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CONTRIBUTORS

Daniel Chartier is professor at Université du Québec à Montréal, Canada, and director at Laboratoire international d'étude multidisciplinaire comparée des représentations du Nord at the University.

Peter Fjågesund is Professor of British Literature and Culture at Telemark University College, Norway.

Marja Leinonen, PhD, is Associate Professor at the Department of General Linguistics, University of Helsinki, Finland.

Simo Sarkki is PhD student at the University of Oulu working in the project "Human-Environment Relations in the North. Resource development, climate change and resilience".

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SIMO SARKKI

Forest Dispute and Change in Muonio, Northern Finland

ABSTRACT This article examines a forest dispute that took place in the municipality of Muonio in northern Finland. The parties involved in the dispute were the Finnish state forestry enterprise Metsähallitus and a local coalition consisting of representatives of reindeer herders, the municipality, a local environmental NGO, a game association, and tourism entrepreneurs. The primary data for the article was gathered through thematic interviews that took place in 2005 and 2007. The dispute reflects the land-use needs of growing tourism in the area. It also provides an example of how change takes place through a dispute and how it is managed. The adaptive cycle heuristic is utilised to assist in an analysis of the change resulting from the dispute. Secondly, the Muonio case is examined in the light of the adaptive co-management approach in order to examine whether the change was governed adaptively. It is concluded that the dispute worked as a trigger for a policy innovation. That is, Metsähallitus rented the forests to tourism entrepreneurs and the municipality for ten years. The solution contained some features of adaptive co-management: a place-specific solution, interaction and negotiation. The problems were related to knowledge distribution and lack of careful deliberation.

KEYWORDS tourism, forestry, dispute, adaptive co-management, adaptive cycle

Introduction

Tourism is a growing field all over the world, and ecotourism is one of the branches facing rapid growth (e. g. Wenjun et al. 2006; Song & Li 2008). At the same time, other forms of land-use are often dependent on the same resources as tourism, which might result in conflicts between the parties representing different land-use forms. In addition, as

tourism boosts local, regional, and even national economies there is increasing pressure to acknowledge its needs in land-use decisions. Yet, this is often difficult as representatives of other land-use forms are not willing to give up their positions. Thus, the challenge for the future is to combine growing tourism with "older" land-use forms in a sustainable and adaptable manner.

This article asks how change pertaining to forest-use takes place in the municipality of Muonio in north-western Finland, and how this change is governed. The change is examined theoretically using the adaptive cycle heuristics developed by Gunderson & Holling (eds., 2002). To answer the latter question, I will use the approach of adaptive co-management to discuss how change and the resulting uncertainty should be governed in a sustainable manner. Accordingly, there cannot be a predefined state towards which we are inevitably progressing, but instead society should always be ready to adapt to changes (see Folke et al. 2002; Olsson et al. 2004).

In northern Finland, the main land-use forms are forestry, nature conservation, tourism, reindeer herding, and subsistence economies, such as hunting, fishing, and berry picking. There was a dispute over the usage of some old-growth forests in the municipality of Muonio. The parties in the dispute were the Finnish state forestry enterprise Metsähallitus and a local coalition, the key group of which consisted of tourism entrepreneurs, reindeer herders, representatives of a game association, the municipality, and a local nature conservation NGO. The old-growth forests are a basis for many of the products offered by ecotourism entrepreneurs. In addition, the disputed forests provide important winter pastures for the reindeer and they also function as a reservoir along with the adjacent national park for many game animals, such as moose and grouse. On the other hand, Metsähallitus is eager to log the old-growth forests as more cubic metres of wood can be harvested from them than from younger ones. The challenge in Muonio is to combine forestry with the other land-use forms.

In Finland, and especially in the north, forestry has been the most beneficial form of land-use during the latter half of the twentieth century. It has contributed not only to the growth of the national economy, but also to the well-being of the local people. However, the mechanization of forestry has drastically decreased the amount of jobs in the industry. In the 1950s, around half a million men worked in forestry, but in 2004, forestry and the forest industry together employed only around 90,000 people (Laine et al. 2006). On the other hand, tourism has been considered as the solution for the peripheral north because of the increasing income it brings on the local and regional levels (Tuulentie & Järviluoma (eds.) 2005). Especially in Muonio, ecotourism has grown very fast, and the locals have begun to value tourism as a significant and profitable form of land-use.

The data for the article was gathered through fifteen thematic interviews which were conducted in the autumn of 2007. The themes included what happened during the dispute(s), how the forests should or should not be used in the respondent's opinion, the respondent's relations to the other actors active in the dispute, and the meaning of the disputed forests for the respondent or his or her organisation. These themes are fairly wide, and they were complemented with more detailed questions, which were defined based on each actor's position. Another set of interviews was conducted in 2005, partly with the same actors. Interviewees included representatives of the Metsähallitus, reindeer herders, tourism entrepreneurs, local nature conservationists, representatives of the local game association, and the municipality of Muonio. Most of the interviewees were key actors in the forest dispute, which took place in 2007. They were identified based on discussions in media. Then the snowball method was used to interview additional people; I asked the interviewees who I should interview in relation to the forest dispute.

Adaptive Cycles and Adaptive Co-Management

How Does Change Take Place?

In order to understand how we can make governance more adaptable, we must understand how change takes place. Holling & Gunderson (2002) have developed a four-phased heuristics to comprehend change and dynamics in socio-ecological systems. The phases are called *exploitation*, *conservation*, *release* and *reorganization*, and movement through the loop is called the *adaptive cycle*. During the *conservation* phase, resources are locked in existing structures and the situation is relatively stable as the resources are used, for example, by those who control them. C*onservation* is followed by a rapid phase of *release*, at which time the resources are literally released, for example, from existing power structures. The *release* phase leads to *reorganization* which is when the actors *reorganize* themselves in order to *exploit* the resource again. The rapid growth in *exploiting* the resource is followed again by another *conservation* phase. However, adaptive cycles do not function in an isolated manner but as nested cycles between different scales and between different ecological and social systems. Major changes usually take place during the phase of *reorganization*, which is the time when new policy innovations are possible. And when the system moves from *reorganization* to the *exploitation* phase, some of the potential leaks away from the system. This is the time, for example, of redefining use and access rights, and the time when some actors might be replaced or excluded by others. According to the model change never ends but continues through the different phases (Resilience alliance 2007; Holling & Gunderson 2002; Holling 1986).

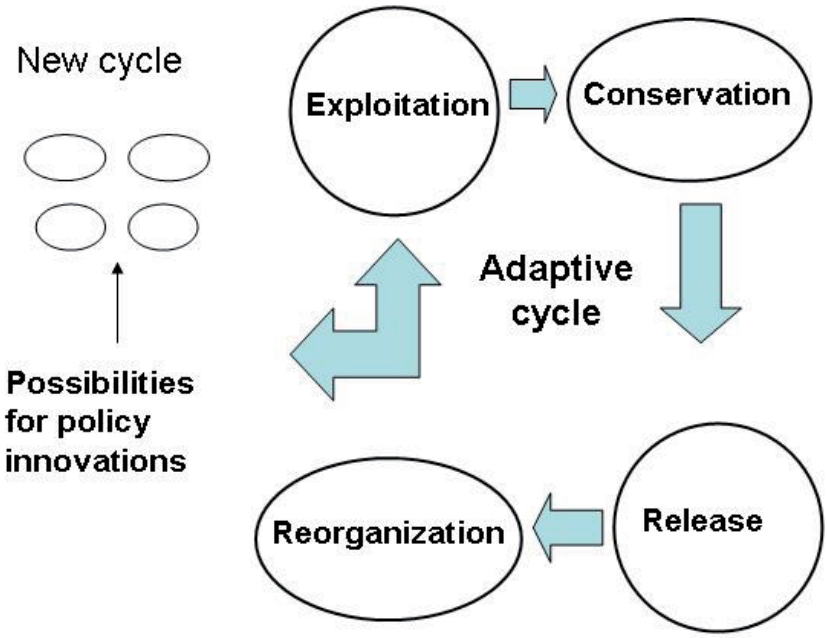

Fig. 1. Model applied from Gunderson & Holling 2002.

Transformability is described by Walker et al. (2004) as:

> The capacity to create a fundamentally new system when ecological, economic, or social (including political) conditions make the existing system untenable. Transformability means defining and creating new stability landscapes by introducing new components and ways of making a living, thereby changing the state variables, and often the scale, that define the system.

Hence, transformability means the ability of, for example, an institution to change its structures in order to achieve a more desirable state of the system. On the other hand, "undesirable states may be extremely resilient, becoming traps that constrain future options" (Gunderson & Folke 2007). The history of an institution affects its current forms and institutions are described as being path-dependent. In particular, the policy choices that are made when the institution is formed will have a continuing effect far into the future, and transitions away from these paths may be difficult. However, path dependency does not mean that there is no change and evolu-

tion in the institutional development; instead, it implies that the range of possibilities is limited by the initial purpose and vision of the institution (Peters 2005).

Sometimes conflicts are needed to generate change. Conflicts are not always destructive but can also be constructive, leading to new systems which can be more sustainable than the previous ones (see Peltonen & Villanen 2004; see Kyllönen et al. 2006, and Deutsch 1973). Hence, conflicts can resolve problems related to low transformability and lead to policy innovations. Further, constructive conflict management can lead to unlocking the possibly polarised views of the conflict parties. On the other hand, conflict parties often form coalitions pertaining to the issue at hand. The members of a coalition can be diverse and even in contradiction with each other, but they still share a common opinion about the conflict case, and at least present their view as if it were unified during the struggle for the control of, for example, land-use policy (cf. Cohen 2000). If these kinds of coalitions are driving for a change, they have a better chance of generating policy innovations than a single stakeholder (see Hajer 1995).

How is Change Governed?

Changing eco-social environments call for adaptability in management institutions which are faced with the new circumstances. Practices which were sustainable before might be unsustainable today because of the constant change and uncertainty (cf. Hukkinen 2006, and cf. Wilson 2002). This is why management institutions should have auditing systems in order to interpret, learn from, and act on the change taking place in their socio-ecological environments (see Olsson et al. 2004). In the face of change and uncertainty, adaptability is needed in order to adjust the management practices to the situations at hand in a sustainable manner.

Several decades ago it was proposed that the solution to the problems pertaining to sustainable land-use in common lands would be either privatisation or state intervention (Hardin 1968). The current view stresses that adaptive approaches are needed to solve the problems linked to sustainability and the management of uncertainty and change (e.g. Dietz et al. 2003). Adaptive governance takes place through adaptive co-management systems, which stress networks and trust (Folke et al. 2005). Adaptive co-management highlights dynamic and continuous learning, horizontal and vertical linkages, and the sharing of rights and responsibilities (Olsson et al. 2004). The goal of adaptive co-management is to form a place-specific management system which is able to interpret and act on the social and ecological feedback received from the socio-ecological systems. This should aid in producing sustainable and adaptable management systems. Other goals

of adaptive co-management are: 1) to foster dialogue between various stakeholders, 2) to integrate different knowledge systems, 3) to encourage collaboration and power-sharing, 4) to increase management flexibility, 5) to improve the evaluation of the participatory processes and their outcomes, and 6) to build social capital among various interest groups (Resilience alliance 2007). In recent development discussions, the concept of social capital has been considered important in many respects; it has, for example, been described as the glue that holds societies together (Serageldin & Grootaert 1999). The most important aspects of social capital are trust, norms and networks (Putnam 1993).

The Dispute in Muonio

The municipality of Muonio is located in northwestern Finland, and covers 2,014 km² of land. The third largest national park in Finland, Pallas-Ylläs, is partly located in the municipality. In the past decades, forestry used to provide income for many lumberjacks, but the mechanisation of forestry has decreased the number of jobs drastically. Currently, the main source of income is tourism, which has grown fast during the last decades. The municipality is scarcely populated, having approximately 2,500 inhabitants and a municipality centre.

The forest dispute between the Metsähallitus and the locals has a long history, but revived again in December 2006, when according to local coalition the Metsähallitus drove its forestry machinery to the edges of the disputed forests in order to cut them down. The disputed areas are important grazing grounds for reindeer and valuable reservoirs for game, such as moose and grouse. They are also essential for the tourism entrepreneurs' ecotourism products, which include reindeer, snowmobile, and dog-sledge safaris, and valuable places for berry picking and other recreational and subsistence activities of the inhabitants of the municipality. On the other hand, the forests are important for the Metsähallitus, as old-growth forests rich in wood are a scarce resource in economy forests. The dispute occurred as a result of these contradictory interests. Before describing the dispute in detail, some background information about tourism, forestry and forests is in order.

Tourism

Nature-related tourism has grown very fast in Muonio over the last two decades. According to a local nature conservationist, "who would have thought twenty years ago that there would be 400 dogs in Harriniva's tourism enterprise in Muonio. And how much space does ecotourism need after, say, ten years. No one really knows. We have to retain the possibilities of using the forests for tourism." According to a tourism entrepreneur, there are around

1,100 employed people in the municipality out of whom 650 receive their income from tourism. Tourism entrepreneurs fear that if the forests are cut down, tourists will not come to the area anymore. It is uncertain how logging would affect the tourism in Muonio, and many of the locals stated that using lighter forestry methods, such as continuous forestry, in the disputed area would be acceptable, but they feared that Metsähallitus would not cut the forests carefully. As a local nature conservationist put it: "If you give them your little finger, they will take the whole hand." The reasons for this distrust are probably historical but they are also related to the poor distribution of information concerning the planned loggings in Muonio.

Forestry

Metsähallitus is a state-owned forestry enterprise and uses around 3.4 million hectares of forests for economic forestry. Its goal is to combine the economic, ecological, and social dimensions of sustainability in forest management. "Metsähallitus has the challenging responsibility of managing and using these areas in a way that benefits the Finnish society to the greatest extent possible" (Metsähallitus 2007). Local needs concerning the forests are heard in participatory planning processes (see Loikkanen et al. 1997), and, for example, in the areas adjacent to tourist destinations, special care is taken to protect the needs of tourism. Tourism is taken into account, for example, by leaving protection forests around the tourist routes and by cutting the forests at a more mature age than normally.

Historical ballast has an effect on the preferences regarding the land-use forms. The share which forestry brings to the Finnish national economy has been seen to have contributed to Finland's economic growth, and hence, loggings are important even at the national level. In addition, at least in the 1960s, forests were automatically seen to belong to forestry (Björn 2006; Rytteri 2002). The sustainability of forestry practises is measured by the growing possibilities of harvesting, by the growing wood deposit, and by the preservation of the areas under forestry (Tahvonen 2006). However, basing sustainability on the wood production and maximization of the cubic meters harvested has been questioned from economic (Tahvonen 2006), social (Kyllönen & Raitio 2004), and ecological (Hanski 2006) standpoints. Although the success of forestry over other land-use forms is questioned at least at different localities, the images of forestry as the most important and profitable land-use form remain.

The Disputed Forests

The disputed forests are the only remaining old-growth forests outside of the Pallas-Ylläs national park in the municipality of Muonio. After the Sec-

ond World War, Finland paid war compensations to Soviet Union in timber, and a vast amount of forest was cut down in the mid-twentieth century. The forests in the southern parts of Muonio were also heavily logged. The northern parts, which are now the cause of the contradictions, were subjected to minor loggings after the war. Some of the larger trees were hacked down during the rebuilding of the villages of Ylimuonio and Kätkäsuvanto. Hence, the area is not in its "natural state", but according to a local nature conservationist, the disputed forests "appear untouched and represent the beauty of the wilderness, at least from the European tourists' point of view." Because of the post-war loggings, the area has not been claimed for area conservation. In Muonio, it will take 150 years for the forests to regenerate after the timbering before they can be end-logged again. The areas are located near the northern timberline of both pine and spruce, and this makes the regeneration period uncertain.

The First Dispute

As early as in the 1980s, there were disputes over the area between Metsähallitus and locals. At that time, the locals opposed the loggings mainly because they saw the areas in northern Muonio as important for reindeer herding, hunting, berry picking, and other subsistence and recreational activities. The locals regarded the forests as important for their subsistence and recreation because they were situated far from the road, and outsiders could not find their way there. At the time, Metsähallitus did some loggings in northern Muonio, but no forestry road was built as the timber was transported on winter roads.

The Second Dispute

During the regional natural resource planning of the Metsähallitus at the end of the 1990s, the issue of northern Muonio returned to the discussions, as the Metsähallitus suggested that loggings be done in the disputed areas. The area of Vuontisjärvi, which is part of the disputed forests, was proposed to be spared from forestry to the benefit of other land-use forms, such as tourism, reindeer herding, hunting, and recreational activities of the local people (Sandström et al. 1999: 175). Other disputed areas were Vittaselkä, Pahtavaara, Mustavaara, Nirrokero, Vuossukkaselkä, and Tikkaselkä. Because of the differing opinions concerning the use of the disputed forests, the Metsähallitus started to negotiate the issue with the representatives of the municipality and tourism entrepreneurs. In the 1980s, the reasons for local resistance to the loggings were the local possibilities for subsistence activities and recreation. However, in 1999, the main issue was tourism. The municipality did not take the side of the locals against the loggings in the

1980s, but it did so in 1999. The following quote explicates the issue:

> During the previous dispute [1999] the municipality had given a positive statement to Metsähallitus that the loggings could begin, but then the issue was raised on the table. Then we went to the municipality and put it in plain Finnish what was the source of income in this region, how many jobs there were in tourism and in forestry, and in other livelihoods. After that the municipality has changed its course, and has since been behind the tourism entrepreneurs and other locals. (Nature conservationist 2007.)

It was then agreed that Metsähallitus would not log the disputed areas for ten years. The livelihood structure had changed and tourism was in rapid growth. Consequently, the municipality changed its opinion to reflect the altered livelihood structure. Local actors empowered themselves and were able to turn the municipality's official opinion around to favour tourism over forestry.

The Third Dispute

The dispute in 2006 began in December when the locals found out about the plans of the Metsähallitus to log in Muonio's Mustavaara. The Metsähallitus presented logging plans concerning Mustavaara to the representatives of the municipality in December 2006. The total size of the planned loggings was 2,000–3,000 ha, which would have been logged over the next ten years. On the same occasion, the representatives of the municipality responded that the loggings would certainly cause discussions and problems. In spite of this opposition, Metsähallitus informed the representatives of the municipality and the other interest groups that the loggings would begin at the beginning of January, and according to a representative of the municipality:

> It caused a popular movement unparalleled during my thirty-year career in the municipality. And the situation was binding the people of Muonio together, as you could say that almost without any invitation, the tourism entrepreneurs, the reindeer herders, and the hunters found each other. It was to the common benefit of everyone that it would be preserved as unlogged as possible. When the other citizens gathered around this formation, the most active tourism entrepreneurs organized a citizen meeting. I would say that 1/3 of the people in Muonio participated in the meeting. (Municipality 1.)

The core group of locals had an invitation printed on the front page of a regional newspaper. The space is usually reserved for a tourism entrepreneur's advertisement, but this time it was replaced by an invitation letter to

a happening that was to take place on 29 December 2006. It was estimated that around 500 people took part in the protest, out of the 2,500 inhabitants of the municipality of Muonio. The core group had made agreements with television and regional newspaper journalists that they would report the protest in Muonio.

The local nature conservationist also said that "even the schedule tells you something: they tried to utilise the old trick of doing it during the Christmas holidays, in secret." According to locals this secretiveness unified the local opinion against the loggings. A local politician stated that "Metsähallitus tried to surprise us, but we were able to react very fast." What, then, were the factors that made this fast reaction possible, and made the protest happen on such a tight schedule? According to a local politician, the issue was considered as being relevant, and people were very eager to take part in the protest. Also, various contacts were made to good effect. The local coalition was in touch with the media and also with politicians to increase the pressure on Metsähallitus. Local politicians part of the coalition believed that because of the media attention and the relations with other, also national level politicians, Metsähallitus took the issue more seriously, "because our wishes had not had much weight, and the protest alone would not have been enough."

After the protest, Metsähallitus began to negotiate with the local coalition, which included a local politician, a representative of a reindeer herding cooperative, a local nature conservationist, tourism entrepreneurs, and a representative of a game association. The role of the local politician was not decisive here, although he is active in municipal politics. There were three meetings in the spring of 2007. Tourism entrepreneurs suggested that they could even pay Metsähallitus for not cutting the woods. After negotiations where an agreement concerning the loggings was sought, Metsähallitus finally made an agreement with the locals that the forests would not be felled and that compensation would be paid to Metsähallitus by the municipality and the tourism entrepreneurs. The sum paid by the municipality is nominal, but the amount of the rent paid by the tourism entrepreneurs is a corporative secret.

The parties had differing opinions concerning the solution. Metsähallitus would have liked to negotiate some kind of compromise, so that some loggings could have been made, but according to a representative of Metsähallitus this was not possible because: "the tourism entrepreneurs insisted that their original proposition regarding the payment for no loggings would come true, so in a way there was no [room for compromise]." In addition, from Metsähallitus's point of view, the payment of the compensations is not a positive result, because the compensations cover only the losses of

Metsähallitus. According to a representative of Metsähallitus, the value of the trees when further processing is taken into the equation, is "something like fifteen times the value of the wood." In addition, representatives of Metsähallitus said that it is difficult to estimate whether tourism gets any benefits if the forests are not logged.

A representative of the municipality stated that the rent was a good solution for Metsähallitus as the forest is still growing and ready for logging in the future if such a decision is made, and now the tourism entrepreneurs have ten years to develop their business in the area. In addition, the representative of the municipality was happy with the solution because "we did not have any flags of global NGOs [refers to Greenpeace]." Keeping the issue local was regarded as a good thing for the image of both Metsähallitus and the tourism entrepreneurs.

According to a reindeer herder, by taking the rent Metsähallitus in a way saved face: Metsähallitus could not have withdrawn without any compensation. Furthermore, the reindeer herder stated that if Metsähallitus had withdrawn without any compensation, they would have had to withdraw from many other places as well. Thus, the Muonio case would have worked as a precedent. However, the reindeer herder also noted that "taking the compensation is akin to what the mafia does: you pay a certain amount of money for not getting the common forests cut. Of course, Metsähallitus manages the state's forests, but it is we who own them, you and me." In addition, he emphasised that if the dispute had continued, the yellow press and Greenpeace would have been called to the location. However, "we didn't use this card, as we got it through even without it."

How Change Took Place in Muonio

If we consider the idea of the adaptive cycle in relation to forestry and tourism in Muonio, we notice that tourism is now in the exploitation phase. Growth is fast, tourism is invading new areas, and markets are growing (cf. Holling & Gunderson 2002). Hence, tourism is also testing its limits in regard to forestry and trying to influence land-use decisions perhaps more strongly than, say, twenty years ago. Forestry, on the other hand, is in the conservation phase, a position where well-established, rigid processes and power relations seem to lead to a certain pre-determined future, that is, that logging will take place in the economy forests. However, these rigid structures become vulnerable to surprises, and organizations tend to become internally focused losing sight of their working environment. The trigger for the ensuing release phase can be random and external (Holling & Gunderson 2002). In Muonio, the dispute and the resistance of the coalition

opposing the loggings triggered the release phase. The release phase was short but meaningful, and it can be argued that the release phase happened at the time when Metsähallitus chose to negotiate with the coalition about the loggings in northern Muonio. After this release, a reorganisation phase followed with the negotiations, and new configurations in the use of the forests became possible. The reorganisation phase ended when a solution was reached in the negotiations, and a new cycle different from the old one began (cf. Walker et al. 2006).

Reorganisation of Metsähallitus in northern Muonio does not mean that a release took place on the scale of the entire Finland. The reorganisation phase is a time of uncertainty, change and surprise (e.g. Gunderson et al. 1995), and hence it might generate fear in the actors involved. However, in either case, loggings or no loggings, a reorganisation of one of the parties was inevitable. Metsähallitus had to reorganise as the loggings did not take place, and the tourism would have had to reorganise if the loggings had happened, because the old-growth forests under dispute are the basis for many of the products of ecotourism. Thus ecological and social changes were linked (Adger 2000), even in such a way that preserving the same ecological environment required a reorganisation and change in the social world. Metsähallitus reorganised and gave up the loggings in northern Muonio, and the dispute was resolved by renting the forests to the municipality and the tourism entrepreneurs. One reason for taking the rent was that Metsähallitus probably feared reorganisation in other locations as well.

The local coalition resisting loggings included tourism entrepreneurs, reindeer herders, representatives of a game association, a local nature conservation NGO, the municipality, and even a representative of the media. The multi-stakeholder nature of this coalition was a powerful precondition for the change that took place in Muonio. Synergies between social, economic, cultural and ecological dimensions of sustainability are often required to produce change (Newman 2004). The involvement of the tourism industry guaranteed that the economical aspect was taken care of, the reindeer herding and hunting represented the cultural aspect in the coalition, and the nature conservationist represented the ecological dimension. Social sustainability, that is, the possibilities of participation and fair distribution of benefits (Rannikko 1999), comes from the fact that the coalition provided enhanced possibilities of participation compared to the regional natural resource planning of Metsähallitus.

Multiple actors stated that the solution that emerged would not have been possible without the municipality's intervention. At the end of the 1990s, the municipality changed its opinion in relation to loggings in northern Muonio. The ability to change one's direction, transformability, was

also due to alterations in the livelihood structures of the municipality. The forest industry employed fewer workers than before because of the mechanisation of the harvesting, and tourism was in rapid growth. The coalition helped the municipality to take these changes into account. The municipal authorities had noticed the changes and were able to transform their views accordingly. The past dominance of forestry did not block the way for new estimations concerning forest use in northern Muonio.

The transformability of Metsähallitus was not as high as that of the municipality. Metsähallitus is an institution established for managing the state's economy forests in a way which combines various dimensions of sustainability, but the starting point is often criticised as sustainability only from the perspective of wood production (cf. Tahvonen 2006). On the other hand, Metsähallitus has well-established processes for harvesting and selling the timber, and, according to a representative of Metsähallitus, contributing to the well-being of the forest industry is one of its missions. In addition, according to the representative of Metsähallitus, it has been calculated that when processed further, the value of the timber increases fifteen-fold. The latest trend in Metsähallitus has been to estimate the monetary value of fulfilling its social responsibilities. According to these calculations, the annual loss caused to the forestry sector is approximately € 38 million, while the amount which Metsähallitus annually discharges to the state is around € 65 million (Schildt 2007). The calculation is used as an argument for the view that Metsähallitus is taking care of its social responsibilities properly. These kinds of estimations make the goal of sustainability of wood production more resilient to change, and decrease the transformability to acknowledge societal responsibilities more than currently.

Adaptive Co-Management and the Muonio Case

Place-specific Management System and Management Flexibility

It is emphasised in the literature that the governance of natural resources should take place on multiple levels and by polycentric institutions (Folke et al. 2005). This means that locally flexible management systems are needed to ensure place-specific management solutions (see Cash et al. 2006). A place-specific solution emerged in Muonio after the dispute and the negotiations. The conflict was needed to trigger innovative solutions. Thus, the question is how to resolve the conflicts and the disputes (cf. Kyllönen et al. 2006). In this case, the dispute speeded up the deliberation and hence forced the parties to make a decision. As a consequence, a solution that did not satisfy any of the stakeholders was arrived at, namely the rent. The conflict led the situation to a hasty conclusion and a solution was reached which was

rather a "time out" than a lasting solution to the contradictions between forestry and tourism in Muonio. However, it must be noted that learning and experimentation are important factors in adaptive management (e.g. Walters 1997; see Daniels & Walker 2001). This solution can also be viewed as an experiment from which the various parties can learn as they see the effects of the new style of management.

Building Social Capital

During the dispute, social capital was high and even strengthened among the tourism entrepreneurs and the other local actors. For example, arranging the protest in Muonio required intense collaboration between various local actors, and one of the interviewees stated that "social contacts were strengthened, and I sent hundreds of e-mails during the dispute." This draws attention to the fact that political action increases social capital at least between parties who are on the same side. On the other hand, the relationships between Metsähallitus and the local coalition were not based on mutual trust. The mutual blaming of the other side was a clear sign of distrust. However, the parties also stated that "we can still talk to one another and will not hit each other upon meeting." Thus, even though there may not be trust between the actors from Metsähallitus and the local coalition, there is still some social capital left on which new management practises can be built.

It is often said that social capital and networks help in self-organisation and are an important part of adaptive management (e. g. Olsson et al. 2004). However, it has also been noted that it is important to recognise the winners and the losers of cross-scale interactions (Adger et al. 2005). Thus, not all connections are beneficial. In Muonio, both kinds of networks existed: those which were utilised effectively and those which were too dangerous to be utilised because of the possible burdens which might have resulted from utilising these interactions. The local coalition that opposed the loggings was in touch with members of the Finnish parliament, had connections with the media and was internally tightly bound together. These networks helped in forming an influential popular movement. Conversely, there were also relationships that were not utilised, because the members of the coalition feared that utilising those relationships might result in deteriorated interaction with Metsähallitus. These "hot" relationships included Greenpeace and foreign media houses. The members of the coalition stated that "we wanted to keep the issue in our own hands, and involving Greenpeace would have resulted in counter-reactions from the Metsähallitus." The case of Muonio highlights the importance of networks when generating efficient collective actions, but at the same time it should be noted that some

of the relationships might not be beneficial in the long run. Utilising "hot" relationships also shapes the relationships between other actors, and has a kind of billiard ball effect that can no longer be controlled by the initial actors who created the connections (cf. Latour 2005), and therefore unwanted influences might emerge. Thus, networks must be utilised with deliberation.

The role of key actors is often important in generating and managing change (Olsson et al. 2004). In relation to the social capital that an individual holds, a distinction is made between positional resources and more personally owned resources. Being part of a hierarchical structure enables the actor to utilise the linkages and the authority inherited with the position (Lin 2001: 42–43). Some of the interviewed actors stated that the presence of Metsähallitus's forestry director in Muonio on 29 December was relevant for the beginning of the negotiations and for fostering dialogue between the parties. The locals took this to signify the fact that Metsähallitus took the Muonio issue seriously, and it also enhanced local people's trust in Metsähallitus.

Combining Different Knowledges

It is often stressed that different knowledge systems should be combined in decision-making (Folke et al. 2002; Berkes & Folke (eds.) 1998). One way of doing this is to use multi-stakeholder bodies. However, these bodies can turn into "talkshops" or they can be used by, for example, the government to defuse conflicts without any real power sharing to management parties (Berkes 2002). In addition, these bodies might turn out to be inefficient because of mismatch of scale (cf. Cash et al. 2006). For example, sometimes participatory processes are held where issues are dealt with regionally even if the problems at hand are local.

Before the dispute, there were two kinds of multi-stakeholder bodies related to the use of the forests in northern Muonio. Firstly, there was the regional natural resource planning (*luonnonvarasuunnitelma*) of Metsähallitus, and secondly, two meetings, one with the representatives of the municipality and the other with reindeer herders and the game association. The problem in regional natural resource planning was that the areas of northern Muonio were not discussed in detail while making the plan. Hence, the problem was that the negotiations were conducted on a regional scale, while the dispute came to concern a certain locality. Normally this type of general planning might be enough, but in areas where there are known to be diverse and contradictory interests, information concerning the details of the planned actions should also be distributed. Secondly, in the meeting between Metsähallitus and the municipality where Metsähallitus presented

the logging maps for northern Muonio, the representative of Metsähallitus had misunderstood the situation, believing that the municipality would give permission to log in the area. A representative of the municipality had stated that "the maps are better than they were the last time" but this did not imply an acceptance of logging. Thirdly, there was some confusion regarding who should attend the meeting which was intended for the reindeer herders and the game association, but not for the other members of the local coalition, that is, for the tourism entrepreneurs and the nature conservation NGO. In addition, the members of the coalition emphasised that the dialogue should have begun earlier in order to solve the contradictions without a dispute. Varying views regarding the distribution of information resulted in the fact that the representatives of Metsähallitus were surprised as the conflict arose even though they thought that the issue had been discussed. On the other hand, the locals were surprised that Metsähallitus was going to cut the important forests without discussing the issue with them. In conclusion, there were varying views regarding how the information was distributed. This highlights the fact that in order to combine different knowledge systems effectively, there is a need for more careful information distribution, for matching the scale in participatory processes and for enhanced transparency.

Collaboration and Power Sharing

Collaboration and power sharing are vital aspects of adaptive co-management (Resilience alliance 2007). Both parties, Metsähallitus and the locals, claimed that the motives of the other side were based on the need to display their power. The representatives of Metsähallitus claimed that the locals considered the disputed area as their own and hence were opposed to the loggings on the state lands. The collaboration was disturbed by the distrust and the possible power plays on both sides. Power sharing was not taking place deliberately, but instead both parties tried to boost their own views and hold on to, and even increase, their power over the other party. In addition, neither of the parties was satisfied with the fact that Metsähallitus rented the forests to tourism entrepreneurs. However, both parties stressed that the current option, to leave the forests outside of forestry for ten years, would not have been achieved without the money. The rent can be seen as a leap towards privatisation of the state forests (cf. McCarthy 2006), which neither the locals nor the head of Metsähallitus, considered appropriate. If the rent-model expands to other areas as well, problems related to social justice might occur because all people and interest groups cannot afford to pay the rent. In addition, it is not socially just that the citizens have to pay to have an influence on decisions regarding the state lands. Secondly, various

parties wondered why the tourism entrepreneurs should pay Metsähallitus to not cut the woods, as the wood deposit is preserved and even growing during the ten years.

Conclusion

In this article I examined the forest dispute in Muonio that took place between Metsähallitus and a local coalition which included tourism entrepreneurs, reindeer herders, a representative of a game association, a representative of the municipality, and a representative of the local conservation group NGO, as well as some other locals. The dispute was analysed using the heuristics by Gunderson & Holling (eds., 2002). It was concluded that the conflict worked as a trigger for change, reorganisation, and policy innovation. Renting the forests to the tourism entrepreneurs and to the municipality was a solution which pleased local coalition more than Metsähallitus. The involvement of multiple actors in the local coalition, and especially the role of the municipality and the media, empowered the coalition to reach the solution they were seeking for. The time was ripe for a policy innovation which favoured tourism, as tourism is still, in terms of the adaptive cycle, in the invasive *exploitation* phase, and forestry, on the other hand, was in the *conservation* phase, which was followed by rapid *release* and *reorganization*. Here I have conceptualised forestry and tourism as separate systems, but if one thinks about one single system, the socio-economic system related to forest use in Muonio, one can say that forestry has been in an established dominating role, with the whole system in a conservation phase. Disputes, especially the two later ones, have begun because a local coalition, and also many other locals, see that a more promising future for local livelihoods and well being might unfold with a transition from the dominance of forestry to a more tourism oriented land-use profile. This resulted in the loop through the adaptive cycle leading to policy innovation in a land-use system.

Disputes worked as a trigger for policy innovations. Conflicts generate pressures for change; however, the resulting change seems to happen at certain individual localities, as in Muonio. Thus, transformability is in this case not a holistic phenomenon affecting the whole institution of Metsähallitus, but rather something that happens gradually in various locations, depending on multiple issues. Therefore, specific locations and issues must be defined, such as "forestry in northern Muonio," when utilising such concepts as adaptive cycle and transformability.

As a second objective, I compared the adaptive co-management approach to the Muonio case to understand how the change was managed and how it should be governed. A series of suggestions can be made which would enhance adaptability and sustainability in resource management.

Firstly, place-specific solutions should be possible, as in Muonio. This means that, for example, the overall objectives of the management institutions should not hinder flexibility and adaptability to local variation. Secondly, self-organisation of the resource users should be enhanced, for example, by building networks and by fostering trust between the various stakeholders. Thirdly, different knowledge systems should be compared in decision-making. Matching the scale of the issues considered in participatory processes and the real world problems at hand is essential for making participation possible. On the other hand, knowledge distribution concerning planned change should be open and transparent. Fourthly, collaboration and power sharing should be fostered, for example, by mutual gestures in contrast to power-plays and polarised and exaggerated claims.

The Muonio case showed that the growth of international tourism changes livelihood structures at the local level. At the same time, it affects the land-use preferences of the local people. When livelihood structures and land-use preferences alter, the policies and practises regarding land use should be able to change accordingly. Adaptability is needed to govern the change in a sustainable manner. Adaptability can be enhanced, for example: by combining various knowledges in decision-making by using efficient feedback mechanisms, by learning to cope with change and uncertainty, and by creating opportunities for self-organisation (see Folke et al. 2002). In conclusion, the growth of tourism, changes in the eco-social environments, and various uncertainties create a situation where further research and development concerning adaptability is needed.

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DANIEL CHARTIER

The Gender of Ice and Snow

ABSTRACT In this article, the author studies the North and the Arctic as an imagined space, made up of a coherent group of interrelated elements coloured by aesthetic, political and ethical values that transcend it. He pursues his analysis through (a) accounts of missionaries, exploration and sea-faring navigation, (b) novels, narratives and collections of poetry from the literatures of France, French Canada (1840–1947) and Québec (1948 to the present day), and (c) a few works from world literature as well as Nordic and Inuit mythology, in order to understand the gendered nature of four personified elements which are part of the imagined space of the North and the Arctic, i.e. "icebergs," "frost," "ice" and "snow." He concludes, from a gendered perspective, that this material is obviously produced mainly by men and transmits male values, even if some women have also contributed to this cultural construction, and that the personifications function as a focal point, allowing the reader to enter a complete world of images, colours, and values.[1]

KEYWORDS imagined space, North and the Arctic, gender, France, French Canada, Québec, literature, iceberg, frost, ice, snow

Imagined spaces, including the North and the Arctic, are constructed by cultural material—language, figures, metaphors, figures, etc.—taken from different sources. They form a rich, complex network of discourses that transmit strong cultural, political, and ideological values. The processing, forming and shaping of these imagined spaces are collective and occur over a long term. These processes might not be intentional, but they are oriented and determined by moral and ethical vectors, which we can identify and study as a whole or as a combination of their different parts.

This study is based on the premise that the North and the Arctic, as imagined space, is made up of a coherent group of interrelated elements coloured by aesthetic, political and ethical values that transcend it. This imagined space and some of its characteristics are gendered and

reflect (a) a binary opposition between stereotyped male and female paradigms, as well as (b) basic stereotyped polarizations regarding women (such as maternal versus hysterical), as we will see in detail. Some studies that have been published to date suggest that the entire discursive system of the North and the Arctic can be gendered;[2] however, after looking at the characteristics and elements that comprise and shape this system rather than at the system as a whole, we, like Heidi Hansson, conclude that this general view is overly simplistic: while the system of signs making up the imagined North is indeed heavily gendered, the combinations of its various elements leave broad zones of gender ambiguity (Hansson 2006). This complexity is no doubt due to the considerable personification of these elements, which are not always anthropomorphized: in many cases, they do not take on an entirely human form, but are animate things with a will of their own, such as animals, the wind, ice, frost, snow and icebergs. As Paul Le Jeune reported in his writings, the Amerindians personified spring and winter without necessarily giving them a human form:

> I asked them whether this Nipinoukhe & Pipounoukhe were human or some species of animal & where they normally lived; they replied that they did not really know what they were, but were sure they were living. (Le Jeune 1635: 46.)[3]

This personification involves a will, personality, qualities and faults, alliances and affinities with other personalized elements and, consequently, a gender. The gender of personified elements becomes more marked when these elements are in contact with man, since their gender reflects human gender identity in the Arctic. The predominance of male heroes set in this space has been the subject of repeated analysis. To be sure, a very large number of the works in the corpus forming the imagined North were written by men on male characters. Of the 1,945 literary narratives in our corpus, compiled from numerous national corpuses on the imagined North as part of the work carried out by the International Laboratory for the Comparative Multidisciplinary Study of Representations of the North at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), only 401 works (about 20 per cent) were written by women. The same proportion of characters portrayed in the works, at least those set in the Arctic, are women. More in-depth research in this respect would make it possible to define the gender specificities of this corpus, as well as the specific attributes of the discourse produced by women on the imagined North.

The corpus analyzed for this article was generally defined according to the concept of "nordicity" developed by the geographer and linguist Louis-

Edmond Hamelin, who isolated the dimensions of Arctic, Antarctic and winter to comprehend "North" (see, for example, *Écho des pays froids*, 1996). All works of fiction on the imagined North that encompass one of these dimensions were selected. About 800 works have been read as part of this vast group project conducted at UQAM since 2003; these works have been analyzed according to a number of characteristics (elements, figures, narrative schemata) that define the imagined North. Excerpts have been selected on the basis of these characteristics, including "icebergs," "frost," "ice" and "snow" which comprise the material for this study. Although the corpus covers all types of literature, this study relies primarily on (a) accounts of missionaries, exploration and sea-faring navigation, (b) novels, narratives and collections of poetry from the literatures of France, French-Canada (1840-1947) and Québec (1948 to present day), and (c) a few works from world literature as well as Nordic and Inuit mythology. Four authors who emigrated to Canada from France in the twentieth century stand apart in particular for the relevance of gender in their work: Maurice Constantin-Weyer, Marie Le Franc, Louis-Frédéric Rouquette and Bernard Clavel. Their importance in this respect is no doubt related to their foreign view of winter and the North (see Chartier 2006).

The imagined North thus involves complex issues of gender—the gender of the space as a whole, its sometimes personified components and parts, their descriptions, qualities and characteristics, as well as the forms of representation of that space. Careful consideration must also be given to the conveyance of gendered stereotypes through (a) representations of the imagined North (and research on it), (b) the reception of such representations, and (c) the literary and cultural genres that characterize this imagined space.

Iceberg: Nordic Masculinity

So high, so pure are your sides begot by the cold.[4]
Henri Michaux, *La nuit remue*, 1935

A messenger from the Arctic to southern seas, an enormous fragment of an even more gigantic whole, the iceberg embodies an originating past impossible for man to comprehend.[5] Gigantic in size but a fragment, colossal but fragile, impenetrable but living, the iceberg bears within it traces of a bygone age, which give it grace and create a sometimes uneasy fascination. Sufficiently powerful to conquer the vanity of men in a single night, an iceberg can make the Titanic sink to the floor of the sea, or protect sailors in danger by silently offering them a temporary harbour. In Inuit tradition, the iceberg is a living thing: "it is dangerous to approach. It takes you with its icy

hands and devours you" (Ferrand 2003: 45 min., 22 sec. and thereafter).[6] For sailors, it is a formidable "monster" whose inevitable course is always silent: doomed by its nature and path to dissolution, it is depicted in texts according to two attributes: sonority and movement. Its sound is that of the slow, heavy silence of the Arctic; its movement is reminiscent of a tragic circle, a cold dance evoking strength and combat. In all cases, icebergs are masculine. The French word *iceberg*—derived from the Norwegian *isberg*, from *is* 'ice' and *berg* 'mountain'—is masculine: *le iceberg*. In the works in our corpus, icebergs are characterized by strength, silence, weight, scale and an economy of movement that place them in a paradigm of Nordic virility. Their only enemies are the sun and heat. When they fall and crumble like a Viking in battle, they join their own without emotion in a fraternity found, as Maurice Constantin-Weyer indicates in *La nuit de Magdalena*:

> Only the icicles were blue, like the fronts of glaciers. Under the heat of the sun, they slowly melted. Then a heavy block broke away from the front wall. It wavered for a second, like a giant about to plunge. Then it fell into the waves with an explosion of sound and bursts of foam, only to resurface a second later among the other *isfloes*, its brothers. (Constantin-Weyer 1938: 33.)[7]

The symbolism of icebergs, as portrayed by Henri Michaux, is that of death, beauty, eternal silence and grandiose solitude, all qualities that place these mountains of ice in a register of transcendence and the sacred: "religionless cathedrals of eternal winter," "solitary, devoid of need" icebergs form "majestic frozen Buddhas on uncontemplated seas." Their word is made of silence, since "a boundless cry of silence [that] lasts for centuries," arises from their presence (Michaux 1935: n. p.).[8] Icebergs appear in other texts as an "animal with silent yelping" (Morisset 2002: 46)[9] who, as an impassive and rare witness, hears the calls of the Arctic: "The siren moaned, as if this ocean had not been deserted, as if the *isberg*—the only possible encounter—had had ears!" (Constantin-Weyer 1938: 9).[10]

Slow, steady, silent and measured, icebergs are not however passive: their movement is like that of one who says little, but acts at the right moment with formidable force. Icebergs generally move at an unhurried pace from the coastlines of the Canadian Arctic and Greenland south to the eastern shores of Labrador, Newfoundland and New England. They sometimes move simultaneously, endangering ships which they can draw into a horrifying dance: Émile Lavoie wrote that "something out of the ordinary, inexplicable, horrendous happened with a muffled sound that froze him with dread. All those blocks of ice piled one on top of the other split apart and started to move, to sink, to topple" (Lavoie 1925: 68).[11] For such a thing

to occur, Otto Nordenskjöld talks about a dance that "stirs a sort of sinister life." In *Polarvärlden*, he recounts that the icebergs

> made a tragic circle around us; they were of all different shapes and sizes, from small pointed blocks to enormous cathedrals of ice with jagged edges and shafts; others looked like fortresses surrounded by walls and flanked by towers. These icebergs were so numerous and close together that there was no visible way out between their white masses. It was a horrifying spectacle! (Nordenskjöld 1913: 13-14.)[12]

Silent, commanding fear and respect, icebergs, despite their tragic fate which inexorably leads them to dissolution and gives them a certain nobility, remain objects made of ice. The warlike and combatant vocabulary used to describe them immediately calls to mind a formidable enemy: "Woe to the vessel that ventures too close to one of those giants: it will soon be swallowed up!" (Nordenskjöld 1913: 13–14).[13]

Frost: A "Hunter God"

It was terribly cold.[14]
Damase Potvin, *Peter McLeod*, 1937

Frost, like many other elements in works on the imagined North, is often personified.[15] A ruthless warrior, it demonstrates its strength at all times over everything within its dominion: it attacks, grips, seizes, bites, takes hold, splinters, possesses and kills. It acts quickly and primarily by night: it modulates time through the speed and impact of its action, which compel man to move by precluding inactivity (when frost hits, man must move, otherwise he will die).[16] After frost has struck, things become hard, lose all colour and freeze in timelessness. Frost, which enables heroes to confront themselves, is defined in terms of temporality, action and scope. You cannot fight the frost and cold: you can only protect yourself with insulation.

The missionaries who came to New France in the seventeenth century tried to express in their accounts a phenomenon which, although not unknown in Europe, had never been experienced with such intensity in inhabited places. Prior to their arrival, mariners such as Martin Frobisher had been astounded by the bitter cold of the seas and regions they travelled, and had tried to explain it through different theories: they suggested, for example, that it was a particle which acted on things (since it had the power to transform them physically by spoiling them and hardening them,) or that it was a thermal fluctuation which ultimately accounted for the Earth's heat (see Ruiu 2007).[17] Paul Le Jeune, in his *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en*

la Nouvelle-France, en l'année 1633, while remarking on the beauty of the cold, tried to find words to express the extent of what he and his companions suffered during their missions. Some of the striking expressions he coined were often repeated later on. Of his writing conditions, Le Jeune reported the following: "It has happened that while I've been writing very near a strong fire, my ink has frozen."[18] He also mentioned an extraordinary phenomenon, which would appear in writings from that time through to contemporary narratives on winter: the frost and cold being so strong as to split trees.[19] Le Jeune wrote: "The frost has sometimes been so fierce that we have heard trees crack in the woods, & when cracking made a sound like a fire arm" (1635: 44).[20]

Armed, frost acts as quickly and powerfully as a gunshot. In the twentieth century, the missionary Joseph-Étienne Guinard reported that lumberjacks personified frost when "the trees cracked and the branches snapped" in the bitter cold:

> Under these circumstances, the lumberjacks say that "Jack Frost chopped all night." These extreme cold conditions prevent travellers from continuing their journey. They have to take shelter, stay in the warmth and wait for the weather to become a little milder. (Bouchard (ed.) 1980: 81.)[21]

Frost is personified as male. When people are faced with the frost and cold, there is no point in their struggling. They must give in and wait, protect themselves. A lumberjack, or rather a hunter, frost hits its target.

The scope of its action is not, however, limited to specific marks: it has a formidable impact on lakes, the earth and even the sky. Under its effect, "lakes, yielding to fantastic pressures, crack, splinter, split and break open. Streams of water gush out, immediately freeze, gigantic stalagmites, horrendous spikes" (Thérol 1945: 107).[22]

Damase Potvin indicates that the sky is not spared from the impact of frost, as it becomes "deep, clear and hard"; even the moon seems "gripped and paralyzed" (Potvin 1937: 86).[23] Frost also has a relationship with snow, albeit ambiguous: both are elements of winter, but their modes of action and representation differ greatly. This is particularly evident when "the earth," nature's primary nourishing, maternal figure, comes between the frost and snow. In the following excerpt, from *Les filles de Caleb* by Arlette Cousture, the cruelty of frost (masculine) is akin to the harassment, rape and murder of the earth (mother), in the absence of the protection of snow (feminine):

> I don't like it when the earth freezes too long before the snow falls. It's like the cold makes the earth suffer. It becomes wrinkled like an old

> woman. I'm always afraid that the earth will die before spring, and that they'll tell us it died in its sleep. (Cousture 1985: 47.)[24]

Frost also attacks man, body, spirit and soul. Cousture writes that it "had taken possession of the land, trees, bodies and minds" (Cousture 1985: 54),[25] spiritual possession not unlike that portrayed in Hans Christian Andersen's tale in which the snow queen "freezes" little Kay's heart, thus taking "possession" of his feelings (Andersen 2004: 18).[26]

Frost takes its target by surprise, since it acts quickly and by night: "in one night [...] all the rivers, all the lakes and no doubt a good part of the oceans were found to be frozen over" (Thérol 1945: 42).[27] Tactical, frost seems to wait for the best moment to strike; strategic, it occupies all space it brings under its control and all things it immobilizes (see De Certeau 1980). Movement is the only way to escape it, and movement precludes all rest. The river appears to be one of the rare figures to elude frost; its continuous flight is described by Marie Le Franc as follows:

> They [the rivers] seemed to want to escape the grip of the North through this endless agitation, agonizing to watch, holding back who knows what panic. This was the cost of their freedom, and it seemed that there was no rest for them, day or night. (Le Franc 1957: 21, my emphasis.)[28]

Man, also plagued by frost and cold, knows that without insulation, the only way to survive is to move, which saps his energy and patience: "the victim of Extreme Cold," writes Jean Désy, "seconds seemed like light years to me" (Désy 1993: 177).[29]

Finally, in terms of temporality, the relationship between frost and death cannot be overlooked: frost or cold freezes men without altering them; permanently "sculpts figures, faces of tortured men";[30] and prevents bodies from finding a resting place in mother earth, when "the overly frozen earth refuses to let its bowels be opened to receive [them]" (Soucy 1976: 36; Cousture 1985: 442).[31]

The action terms used by authors to describe frost allude to a cruel, violent sexuality that goes as far as death. In the first stage, the action of frost is like a passionate, forced embrace; it hugs tightly, compels, bites: "the frost had taken a very strong hold during the night and its embrace was even tighter at first light" (Clavel 2001 *Le royaume du Nord*, vol. 3 *Miserere*: 78).[32] When it becomes more intense, frost acts by violating the privacy of the house—representing the body—and sometimes even by *seizing* the body itself. In *Les filles de Caleb*, the frost and cold attack the woman alone and punish her "through every possible opening": they kill the mother, prevent her from being buried with dignity, then enter through every door and win-

dow of her house, to the point where the pipes freeze and burst" (Cousture 1985: 479–480).[33] In *L'Eldorado dans les glaces*, a group of women talk about an apocalyptic flood, which is highly reminiscent of a mass rape by frost:

> The air, earth and waters were tense with a cold of incredible brutality and excessiveness. [...] The fugitives [...] found themselves gripped [...]. They felt the cold stiffen their neck. [...] One by one, overcome by cold they fell dead [...]. Everything cracked in their hands just before they felt a similar long crack in themselves [...]. Hair dishevelled, women seemed to appear suddenly from the low neckline of their torn dress. (Chabot 1989: 165–169.)[34]

The cruelty of frost, which still and silent "nip[s] the nails," is such that the death it inflicts is itself described as perverse in comparison with the noble death of combat (Clavel 2001, *Le royaume du Nord*, vol. 3 *Miserere*: 136).[35] Frost kills coldly: "you will not have death wrecked by the brutality of blood here," writes Rina Lasnier, "but this ferment of cold *binding you to your mortality*" (Lasnier 1966: 82, my emphasis).[36] Covering any area that is unprotected and forcing time to impose movement which tires and exhausts, frost is "master of the North" (Châtillon 1977: 144).[37] This sadistic, nocturnal spirit and relentless hunter wickedly attacks the earth, sky, men and women, who it can kill without emotion, plunging them into a temporality of its own: in ice, still and hard.

Ice: A Warlike Traitor

> The bubbles trapped in the ice were like eyes looking for prey.[38]
> Bernard Clavel, *Le royaume du Nord*, vol. 2, *L'or de la terre*, 2001

Ice is portrayed with even more ambiguity than icebergs and frost: it is associated with temporal conditions (eternal, it halts time and imprisons the past) and cruel intentions (treacherous, sly, it kills), and is described in warlike terms (stab, axe, prisoner, artillery, battle). It is personified as the opponent of any man who ventures into the North and can be defeated. Ice (a feminine noun in French) rarely appears in feminine form: rather, it bears characteristics of the warrior, powerful but not infallible. Like the iceberg, its enemy is the sun: "a burning and continual sun battling with the ice of an endless winter" (Joanne 1850: 55).[39] So too are heat and man, who sometimes manages to thwart it.

Isaac De La Peyrère indicated in his report of 1663 that Icelanders believed the sounds made by the ice were the cries of souls imprisoned in it. In so doing, he attested as early as the seventeenth century to the temporality of ice, its cruelty and its warlike nature. He wrote:

> Icelanders also believe that the sound ice sheets make, when they hit their coast and grip their shores, are the moans and cries of the damned because of the extreme cold they endure. They believe there are souls doomed to freeze for eternity. (De La Peyrère 1725: 8.)[40]

Ice, which traps and freezes people and things, is closely associated with eternity.[41] Through its mineral nature, impact on the landscapes shaped by its passage, and ability to preserve without damaging, it possesses the memory of origins. Through examination of it, man can observe the past; scientists bore holes in it to research conditions of bygone ages. Ice, once it has produced its effect, freezes time.

If these were its only characteristics, ice would be more divine in nature. However, the qualifiers used to define it and the vocabulary used to describe its action place it halfway between human and beast. As such, ice whispers, howls, cries, sings. Sly and treacherous, it bites, crushes and swallows up: "Woe, then, to those who find themselves gripped in the jaws of the blind beast!" (Fréchette 1974: 112–113).[42]

"The ruthless cruelty" of ice is portrayed through its cries and howls (Charland 1975: 68).[43] In *Le royaume du Nord*, Bernard Clavel writes that you can hear "the lake ice howl" (Clavel 2001, vol. 4 *Amarok*: 260).[44] Barry Lopez describes the whispers and cries that envelop a ship and wear it down to the point of exhaustion: "Sometimes there were nights when the ice barely whispered against the hull, or screeched like a dying siren, or heaved to crash in the dark" (Lopez 1987: 323).[45]

In all cases, ice is sly and cannot be trusted. The smooth surface of a lake can crack and swallow the traveller in freezing waters; the icy edge of a cliff can break off and kill passersby: ice is a traitor. Associated with pain, it seems imbued with a will to imprison and inflict suffering:

> We could not even reproach 'Spitzberg' for being silent. Slowly, tirelessly, the first blocks in the ice jam worked to thicken the walls of our *prison*. But they *sang* a *cruel and resonant* hymn as they worked. (Constantin-Weyer 1938: 96–97, my emphasis.)[46]

Since man is battling the ice in these narratives, he has an interest in showing how strong and powerful it is, so that his status as hero is reinforced through his struggle with it. The account of Martin Frobisher's voyage refers to ice that "cut planks more than three inches thick & better than an axe could have done" (Best 1725: 248).[47] In his report of his shipwreck, Emmanuel Crespel wrote about ice in 1742 that was "fiercely agitated" whose "various movements" were "beyond all expression" (Crespel 1884: 62–63).[48] It is not surprising that several authors use warlike vocabulary to describe

ice, comparing it with a dagger, artillery or a titan. Blocks of ice often battle one another in a fight in which man is crushed between them. Maurice Constantin-Weyer talks about "[t]itans [who] shook all of 'Spitzberg' " (Constantin-Weyer 1938: 106–107)[49] and Joseph Thérol about a "fierce procession of white monsters who toppled over, were slowly swallowed up, suddenly emerged further on, collided, overturned, pounded one other" (Thérol 1945: 106–107, 57).[50] These "hills in motion" can crush men and ships: "I wondered," says Constantin-Weyer's narrator, "whether I was going to be [...] crushed between two giant blocks of ice" (Constantin-Weyer 1938: 230–231).[51]

To fight the arduous battle with ice, man arms himself with a ship and sets off to war. "Then the all-out battle between the ship and the ice begins during which the ship charges repeatedly at its enemy. It stops, retreats, takes a run at it and charges" (commentary by the narrator of the documentary *Aspects du Grand Nord* 1956: 10 min., 28 sec. and thereafter).[52] What is at stake in this war is man's ability to maintain his status in relation to nature without losing face. When the ice wins, man is humiliated. Louis-Frédéric Rouquette, for example, describes the effect of ice on a vessel as a test of humility, through which man's pretension to dominate is defeated:

> Performing the silent work of fate, your[53] ice, which held their ship prisoner, tightened its grip; it twisted and broke everything—the wood, iron, steel; *it obliterated the evidence of men's daring.* Nothing remained but a few souls who wandered for only days, then misery and discouragement cut them down more surely than cold and hunger. (Rouquette 1944: 176, my emphasis.)[54]

This ice, which can "obliterate the evidence of men's daring" in a fierce test of strength, proves to be aggressive and combative: few characteristics allow it to be conceived of as feminine.[55] Maurice Constantin-Weyer's work even includes a rare instance of homoerotization of the North, in which ice (masculine) overcomes and bewitches the narrator during a struggle that connotes a seductive dance between two male forces[56]:

> The *colossal beauty* of this architecture of ice and rock *overcame me*, crushed me. Never, even on the west coast of Iceland and sheer shores of Jan Mayen had nature imposed itself on me *with such force*. I did not yet know that an unforeseen event would throw me *into the powerful arms* of Svalbard and have it *stroke and knead me until I hurt.* Would I have known it? It was then impossible for me to escape. *I gave in to the bewitchment* of the polar lands, from which no man would be free. (Constantin-Weyer 1938: 24, my emphasis.)[57]

Snow: Soft and Hysterical

> In the north my love, when I met you, space opened,
> the cosmos trembled. Two galaxies a thousand light
> years apart moved by a few meters. It snowed.[58]
> Jean Désy, *Ô Nord, mon amour*, 1998

Complex, ambiguous and ambivalent, snow (a feminine noun in French) is a central element in works dealing with the imagined North, Arctic and winter. It is completely feminized in texts, fitting a stereotyped paradigm of passivity in which the woman protects, covers, soothes, conceals and caresses. Both heavy and light, on the ground and in the air, hot and cold, snow is also part of a bipolar register associated with a persistent and sexist stereotype concerning women: it is both maternal (calm, silent, protective, pure and dream-provoking) and hysterical (when possessed by the wind and storm, snow becomes mad, monstrous, cruel and contorted, lashing, nipping and blinding). This possession by others in no way changes the basic purity of snow, which remains a strong symbol of whiteness, rebirth, beauty and joy, or the benign effect it has on time, which it slows. But this passing madness reinforces its stereotyped feminine character: by nature pure and passive, it is only when possessed that snow becomes active, violent, incoherent and hysterical.

Light "nomadic down" or heavy "leaden snow," snow broadly and temporarily occupies space, be it the sky or ground, which it covers with a uniform colour and a heavy silence that purifies, dazzles, slows and feminizes (Lasnier 1966: 12).[59] For Jørn Riel, mountains covered with snow become feminine in form: when "covered with enormous heaps of snow, [they are] round, seductive, almost soft like women" (Riel 1997: 28–29).[60] Through a process of purification, snow falling at night transforms the morning landscape, urban or rural, "under an invasion of light waves" (Mélançon 1974: 17–18).[61] Dazzled by the snow, the narrator in *L'homme de la Manic* discovers a purified land: "The Land of Cain had changed complexion. It had become the Land of Abel in the space of a night, absolved of its unknown crimes" (Mélançon 1974: 17–18).[62] This renewal is accompanied by a soothing silence: in "this cocoon-like atmosphere," observes André Langevin, "snow swallow[s] sounds" (Langevin 1958: 61).[63] Other authors refer to the "haunting silence"[64] of snow and its "silent reign",[65] but in all cases, the miracle of purification by snow, uniform and white, is accompanied by the absence of sound (Perrault 1990: 226, Potvin 1937: 68–69). Moreover, there is a slowing of time (slower movement, inner retreat, attenuated urgency). In her poem "Office du plus noble," Rina Lasnier employs the term *alentissement* in French (*slowing* in English) to express the combination of these three

effects of snow—a mystical ennoblement harking back to an early, innocent and silent time:

> Snow, slow servant of the noblest time [...]
> To enter into the primacy of time to listen [...]
> Snow, slowing words in languages of dream. (Lasnier 1966: 9.)[66]

Snow covers the landscape, causing its signs, colours and forms to disappear. It lowers the height of mountains, fills valleys, and eraces woods;[67] it makes fences disappear, erases boundaries, roads and all familiar scenery.[68] Through another bipolar effect, it both preserves memory and removes traces of things past: passive, it is imprinted with human footsteps and animal tracks; protective, it covers all tracks and makes them vanish. The radical uniformity of landscape it produces can give rise to visual conditions: an overabundance of blinding light, whiteout, ophthalmia, snow blindness:

> The reflection of the sun on the white desert is so dazzling that it shines in the eye like thousands of suns on a clear day, and even more when clouds diffuse the light. (Thérol 1945: 127.)[69]

The brilliance of snow reinforces the paradigm of metaphysical purification and enriches the pool of characteristics that define snow in terms of purity, whiteness, goodness, silence and spiritual regeneration.

Unlike ice and frost, which attack and strive to kill man, snow shows itself to be maternal, protective, caressing. It soothes the ill effects of ice and comforts the body numbed by cold: "Removing his socks and taking handfuls of snow, he rubbed his feet. His pain transformed. It became a burn. A good burn" (Clavel 2001, *Le royaume du Nord*, vol. 2 *L'or de la terre*: 333–334).[70] Concealing the unsightliness of the world, snow[71] especially the first snow, fills man with wonder; it takes him back to his childhood (making him feel nostalgic about his origins), when he was close to the mother who enabled him to dream: "He found himself before a world of enchantment which always filled him with a child's wonder" (Le Franc 1952: 18).[72] In *Le fils de la forêt*, the effect produced by snow is like that of a mother who comforts her child and rocks him to sleep in her arms where he can dream:

> As if it sought a way of responding to them, the snow started to fall, caressing their eyelids. They did not try to protect themselves from it. It enveloped them, them and the black earth, with its wonder. It created boundless avenues before men where their minds escaped. (Le Franc 1952: 153.)[73]

Other works depict the snow as a perfect, nourishing and comforting, protective envelope, clearly reminiscent of the womb: "Nothing but white, in front, behind, to the left, to the right, on the ground and in the air. Nothing but white. You eat it and breathe it" (Soucy 1976: 112).[74] The silence of this enclosed space is even referred to as the *breathing* of snow felt from within the body: "enveloped in the great stillness of nights when you can hear the snow breathe" (Le Franc 1957: 52–53).[75] When this maternal protection becomes too intense, it can be suffocating, as indicated by the image of the house buried in snow, in which it is impossible to breathe since "if there is any room left inside, it is barely enough to let the smoke out" (Lamontagne-Beauregard 1931: 21).[76] It can even be deadly, by creating the sensation that the subject is disappearing: "the snow wanted to swallow him" completely (Carrier 1988: 96).[77] These situations reflect archetypes of the mother, good, bad, and sometimes deadly.

This primordial, maternal side of snow is, however, only one facet of its representation: under the effect of the wind, snow ceases to be itself.[78] When snow is possessed by the wind, it becomes mad, wild, furious, threatening and crazy:

> The snow *was overwhelmed* by the expanse, *was frightened* of space, *no longer found the limits* of the sky and *cried* in *terror*. Sometimes it looked like the snow *collided* with it and fell straight down, *contorted* and *exhausted*. [...] It *bore its essence* and mixed it with its anaemic flakes. (Le Franc 1957: 77, my emphasis.)[79]

The wind is man's enemy, "a wind that appeared to have no other intention but to bring down everything in its path" (Côté 2000: 143–145).[80] The snow, once possessed, becomes the inevitable embodiment of the wind, a tool the wind controls to achieve its dark ends. Examples illustrating this hysteria of the snow abound. In every case, the snow is dispossessed of its own will and controlled by the wind and storm, of which it seems to be the victim: "Instead of dying down at dawn, it raged on more furiously. Wild, mad, *it no longer knew any limits*, *no longer contained itself*" (Lavoie 1925: 58–59, my emphasis);[81] "[...] when the storm broke out, *furiously blowing the snow* which smacked them like hands of ice" (Lamontagne-Beauregard 1931: 153, my emphasis);[82] "Hard snow, *blown by the northeast wind*, lashed the trees (Rousseau & De La Fontaine 1982: 59, my emphasis);[83] "[...] the wind howled in incredible gusts, *whipping up packets of snow* which whirled several meters in the air before hitting the rock" (Josselin 1965: 153, my emphasis).[84]

These examples indicate (a) the passing madness of snow; (b) its possession by the wind; and consequently, (c) its passivity, malleability and incon-

sistency. They include characteristics of hysteria: emotional imbalance, dichotomous reactions, lack of self-observation. In cultural and stereotypical terms, hysteria has long been associated with women: in Ancient Greece, it was diagnosed as the "uterus wandering throughout the woman's body"; in the Middle Ages, it was associated with demonic possession. In all cases, representations of snow are gendered and reflect a persistent and sexist paradigm polarized between maternal goodness and volatile wandering.

The binary nature of snow is depicted through complex images in literary narratives which rely on polarized representations to portray ambivalence: Maurice Constantin-Weyer talks about wolves that "searched the snow for a hiding place [...] from the wildly cruel scrawls" (1928: 98–99).[85] Anthropologist Bernard Saladin d'Anglure writes that the shape and form of the igloo used by the Inuit—made of snow to protect from snow storms and the cold—becomes, through a "change in scale," a symbol of the womb: "the igloo is on a human scale what the uterus is on the infra-human scale of the fœtus" (Saladin d'Anglure 2002: 106).[86] Protection and threat, a "challenge of the snow to the snow," insane and purifying, dominated and powerful, snow constitutes one of the most complex gendered figures of the imagined North and Arctic (Vacher 1999: 89).[87]

A Masculine, Stereotyped Imaginary Space

In the introduction to this study, we put forward the assumption that the imagined North is made up of a coherent group of interrelated elements coloured by values, some of which reflect a gendered conception. Through this brief analysis of some of these elements (iceberg, frost, ice and snow), we can certainly maintain this assumption, and suggest that the gendering of the imagined North is expressed not only through the description of these elements, but also through their personification which endows them with a personality and thus qualities, faults and behavioural schemata, which involve relations of alliance, mistrust, domination and submission. These characteristics seem to be superimposed on stereotyped gendered schemata, some of which are not so far removed from the imagined North itself. In any case, we suggest that this imagined world is highly organized; the elements of it fit together according to modes of representation, description, operation and relation of which we can elucidate only a minute part. Nevertheless, the construction of the imagined world involves both ethical and political choices.

This analysis also raises some theoretical questions about the imagined spaces, the North and the Arctic as cultural entities. From a gendered perspective, this material is obviously produced mainly by men and transmits male values—but some women have also contributed to this cultural con-

struction, adding to the complexity of the metaphors and figures that underlie it. From an imaginary point of view, we can suggest that these metaphors and figures function as a focal point, allowing the reader, in a very simple way, to enter a complete world of images, colours, and values. The coherence of a system of representations enables this economical way of transmitting information and values: with a single world, image, figure or metaphor, a complete set of interconnected representations is implied. Imagined spaces are interlaced in such a dense manner that any single element a space comprises can be used as a point of entry for its analysis.

NOTES

[1] Translated from the French by Elaine Kennedy. Most excerpts quoted in this article have been freely translated from the French, which is provided in these notes.

[2] Studies on the gender of the imagined North or parts thereof include the following, in addition to the article by Hansson cited below: Hulan (1996); Atwood (1995); Grace (1997); Marcel (2000); Bloom (1993); Hill (2000). For a more complete bibliography, see Chartier (2007).

[3] "Je leur demandois si ce Nipinoukhe & Pipounoukhe estoient hommes ou animaux de quelque autre espece, & en quel endroict ils deumeuroient ordinairement; ils me respondirent qu'ils ne sçavoient pas bien comme ils estoient faicts, encore qu'ils fussent bien assurez qu'ils estoient vivants."

[4] "Combien hauts, combien purs sont tes bords enfantés par le froid."

[5] I have borrowed this phrasing from Karine Crépeau, who suggested a cultural definition of *iceberg* in a research seminar on the imagined North which I led at the Université du Québec à Montréal in winter 2005.

[6] "Il est dangereux de l'approcher. Il te prend avec ses mains glacées et te dévore."

[7] "Seuls, les glaçons étaient bleus, comme les fronts des glaciers. Sous l'ardeur du soleil, ceux-ci fondaient lentement. On voyait alors se détacher de la muraille frontale un lourd bloc. Il oscillait un instant, comme un géant qui va plonger. Puis il s'abîmait dans les flots avec une explosion sonore et des jaillissements d'écume, pour reparaître la seconde d'après parmi les autres *isfloes*, ses frères."

[8] "cathédrales sans religion de l'hiver éternel," "solitaires sans besoin," icebergs form "augustes Bouddhas gelés sur des mers incontemplées." Their word is made of silence, since "le cri éperdu du silence [qui] dure des siècles" arises from their presence.

[9] "animal au jappement silencieux."

[10] "La sirène gémissait, comme si cet océan n'eût pas été désert, comme si l'isberg–seule rencontre possible–eût eu des oreilles!"

[11] "quelque chose d'insolite, d'inexplicable, de monstrueux se produisait avec un bruit sourd qui le glaça d'épouvante. Toutes ces glaces empilées les unes sur les autres se désagrégeaient et se mettaient en mouvement, s'enfonçaient, se culbutaient."

[12] "exécutaient autour de nous une ronde tragique; il y en avait de toutes les dimensions, depuis les petits blocs pointus jusqu'aux énormes cathédrales de glace avec leurs dentelures et leurs flèches; d'autres avaient l'aspect de forteresses entourées de leurs murailles et flanquées de leurs tours. Ces icebergs étaient si nombreux et si serrés qu'on ne voyait aucune issue entre leurs masses blanches. Spectacle effroyable!"

[13] "Malheur au navire qui s'aventure trop près d'un de ces colosses : il est bientôt englouti!"

[14] In this quote in the original French, "il gelait terriblement," *geler* means 'to be cold'.

[15] The noun *gel*, which appears in the original French, is difficult to translate because it refers to an action (frost, freeze), a process (frost) and a state (frost, freeze, extreme cold); the English translation uses these various terms to render the meaning of the noun *gel* (which is masculine in French) and the verb *geler*.

[16] Only resignation will enable man to resist. As Jacques Brault writes: "nous gèlerons sur place comme pères et mères / nous craquerons de froid de folie / nous ne partirons pas" ['we will freeze on the spot like fathers and mothers / we will snap with insane cold / we will not leave'] (1973). "Patience," in Brault (1973), p. 29.

[17] "Je crois encore que ce froid extraordinaire augmente considérablement la chaleur dans les entrailles de la terre" ['I still believe that this extraordinary cold increases the heat of the earth's depths considerably'] Best (1725), p. 229.

[18] "Il m'est arrivé qu'en escrivant fort prés d'un grand feu, mon encre se geloit." This report by Le Jeune is comparable to that by Benjamin Simard, who testified to the extreme cold when he wrote: "le gel n'écrit plus de poèmes" ['the cold no longer writes poems'] Simard (1998), p. 170.

[19] For example, Bernard Clavel writes: "À soixante degrés sous zéro, on entendait les arbres éclater dans les nuits comme des coups de fusil." ['At sixty degrees below zero, you can hear the trees crack at night like gun shots'.] Clavel (2001), *Le royaume du Nord*, vol. 1, *Harricana*, pp. 169–170.

[20] "Le froid estoit parfois si violent, que nous entendions les arbres se fendre dans le bois, & en se fendans faire un bruit comme des armes à feu."

[21] "Les bûcherons, dans ces circonstances, disent que 'Jack Frost a bûché toute la nuit'. Ces froids extrêmes interdisent aux voyageurs de poursuivre leur course. Il faut se mettre à l'abri, rester au chaud et attendre que le temps se radoucisse un peu."

[22] "les lacs, cédant à des pressions fantastiques, se fendillent, se crevassent, éclatent, explosent. Des jets d'eaux fusent qui se congèlent aussitôt, stalagmites gigantesques, hérissements monstrueux."

[23] "le ciel n'est pas en reste et qu'il devient 'profond, net et dur' sous le gel, qui rend jusqu'à la lune 'saisie, paralysée'."

[24] "J'aime pas ça quand la terre gèle trop avant que la neige tombe. On dirait que le froid la fait souffrir. Elle vient ridée comme une vieille. J'ai toujours peur qu'elle meure avant le printemps, pis qu'on nous dise que la terre est morte pendant son sommeil."

[25] "avait pris possession des terres, des arbres, des corps et des esprits."

[26] Andersen writes that Kay's heart, after being pierced with a glass splinter—sharp, supernatural frost—"would soon be like a lump of ice. He didn't feel it hurting now..." Andersen (2004), p. 160.

[27] "en une nuit [...], toutes les rivières, tous les fleuves, tous les lacs et sans doute une bonne partie des Océans se trouvèrent pris par les glaces."

[28] "Elles [les rivières] semblaient vouloir échapper à l'emprise du Nord par cette agitation sans fin, angoissante à regarder, contenant on ne savait quelle panique. Leur liberté était à ce prix, *et on sentait qu'il n'y avait pour elles aucun repos*, ni le jour ni la nuit."

[29] "victime du Grand Gel, les secondes prennent pour moi des allures d'années-lumière."

[30] "sculpte des figures, des visages d'hommes torturés."

[31] "la terre trop gelée refus[e] de laisser ouvrir ses entrailles pour l[es] accueillir."

[32] "le gel avait serré très fort durant la nuit et son étreinte s'accentua encore avec les

premières lueurs."

[33] "par toutes les portes et les fenêtres de son logement, au point que la plomberie gela et éclata."

[34] "L'air, la terre et les eaux s'étaient trouvés contractés par un froid d'une sauvagerie et d'une démesure inouïes. [...] Les fugitifs [...] s'étaient trouvés saisis [...]. Ils avaient senti le froid leur raidir la nuque. [...] Un à un saisis de gel ils tombaient morts [...]. Tout leur craquait entre les mains peu avant qu'ils ne sentent semblable longue craquelure en eux-mêmes [...]. Échevelées, des femmes semblaient surgir du décolleté de leur robe déchirée."

[35] "pinc[e] les ongles."

[36] "tu n'auras pas ici la mort forcée par sauvagerie de sang, mais ce ferment de froidure *te ligotant à ta mortalité."*

[37] "Le maître du Nord lui apparaissait sous la forme d'une sorte de génie maléfique prenant plaisir chaque automne à tuer de son souffle glacial toutes les fleurs, les papillons et à tuer des hommes aussi" ['The master of the North appeared in the form of an evil spirit who took pleasure every autumn in killing all the flowers and butterflies with its icy breath and in killing men as well'.]

[38] "Dans la glace, les bulles prisonnières semblaient des yeux guettant une proie."

[39] "un soleil brûlant et continuel luttant avec les glaces d'un hiver sans fin" De Beaumont, A., cited by Joanne (1850), p. 55.

[40] "Les Islandois croyent aussi que le bruit que font les glaces, quand elles heurtent leur côte & s'attachent à leurs rivages, sont les cris & les gémissemens des dannez, pour le grand froid qu'ils endurent. Car ils croyent qu'il y a des ames condannées à geler éternellement."

[41] Damase Potvin wrote: "le lac apparaissait dans son infinie blancheur, figé, morne, silencieux, *enchaîné dans ses glaces comme pour l'éternité"* ['the lake appeared in its infinite whiteness, fixed, mournful, silent, *bound in its ice as if for eternity*'; my emphasis], Potvin (1937), pp. 140–141.

[42] "Malheur, alors, à ceux qui se trouvent pris dans les mâchoires de la bête aveugle!"

[43] "L'impitoyable cruauté."

[44] "hurler la glace du lac."

[45] "Parfois aussi les nuits se suivaient où la glace murmurait à peine contre la coque, ou criait comme une sirène qui meurt, ou se soulevait pour se fracasser dans le noir."

[46] "On ne pouvait même pas reprocher au Spitzberg d'être silencieux. Lentement, inlassablement, les premiers glaçons de l'embâcle travaillaient à épaissir les murs de notre *prison*. Mais ils *chantaient* en travaillant un hymne *sonore et cruel*."

[47] "coupérent des planches de plus de trois pouces d'épaisseur, & mieux qu'on auroit pu le faire avec la hache."

[48] ice that was "furieusement agitées" whose "divers mouvements" were "au-dessus de toute expression".

[49] "Titans [qui] ébranlaient le Spitzberg tout entier."

[50] "furieuse chevauchée de monstres blancs qui basculaient sur eux-mêmes, s'engloutissaient lentement, émergeaient brusquement plus loin, s'entrechoquaient, se culbutaient, s'écrasaient."

[51] "Je me demandais si j'allais être [...] écrasé entre deux glaçons géants."

[52] "Alors commence une bataille en règle entre le navire et la glace durant laquelle le navire fait des charges répétées contre son ennemi. Il s'arrête, recule, prend son élan et fonce."

[53] The narrator here is addressing "Toi [la Terre]" ['You [the Earth]'].

[54] "Accomplissant le sourd travail de la destinée, tes glaces, qui tenaient leur navire prisonnier, ont resserré leur emprise; le bois, le fer, l'acier, elles ont tout tordu, tout brisé; *elles ont effacé la preuve de la hardiesse des hommes*. Rien n'a subsisté que quelques êtres qui ont erré des jours encore, puis la misère et le découragement, plus sûrement que le froid et la faim, les ont couchés."

[55] The only possible ambiguity in the gender of ice is found in the following poem by Jean Morisset: "glaces, glaces,/glaces mâles, glaces femelles,/glaces gauchères, glaces correctes,/glaces-archanges, glaces sans sexe,/ [...] /qui êtes-vous, où allez vous." ['ice, ice,/ male ice, female ice,/left-handed ice, appropriate ice,/archangel-ice, genderless ice,/ [...] /who are you, where go you'] Morisset (2002), p. 24.

[56] The work being carried out by Dominique Perron at the University of Calgary is related to the homoerotization of Nordic heroes, and is part of an energy research movement.

[57] "La *colossale beauté* de ces architectures de glaces et de roches *me dominait*, m'écrasait. Jamais, même sur la côte ouest de l'Islande ou aux accores de Jan-Mayen, la nature ne s'était imposée à moi *avec tant de force*. J'ignorais encore qu'un événement imprévu allait me jeter *entre les bras puissant*s du Svalbard et *me faire caresser et pétrir par lui jusqu'à la douleur.* L'aurais-je su? Il m'eût été impossible, désormais, de m'évader. *Je subissais l'envoûtement* des terres polaires, duquel nul homme ne saurait s'affranchir."

[58] "Au nord mon amour, quand je t'ai rencontré, l'espace s'est ouvert, le cosmos a tremblé. Deux galaxies distantes de mille années-lumière se sont déportées de quelques mètres. Il a neigé."

[59] light "duvet nomade" or heavy "neige plombée".

[60] "couvertes d'énormes amas de neiges, ronds, séduisants, presque doux comme des femmes."

[61] "sous une invasion de vagues lumineuses."

[62] "La Terre de Caïn avait changé de peau. Elle s'était métamorphosée en Terre d'Abel en l'espace d'une nuit, absoute de ses crimes inconnus."

[63] in "cette atmosphère ouatée, la neige avalait les sons."

[64] "silence obsédant."

[65] "règne silencieux."

[66] "Neige, office lent du temps le plus noble [...] Pour entrer dans la primauté du temps d'écouter [...] Neiges, alentissement de paroles dans des langues de songe."

[67] "La neige régnait. Elle abaissait le niveau de la montagne qu'au printemps suivant on retrouverait haussée tout à coup de mille pieds, affaissait les pics, comblait les vallées, de sorte que la chaîne sans fin se déroulait comme un feston aux ondulations à peine marquées. Les bois mêmes s'effaçaient." ['The snow reigned. It lowered the height of the mountain so that the next spring it would suddenly be a thousand feet higher, reduced the peaks and filled the valleys, so that the endless chain proceeded like a festoon with barely marked undulations. Even the woods were obliterated."] Le Franc (1957), p. 22.

[68] "Émilie avait regardé tomber la neige, soudainement consciente de son isolement. Quoique l'école fût située à proximité de maisons, la blancheur et l'uniformité de la neige, entraînant la disparition soudaine des clôtures et des chemins, avait effacé le décor familier auquel Émilie s'était attachée." ['Émilie had watched the snow fall, suddenly aware of her own isolation. Although the school was close to houses, the whiteness and uniformity of the snow, resulting in the sudden disappearance of fences and roads, had obliterated the familiar scenery to which Émilie had become attached.'] Cousture (1985), p. 54.

[69] "La réverbération du soleil sur le désert blanc est en effet si éblouissante que son miroitement par ciel clair, et plus encore lorsque des nuages diffusent la lumière, éclate au

regard comme des milliers de soleils."

[70] "Enlevant ses chaussettes et prenant la neige à pleines mains il se frotta les pieds. Se douleur métamorphosa. Elle devint brûlure. Bonne brûlure."

[71] "La neige coiffa les piquets des clôtures, s'accrocha aux rameaux des épinettes. Elle cacha les pierres de la cour, les copeaux, les morceaux de cuir et la ferraille qui traînaient." ['The snow covered the fence pickets, clung to the spruce branches. It hid the stones in the yard, the wood chips, pieces of leather and scrap that were lying about.'] Bernard (1951), p. 100.

[72] "Il se trouva devant un monde de féerie qui provoquait toujours en lui un émerveillement d'enfant."

[73] "Comme si elle eût cherché un moyen de leur répondre, la neige s'était mise à tomber, effleurant leurs paupières d'une caresse. Ils n'essayaient pas de se défendre contre elle. Elle les enveloppait, eux et la terre noire, de son prodige. Elle créait devant les hommes des avenues illimitées où leur esprit s'évadait."

[74] "Rien que du blanc, devant, derrière, à gauche, à droite, par terre et en l'air. Rien que du blanc. On en mange, on en respire."

[75] "enveloppé du grand calme des nuits où on entend la neige respirer."

[76] "c'est tout juste s'il reste une petite place, à l'extérieur, pour que la fumée s'échappe."

[77] "la neige voulait l'avaler."

[78] Take, for example, the Snow Queen in Hans Christian Andersen's tale—beautiful, but mad.

[79] "La neige *se noyait* dans l'étendue, *s'effrayait* des espaces, *ne trouvait plus de limites* du ciel et *criait de terreur.* Parfois elle avait l'air de s'y *être heurtée* et en retombait tout droit, *désarticulée et rompue*. [...] Elle *emportait le cœur* et le mêlait à ses flocons exsangues."

[80] "un vent qui paraissait n'avoir d'autre intention que de tout terrasser sur son passage."

[81] "Au lieu de s'apaiser au lever du jour, elle se déchaîna plus furieuse. Échevelée, démente, *elle ne connaissait plus de bornes*, *ne se contenait plus.*"

[82] "[...] quand la tempête éclata, *soulevant furieusement la neige* qui les giflait comme avec des doigts de glace."

[83] "Une neige dure, *poussée par le nordet*, flagellait les arbres."

[84] "[...] le vent hurlait en rafales fantastiques, *soulevant des paquets de neige* qui tourbillonnaient à plusieurs mètres de hauteur avant de s'écraser contre le roc."

[85] Wolves that "fouilleraient la neige pour s'y terrer" from the "volutes follement cruelles."

[86] "l'igloo est à l'échelle humaine ce que l'utérus est à l'échelle infra-humaine du fœtus."

[87] "défi de la neige à la neige."

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MARJA LEINONEN

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 ėnciklopedija* 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 sivistyssanakirja* 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 *Filmons*, 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 *Filmons*. 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*; 'ha̍r du egen tekanna': *sin tjainik 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 tevatten, 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 tjainik 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 (Nahkiaisoja 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 Cathechism 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 (Nahkiaisoja 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 (Nahkiaisoja 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 Aleksandrovsk *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 Aleksandrovsk *volost*: in the

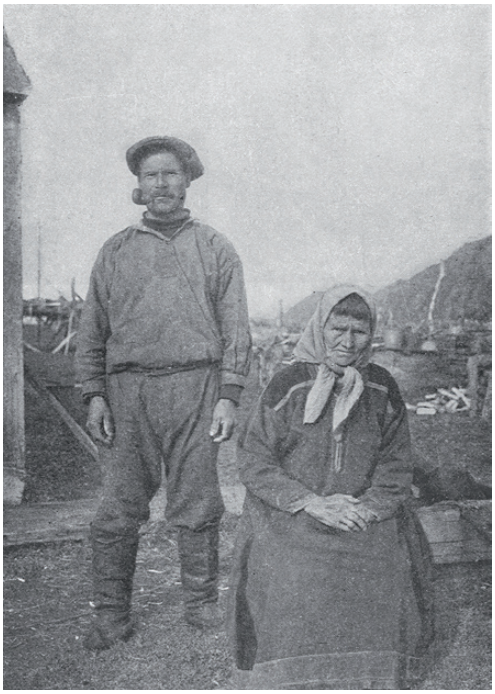

Fig. 1 Filmans from the colony of Lesser Western Litsa. From Zolotarev 1930: 17.

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 *Njavdam*, Finnish *Näätämö* — No. *Pasvik* is Ru. *Pazvika*, *Pazreck*, Fi. *Paatsjoki* — No. *Peisen* is Ru. *Pečenga*, Fi. Pe*tsamo*, etc. Nowadays, the places have official Sami names as well, namely *Njauddâm*, *Paačč̌jokk* 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 ėtnografičeskij 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*, *Gunnersen*, *Haltta*, *Jörgensen*, *Larsen*, *Malvig*, *Naula*, *Nielsen*, *Olsen*, *Oxhufvud*, *Panna*, *Pehrsen*, *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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PETER FJÅGESUND

When Science Came to the Arctic

Constantine Phipps's expedition to Spitsbergen in 1773

ABSTRACT The article discusses Constantine Phipps's expedition to Spitsbergen in 1773 and the extent to which it may be regarded as introducing a new and scientific discourse with respect to the Arctic. Phipps appears to be the first Arctic explorer who comes to the region with a modern, scientific mind, and the first to fully reflect a scientific approach to it in the report he writes and publishes on his return. Thus, although the background of the expedition was political and strategic, he may be said to have pioneered a view of the Arctic as being above narrow, nationalist interests. Similarly, it is argued that Phipps's scientific approach paradoxically also heralds the aesthetic dimension of the Romantic period in the region. The article also compares Phipps's expedition with those of Captain Cook, which were taking place at the same time.

KEYWORDS Arctic, Spitsbergen, Svalbard, science, north, Constantine Phipps, Joseph Banks, eighteenth century

When Russia in August 2007 wanted to give the world an unequivocal and media-friendly message concerning its presence and strategic interests in the Arctic, the way in which it was staged and executed was hardly a coincidence. Planting a Russian flag from a submarine on the bottom of the sea bed, 4,200 metres under the North Pole, was a carefully orchestrated political and even military message packaged as a piece of daring and demanding scientific exploration. This powerful combination of science and politics is not confined to the recent past, however.

In the eighteenth century, before the invention of aeroplanes and

before modern roads and railways made transport on land cheap and efficient, the sea provided, as it had always done, the primary means for large-scale logistic operations involving goods and people. The sea was, in other words, relatively more important than it is today, and mastering it and controlling it was, to put it simply, the key to power, a fact increasingly acknowledged and–figuratively speaking–taken on board by the British from the age of Henry VIII onwards (Hill (ed.) 2002: 28–31). Thus, the history of the British Navy is largely the history of the British nation, and vice versa. The sea, then, represented an important arena or frontier where nations would vie for a favourable position, and at the spearhead of this competition science would play an increasingly important role. The following is a discussion concerning one particular expedition, that of Constantine John Phipps (1744–1792) to Spitsbergen in 1773, which might serve as an example of an Arctic expedition representing a watershed in polar exploration, adding to the discovery of land and natural resources a new dimension, namely that of scientific investigation, and anticipating the expeditions of modern times, in which science plays a dominant role. As a result, it could also be seen as providing a new discourse or a new set of spectacles through which to view and comprehend the icy wastes.

In the middle and late eighteenth century there was especially one maritime problem that was crying for a solution, namely that of longitude. The problem was by no means a new one: "For lack of a practical method of determining longitude, every great captain in the Age of Exploration became lost at sea despite the best available charts and compasses" (Sobel 2005: 6), and in the centuries before Phipps, a series of potential solutions were introduced to the sea-faring community, many of them of a highly imaginative character.[1] Then, after the so-called Scilly Isles disaster in October 1707, where close to 2,000 men in four warships drowned as a result of a fatal navigational error, the pressure to solve the problem once and for all greatly increased. As a result, the Longitude Act was passed only seven years later, establishing the Board of Longitude, whose sole task was to devote itself to this particular question.

To start with, however, the Phipp's expedition was not especially concerned with longitude. After a period of intense British activity in the Arctic in the 1500s and early 1600s, during which the great objective was to find a passage to Asia, few efforts had been made in the following century and a half, especially in the direction of the Pole itself. In the course of this period, Europe had gone through major changes; most importantly, Britain had risen to becoming a major European power and was nurturing imperial ambitions which increasingly necessitated an access to the markets in the Far East. Such an access, and preferably an exclusive one via a northern—as

opposed to a southern—route, would give invaluable advantages, and consequently the old search for a passage was revived, involving not just the traditional Northeast and Northwest passages, but also a possible route straight across the Pole. Thus, according to Phipps's own account, *A Voyage towards the North Pole Undertaken by His Majesty's Command 1773*, which was published in 1774, the object of the expedition was simply "to try how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole" (Phipps 1774: 10).

Not unexpectedly, there was also an element of national rivalry behind the decision. Several countries realised that the time was right for securing trade routes as well as distant markets and territories, and expeditions were organised in various directions. In 1768, James Cook (1728–1779)—not yet a captain—had begun his first voyage, but had sailed southwest into the Pacific, steering clear of Arctic waters. Also, he was not to return until 1771. Thus, when the French explorer Louis-Antoine de Bougainville (1729–1811) returned from his successful circumnavigation of the world in 1769, he clearly provided the French with an edge on the British. Furthermore, he had specific ideas about finding a northern route to the East. In August 1772, he wrote a detailed memorandum to the French Navy suggesting a voyage across the Pole. His proposal was turned down a month later, resulting in an as yet undocumented contact between Bougainville and the British (Savours 1984: 402–403). Another element was the Swiss geographer Samuel Engel (1702–1784), who in 1765 had published an important book in Lausanne on the possibility of reaching the North Pole. An enlarged German edition, which almost certainly attracted the interest of the British, was then published in 1772. From now on action was swift: by the end of the year discussions were under way, and as early as January 1773, the recently elected Vice President of the Royal Society, Daines Barrington (1727–1800), formally proposed an expedition. Barrington was, like Engel, a firm believer in an open polar sea, and in 1775 he published *The Probability of Reaching the North Pole*, a paper "read at the Meeting of the Royal Society, May 19, 1774", i.e. after Phipps's return (Barrington 1775: n. p.). In this paper, he claims credit for being "the unworthy proposer of the voyage towards the North Pole" (1), with a choice of adjective that was clearly more appropriate than he intended it to be; R. W. Phipps, a modern descendant of Constantine Phipps, characterises him as an "ignoramus" and an "amiable aristocratic British eccentric", his theories as "totally unsubstantiated", and goes on to quote the book *Farthest North*, edited by Clive Holland, which describes Barrington as "being remarkably dim-witted" (Phipps 2004: 390). Still, his arguments prior to the voyage had clearly convinced the Royal Society, indicating rather explicitly the extent to which scientific scepticism was still in its infancy, and the Society promptly wrote to the Earl of Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiral-

ty. He immediately took the proposal to King George III, who "was pleased to direct" that the expedition "should be immediately undertaken" (Phipps 1774: 10), and by April Phipps had been appointed and provided with two ships, the *Racehorse* and the *Carcass*.

In one sense, Britain was back to square one: the numerous expeditions in the 1500s and 1600s had not brought the question of a northern short-cut to Asia nearer to a solution, and so Phipps's task was essentially the same as that of his predecessors, i.e. to find a northern route to Asia. The main difference this time was that Phipps was instructed to take the bull by the horns, find an opening through the allegedly narrow rim of ice against which earlier expeditions had surrendered, and cut straight across the Pole (though he was instructed, in case he reached the Pole, to return immediately). It is hardly difficult to understand how intriguing the idea of an open and temperate polar sea must have been at a time when nobody knew what was behind the apparently perpetual barrier around 80° N. Nor is it difficult to understand the implications of a successful opening up of a new sea route to the East. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that an Act of Parliament was passed very soon after the Phipps expedition (1776) promising a reward of £5,000 for anyone reaching within one degree of the North Pole (Hayes 2003: 58).

However, Phipps's expedition must have left London on 4 June with a considerably greater confidence than Arctic expeditions only a few years earlier. One point, which should not be underestimated, was the quality of the ships, which had been considerably strengthened to tackle the extreme conditions. Together with this, the provisions in terms of food and clothes were the very best available (Savours 1984: 404). But the expedition was also different in other essential respects. When the two ships sailed down the Thames they were not primarily armed with the latest in terms of weapons to defend themselves, or with goods to be sold to or bartered with potential primitive natives. Instead, they were armed with science. When Sir Martin Conway, in his history of Spitsbergen, claims that this was "the first purely geographical Arctic expedition" and "in intention, a purely scientific mission" (quoted in Savours 1984: 405), it is only partly true, because the intention or ultimate objective was obviously political, strategic and commercial more than scientific. Still, the fact remains that science played an overwhelmingly important role during the expedition. It also marked the beginning of a new era, in which highly specialised science became an indispensable tool and a key factor in the fierce competition between different nations. Finally, it demonstrates the importance of scientific as well as political networks, how they interacted, how they were partly separate and partly the same, and how they thus illustrate new constellations of power

and influence in society. In short, it could be seen as a stage in the development of the modern world.

Constantine Phipps was himself a typical representative of these new networks within Establishment circles, combining a number of functions and interests. A man of the sea from an early age, he became a lieutenant at the age of eighteen, and later a captain. He was the owner of a library on nautical books that "was famous and considered to be the best in England",[2] and while continuing his naval career, he was also a Member of Parliament and of the Royal Society. Patrick O'Brian simply calls him "a capital astronomer and mathematician" (41), and A. M. Lysaght claims he "had a great knowledge of the higher branches of astronomy and mathematics" (Lysaght 1971: 62). Still, contacts are essential, and there seems to be little doubt that one man in particular helped promote Phipps's career. At Eton in the late 1750s, he had been a fellow student of Joseph Banks (1743–1820), a wealthy young landowner from Lincolnshire, who was soon to become Britain's most prominent botanist. As early as 1766, Phipps and Banks had gone to Newfoundland and Labrador together for botanical studies in Britain's new territories acquired as a result of the Treaty of Paris three years earlier (O'Brian 1997: 40), and in this way Phipps also acquired a considerable knowledge of natural history, which today would be called "biology." Furthermore, Banks did not just have a hand in the appointment of Phipps for the polar expedition; he also provided him with a long list of "desiderata," i.e. botanical and zoological specimens that Banks wanted him to bring back to England (Lysaght 1971: 256–259). Phipps consequently combined naval expertise with a considerable knowledge of scientific matters.

Another central and highly interesting figure in this network of scientists is Israel Lyons (1739–1775), who was appointed astronomer of the expedition and thus had overall responsibility for the scientific activities on board the two vessels. Lyons, whose career is discussed in detail in an article by Lynn B. Glyn, stands out among this group of Establishment figures, because as a Jew of humble origins, he was excluded from an academic position at Cambridge, where he lived, as well as membership in the Royal Society. Having published a mathematical treatise at the age of nineteen and a botanical work at twenty-four (Glyn 2002: 275), he eventually became connected with the Board of Longitude. Once again, the influential Joseph Banks was probably pulling the strings: while Banks was still a student at Oxford in 1764 and desired to be taught botany, which was not offered by the university, Lyons "rode over [...] and gave a successful course of lectures," thus establishing a relationship with Banks that would soon prove profitable (Glyn 2002: 285). Only a year later, Lyons acquired a position as an assistant to the new Astronomer Royal, Nevil Maskelyne (1732–1811), which

meant that he also worked in close contact with the Royal Society. The surgeon on the expedition was Dr. Charles Irving, who had constructed an apparatus for distilling fresh water from the sea, which with "repeated trials gave us the most satisfactory proof of its utility: the water produced from it was perfectly free from salt, and wholesome, being used for boiling the ship's provisions" (Phipps 1774: 28).

Before looking more closely at the Phipps expedition, however, it is necessary to place it more precisely in relationship to another parallel event at the time, namely James Cook's Second Voyage. As mentioned earlier, Cook had returned from his first circumnavigation in July 1771, i.e. about eighteen months before the initiative for the Phipps expedition was taken. An important contributor to the success of the first voyage was the omnipresent Joseph Banks, who served as the expedition's botanist and who registered a large number of new botanical specimens. A year later, in July 1772, Cook set out on his second voyage, from which he returned in July 1775. This means that the entire Phipps expedition, the planning as well as the actual execution of it, took place at a time when there was still no news of Cook's second voyage. This is worth noting, because both Cook and Phipps found themselves playing roles in a scientific competition—one of the most nerve-wracking chapters in the history of modern science. At the centre of this competition was the problem already mentioned—that of longitude. At the time, there were two men representing rival approaches to finding a solution, and both contestants were eagerly vying for the £20,000 prize offered by the Board of Longitude. One theory was represented by the Astronomer Royal, Nevil Maskelyne, who believed in the so-called lunar distance method, whose complex calculations were based on Maskelyne's *Nautical Almanac* (later known as the *Astronomical Ephemeris*), which was first published in 1766 (Quill 1966: 240). This is precisely the work Lyons was contributing to. The other approach was John Harrison's chronometer. Harrison (1693–1776), a Yorkshire carpenter, was a natural genius who had produced his first pendulum clock—made almost entirely of wood—in 1713 (Quill 1966: 16), but who since 1730 had been working on a clock or chronometer that had the extreme precision needed for keeping accurate Greenwich time at sea and thus for calculating a ship's longitude. This required an instrument that was completely impervious not only to the ship's movements, but also to major climatic variations. By 1760, Harrison had produced his fourth prototype, the so-called H4, for which—five years later—he was granted half the prize money. But the race was not over; the Board of Longitude, heavily influenced by Maskelyne himself, kept demanding more and more taxing tests, and when Cook set out on his second voyage in 1772 he was given a copy of H4 built by Larcum Kendall (1721–1795) and instructed to subject it to the

most rigorous test imaginable, i.e. another circumnavigation, which would also involve a visit to the polar regions (Quill 1966: 186). However, in June 1773 no-one knew where Captain Cook was, whether he was still alive, or whether the chronometer was at the bottom of the sea. Consequently, the Phipps expedition provided an alternative opportunity for stringent testing, and the Board of Longitude therefore provided Phipps with "two watch machines for keeping the longitude by difference of time; one constructed by Mr. Kendall, on Mr. Harrison's principles; the other by Mr. Arnold" (Phipps 1774: 13–14). Thus, Phipps found himself responsible for an experiment with new spearhead technology which might potentially revolutionise navigation at sea and have a huge impact on a trade that was quickly assuming global dimensions. The seriousness of the experiment is underlined by the extremely detailed instructions given by the Board of Longitude with regard to who would have keys to the boxes in which the chronometers were kept, how the winding of them and the reading of data should be performed with a certain number of witnesses present, and so on (Savours 1984: 410).

But that was not all; in relative terms, the *Carcass* and the *Racehorse* were essentially equipped like modern research vessels, packed with the best scientific equipment money could buy. This included, among a wide range of instruments, a sextant, which had been invented by John Bird as recently as 1757, and which was an improvement on the octant; a Dollond telescope; a marine barometer; six thermometers and two dipping needles, the latter measuring the angle between the earth's surface and the direction of the magnetic field. In addition, Phipps's report contains a number of detailed illustrations of the instruments on board, including a pendulum, "to ascertain the exact distance between the center of motion and center of oscillation of a pendulum to vibrate seconds at London" (153), and about thirty pages of text describing with impressive precision the various experiments performed with it.

A major part of the report is devoted to these instruments and their function, and in comparison with expedition reports from only a couple of decades earlier, that of Phipps is in a category of its own. Furthermore, the author comes across as a kind of scientific *homo ludens*, who with childish abandon and curiosity seeks to find out what information the various instruments can yield, as in the following observations. The first is from 15 June 1773:

> By an observation at eight in the morning, the longitude of the ship was by the watch 0° 39' W: Dip 74° 52'. At half past ten in the morning, the longitude, from several observations of the sun and moon, was 0° 17' W; at noon being in latitude 60° 19' 8", by observation, I took the distance between the two ships, by the Megameter; and from that base

> determined the position of Hangcliff, which had never before been ascertained, though it is a very remarkable point, and frequently made by ships. According to these observations it is in latitude 60° 9', and longitude 0° 56' 30" W. In the Appendix I shall give an account of the manner of taking surveys by this instrument, which I believe never to have been practised before. (Phipps 1774: 25–26.)

Five days later:

> I founded with a very heavy lead the depth of 780 fathom, without getting ground; and by a thermometer invented by lord Charles Cavendish for this purpose, found the temperature of the water at that depth to be 26° of Fahrenheit's thermometer; the temperature of the air being 48° ½. (Phipps 1774: 27.)

On 16 July, he makes another observation which is remarkable for its precision:

> On the 16th [of July 1773], at noon, the weather was remarkably fine and clear. The thermometer in the shade being at 49°, when exposed to the sun rose in a few minutes to 89½, and remained so for some time, till a small breeze springing up, made it to fall 10° almost instantly. The weather at this time was rather hot; so that I imagine, if a thermometer was to be graduated according to the feelings of people in these latitudes, the point of temperature would be about the 44th degree of Fahrenheit's scale. From this island I took a survey, to ascertain the situation of all the points and openings, and the height of the most remarkable mountains: the longest base the island would afford was only 618 feet, which I determined by a cross base, as well as actual measurement, and found the results not to differ above three feet. To try how far the accuracy of this survey might be depended upon, I took in a boat, with a small Hadley's sextant, the angles between seven objects, which intersected exactly when laid down upon the plan. I had a farther proof of its accuracy some days after, by taking the bearings of Vogel Sang and Hacluyt's Head Land in one, which corresponded exactly with their position on my chart. (Phipps 1774: 46.)

And on 18 August, the crew having with an almost superhuman effort managed to free the ship from being caught in the ice, he seems almost reluctantly to conclude his experiments before returning to England:

> Completed the observations. Calm all day. During our stay, I again set up the pendulum, but was not so fortunate as before, never having been able to get an observation of a revolution of the sun, or even equal altitudes for the time. We had an opportunity of determining the refrac-

> tion at midnight, which answered within a few seconds to the calculation in Dr. Bradley's table, allowing for the barometer and thermometer. (Phipps 1774: 69.)

Observations described with this kind of vocabulary and this level of scientific precision would have been unthinkable only a few years earlier. Perhaps it is the inclusion of half degrees that most clearly demonstrates a new and sophisticated approach, but it should also be noted that Phipps describes, almost in passing, mathematical operations that clearly require a considerable theoretical knowledge from a naval captain. In the passage from 16 July, for instance, he shows an awareness of the fact that the sense of heat and cold is relative rather than absolute, thus anticipating a phenomenon that scientists a hundred and fifty years later would call the Wind Chill Factor. And the entry from 18 August indicates an understanding of how refraction is influenced by the changes in atmospheric pressure and temperature. Still, it was Lyons and not Phipps who was responsible for the scientific experiments on board, and not unexpectedly, the former was also provided with an extremely detailed and demanding list of instructions to be performed during the voyage, all of which are reproduced in Ann Savours' article about the expedition (Savours 1984: 423–424). Also, according to Glyn, Maskelyne's notebooks contain a series of questions relating to the voyage, and from the perspective of history of science, the form of these notes are perhaps as interesting as their content:

> Currents, their strength & direction? Driftwood, what kind of wood, is it wormeaten, whence comes it? Does the salt-water ever freeze? Is the ice found in the sea perfectly fresh? Fogs, where & when do they prevail most? [...] Mountains of ice & floating ice ought to be distinguished from one another. Q: Velocity & direction—whence comes it? Are either or both salt? (Quoted in Glyn 2002: 295.)

Clearly, there are practical reasons for these questions: Maskelyne was as aware as everyone else involved in the expedition that it was essential to leave no stone unturned in the attempt to find indications of a navigable route across the Pole, and consequently any small clue might prove significant. Still, there is at the same time an almost feverish intensity in the Astronomer Royal's curiosity to know, to gather information, to systematise it and to draw new scientific conclusions. From a Scandinavian perspective, this is particularly interesting, since the towering figure of Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) played a central role in the development of this new approach to knowledge, by which virtually all information concerning the natural world and its manifold phenomena was ordered, catalogued and labelled. As Mary

Louise Pratt comments in *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation*, the main ambition of natural history at the time was to impose a sense of order:

> The eighteenth-century classificatory systems created the task of locating every species on the planet, extracting it from its particular, arbitrary surroundings (the chaos), and placing it in its appropriate spot in the system (the order book, collection, or garden) with its new written, secular European name. Linnaeus himself took credit for adding 8,000 new items to the corpus during his lifetime. [...] The (lettered, male, European) eye that held the system could familiarize ("naturalize") new sites/sights immediately upon contact, by incorporating them into the language of the system. (Pratt 1992: 31.)

And the connection between the Phipps expedition and Linnaeus is quite direct: the latter's disciple in Uppsala, Daniel Carl Solander (1733–1782), had been sent to London in 1760 as a representative and promoter of the new scientific regime, and had quickly become a prominent member of the British scientific Establishment, acquiring a position at the newly founded British Museum as early as 1763. In the following year he became acquainted with Joseph Banks, another enthusiastic Linnean (as was, incidentally, also Israel Lyons), with whom he gradually developed a "close friendship" (O'Brian 1997: 37–38), and like Banks, he also took part in Cook's first voyage. The search for a solution to the problem of longitude could also be directly compared to the Linnean system: the grid created by latitude and longitude would yield units of information small enough to be manageable and beyond doubt, enabling—for the first time in history—a captain always to know his position with absolute certainty.

A final example of the almost obsessively scientific focus on the voyage to Spitsbergen is provided by an incident from soon after the publication of Phipps's official report. In the very same year, 1774, a small, fifteen-page booklet was published by the Reverend Samuel Horsley (1733–1806). As a typical educated man of the period, Horsley was not only a man of the Church, but also a very competent mathematician and a member of the Royal Society. He had also played "an active role in drawing up the instructions for the voyage" (Glyn 2002: 298). The booklet was entitled *Remarks on the Observations Made in the Late Voyage towards the North Pole, for Determining the Acceleration of the Pendulum, in Latitude 79° 50'*. The introduction is a study in polite phrases, between the lines of which the reader can sense that something is brewing:

> Mathematicians are no less indebted to you than mariners, for the attention which you have given to every object of scientific enquiry, though but remotely connected with nautical art, which that singular voyage presented. I have perused with particular attention the account of the observations of the going of the pendulum in latitude 79° 50' and shall give you my remarks without apology, which it would be the highest injustice to you not to suppose unnecessary, after the pains you have bestowed upon the observation, and the minuteness and fidelity with which you have detailed all the circumstances of it, as well as the steps of the subsequent calculations. (Horsley 1774: 3–4.)

Horsley then quickly goes into a complicated scientific discussion whose content is of no interest apart from the fact that it shows how advanced and sophisticated science had become. What it amounts to is making Phipps aware of a minor miscalculation:

> For the exact agreement which you think you find between the gain of the pendulum as resulting from the comparison with the watch, and as deduced from the observation of the sun's return to the vertical wire of the equatorial telescope, is imaginary. The appearance of agreement arises entirely from an error in the computation of the retardation of the sun's return. (Horsley 1774, quoted in Glyn 2002: 298.)

It is not immediately clear why Horsley chose to publish a separate booklet about this miscalculation,[3] but what emerges from Glyn's summary of the incident is that it produced a rather heated exchange of letters and that despite the relative insignificance of the error, it quickly became a question of honour for Phipps himself, who called it a "monstrous blunder" (Glyn 2002: 298). As a result, Lyons was made to carry the blame, which he immediately accepted. The incident, however, again serves to illustrate a totally new discourse, which makes scientific accuracy a matter of the utmost importance, which has a direct bearing on social relations and prestige, and which it would probably be difficult to find examples of only a few years earlier. It is perhaps even typical of this change that the whole objective of the Phipps expedition more or less drowned in a discussion about a minute calculating error: 1773 was the worst summer for ice in living memory, and so after weeks of running against the solid wall of ice at the northern tip of Spitsbergen, Phipps eventually returned with nothing gained, at least in terms of discovering a passage across the Pole.

Although Cook's voyages were undoubtedly scientific missions which collected invaluable material,[4] they are perhaps more famous for geographical discovery and cartographical advances with relatively direct political and commercial implications. Phipps's voyage, on the other hand, hitting

relentlessly against a solid wall of ice, was in a sense a complete failure in terms of discovering new land or a new passage to Asia, and this is probably the reason why his account and the numerous tables and illustrations of mechanical instruments leave such a powerful impression of the expedition as an almost pure-bred scientific venture. Passages such as the ones quoted above may seem almost comical when compared to the apparently meagre results from the expedition, at least on the surface. Nevertheless, the phrase "paradigm shift" may not be an overstatement when describing the expedition, because this shift took place both in terms of new political tools and in terms of language and terminology.

From now on it was obvious to everyone–politicians and scientists alike –that science had become an indispensable tool in the pursuit of political profit. Science, in other words, acquired political leverage through a general realisation that it possessed the key to change and progress. The innumerable tiny measurements and experiments might seem insignificant and even laughable for an explorer of the old school, who was used to rather more tangible evidence, but people in central positions understood that they were necessary steps that would eventually provide huge rewards—the faster and sooner, the better.

In terms of language, too, a change had taken place. Phipps's expedition had come about largely because of international competition in the field of science. This competition, though remaining fundamentally political, strategic and commercial in nature, was couched in the new and different discourse of science. Furthermore, science was by its very nature a free and open pursuit that ignored national borders. As a consequence, the more down-to-earth national interests became less clearly expressed, at least on the face of things. Instead, they had to be read between the lines and introduced in a jargon that was apparently objective and disinterested. It goes without saying that the older generation, unaccustomed to and ignorant of the new knowledge and the new vocabulary, must have had a sense of belonging to an old order. Perhaps even the second clash mentioned above between Samuel Horsley and Joseph Banks provides an illustration of this point: after the Revolution, Banks—even at a time of war with France—had retained close contacts with French scientific colleagues, and was honoured with a membership in the highly prestigious *Institut National* in Paris. Horsley, incapable of distinguishing between science and national interests, found Banks's grateful letter of acceptance to the Institut "replete with statements which are a compound of servility, disloyalty and falsehood, sentiments which ought never to be conceived by an English heart" (quoted in O'Brian 1997: 268).

Customs and attitudes to life at sea also changed. For instance, when

Albert Markham discusses the Phipps expedition in his book *Northward Ho*!, he comments particularly on the fact that in all accounts of expeditions from the seventeenth century there is a consistent reflection of a faith in the Almighty, whereas there is no indication in the logs and journals from the Phipps expedition that divine service was ever performed during the voyage (Markham 1879: 78–79).[5] It is as if the new scientific approach rather suddenly applies to all aspects of life, thus gradually replacing an old perception of the natural world—including the awe-inspiring Arctic—as a place of forces beyond human control with the idea that nature can be mastered by human knowledge and subjected to rational, identifiable laws. And with this new-won self-confidence, the perception of the Arctic similarly begins to change. Less than twenty years after Edmund Burke's treatise on various concepts of beauty, the philosophical category of the sublime is able, to some extent guided by the hand of science, to provide the Arctic and the polar regions in general with a new and *aesthetic* dimension that will characterise it up to the present age. From Phipps's day onwards, the polar landscape is not just awesome and merciless—a white underworld; it also carries a terrifying beauty. Paradoxically, Phipps, with his cool and rational instrumentalism, heralds the advent of the haunting and mysterious Romantic Arctic landscape idea of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

In the early 1770s, a number of countries were very much aware of the strategic significance of the Arctic regions. Despite having suffered major defeats and lost huge territories during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) and through the Treaty of Paris, France was not on the defensive. In 1771, the explorer Marquis Verdun de la Crenne, for instance, visited Iceland and charted parts of the island's coastline (Freminville 1819: 85), and two years later, Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, whose role in the build-up to the Phipps expedition has been discussed above, conducted an expedition to Spitsbergen paralleling that of Phipps (Markham 1879: 101). Similarly, the Dutch were active in the northern fisheries, reaping huge harvests: according to William Scoresby (Jr.), in the 1771 season alone, 121 Dutch ships produced 14,320 barrels of oil from 500 whales (Scoresby 1969: vol. 2, 79). Still, there was no doubt that Britain had by now emerged as the world's leading nation, whose most powerful instrument, the Royal Navy, was effectively in control of the seas. In addition, the Hudson's Bay Company provided a strong British presence in present-day northern Canada. Thus it was one of its representatives, the young Samuel Hearne, who from 1770 to 1772 explored the Northwest Territories and eventually reached the Arctic Ocean (McGhee 2005: 204–215).

The Phipps expedition and its attempt to open a new gateway to the

East in the following year were therefore very much a demonstration of British political ambitions in the north. But it was also a demonstration of a new awareness that science was an essential key to success in the political arena, and a demonstration of an impressive collaboration between representatives from such different camps as the Government (not least the King), the Navy and the Royal Society. Admittedly, the men behind the venture were all—with the exception of Israel Lyons—members of a small and closely-knit elite; it is interesting to note that both Phipps himself and Joseph Banks belonged to the landed gentry, which still—but only for a time—represented the backbone of British society and recruited men with the cultural and financial capital necessary to bring the world forward. Thus, on the one hand, the combination of science and political power structures was something of a novelty 250 years ago; on the other hand, since then this fundamental recipe for change has perhaps not been altered very much at all, as is apparent in the present situation in the Arctic. Today, too, there is an intense and renewed awareness of the significance of the region; a range of countries have jumped on the bandwagon; and there is a complex interweaving of political and scientific interests. There is, however, one new element that makes today's exploration of the polar regions radically different from that of the 1770s: the exploitation of natural resources is only going to be possible in close collaboration with networks of scientists which are truly global rather than national, and whose function and responsibility are just as much to help protect the region as to exploit it. One may argue that traditionally, science has allowed itself to be used as a means of conquering and exploiting a passive natural world, but that role is definitely changing. This means, one may hope, that something amounting to yet another paradigm shift is actually taking place, and that there is reason for optimism despite climate change, ice melting and polar bears struggling to survive in a changing environment.

NOTES

[1] For a survey, see Sobel 2005, ch. 1.

[2] Lysaght 1971: 62, quoted in Savours 1984: 407.

[3] There is no doubt, however, that he was hot-tempered: a decade later he made "a remarkably violent attack" upon Joseph Banks, who was then President of the Royal Society, and he made yet another in 1802. Both of the attacks were personally rather than scientifically motivated (O'Brian 1997: 209, 268).

[4] O'Brian's biography of Joseph Banks (O'Brian 1997) offers numerous examples of the intensity of the latter's search, even at the risk of his own life, to register hitherto unknown plants and animals.

[5] Typically, Patrick O'Brian comments similarly concerning Joseph Bank's journal from

the first Cook expedition. Having been in serious distress, the *Endeavour* was manoeuvred into a bay that provided a perfect place for repairs, and Banks calls the finding of the harbour "'almost providential'." According to O'Brian, "these words and others on the next page are almost his only references to a higher power" (135).

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Reviews/ Comptes rendus/ Besprechungen

Maria Lähteenmäki, *The Peoples of Lapland. Boundary Demarcations and Interaction in the North Calotte from 1808 to 1889*, Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters 2006, ISBN 951410983X, 335 pp.

In her book *The Peoples of Lapland*, historian Maria Lähteenmäki wants to avoid the path taken by most earlier research concerning this region. Her aim is to view the North Calotte—i. e. northern Fennoscandia and the Kola Peninsula—as one geographical area, disregarding the state borders dividing it into four different national territories. This is a positive approach, although difficult, and probably much more in tune with how the people of the region regarded it. The title indicates that the study will include all groups in this geographical area, but Lähteenmäki slims down her scope and states that the main focus is the population of Finnish Lapland, and Finnish settlers in other parts of the North Calotte. She also aims to change the image of Lapland as the country of Sami and reindeer, demonstrating that it was also a land of settlers, a perspective which is noticeable in the text. The time period, 1808–1889, has been chosen because it is an important and formative time for both Finland and Finnish Lapland, book-ended by significant events. In the Finnish War of 1808–1809 between Sweden and Russia, Sweden lost Finland which had been a part of the kingdom since the twelfth century. Although this was a shocking and painful development for Sweden and for many Finns, it was also the beginning of a future independent Finland. It was also important for the northern parts of Finland since the war split the historical Swedish province of Lapland in two, creating a Finnish Lapland which slowly began to develop. Lähteenmäki ends her study in 1889, with the Russian decision to close the Swedish-Finnish border to reindeer herding.

The text is structured like older travel literature, inviting the reader to accompany the author on a geographical "journey of exploration" through the area, while going back and forth in time. The prologue is the war and its aftermath and Lähteenmäki describes the severe effects this had on the population in Finnish Lapland. The journey then begins in south-western Finnish Lapland where communities had been partitioned by the new border, describing the adjustments that had to be made due to the new situation. From there Lähteenmäki moves across the border into Swedish Norrbotten, touching on the strong population growth, the rise of the religious movement of Laestadianism and the trafficking of children from Swedish and Finnish Lapland to Norwegian or Sami foster parents in Norwegian Finnmark. This is also where Lähteenmäki goes next, to the Lyngen market and the copper works in Kåfjord, where the reader is introduced to the Finnish-speaking population in the area, the so called *Kvens*, and the Norwegianization policy. From here she moves back across the border to north-western Finnish Lapland, with poor relief, education and a visit to a prison on the programme. Then the journey goes east, to Sodankylä, where crop failures and starvation

are the topics, and how these contributed to integrating Lapland into the national awareness through the aid projects that were initiated in southern Finland. Lähteenmäki continues north to Inari and Utsjoki, discussing Sami-Finnish relations and Sami assimilation. After this the text momentarily leaves the geographic explorations and focuses on the process of demarcation of the borders partitioning the North Calotte, and especially the closing of two of the borders to reindeer herding: the Finnish-Norwegian in 1852 and the Finnish-Swedish in 1889. Thereafter the geographic journey continues, going north to north-eastern Norway and the Finnish immigration to the Varanger Peninsula, touching on Finnish political ambitions to receive a land corridor to the Arctic Ocean, before finally concluding with a visit to Russian Lapland and the Finnish settlers there.

It is an ambitious goal Lähteenmäki has set for herself in her study, covering such a large geographical area, partitioned between four nation states and with five peoples living there, and even with the limitations of the scope presented initially, she has some difficulties realizing her aim. The book is rich in detail, and the structure of the text is a nice touch which makes the transitions between different parts of the region flow smoothly. Her intention to write a history from below, to show the lives of the Finnish population of the area and their trans-border movement in search of a better life works relatively well, but in some of the geographical areas the local population tend to disappear under cold statistics, official reports and traveller accounts, without really coming alive. However, as long as focus is on the main topic, the Finns, the account is detailed and nuanced, but when Lähteenmäki turns to the Sami the situation, unfortunately, changes for the worse. I shall give a few examples of the problems here.

Lähteenmäki's attempts to illustrate that Lapland was not only a region of Sami and reindeer becomes clear for the first time when she arrives in Swedish Norrbotten. She describes the Torne River Valley as a Finnish "ethnically, culturally and linguistically homogenous region" (p. 61), and this is supported with a map a few pages further on in the text. The statement is surprising, considering that a considerable part of the population was Sami. She also questions the content of the term *Lapp*—which in Sweden and Finland historically has been the enthnonym used for the Sami—arguing that it was not based on ethnicity, but rather on lifestyle and profession, fishing, hunting and reindeer herding, and thus including more people than the Sami. She does not, however, question the content of the terms *Swede* or *Finn*. Instead Lähteenmäki uses *Finns* and *Finnish-speakers* as synonyms, suggesting that she considers the dominant ethnic identities of the nation states, *Swede* and *Finn*, as given, superior categories, while *Lapp* (*Sami*) is questionable when it comes to ethnic content. This indicates that she has an obstructed view when looking at issues concerning the Sami, which stands in clear contrast to when she discusses the Finnish-speaking population.

Based on examples from the 1830s and 1840s, Lähteenmäki then concludes that Swedish authorities were not discriminating the Sami based on their ethnicity, especially if compared to the conditions under which the Finnish-speaking population lived. Here Lähteenmäki would clearly have benefited from reading more of the research literature on the issue. The

more structured discrimination towards the Sami in the form of special legislation, schools and such, were indeed a few decades away, but much of the ingredients of this policy was already in place. Around 1800, the Sami had definitely lost control over the land they used, the so called taxed Sami lands, and one of the reasons for this was that ideas of cultural hierarchies were beginning to influence political thought, making it clear that a subordinate nomadic group such as the Sami could not own land. The Sami were forced to change their livelihood and way of life, from hunting, fishing and/or reindeer herding to agriculture and farming, to be able to maintain control and ownership over the land they used. For some who took this step, this was most certainly a choice made by free will, but for others it was a strategy to maintain control over the land. And for those who did not give up their traditional lifestyle, land rights were lost. Apart from losing control over the land, they also lost access to more and more of the grazing lands, due to the expansion of agriculture.

Lähteenmäki then continues the discussion concerning the Sami when the text returns to Finland, and it is here that her motive becomes clearer. With statements such as "the extremist interpretation of the militant Saami Studies of the 1990s" (p. 203), it would seem as if she has an axe to grind with an undefined group of researchers covered by the term *Sami Studies*, which seems to consist of researchers in Finland. Lähteenmäki claims that a prevailing colonialist perspective on majority-Sami relations has dominated Sami research, with a strong emphasis on conflicts, virtually excluding many relevant perspectives such as internal structures of Sami society and cooperation between them and the surrounding peoples. But to illustrate this, she goes on a personal crusade to try to prove the *Sami Studies*-group wrong, making this goal seem more important than the foundation for the arguments.

She argues that the population of Finnish Lapland as a whole was subject to assimilation and incorporation into Finland during the nineteenth century, but surely there would be a point in discussing the differences in this process for different groups, clarifying whether this process meant ethnic assimilation as it could for the Sami, or merely incorporation into the national consciousness as for the Finnish population. She strongly opposes any notion that the Sami were oppressed and that the settlers had a more beneficial situation. She also compares the Sami with the Jews and the Roms—the latter especially since they are also a "vagrant" group—and states that these groups were treated more harshly than the Sami during the Swedish rule and that this was continued in Finland after 1809, but fails to take notice of the different positions of the groups: the Sami were viewed as a "natural" component of the population, an indigenous people, while the other two groups were regarded as foreign, making comparisons more difficult, without nuancing the discussion more than Lähteenmäki does. She should have related her arguments here more strongly to her own critique of other researchers who in her view have used terms such as settler and Lapp carelessly in their analyses.

Most of Lähteenmäki's examples concern Finnish Lapland, and she clearly aims her arguments at Sami research done in Finland, but that does not stop her from generalizing her conclusions to include Sweden and Norway,

without even taking research from these areas into account. When she states that ethnicity was not a basis for discrimination in the entire area of study, for instance, she should perhaps have included the great number of studies from Norway and Sweden in this field in her discussion. It is possible that she has substantiated concerns with the results presented and the methods used to reach those results by the *Sami Studies*-group. I cannot comment on her actual grievances here since Finnish is outside my language competence, but her methods are clearly biased in her endeavour to prove them wrong. You cannot prove that other researchers have used faulty reasoning and methods by employing the same in your own work. This casts a shadow over the entire book as well as the motivation of the writer.

It is an interesting perspective Lähteenmäki presents, full of possibilities, focusing on the North Calotte as a region, without stopping at the state borders through the area. It is a fruitful way of analyzing a geographical region, disregarding administrative boundaries drawn through the landscape which today has taken the shape of barriers, separating "us" from "them", but which did not have the same meaning for the people in the nineteenth century. Unfortunately for the book, her polemic concerning the Sami has a negative impact. Lähteenmäki would have been better served if she would have focused solely on the Finnish population, which is where her main interest lies anyway, or at the very least lived up to the standard she demands from other researchers. She set a lofty goal for her study, which proved to be a bit too much to actually carry out, and because of her "second agenda" concerning the Sami she makes some quite serious mistakes.

Patrik Lantto
Umeå University
Sweden
Patrik.Lantto@cesam.umu.se

Russell A. Potter, *Arctic Spectacles. The Frozen North in Visual Culture, 1818–1875*, Seattle & London: University of Washington Press 2007, ISBN 9780773533325, ix + 258 pp.

In this well-researched and beautifully presented and illustrated book, Potter argues that "it was principally through the technologies of *vision* that the Arctic was most keenly and energetically sought" (p. 4). Since only few people actually could travel to the Arctic and see it for themselves, visual technology had to be employed to satisfy the nineteenth-century audiences' desire to image the Arctic. This desire was intertwined with political and cultural questions of the time; Britain for example "deployed these new technologies to reaffirm its dominion over geographical space; seeing was not only *believing*, but in an important sense *possession* as well" (p. 7). In other words, Potter's interest does not only lie in mapping the development of the visual Arctic, but also in developing a mental map of "how Victorian society 'saw' itself" (p. 7). One way Potter aims to achieve this is by looking at panorama shows touring nineteenth-century Britain and the United States and juxtaposing them with the history of the respective expedition to

which they refer. His book thus is not only a history of panorama technology and shows, but also of British and US American Arctic expeditions.

Potter follows a chronological line, letting expeditions, visual technologies and popular culture unfold up to the twentieth century, ending with its new technology, the cinema, and noting along the way analogies with our own relationship to phenomena such as lunar landings and virtual reality. Engravings, panoramas, lantern shows and paintings are among the technologies he juxtaposes with Arctic expeditions. Potter begins his analysis in 1818, when Napoleon was defeated and Britain looked for a new stage for its endeavours, using the sudden rise in unemployment among British men to induce a heightened interest in the search for the North West Passage. The first large-scale panorama of the Arctic was produced by Henry Aston Barker in 1819–1820, a direct result of Buchan's expedition of 1818. The new interest in Arctic themes was brought about by two major factors: it appealed to the Romantic notions of the time and built upon another popular discourse of the time, the conquest of the Alps. However, as Potter shows, Arctic expeditions were by no means unanimously celebrated; while Buchan and Franklin were the heroes of the day, Ross's expedition of 1818 was criticised and ridiculed, as his achievements and his mode of dealing with the Arctic did not fit into the dominant perspective of the time. While the former received a panorama, Ross was left with a Münchhausen caricature.

Parry's expedition of 1819–1820 crystallized "this new sense of the Arctic Sublime" (p. 56) as otherworldly, full of mortal dangers, a romantic notion of the unknown which could hardly be grasped or understood by the human mind, and it was was literally engraved into the public mind by William Westall's illustrations. New aspects of imagining the Arctic however were introduced with Franklin's 1845 expedition. "Franklin sailed at the dawn of a new visual culture of mass history, mass images, and a mass reading public" —a mass reading public which had access to new illustrated newspapers, and was "the first to experience (and thus, to expect) overnight dissemination of news" (p. 72). With the aid of the daguerreotype camera, used to make portraits before the expedition, Franklin and his senior officers could step "across the representational boundary that had restrained all previous such expeditions; they *became* their portraits, rather than their portraits becoming them. [...] If ice evoked the motionlessness of death, its utter immobility, then these images froze the explorers before they even saw their first berg" (p. 73). It was also the first time in the history of Arctic expeditions that such a camera was taken on board. In the reports of Franklin's expedition textuality and visuality became intertwined and determined the future images of the Arctic. In addition, in the 1850s new visual technologies were introduced, with the moving panorama and multimedia panorama shows at the forefront. Arctic imagery became at the same time a part of popular, everyday vocabulary, with events in daily life such as the freezing of the Thames River being discussed in terms of Arctic metaphor. Examples like these show the deep impact the Arctic had on popular discourse, and Potter's study is an important contribution to the ongoing study of this process, adding a deeper understanding of the interrelation between the Arctic and its imaginings.

Probably no other topic could have sparked off stronger images of the

Arctic than the allegations of cannibalism among Franklin's men. From Charles Dickens until today, when forensic examinations of recovered bones provided scientific proof, it has set its mark on European and North American perceptions of the Arctic. Potter shows that the allegations also inaugurated a subtle shift from explicit imagery of the Arctic to its imagination in the mind, as these images hardly could be sketched in the popular press, but nevertheless "haunted the sublimity of the Arctic and altered its emotional resonance" (p. 109). Here, Potter halts the narrative of British expeditions and moves to the United States, where, he claims, the passion for the Arctic began with Elisha Kent Kane. Kane had participated as surgeon in the 1850–1851 U.S. Grinnell search expedition for Franklin. As in Britain, interest in the Arctic merged with political and cultural issues, prompting a link between public interest in Franklin's fate and "national pride in American scientific and geographic prowess" (p. 119). However, the difference between British and US American panorama shows was that the latter combined sensationalism with moral issues and didacticism. Potter shows how a number of the shows touring the country in the 1850s and 1860s also targeted school groups, although he does not elaborate further on this. By the mid-1860s however, the height of panorama shows on the Arctic had passed.

Potter also focuses in his study on other forms of spectacle focusing on the Arctic, such as the play *The Frozen Deep* by Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collins from 1856–1857, which "drew on the same symbolic register as the popular dioramas and moving panoramas" (p. 141) and became an instant success at its performances in London and Manchester. However, when revived a few years later, the play "was a complete failure" (p. 147). Potter does not give an explicit reason for this change in reception—is it, as he suggests, due to the different cast, or may it have been a result of waning interest in Franklin's fate as it had neared its solution? Is this failure symptomatic of a new perspective on the Arctic? Potter's next chapter, on McClintock's expedition and recovery of the remains of Franklin's expedition in 1858 may imply this; he observes "a subtle shift [...] away from a certain species of romance and toward a more practical, though still highly nationalistic, sense of territoriality" (p. 157) in the US and increasing doubt as to the purpose of such expeditions in Britain. All through the book, Potter shows an awareness of the problematic boundary lines between popular culture on the one hand and canonized literature or art on the other; this is especially clear in his discussions of the paintings of Caspar David Friedrich, Edward Landseer, and Frederic Edwin Church.

Arctic expeditions, the Arctic itself and panorama shows became even more strongly linked in the late nineteenth century, when Charles Francis Hall toured the States with relics from the Arctic and an Inuit couple, Tookoolito and Ebierbing. A further dimension was added with the 1860–1861 expedition of the "explorer-artist" Hayes, and Frederic Edwin Church's journey to the Arctic in 1859, as now the aim of Arctic expeditions could also be artistic. In particular William Bradford's expedition by artists to the Polar Regions in 1869 "marked a new turn for both exploration and artistic depiction of the Arctic regions. The idea of mere 'passengers' accompanying such an expedition was practically unheard of at that time—as novel in its day

as sending paying tourists into outer space today—[...] and its itinerary of 'points of interest made famous by Drs. Kane and Hayes' was driven more by a desire to *see* than to explore" (p. 191). This becomes for Potter an extension to the moving panorama, "only this time, the audience really *would* be transported to these famous scenes of the 'Frozen Zone'" (p. 191). For Potter, Bradford's emphasis on photography marks "the end of the 'Great Paintings'—which, in the manner of the panoramas before them, endeavored to emulate visual truth on a vast and lofty scale—and the dawning of an age in which the camera [...] would inherit the mantle of actuality" (p. 202).

The use of the phrase "Frozen North" in the book's title assumedly refers to the freezing of memories and images of the Arctic on panoramas or on plates. Naturally, Potter's book must end with images of the Arctic being transported through new moving media channels such as Hagenbeck's invention of the "Eismeer-Panorama" (a diorama with living polar animals as we can see them in zoos today) and moving pictures, the cinematic film. While Potter certainly has a point here, one wonders how he would have analysed the European Arctic expeditions entering the stage after the 1860s, and the great paintings on the Franklin expedition by explorer-turned-artist Julius Payer, who exhibited with huge success in Paris, London and German cities in the 1890s. While they certainly did not herald a revival of this tradition, the reviews suggest that they fuelled the desire of an audience weary of photographic images. Payer's use of paintings in series and of colossal canvases, featuring both his own and Franklin's expeditions, make use of the panorama tradition. One was exhibited in the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, a location also important for Potter. While Potter's focus on Britain and the USA proves to be very fruitful when he shows the close connections between these cultures, particularly through the new "unprecedented degree of communication" (p. 10) between them, a broader perspective on Europe might have even further enriched his analysis. When he describes his period of analysis, the 1820s through the 1870s, as "the period of the most ambitions series of Arctic expeditions in European or American history" (p. 11), one wonders about the significance of later spectacularly ambitious projects such as Nansen's *Fram* expedition (1893–1896) or Andrée's attempts to reach the North Pole by balloon (1897). How do they play into the history of visual culture of the Arctic, and—with panoramas in decline—what visual technologies were used to market them to the public? However, this criticism also points to one of the strengths of the book, providing as it does inspiration for further research.

All through his book, Potter carefully shows the various strategies and techniques used in presenting polar expeditions: montage, telescoping, conflation, plagiarism, legitimization through scientific or artistic authority, and also reinforcement through tie-ins between panoramas and lectures, features in illustrated newspapers, *tableaux vivants*, paintings, relics, lantern slides and the appearance of explorers and "esquimeaux" in person.

At one point Potter makes an explicit connection between imagery and expedition which goes beyond pure reflection, or the image as a representation of the expedition; Charles Francis Hall, he shows, was a consumer and negotiator of Arctic panoramas before he became an explorer. The role of

Arctic discourses in forming expeditionary cultures is not to be underestimated, something also shown in books by Beau Riffenburgh (*The Myth of the Explorer*, 1993), Francis Spufford (*I May Be Some Time*, 1996), Robert G. David (*The Arctic in the British Imagination*, 2000) and Michael F. Robinson (*The Coldest Crucible*, 2006). *Arctic Spectacles* complements these books, and Potter's contribution could possibly have been made even more succinct if it had been brought into dialogue with some of the earlier books. He makes reference to Chauncey C. Loomis' pioneering 1977 article on the Arctic sublime, but some mention of Spufford could have made his points on the sublime's more gothic aspects even more effective. His discussion of sensationalism could have benefited from reference to Riffenburgh, and his point for example about reuse of stock images would have merited a wave to David. While Potter's narratives of expeditions sometimes threaten to take over from his main concern, the imagery of the Arctic, he certainly manages not only to address the way in which imagery might legitimize expeditions, but also the way in which explorers are brought in to legitimize imagery.

Potter's book is clearly an important contribution to the line of publications addressing main British and Americans cultures of Arctic imagery and newspaper reporting. It presents original research, systematically summarized in an appendix listing and annotating panoramas and other spectacles in chronological order. It thus also contributes significant material to the more general and theoretical discussions of the role of changing mobilities and technologies of space perception in the construction of cultural identities and aesthetic, scientific, social and moral categories in the 1800s.

Johan Schimanski & Ulrike Spring
University of Tromsø
Norway
Johan.Schimanski@hum.uit.no
Ulrike.Spring@sv.uit.no

Theodore M. Andersson, *The Growth of the Medieval Icelandic Sagas (1180–1280)*, Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press 2006, ISBN 978080 1444081; 080144408X, x + 237 s.

Throughout his life as a researcher, Theodore M. Andersson has devoted his attention to the Icelandic sagas and published a large number of studies. His first book on this theme, *The Problem of Icelandic Saga Origins. A Historical Survey*, was published as early as 1964. In this new book, which might be regarded as a synthesis, Andersson demonstrates his sure grasp of the extensive literature on the Icelandic sagas and his ability to assess his predecessors with authority. His aspiration is to identify a literary development in a number of sagas from the period 1180–1280. No fewer than seventeen sagas are dealt with: Odd Snorrason's Saga of Olaf Tryggvason, The Legendary Saga of Saint Olaf, Víga-Glúms saga, Reykdœla saga, Fóstbrœðra saga, Heiðarvíga saga, Gísla saga Súrssonar, The Saga of King Magnús and King Harald, Egils saga Skallagrímssonar, Ljósvetninga saga, Laxdœla saga, Eyrbyggja saga, Vatnsdœla saga, Hœnsa-þóris saga, Bandamanna saga, Hrafnkels saga

and, finally, Njáls saga. Andersson sees a clear development in the sagas from a kind of folkloristic collection of folk traditions to a more conscious literary composition culminating in Njáls saga. At the same time it is possible to observe a development towards an increasingly "dominant authorial point of view." Andersson sums up: "That is to say, the sagas evolve from a recording of available tradition to a literature of ideas during the century under study; at the same time, the analysis of character progresses from a somewhat nebulous hagiographical model in the Olaf sagas to a well-defined political and ideological concept in *The Saga of King Magnús and King Harald*, *Egils saga*, and *Ljósvetninga saga*, to a legendarily tinged historical idealization in *Laxdœla saga*, and finally to a pervasive critique of the older narrative conventions and institutional values in *Njáls saga*" (p. 2–3). The book discusses the old question of the sagas' relation to a possible oral tradition. Andersson obviously believes that very long sagas may have been orally narrated. In support of this view he refers to a statement about a young Icelander who during a whole Christmas entertains the Norwegian court with a probably very long narrative, but in addition he refers to features in the written sagas as "narrative dilation, elaborate premonitory devices, parallel actions, a gradual mounting of complex tensions, and a conspicuous taste for retardation" (p. 12). The discussion relates not least to investigations in recent years by Gísli Sigurðsson and Tommy Danielsson, e.g. the latter's *Hrafnkel saga eller Fallet med den undflyende traditionen* ['Hrafnkel Saga or the Case of the Vanishing Tradition'] (2002). It is difficult to do Theodore M. Andersson's comprehensive book full justice, because it so rich in content. The reader is amply rewarded—it contains brilliant analyses—while some standpoints invite objections. In particular, I find that the importance of external influences for the structure of the sagas has been downplayed too much by Andersson. It is therefore reasonable to assume that some of the standpoints and theses that Andersson pursues will attract further discussion, but this is always the case with interesting and challenging syntheses. A bibliography and an index conclude the book.

Lars-Erik Edlund
Lars-Erik.Edlund@nord.umu.se

Altnordische Philologie. Norwegen und Island ['Old Nordic Philology. Norway and Iceland']. Herausgegeben von Odd Einar Haugen. Aus dem Norwegischen von Astrid van Nahl, Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter 2007, ISBN 9783110184860, 653 + 2 pp.

Under the title *Handbok i norrøn filologi* ['Manual of Old Nordic Philology'], Fagbokforlaget published in 2004 a valuable, very comprehensive book in which different branches of Old Nordic philology are described. Being revised and somewhat adapted textually to a German-speaking audience, according to the preface, the book has now been published in German translation. The editor is the Professor of Bergen Odd Einar Haugen, and the task of translating it from Norwegian into German was eminently carried out by the philologist Astrid van Nahl. The book consists of an introduction, ten long

chapters, valuable lists of literature, relevant Internet sites and a thirty-page index. In the first chapter the Old West Nordic manuscripts by Jon Gunnar Jørgensen are instructively presented in broad outline, as well as concretely, with a number of manuscript pages included in text and pictures. There is information about what format data and formulaic manuscript signatures represent, and there is a survey illustrating the use of the manuscripts, the collection of them in the Modern Era, etc. A brief introduction to diplomacy is also given at the end of the chapter. The next chapter, written by Odd Einar Haugen, is about text criticism and text philology. He explains the concept of "text", describes similarities and differences between "old" and "new" philology (the existing similarities should also be stressed), describes the work with text editions, explains and exemplifies relevant terms, and demonstrates the potential of electronic editions. There follows a broad and multi-perspective description of runes and runic texts by Karin Fjellhammer Seim. Here, as well as in many other parts of the manual, the description is closely connected with concrete texts, in which we encounter both well-known runic texts and medieval texts reflecting fairly intricate as well as completely trivial circumstances. The editor-in-chief Odd Einar Haugen is the author of a chapter on palaeography in which Latin script and its development on West Nordic soil are described. There are descriptions of relevant terms, abbreviatures, diacritics and many other things. The ten facsimile prints from ancient Icelandic and Norwegian manuscripts with transcriptions and comments make up a valuable part of this chapter. The following chapter, written by Else Mundal, deals with Old West Nordic poetry, both the Edda poetry and the skaldic poems. She describes metres, heiti, kenningar, ofljóst forms and many other things. Twelve skaldic verses are pedagogically analysed. In the next chapter Else Mundal describes the Old West Nordic prose literature in a very illustrative way. One section deals with parallel texts with text examples. Marit Aamodt Nielsen is the author of a chapter on syntactic developments in the West Nordic area in which Paul Diderichsen's field schema is used and some more general typological lines of argument heighten the description. A comprehensive chapter written by Inge Særheim deals with place-names and personal names in the West Nordic area. Important old Norwegian place-names, e.g. names of islands, are described with the help of a map, and there are also other illustrative maps. Særheim justifiably refutes Theo Vennemann's theories of Proto-Indo-European elements in the Norwegian stock of names as well as Hans Kuhn's ideas about non-Indo-European elements among the North-West European names. Jan Ragnar Hagland gives a very readable account of chiefly phonological and morphological conditions in Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, while Endre Mørck systematically describes changes at different language levels in Middle Norwegian. The concluding sections of each chapter on further reading strengthen the impression of an exceptionally well-crafted manual of Old West Nordic philology. There is not room for everything—there is for example no section on Old Nordic mythology and religion—but

what is included is well written, pedagogically presented and highly interesting. A high quality manual is the result of these eminent scholars' joint work, and it ought to be able to inspire similar efforts concerning medieval Danish and Swedish.

Lars-Erik Edlund
Lars-Erik.Edlund@nord.umu.se

Michael P. Barnes & R.I. Page, *The Scandinavian Runic Inscriptions of Britain* (Runrön. Runologiska bidrag utgivna av Institutionen för nordiska språk vid Uppsala universitet 19), Uppsala: Uppsala universitet 2006, ISSN 1100-1690, ISBN 9150618539, 453 pp.

This book, which has been published in the series *Runrön*, deals commendably with runic inscriptions regarded as Scandinavian in England and Scotland and on Orkney (not Maeshowe, however) and Shetland. The runic inscriptions in question date from about 850 to the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The authors, two well-known and highly qualified runologists, isolate the linguistic perspectives and the analysis of the individual runic signs, which provides a safe ground for the further use of the material in runological and language history research. A long introductory part deals with the corpus, the runic forms and the orthography, the principles of transliteration, the conditions of language history related to age, language geography and influences from indigenous languages and literacy. The study shows that there are regions with a strong West Nordic influence and other regions where instead an Eastern Nordic influence is evident. The corpus is described systematically and carefully, with a thorough analysis of the runic signs and a well-balanced interpretation, where the authors try to describe what is "certain" as far as possible, present alternative interpretations when necessary, and sometimes even state that it is safest, and most scholarly, to leave a text uninterpreted. In Appendix II the transliterations, text interpretations and translations are briefly presented. The book includes 98 photographs.

Lars-Erik Edlund
Lars-Erik.Edlund@nord.umu.se

Graeme Davis, *Comparative Syntax of Old English and Old Icelandic. Linguistic, Literary and Historical Implications* (Studies in Historical Linguistics, ed. by Graeme Davis & Karl A. Bernhardt, vol. 1), Oxford, Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York & Wien: Peter Lang 2006, ISSN 1661-4704; ISBN 3039102702; US-ISBN 0820471992, 189 pp.

This book, the first in the series *Studies in Historical Linguistics*, has been compiled by Graeme Davis, Principal Lecturer in English Language at Northumbria University. The style of the book is refreshing. The aim is to present an accessible description of comparative Germanic syntax, with special focus on Old English and Old Icelandic. One conclusion is that the word order of the Old Germanic languages was actually more regular than has sometimes been claimed. But apparently the author also aims at showing, as he puts it, that "Old Germanic languages are in fact dialects of one language rather than separate

languages," which, he argues, "has wide-reaching implications." In the last chapter Graeme Davis tries to show, among other things, how much-discussed sections of *Beowulf* can be elucidated by means of evidence from Nordic texts. It is difficult, however, to assess the new interpretations, since the author does not refer to the previous scholarly debate, where certain words have received "enormous scholarly attention." Generally, the author's many ideas need to be better supported than they are in this volume.

Lars-Erik Edlund
Lars-Erik.Edlund@nord.umu.se

François-Xavier Dillmann, *Les magiciens dans l'Islande ancienne. Études sur la représentation de la magie islandaise et de ses agents dans les sources littéraires norroises* ['The Magicians in Ancient Iceland. Studies of the Representation of Icelandic Magic and its Representatives in the Literary Old Nordic Sources'] (Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 92), Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur 2006, ISSN 0065-0897; ISBN 9185352632, 779 pp.

This voluminous monograph is a revised version of the author's doctoral dissertation from 1986, a work that up till now has only existed as a typewritten manuscript. The study itself takes up about 600 pages of the book, while the rest consists of a detailed summary in German, a bibliography of 120 pages and various indices, maps and genealogical tables. There are some important delimitation problems, e.g. what a "magicien" ('practitioner of magic') really is. Dillmann takes a pragmatic view based on the terms in the sources for those who practise magic and possess knowledge of magical rites, thus those who are e.g. called *galdramaðr* or *völva*, or those who are said to engage themselves in *spádómr*, *seiðr*, *galdrar* or *fjölkynngi*. In other words, there are many kinds of magic that we can read about in the book: predictions, invocations, dream interpretation, drawing of lots, ecstatic magic, etc. As the title states, the focus is on the *Icelandic* practitioners—thus Sami practitioners of magic are for example not included—and the text material used chiefly consists of *Landnámabók*, *Íslendingasögur* and *Íslendingaþættir*. Some of the rich contents of this book can be briefly mentioned. Among other things, a number of central concepts are thoroughly discussed in the initial section "La magie." In the second section *Les magiciens* are placed in focus, first *La personnalité des magiciens* ['The personality of the magicians'], which concludes with a discussion of seiðr and of the question of its possible connection with shamanism, then *Le statut des magiciens* ['The status of the magicians'] and finally *L'ambivalence sociale des magiciens* ['The social ambivalence of the magicians']. Not least this latter part problematises the picture of the Icelandic magicians in an interesting way. Many issues are discussed in detail and many of the practitioners of magic are fully portrayed in the monograph. Dillmann's book revises several previous notions in a research area that has attracted (too) many speculations. Scrupulous analysis of the individual parts of the text and of the language material is at the centre of this book, for which reason this monograph will

be a natural point of departure for all research in the area.

Lars-Erik Edlund
Lars-Erik.Edlund@nord.umu.se

John Kennedy, *Translating the Sagas. Two Hundred Years of Challenge and Response. 1. Sagas—Translations into English—History and criticis* (Making the Middle Ages 5), Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers n.v. 2007, ISBN 9782503507729, X + 222 pp.

John Kennedy's book begins with a chapter on the question of *why* the medieval Icelandic sagas have been translated into English over the centuries. Naturally it is often a matter of general interest in old history—not least have the sagas been translated on a number of occasions "for reasons of nation and race"—and an interest in old beliefs and customs, but in some cases the aim of the translations has quite simply been to show the sagas' literary value. The translators have thus had different reasons for their work—historical, anthropological and literary—and they have of course worked with "varying degrees of scholarly sophistication" (p. 19). For this reason the translations look very dissimilar. In the next chapter the problems that a translator of the texts in question will come across are systematically described, something that may be concretised e.g. with the Icelandic patronymics and the meaning of individual lexemes. Kennedy then makes a chronological survey of the English saga translations from the very first translations to those made in the twenty-first century. As regards the older translations, George Stephen's translation of *FriðÞjófs saga*, Samuel Laing's of *Heimskringla* and William Morris and Eiríkr Magnússon's many translations from the period 1869 to 1913 may be mentioned. Among later translations may be mentioned Lee M. Hollander's *The Sagas of Kormák and The Sworn Brothers* and Theodore M. Andersson's and Kari Ellen Gades *Morkinskinna. The Earliest Chronicle of the Norwegian Kings (1030–1157)*. A short concluding chapter is entitled "The Future of Saga Translations." Kennedy's book gives a picture of the English translations of the sagas during a bicentennial period, provides valuable bibliographic and biographic information, and analyses the translations to some extent, but does not synthesise very much. The great interest in the medieval Icelandic literature in the Anglophone world is striking.

Lars-Erik Edlund
Lars-Erik.Edlund@nord.umu.se

Orknöjarlarnas saga. Översättning, inledning och kommentarer av Ingegerd Fries ['The Orkney Earls' Saga. Translation, Introduction and Comments by Ingegerd Fries'], Möklinta: Gidlunds förlag 2006, ISBN 9178447127; 9789178447121, 228 pp.

Orkneyinga saga—which in this translation by Ingegerd Fries is called *Orknöjarlarnas saga*, since the text is more about the jarls ['earls'] and less about the ordinary inhabitants—should be regarded as part of the historiography of the twelfth century rather than as one of the Icelandic sagas. This is the first Swedish translation of the saga. The text is interesting because it gives us a picture of the history of the Orkneys and the Shetlands dur-

ing the first half of the Middle Ages, when earls of Norwegian descent governed the islands. Major parts of the saga are about intrigues, cruel fights and controversies; indeed, one of the people described in the saga is said to go off to battle every year. A few of the earls stay in power for lengthy periods of time, e.g. Torfinn jarl—the most powerful of all Orkney earls—and Ragnvald jarl, but these are exceptions. There are also peace-loving earls, e.g. Magnus jarl ("Saint Magnus"), but he is killed, whereupon the ground turns green at the place of the death of the Christ-like earl. One highlight is the story of Ragnvald jarl (Kale), who sets out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, visits a court in Narbonne on his journey, meets the beautiful Ermingerd and composes songs. This example alone shows that the saga contains highly varied narratives. In addition to translating the text with its many lays in a commendable way, Ingegerd Fries has placed the saga and its text in an extensive historical context in a preface and given essential factual comments in notes. Name and place indices and some maps conclude the book.

Lars-Erik Edlund
Lars-Erik.Edlund@nord.umu.se

Judy Quinn, Kate Heslop, and Tarrin Wills (eds.), *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World. Essays in Honour of Margaret Clunies Ross* (Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 18), Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers n.v. 2007, ISBN 9782503525808, XIV + 456 pp.

Margaret Clunies Ross is a well-known scholar of Old Norse; it is perhaps less well known that outside this field she has also made substantial contributions to areas such as Australian Aboriginal Studies. This latter area has no doubt provided her medieval studies with important theoretical and anthropological perspectives. In the *Festschrift* that has now been dedicated to her, a number of scholars have contributed to five thematic areas. The volume begins with some theoretical contributions under the overall heading "Theoretical Frameworks for Understanding Old Norse Literature." In Vésteinn Ólason's article "The Icelandic Saga as a Kind of Literature with Special Reference to its Representation of Reality," the representation of realism and the supernatural in the sagas is dealt with and the question of genre is discussed. The supernatural is also discussed in Torfi H. Tulinius' article "Political Echoes: Reading *Eyrbyggja Saga* in Light of Contemporary Conflicts," which interprets the background to the saga text in the light of the strange events at Fróðá. Lars Lönnroth's article discusses "Structuralist Approaches" to the saga literature, and Diana Whaley's article deals with the skaldic poetry. The second section deals with problems concerning the Old Nordic myth and Old Nordic society. Stefan Brink wonders how uniform the Old Nordic religion really was, and in order to illustrate this, he discusses the names of gods found in the Scandinavian place-names. Instead of uniformity, clear regional patterns are discernible, according to Brink. This is no doubt a correct interpretation, but for one thing this is a matter of material where there are different kinds of interpretation problems (which is also explicitly demonstrated), and, for another, it is legitimate to ask whether the absence of a cer-

tain name of a god in a region should automatically be interpreted as proof that the deity in question was *never* worshipped there. Although some other issues could have been further discussed, this is nevertheless an instructive survey article that will be highly useful for future research. Woden is at the centre of Jens Peter Schjødt's article, while Eyvindr skáldaspillir's *Háleygjatal* is dealt with by Russell Poole and *Hamðismál* by John Hines. The latter articles offer new perspectives on the poems, not least by presenting empirical data not considered before, in Hines' article e.g. archaeological data. A third section is entitled "Oral Traditions in Performance and Text." I find Edith Marold's article on *mansongr* particularly interesting, "a Phantom Genre?" according to the subheading, as well as Stefanie Würth's article on "Skaldic Poetry and Performance." The fourth section of the *Festschrift is* entitled "Vernacular and Latin Theories of Language." The first article is John Lindow's study "Poetry, Dwarfs, and Gods" concerning *Alvíssmál*, where the author e.g. brings out what he regards as connections between dwarfs and Woden. Kari Ellen Gade deals with Ælfric's grammar and its importance in Iceland, while Fabrizio D. Raschellà surveys and comments on the extensive research that has been devoted to the Old Icelandic grammar literature in the last two decades. In the last section what are called "Prolonged Traditions" are dealt with. It contains e.g. Andrew Wawn's article on *Vatnsdœla saga*, "Visions and Versions" and M.J. Driscoll's survey of *Skanderbeg*, "An Albanian Hero in Icelandic Clothing." Geraldine Barnes, Jürg Glauser, Mats Malm, Guðrún Nordal and Gísli Sigurðsson have also contributed important articles in the volume. A concluding bibliography compiled by Anna Hansen provides a picture of the honoured person's versatility over the decades. Consequently, with *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World* Margaret Clunies Ross has been honoured with an exceptionally inspiring and well-crafted *Festschrift*.

Lars-Erik Edlund
Lars-Erik.Edlund@nord.umu.se

Viveca Rabb, *Genuskongruens på reträtt. Variation i nominalfrasen i Kvevlaxdialekten* ['Gender Agreement in Retreat. Variation in the Noun Phrase in the Dialect of Kvevlax'], Åbo: Åbo Akademis Förlag 2007, ISBN 9789517653602; ISBN 9789517653619 (digital), 250 pp

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The chief aim of this socio-dialectological thesis is to clarify what factors preserve traditional gender and what factors provide impulses for gender shift in a gender system undergoing change. The empirical point of departure is the dialect of Kvevlax in Central Ostrobothnia, which has previously been described in a geo-linguistic study by Bror Åkerblom in 1940. The thesis begins with an ambitious survey of grammatical gender and gender systems, where both the gender categories' motivation and the retreating gender agreement and factors favouring the latter process are described. After a detailed description of gender agreement and the identification of it in the dialect in question, there follows a chapter on the material for the investigation. In total, 36 informants were interviewed and their information about the perceived gender of a

large number of nouns was noted. All in all, the material comprises more than 23,000 pronoun occurrences and slightly more than 4,600 different inflections in the definite forms of the nouns. This is a substantial achievement. The selection of informants of different ages makes this a study in *apparent time*, but thanks to A.J. Nygren's "byyrallor" (published 1889–1891) one might, perhaps with a certain reservation, say that this is also a study in *real time*. A holistic picture of the gender agreement in the material in relation to some sociolinguistic variables is given in chapter 4. It turns out that a combination of the informants' age, education and mobility, but not their gender, however, is significant for the changes that can be observed. When the individual-oriented perspective is summarised at the end (p. 204), the author states that traditional gender agreement and agreement on many pronominal attributes occur most often in older informants with low education and low everyday mobility, whereas reorganisation of the gender system and agreement on few pronominal attributes most often occur in young informants with high education and high everyday mobility. The balance between declination and gender, as well as the balance between morphological and lexical clues to gender, is studied in chapter 5, and the semantic clues and their role in the gender distribution are described in chapter 6. The gender of some new words is studied in the next chapter. A general observation is that specifically local forms are outmanoeuvred by the gender of Standard Swedish. Another tendency in the material is that the masculine gender is favoured at the expense of the feminine gender. By way of summary, the author states (p. 193) that the key concepts are moving towards the standard language, simplification and preferential treatment of the masculine gender. At the end of the thesis it is stressed that it is possible that the Kvevlax dialect will gradually adapt itself to the gender system of the standard language and that the gender differences between the varieties will eventually be obliterated. Time will show how this will turn out, but one thing is definitely certain: not all present-day speakers in Kvevlax have the same norms concerning gender, and this is the basis for the linguistic changes that are now taking place. The book includes no fewer than 87 tables and the presentation is well-documented throughout. The aim has been to relate the study's results to other investigations, including international ones, which is of course commendable. In some places, not least in the concluding discussion, the author's own results might have been put even more into relief with other scholars' work. This would have further improved this comprehensive thesis.

Lars-Erik Edlund
Lars-Erik.Edlund@nord.umu.se

Philipp von Rummel, *Habitus barbarus. Kleidung und Repräsentation spätantiker Eliten im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert* ['*Habitus barbarus*. Clothes and Representation of Late Antiquity Elites in the 4th and 5th Centuries'] (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 55), Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter 2007, ISBN 9783110191509, XI + 481 pp.

Clothes, hairstyles and external adornments are of great importance for collective identification and also for distinguishing different groups of people from one another. As the subheading indicates, this book deals with clothes and representation of late antiquity elites in the fourth and fifth centuries. It is however not a matter of a factual study of clothes, adornments and hairstyles, but primarily a study of their function as signs within a community (p. 4). After an introductory chapter containing, among other things, a very wide research survey and a more general chapter on Barbarians and Romans in Written Sources of the Late Antiquity, there follow a chapter dealing with descriptions of Roman clothing ideals (*habitus romanus*) and one chapter on *habitus barbarus*, that is, the clothing ideals that characterised other late antiquity peoples such as Goths and Vandals. In the latter chapter, on *habitus barbarus*, there are sections from various text sources such as Claudius Claudianus, Synesios, Johannes Chrysostomos and Sidonius Apollinaris. The following chapters in this well-documented monograph deal with the theme from the perspective of what an analysis of pictorial representations might yield and what grave finds might elucidate. The chapter discussing *habitus barbarus* between propaganda and reality is of fundamental interest (pp. 376–400). Philipp von Rummel's study shows that previous research generations' view of the late antiquity groups' clothing characteristics can and must be problematised. The study provides an instructive illumination of what sources there are for this kind of study, what different sources can yield, and what source problems are attached to such an analysis. In this respect the study is of general methodological interest.

Lars-Erik Edlund
Lars-Erik.Edlund@nord.umu.se

Daniel Sävborg, *Sagan om kärleken. Erotik, känslor och berättarkonst i norrön litteratur* ['Saga and Love. Eroticism, Emotions, and Narrative Art in Old Norse Literature'] (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Historia Litterarum 27), Uppsala: Uppsala universitet 2007, ISSN 0440-9078; ISBN 9789155469290, 663 pp.

Daniel Sävborg's voluminous book, more than 650 pages, on eroticism, emotions and narrative art in the Old Nordic literature is the result of a three-year research project that was luckily followed by a postdoctoral fellowship period in which the monograph could be completed. This time was no doubt needed in order for the material to be collected and thoroughly analysed as has been done here. The basic concept of "love" itself may of course be discussed; it is defined here as a heterosexual attraction to a specific person, where a feeling of mental attraction exists in addition to purely sexual lust. The work is text-analytical with a comparative method as its basis, but several results based on philology and history of mentality are also presented. The primary research subject is the Icelandic sagas, but the perspective is so wide that all Old Nordic literature up to about 1350 is included in the study. One chapter thoroughly investigates the depiction of love in the three native saga categories Icelandic sagas, royal

sagas and "*samtíðarsögur*," and the author brings out the numerous similarities in style, clichés, and motifs, modes of expression and valuation of emotions. Among many other things, he describes the love that is explicitly mentioned in the Icelandic sagas and its verbal expressions, the physical manifestations of erotic attraction, but also for example descriptions of seduction, violation and the wrath of relatives in the sagas. In a special section he discusses the meaning of *mansongr*, the term for poetry with an erotic content, where in my opinion the author corrects standpoints in previous research by means of convincing arguments. The next chapter deals with love in chivalrous poetry, and the author notes that love in the chivalrous tradition was a popular phenomenon in medieval Scandinavian pictorial art and literature. Love in the native poetic tradition is then analysed in a chapter where skaldic poems, Edda poems but also West Germanic poetry are dealt with. Interesting sections discuss the runic inscriptions at Bryggen in Bergen and the love story in *Skírnismál*, a poem in which Sävborg considers the description to be inspired by chivalrous literature. A two hundred pages long chapter deals with different aspects of love—its role, depiction and origin—in a number of Icelandic sagas. In a concluding section of the chapter the author polemises against certain conclusions in Lars Lönnroth's work on "the two cultures." Sävborg argues that Lönnroth's views on the Icelandic sagas is fundamentally influenced by continental literature and that his opinion that there are no fundamental genre difference between native saga works and translated works is erroneous (p. 544). After examining the depiction of love in Snorra Edda, *fornaldarsögur* and some native *riddarasögur*, the study is summarised in the form of an essay. This very comprehensive monograph discusses expertly a large material that must often have been difficult to penetrate; the concluding source and literature list comprises no fewer than 25 pages. That there is so much relevant material about love in the Old Icelandic literature is in itself to be wondered at. The reader is at times inclined to think that the empirical aspects of the language could have been examined more systematically, and the dimensions of mental history could no doubt also have been discussed in greater depth. Sävborg could perhaps with advantage have been able to round off some lines of argument, thereby creating a more concrete account. But it must be stressed that this works leads to a more profound understanding of medieval Icelandic literature and is therefore of great value.

Lars-Erik Edlund
Lars-Erik.Edlund@nord.umu.se

Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen, Rosemarie Cordie, Olaf Dörrer, Sabine Rieckhoff & Heiko Steuer (eds.), *Studien zur Lebenswelt der Eisenzeit. Festschrift für Rosemarie Müller* ['Studies of the Lifeworld of the Ice Age ...'] (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde [...] Band 53), Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter 2006, ISBN 9783110190106; 3110190109, xi + 659 pp.

On the last page of this voluminous *Festschrift*—after the celebrated person Rosemarie Müller's extensive

lifework has been described, not least her work with the management of *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*—the editors comment that in her works, Müller has attempted to take and communicate a holistic view of the prehistory and early history respectively. The editors have tried to adopt this intention and characterise it by means of the title *Studien zur Lebenswelt der Eisenzeit*. The volume approaches this lifeworld from a cultural studies perspective. This is one way of summarising the contents of the Festschrift. Among the 27 contributions there are some that describe finding-places in great detail and some that deal with individual archaeological themes (ceramics, animal sacrifices, anthropomorphic figures, etc.), while others summarise entire research areas and problematise previous research. Some of the contributions have particularly caught my interest. Otto H. Urban outlines "Möglichkeiten und Aufgaben einer 'Religionsarchäologie'" ['Potentials and Tasks of Religious Archaeology'] and emphasises, among other things, the problems adhering to the reconstruction of Indo-European religion. Karl Peschel's article "Frühe germanische Kriegerordnung und keltische militärische Gemeinschaftsformen" ['Early Germanic Organisation of Warriors and Celtic Military Forms of Communion'] provides important perspectives on ancient military organisation. Eike Gringmugh-Dallmer deals with "Musikarchäologische Quellen aus der Germania libera" ['Sources of Music Archaeology from *Germania libera*']; she describes e.g. various bells and rattles. In a long article (80 pages, where the references alone take up about 10 closely printed pages), Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen, University of Leipzig, writes about "*Homo patiens* in der Eisenzeit in Nordwest- und Mitteldeutschland" ['*Homo Patiens* in the Iron Age in North-West and Central Germany']. This takes the form of a systematic description of Iron Age people's diseases, where the state of knowledge is unsatisfactory because the material finds have been considerably diminished as a result of cremations. In spite of this it is possible to obtain quite a lot of information. Not least the sections on dental disorders and deficiency diseases of different kinds and those on trepanation, amputations and other "treatments" provide fascinating insights into the diseases and cures of the Iron Age. All the articles except one—Andrej Gaspari's "A possible multiperiod ritual site in the river Ljubljanica" (Slovenia)–are written in German. The articles of the book, of which only a handful have been mentioned here, provide rich knowledge of the research on the continental Iron Age from a number of different perspectives—and thus yield a multifaceted picture of the lifeworld of the Iron Age.

Lars-Erik Edlund
Lars-Erik.Edlund@nord.umu.se

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3. References

Book

Paasi, A. (1996). *Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness. The Changing Geographies of the Finnish-Russian Border*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Edited book

Bäckman, L. & Hultkrantz, Å. (eds.) (1985). *Saami Pre-Christian Religion. Studies on the Oldest Traces of Religion among the Saamis* (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion 25), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

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Unpublished dissertation

Smith, J. (1998). "Social Work Education in Scotland," diss., University of Glasgow.

References to several works by the same author, published the same year, should be numbered 2007a, 2007b, 2007c etc.:

Simmons, I. G. & Innes, J. B. (1996a). "An Episode of Prehistoric Canopy Manipulation at North Gill, North Yorkshire, England," *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 23, pp. 337–341.

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