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The Filmans

Nomads at a Dead End

ABSTRACT A group of Norwegian Sami moved to live on the Kola peninsula after the border treaty of 1826 between Norway and Russia. For some, the parish of Inari in Finland served as an interim point. They were called the *Filmans* by the Russians. Their appearance, language and material culture differed from the Russian East Sami, and a few descriptions appeared in the Russian press. During the nineteenth century, the Finnish clergy kept records of the reindeer herders and the Sea Sami who fished on the Murman coast along with the Finnish and Norwegian colonists.

In Russia, the exonym *Fil'man* (< *Finmark*) still appeared in the first Soviet census in 1926. The group seems to have vanished in the purges and evacuations in the 1930s and 1940. On the Finnish side, a few nomads had come over when the Petsamo area became part of Finland. Apparently they assimilated to the Sami or Finns. The situation in Norway remains unclear; several Sami families are known to have stayed in Kola, although some returned to Norway. Now there is no trace of the Filmans, except in the memories of the oldest living Skolt Sami generation.

KEYWORDS history, ethnography, Filmans, North Sami, Russia, Kola peninsula

Introduction

This article deals with an ethnic group that has remained fairly unknown despite its presence in the written history of both Scandinavia and Russia/USSR. The primary aim of the article is to throw light on that presence. The reasons for the group's marginality are clear, as from both perspectives, the Filman group was included in a larger one. In Scandinavia, the Norwegian Sami, speaking a variant of North Sami, produced a splinter group that settled in Russia. On the Kola Peninsula, they met the Russian, or East Sami with the subgroups Skolt, Akkala, Ter and Kildin Sami. For the Russians, the North Sami that appeared in the Kola Peninsula, or became visible there in the first half of the nineteenth century, or possibly earlier, were simply Lutheran Sami and generally identified with the Swedish/Finnish or Norwegian Sami from

Finnmark. For about one hundred years, these Lutheran Sami, whether of Finnish or Norwegian origin, were distinct enough to be treated as a separate ethno-confessional group, being designated as *Filmans* (*fil'many*) in Russian statistical and ethnographic descriptions. The exonym *Fil'man* was used in older Russian text and speech varieties, e.g., the dictionary of Kola dialects explains that *fil'man*, pl. *fil'maná*, are 'Sami who live in Finland' (Merkur'ev 1979: s.v.). *Kol'skaja énciklopedija* gives the explanation 'Sami of Norwegian origin'. In Finno-Ugristics, this ethnic group was called *Mountain or Reindeer Sami* (*tunturi-, porosaamelaiset*). In Finnish sources the word *filman(i)/filmaani* appears only rarely and is given the explanation 'Russian designation for Lutheran Sami living on the Kola Peninsula' (*Uusi sivistys-sanakirja* 1982, Nickul 1970: 187–188). Nowadays, the only sign of the group's existence can be found in toponymy, the exonym having served as the basis for naming a single settlement on the coast near the Norwegian border as *Fil'manskoe/Finmanskoe*.¹

The sources of this article are publications of various kinds: ethnographic descriptions of Finnish, Norwegian, and Russian Sami, local histories of Inari, Petsamo, and the Kola Peninsula, newspapers, especially those of Arkhangel, reports by Finnish clergymen and Russian officials, Russian, Finnish and Norwegian travellers. A few publications are based on material in the archives in Arkhangel and Finnmark, and A.J. Sjögren's diary remains unpublished in his archive in Helsinki. My original intention was to find examples of the mixed language used by the Filmans, which is why I searched for descriptions of situations where Filmans, or Sami identifiable as such in the sources, were seen, heard and talked to. Sadly for a linguist, the end result was quite disappointing, yielding few language examples.

Nomadic Sami

Nomadic Sami, with reindeer herding as their sole source of livelihood, began to spread in Finnmark during the eighteenth century. Semi-nomadic Sea Sami, fishing on the coast of the Arctic Ocean also spread eastwards towards the *siidas*, communal pasture areas, of the Eastern Sami, who had long been adherents of the Greek Orthodox faith and been taxed by the Russians. In Norwegian Finnmark the nomads were in constant need of more pasture land and of regular routes between the tundra and the sea coast, where the climate in summer was more suitable and freer from insects.

The Sea Sami and the nomads in East Finnmark were not strictly different ethnic groups; their language, religion and culture were very close, and a change of livelihood from reindeer herding to fishing was common. However, the nomads became a group that embodied the Sami ethnos more than others, and the surrounding populations saw them as a proud

and economically independent people whose freedom was an object of envy (Wikan 1995: 186).

Ever since the thirteenth century, the area of the Kola Peninsula and the whole Arctic coast had been taxed by the neighbouring states, Denmark–Norway and Russia, and later, Sweden. In 1613, the Common area, called *fællesdistrikt*, was defined in documents, but the borders were not fixed. In some areas, the Sami paid taxes to all three states. This situation continued until 1751, when the first part of the district was divided by the border between Sweden and Norway. Still, the Sami were allowed to take their reindeer herds and fish and hunt on both sides (Lähteenmäki 2004: 346–347). Subsequently, the term *fællesdistrikt* applied only to the three areas of Neiden, Pasvik, and Pečenga,² where both Orthodox and Lutheran Sami lived, the latter paying taxes to Norway. Most of the Lutheran Sami settled on the coast, fishing and keeping cattle. In addition to these Sea Sami, reindeer herding nomadic Sami roved the area. In the early 1800s, a witness reported that nomadic Sami stayed by the Jakobselv River, the border between Norway and Russia, for many years until the wolves drove them out. Some of them went to Russia after 1826 (Qvigstad 1926: 13, 35–36, Tanner 1929: 73; Wikan 1998: 43).

In Norway, the number of nomadic Sami increased and they moved east and south. The triangle between Varanger, Fishermen's Peninsula, and Inari, where space and good grazing grounds were still abundantly available, served as their pasture land. For instance, the richest reindeer-owner known in Norwegian history, Hans Andreas Johnsen, had some 8,000 reindeer. He took his herd to Kola in Russia, an action which resulted in a sharp protest from the Russian minister of foreign affairs. An investigation conducted in the 1820s revealed that there were twenty-one nomads in the *fællesdistrikt*, causing the Russian Skolt Sami considerable trouble.³

The Common area was partitioned in 1826. At the time, there were twenty-nine Orthodox families (sixty-seven people) and thirty-five Lutheran families (eighty-two people) in the area; the latter were Sea Sami, except for three Norwegian families. The number of nomadic families was approximately twenty.⁴ As a result of the partition, Russia received Pečenga, and Neiden and Pasvik were divided. In Pasvik, the religious and economic centre, Boris-Gleb, became Russian, while in Neiden, the centre including the Neiden chapel, became Norwegian. Within three years the Skolt Sami in both *siidas* had to choose a citizenship and move from foreign territory. In both areas, a small group became Norwegian, while the overwhelming majority continued under Russian rule (Andresen 2005: 84–88). The Norwegian area was renamed *Syd-* and later *Sør-Varanger* (Wikan 1998: 43–45). The border between Finland and Russia was defined in 1829 and 1830.

After the border between Finland and Norway was closed in 1852, nomadic Sami from eastern Finnmark led their herds to pasture in the area of the Neiden Sami. As this small area also eventually became over-grazed, they sometimes took the herds over the border into the Kola area, apparently offering compensation in the form of reindeer. Before the border closure, their winter pasture grounds were located to the south up to Lake Inari. In the 1860–70s some ten families camped on the Fishermen's Peninsula during the summer, and some Varanger nomads moved entirely to live in Russia. In 1901, there was still at least one nomad who took his herds from Sør-Varanger into Russia to pasture (Vorren 1951: 118, 141–142).

The Norwegian authorities tried to discourage the Sami from nomadism, apparently with some success. Generally, by 1900 the time for this mode of livelihood was over in this area, and many of the Sami turned to fishing (Wessel 1979: 141, Wikan 1995: 155).

Sightings and Hearsay on the Russian Border

The first mentions of the Filmans in historical documents appear in the 1820s, though the variants of the exonym must have been in use earlier.

The ethnographer, linguist, and future academician in St Petersburg, A.J. Sjögren was the first Finnish traveller to mention the Filmans, or *Filmmons*, as he referred to them in his writings. In January 1826, he was in Lapland and in the coastal region of the Arctic Ocean, doing basic research on the Sami languages and peoples. From Finnmark in Norway he was taken by a nomadic Sami to the Russian side of the border to Neiden. He travelled together with a group of eight nomads, conversing with them in Sami and resorting to Norwegian vocabulary at times. He stayed overnight in the guide's tent, where several neighbours gathered, trying to make his acquaintance in their broken Norwegian and even less fluent Russian. One of them had lost a case in a Russian court and had been seeking advice in Inari. The Neiden Sami on the coast were fishermen, and they kept a few sheep and cows which were being looked after by the *Filmmons*. Sjögren explained that this was the name for Finnmark Sami, and the place *Filmorii* meant 'Finnmark'. According to him, the local Neiden dialect differed only slightly from the Filmans' speech (Sjögren 1826, January 18–23).

In Russia, the Filmans are mentioned at about the same time in the descriptions of Kola and the Lapland coast by M. Reyneke, who reported about the population, alternately using the words *finman* and *fil'man*. The Finmans guarded their reindeer herds, but the Lopars (*lopari*, the traditional designation of the Russian Sami) and the Kola people allowed them to roam freely all through the year. The Lopars did not keep horned cattle, but the Finmans often had as many as twenty head in addition to using reindeer

milk, unlike the Russian Lopars. Reyneke identified the Finmans as Norwegian Sami (Rejneke 1837: 130–131). In his description of the town of Kola from 1826, he wondered why the local Sami did not have many reindeer, while the Finmans kept large herds (Rejneke 1830). In a later description, he seems to apply the name to all non-Orthodox Sami, listing the places on the coast where they lived up to Vadsø in Norway, where about fifty male Finmans lived at the time. He mentioned that close to the Neiden Fjord Finmans lived by the Lesser and Greater Finman Gulfs and the Gulf of Kosaja. These Finmans were Sea Sami with whom sailors traded flour, powder, and iron utensils for reindeer, cattle, cheese, milk, and fish (Rejneke 1878: 205–211).

In 1842 Elias Lönnrot, the father of the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*, travelled in Lapland and the Kola Peninsula. After spending some time in the town of Kola he wrote a travel report to a friend on 2 (14) May 1842. After having written about the Sami and the Murmans,⁵ Lönnrot continues:

Ett annat mäktigt, hittills i historien obekant folkslag, hörde jag i Kola första gången omnämnas – *Filmannerna*. Som jag på kartan ej hittade något *Filmannien* (eller *Fillmannien*), så måste jag av folket i Kola göra mig underrättad om detta land och dess invånare, helst vardera ej i det ringaste tycktes stå efter Murmannien och Murmannerna [...] Filmannerna leva på den *Filmanska kusten*, och denna kust ligger västerut ifrån den *Murmanska*, tagande sin början där denna slutar vid norska gränsen, och sträckande sig vida utöver Nordcap ända till Hammarfest och därutöver. Deras levnadssätt skall vara i det närmaste likt Murmannernas; dagarna vistas de på sjön, och nätterna antingen på sjön eller uti badstugor och kojor, som finnas uppförda vid stranden av havsvikarna, några av träd, andra av torv. Hur de tillbringar sin vinter, därom kunde jag ej få några fullständiga underrättelser, men man trodde, att de till större delen försvinner om hösten, likt Murmannerna, till vilka man ej finner ens spår om vintern.

I Murmannien talar man ett språk, vilket mycket liknar ryskan, men Filmannerna skall ha sitt eget språk, kallat Kakspreck,⁶ eller såsom det kanske rättare bör skrivas: какъ spreck [...]. Såsom resande enkom i filologiskt hänseende blev jag ej litet glad vid upptäckten av detta nya språk; vem vet om det ej en gång bland språken skall komma att spela samma höga roll, som sanskrit för det närvarande. Så mycket är åtminstone säkert, att det i sig innehåller grundelementerna till ej allenast det ryska och norska språket, utan även till finskan och lappskan. I Kola träffade vi några som talade Kakspeck-språket och även under resan därifrån till Kandalax träffade vi i Rasnovolok två borgare, av vilka den ene sade sig kunna norska; men kunde han och ej det, så talade han i dess ställe så mycket bättre Kakspreckskan. 'Varifrån reser du' hette: *Hårfra du fara*; 'vad är ditt namn': *kak du heta*; 'med huru många renar reser du': *hår manga ålenej du fara*; 'önskar du tevatten, så kokar jag': *du*

tjai vill hava, tak ja koga; 'har du egen tekanna': *sin tjoinik du hava osv.* (Lönnrot 1911: 325–326.)

[‘In Kola I heard about another group of people, until now unknown in history, the *Filmans* [*Filmannerna*]. Since I could not find any place called *Filmannien* (or *Fillmannien*), on the map I had to ask the people in Kola about this land and its inhabitants, since they did not seem to be in the least inferior to Murmannien and the Murmans [...] The Filmans live on the *Filman coast*, which lies to the west from the *Murman coast*, beginning where the latter ends, by the Norwegian border, and extending far behind the North Cape up to Hammerfest and even further. Their way of life is practically similar to that of the Murmans; they spend their days on the sea, and the nights either on the sea or in bathhouses and huts made of wood or turf. I could not get any complete information about how they spend the winter. People thought that they mostly disappear in the autumn, like the Murmans, of which one does not see a trace during the winter.

In Murmannien they speak a language which is much like Russian, but the Filmans are said to have their own language, called Kakspreck, or, as it should preferably be written какъ spreck [...]. As I was travelling specifically as a philologist, I was very glad to discover this new language; who knows, maybe it will one day play the same important role among languages as Sanskrit does at the moment. At least, so much is certain that it contains basic elements not only of Russian and Norwegian, but also of Finnish and Sami. In Kola we met some people who spoke Kakspreck, and during the trip from Kola to Kandalax we met two citizens, one of them claiming to speak Norwegian; nevertheless he could not, but instead he was fluent in Kakspreck. "Varifrån reser du" (where do you come from) was: *Hårfra du fara*; 'vad är ditt namn' ('what is your name'): *kak du heta*; 'med huru många renar reser du' ('with how many reindeer do you travel'): *hår manga ålenej du fara*; 'önskar du tevat-ten, så kokar jag' ('if you want water for tea, I will boil some'): *du tjai vill hava, tak ja koga*; 'har du egen tekanna' ('do you have your own tshainik or teapot'): *sin tjoinik du hava etc.*']

The Filmans in question were evidently Norwegian Sami, who resorted to Russenorsk, the mixed language spoken on the coast of the Arctic Ocean.

Sightings in Finland

In 1809, Finland became a part of Russia. In the 1820s, the priest of Utsjoki, Jacob Fellman, wrote descriptions of his parishioners who were Inari Sami, basically fishermen. Suddenly, nomadic Sami families had appeared in Inari. They comprised six households and had moved there from Utsjoki and northern Norway. In the summer they moved to the coast to the west of the Kola River in Russia. The distance to the church in Inari was at least thirty *mils* (about 300 kilometres), but in winter they lived closer to Inari. They

were like the other nomadic Sami: they lived in tents, and married among themselves or with other nomads. Since they were isolated from other reindeer-herders, their herds thrived better. In Kola they sold their reindeer products, consequently having more money than anyone else. Altogether they were said to own at least 6,000 reindeer, a single individual, Olof Pehrsson Inger, owning more than one half of them (Fellman 1906: 356–357). Apparently, an increasing lack of space had driven the nomadic Sami from Norway to the Russian coast, especially to the lush pastures on the Fishermen's peninsula (*Fiskarhalvön, Rybačij poluostrov, Kalastajasaarento*). Väinö Tanner, a strong proponent of the Skolt Sami, writing about the matter a hundred years later, thought that the move of the Norwegian Sami to Russia via Inari was a manoeuvre by Norway to bring in more of her citizens to the area. If this seemed unlikely, he suggested that the nomads themselves had planned the move in order to retain their pastures in Russia by being registered in Inari (Tanner 1929: 75; Wikan 1995: 49).

By 1850, there were 13 households, about 70 Sami, who took their herds to Russia from Inari (Nahkiaisaja 2003: 226). Nomadic Sami had also arrived over the border to Utsjoki, north of Inari. Fellman reported that in 1820 and 1831 during the summer twenty and twenty-three households took their herds to the coast, staying partly on Norwegian, partly on Russian territory, and partly in the *fællesdistrikt* (Fellman 1906: 259).

Even after the border convention, there were constant conflicts between the nomads and the local population, both Skolt Sami and Russians. In 1831, Olof and Pehr Inger, Pehr, Olof and Matts Halt, and Ivar Skåre sent a written complaint to the governor of Oulu, because the Kola Sami had collected illegal taxes from them on the area now belonging to Russia. They themselves considered these lands as their own ancient territory (Lähteenmäki 2004: 376–378). Their herds were regularly plundered. At one time the inhabitants of Kola had slaughtered so many of Olof Pehrsson Inger's reindeer that they were selling the meat from two big boatloads in town. At another time, Russian fishermen (Murmans) had taken 400 of his reindeer and put him in mortal danger. No wonder, reported Jacob Fellman, that the nomads applied the term *olmush*, 'human being', only to the Sami (Fellman 1906: 289, 356).

According to Russian sources, the Sami were not eager to choose their country. In 1833, the local law-court in Kola, which was supposed to eliminate the conflicts between the Sami of the Russian districts, Uleåborg (Oulu) province, and Norway, had requested an official in eastern Finnmark to take strict measures to force the Norwegian Sami to leave the Pečenga district and return to their own territory.⁷ In 1837, the Norwegian and Finnish Sami and their reindeer herds were living in the same district, and none

of the Norwegians expressed a desire to become Russian citizens. Unruly behaviour continued in the next decades as well. In 1847 the Arkhangel Chamber of State Domains had informed the civil governor that in 1845, Ivan Aleksej Skore, a Sami originally registered among the Norwegian Sami and subsequently ranked among the state peasants of the Kola district, had left for Norway with his entire family and herds without permission. And in the 1870s, the Russian Sami lost, according to the Kola police administration, up to ten reindeer annually. Once they even caught some Norwegian Sami herdsmen red-handed with some skins on which identifiable brands were clearly visible (Peresadilo 2005: 119–126).

The Filmans in Russian Descriptions

In Russia, descriptions of nomadic Filmans began to appear after 1849, when V. Vereščagin published his description in *Očerki Archangel'skoj gubernii*, repeated in *Severnoe obozrenie* in 1849. The name was given as a variant of *Firman*, *Finnman*, and explained as a derivative of *Finnmark*. These Sami were both reindeer-herders and fishermen, and now they were causing the Russian Sami-*Lopari* problems. The herds of the so-called Mountain Sami Filmans were said to be enormous. They often came to the Russian side of the border and ate all the moss. Fishermen Sami Filmans were also intruders, fishing on the sites of the Russian Sami. All the while the Filmans were of the opinion that they were moving on Norwegian soil. The area in question was situated on the coast, 150 versts from Varanger Fjord to the Gulf of Pečenga, and covered the *pogosts* of Neiden, Pazreck (Pazvig), and Pečenga (*Severnoe obozrenie* 1849: 149–179).

In the 1860s, the Filmans/Finmans are mentioned several times in *Archangel'skie gubernskie vedomosti*, where the most comprehensive account was written by K. Solovcov, who worked as a forester in Kola and appears to have lived or travelled with nomadic Filmans for some time. The account was titled *Fil'many* (Solovcov 1861). It gave the following information: The Filmans were nomadic Sami in the north-western part of Kola Peninsula, along the borders of Norway and Finland. They differed from the Murman and Ter Sami by their outer appearance and way of life. They probably originated in Northern Finland or Norwegian Finnmark, and no doubt came after Russia had defined her borders against the neighbouring states, for they were like the Sami in those countries. In Russia, their number was officially forty families. They had large reindeer herds, from which they lived, staying at one place till the animals had eaten all the moss. Their location was the tundra around Pazreck, Motka and Pečenga, from Kola to the borders, from east to west about 300 versts, from north to south about 150 versts. The families lived separately, not in communities, and two families stayed

together only if they were close kin.

They lived in tents, called *kuvas* (a description of the *kota* of the nomadic Sami in Scandinavia follows). They were lazy and only looked after their animals. The rich ones could have as many as 10,000 reindeer. They exchanged reindeer and their skins in Kola or with the Pomors for flour, powder, broadcloth, cooking vessels etc. The most important trade took place by the lake of Inari, or, as the Russians called it, the Great Imandra in Finland, where Finnish and Norwegians traders used to come to the fair. Because the Filmans always had more than was needed for the exchange, they sold the rest for cash. During the winter some of them hunted wild fur animals, skiing, shooting, or trapping. Very few fished in the summer.

They looked different from the Russian Sami, with their black hair, big brown eyes, dark skin hair, and red cheeks. In contrast, the Russian Sami had brown hair, grey eyes, and pale faces. The Filman was morose like the nature around him, distrustful, and carefree. The slightest offence made him lust for revenge reaching cruelty, but he was hospitable and loved luxury, as he understood it. The Filmans' marriages were based on calculation, not on attraction. Often the author saw young men of eighteen or twenty married to sixty-year olds because these were rich, and the other way round, half-dead old men with sixteen-year old wives. Their young women were not beautiful, though not entirely ugly, whereas the old women were hideous.

The Filmans decorated their tents inside with coloured cloth, carpets or pieces of cloth. Their dress was decorated with silver lace and trinkets. They often herded their reindeer together and admired them with satisfaction. They did not know the number of their animals, but marked their ears.

The Filmans loved silver. They hid it in the ground but sometimes forgot it. They visited each other carrying gifts, and especially butter was considered a great delicacy, which deserved a whole reindeer as a return gift. The Pomors often stole their reindeer, and were beaten if caught.

Their main dish was reindeer meat, fish, seal meat and whale fat, all eaten raw. They hardly used any salt. They baked a kind of bread from rye flour and bought baked bread from Kola. Some ate the meat of wild animals. Their greatest delicacy was coffee, which they drank twice a day.

The Filmans were very dirty, because they never washed. Their dogs ate from the same vessel as people, and it was never washed. The clothing for both women and men was *pečok*, made of reindeer skin with the hair outside, like that of the Russian Sami. They wore *jary*, long boots made of reindeer skin. The men wore hats of blue cloth with four corners with fur trimming. A large knife, which was used for everything, was fixed to the belt. The women's headgear was a hat made of red and blue cloth. In summer they wore a white cloth frock instead of a *pečok*.

The Filmans were all Evangelical Lutherans and carried out their religious obligations during their trips to the Lutheran pastor in Inari. In every family the author saw the Old and the New Testament in Finnish. They could all speak and read Finnish, and they read religious literature. They had their own dialect, this being different from the dialects of the Russian Sami. The author could not find any folksongs, beliefs, or special traditions. Generally the Filmans were on a lower cultural level than the Russian Sami. Their health was good and illnesses were rare. Life expectancy among them was about 50, rarely exceeding 60 years.

The same newspaper repeated the same information in *Ėtnografičeskij očerk fil'manov* by N. Dergačev, a member of the Arkhangel statistical committee in 1869.⁸ The locations of the Filmans were now specified: the rivers Ura, Litsa, Pečenga and the coast of Zemljanaja guba (= Pummanki) and Vojdo-guba (= Vajda-guba, Vaitolahti). Their number was given as 175 (40 *kuvas*), out of which 61 were Norwegians and 114 Finnish (Dergačev 1869).⁹

The best-known description is perhaps that by V.I. Nemirovič-Dančenko, a popular writer who travelled in the Arctic areas of Russia, visiting the Kola Peninsula in 1873. In his book *Strana holoda* the author repeated the information from Solovcov—the author had “checked his own observation against those of Solovcov, who had lived long with the Filmans.” The Filmans were much richer than the Russian Sami, even the poorest had at least a hundred reindeer and some had tens of thousands. In Ledzovskaja guba the author had seen a morose Filman sitting in a corner of a colonist's hut. This mysterious stranger was dressed in ragged furs, although he had 70,000 reindeer, i.e. 490,000 rubles' worth of property (Nemirovič-Dančenko 1877: 318–319).

The Filmans had only recently understood the importance of money. When dissatisfied with proposed terms of trade, they would say to the Russians: *Hleba ja sama kupit'. Davaj den'ga* [‘Bread I self buy. Give money’]. At another place, when reporting on the poor knowledge of Russian among the Finnish colonists, who could not understand a simple sentence even after ten years in Kola, Nemirovič-Dančenko contrasts these circumstances with the Norwegian Sami, who after four or five years in Russia could speak the language quite well. The designation *Fil'man* seems to refer only to the nomads from Finland, for the author states that every Filman family has the Bible and the Gospel books, every Filman can read and write in Finnish, just as the Norwegian Sami read and write in Norwegian (Nemirovič-Dančenko 1877: 319, 323).

The author remarked how different the Filmans looked compared to the Russian Sami. They were tall, with black hair, on their tanned faces the brown eyes gazed distrustfully. The Russian brown-haired, grey-eyed

Sami looked like dwarves compared to these Patagonians of the North. The Filmans were morose and silent, suspicious, unforgiving, and their vengefulness made them objects of fear for other Sami tribes (Nemirovič-Dančenko 1877: 318–319).

In another travel sketch Nemirovič-Dančenko, who had visited Norway, presented essentially the same description. The Filmans were extremely sullen, their hair almost covered their eyes, but their thin beard barely covered their square faces. One would not like to meet them in the woods, though there were hardly any people who were more honest and good-natured than they were. At least, that was how they behaved towards the Russians. The author claims that they did not like to have dealings with the Norwegians, who looked down upon them.

The rest of the description repeats the one by Solovcov. The author ends with the addition that the Filmans were very honest towards each other. No one remembered any thefts, not to speak of murders, among them (Nemirovič-Dančenko 1875: 281–282).

Apparently, the Russians were fascinated by those features in which the Filmans differed most from the more familiar Russian Sami, and exaggerated them. For instance, judging by the description of nomadic Sami elsewhere, it is probable that the Filmans also usually smoked, dried, or cooked their meat. The contrasts of savage vs. literate, dirty vs. chaste, boastful vs. hospitable, and of revengeful, but religious, calculating, but generous and unable to keep track of their herds or silver coins, reticent, but able to speak many languages, made them seem even more alien and exotic.

The Filmans in the Late 1800s

In the 1860s, noting the economic and demographic growth of the Norwegian coast with alarm, Russia took an interest in the Murman coast. The administration began to encourage colonization by promising special privileges to foreign settlers, since Russians turned out to be unwilling to face the severe conditions. Settlers from Finland and Norway were welcomed. According to the “Settlers’ Magna Charta” of the Emperor of November 22, 1868, the colonists were allowed to use their native languages with the authorities, they could trade, hunt and fish, cut down trees for their own use without taxes, they could become Russian citizens and receive loans and flour from the state. At the same time, the governor of the Arkhangel *gubernija* was responsible for providing separate legal administration for the colonists and the Sami, if they wanted to settle there. Many of these privileges remained on paper only, but they lured colonists from northern Finland, suffering from a famine, and Norway with its high taxes, required by schools, roads and other attributes of civilization (Itkonen 1921: 25; Lähteen-

mäki 2004: 449; Sæther 1992: 71–72). In the 1860s, some of the Filmans became Russian citizens, as is apparent from the following report.

The Norwegian theologian and linguist J.A. Friis travelled in Finnmark, Russian Lapland and Karelia in 1867. He was also struck by the difference in looks, dress, habits and language between the Lutheran Sami in South Varanger and the Russian Sami. The latter had no schools and could not read or write, their knowledge of the Bible was non-existent. On the Russian side, Friis travelled together with one Norwegian Sami, one Skolt Sami, and two Lutheran Sami. Near Vaida-guba on the Fishermen's peninsula, they met with nomadic Sami who had the New Testament and the Catechism in Sami. These Lutheran Sami were Russian citizens. It was reported that altogether there were nineteen Lutheran families living in Russia: seven nomad families and three settled families in Peisen (Pečenga), in Muotka (Motka) six settled and three nomad families, and one solitary settled Sami by Ora Fjord (Ura-guba). They spoke the dialect of South Varanger and visited the churches in Sør-Varanger and Inari, where they had their children baptized.

Most of the Sami had lived in the area since 1826, from the time when it was still *fællesdistrikt*, and one old man remembered having paid taxes to both Russia and Norway. In Ura-guba, they met a relative of the Filman, Lasse Halt, who took them to his family's tent. Friis took a photograph that he gave the title "Mountain Sami in Russian Lapland." The neighbouring tent belonged to Halt's father-in-law, one Ingier, who had 2,000 reindeer and a stash of silver coins that he had hidden in the ground—a recurrent tale about the Sami. Further on by the fjord, there lived a third Lutheran Sami, Oxehov. While the pastures were excellent, a drawback were the Skolt Sami and the Russians who stole some hundred reindeer every year (Friis 1872: 145–180).

The fisheries of the Murman coast were now of interest to Russia, and various officials and inspectors travelled there often. Obviously, the travellers only saw those Sami that had settled along the coast. In 1872, L.A. Uhtomskij sailed along the Murman coast from Pazreck to Kola. By the Paz River, where they landed to visit some Norwegian colonists, their ship attracted curious visitors, among them some Filmans. The author was reminded of Moldavians, seeing the tanned faces of these "savages." They were dressed in garments made of reindeer skin, their head-gear was curious: the men wore a hat like the *ulans*, the women wore "Roman helmets." They spoke Norwegian and Sami. The author explained that the Filmans were a nomad tribe, of whom there were some twenty families on the Kola Peninsula. The rest of the Filmans lived in Norway (Uhtomskij 1874: 122). In addition, Uhtomskij met Filman colonists by the Pečenga River (Uhtomskij 1874: 128–132).

A.D. Polenov travelled along the Murman coast, checking the conditions of the colonies. In the west, twenty-five versts from Eretik, a Finman (that is: Filman) family of four had their dwelling in the colony of Odincovka. Two households of Finmans and four households of Russians from Kola lived in the colony of Litsa. A wealthy Finman colonist had his dwelling by the mouth of the Eina River. Otherwise, Finns, Norwegians, Pomors and settlers from Kola lived in the remaining colonies (Polenov 1876: 26–37).

By 1896, there were already forty colonies on the Murman coast. Approximately seventeen of them were on the west coast, and their inhabitants were Finns, Karelians, and Norwegians (Slezskinskij 1897: 51, 135). An official, V. Slezskinskij went through the coast, settlement by settlement, and only mentioned Filmans in two spots: on the Fishermen's Peninsula, where he came to a *veža* ('turf hut') with several Filman inhabitants—he explained that all the Filmans were Norwegian Sami. Four Filman colonists lived in Lesser Motka. They were fishermen, kept cows and sheep, but had no reindeer. They obtained their bread from Vardø. One of them, a Norwegian Sami, Ula Ganek, had arrived in 1885, but had still not been registered as a citizen; a Russian pretending to be an official had taken his documents and money for the registration, and disappeared (Slezskinskij 1897: 90, 98). By 1899, according to the official statistics there were seventeen Sami colonist households on the Western Murman. Fishing was their main source of livelihood, though they tended to keep reindeer more than the others (Yurchenko 2002: 15).

The Filmans and the Lutheran Church

As noted by Friis, the Norwegian nomads attended church in Norway. In Finland, the pastor of Utsjoki Jacob Fellman was worried about the state of his Inari parishioners in Russia. The area by the Motka and Pečenga Fjords, where the Sami still had their pastures in 1860, was much too far from Inari. Visits to the church had become less frequent, and children were often several years old when they were baptised. After being baptised, the Filmans often did not attend church again until they were twenty years old, and needed to learn to read in order to receive Holy Communion (Tanner 1929: 74–76). The documents from the pastors' visits to Inari show that the few nomads that showed up were illiterate in Finnish, and the sermons had to be interpreted for them.¹⁰ A prayer house was actually built in Kivijärvi by the border, but the nomads stayed away, going instead to Norway (Nahkiaisjoja 2003: 202). These were obviously the Norwegian Sami that in the 1850s were registered in Inari, counting at that time 70 people belonging to the Halt, Inger, and Skåre families (Nahkiaisjoja 2003: 226). In 1865 there were

sixty-one Inari Sami in Kola, and in 1870 they were sixty-five (Onnela 1973: 58). By now they were citizens of Russia and paid their taxes to the Czar. Later on, when hundreds of Finnish colonists settled on the Murman coast, a prayer house was built in Ura.

In the 1870–80s, Finnish clergymen travelled to the Murman coast, attending to the needs of the Finns, Norwegians, and also Sami who happened to live there or came specially to receive communion, be confirmed, wed, have their children baptised or ensure a Christian burial for their dead. One of these clergymen, J. F. Thauwon, wrote about his travels in the 1870s. On one trip he met nomads who belonged to the Inari church. In a tent in the tundra he received a warm welcome, because the hostess intended to come to communion, and four of her children were due to be confirmed. The night was spent in the tent on reindeer skins, together with twenty dogs. In the morning the daughters brought in a herd of some 1,000 reindeer from the forest; the Inger family was said to have more than 2,000 head (Thauwon 1870: 202–204, 244–245).

Joh. Mustakallio (Schwartzberg) visited the coast in the summer of 1882. He reported that the Sami had difficulties in reading, because the orthography in their books had been devised by Norwegians. Furthermore, he wrote that the only official who took note of the Sami was the Finnish pastor from Finland. The Russians only wrote down the names of those who were due for conscription into the army (Mustakallio 1884: 113). At the time, there were 625 Finns and sixty-three Lutheran Sami on the Murman coast. Some ten Sami lived inland or by the Pečenga Fjord (Mustakallio 1884: 117).

At the turn of the century, Russia complained about the missionary work being conducted by Finnish Lutheran pastors (firmly denied by the latter). It took over the administration of religious matters of the Lutherans by sending there Finnish clergymen from Ingermanland and founding an Evangelical Lutheran parish for the Murman coast. A pastor lived permanently in the new capital Aleksandrovsk (now: Poljarnyj), where a prayer house was built. The last Finnish pastor, Anders Gustav Vuotila, travelled around the coast, also visiting the Norwegian settlers (Onnela 1973: 58–63, Jentoft 2001: 33).

The church registers of the new parish disappeared during the 1917 revolution, but the registers kept by the pastor Matti Hinkula from 1887 and 1888 list all the Lutheran inhabitants of the Murman coast that he met on his visits to the colonies. In 1887, there were 147 Lutheran Sami, and in 1888, 159. Some of them were born in Norway, some in Inari, and the younger ones in Russia. Apparently the Norwegian Sea Sami had stopped visiting the churches on the other side of the border, and had settled on the coast, where the pastor found at least some of the former Inari nomads as well (Onnela 1973: 69–111).¹¹

The Fates of the Filmans in the Twentieth Century

It appears that the Filmans now lived on the coast as settlers or semi-nomadic fishermen, which was typical for the Motka Russian Sami as well. Conflicts continued: the Russian Sami complained that many of their reindeer wandered into Norway and Finland together with the herds belonging to Norwegians and Finns, who took them to pasture on the Russian side. The monastery of Pečenga had also started to herd reindeer, with the same result (*Obzor Arhangel'skoj gubernii za 1910 god*, 1912: 42–43).

No doubt the herds were difficult to discipline from both sides of the border. It is reported in Norwegian sources that around the turn of the century, at least one Norwegian Sami from Sør-Varanger let his herd graze for five years on the Russian side, on the Fishermen's Peninsula in summer and by the Pečenga Mountain in winter, where his father had grazed his herd in the 1830s. Both had had to return to Norway, though the herds tended to run back to Russia. Further, in 1903, a couple of Norwegian nomads returned from Russia with their herds and settled in Sør-Varanger (Vorren 1951: 120–121).

During World War I, Skolt Sami were taken into the Russian army to fight in faraway lands. Among them, there were at least two nomadic Sami, the brothers Halt (Tanner 1929: 77). Towards the end of the war, Kola Peninsula became a war arena where various armies, deserters and mercenaries moved. This meant the destruction of both the reindeer herding routes and the herds (Lehtola 2004: 16–17).

During the war, the Lutheran members of the Pečenga parish, as reported by the pastor in Aleksandrovsk, numbered 1,942. Of these, 85% were Finns, 9% Norwegians, 5% Sami, and 1% Germans and Latvians. Thus the number of Sami was ninety-seven (Granö 1921: 31–32). The Filmans were still visible, and Itkonen, who visited the Kola Peninsula just before the war, wrote that the traditional Sami dress was worn only by the Lutherans of Western Murman, the Filmans (Itkonen 1921: 24–51).

Filmans in Finland

With Russian defeat and the Tartu peace treaty in 1920, Russia ceded the Pečenga area, Petsamo and Pazreck, to Finland. This gave Finland access to the sea. It also cut the Fishermen's Peninsula in half, with the new border going through the traditional Skolt Sami pastures inland. As a result, some 400 Skolt Sami became Finnish citizens, and for the Lutherans, a new Petsamo parish was founded. In the census of Petsamo in 1926, there were 64 "Lapps," as distinct from "Skolts" in the area (Kuusikko 1996: 38). These "Lapps" were Sea Sami, but according to V. Tanner, three nomadic Sami

families (Madvig, Halt and Halt), altogether fourteen people, had arrived in Petsamo in the 1920s as well. The Inger family had become impoverished and only one member was left. Additionally, there were two Skore (Pankka) brothers and one Halt. Tanner referred to them using the term "Mountain Sami," remarking that the Russians called them *Filmans*, their term for all Lutheran Sami. They were now undergoing a change in their way of life, becoming semi-nomadic and accommodating their language to the surrounding Skolt Sami language. Thirty-seven Sea Sami lived in Maattivuono. They had moved there much earlier, and still wore their traditional dresses, fished, kept cows and sheep, in general living like the Sea Sami by the Varangerfjord. According to Tanner, there were altogether fifty-eight Lutheran Sami in Petsamo in the 1920s (Tanner 1929: 68–83).

A Finnish linguist, Paavo Ravila, went to the coast of Norway ("Ruija") and Petsamo in 1929 and 1930. He collected samples of the speech of the Lutheran Sami living in Petsamo, Maattivuono, Sandnes/Kotajoki, Jarfjord/Rautavuono, and Kaakkuri/Gagarka. Fifty-four Sami and twenty half-Sami were living in Petsamo; on the Norwegian side in Sandnes there were sixty-nine Sami and twenty-two half-Sami, and in Jarfjord 147 Sami and eighteen half-Sami. The Sami were both nomads and fishermen. The reindeer herds had diminished, and the richest owner had about 500; others had lost their inherited herds and settled on the coast, fishing, hunting, selling hay etc. Some lived in the huts of the Skolts. In Petsamo those living close to the Lower Monastery were still reindeer herders, while those living in Maattivuono in a village together with Finns and Karelians were fishermen. In Norwegian Jarfjord the Sami had originally been fishermen, but now they lived mostly by working in the newly-started mines on the Norwegian side. One or two Sami lived in a few other places. Living on the coast side by side with the Sea Sami, the nomadic Sami had adapted their speech to their dialect, and only two people in Kaakkuri had retained features of their old dialect. On the Russian side, there were also fishermen Sami. In Ura there were five families, but most of them lived in Muotka (Motka), where, as Ravila had heard, they numbered thirty-nine (Ravila 1930: iii–ix).¹²

During the Winter War, the Sami in Petsamo were evacuated to Tervola, south of Rovaniemi (Lehtola 2004: 33). A Norwegian source indicates that some 1,200 civilians from Petsamo fled to Norway (Wikan 1998: 48), but obviously returned soon. After a short period of peace, in 1941 World War II brought German armed forces to Finnish Lapland in the north. The Germans had occupied Norway in 1940 and now took the front to the Litsa River. The war ended with the defeat of Finland and, among other things, the loss of Petsamo. The Skolt Sami from Petsamo and Paatsjoki, who had been evacuated to Central Finland, were re-settled in Inari. Nowadays, even

those among the oldest generation there who had heard of the existence of the Filmans from their parents have passed away.

Filmans in the Soviet Union

The Soviet Union initially undertook the task of bringing civilization to the ethnic minorities, *narodnosti*, using language planning and by organizing their administration. In the 1930s, the Aleksandrovskaia *raion*, formerly Western Murman, extended from the Fishermen's Peninsula up to the Gulf of Kola. It had a total of 1,836 inhabitants, 1,079 of which were Finns, 170 Karelians, 160 Russians, 148 Norwegians, ninety-one settled Sami (Lopari), including sixty-five Filmans, and eighty-four semi-settled inhabitants of undefined ethnicity (Zolotarev 1930: 5). Apparently, since the Filmans are not mentioned anywhere else, they had indeed settled down here.

Scientific expeditions were organized to the Kola Peninsula. In 1927, ethnologists and anthropologists were sent there to study the Sami, along with the Komi, the Nenets, and the local Russians. The final publication presented the overall statistics on those Sami that had been measured, without specifying the Filmans (Zolotarev 1928). However, the leader of the expedition, D.A. Zolotarev, wrote an article about his visit to the West Murman coast and about its population.

Titov Island by the Fishermen's Peninsula served as the summer base for the expedition. Throughout the year only colonists lived there, but Sami from Motka spent the summers there, as did Russian Pomors, who came to fish. The anthropological type of the Sami indicated a mixture with other, obviously western races. Ozerko, close to the Finnish border, was a Finnish-Filman settlement, formerly called *Motka* (*Muotka*), which had arisen during the 1860s. There were 221 inhabitants: 182 Finns, nineteen Karelians, eight Russians, three Estonians and nine Filmans, the latter all in one household. Lesser Western Litsa, already a hundred years old, had forty-two inhabitants: sixteen Filmans, thirteen Finns and thirteen Karelians. They had cattle, sheep, pigs, but only forty reindeer. Fishing and hay farming were their main occupations.

Three Filmans were photographed: a man and a woman who looked more like Finns to Zolotarev (Fig. 1). Notable is the traditional Sami *jupa* ('shirt') that the woman dressed in for the occasion. An "older" dark anthropological type, as Zolotarev called it, was represented by a young girl (Fig. 2), who looked more like a Sami. In Greater Western Litsa there were Finns and Russian Sami. Russian Sami and colonists, Finns, Karelians, and Norwegians, were living by the Gulf of Kola. The Sami had settled down, but they still had reindeer, as did the colonists (Zolotarev 1930: 1–21).

Filmans were also living elsewhere in the Aleksandrovskaia *volost*: in the



Fig. 1 Filmans from the colony of Lesser Western Litsa. From Zolotarev 1930: 17.



Fig. 2 A Filman girl from the Lesser Litsa. From Zolotarev 1930: 18.

colony of Great Karelija there were six, in the colony of Ura-Guba fourteen, and in the Novozersk *volost*, in Suhoj Navolok eighteen, and in Kutovaja two, totaling sixty-four (Zolotarev 1928: 17). These Filmans were described by V.K. Alymov in 1928 as being in the process of assimilation to the Finnish colonists, and their first names only, such as *Olaf, Svante, Ivar, Jalmar, Nils, Lars, Verner, Inge, Magna* etc., hinted at their Scandinavian origin (Alymov 1928: 224–225). The last figure mentioning the Filmans stems from a standard textbook published in 1979, where it is mentioned that in the 1930s, there were still some seventy Filmans in eleven families on the Kola Peninsula (Kiselev & Kiseleva 1979: 23, 26).

In 1933, Z. E. Černjakov, a linguist planning the new Sami literary language, travelled to the Murman coast to check the alphabet on site. The “Tundra” *kolkhoz* in Titovka lived by reindeer herding and fishing, and the majority of the inhabitants were Sami. There, the author wrote down texts in the dialects of Motka, Pazreck, as well as in the Filmans’ language, which presented the author with a problem. They were considered to be Norwegian Sami, but they were strongly Finnicized. Their language was rather close to Sami with respect to both morphology and lexicon (Tjernjakov 2006: 45–52).

There are no other descriptions of the Filmans. A Finnish journalist from Petrozavodsk wrote a travel book in 1933, concentrating on the Finnish fishermen and their *kolkhozy* on the Murman coast. At that time there were approximately 1,600 Finns on the western coast, and they had eleven *kolkhozy*, with a total population of 400 (Luoto 1933: 78–79). The book contains references to “Mountain Sami,” and some are named. These are obviously descendants of the nomadic Sami. The youngsters who led the author through the Fishermen’s Peninsula to Muotka were called *Lasse* and *Hanski*. There was Lars Haltta, who had come from the mountains to live at the coast at Ura (Luoto 1933: 166, 216–223). Lassi Ukshuuto lived in Läätsi (Litsa) and was nearly a hundred years old. In Ara-guba, which had a Sami-Finnish population, citizen Martti Birget was the oldest Finnish inhabitant. With his Sami wife he had come from the west, settling in Ara where “mountain people” and Pomors lived. In old Ura, the mountain Sami Joutin Juntti had had his fishing hut; now Finns were living there. There had been conflicts and even violence between the “aborigines” and the newcomers, who had taken over the traditional and secret fishing sites of the former (Luoto 1933: 206–212).

According to S.N. Daščinskij, the first arrests on the tundra took place in 1930 and were connected with the collectivization of reindeer husbandry. The real terror took place in 1937–38. Among the Russian Sami who were arrested and executed, there were a few fishermen Sami, or Filmans, as well. In Ozerko, fisherman-Filman Egor Andreevič Snaul, seventy-two years old,

was arrested along with his sons Egor, Hans, Nikolaj, Matvej, Andrej and Jurij. In 1938, the father and four of the sons were executed, and two of the sons were sent to labour camps for ten and eight years. Neither came back. The father was born in Norway, but had lived most of his life in the Soviet Union (Dasjtjinskij 2006: 68–69).

The above-mentioned Martin Birget was living in Ara Fjord. In 1937, one of his sons, Leonard (*Leonid Martynovič*), who worked as an accountant in the *kolkhoz* Rajakalastaja, was arrested and executed the next year. The father disappeared from Ura in 1938. According to some sources, the second son Anton survived, and was evacuated to Karelia, when in 1940 all the Finns along with other “alien” elements were evacuated from the Kola Peninsula; Peninsula. Another Anton Martynovič Birket, born in 1888 in Ara-Guba, a joiner, and Rikhard Ulovič Birket, born in 1916 in Ura-Guba, a type-setter, were executed in 1937 and 1938 (Lokka 1999: 120, 194–195, *Kniga pamjati* 1997: s.v.).

The lists of the victims of repression in the Murmansk region also include one Galtin, Andrei Romanovič, born in Petsamo in 1889, Sami fisherman in the *kolkhoz* Rajakalastaja (executed in 1938) (*Kniga pamjati* 1997: s.v.).

Conclusion

On the basis of a variety of Finnish, Russian and Norwegian sources, the fates of the Filmans can be followed up to World War II. In Russia, the group always remained small. The Kola Peninsula appears to have been a dead end for them in every sense of the word. The Norwegian nomads kept moving back and forth, and were difficult to keep track of. However, some twenty families were mentioned, both in the *fællesdistrikt* at the beginning of the nineteenth century. From six to thirteen nomad households came to Inari during the 1820s and 1830s and settled in Russia in the 1860s, after which Russian sources report that there were forty *kuvas* of Filmans on the Kola Peninsula. After twenty years, the registers of the Finnish clergy listed approximately 150 “Lapps” on the Murman coast. The figure obviously includes both nomads and Sea Sami with their children. The Sea Sami-Filmans, being more numerous with a safer source of income, could absorb the nomads. At the turn of the century, twenty Filman families were reported to live on the Kola Peninsula. Some nomad families apparently returned to Norway around the turn of the century, and four households, plus four ex-nomads, moved to Finnish Petsamo, where Norwegian Sea Sami were continuing their traditional livelihood on the coast. Altogether, there were some sixty Lutheran Sami in Petsamo between the two world wars.

In the USSR, the figure remained at approximately sixty until the 1930s, after which the Filmans are not mentioned in our sources. If there were nomads left, they moved to the coast, for five to six fishermen Sami of the

Murman coast, two of them former nomads, are described in a travel book. At the same time, Russian sources report that the Filmans were being assimilated with the Finns. In 1937 and 1938 the Great Terror wiped out the men of two families who were Sea Sami. Possibly the rest died or were assimilated into the surrounding population wherever they happened to find themselves after the purges and the evacuations. In Finland, the few nomads that became Finnish citizens in 1920 were apparently assimilated into the rest of the Sami or the Finns.

In Norway, the registers of Sør-Varanger, Polmak and Nesseby identify over eighty names of Sami who moved to, were born, or lived in Russia. Altogether, for at least eight families and over forty-two Sami attaining adult age, Russia seems to have been the final destination, that is to say, there is no mention of their returning to Norway (Blix 1967; 1971).

As a distinct ethno-confessional group the Filmans had disappeared by the 1940s. Their descendants are probably still alive, having been assimilated into the surrounding populations in Finland, Norway, and Russia.

NOTES

- ¹ Rosberg (ed., 1919: 108) wrote *Filmarskoe, Finmanskoe*, Spisok naselennyh mest Arhangel'skoj gubernii k 1905 godu (1907: 210) has *Fil'manskoe*.
- ² In the sources the place-names appear in different forms, depending on to which state the place belonged, and the language of the publication. Thus, Norwegian *Neiden* is Russian *Njavidam*, Finnish *Näätämö* – No. *Pasvik* is Ru. *Pazvika*, *Pazreck*, Fi. *Paatsjoki* – No. *Peisen* is Ru. *Pečenga*, Fi. *Petsamo*, etc. Nowadays, the places have official Sami names as well, namely *Njauddâm*, *Paaččjokk* and *Peäccam*.
- ³ These were Mathis Larsen Halt, Ove Iversen Banne, Inga-Ola with sons, Per and Lars Oksehode, who later on moved to Motka on the coast, “Svart-Anders”, Ole Olsen Stall, Birgit-Ola, and Iver Iversen Bigga (Wessel 1979: 138).
- ⁴ Family names *Smuk*, *Rig*, *Siri*, *Hyse*, *Banne*, *Nikul*, *Eikjok*, *Bisk* and *Bigga* are mentioned (Wikan 1995: 55).
- ⁵ The Murmans were Russian and Karelian peasants who came to fish on the Murman coast each year.
- ⁶ *Kakspreck*, or *Russenorsk*, was a mixed language spoken on the coast of the Arctic Ocean.
- ⁷ There were 23 Sami; named are Sivert Iversen, Hans Mortensen, Anders Olsen Skogerøy, Andreas Pedersen, Ole Pedersen, Lars Larsen Oksehode and Rasmus Andersen, having altogether 1,580 reindeer (Wikan 1995: 75–76).
- ⁸ The same author published the same information in 1877 in his book *Russkaja Laplandija. Statističeskij, geografičeskij i etnografičeskij očerk*.
- ⁹ This may be a misconception. In Sæther (1992: 71–72), for instance, the figures refer to Norwegian and Finnish colonists.
- ¹⁰ Unlike in Norway, the Finnish church expected the Sami to learn Finnish.
- ¹¹ The Sami family names are *Balt*, *Inkeri*, *Ivarisen*, *Gunnensen*, *Halitta*, *Jörgensen*, *Larsen*, *Malvig*, *Naula*, *Nielsen*, *Olsen*, *Oxhufvud*, *Panna*, *Pehrson*, *Rauna*, *Sanka*, *Skore*, *Winter* (Onnela 1973: 69–111).

- ¹² The family names on the Finnish side were *Guttormsen, Hansen, Haltta, Menna, Noste, Saraksen, Skore* (orig. *Banna*), *Slieden, Snaula* and *Westerelv*. In Russia, the names *Haltta, Snaula, Westerelv* and *Purra* occurred as well. The Halt family were both fishermen and reindeer herders, and the Russians called them *Galtin* (Ravila 1930: iii–ix).

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