

TATJANA KUDRJAVTSEVA

# Ledkov's Novella *White Hawk*

## A Nenets Epic Reconstruction

---

**ABSTRACT** This article presents a reading of the “epic novella” *White Hawk* by the Nenets writer Vasilij Ledkov, which was published in 1982, in the last decade of the Soviet Union. *White Hawk* is an epic reconstruction from a Nenets point of view of the historical events that are otherwise recorded only by the Russian colonisers. These events are known as “the century of wars” between the Nenets and the Russians prior to the subjugation of the Nenets to Russian rule. In other Soviet sources on the Nenets this century of wars has been passed over in silence. In the late Soviet period, in 1982, Ledkov attempted to loosen the constraints of what was permissible, while at the same time he sought to protect the text from condemnation by allowing for a number of divergent readings. He may have done this not least in order to avoid the accusations of nationalism to which he had previously been subjected. It is my contention that the text must have appealed to the particular type of Soviet reader who was aware of the practice of double coding as a way of loosening ideological constraints. Such a reader would be willing to disregard the elements of the text that gave it ideological legitimacy and would have a keen eye for innovative – or what were previously “nonpermissible” – elements. Not a few Soviet authors are known to have participated in the development of an increasingly more Aesopian language, and it would be a mistake to view writers from the Northern peoples as less capable in this respect.

---

**KEYWORDS** Nenets, Vasilij Ledkov, Russia, late Soviet novel, nationalism, the Century of Wars

---

Russia was one of the world's longest surviving empires when the fourteen satellite Soviet republics gained their independence in 1991. Modern Russia is still a country of considerable ethnic diversity, and its constitution declares it to be a multinational state. While the conflicts in its Southern belt have since been in the spotlight of the media, the situation of the peoples of its Arctic regions have attracted considerably less attention. Not long after their outbreak in the eighteenth century, wars in the Caucasus became the subject of numerous news bulletins

and were addressed by writers of fiction ranging from enthusiastic colonialists, such as Bestužev-Marlinskij, to peace-seekers, such as Lev Tolstoj (Layton 1994). The colonisation of the North, by contrast, began much earlier than this, arguably with the re-establishment of the city-state of Novgorod in 1136. It may well have been because of these early beginnings, which took place long before the spread of the printing press, that a firmly established popular narrative about colonisation and its resistance was never to appear in the North as it subsequently did in the South.

The Soviet epoch, on the other hand, bore witness to a flourishing of narratives about the North, pregnant with the ethos of its revolutionary “re-discovery” or, rather, re-claiming of its natural resources. Many of these narratives are contained in McCannon’s *Red Arctic* (1998), which is preoccupied above all with the essays and books written by Russian explorers, settlers and journalists. As Slezkine (1994) highlighted in an earlier publication, the Soviet authorities also took special pride in having brought literacy to the nomadic peoples of the North. A special educational institution was established for the Northern peoples in Leningrad, the Department of the Northern Peoples. That these peoples in turn began to produce, for the first time, their very own writers of fiction was promoted as one of the civilizing benefits of Soviet rule.

This article addresses one work of literature written in that period by a writer belonging to the group of the Nenets – the population of the northernmost regions west and east of the Ural mountains. Approximately 35,000 Nenets live in this territory; 6,500 in the western territories, 20,900 in the centre and 2,500 in the east. The Nenets language belongs to the Samoyed group of languages, and their ancestors are believed to have come from east of the Ural mountains. Some sources date their arrival in their current area of settlement to prehistoric times, others to as late as the last millennium. The argument about the dates of their arrival may potentially affect their status as an indigenous population. Russia has in any case not ratified the UN convention about indigenous peoples, which could give an internationally protected legal status to many of its Northern minorities.

### Ledkov and His Novella

This article presents a reading of the “epic novella” *White Hawk* by the Nenets writer Vasilij Ledkov, which was published in 1982, in the last decade of the existence of the Soviet Union. Vasilij Ledkov was born in the Nenets Autonomous District in the west, so he belongs to the European Nenets. The influence of the Russian language is at its greatest in this western territory, whereas in the central territories of the Nenets settlement 95% are native language speakers. The text discussed here has only been published

as an authorised translation into Russian (Ledkov 1982), and the translations from Russian into English in this article are my own.

Ledkov belongs to the post-World War II generation of graduates of the Department of the Northern Peoples at the Leningrad Teachers College, several of whom later became writers. While studying there he also participated in the translation of Russian literature into Nenets. One could argue that the Department's graduates were meant to be both the products and disseminators of the Soviet programme of Russification through education. Indeed, in a recent article on this generation of the Department's graduates, Toulouze (1999) upholds the view that they did little to help the Soviet authorities acknowledge the problems of the Northern minorities. Parts of Ledkov's personal history, however, provide evidence to the contrary: after a meeting with Chruščev, in which Ledkov talked about the problems in minority education, he was subjected to accusations of nationalism by the authorities at the Department. He was compelled to leave Leningrad and to work as a teacher and a radio journalist in his native region. He published his first novella in 1970 and, in spite of his earlier problems, came to enjoy the status of a professional writer and representative of the national minorities of the North-West in the Soviet Writers Union. He published poetry and several novels and novellas. His official status may well have been earned by his novels in particular, which are traditional Soviet socialist realist novels about the successful collectivisation of the Nenets reindeer pastures and the abandonment of their nomadic way of life. Their function was to cement the official Soviet version of the progress of Nenets history.

One of his last novellas, however, the epic novella *White Hawk* (1982), stands out, and deals with the Nenets resistance to Russian colonisation. Its events take place in the middle of the seventeenth century, and its protagonist is a Nenets youth turned shaman. It is the protagonist as the focal point, his thoughts and speech that dominate the novel. *White Hawk* is an outright epic reconstruction from a Nenets' point of view of the historical events known otherwise only from the notes of the Russian colonisers (Petrova & Harjuči 2000: 561–563; Ravna 2005: 79–82). These events are known as “the century of wars” between the Nenets and the Russians prior to the subjugation of the Nenets to Russian rule. In other Soviet sources on the Nenets this century of wars was passed over in silence.

It is therefore appropriate to ask: how could this instance of counter-history be published in the Soviet ideological climate? It is my contention that the text must have appealed to the particular type of Soviet reader who was aware of the practice of double coding as a way of loosening ideological constraints. Such a reader would be willing to disregard the elements of the text that gave it ideological legitimacy and would have a keen eye for

innovative – or what were previously “nonpermissible” – elements. Not a few Soviet authors are known to have participated in the development of an increasingly more Aesopian language, and it would be a mistake to view writers from the Northern peoples as less capable in this respect. The re-examination of Ledkov's *White Hawk* offered here is intended to be illustrative of the way in which the works of Northern writers more generally might benefit from a reappraisal that bears this practice of double coding in mind.

### A Conformist?

The overall compositional axis of *White Hawk*, which can be called “the plotline of history,” traces the following series of initiations of the protagonist: his initiation as a shaman, as a noble thief, as a warrior and as an epic leader of the Nenets troops during their raid against the Russians. In several of its plot motifs, the novella would appear to conform with the requirements of the Soviet novel. The “deological initiation” common to such texts can be discerned, for instance, in the progression the protagonist makes from an early theft of reindeer from the rich Nenets reindeer-owners to his later use of his shamanic powers to effect a conscious redistribution of wealth. This reflects the plot model of socialist realist novels identified by Clark:

the hero is assigned a task in the public sphere;  
 he meets obstacles;  
 in meeting obstacles he attains the necessary self-mastery to be initiated;  
 a mentor/father figure who has already attained consciousness helps him in the passage and the spontaneity/consciousness dialectic is resolved (Clark 1985: 168).

The plotline of the noble theft offers an allegorical interpretation of the Nenets epic hero in the vein of socialist realism. Becoming a shaman, the protagonist involuntarily enters the public sphere, and a noble thief becomes his mentor. Such reinterpretations of folklore and epos were not unusual in Soviet literature during the Stalinist years. Kolarz writes on a similar adaptation of the Karelian epos: “In the Soviet interpretation Kalevala appears as a country with a classless society where a kind of primitive communism existed. Kalevala is thus almost a forerunner of Soviet Russia itself” (Kolarz 1952: 103). This approach was especially common for those nationalities of the Soviet Union which had not developed written cultures, of which the Nenets culture and its oral epos is one example. Bogdanov writes of the post-Stalinist years: “A noticeable cooling off of interest in the beginning of the 1960s was substituted in the 1970s by a ‘return to epos’” (Bogdanov 2006: 110).

The events of the novella are thus Ledkov's contemporary epic reconstruction, as they are not reflected in the existing Nenets epics, and the Russian chronicles do not cover "the century of wars" in detail. In order to create this modern epic tale, the author resorts to an anachronism: according to social anthropologists, the distinction between rich Nenets deer-owners and poor ones appeared only as late as the eighteenth century (Ravna 2005: 90). In the same century, this distinction caused the uprising led by Vavl'a Nen'jang, one of the few events of the pre-Soviet Nenets history that was officially approved of by Soviet scholars (Ravna 2005: 96–97). Ledkov's protagonist White Hawk seems to be modelled on Nen'jang, in so far as he redistributes the deer stolen from the rich between the poor, but Ledkov projects these events a century earlier, to the seventeenth century.

A further conformity to the prevailing Soviet ideology occurs when the protagonist and his friend, who had earlier discussed the settled (as opposed to the nomadic) way of life, decide to live side by side. 150 other families join them to live a strongly romanticised life of "noble savages":

Сильные и бесстрашные юноши состязались в быстроте и ловкости [...]. Юные красавицы затевали свои нехитрые девичьи игры [...]. Веселье, звонкие, задушевные их песни и смех, усиливаемые простором и эхом, раздавались вокруг далеко за полночь. Собрав вокруг себя степенных мужчин и любознательных детей, седые старики рассказывали сказки о людях добрых и злых [...], пели песни о народных героях и богатырях, их удивительных приключениях и подвигах. (1982: 178–179.)

[‘Strong and fearless young men challenged each other in quickness and precision [...]. Young beauties began their uncomplicated girl games [...]. Their cheerful, deeply-felt songs and laughter, made louder by the vastness and echo, were heard all around far beyond midnight. Respectful men and knowledge-seeking children gathered around greyhaired elders who told stories about the good and bad people [...], sang songs about folk heroes and mighty men, their wonderful adventures and deeds.’]

The transition to a settled way of life of the traditionally nomadic Nenets, like the social consciousness of the protagonist, appears to be another instance of an ideologically sanctioned allegorical anachronism. The Soviet authorities forced the Nenets to settle down in collective farms, and Ledkov's contemporary epic may in this manner provide this forced settlement with a more acceptable precedent. The quotation otherwise recalls the pictures of "primitive communism" with which the early Soviet ideologues endowed the nomadic peoples of the North in order to make them fit the Marxist historico-economic scheme (Slezkine 1994; Ravna 2005: 110).

## A Counter-Historian?

It would be a mistake, however, to read *White Hawk* as a purely propagandist text. Rather, Ledkov uses such a strongly socialist realist framework as a way of covering the resistance to Russian influence contained within his narrative of seventeenth century Nenets. The choice of a shaman as the protagonist in a Soviet novella was, for instance, both an innovative and a potentially radical move. Shamans were prosecuted by the Soviet power (Slezkine 1994: 297) as members of the “exploiting class” and as religious mystics, and in all the previous texts by Ledkov they are cast as extremely negative figures. Abramovich-Gomon writes:

Open shamanistic practices among the Arctic peoples disappeared under the Soviet regime, which attacked shamans and religion in general. The European Nenets were the first Arctic nation which stopped conducting public shamanistic ceremonies. From both the practical and ideological points of view, research on shamanism became a complicated issue for Soviet ethnographers, who had to rely upon information about shamanism contained in the writings of travellers, missionaries and scholars of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Abramovich-Gomon 1999: 83.)

Ravna writes of the imprisonment of the last Nenets shamans by the Soviet authorities in 1936–1937 (2005: 118). In his latest novella Ledkov thus breaks an ideological prohibition placed by the Soviet materialist ideology on the traditional Nenets belief system. Not an imitation of a contemporary practice, a plotline involving initiation of the protagonist into shamanism in a novella of 1982 must have posed an additional challenge to Ledkov in his reconstruction, and Propp's ((1929) 1998) analysis of folktales, to which the plotline of shamanism fits extremely well, could have been one of Ledkov's sources.

Whereas the plot of the text contradicts the Soviet ideological prohibition against shamanism, the descriptions of the setting allow the novella to introduce other aspects of the Nenets beliefs that were subjected to prohibition as “pre-modern, outdated superstitions.” Here, instead, they form an integral part of the Nenets' relationship to their natural surroundings. One setting that receives extensive attention is the temporary camp the Nenets establish while they are preparing a raid against the Russians. They are hunting and fishing in order to bring along enough food, and these portions of the text contain detailed descriptions of the Nenets activities that belong to each of the different types of setting. These descriptions, in turn, are accompanied by descriptions of Nenets beliefs that go with these types of setting: “the tales about animals, birds and fishes” (1982: 154) which are believed to be family totems. The camp is set up in what is called “the Holy

Mountains,” and one of the features of this setting is “the hundreds of idols” (1982: 155) erected in honour of one of the leaders of the Nenets troops.

The story of the war tells an alternative story of Nenets dissent, namely their resistance to Russian colonisation. The introduction into the text of historical references to the seventeenth century – historically, the “century of wars” between the Nenets and the Russians – makes the subplot of war significant not just as a singular event, but as an emblem of the whole historical period (Ledkov 1982: 162). In the 1920s, Soviet historiography condemned the tsarist colonisation; from the 1940s on, however, any influence of the Russians on other populations of the former Russian empire was to be considered progressive (Vakhtin 1992: 17, Slezkine 1994: 304–307). Ledkov thus breaks this later pattern of Soviet fiction. In the plotline of the Nenets raid on the Russians, modern dates begin to accompany concrete spatial references. This section is organised in such a way that the Nenets precede the reference to calendricisation in the historical documents. The Nenets temporality is introduced through a setting in which it has literally left a trace, characteristically of the nomadic Nenets, in the form of a road:

[...] дорога на То-харад, проложенная тысячами упряжек в год небывалого зноя и бешеного овода восемь лет назад, когда возмущенные притеснениями, невесть откуда взявшимися долгами русскому царю тундровики двинулись на То-харад, срубленный осенью 1499 [...] Это было не по сердцу вольному и гогдому народу, о котором еще со времен Великого Новгорода – с ним ненцы на равных вели торговое дело – плелись всякие небылицы. (1982: 145.)

[‘[...] the road to To-harad which was ground down by thousands of carriages in a year of unusual heat and mad flies eight years ago, when the inhabitants of the tundra, indignant at their oppression and by the debts to the Russian tsar, which have appeared out of nowhere, began to move in the direction of To-harad, built in 1499 [...] The proud and free people, to whom already from the times of Great Novgorod – the Nenets conducted equal trade with this city – improbable stories had been attached, did not like this.’]

An example of a story of frog-like people and people with dog-heads that stems from the “Notes” by Herberstein (1556), follows. A real historical character, the Austrian Herberstein was a Roman envoy to Russia in the sixteenth century and one of the most important European sources about Muscovy. The narrator concludes the paragraph ironically with the assertion that: “the educated world knew little of the far North and its inhabitants” (1982: 145). Intertextuality here suggests a generic kinship to a historical chronicle, but the text contains, importantly, a history of an “other” space, the North, written from the perspective of its inhabitants.

Through the introduction of the key figure of the Russian Old Believers, Avvakum, whom the protagonist meets in the Russian fortress and whom he offers to set free, the text also appeals to the history of the Russian North as a margin that has become the centre of religious dissent. It therefore lifts the ideological veil from Russian religious history, quite likely seeking in it a legitimisation of its own introduction of a Nenets spiritual leader. This allows an analogy to be drawn between a good shaman and a good priest. The dissent of one against the centre finds its parallel and legitimisation in the dissent of the other. While Ledkov's contemporary epic seeks to present to the reader a view from within, the connections to the genre of the chronicle and contemporary dating legitimate this view for "the educated world" as well.

Finally, the different approaches to the land by the Nenets and Russians also suggest a divergence between the two nationalities and their histories. In short, while the Russians tend towards a static relationship towards the land (indicated by their village settlement and collective farms), the mobile, nomadic Nenets have a more dynamic relationship. In fact, the major dynamic transformation in the novella's setting as the result of the movements of the characters takes place during the raid on the Russians. The flatland gives way to the mountains, then to a warrior camp near the sea, and, finally, to the fortress To-charad, or Pustozersk, which the Nenets raid. This transformation, however, reveals no gradation between native and alien settings. The movement from the flatland to the mountains is described as follows:

Вангурей... Величественная красота подернутых дымкой сопок, [...] чистый горный воздух и высокое лазурное небо будили в людях возвышенное чувство сыновней гордости и щемяще нежной любви к родной земле, живой и мыслящей частицей которой были они сами.

Делюк фанатично любил открытые небу родные равнины, но навсегда был очарован горами на Полярном Урале, на родине милой Ябтане [...]. (1982: 148.)

['Vangurei... The majestic beauty of the peaks, [...] the clean mountain air and the high lapis-lazuli sky evoked in them the sublime feeling of son-like pride and an innermost tender love towards their native land, they were a living and thinking particle of it.

Del'uk loved the native flatlands fanatically, open to the sky, but he was also charmed forever by the mountains of the Polar Ural, the native land of his dearest Iabtane [...].']

The sublimity of the mountainous Northern, arctic landscape finds a parallel in the sublimity of the patriotic feeling of the protagonist towards this native land. The relationship of the Nenets warriors to it is metonymic: the



land and the people are inseparably joined. Even if the setting of the novella is dynamic, it is thus perceived as native, as “our land.”

Alien settings, “the land of the others,” do not appear in the narrative, but the Russian colonisers are clearly alien to the native land of the Nenets. This is evident from the speech the protagonist makes before the raid on To-charad:

Пусть уходят туда, откуда пришли! Там у них есть свои земли! Кто идет с разбоем, подкупом и обманом, не место тем на нашей земле! Не нужна нам чужая земля, но и своей не позволим топтать и поганить! Покорность и унижения – не наш, ненцев, удел! Спалим осиное гнездо слуг ненасытного царя! (1982: 171.)

[Let them go back to where they have come from! They have their own lands there! Those who come with robbery, bribery and deceit have nothing to do in our land! We do not need the land of the others, but we won't allow them to soil our own, the Nenets one! Submission and humiliation is not our, Nenets, lot! Let's burn down the wasps' nest of the tenants of the insatiable tsar!]

The Nenets own their land by law, “[t]he Russian tsar has given us these lands for all times” (1982: 57). A footnote by the narrator of the text, attached to this sentence, refers to Ivan the Terrible, who had confirmed the Nenets right to the land for all time. Additionally, this part of the text contains numerous quotations of the following type: “А ненцы, как ни говори, братья между собой еще от рождения жизни на земле, в тундре” [“The Nenets are after all brothers between themselves from the beginning of life on Earth, in the tundra”] (1982: 58); “Земель без хозяев нет!” [“There are no lands without owners”] (1982: 60); “Ненцы, дети природы, на своей родной земле отлично знали норы каждого месяца” [“The Nenets, sons of nature, knew the particular character of every single month on their native land”] (1982: 164). The preoccupation in these references with questions of ethnogenesis, of the indigenous relationship to the land, patriotism and ownership is here overt and insistent. It may be argued that by moving back into more distant history, the novella is able to justify such proclamations of the Nenets ownership of the land in contrast to the more restricted discourse of the Soviet present.

## Conclusion

The beginning of the text and its end contain a framing narrative, the events of which take place when the shaman White Hawk has already become a warrior and the leader of the Nenets. They contain an attempted invasion of the Nenets land by a foreign ship. An envoy arrives at a Nenets

village and spreads the news of “Nor-Ge, or Pir-rates” (1982: 57) approaching the Nenets coast. The invaders are likely to be the Norwegians, who designate their country as “Norge.” In the final section of the narrative the Nenets gather and join the Komi, Sami and Pomors – the coastal Russians – in order to fight the invader. No battle follows. In the concluding paragraph the narrative assumes the perspective of the Pomors. They decide that the cupola of a coastal Russian church has indicated to the ship of Nor-Ge that the land is Russian, and has made the foreigners retreat. The conclusion to the text is self-consciously ambiguous and tautological: while the Nenets believe that this land is theirs, the Russians also believe that they own it. The text thus returns to the ambivalent relationship required by the ideologically approved Soviet internationalism: on the one hand, this territory is proclaimed to be Nenets, on the other, it is Russian, and it also belongs to the other peoples of the tundra.

*White Hawk* can therefore be seen to contain two different versions of Nenets history and their relationship towards their Russian neighbours. When read on an allegorical level, the text is a socialist realist parable of Nenets history. When the allegorical level is disregarded, the text is insistently preoccupied with questions about who is native to the land and who owns it; the main conflict of its plot is the conflict with the Russians. The framing plotline of the foreign invasion offers an ideologically correct opportunity to picture all the peoples of the tundra united against a common enemy, but the specificity of this particular text is such that the common ground receives far less textual space in it than the Nenets ground. The framing narrative is the shortest in this text, while the story of the raid against the Russians is more substantial.

The ambivalence of Soviet discourse on nativity and nationality is evident in this text. It was able to uphold the sense of territorial ethnogenesis and belonging – evident in the establishment of Ledkov's native Nenets National Autonomous District – while at the same it asserted the shared ownership of the land, especially with the Russians. Thus, Vakhtin writes of the establishment of the geographic national autonomies in 1920s–30s, that their aim was to secure native participation in the governance of the Northern minorities, but these intentions were overruled by the centralised power paradigms of the Russian Soviets (Vakhtin 1994: 48). In the late Soviet period, in 1982, Ledkov attempted to loosen the constraints of what was permissible, while at the same time he sought to protect this text from condemnation by allowing for a number of divergent readings. He may have done this not least in order to avoid the accusations of nationalism to which he had previously been subjected. In fact, while Toulouze (1999) suggests that Ledkov's generation of writers from the Northern peoples was quite

simply inactive when it came to the problems of their respective nationalities, Kemp discerns in the history of the Soviet discourse on nationalities a more complex pattern:

1. official words and actions (stemming from a desire for legitimacy) stressing support for nationalism which are subsequently or simultaneously undercut by:
2. actions to support statism and centralism (so as to hold onto power and ensure ideological conformity) which have the effect of:
3. neutralizing nationalism in the short term but, in the process increasing anti-state and pro-national sentiments which, in large part, feed off of the opportunities afforded by the seemingly token gestures mentioned in (1) and the sense of national identity which is strengthened by the reaction to (2). (Kemp 1999: 83.)

The result of this process was the rise of national sentiment in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which ultimately caused the disintegration of the Soviet empire in 1991. Although they still face many problems, the peoples of the North have also experienced a national revival. My contention is that Ledkov's text from the last decade of the Soviet Union's existence represents an intermediate stage in this process: while it remains an example of Soviet doublespeak, it nonetheless rehabilitates an important part of the history of Nenets resistance to the Russians, as well as the traditional beliefs of the Nenets that had been outlawed earlier.

## REFERENCES

- Abramovich-Gomon, A. (1999). *The Nenets Song. A Microcosm of a Vanishing Culture*, Hants: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Bogdanov, A. K. (2006). "Nauka v epičeskuju epohu. Klassika fol'klora, klassičeskaja filologija i klassovaja solidarnost," *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie* 78, pp. 86–124.
- Clark, K. (1981). *The Soviet Novel. History as Ritual*, Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Herberstein, S. von (1556). *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii*, Basileæ.
- Kemp, W. A. (1999). *Nationalism and Communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. A Basic Contradiction?*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Kolarz, W. (1952). *Russia and Her Colonies*, London: George Philip and Son Ltd.
- Layton, S. (1994). *Russian Literature and Empire. Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCannon, J. (1998). *Red Arctic*, New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ledkov, V. (1982). "Belyj jastreb," in *Meteli ložatsja u nog*, Archangel'sk: Zapadnoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo.
- Petrova, V. P. & Harjuči, G. P. (2000). *Nency v istorii Jamalo-neneckogo avtonomnogo okruga*, Tomsk: Izdatel'stvo Tomskogo Universiteta.

- Propp, V. ([1929] 1998). *Sobranie trudou. Morfologija (volšebnoj) skazki. Istoričeskie korni volšebnoj skazki*, Moskva: Labirint.
- Ravna, Ø. (2005). *Bor'ba za tundru. Nency i ich istorija*, Dieđut Sámi instituhtta, 3.
- Slezkine, J. (1994). *Arctic Mirrors*, Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.
- (1997). "Primitive Communism and the Other Way Around," in *Socialist Realism Without Shores*, eds. T. Lahusen & E. Dobrenko, Durham & London: Duke University Press, pp. 310–337.
- Toulouze, E. (1999). "The Development of a Written Culture by the Indigenous Peoples of Western Siberia," *Pro Etnologia* 7; <http://www.erm.ee/?lang=EST&node=125&parent=101>, 3 Feb. 2006.
- Vakhtin, N. (1992). *Native Peoples of the Russian Far North*, MGR International Report, 5, London.
- (1994). "Native Peoples of the Russian Far North," in *Polar Peoples. Self-Determination and Development*, ed. Minority Rights Group, London: Minority Rights Publications, pp. 29–81.