

acters, and Texts in Old Norse-Icelandic Saga Studies,” provides a more relevant list of themes that are approached in the individual articles. The book as a whole still appears a bit incoherent.

The publishing of a collection of articles presenting a new generation of Norse scholars, however, is worthwhile and each article is in itself an interesting contribution to the on-going research, as well as to the debate about the future of our field of scholarship.

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Anti Selart (ed.), *Baltic Crusades and Societal Innovation in Livonia, 1200–1350* (The Northern World 93), Leiden: Brill 2020, xii + 303 pp.

Medieval Livonia comprises the territory of the contemporary national states Estonia and Latvia. In historiography, this territory is known as the land of the Teutonic Order on the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea. In historical writing it has traditionally been conceptualized in terms of “German” conquest of the “Baltic” peoples in the Middle Ages, a crusade which entailed Christianisation of the indigenous people.

In the book under review, the concept of “societal innovation” is understood as the results of “the mutual cultural impact and acculturation of groups of different ethnic origin, social status, and migrational background in this region.” The perspective is not one of conquest, subjugation and exploitation but rather of “Coexistence, isolation, and cultural interchange in medieval Livonia.” This was the title of a research project in 2017–2020 at the University of Tartu, funded by the Estonian Research Council. The research was carried out by historians and archaeologists in medieval studies, seven from Tartu University and one each from the Estonian Literary Museum in Tartu and the Turaida Museum Reserve in Latvia and the University of Leipzig, respectively. The results are published in the book *Baltic Crusades*. The title may be understood as a subtle, ironic misnomer of the subject. The crusades are de-constructed and re-conceptualised. They are understood as an—albeit distinctive—conjuncture in a lengthy process of making the Baltic Sea region into a historic region in its own right.

The gist of the project is a post-colonial perspective. It is spelled out in the headlines of two of the nine case studies, “Domesticating Europe” by Tõnno Jonuks and “Exploiting the Conquerors” by Kristjan Kaljusaar and in the summary and conclusion “Changing Aliens, Chancing Natives” by Christian Lübke. The project leader Anti Selart’s empirical study on “Livonian Economic Resources, 1200–1350” elaborates on the change of focus in modern research from “clash” to “compromise.” This has mainly concerned cultural life and religion. Selart adds economic and social intercourse between the “settlers” and the locals as an additional dimension under the heading “Redistribution and Expansion.”

A pan-Nordic perspective on Livonia's medieval history is applied in church historian Mihkel Mäesalu's chapter "Missed Patronage?" The wording refers to the fact that Livonia, in distinction to other areas in medieval Europe, lacked higher nobility—thus the question mark. However, it is straightened out into an exclamation mark once the perspective is broadened and made to encompass the whole of Northern Europe. Princes and noblemen of the northern parts of the Holy Roman Empire, as well as the kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark, supported the crusades and the Christianisation of Livonia, not only at the outset in the early thirteenth century but well into the early fourteenth century. Moreover, the church and the Holy Spirit Hospital in Riga and monastic orders received donations in northern Germany, Denmark and Sweden. Livonia was closely interconnected with the northern German lands and Scandinavia throughout the early Middle Ages.

The study by Mäesalu offers substantial arguments for the thesis put forward both by the project leader Anti Selart in his introductory chapter "Life in Livonia: After the Crusades" and by Christian Lübke in the book's concluding chapter. Selart takes issue with the perspective in late twentieth-century research on historical development in the Baltic region that Livonia was rather passively on the receiving end as misleadingly one-dimensional. He notes that the "Europeanisation" approach by leading scholars in the field, such as Robert Bartlett and Nils Blomqvist, has been criticised by the Polish historian Marian Dygo for being geopolitical and neo-colonial. The project and the book *Baltic Crusades* attribute agency to the Finnish and Baltic speaking peoples.

A methodological flaw in research on influence and change may be, that the presumed sender is considered to be the sole active protagonist. This flaw is avoided in Tõnno Jonuks's article "Domesticating Europe—Novel Cultural Influences in the Late Iron Age Eastern Baltic." Jonuks chooses to view Christianity not from a limited religious or even strictly confessional perspective but as an emanation of European civilisation in a broad sense. Consequently, through an analysis of "narrative pictures" and of archaeological finds of artefacts such as brooches and bracelets from both the pre-Christian period and later in Livonia, Jonuks demonstrates how traditions and symbols from Roman Antiquity and the Muslim world appeared in medieval Livonia not as a contingent part of Christianisation but earlier. Livonia already belonged in European culture and the people could adapt the new religion to existing customs.

Four chapters are detailed empirical studies. In addition to Selart's chapter on the economy and the social fabric, there is a chapter on the role of money, not only as a means of economic exchange, trade, but also as a signifier of political authority by Ivar Leimus; on the legal status of women by Vija Stikāne; on the architecture and material of buildings in the towns by Arvi Haak; and on craftsmanship and manufacturing by Andres Tvauri. Thanks to being framed by the chapters on Livonia as part of a common North European realm, these chapters succeed in enforcing the impression that Livonia was not an exotic periphery of Europe but an integrated part with some peculiarities of minor importance: folklore is ubiquitous but not substantially noteworthy as developmentally significant in any European society.

The Swedish nineteenth-century poet Esaias Tegnér, Bishop of Lund, wrote a poem about Sweden being a constituent part of European civilisation. Significantly, the poem was labelled "Svea," Sweden. The punchline read (in rough translation): "All culture stands on unfree basis. Barbarism alone was once a native treasure." The tenor

of *Baltic Crusades and Societal Innovation in Livonia, 1200–1350* is a forceful refutation of methodological nationalism, be it German, Estonian or Latvian. This anthology is a fine work on Northern European medieval history told as a coherent story.

The studies of the volume are all written in the manner of classical German historical research. The bibliography enumerates 1,170 sources, some repeatedly, the most commonly referred to being the chronicle of Henry of Livonia (*Henrici chronicon Livoniae*). His narration is corroborated by the analysis of contemporaneous diploma and archaeological finds. There are approximately 1,500 footnotes that cover one fifth of the total number of pages. In many cases, the text of footnotes covers more than half a page, rendering the body text sometimes to stand out as almost a decoration. Accordingly, *Baltic Crusades* is an up-to-date handbook on Livonian medieval history and a useful inventory of written sources, archaeological material and classic as well as contemporary and recent research on the subject matter.

Speaking in terms of Fernand Braudel's concepts of *la longue durée*, *conjunctures* and *events*, the book under review is not ostentatiously a counterpart to Braudel's magnum opus, *The Mediterranean in the Age of Philip II*. However, the book manages to deliver the story of Livonia as an integrated part of European civilisation in a long duration from Antiquity into the high Middle Ages. The crusades emerge as a conjecture, whereas the construction of houses and ovens appear as discrete events.

The era of the crusades was an epoch of transition in Livonia. The paradigm of transition, which appeared first in Latin American studies in the 1980s and then became widely used as an analytical tool for investigating the changes in the newly freed societies in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet system, proves to be of general significance. The concept is elusive if it is understood as an ontological concept. History is seamless. However, as an epistemological concept it can be equally useful as concepts in terms of historical periodisation. Accordingly, the period 1200–1350 in Livonia may, in spite of the clever circumspective approach of the reviewed project, be labelled “the transition to Christendom in Livonia.” This means that it was a lengthy process of mutual adaptation of different social groups and classes to one another, and not a rather sudden “conquest” by an external force of a submissive native population.

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Eva Silvén, *Friktion. Ernst Manker, Nordiska museet och det samiska kulturarvet*, Lund: Nordic Academic Press 2021, ISBN 9789188909909, 320 pp.

Ernst Manker (1893–1972) was a curator at Nordiska museet from 1939 until he retired in 1961, and his ethnographic studies of Sami cultural heritage during the 1930s to the 1970s have made him a legend. In his position as a curator, he challenged the academic hierarchies, “Lappology,” even though he never earned a PhD. However,