north to take care of his family. Bazhanov made his main career as an electrician at the Revda metallurgical plant in the Lovozero region (Bakula 2012: 88, 91; Ezhova & Kozmenko 2018: 13, 25–27).

Bazhanov is known to have written poems in Russian as a schoolboy (Bakula 2022: 49), and according to Nadezhda Bolshakova (2021: 100), during his studies in Leningrad he was still writing at a beginner's level. His poems were published from 1970 onwards in local Lovozero and Murmansk region newspapers and anthologies that included texts by multiethnic Soviet writers, as well as in local Lovozero and Murmansk region newspapers (Zemskaia & Mikhailova 2005: 121–123).[17] Bazhanov's debut poetry collection *Solntse nad tundroi*, which came out in 1983, was the first literary work by a Sami author to be published in the Soviet Union. The work received relatively little attention in the official Soviet media, but a positive review by the Nenets writer Vasili Ledkov, whom Bazhanov knew personally, did appear in the national press (Ogryzko 2010: 215). The later bilingual collection, *Stikhi i poemy o saamskom krae—Verses and Poems on the Saami Land* (2009), includes both new and previously published texts. A posthumous collection, *Izbrannye stikhi* ['Selected poems'], came out in 2015. In addition to poetry collections, Bazhanov's novella *Belyi olen* ['The white reindeer'] (1996) has been published as a separate work.[18] During the perestroika years, Bazhanov was engaged in founding the Kola Sami Association and took an active part in promoting Sami language and culture revitalisation work. In 1991, he attended an international Uralic literature conference in Finland (Sárá & Afanasjeva 2017: 131; on the conference, see Grünthal 1991).

Bazhanov's career as a writer has to be seen in the context of multicultural Soviet literature, one of the aims of which was to produce Soviet writers from different ethnic backgrounds. In this regard, Bazhanov's background was exemplary. He represented a small minority population that did not yet have its own written literature, at the same time achieving the ideologically desirable development of abandoning the traditional path of a reindeer herder, going to university, and pursuing a career as a factory worker. The attempt to present Bazhanov as a specifically Sami writer is reflected, for example, in *Stupeni* ['Steps'], an anthology of young writers from the Murmansk region published in 1979, in which it is stated that Bazhanov was writing in both Sami and Russian (see Zaitsev 1979: 23). This was not in fact the case, since Bazhanov had not published anything in Sami and apparently no longer even had much knowledge of Skolt Sami. The misleading note was probably due to the aim of building up Bazhanov's identity as an "authentic" Sami writer, not just a Russian writer of Sami origin (Bolshakova 2021: 103). For Bazhanov himself, the loss of language and the fact that it was Oktiabrina Voronova and not him who became "the first Sami poet" was a lifelong trauma.[19]

Bazhanov's poetry suggests that his career choice—to abandon the traditional profession that ran in his family for generations, to pursue education and start working in the metal industry, and, in particular, to become a writer—was for him a difficult subject, to which he constantly returned in his autobiographical texts. Frequently, he places the transformation within his own family as part of a broader shift in the Kola Sami way of life during the twentieth century. This broader historical movement is examined through personal experience, as exemplified in the poem "Oleni—eto zhizn" ['Reindeer are life itself'] that was first published in *Lovozerskaia pravda* in

February 1983. The poem is structured as a dialogue between the older and younger Sami generations, represented by the figures of the grandfather and the grandson. It sets out with an autobiographical element, the grandson's decision to become a poet instead of a reindeer herder. The theme of the poem—the transformation of the Sami way of life in the late twentieth century—is then developed through this break in family tradition:

> Suddenly beautiful poems became more dear
> to the grandson than grandfather's reindeer.
> "It seems that the shepherds are now moving
> to the great Sami centre."
>
> "You won't find another job in the tundra,"
> the old man said.
> "Reindeer are life for a Sami,
> whether you want it or not."
>
> All thoughts and paths were connected
> to pastures, campfire sites, and reindeer.
> For every generation before us
> it was impossible to imagine life without them.
>
> But what about us? The twenty-first century demands perspectives,
> What would we respond to that?
> "As long as there are reindeer, there will be people
> who greet the dawn by the campfire!" (Bazhanov 1983a; SP: 26)[20]

In this poem, as well as elsewhere in Bazhanov's texts, the reindeer-herding grandfather is a symbolic figure for whom it is self-evident that being a Sami means being a reindeer herder. In contrast, the subsequent generations—including the grandson—are forced to question the inevitability of the connection between Sami identity and the traditional way of life (see also ST: 37, 50). The confidence of the grandfather's opinions is also reflected in the poem in the sense that they are presented in the form of assertions directed at the grandson that can be seen to establish the traditional view of Sami identity as reindeer herders as the norm. In contrast, the sense of uncertainty experienced by the grandson's generation is underlined in the last stanza of the poem in which the link between Sami identity and reindeer husbandry is literally being questioned in the form of interrogative clauses. The answer to the grandson's questions is again presented by the grandfather as an unambiguous assertion that conveys a view of the traditional livelihood as a constant.[21]

The collection *Solntse nad tundroi* from 1983 conveys a relatively optimistic view of the Kola Sami people's future (see also Bakula 2012: 89–90). Actual problems, such as environmental issues, are not addressed, and changes in the living environment, such as the technologicalisation of reindeer herding, are presented as a natural development without being set in opposition to traditional livelihood activities. In contrast, the later collection, *Stikhi i poemy o saamskom krae*, published in 2009,

introduces fairly strong juxtapositions between the traditional Sami living environment and the modernised Kola Peninsula. The grandfather figure is associated with untouched nature and positioned as separate from contemporary reality with its ecological problems: "My grandfather knew that the tundra is pure, / but he did not know about fluorine and heavy fuel oil"[22] (SP: 52). A similar juxtaposition is present in the poem "Aprel" ['April'], which describes two separate realities. On the one hand, a natural environment in which the lyrical subject feels autonomous and free, symbolised by him being able to run any distance with a pure ridge of ice under his feet. On the other, a road "where Kamaz trucks pollute all day long"[23] (SP: 118) that can be seen in the distance, a site to which the poem's speaker feels he is not connected.

Bazhanov's distinctive manner of portraying time is also evident in the poem "Oleni—eto zhizn," cited above. The landscape—in this case also a mental landscape—is presented as pathways and networks shaped by generations of reindeer herding, forming a Sami scenery in which humans are viewed as a part of non-human nature. Indeed, Bazhanov's texts often involve this kind of spatiotemporality: a landscape that conveys a very long temporal perspective, extending far back into a time before the colonisation of the Kola Peninsula. For instance, in the poem "Kamni" ['Stones'], this kind of longevity is represented by stones, symbolising the souls of ancestors. In comparison with the long local history connoted by the stones, their utilisation as natural resources appears ephemeral: "Many centuries and springs / passed / before metals were extracted / from stone"[24] (SP: 78). In addition to stones, a similar long temporal perspective in Bazhanov's texts is closely associated with fells, which are identified as "wise witnesses of centuries"[25] (SP: 116). In the poem "Berezka" ['Mountain birch'], they are also represented as separate from "time"—a concept left open to interpretation but here likely to refer to historical time: "[t]he summits do not remember time / they are proud and unwavering"[26] (SP: 24). In the same poem, the fells also shape the landscape, where the long Sami history is seen as an integral part of the surrounding nature, manifested as hardly discernible paths on the fells: "Ancient paths criss-cross them / barely distinguishable from the rock"[27] (SP: 24). Viktoriia Bakula (2020: 83–84) identifies temporality in Bazhanov's poetry as a form of mythical time, as "temporal finality and, on the other hand, infinity, creating an image of repetition, the cyclical nature of life." Extended temporality is indeed often combined with nature's cycles in his poems. In "Berezka," for example, cyclicality is represented through the title motif: "It [the birch] withstands the Arctic winter / and with the song of mountain streams / triumphantly extends its buds / towards the long-awaited spring"[28] (SP: 24). Hence, nature's temporality is conveyed in Bazhanov's texts as layered. On the one hand, it is the imperceptibly shifting shapes of the natural landscape in long human and non-human nomadic interaction. On the other, it is the recurring rhythms of seasons within this extended temporality.

The layered temporality conveyed by Bazhanov's texts thus seems to reflect a view of the organic connection of the landscape to the people inhabiting it and their activities. In this sense, it comes close to ideas put forward in phenomenological anthropological research, which have also been applied to the Sami understanding of landscape. Tim Ingold (1993: 152–153) stresses the importance of temporality in conceptualising the landscape, suggesting that the landscape is created by the activities of the people who have lived there for generations, and as a result of this long co-exist-

ence have left something of themselves on the landscape. Ingold describes the act of examining the landscape as a form of reminiscence, since it is an environment that is heavy with the past.[29] Taarna Valtonen (2020: 38) in turn notes that Ingold's perspective on the landscape aligns well with the views of many Sami communities, where the meanings of the landscape are often conceived through the practices of livelihoods and multi-generational habitation of the same area.

Most of Bazhanov's nature poems depict the seasons and seasonal variation in the tundra, representing the changing landscape and activities associated with different times of the year. These texts, many of which were published in newspapers and anthologies during the 1970s and 1980s, are mostly joyful and innocent praises of northern nature. In temporal terms, the most intriguing among them are some serene portrayals of reindeer herding life in which humans are depicted as an organic and unquestioned part of the non-human environment, typically of the pastoral idyll as a genre (see Bakhtin [1981] 2006: 226). Often the pastoral description focuses on childhood and includes an element of nostalgic longing (Williams 1973: 10–12, 35; Ettin 1984: 141–143). Such longing is in Bazhanov's poetry linked to the irrevocable loss of the author's childhood landscape due to the construction of the Upper Tuloma hydroelectric power plant between 1961 and 1966.[30] Verkhnetulomskoe Reservoir, which was created by the power plant, increased the surface area of Lake Notozero tenfold, submerging the Sami villages in the area. In 1962, the inhabitants were relocated to the Verhnetulomsk urban settlement, primarily established for power plant workers (Allemann 2020: 125). I will next move on to examine in more detail the key temporal features of Bazhanov's poetry that have been introduced above, focusing on pastoral descriptions and the nostalgic longing associated with them.

Nostalgia and Pastoral in Bazhanov's Poetry

The concept of nostalgia refers to a mode of thought or affect in which the past is valorised positively in relation to the present, which is perceived as deficient in some way or another. As Stuart Tannock (1995: 454) formulates it,

> [t]he nostalgic subject turns to the past to find/construct sources of identity, agency, or community, that are felt to be lacking, blocked, subverted, or threatened in the present. Invoking the past, the nostalgic subject may be involved in escaping or evading, in critiquing, or in mobilizing to overcome the present experience of loss of identity, lack of agency, or absence of community.

Nostalgic longing for a connection that is perceived as lost is associated with modernity and characteristically it involves an experience of alienation and fragmentation (Chase & Shaw 1989: 7; Johannisson 2001: 127). It is also connected to the emergence of a modern historical consciousness that makes it possible in the first place to imagine different historical situations (Koselleck 2000: 131–132, 137). Nostalgia is thus a sentiment inherent to the modern era, even if it has often been conceptualised as a conservative way of thought that is quite alien to modernity (Tannock 1995: 454; Johannisson 2001: 139–142). Nostalgia scholars frequently advocate an objective approach to nostalgia as a phenomenon and highlight the way in which it may reflect so-

cietal issues. Rather than categorising the concept as conservative in principle, efforts should be directed towards defining the functions of nostalgia and determining the specific objects of nostalgic longing (Tannock 1995: 456; Ladino 2012: 7–8; Tinsley 2020: 2328). As Meghan Tinsley (2020: 2328) suggests, "nostalgia reveals a society's anxieties, its Others, and its temporal and spatial idea of itself." Svetlana Boym (2001: xvi–xvii) has defined nostalgia and other forms of temporal perception that are specific to modernity but deviate from its most evident future-oriented temporality as "off-modern," meaning conceptions or experiences of time that exist in the shadows of the modern project's linearity. In his analysis of modern nationalist thought, Homi K. Bhabha ([1994] 2000: 148–149, 152–153) in turn addresses alternative temporalities that exist in the margins of modern national narratives, which he views as lesser-acknowledged forms of the modern conception of time. These arise, for example, from shared experiences among ethnic minorities and hybrid communities, such as relocations or migration.

In the postcolonial context, the longing for a past that predates the time of colonisation—whether imagined or real—is a recurring trope (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 1989: 195; Huggan & Tiffin 2010: 112). In indigenous literature, nostalgia is often linked to the experience of the empowering significance of the past for the community's present, as proposed by Chadwick Allen (2002: 158, 178–179, 192; see also Huggan & Tiffin 2010: 111–113; Ahvenjärvi 2015: 21). While the present may be characterised by the experience of fragmentation, the past appears as a harmonious temporal dimension. For indigenous literature, it is crucial that nostalgic longing is directed towards space and place: the experience of loss is often concrete and spatial in nature, considering that colonisation has entailed, for example, forced displacements of peoples and transformations of the landscape. Attachment to the land and the landscape is, in turn, a trope characteristic of indigenous literature, which can also be seen as a response to globalisation in the sense that it implies a focus on the local (Heith 2022: 35–37). In Sami literature, nostalgia is specifically associated with the imagery of the marginalisation of traditional ways of life and the desolation of home regions, a recurring theme in literature written across different decades. Within Nordic Sami studies, the nostalgic longing for the past that characterises even contemporary Northern Sami poetry has been attributed in particular to the influence of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's nature-centred poetry and its depictions of traditional ways of life (Ahvenjärvi 2015: 21; Heith 2022: 79).

A longing for childhood is one of the most typical forms of nostalgia. Karin Johannisson (2001: 8) identifies a historical semantic shift from place to time as an essential aspect of nostalgia: initially, this yearning was directed towards the childhood home, whereas later on the focus shifted to childhood itself. The childhood home as a paradisiac place and childhood as a golden age are indeed the ideal topoi of nostalgic longing, linked with an experience of a connection with nature and community that is typical of modern longing (Kukkonen 2007: 24, 29). In Bazhanov's poetry, childhood is associated with Lake Notozero, Tuloma River, and Restikent Sami villages, as well as with moments shared with peers or his grandfather by the fire and in the fells (ST: 7, 16–17, 24–25, 30, 35, 45; SP: 72, 76, 80, 146, 152, 156). A typical example is the poem "Istok zhizni" ['The wellspring of life'], which describes the lyrical subject's return to his childhood landscape at Lake Notozero:

Ahead of me, behind the sloping forested hill,
bright blue water awaits me.
And I gallop over the cunning swamp
leaving no trace!
And there's the cottage, with hundred-year-old walls,
windows gazing attentively at the sunrise.
It's childhood, here nothing has changed
it's the sacred wellspring of life! (SP: 80)[31]

The cottage with its attentively gazing windows and hundred-year-old walls forms the very core of the landscape and seems to reflect the lyrical subject's mind, as the house often does in literature and culture more broadly (see van Baak 2009: 12; Bachelard 1957: 19, 24). It is noteworthy that the poem presents the landscape of childhood as an unchanging and empowering timespace to which the poem's speaker can always return, despite the fact that in the referential reality the entire area has been drowned by the Verkhnetulomsk Reservoir.

The descriptions of childhood are mainly idyllic, but occasionally they are marked by an awareness of the brevity of the golden age—especially the end of childhood when the war breaks out (SP: 152, 156)[32] or the apocalyptic fate that threatens his childhood landscape. The latter is evident in the poem "Gde saamski pogost Restikent" ['Where is the Sami parish of Restikent']. Also in this poem the submerged and thus irreversibly lost childhood landscape is portrayed as constantly present for the lyrical subject:

But it hasn't been extinguished in me,
not by the autumn rain, nor by the years.
Yet I can never visit there,
not even as a guest.

To stand on the family kentish[33]
where my father and mother used to stroll.
My kentish has become an impenetrable depth,
what could that depth tell me. (Bazhanov 1983b; SP: 130)[34]

The poem originally appeared in February 1983 under the title "Restikent" in the journal *Rybnyi Murman*, along with a few other poems by Bazhanov and Oktiabrina Voronova. It is hence quite an early publication. In comparison with texts published in the collection *Solntse nad tundroi*, which came out in the same year, the poem reflects quite openly on the submersion of the Sami village. It is difficult to discern an implicit reader for the poem, let alone a potential dual audience, but one could speculate that for a Sami reader, "Restikent" may have conveyed different meanings than for the average reader of a Murmansk fishery industry journal. In this respect, it is also worth noting that the word *pogost* has two meanings in the Russian language: in a historical sense and in the contemporary regional Sami context, it denotes a 'parish,' while in the general usage it refers to a 'graveyard.'

As Johanna Domokos (2009: 189) observes in her essay on liminality in Bazhanov, Bazhanov's poems often convey a view in which "the past is not a foreign country,"[35]

as Domokos formulates it, but is accessible through memory and the imagination. As has already been pointed out above, in Bazhanov's poems that focus on the Sami landscape, the temporality embodied by the object of longing often appears as unchanging or permanent in nature; this applies both to the long-term human and non-human activity visible in the landscape and to the flooded childhood landscape. In this sense, it seems that the concept of nostalgia—as a term denoting primarily a feeling of loss—does not quite suffice to describe the temporality embodied in Bazhanov's texts.

Indeed, particularly interesting in terms of their temporality are poems in which the submerged landscape is presented not only as a dimension that continues to exist but is also shown to be an alternative temporality. Such is the case with the poem "Ia, konechno, ne sletaiu v kosmos" ['I will of course not fly into space']: "I will of course not fly into space / I will not stroll in a spacesuit on the surface of the moon / but my beloved Restikent and Vosmus / are important milestones for me"[36] (SP: 134). In the poem, the conquest of space—that is, the central symbol of Soviet scientific and technological modernisation—is viewed, perhaps ironically, as taking a walk in a spacesuit, while the real milestones from the point of view of the poem's speaker are the Skolt Sami villages drowned by the same modernisation. A temporal juxtaposition is thus created by contrasting the future-oriented conception of time characteristic of Soviet modernity with a seemingly lost form of culture that appears intensely personal as well as private in relation to the conquest of space. In the Russian original, the ironic juxtaposition is made even more nuanced by employing the words *kosmos* and *Vosmus* as rhyme words in the first and third lines. Space itself is separated from its conquest in the poem and presented as a mediator of personal memories of childhood landscape: "Even the dreams I saw in colour / I understood as the continuation of the day! / It was the space that sent its greetings / that were of all people addressed to me"[37] (SP: 134). In these memories, the past is not past but exists on the side of other temporalities, such as the era of space flights, since for the poem's speaker the submerged Restikent and Vosmus will "[n]ever crumble / never burn on the fire / never disappear,"[38] as the repetition in the last lines of the poem assures (SP: 134). These landmarks in the traumatic twentieth-century Kola Sami history are described rhetorically by using the prepositional form "vekhi vazhnye *vo mne*" [literally, 'milestones important *in me*']), which emphasises their constant presence in the poem's speaker's mind. "Ia, konechno, ne sletaiu v kosmos" hence discusses themes that are closely connected to Bazhanov's personal and family history. However, through the act of remembering and reminiscing a broader cultural and socio-historical context of Kola Sami culture unfolds that extends beyond individual history.

Bazhanov's idyllic descriptions concern in particular descriptions of reindeer herders' lives, which can often be viewed as pastorals, as they glorify the organic connection between the herder, his reindeer, and the tundra, and highlight nature-centred harmony; often the poems also emphasise cyclical temporality associated with a nature-centred way of life. As Mikhail Bakhtin observes, time has a special relationship to space and place in the idyll. The idyllic time centres on the local landscape, a concrete "spatial corner of the world where the fathers and grandfathers lived and where one's children and their children will live," and from which the idyllic life and its event are inseparable. The unity of place that characterises the pastoral idyll as a genre blurs the boundaries between different generations and, as a consequence, also contributes to

the creation of its cyclical rhythmicalness (Bakhtin [1981] 2006: 225). The pastoral as a phenomenon might seem surprising in the context of Arctic indigenous writing, as it is traditionally associated with the topos of *locus amoenus* in classical literature, with shepherds leisurely strolling in a tamed southern landscape.[39] Because the classical pastoral idyll is often specifically linked to a visit to the periphery that is described from the viewpoint of the empire's centre, it has been considered a form of imperialism or colonisation.[40] In recent decades, it has been argued that the topos has critical potential and has been employed in indigenous literature to re-energise the present and to maintain a connection with the past (Huggan & Tiffin 2010: 98–135). Henning Howlid Wærp, in turn, has used the term "Arctic pastoral" to examine Norwegian polar explorers' travel accounts, in which they sometimes provide lyrical descriptions of their experiences as being a part of northern nature. According to him, "[i]n these moments, it is not only the traditional heroic discourse that is challenged, but also the ideology of progress embedded in modernity" (Wærp 2017: 112). In Bazhanov's case, the situation is slightly different: while Wærp describes the explorers' visits to northern nature and their momentary experiences of organic connection, Bazhanov romanticises and aestheticizes the traditional way of life of his own culture.

The majority of Bazhanov's pastoral descriptions are directed towards the past, to the lyrical subject's childhood and youth. They often involve experiences shared with his grandfather, depicting the joys of northern nomadic life: having supper in the warmth of a campfire or fireplace and listening to stories and songs (see, for example, SP: 76, 146). The poem "Vesenniaia strada" ['Spring harvest'] reads as a celebration of labour that represents reindeer husbandry in romantic terms. The poem portrays the annual birth of reindeer calves, underlining the reindeer herder's identity as harmonious and organic:

> And each day of spring will be lived
> with strength and intensity like a campfire.
> The reindeer herder tends to the trusting calves,
> priceless northern creatures,
> with skill and honour,
> selflessly giving them life.
> In the daily routine of mundane work,
> there is profound meaning, the shepherd's calling,
> his sacred actions
> have persisted through the centuries! (SP: 28)[41]

In terms of temporality, what is interesting in the poem is that the organic relationship is presented as a continuum that still continues to exist. In other words, the poem does not primarily discuss a longing for a lost world, but the nomadic way of life and the organic relationship with surrounding nature that it embodies is presented as being continuously present. In rhetorical terms, the poem emphasises the permanence and continuity of the human–non-human relationship in different ways: on the one hand, the relationship between reindeer and human is represented as a constant that reaches from the past to the future, and on the other, the poem reflects recurrent, day-to-day and year-to-year cyclical activity. The text is also interesting in the sense

that it conveys a view of temporality that would perhaps be most accurately described as both cyclical and task-oriented: a reindeer herder's day is also described as hectic immersion in work that must be carried out during a specific period of time. In this regard, one can discern in the poem features that align with views of the Sami conception of time that emphasise the connection between the perception of time, the landscape, and the activities carried out within the landscape (see Ingold 1993; Mazzullo & Ingold 2008; Mazzullo 2012).

Pastoral descriptions may also convey implicitly critical views of modernisation, such as in the poem "Ia zhelal by dvukh olenei" ['I would have wished for two reindeer'] from the post-Soviet collection *Stikhi i poemy o saamskom krae*, which deals with its speaker's unrealised future on the shores of Lake Notozero herding reindeer, fishing and picking mushroom and berries:

> I would have wished for two reindeer
> to fend for myself.
> And to herd them on Lake Notozero
> diligently, as in my youth.
> I could build a new house
> with windows facing the river
> and a boat made of fir planks. And go everywhere
> where my ancestors went
> to pull in a line of fish
> and go where at dawn a precise shot
> caught a goose in flight.
> And gather winter stores:
> dry pike, pick mushroom
> make bilberry jam
> not forgetting the cloudberries
> preserve lovely lingonberries in barrels
> make crowberry juice
> and live unhurriedly! (SP: 108)[42]

The poem seems to embody the same kind of temporality as the space flight poem in the sense that also here an alternative timespace is being created. The awareness of Lake Notozero's destiny, and the poem's first stanzas written in the conditional form—in particular, the modest wish for two reindeer—guide one to read the poem as an unrealised idyll engulfed by modernisation. Moreover, the cyclical temporality present in the poem, combined with the pastoral description of traditional livelihoods, invites us to read it in the context of village prose. The village prose writers' way of embracing nostalgic elements of a mythologised traditional Russian peasant life (Razuvalova 2015: 290, 317) and of incorporating temporal features such as cyclicality into narration presented an alternative to the future-oriented approach that was often characteristic of earlier Socialist Realism (Parthé 1992: 48–63). In this respect, the fact that the poem depicts a submerged village is also important. The construction of a hydroelectric power plant and the consequent submersion of a Siberian village is a central apocalyptic motif in, for example, Valentin Rasputin's seminal village prose

novel *Farewell to Matyora* (*Proshchanie s Materoi*, 1976), which, as Anna Razuvalova (2015: 329–330) points out, builds on apocalyptic pathos in its critique of modernisation. In Rasputin's novel, the village women, who represent traditional Russian peasant culture, refuse to leave the village and are hence drowned by the reservoir, together with the values they stand for.[43] In this regard, Bazhanov's poems "Ia, konecho, ne sletaiu v kosmos" and "Ia zhelal by dvukh olenei" can be read in the specific context of Kola Sami twentieth-century traumatic experiences of Soviet minority history as forms of pastoral nostalgia that represent "off-modern" temporality sprouting in the shadows of the modern project and the national narrative (Boym 2001: xvi–xvii; Bhabha [1994] 2000: 148–149, 152–153). It is important, however, to pay attention to the playfulness of both poems and to underline that while in the referential post-Soviet world, the childhood landscape is completely and utterly lost, for the lyrical subject this scenery is constantly present and unchanging; memory preserves the submerged landscape and protects it from change. Hence alternative temporality also gains here dimensions of permanence, rather than solely representing a dimension of the past.

To summarise, Bazhanov creates in his autobiographical nature poetry timespaces that are characterised by the centrality of the lived local landscape, often with a reference to lost childhood and a sense of organic belonging that is associated with traditional livelihoods and ways of life. An important aspect of the temporality of the landscape is created through recurring place names that reflect the continuously meaningful past. Restikent, Vosmus, Lake Notozero and the harnessed River Tuloma are toponyms that position the landscape as strongly local and help to build into the texts timespaces that appear as alternative realities to the linear way of conceiving time that is associated with modernity. The objects of longing—the childhood landscape and the arctic pastoral—are represented in Bazhanov's texts as idylls, which as a genre is characterised by cyclicality and a harmonic, organic sense of belonging.

Conclusion

In this article, I have discussed temporality and landscape in Askold Bazhanov's nature-centred poetry collections *Solntse nad tundroi* and *Stikhi i poemy o saamskom krae—Verses and Poems on the Saami Land*, both of which often involve autobiographical elements.

In the introduction it was preliminarily noted that while the tension between the past and the present, or between tradition and modernity, is a theme that is prominently present in Sami literature and research, Bazhanov's texts seem to escape the most typical notions of nostalgia. The analysis of nostalgic and pastoral discourses shows that temporality in Bazhanov's autobiographical poetry indeed conveys not only longing for the past and its meaningful places, but that the poems also attempt to mediate a view according to which the traditional way of life and the organic connection it entails are continuously present for the lyrical subject. In this sense, the romanticised reindeer herder idyll they represent is eternal in nature, in the same way that the Sami reindeer herder identity, symbolised by the grandfather figure who plays a central role in many poems, is a constant against which contemporary societal changes are mirrored. In this way, Bazhanov's poetry can be seen to convey a view of the continuing intrinsic significance of the traditional way of life in the present mo-

ment—the question is not merely about the tension between the past and the present that lies at the heart of nostalgia.

Thematically, Bazhanov's nostalgic discourse resembles the ways of reflecting the past in literature by the same generation of Nordic Sami writers: a longing for and an identification with the nature-centred traditional way of life in which reindeer husbandry plays an important role. Furthermore, Bazhanov's nostalgic discourse, with place and the landscape at its core, also reflects the experiences of displacement and hybridity that have traditionally been viewed as typical of the colonial era (see Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 1989: 8–11). Nevertheless, it seems important to underline that in comparison with late twentieth-century Nordic Sami post- and anticolonial literary discourse, Bazhanov's criticism is conditional and partly implicit, and this concerns also his post-Soviet writing. However, in Bazhanov's often humorous nostalgic tone one can see links with Nordic Sami literature in recent decades. For example, Hanna Mattila proposes in her readings of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's poetry collection *Ruoktu váimmus* ['Home in the heart'] (1985) that Valkeapää's depiction of longing for a traditional way of life also employs an ironic and jocular approach, which distinguishes his work from earlier nostalgic discourse in Sami literature (Mattila 2011: 46–52; Mattila 2015: 100–108).

It has been noted that Bazhanov's background and literary career reflects the late Soviet literary-historical context of multiethnic literature in many ways. His writing can be read in the context of the village prose movement in the sense that village prose writers also constructed a peripheral idyll in which a longing for the traditional Russian nature-centred peasant way of life with its agricultural cycles and connection with nature is represented as an alternative to the Soviet belief in progress based on scientific and technological modernisation (see Parthé 1992: 48–49; Razuvalova 2015: 288–295). It should be pointed out, however, that the village prose movement was a pronouncedly Russian-centred phenomenon, and the values it represented were specifically linked to Russian peasant life. Moreover, the pathos that frequently characterises longing for the past in village prose writing is seldom present in Bazhanov's often playful tone. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to compare Bazhanov's and other late Soviet northern indigenous writers' poetry with contemporaneous Soviet Russian poets who romanticised northern nature, such as Nikolai Rubtsov.

However, what is most distinctive about Bazhanov's nature-centred poetry are the complex ways in which temporality and human existence are manifested in the northern landscape he depicts. His poetry, as traced in this article, highlights the significance of landscape and the traditional way of life as meaningful aspects of the identity and agency of the poems' speakers. It has been set forth that temporal discourses in his writing are closely related to the conception of landscape outlined in phenomenological anthropology, which, in turn, has been suggested to be characteristic of the Sami way of experiencing landscape and time (Mazzullo & Ingold 2008; Mazzullo 2012; Valtonen 2020: 38). The layered time of the Sami living environment, or alternative temporalities manifested in forms of nostalgia and pastoralism, are in Bazhanov's texts rooted in the local landscape and shaped by agency carried out by its inhabitants. The folklorist Karina Lukin (2011: 92) proposes in her reading of Nenets memoir narratives that the landscape is constructed not only in the activities that connect people and place, but also in narratives concerning these places. According

to her, landscapes are made of "multi-layered and overlapping networks" that emerge when people and communities act in places and tell stories about them. Such notions of landscape characterise quite accurately the temporally multi-layered spatiality that emerges in Bazhanov's autobiographical poetry as an eternal local landscape that is represented in idyllic terms and constitutes a constantly meaningful mindscape for the lyrical subject.

NOTES

[1] I am grateful to two anonymous reviewers for their generous comments, which were very helpful in improving the article manuscript. I also wish to thank my colleagues at the Russian literature research seminar, University of Helsinki, where I presented my research in spring 2024 and received invaluable insights concerning this article.

[2] Kola Sami are an indigenous ethnic minority of less than 2,000 people. Most of them live in the Murmansk region (Murmanskaia oblast) in the Kola Peninsula in the European Far North of the Russian Federation close to the Finnish and Norwegian borders. As a result of large-scale labour migration during the Soviet era, the Murmansk region is now home to almost one million people, representing more than one hundred different ethnic groups, of which the Sami are one of the smallest (0.2%). They are also a small minority within the overall Sami population, with between 50,000 and 100,000 people living in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. Originally, the Kola Sami inhabited the entire area that today forms the Murmansk region, but as a consequence of the Soviet relocations that took place in the 1950s and 1960s, most of them live today in population centres such as Lovozero (Lujavv´r in Kildin Sami), the largest Sami settlement in Russia (Scheller 2013: 393; Siegl & Rießler 2015: 192–196).

[3] The *luvt* is the general term for Kola Sami traditional song, focusing on the life stories of Sami individuals that may also intersect with historical events. It is typical for the chant to be presented in first-person narration. *Leu´dd* is the specific Skolt Sami variety of the Eastern Sami chant. It has been an important medium for personal reflection and collective remembrance of the past as well as for commenting on events taking place around the performers (Jouste 2022: 53 et passim).

[4] Both ecological and ethnographic developments in the Kola Peninsula during the twentieth century have in many ways been extreme, even when seen in the context of the entire Soviet Arctic area. For a comprehensive overview of the environmental history of the Kola Peninsula, see Bruno 2016; for the social transformation, including displacements and relocations, as well as the consequences of these developments, see Allemann 2020: 115–118, 141–155 et passim.

[5] Viktoriia Bakula's monograph *Literatura kolskikh saamov* (2022) is a comprehensive overview of Kola Sami literature in general, and her textbook *Mifo-folklornye istoki literatury rossiiskikh saamov* (2020) explores the ways in which Kola Sami literature draws from myths, archetypes and folklore. In English, to my knowledge, one essay (Domokos 2009), two reviews (Rießler 2018a and 2018b), and one scholarly article (Klapuri forthcoming) have been published. The present article has been written as part of the research project "Northern Neighbours: Environment and Modernisation in the Literatures of the Russian Arctic Area" (funded by the Kone Foundation). In addition to Kola Sami literature, the project has conducted research into the literatures of the Nenets, Chukchi, and ethnically Russian Pomors, as well as the Russian literature of the northern regions.

[6] Traditionally, four languages belonging to the Eastern Sami language group have been spoken on the Kola Peninsula: Kildin Sami, Skolt Sami, Ter Sami, and the already extinct Akkala Sami.

[7] According to the statistics from 1926, only 216 of about 2,000 Kola Sami individuals were literate (Luks 1930: 43).

[8] The writing system created for Kildin Sami has played a significant role in the development of Kola Sami literature. When Oktiabrina Voronova published her bilingual collection in Ter Sami

and Russian, she utilised the Kildin Sami alphabet as there was no separate writing system for her dialect.

[9] In other words, the texts produced cannot hence be considered Sami literature as such. This is also the case with the late nineteenth-century translations of religious texts into Sami languages in Tsarist Russia. For early texts published in Sami languages, see Rießler 2018a and 2018b; Bakula 2022: 12–21.

[10] Among other things, Antonova taught Sami in school, produced a significant amount of educational material, contributed to research on the Eastern Sami languages, made broadcasts for Sami radio, translated Russian and Nordic literature into Kildin Sami and published poetry in Sami herself. For more on Antonova's activities, see, for example, Bakula 2022: 21–23, 29, 33, 38–39.

[11] According to a survey conducted by Elisabeth Scheller (2010: 18–19) in the 2000s, approximately 800 individuals in Russia at that time had some degree of proficiency in one of the Eastern Sami languages (in practice in Kildin Sami). However, there were only about 100 active speakers, meaning those who consistently used the language in various contexts. In 2020, altogether 120 Kildin Sami speakers remained, 84 per cent of who were elderly people over 60 (Bakula, Koreneva & Rychkova 2022: 109, 110). For the language situation among the Kola Sami, see also Scheller 2013.

[12] Wars and state borders have had a profound impact on the Kola Sami, whose traditional habitats have been in the area that today covers the very northeastern parts of Finland and Norway and the northwestern side of the Kola Peninsula in Russia. The traditional Kola Sami way of life was based on a seasonal migration system, meaning that in wintertime, families lived together in winter villages, engaging in big game hunting and fishing, while in spring, each family would move to their ancestral territory to fish and hunt. The official establishment of borders between Norway and Russia in 1826 and between Finland and Russia in 1920 complicated the practice of annual migration. The geopolitical landscape after the Second World War further isolated the Skolt Sami living in Finland and those in the Soviet Union from each other.

[13] While the literary traditions of non-Russian ethnicities in the southern regions of the former Soviet Union have been extensively studied from a postcolonial perspective, research into the literatures of northern Indigenous peoples as part of the Soviet Empire and in the context of Soviet literature is still in its early stages. See, however, Frank 2016; Smola 2016; Smola 2017; Smola 2022; Lukin 2020a; Lukin 2020b; Lukin 2021; Kuikka & Lukin 2020.

[14] For a detailed analysis of Aipin's novel in a postcolonial context, see Kuikka 2022.

[15] Originally, Restikent had a Finnish name (Ristikenttä), because the main village was a Finnish settlement.

[16] "Vosmus" was the first Sami kolkhoz; its name is the Russified spelling of the Skolt Sami word for 'first, the first one.'

[17] Determining the original publication dates of Bazhanov's poems is challenging. Many of the texts were first published in the local newspapers *Lovozerskaia Pravda* and *Polarnaia Pravda*. These newspapers are only accessible in Russian archives, to which I did not have access due to the war in Ukraine. However, it has been possible to determine the original publication dates for the majority of early texts through *Saamskaia bibliografiia* (2005), which compiles all literature related to the Sami published in Russia and the Soviet Union until 1996. The bibliography also mentions the titles of Bazhanov's early poems that were published in newspapers. Nevertheless, the information provided by the bibliography is not exhaustive, since Bazhanov wrote numerous texts with identical titles and used various titles for the same poems. Determining the original dates is important for the periodisation of Bazhanov's texts. For example, several of the poems published in the post-Soviet bilingual collection *Stikhi i poemy o saamskom krae—Verses and Poems on the Saami Land* can in fact be found in the earlier collection *Solntse nad tundroi* or in the Sami bibliography, meaning that they do not represent post-Soviet but late Soviet writing. This article cites versions published in the collections; an earlier publication date is mentioned if it could be determined. Translations from Russian are by the author (T.K.), unless otherwise mentioned.

[18] Besides English, several of Bazhanov's texts have been translated into Northern Sami and Kildin Sami. Some texts have also been translated into Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish.

[19] For details concerning Bazhanov's attitude towards Voronova, see Bolshakova 2021.

[20] Для внука вдруг красивые стихи
дороже стали дедовских оленей.
«Переведутся, видно, пастухи
в большом, исконно саамском поселенье.»

«Другой работы в тундре не ищи»
говаривал стареющий родитель,
«Олени для саама—это жизнь,
хотите ль вы того иль не хотите.»

Все думы и пути переплелись
с кочевьями, кострами и оленем.
Немыслимой без них казалась жизнь
для всех до нас прошедших поколений.

А как же мы? Ведь двадцать первый век
с нас строго спросит, что ему ответить?
«Коль есть олень, найдется человек,
чтоб у костра восход морозный встретить!»

[21] In this connection it is also important to note that Bazhanov's poems seem to convey a view according to which reindeer herders are ethnically Sami people, while in reality reindeer herding in the Soviet Union became a true profession that was detached from the ethnic component (see, for example, Konstantinov 2005: 171). Soviet reindeer herding was carried out in collective farms, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and was already in 1950s and 1960s mechanised, centralised and reached out to the whole circumpolar area. The way in which reindeer herding is represented in Bazhanov's poems does not hence reflect reality but more likely the mental landscape, in which the Sami component was kept. Moreover, as Yulian Konstantinov (2005: 170–171 et passim) has argued, Sami reindeer herding at the Kola Peninsula had already experienced considerable changes before, particularly from the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the Izhma Komi with their more extensive reindeer herding practices moved to the area. These practices were later used as an example to follow in the early Soviet Union (Konstantinov 2000: 59–62). Hence the historical process that has taken place does not speak for "the existence of a stable 'traditional' Sami husbandry state until collectivization," as Konstantinov (2005: 171) writes, but rather for a long process of adaptation to changing herding systems.

[22] Знал мой предок, что тундра чиста
и не знал, что есть фтор и мазут.

[23] где весь день чадит Камаз

[24] А веков, как весен,
пронеслось немало,
прежде, чем из камня
извлекли металлы.

[25] мудры свидетели Веков

[26] Вершины не помнят времени,
горды и невозмутимы.

[27] Плутают в них тропы древние,
на камне едва различимы.

[28] Полярную зиму выстоит,
и с песнею горных речек
победно листочки выставит
желанной весне навстречу.

[29] From the perspective of literary studies, Ingold's way of seeing time in space inevitably evokes the concept of chronotope, to which he also refers when analysing how such details as a tree or a church may encapsulate the temporality of the landscape (Ingold 1993: 169).

[30] This, the largest water power plant in northwest Russia, was constructed with Finnish involvement, Imatran Voima acting as the project developer.

[31] Впереди за пологою сопкой
ждет меня голубая вода.
И болотом, предательски топким,
проскочу, не оставив следа!
Вот и домик—столетние стены,
окна зорко глядят на восход.
Это детство, здесь все неизменно,
это жизни священный исток!

[32] On the other hand, Bazhanov's childhood depictions set during wartime may also contain idyllic elements. For instance, in the poem "Siroty" ['Orphans'], the children gather around a campfire to roast kolkhoz potatoes, which serves as a momentary escape from reality (SP: 140).

[33] An abandoned village or living site.

[34] Но во мне его не погасить
ни дождям осенним, ни годам.
Только вот приехать погостить
не смогу, поверьте, никогда.
Постоять на кентише родном,
где отец мой хаживал и мать.
Стал мой кентиш непроглядным дном,
что оно мне может рассказать.
(Transl. by Naomi Caffee, modified by T.K.)

[35] The allusion is to L.P. Hartley's novel *The Go-Between* (1953) ("The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there"). I wish to thank Mark Shackleton for pointing this out to me.

[36] Я, конечно, не слетаю в космос,
не пройдусь в скафандре по луне,
но родные Рестикент и Восмус—
это вехи важные во мне.

[37] Даже сны, увиденные в цвете,
принимал, как продолженье дня!
Это космос посылал приветы,
выделяя именно меня.

[38] Никогда не предадутся тленью,
их не сжечь в костре, не потерять

[39] For different notions of the pastoral, see Gifford [1999] 2020: 1–3.

[40] For reasons why the pastoral should be unamenable to postcolonialism, see Huggan and Tiffin 2010: 99–100.

[41] И каждый день весенний будет прожит
рачительно и ярко, как костер.
Для пастуха привычно и почетно
держать в руках доверчивых ягнят,
незаменимых северных животных,
дарить и жизнь, не требуя наград.

В ежедневной будничной работе
глубокий смысл, призванье пастуха,
его благословенные заботы,
прошедшие нетленно сквозь века!

[42] Я желал бы двух оленей
непременно завести.
И как в юности без лени
у Нотозера пасти.
Вот бы дом построить новый,
взглядом—окнами к реке,
лодку из досок еловых.
И ходить на ней везде,
где ходили наши предки,
рыбу неводом ловя,
где на зорьке выстрел меткий
на подлете брал гуся.
Ладить на зиму припасы:
вялить щуку, рвать грибы,
да черничного варенья,
да морошки не забыть,
да ядреную бруснику
по боченкам уместить,
выжать сок из вороники.

[43] For discussion on the river in Rasputin's oeuvre, see Perkiömäki 2018.

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