engagement of Indigenous Peoples transforms colonial imaginaries and governance structures helping to address unprecedented upheavals of fragile ecosystems, a shrinking cryosphere and engendered social worlds in and beyond the Arctic.

The collection of articles gathered by Ulturgasheva and Bodenhorn represents a well-designed and rather unique publication project that brings Indigenous voices to the forefront of discussions about climate and environmental changes affecting the cryosphere and human and non-human lives entangled with it. Drawing on eloquent ethnographies of thawing permafrost, shrinking sea ice, disappearing mountain glaciers and other irreversible changes constituting cryocide, the volume clearly argues for a holistic, multidisciplinary and multiscalar approach to understanding unprecedented social and environmental changes, challenges, uncertainties and risks. The dominating message that the book leaves: ongoing scientific research, future scenarios and political decisions made to mitigate the environmental change should be informed by knowledge and experience accumulated by the peoples of the cryosphere, as well as by their own visions of the future in increasingly unpredictable environment.

Olga Povoroznyuk University of Vienna & Austrian Polar Research Institute Austria <u>olga.povoroznyuk@univie.ac.at</u>

Marianne Vasara-Aaltonen, *Learning Law and Travelling Europe. Study Journeys and the Developing Swedish Legal Profession, c. 1630–1800*, Leiden & Boston: Brill 2018, ISBN 9789004431652, 427 pp.

In this monograph, Marianne Vasara-Aaltonen explores the trajectories of early modern law students from the Royal Academy of Turku (later moved to Helsinki and renamed the University of Helsinki in 1917) who travelled to the continent, mostly to the Netherlands and to Germany, in search of academic education, especially in the art of jurisprudence. At home they pursued careers which took them to different positions in the state organization where they made professional use of their national and international law training.

The Turku travellers' studies and careers are related to the development of the early modern Swedish state and the concomitant changes in state bureaucracy and society. The author thus contributes to fields of research that have attracted broad academic interest, such as the rise of the early modern state, travel as a means of education and the development of the early modern judiciary system and law education. A central argument for the investigation is that while knowledge of the early modern state's need for professionals schooled in law is well established, very little is known about who the lawyers were, what they studied and where they travelled. Lawyers, it should be pointed out, is the overarching concept used by the author to denominate those who were active in the judiciary system, be it in the central government, the royal courts of appeal, cities or the regional and local government.

A cohort of some 70 students of various social backgrounds travelling in the period around 1630 to 1800 is the empirical point of departure of the investigation. Vasara-Aaltonen found these students in the online database of the Academy of Turku (*ylioppilasmatrikkeli*) which contains annotations about the students' careers making it possible to single out those whose professions involved various kinds of legal work. Since the list of matriculations at the University of Uppsala does not provide the same kind of information, the Academy of Turku database is a particularly valuable source of information for research, according to the author. A methodological limitation is that, in many cases, little or nothing is known about what the students actually studied. A "law student," according to Vasara-Aaltonens definition, is therefore someone who later became a lawyer.

Six main questions are targeted, namely how common studies abroad were, which the most popular universities were, why the future lawyers studied abroad, what they studied, what effect their studies had on their careers and, more generally, how the students' foreign experiences of law training shaped the development in Sweden. In order to provide answers to these questions, the author has arranged the ten chapters of the book into three parts. The first part contains an introduction and an overview of early modern study travel. The second part is dedicated to Turku law students' stays at Dutch and German universities. The third part contains a discussion about developments in seventeenth century Sweden, the students' choice of universities and the decline in the number of law students abroad in the eighteenth century.

In my opinion, this outline has some clear advantages, e.g., that the students' matriculations at foreign universities come to the fore early in the study, but a disadvantage is that the reasons for studying law at foreign universities are discussed only late in the book, which means that issues that have surfaced in previous chapters need to be iterated, sometimes in a slightly superfluous way.

As Vasara-Aaltonen demonstrates, the number of Turku law students travelling abroad varied over time. There was a rapid increase in the 1640s and the numbers remained high until the 1680s when they started to decline, and by the 1750s only few students travelled abroad. This trend, it could be added, correlates with the general trend for Swedish students going abroad, as previous research about the seventeenth century (Niléhn, Giese) has shown. There is also a correlation with the overall pattern of Swedish academic peregrinations as concerns destinations. Most of the Turku law students matriculated at the university of Leiden in the Netherlands and at the German universities of Greifswald, Halle, Jena and Rostock. As for other Swedes, Wittenberg was an important destination for Turku students, but only a few of them are recorded to have studied law. In contrast, Strasbourg seems to have been quite attractive for future lawyers, as almost half of the relatively small number of Turku students who made their way there were found to have pursued legal studies.

The explanation for the increase in students, according to Vasara-Aaltonen, was the need for academically trained lawyers in the state bureaucracy which grew considerably as a consequence of the rapid Swedish state-building process in the seventeenth century. The reason for the decrease in the number of students was the development of law training at the domestic universities and the professionalization of the judiciary powers, which made specialization in Swedish law more important than before, thus reducing the demand for internationally trained lawyers.

Furthermore, social background must be taken into account to explain the differences over time and the various different trajectories of the students. During the seventeenth century, and especially in the middle of the century, more members of the high nobility are found among the law student than later in that period. Of these, a majority studied at Leiden—the university *par préférence* for the Swedish nobility at least until around the 1680s—and only a few at German universities. The members of the higher nobility also distinguished themselves by pursuing grand tours in France and Italy once their university studies were completed. Consequently, social background, studies and travels contribute to explain the great differences in careers. While the members of high nobility ended up taking on legal work in the high offices of the realm and, in the seventeenth century, at the newly founded courts of appeal in Stockholm and Turku, the non-nobles were allotted less socially distinguished positions, in which they nevertheless made important contributions to the development of the judiciary system.

The social pattern uncovered in the study confirms the general circumstances of, especially, the seventeenth century, and for anyone interested in early modern education, the changing conditions for travels and studies for members of different estates make for interesting reading. However, in my view the use of the concepts of "law student" and "lawyer," when applied to the nobility, is somewhat problematic. A few examples will make my point clear.

One of the law students included in the cohort is Gustaf Bielke (1618–1661). A son of the first president of the Turku Court of Appeal, he studied in Leiden together with his brother Svante (1620–1645) and then went on to France and Italy. Vasara-Aaltonen labels Gustaf a "law student" but not Svante. The reason for this is that Gustaf later engaged in legal matters as Councillor of the Realm (*riksråd*) while Svante died a major at the age of 25. This conceptual separation is peculiar since Gustaf and Svante travelled together and stated in a letter written in Leiden that they were taking private lessons in history, politics and law. Another Bielke-brother was Sten Bielke (1624–1684) who travelled extensively on the continent and later became Lord High Treasurer (*riksskattmästare*). To define him, one of the most important representatives of the realm, as a "law student" and "lawyer" blurs the concepts, in my view. It would have been more fruitful, I would suggest, to discuss the Bielke-brothers' law studies as a part of the state-building process, that is, as a response to the nobility's need to be active agents in the state and to protect their estate from competition from underneath.

Having said that, it should be pointed out that Vasara-Aaltonen also critically discusses the nobility's role in the judiciary system and, more generally, the conditions for studies and travels for students of different social backgrounds. She does this against the backdrop of a large bulk of previous research and has generously contextualized her findings. For someone not so well read in early modern law education, there is much to learn about how it developed. In some cases, the studies pursued by the Turku students are well known and it is very useful to get detailed insights into their academic pursuits, e.g., the dissertations they defended, and their careers. Altogether, Vasara-Aaltonen makes an important contribution to the understanding

of law studies abroad and their relationship to the development of the legal system in early modern Sweden. She is clearly well-versed in different languages and her efforts to collect data in foreign archives and libraries deserve special praise.

> Ola Winberg Dept. of Education Uppsala University Sweden <u>ola.winberg@edu.uu.se</u>

Elizabeth Walgenbach, *Excommunication and Outlawry in the Legal World of Medieval Iceland* (The Northern World 92), Brill: Leiden & Boston 2021, ISBN 9789004460911, 178 pp.

The book is a revised version of the author's PhD thesis at Yale University. It consists of five chapters, each ending with analysing conclusions. Already on the first page, the author makes clear her fundamental theses and points of departure in a short section providing the reader with a clear and interesting introduction to the topic. The author states that 1) outlawry is better understood when the term and the application of outlawry according to Icelandic sources are put in relation to the Church's legal system, both with regard to legislation and application, and that 2) the Icelandic "outlawry" was obviously very much influenced by the Church's opinion of excommunication. Consequently, there was no sharp dividing line between secular law and administration of justice on the one hand, and the Church's counterparts on the other.

The aim of the study is to analyse (explain) Icelandic texts, legal (mainly *Grágás*) as well as narrative ones (mainly *samtíðarsögur*), in the light of how the learned elite in Iceland interpreted and made use of the phenomenon of excommunication. The author describes her book as a mainly church law historical investigation on a local level (Iceland) and as a study of *ius particulare* in a wider European perspective.

To a Swedish reader, it is a sort of relief that you are spared a thesis burdened with an overloaded theoretical prelude. The author has managed to limit the "Introduction" to four pages without this taking away from the intelligibility with regard to the aim of the study and its points of departure—quite the contrary!

In order to give the reader a terminological and historical starting point, the author presents in the two first chapters fundamental and analysing surveys of excommunication and outlawry during the Middle Ages. As she remarks, both forms of punishment have been studied in earlier research, and she relates to this throughout the investigation, thereby thoroughly pointing out her own opinions.

In the chapter on excommunication (pp. 6–37), the author gives an account of how this form of ecclesiastical punishment developed and changed from the early Middle Ages to the late Middle Ages, and how it was introduced in Iceland with regard to both legislation and narrative sources. She points out that in the thirteenth century there was a change in Iceland, as well as in the rest of Western Europe; in Iceland during the latter part of that century. She also draws attention to the fact that in this case the nar-