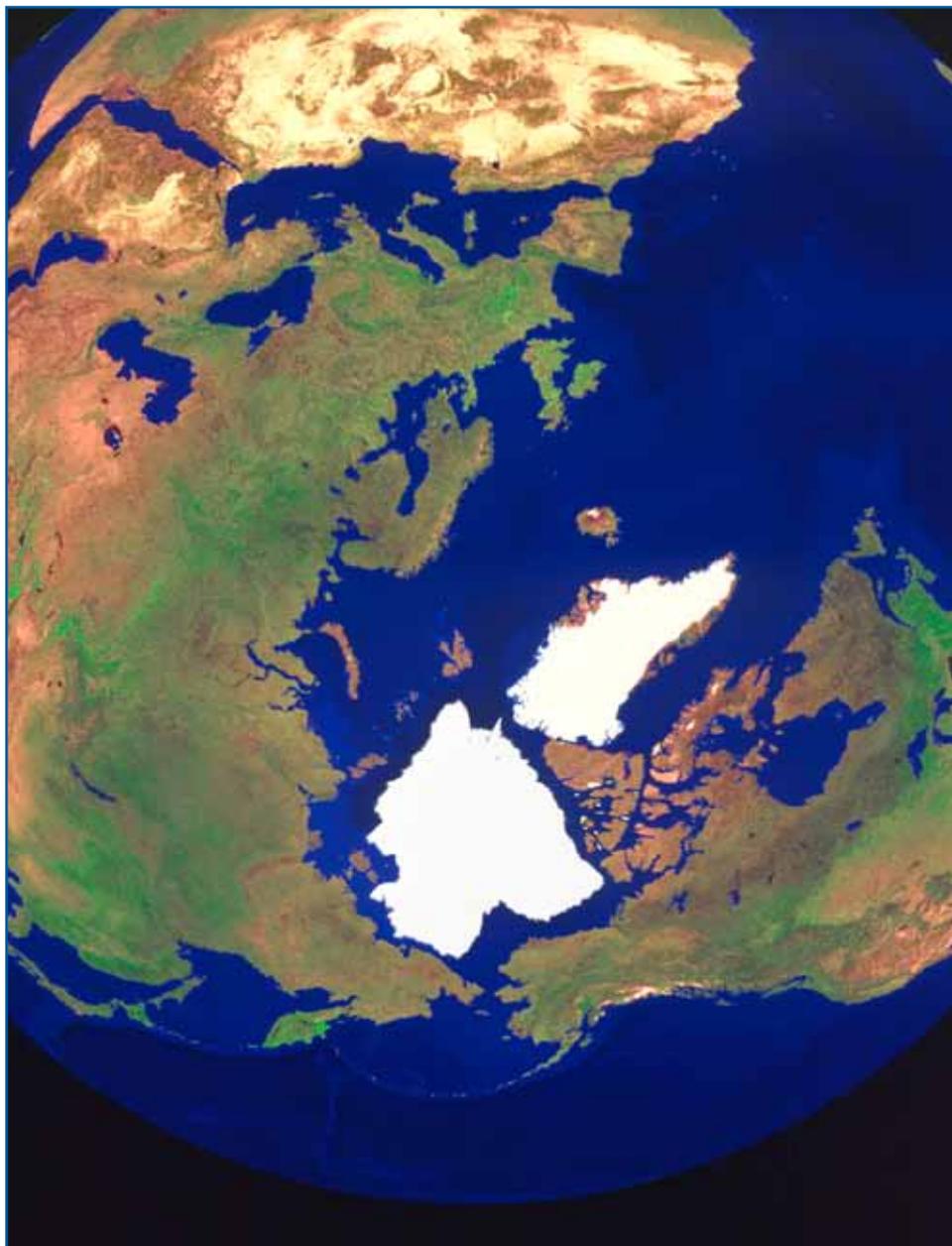


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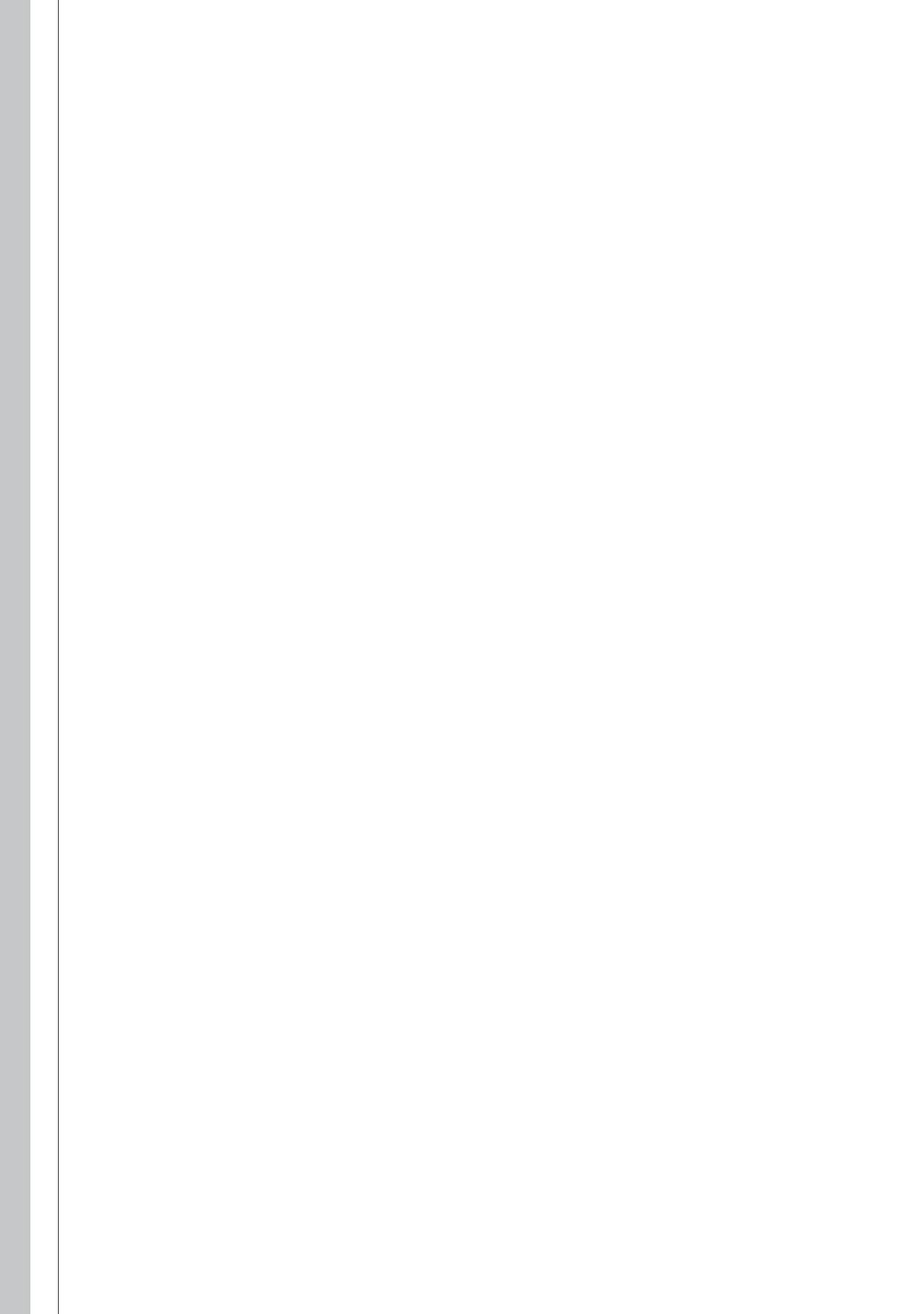
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Editorial Note

Johan Turi (1854–1936) is often considered the first Sami author, and the appearance of his *Muitalus Sámiid birra* [‘A story about the Sami’] in 1910 the birth of Sami literature. Even if this statement is not quite to the point—one would at least have to qualify it by adding that he was the first Sami to write and publish an entire book in Sami (or North Sami, to be precise)—there is no denying Turi’s importance for Sami literature, language, folkloristics and much more. There had been texts and books published in Sami already from the seventeenth century onwards (Sami yoik texts and Bible translations, for example), and two important Sami authors, writing in Nordic languages, had made their first appearances before Turi. In 1904 Matti Aikio (Mathis Isachsen) became the first Sami novelist with his *Kong Akab* [‘King Akab’], and the same year Elsa Laula (-Renberg) published the political pamphlet *Inför Lif eller Död? Sanningsord i de Lappska förhållandena* [‘Facing Life or Death? Words of Truth in the Lapp Situation’]. Laula-Renberg was also one of the initiators of the first Sami women’s organization, founded in 1910.

Being the 100th anniversary of both Turi’s debut and Laula-Renberg’s women’s association, we are happy to be able to publish two articles on the founding fathers, as well as a review of a recent book on the founding mothers, of Sami literary tradition: Thomas A. DuBois analyses the highly complex health care situation in early twentieth century Čohkkeras, Swedish Lapland, as it appears from Turi’s second book, *Sámi deavsttat/Lappish Texts*; Gunnar Gjengset makes a postcolonial reading of Aikio’s last novel, discerning the author’s strategies for Sami survival as an ethnic group; and Anne Heith reviews Vuokko Hirvonen’s book *Voices from Sápmi. Sámi Women’s Path to Authorship*, which explores the historical, cultural, political and gender contexts of the “foremothers,” “grandmothers,” “mothers,” and “daughters” of Sami literature.

But Northern Studies, of course, comprise much more than the study of Sami literature, and so does the *Journal of Northern Studies*. Therefore, in this issue there are also articles on Soviet science fiction set in the Arctic (Susi K. Frank), the historical and social background to the division of arable land around the Gulf of Bothnia (Birgitta Roeck Hansen), the importance of Swedish ice-breaker policy in the same gulf (Martin Eriksson), as well as a call for international cooperation in securing Inuit self-reliance and sovereignty by Barry S. Zellen, and a presentation of the Strategic Environmental Archaeology Database (SEAD) by Philip I. Buckland.

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THOMAS A. DUBOIS

Varieties of Medical Treatment and Hierarchies of Resort in Johan Turi's *Sámi deavsttat*

ABSTRACT Johan Turi's *Sámi deavsttat/Lappish Texts* (1918–1919) is examined as a source of information regarding early twentieth-century Sami healing methods and hierarchies of medical resort. Turi's account of traditional and personal healing experiences in the Čohkkeras/Jukkasjärvi district reflects complex processes of intercultural exchange and hybridization, in which Sami families availed themselves of differing varieties of therapy depending on differing situations and personalities. Hierarchies of resort—that is, the order in which patients make use of competing healing resources—are illustrated by short histories (case studies) which Turi included in the final portion of his work. The text reveals a world in which local Sami *noaidevuohta* (shamanic healing) lingered as a largely stigmatized clandestine resource, competing variously with shamanic healing offered by more distant (Norwegian) Sami, as well as healing drawn from Finnish magic, Swedish medicine, and Læstadian faith healing. Ill health, insanity, and decimation of one's herd are depicted as attacks not only on an individual, but on the individual's entire family, and their effects can be felt ultimately by members of the family's subsequent generation(s). Non-Sami individuals play important roles both as threats and as sources of potential assistance in the struggle to maintain or regain health.

KEYWORDS Johan Turi, Emilie Demant-Hatt, Sami, Shamanism, folk healing, hybridity

Sámit leat boares áiggis juo ferten dutkat goansttaid go olbmot šaddet skibasin, ja doaktárat eai leat leamaš Sámiid oážžunsajis, eai sii leat diehtáŋge, ahte doaktárat gávdnojit, soames oassi. Ja deinna lágiin leat ferten dutkat nu olu, ahte leat ožžon sealvvi, got lea

vihke[s]lájat, ja got galgá daidda ábu oážžut. Ja leat gale ožžon sealvi nu olu, ahte olu vigiid sáhttet buoridit, deidnai maid eai soames doaktárat ipmir buoridit. Muhto ii juohke doaktárii dat gula.

Dás vuolde gávdnojit čilgehusat, got galgá guđege vigi geahpidit ja velá buoriditnai muhtumin, ja hoahpusnai, ii sáhte doavttirge nu hoahpus buoridit. Muhto ii soaba jur visot goansttaid Čállit dán girjái, dan dihte go dát girji šaddá lohkkjuvvot oba máilmmi mielde, ja olu oahppan hearrát eai soaba goasge gullat visot goansttaid. Eai sii jáhke daid, dušše bilkidit Sámi jallodaga, vaikko jos oainnále visot maid sápmi dahká, de imaštivččo dan vuoiimmi, ja gos dat boahdá (Turi 1987 [1910]: 113).

[‘The Sami in past times had to figure out what to do when people got sick and there were no doctors living in the Sami areas, and some folk didn’t even know that doctors exist. And so, they had to figure things out so much that they discovered what different ailments were like and what one needs to do to help them. And indeed they discovered so much that they could cure many diseases, even ones that many doctors cannot figure out how to cure. But this is not the case with every doctor. And here below one can find explanations for how to lessen each ailment and even cure some, and quickly too—not even a doctor could heal so quickly. But it is not right to write down all these cures in this book, because this book will be read the whole world over and many educated gentlemen do not need to hear of these cures. They won’t believe in them, and they will just poke fun at Sami craziness, although, if they were to see what the Sami do, they would wonder at the power and where it comes from.’] (My translation.)

When reading the opening of Johan Turi’s chapter on healing in his great work *Muitalus Sámiid birra* [‘A story about the Sami’] (1987 [1910]) it is easy to imagine Sami healing as a singular and self-contained system, distinct from the official medicine of the *doaktárat* [‘doctors’] and *oahppan hearrát* [‘educated gentlemen’] of Swedish society, gained over the centuries by trial and error and passed down diligently from one generation of Sami to the next. The passage reflects Turi’s self-consciousness regarding the sharing of his medical knowledge with outsiders and his doubts regarding readers’ likely evaluation of his exotic lore. The passage also reflects in unspoken ways, Turi’s working relation with Emilie Demant-Hatt, the Danish artist/ethnographer who had come to northern Sweden to experience Sami culture firsthand. For *Muitalus Sámiid birra* was a collaborative work. It was written entirely by Turi, a Sami wolf hunter and sometime herder who had been born in Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino, Norway, but had moved to Gárasavvon/Karesuando, Sweden, as a boy, and to Čohkkeras/Jukkasjärvi as a young adult. Turi’s writings were then ordered, edited, and translated by Demant-Hatt, as Kristin Kuutma (2006) has detailed. The text’s image of a seemingly pristine Sami healing system undoubtedly emerged as a product of the interests, agendas, and knowledge

of the two people involved in producing the book.

The collaboration of Johan Turi and Emilie Demant-Hatt resulted, however, in not one but two books. *Muitalus Sámiid birra* (1987 [1910]) has been hailed as the first secular book written in a Sami language and garnered considerable international attention at the time of its first appearance. Its cultural and political aims have been the subject of a number of insightful studies (e.g., Gaski 1996; Storfjell 2001; Skaltje 2005; Kuutma 2006; Cocq 2008; Morset 2009). Turi and Demant-Hatt's second book *Sámi deavsttat/Lappish Texts* (1918–1919) was created from materials Demant-Hatt received from Johan Turi during the time of the writing of *Muitalus Sámiid birra* and thereafter, along with some additional materials supplied by Turi's nephew Per Turi and another Sami man named Lars Larsson Nutti. A great deal of this material has to do with healing and magic, topics which Demant-Hatt was keen to include in the original book but, which Turi was initially reticent about sharing. According to Demant-Hatt in her Introduction to *Sámi deavsttat* (Turi & Turi 1918–1919: 3), Turi supplied her with his accounts for her personal use but did not wish them to be published, fearing that their effectiveness would diminish if they became common knowledge. In retrospect, then, Demant-Hatt described the materials originally included in *Muitalus* thus as “only a few pieces, of a less secret nature” (3). Later, however, Turi changed his mind about making his knowledge known and *Sámi deavsttat* resulted, containing the original Sami writings of the two Turis and of Nutti, as well as a facing page of English translation supplied by Emilie Demant-Hatt and her husband Gudmund Hatt, with linguistic and ethnological advice from K. B. Wiklund. Although Nutti and Per Turi also contributed to the text, it is Johan Turi who exercised the greatest control over the work's content and interpretation, particularly as related to healing and other activities of the *noaidi*. Demant-Hatt includes numerous footnotes in the text that provide Turi's commentary on the materials themselves: clarifications of ambiguous statements, explanations of key concepts, and specific examples of ideas pointed out in the text. It is with good justification, then, that we can view *Sámi deavsttat* as principally Johan Turi's work, brought to publication through the supportive efforts of the other two Sami writers, as well as Demant-Hatt, Hatt, and Wiklund.

It does not take long for one to notice, however, that *Sámi deavsttat* differs considerably from *Muitalus*. Far from presenting a pristine Sami shamanic system of the kind asserted in the earlier text, the healing and magic accounts of *Sámi deavsttat* reveal a world of considerable cultural change, where past *noaidi* traditions, now stigmatized by church and society, linger on as legendary memories or rumors of ongoing clandestine magical aggression, associated particularly with marginal figures or remote places. At the

same time, healing magic remains viable to the Sami of Turi's world, supplemented by Finnish practices, recourse to Western medicine, and Christian adaptations. It is this world of extensive and conscious intercultural exchange and synthesis that I hope to explore in this paper. I argue that whereas *Muitalus* offers us a glimpse of past Sami healing traditions as a once-discrete system of practices based upon the activities and beliefs of Sami *noaiddit*, *Sámi deavsttat* offers us a more chequered view of a healing tradition in transition, one in which varying sources of healing authority vie as implements for the maintenance or recovery of bodily, mental, and social health.

Acknowledging Diversity

In *Muitalus*, Demant-Hatt took Turi's hand-written notebooks, excised passages from them, and reordered these into the work that we have today. Although she seems to have followed Turi's lead in terms of overall topics and order of accounts, it is also clear that she exercised considerable judgment in deciding what and how much of various topics would be included in the published work. *Sámi deavsttat*, in contrast, shows a much less active editorial control: the three writers' texts are presented as wholes, with no apparent excising and a minimum of reordering. Writes Demant-Hatt: "The present texts should be regarded as a collection of raw material" (4). The decision to publish the accounts in their entirety meant, of course, that readers would see the extent of intercultural exchange that was the norm in Turi's early twentieth-century Čohkkeras. Demant-Hatt not only acknowledges but emphasizes this heterogeneity in her introduction to *Sámi deavsttat*, writing:

It would be an interesting task to compare Lappish folk-lore with that of the surrounding nations and unravel the working of strong influences from Scandinavian and Finnish folk-lore—influences which are apparent not only in the borrowing of single elements, but even in the transplanting of tales and the taking over of magic formulas. The performance of such a task would, however, require an intimate and extensive knowledge not only of Scandinavian folk-lore but of Finnish folk-lore as well; and I find this to be beyond my reach. The impulses from Finnish folk-lore are very important among the northern Lapps... [and this fact] is particularly evident in the magic formulas; Johan Turi has even told me that many of these were translated from Finnish to Lappish (4).

Demant-Hatt leaves it to her readers to note and appreciate the cultural heterogeneity of Turi's writings, offering us not a reconstruction of an isolated Sami culture but a kind of snapshot of Sami culture as lived in north-

ern Sweden at the opening of the twentieth century. This paper explores the realities of Turi's materials, heeding Demant-Hatt's call for comparison with Finnish traditions and examining what I term here (drawing on Lola Romanucci-Ross 1969 and David Hufford 1988: 248) the "hierarchy of resort" which obtained among Sami people in the Čohkkeras district at the beginning of the twentieth century. How was illness defined, and what steps did people take in response to the onset or perception of it? In seeking help, where did people turn first? What alternative healing options existed, and how or when were these called into play? The accounts of *Sámi deavsttat* allow us to answer these questions to a much greater degree and with far more nuance than would be possible on the basis of *Muitalus Sámiid birra* alone. Thus, an examination of the images of healing in *Sámi deavsttat* illustrates the multicultural, historically inflected, and interculturally contested world that Johan Turi lived in, one in which he struggled to maintain and defend a distinctive Sami identity even while meeting with and adopting many cultural features from surrounding and encroaching populations.

Core Concepts

In describing the particularities of the onset and development of various diseases, Turi presents certain fundamental concepts that he seems to regard as underlying much, if not most, common disease. Within this generalized explanatory framework, contagion plays a prominent role. The smell or physical touch of death, contact with bodily excretions or odors, and proximity to other contaminants could cause illnesses of various kinds. Turi describes contamination stemming from contact with the unclean smell of old maids (xix, 31 f.), the clothing or smell of the dead (xx, 33; xlvii, 55), secretions or body parts taken from the dead (xlv, 51; xlvi, 54), or sharing space or food with an ill or otherwise contaminated person (xl, 43; xlv, 51). Even pregnancy cravings could be contracted by a man if he unknowingly shared food from a pot from which a pregnant woman was eating (xxxvii, 40). Such pollution invades the body through all its surfaces, not only the skin and nostrils. Turi notes the importance of protecting one's eyes when dealing with a sick person: the healer should wear glasses during healing procedures and shield the eyes further through a special incantation (fn 35, 176). The pollution could also affect one's outward bodily appearance (xl, 43) and even voice (fn 46, 177), showing an essential unity in Turi's view regarding outward appearance and inward identity or overall bodily sovereignty. In Turi's depiction of contagion, a person must struggle to maintain and defend the body as a whole from polluting forces that threaten to overtake it at every turn.

As various parts of Turi's accounts illustrate, this fear of contagion led

Sami to avoid the nursing of the sick (xliv, 46; xlv, 51; see also fn 46, 177). Peter Sköld (1996) points out that this tendency is close to modern Western ideas of quarantine and may have helped limit the spread of infectious diseases like smallpox among Sami in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Sköld details, Swedish peasants tended to meet the onset of smallpox with comparative indifference, continuing to share common spaces and even beds with persons who had already contracted the disease. In marked contrast, Sami viewed smallpox as a dangerous form of possession or pollution that needed to be avoided in every possible manner. This tendency reduced the spread of the disease among Sami, while also creating a moral dilemma for families regarding how to care for ill relatives. Turi includes a number of accounts where families experience great frustration or anxiety in trying to locate care-givers for their sick relatives (see the case studies section below), and the persons who agree to undertake such work in the end are often non-Sami neighbors or devout Christians. As an illustration, Demant-Hatt recounts in a note an instance of such an outside care-giver: a Christian Sami who agreed to nurse a spirit-plagued man during his final days. Writes Demant-Hatt:

the old, religious Lapp told me that when he came home to his own *goahiti* [Sami dwelling], then he had lost the power of speech. “But then I took off my clothes and gave them a thorough dusting,” and that helped (fn 46, 177).

While demonstrating an essential element of Sami notions of health, this tendency to make use of outsiders at a crucial moment of the life cycle reflects a Sami culture well accustomed to the presence and close interaction of non-Sami in the region.

Contagion was particularly deleterious when the source was an object or entity with great significance to life. Turi draws attention to *bostta* or *guosta*—inherent power—stemming from a variety of sources, including earth, the dead, wind, water, fire, heat, and cold as well as humbler contaminants such as sweat and fecal matter. Wounds were regarded not only as ailments in themselves but also as portals through which these greater ills could penetrate and infect the body. Writing of swollen (i.e., infected) wounds, Turi states:

Jos manná hávvái čoaskkis dahje liekkas dahje čáhci dahje olbmo bivastat ja dat álgá siedjut ja bohtanit, de dasa maiddá lohkkokit dakkár sániid:
“Dat mii lea *raju ilmmis* ja biekkas bohtán,
ii galgga das oktage sadji;

dan gohčun Hearra Kristusa nammii eret das”
 Ja dat, mii máŋŋelis lea, daid galgá visot lohkat golmma geardde ná:
 “Dat mii lea olbmo jápmivaš rupmašis boahtán,
 Bivastagas ja hájas ja *mirsko*-biekkas ja ilmmis ja čázis ja čoaskimis ja
 lieggasis,
 ii galgga leat dás sadji, daid mun gohčun Hearra Kristusa vuimmiin eret.
Laulelen sinun yhtä dearvvasin,
 nu got lea lbbmel sivdnidan”
 (dan rádjái golmma geardde:)
 “ráfi ja dearvvasvuohta lehkos dán nuoroházzii!” (xxi, 33).

[If a wound is invaded by cold or heat or water or human sweat and begins to develop pus and swell, then for this also words such as these are recited:

“That which has come from *stormy weather* and from the wind, has no place here; I command it in the name of Jesus Christ to leave.” And that which follows, one should recite three times thus: “That which has come from a person’s mortal body, from sweat and odor and *storm-wind* and weather and water and cold and hot, has no place here. These I command by the power of the Lord Christ to leave. *I sing you healthy*, as God created [you]” and then three times: “peace and health be to this youth!”]

Turi’s incantation is emphatically Christian in content and form, and is drawn directly from Finnish tradition, with some terms (italicized above) remaining in fact in Finnish. The content of this incantation is closely paralleled by another Turi furnishes for dealing with various skin eruptions, rashes, or dermatitis:

Dat mii lea eatnamis boahtán
 Dat galgá eatnamii mannat;
 Eatnan galgá oamis oamastit.
 Ja dat mii lea čázis boahtán,
 Dat galgá mannat jur čáhcái.
 Ja dat mii lea geađggis ja *myrskobávttis* boahtán,
 Dat galgá mannat jur báktái.
 Ja dat mii lea biekkas boahtán
 Visot njeallje guovllus
 Nuortan ja oarján ja davvin ja lulil
 Dat galgá mannat ruoktot.
 Biegga galgá oames oamastit.
Laulelen sinun yhtä terveeksi,
Mitä Jumala on luonut
 (Maid lpmil lea sivdnidan.) (xviii, 30).

[“That which has come from the earth
 Must go into the earth.

The earth must take ownership of its own.
 And that which has come from the water
 Must go into the water.
 And that which has come from the stone or *storm*-rocks
 Must go back into the rock.
 And that which has come from the wind
 From all four directions—
 East, west, north and south—
 Must go back.
 The wind must take ownership of its own.
I sing you to health
As God created
 As God created.']

Here again, we find terms and lines (italicized above) performed in Finnish, while the bulk of the incantation is presented in northern Sami. We shall compare these incantations to Finnish counterparts below. Here, however, it is important simply to note the concept of dangerous pollution associated with things like earth, wind, and water, and the threat it represents to the maintenance of health. This fundamental concept in Turi's understandings finds clear parallels in Finnish healing traditions, where such underlying and potentially disruptive power generally went by the name of *väki* (Hästesko 1918: 8 f.; Apo 1995; Stark-Arola 1998; Stark 2006).

Also closely linked to the idea of contagion is the notion of transference, a central element of Turi's healing practices and a detail shared more generally with Finnish and Scandinavian folk healing of the time (Georges & Jones 1995: 50). If one can contract a disease through unconscious or unavoidable contact, as discussed above, it should be possible to evade illness through consciously renewing contact and transferring the evil to something or somewhere else. This reversal could be accomplished nearly immediately, if the person showed the proper attentiveness and presence of mind, and the offending source of pollution were made aware of the intended reversal through recitation of a short incantation, often performed in or translated from Finnish. Pressing a place of contamination with a knife or finger tip could prove effective in removing any potential ills (fn 41, 176), but Turi warns not to touch such areas with one's bare hands, because then the ill would transfer to the hand itself (xxx, 37). If one touched the clothes of a dead person, the ill effects could be staved off by pressing the polluted area once again to the dead person's clothes and commanding the evils within to restore the living person's health (xx, 32). Alternatively, one could run the finger of one's hand along the bare foot of the cadaver while reciting the command to restore health (xx, 33). One's breath could also be used to effect the transference: when a person fell and received a scratch or contu-

sion, it was advisable to remove one's hat, blow on a spot of it, and press it to the hurt area in order to relieve the pain and remove the ill (xxx, 37).

Sometimes such transference required more elaborate procedures to take effect. In the case of a boil that does not have a head, Turi recommends the following procedure: the healer should find and retrieve three blue stones from a river, pressing these onto the boil and reciting the incantation:

Mana geađggi *lomaan*
 Ja mana bávtiid *luolat*
 Dahje mana dohkko
 Gos leat boah tán (xxix, 36).

['Go into the stone
 and go [to] the great rock's caves
 or go there
 where you came from.']

Once the stones had been used in this way, they were to be returned to the place they had originally been found, allowing the disease to be transferred and disposed of. In the case of a man who has contracted pregnancy cravings by unknowingly sharing a bowl with a pregnant woman, he could rid himself of the ailment by giving some chewed food from his own mouth to a female dog, or by eating from the same bowl as a female dog or cat (xxxvii, 39). The cravings then pass to the female animal and the man is cured. Turi recounts the use of a dog as a kind of sponge for disease: absorbing the contagion through physical contact with the human and then dissipating it by walking elsewhere or by being thrown into a fire. This concept was broadly shared by various ethnic communities in the region, and indeed, the passage itself attributes the dog cure to a Finn:

De neavvui okta Suoma olmmái ahte, "oahpat beanavielpá goarjudit julggiidat nalde! Ja go son oahppá, de son goarjuda álo du julggiid nalde. Ja beatnagis lea seahkku [<F *sähkö*, 'electricity']: dat geassá olbmos vigi eret olbmo rupmašis. Ja go son geassá ollásii, de son gal japmá ieš, dat beana" (li, 61).

['A Finnish man advised that "Teach a puppy to lie down at your feet! And when he learns that, he will always lie down at your feet. And there is electricity in the dog that pulls out of a person's body any problem. And when it has drawn all of it entirely, then it dies, that dog."']

In the narrative that accompanies this reported advice, the Sami narrator witnesses the salutary effect of one such sop-dog and its effectiveness in removing disease from its human master.

Incantations

As the above examples illustrate, a key element in many such healing methods is the performance of incantations. In Turi's repertoire, these words are often originally Finnish, and it is not entirely clear from his accounts whether he is providing them in North Sami as a reflection of their adaptation to Sami use or merely as an aid to his collaborator Emilie Demant-Hatt, who did not know any Finnish. The intercultural dimensions of this lore are evident in Turi's discussion of skin diseases arising from various forms of contagion, noted above. Turi's extended incantation can be compared with a Finnish incantation for treating an itchy rash, collected from an informant in Eurajoki in 1889 and later published in the massive anthology of Finnish Kalevalametric poetry *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* (SKVR):

Jos olet ilmasta, niin mene ilmaan.
 Jos olet maasta, niin mene maahan.
 Jos olet vedestä, niin mene veteen takaisin! (SKVR 10(2): 3786).

['If you are from the air, then go to the air.
 If you are from the earth, then go into the earth.
 If you are from the water, then go back into the water!']

Also noteworthy is an incantation from Noormarkku from 1904 that calls upon the winds from all four directions to cure an ailment (SKVR 10(2): 3790), much like in Turi's translated incantation. The fact that the latter part of Turi's incantation is provided in Finnish, of course, reflects its currency among Finnish speakers of his locale and its apparent origin within Finnish tradition.

As with Finnish healing, Turi's Sami incantations sometimes recount the ailment's mythic etiology, thereby asserting the healer's knowledge and power over it. Turi's incantation for healing wounds caused by iron illustrates the tendency:

Go lea ávjostálli dahje ruovdi, de lea Sámiin dasa goansttat dan várás,
 ahte ii galgga hávvái mannat miige, go lea čuohppan dahje čuolastan.
 Dat lea ná:
 "Don ruovdiráiski
 Gii leat dolin áigge čáhcin golgan
 Ja dál čuohpadat suddugasa náhki ja bierggu
 Muhto mon gohčun
 Ahte váldde vašiid ruoktot!" (xxx1, 37).

['When it is steel or iron, the Sami have tricks for this situation, so that nothing will need to enter a wound where one has been cut or slashed. It is thus:

“You wretched iron/You iron water plant
 Who in former times have floated on/as water
 And now cut a sinner’s hide and flesh!
 But I command
 Thus: Take your evils back!”]

In his linguistic annotations to the text, K.B. Wiklund notes that Turi’s term *gun/starat* (*goansttat*) derives from the Norwegian *kunster* [‘tricks, arts’], a term Turi repeatedly uses for healing magic (fn 1, 31). The incantation’s term *räiski* on the other hand, may derive from the Finnish *raiska* [‘wretch’] or the northern Sami *räiski* (a water plant). Typically, Finnish iron incantations use *raukka* when referring to iron, as, for example, Ondrei Borissanpoika Vanninen’s incantation from Rautalahti, Sortavala, collected in 1884:

Voi sinua rauta raukka
 Rauta raukka, kun oot kuono
 Kun sie suureksi rupesit
 Kasvot aivan kauhiaksi!
 Et sie sillon suuri ollut
 Et suuri, et pieni
 Et kovan koreakahan,
 Makasit maitona herana
 Läikyt lämmänä vetenä.
 Akat suossa sorkettihin
 Vetelästä vellottihin.
 Tuosta tuli malto rauta
 Sekä tiettävä teräs.
 Heitä sitte veri vuotamasta
 Maito moahan lähtemästä
 Veri tilkkaset tippumasta
 Veri seiso, niinkuin seinä
 Hurmaus kuin aita seiso
 Poasi pellon pientaressa
 Maksasa sinun kotisi
 Alla keuhkon kellervöisen
 Älä pintoa pysyile
 Älä hoavoa hajuile
 Sule suus, peitä peäs,
 Käske kielel käpyyn! (SKVR 7(3): 330).

[‘Oh you wretched iron,
 wretched iron, as you are slag
 as you begin to grow great
 your face growing quite terrible
 you were not great then
 not great, not little

nor particularly handsome either
 as you lay as whey milk
 splash as warm water.
 The old women were struck in the swamp
 Beset in the watery place.
 From that came iron ore
 And sharp steel.
 Stop then, blood, from bleeding,
 Milk, from flowing onto the ground,
 Blood droplets from trickling.
 Stand, blood, like a wall,
 Enchanted like a fence stand,
 A boulder on the field's edge.
 Your home's in the liver
 Beneath the yellowish lung.
 Do not remain at the surface.
 Do not scatter about the wound.
 Close your mouth, cover your head,
 Order your tongue into a pinecone.']

Both Turi's relatively short incantation and Vanninen's long one make reference to an etiology of iron as a former liquid, that is, bog iron, which could be smelted through technology known in the Nordic region since the Viking Age. The Finnish incantation provides a much more detailed account of the origin, however, characterizing bog iron as milk dropped on the swamp by mythic women (*akat*), in many incantations described as the offspring of Ukko, the deity of thunder. Both incantations command the addressee to behave properly, although with some differences. The Finnish incantation is aimed at stanching blood and has described the origins of iron as a preface to actually addressing the blood flow caused by being injured by an iron tool. The blood is told where it belongs and that it should stop flowing out into the world outside of the body. Turi's incantation, in contrast, remains focused on the iron itself and the injurious effects it could impose on a wound, apparently even after the slashing has occurred. Turi states that his incantation is meant to prevent objects from going into the wound: presumably, reciting the incantation three times, as recommended, will cause the gash to close, protecting the flesh within while also, of course, putting an end to any bleeding. The performance seems to relate to his concept of contamination (see above), in which cold, sweat, dirt, or other foreign substances constantly threaten to enter and corrupt a wound.

Another Finnish incantation, collected in Teronvaara from Pääntti Jelkänen in 1897 shows other similarities with Turi's Sami version. Jelkänen described the incantation as controlling "raudan vihoja" ['the hatreds of

iron’], where *vihoja* can be seen as parallel to the *väsiid* [‘hatreds’] of Turi’s incantation. Jelkänen’s spell opens thus:

Oi sinä rauta raukka,
Koito kuonto,
Miks’ sinä pahoja teit
Ilman Luojan luvatta? (SKVR 7(3): 361).

[‘Oh you wretched iron
hapless slag,
Why did you do bad things
Without the Lord’s permission?’]

Interestingly, at least one notable singer of the same era, the Finnish Pessi Shemeikka, reported having learned his version of the iron incantation from a Sami healer (SKVR 7(3): 368). Such lore must have circulated widely between healers of both language groups throughout northern Scandinavia.

Another aspect of such incantations in Turi’s repertoire is their tendency to address, command or cajole the offending disease. For boils that have heads, Turi recommends the following treatment: one should place a skeleton key with a cross shape in its bit on the head of the boil, turning it counterclockwise and reciting the following incantation:

Šadda hal vaikko Nagervári meare
Šadda hal vaikko Aldasduoddara meare
Dahje ále šatta ollenge (xxix, 36).

[‘Grow indeed to the size of Nagervári
grow indeed to the size of Aldasduottar
or do not grow at all.’]

Turi notes that any mountain names will do, so long as they are the largest ones in the locale. The idea is to challenge the boil to grow to an impossible size, and if it cannot do so, to leave altogether. The cross shape of the key appears a means of tangibly invoking the Christian deity, a detail which parallels the various appeals to Christ or the saints in various of Turi’s incantations. Such features are common to charm traditions throughout the Nordic region (Klintberg 1965; Kvideland & Sehmsdorf (eds.) 1991; DuBois 1999) and can be seen already in such early texts as the Korsholm Finnish incantation of 1564 (Virtanen & DuBois 2000: 180) or the various charms contained in the Norwegian *Vinja* book (Ommundsen 2009). They are clearly part of European religious folk healing as it diffused into the north of Europe and merged with preexisting healing traditions and concepts of disease.

Also central to Turi’s healing were methods that had passed into Sami

healing from earlier official medicine. These included the practices of moxibustion (specifically tinder burning) and bleeding. Turi describes the use of tinder to cure toothaches, headaches, fractures, rheumatism and pneumonia (xxxv, 39). The fact that Turi practiced bleeding is mentioned in passing as he relates his efforts to treat Stuora-Biehtár's daughter (see case study below). Significantly, the act is linked with the performance of an incantation—commanding spirits to drink the shed blood and then depart—reflecting the assimilation of the technique into the curative practices of the culture as a whole (xlv, 51–53).

Whereas the concepts of contagion, transference, and word magic underlie much of Turi's healing methods, certain ailments are explicitly described as liable to be the products of magic aggression, *noaidegoanstatt*. In a particularly telling passage (xiii, 26), Turi writes of “makkár sivaiguin noaidit noaidut sáhttet” [‘for what sort of reasons *noaidit* practice *noaidi* magic’]. Turi writes: “Boazo-suolávuodain ii leat álki bastit noaidut, muhto noaidut lea álkimus ráhkisvuoda rihkkumis ja ain jápmá gálvvu suoládeames ja bilkideames” [‘reindeer theft is not easy to accomplish by magic, but it is easiest to work magic in cases of broken love and also to steal things from the dead or level curses’] (26). Each of these broad categories of underhanded activity receives more detailed discussion in Turi's various short passages of the text, and finds illustration in the more extended “case studies” that make up the latter half of the work (see below). These sorts of ailments require strong counter-magic or the overriding force of fervent Christian belief to undo, and Turi dutifully describes each of them in the pages of his work. We shall examine each of these below, in reverse order.

The theft of the dead's belongings and the leveling of curses are closely related in Turi's presentation of Sami magic. The dead figure as a major source of supernatural help for those wishing to work magic in Turi's world, particularly if they want to bring about the sickness or misfortune of others. As we shall see in the case studies, such ill will could often develop out of failed romantic relationships, especially if one person jilted another, or a suitor's advances were turned down for purely economic reasons. The wrath of a spurned lover could easily lead to attempts at cursing another, attempts that tended to involve the acquisition of spirits of the dead (ghosts) who could plague the perpetrator's victims. Turi notes methods for acquiring supernatural help from among the dead:

Go lea easka jápmán dakkár olmmoš, gii lea sohka dahje hui ustit leamaš eallinaga, de dat lea ustit velnai. Ja de galgá oastit vuohččan silkibátti golmma goartila guhku. Ja go boahotá jámeha lusa, de galgá rahpat, ja de galgá jodaldahttit dan silkibátti guovtte guvlui njálmmi badjel ja de gal-

gá váldit sallii ja jorgalit golmma geardde birralis vuostebeaivái ja dadjat: “Don galggat veahkehit mu álo, go mun čurven du nama.” Ja de galgá fas bidjat jur seammalágáš go lea leamaš. Ja de lea dat ožžon dan virggi. Muhto dat galgá dahkot dan bargu jur gaskaija áigge (v, 22).

[‘If someone has newly died who was a relative or a very good friend while alive, that one will still be a good friend. And first one must buy a silk band three half-feet long. And when one comes to the place of the dead person, one must open [the casket] and run the silken band through the lips in both directions and take him in your arms and turn him three times in the direction counter to the sun and say: “You must help me whenever I call your name.” And then you must place it back exactly as it was. And then it has gotten that duty. But this one must do right at midnight.’]

If a close friend or relative had not died recently, the vindictive person seeking ghostly assistance could go to the cemetery and gather spirits of the dead there (vi, 22 f.). Such assistants seem to be available to any who wish to indulge in ill will toward others, and in Turi’s case studies, we read of a number of seemingly ordinary Sami who nonetheless choose to dispatch spirits against one another, usually after romantic or economic conflicts.

More powerful and dangerous, however, were the spirits sent by an accomplished *olles noaidi* [‘fullblown *noaidi*’]. Such an individual was no temporary dabbler in ill will; rather, he or she had undergone an elaborate clandestine ceremony to gain demonic assistants in life, agreeing to eternal damnation in return. Turi describes the initiation ritual of the *olles noaidi* as follows:

Dat ollesnoaidegoansta lea dakkár, ahte son dahká ná: son bidjá rámmáha gopmut čippiid vuollái ja de vuordnu iežas eret Ipmilis ja birui lohpidá iežas sielu maŋŋil jápmima, go biru dahká visot, maid son sihtá. Ja de dat šaddá dat rievttis noaidi, ja dat ii galle beasa šat goasge ristatassan... (ix, 24).

[‘The fullblown *noaidi* art is such that he/she does thus: he/she puts the Bible face down beneath his/her knees and swears him/herself away from God and promises his/her own soul to the devil after death, if the devil will do all that he/she desires. And then he/she becomes a true *noaidi* and can never again become a baptized person...’]

Crucially, such *noaidit* employ the aid of demons—*birot*—who follow the *noaidi*’s commands. In passage xii (25 f.), Turi describes these beings as *biro engelat* [‘angels of the demon’] and notes that they can either travel in the company of birds, particularly ravens, or move across the landscape alone

in human form. When they reach the person against whom they have been set, they cling to their victim fiercely. Only the victim's lack of fear or ritual acts of expulsion can drive the spirits away once they have located their unlucky quarry. Such expulsion, is, however, as Turi notes, fairly easy to effect: "muhto daid lea geahppat jorgilit eret" ['but these are easy to turn away']. Alternatively, an *oahppan noaidi* ['learned *noaidi*'] can go to a churchyard at night and summon spirits from their graves to direct at a victim (vii, 23). The spirits are brought forth by a formula that mentions both Adam and the *noaidi*'s own mother and can rise like a fog from their graves. These spirits can either torment or kill the victim, depending on the *noaidi*'s directions. Turi notes that such *noaiddit* needed to have all their teeth to be in full control of their spirits. Such was typical of Sami belief and finds parallel in Finnish tradition regarding the *tietäjä* ['knower; shaman'] as well. In the case studies presented at the end of this paper, we will see the effects of such supernatural assault in the form of sickness, insanity, or lack of calm. Thus, unexplained serious disease as well as various mental or emotional breakdowns could easily be attributed to shamanic aggression, either by an experienced *noaidi* (possibly hired by someone else) or by an ill-willed non-*noaidi* who desired revenge enough to undertake some variety of ghost sending.

Once one suspected such underhanded aggression, the afflicted person or his/her family could respond in a variety of ways. The most usual solution was to consult someone with *noaidi* skills—either a fullblown *olles noaidi* or someone with a smattering of *noaidi* learning—and ask that third party to diagnose and handle the problem. Turi describes the *noaidi*'s diagnostic process. The *noaidi* required a bottle of liquor, in which to see the hidden elements of the victim's life (xi, 25). If the *noaidi* determined that the person was suffering from spirit assaults, he could take action to drive the spirits away (xi, 25). In the case study of Inǵá of Čohkkeras (Case 2 below), we read of an old maid who is able to see and pursue such spirits, and Turi writes of another acquaintance of his, Bávllós-Inǵá, who is also able to see and dispatch encroaching entities (xl, 43 f.).

Such *noaiddit* and other individuals with some degree of *noaidi* skills were not the only possible sources of assistance, however. Turi notes that help could be sought from *Ipmilis noaiddit* ['God's *noaiddit*']—healers with strong faith in God and the ability to banish or control ghosts as a result. Such individuals easily trump the working of ordinary *noaiddit* as well as the ill-willed curses of mean-spirited individuals. Writes Turi:

Dat galgá dakkár, gii lea Ibmilis noaidi dahje dahká Ipmila vuimmiin. Ja dat hupmá dalle amas gielain, ja son lea maid dalle dego juhkan: son lea

likkuhusain ja son oaidná dalle visot noaidebijagiid, ja son galle bihtá, vaikko livččii man gievrras noaiddit bidjan, dat mat leat biro vuimmiin bidjan (xi, 25).

[‘It must be one who is a *noaidi* of God, or by God’s power. And that one speaks in a strange language and acts as if drunk, being moved by the spirit, and he/she sees all the spells of the *noaidi*, and prevails over them, no matter how powerful the *noaidit* who sent them, those who cast the demon spells.’]

So too, truly faithful and fervent Christians are largely immune to such aggression, which could only work upon people of weaker faith and more compromised morals (xiii, 26). And Christian healers that employ more traditional *noaidi* techniques in order to cure diseases run the risk of their efforts failing if they are even reminded of their Christian identity (lv, 67). Turi’s description of the Christian *noaidi* séance above apparently refers to the dramatic speaking in tongues and other spiritual experiences characteristic of Læstadian Christianity of his time and locale. In his confidence in the Christian healer’s superiority over the pre-Christian (read as demonic) workings of the traditional *noaidi*, Turi displays a viewpoint similar to that described by Robert Paine of coastal Sami during the early 1950s (Paine 1994). As in Paine’s accounts, Turi depicts a world in which Christian healing is locked in competition with a more widespread but ultimately inferior non-Christian healing, exemplified by the traditional *noaidi* and various lax Christians who dabble in *noaidi* arts.

Two final sources of help in cases of supernatural aggression lay in consulting Finnish healers or Swedish doctors. Turi describes occasions during which Sami of his locale availed themselves of these practitioners, sometimes with considerable success. The frequency and extensiveness of Finnish materials in Turi’s own healing repertoire attest to the popularity of Finnish healers in particular. In some of the case studies presented below, these figures do indeed prove effective, but it is clear that—especially in the case of Finnish *tietäjät*—there are many charlatans as well, and such assistance can sometimes worsen rather than improve a situation.

Love Spells

In discussing curses related to romantic conflicts, Turi not only describes a number of specific cases of jiltings or snubs that result in diminished health or welfare for a family, but also describes some of the magic that individuals could use to attempt to secure the love of another. These love spells were generally performed by the would-be lover and were shared widely between the Finnish and Sami communities. Turi refers to the use of such spells as

beallenoaidegoansta, that is, a matter of “half-noaidi magic.” These procedures do not involve calling on helping spirits or using any drumming or trance induction, but instead primarily hinge on manipulation of bodily excretions performed in conjunction with magic formulas, incantations. This arsenal of magic is closely linked in Turi’s experience with Finnish practitioners, as the examples below illustrate.

The methods Turi outlines for romantic compulsion all involve the person (the perpetrator) who desires the love of another mixing elements or secretions from his or her own body with food or drink to be served to the object of affection (i.e., the victim). A perpetrator could place some personal blood (specifically three drops) in red wine, bread or other food or drink, and then serve it to the victim. Alternatively, the perpetrator could place a rusk (Turi uses the Finnish term for such rusks, *korppuleipä*, rendered in North Sami as *gorpuláibi*) or sugar cube in an armpit to soak up sweat and then give that to the victim to consume. A third method consisted of scraping skin cells from the bottom of one’s foot into food served to the victim. With this last method—and apparently with all three procedures—an incantation was to be recited:

Don galggat leat munnje nu buorre,
Dego Márjá lei Jesusii
Eallima loahpa rádjái (xvi, 28).

[‘You must be as good to me
as Mary was to Jesus
unto the end of life.’]

Turi informed Demant-Hatt that these words were translated from Finnish (fn 21, 175).

These methods have clear parallels in Finnish magic traditions. An informant from Siikainen reported in 1889 that one could extract blood from one’s ring finger for such magic uses: the right hand if the victim is a man, the left if the victim is a woman. The blood is to be added to alcohol or allowed to soak into a sugar cube, which would then be served to the victim along with the incantation “Seuraa mua, niinkuin piru kahtatoista lautamiestä” [‘Follow me, just like a demon after twelve jurymen’] (SKVR 10(2): 4944). The informant’s simile is decidedly less pious than the one Turi cites, but nonetheless conveys the same message: the victim is to become fervently attentive toward the perpetrator ever after. The Siikainen informant describes such a process of awakening attraction as “being fed” (*syötetään*), reflecting the centrality of ingestion in this method of bewitchment. Other informants from the region, however, used the verbs *suostua* and *suostutella*

with the meanings ‘to convince, to entice’ (e.g., SKVR 10(2): 4946, 4945a). These words appear close to the North Sami verb *sustuhit* which Turi uses, and its passive form *sustahuvvun*. Konrad Nielsen and Asbjørn Nesheim (1932–1962) relate these in their dictionary to the more common *suostoitit*, ‘to cause someone to love or follow one through magic.’ In a Finnish account which uses the form *suostutella*, collected in Tyrvää in 1903, a girl wishing to entice a suitor is advised to prick her finger and deposit droplets of blood into a mug of beer which she is then to serve to the victim, again closely paralleling Turi’s advice (SKVR 10(2): 4945a). Blood for such procedures could also sometimes come from menstrual flow (SKVR 10(2): 4953) or blood drawn before the cuckoo has had a chance to call (SKVR 10(2): 4952). It could also be deposited surreptitiously on the victim’s clothing to achieve the same effect (SKVR 10(2): 4951).

An informant from Hämeenkyrö named Kustaa, aged eighty at the time of interview in 1906, described a strategy for love inducement similar to Turi’s second method. The perpetrator should place three sugar cubes in her armpit, twisting these nine times while reciting: “Sinun pitää rakastaman [sic] niin kuin minä rakastan sinua” [‘You must fall in love just as I love you’] (SKVR 10(2): 4949). The sugar cubes could then be served to the victim in coffee or tea.

And although the Finnish anthology contains no examples exactly parallel to Turi’s advice regarding foot skin cells, this same Kustaa recommended that a girl wishing to bewitch a boy pick up shavings from where the boy had walked and recite an incantation over them to compel the boy to follow her in the future (SKVR 10(2): 4950). It is evident from these parallels, then, that Turi’s love magic was derived to a considerable degree from that of his Finnish neighbors. It had arrived in North Sami practice either having displaced earlier Sami magical procedures for the same tasks or as a novel import for a need not previously met with or addressed in Sami magic. Turi notes that the methods he describes can be used by both men and women, and that, although they can be effective, they seldom truly work unless the victim already has some romantic interest in the perpetrator. And indeed, Turi warns, a marriage resulting from magically-induced romance seldom proves happy in the long run: “Muhto de lea fas nu, ahte dat bárat, mat leat sustuhuvvun, de dat šaddet riidát, sis nohká ráhkisvuohta” [‘But it is so that these pairs which were magically enticed begin to quarrel, their love comes to an end’] (xvi, 28). It is possible that such magic arrived in Sami culture of the area in response to changes in Sami courtship practices. Where previous Sami matches might be made between a family and established trading partners or well-known counterparts in the local or regional economy, the romantic world that Turi depicts in his various stories in *Sámi deavsttat*

is one in which individuals seem to enjoy wide sanction to play the field, courting more than one person before finally settling on a marriage partner. These marriages occasionally crossed national and ethnic lines, and they involved reindeer Sami with many potential partners of different livelihoods. In a context in which Sami and agrarian Finns in particular were intermarrying with some frequency, such lore must have held particular resonance as an explanation of why certain couples formed or as a stratagem in actual courtship. This sense of suspicion concerning inter-ethnic marriage accords well with what Coppélie Cocq (2008) has shown regarding images of exogamy in North Sami legends from this same period. Anxieties concerning the difficulties of maintaining a Sami community in a context of widespread out-marriage must have been a prevalent concern of the day, Cocq posits. Further, regardless of the ethnic make-up of the resulting couples, marriages could always be suspected to have been instigated by clandestine magic if they eventually ended in hostility. Hindsight always could reveal what the blind romance of the moment—or the deceptive magic of the imposed spell—tended to obscure. Turi provides an example in his account of a couple in Finland who had become married after the woman's love magic (xlvi, 70). The marriage soured, and the woman traveled to Norway to procure a *noaidi*'s help to send spirits to beset her husband. The husband was dogged for some time by a raven dressed in boots, but the spirits were eventually driven away by Turi's *noaidi* colleague, Bávllós-Iŋgá. The couple separated thereafter, and the man—aided by Bávllós-Iŋgá—grew healthy and rich, while his wife became so poor that she was reduced to begging.

Of the methods of magically stealing the reindeer of others Turi gives no further details apart from noting that it is very difficult (xiii, 26). Nonetheless, in the case studies below, we will see that such magical aggression was purportedly widespread in Turi's time and could also lead to other forms of hardship for an individual or family, such as wider misfortune, untimely death, or sicknesses of various kinds. Where love magic could be described as *beallenoaidegoansta* ['half-noaidi magic'] and was apparently regarded as regrettable but expectable among love-struck youths, magical reindeer theft is granted no such leniency in Turi's text. Indeed, for Turi—as we shall see in the case studies—few crimes seem as heinous. For whereas aggressive magic aimed at an individual could destroy that individual's life or welfare, reindeer theft threatened the entire family, jeopardizing their survival in the future.

Case Studies

Although most of what we have examined so far is presented in *Sámi deavsttat* through short, itemized notes, Demant-Hatt printed longer accounts

of individuals' experiences as case studies in the second part of the book. These accounts often illustrate the concepts described above, while also depicting the process of diagnosis and hierarchy of resort engaged in by Sami of Turi's locale. Turi is often explicit about whether his neighbors acted with prudence or not in their handling of health issues, offering us valuable evidence regarding Turi's understandings of the proper ways to maintain health and prosperity in his world. Below I detail four such case studies from *Sámi deavsttat*.

Case 1. Raži-Girsti

The first case study we shall examine here is Turi's account of Raži-Girsti. Whereas most of Turi's longer accounts of *noaidi* magic follow a victim and family over the course of their misfortunes, Turi presents Raži-Girsti as herself a perpetrator of supernatural aggression toward others. His narrative recounts the process by which the community became aware of the mechanism of Raži-Girsti's evil acts and the precautions people have taken against her since then. He begins his account thus:

Das lea gullon, ahte lea adnán dakkár noaidegoansttaid, maid eai jur riehta olbmot dieđe, muhto dan gal dihtet olus, ahte son lea goddán ollu olbmuid, muhto in dieđe jur vissásit, got dat lea álgu dan ásijis ja manne dat lea dan dahkan, muhto dat goit dihtto, ahte dat lea goddinvašši olbmuide dan olbmus, gii dahká olmoš-goddin-goansttaid dahje adná. Ja vuohččan lea gullon, ahte son lea váldán boares jámet-báikkis dahje girku-gárddis muolddu dahje sáddo, ja dat lea de gullon, ahte dat lea dakkár, ahte galgá juohke guovtte jagi sisa manjimustá goddit olbmo. Ja dat lea gal lea gullon, ahte son lea goddán dávjá olbmuid (xlvi, 54).

[‘Of her one hears tell that she has made use of that kind of *noaidi* arts that people don't know many details about, but they know rightly enough that she has killed many people. But I do not know exactly how this all began and why she has done this, but it is known that there is murderous hatred towards other people in a person who uses or causes to be used such lethal arts. And often one has heard tell that she has taken soil or sand from an old place of death or churchyard, and one has heard tell that she is that kind [of *noaidi*] who must kill a person at least every two years. And indeed one has heard tell that she has often killed people.’]

From this vague and ominous beginning, full of impersonal constructions such as *dat lea gullon* [‘one has heard tell’] and leaving much of the background of the woman's situation unexplained, Turi proceeds to concrete detail. He recalls people's discovery of a strange bottle in the vicinity of a mi-

grating community of reindeer Sami. The bottle was filled with something that seemed to be alive and which gave off a terrible odor. The young girl who discovered it grew immediately ill when she breathed in its vapors, and the community had to give her strong *dálkkasat* ['medicine'] to bring her back to health. They took the bottle and burned it, witnessing the strange sounds that proceeded from it in the fire. After that, the pattern of murder seems to have subsided, until one of the community noticed Raži-Girsti engaged in a further clandestine activity:

Ja dat lea okta oidnon [dahje] gávdnan, go ovttá jámehis lei njálmmis váldime váiga-čázi lássii. Ja dan rájes lea ožžojuvvon diehtu, ahte váiga-čáziin son goddá. Ii son dárbbas ieža go goaikalii dan lásis sohkar-binná nala, de lei válmmas; jos dat olmmoš dan sohkkara borrá gáffiin, de gal jápmá. Ja dat lei hui árvvas; son attii gaffe olbmuide, go bohte gohtái. Ja in dal muittá nammalássii olbmuid, geaid dat lea goddán, muhto dan mon muittán, ahte guokte boatnji son lea alldes sorbmen ja ovttá bártni. Ja maŋit boatnji son gottii nu fastit, ahte čalbmi bulljihii olggos jámidettiin (xlvi, 55).

[‘And it was seen or discovered once that she was removing corpse fluid from a dead person’s mouth into a glass. And from that time on, it has been known that she kills by corpse fluid. She need only pour a little out of this glass onto a sugar cube and she is ready. If a person eats that sugar with coffee, he/she will definitely die. And she was very generous: she gave coffee to people when they came into her *goahti*. And I don’t remember the names of the people she killed, but I do remember that she has murdered two husbands and one son. And the latter husband she killed so horribly that one of his eyes popped out as he died.’]

Turi notes that some folk have survived her poison when they have been given medicine that causes them to vomit right away: medicine prepared by a Sami who was *veahás diehtti* [‘somewhat a *diehtti* healer’]. Although produced and administered by a traditional healer, Turi uses the same word (*dálkkasat*) that he uses for remedies prescribed by official doctors. Turi notes in closing that Raži-Girsti has taught her art to her daughter, but is estranged from her remaining son, who refuses to live with her out of fear of being killed himself. Turi adds ominously: “Ja dál in dieđe, velgo son eallá vai ii” [‘And now I don’t know if she is still alive or not’] (55). Like many another member of the local community, he seems to have wanted to keep his distance from this apparently dangerous and much feared woman.

It is noteworthy that under other circumstances, one might easily imagine Raži-Girsti as the victim of someone else’s supernatural aggression. She loses two husbands and a son to a mysterious death, and she seems supremely unlucky in her familial relations. She does not appear to be partic-

ularly difficult toward her neighbors; in fact, Turi notes that she is notably generous when folk come to her *gohti*. Yet, rather than garnering sympathy, Raži-Girsti seems to attract suspicion. Perhaps because of the very magnitude of her misfortune, she is suspected of having attacked and murdered her family members herself. The local community's description of her arsenal of malevolent devices—a bottle apparently containing evil spirits, life essence drained from a corpse—reflects local understandings of clandestine shamanic substances. That these are counteracted by other “medicines” produced by local healers indicates an ongoing and productive tradition of shamanic medicinal healing in early twentieth-century Čohkkeras/Jukkasjärvi, a tradition that folk seem to have accessed more immediately and more readily than anything associated with the official doctoring offered in nearby settlements.

Case 2. Iŋgá of Čohkkeras/Jukkasjärvi

In passage xliv (46–50), Turi presents a different case study: one following the health challenges and history of a wealthy local woman and her family. At the outset of the narrative, Turi outlines the basic sociological background of the situation: migrating reindeer Sami from Čohkkeras regularly cross the border with their herds to spend part of the year in Norway, where they may well meet and become romantically involved with non-migrating (settled) Norwegian Sami. Such is the case with the wealthy young woman Iŋgá. Iŋgá falls in love with an unnamed Norwegian Sami man and remains in Norway with him after her family returns to Sweden with their herds at the end of summer. As Turi writes: “soai dagaiga náittoslihtuid, ja nieida orui dálvvi dan irggis luhtte” [‘the two of them became engaged to be married and the girl spent the winter at her bridegroom’s home’] (47). The seriousness of this commitment, however, appears completely undone a few lines later, when the girl abandons the bridegroom the following spring, spending the summer in her family’s company and returning to Sweden with them in the fall. The grounds for this separation are not specified in the account, but it may be that the girl changed her mind about her beau or his settled lifestyle after the experience of living in Norway with him for the winter. Alternatively, the girl’s parents may have found the suitor unworthy of their daughter, whose wealth and status are emphasized at the outset of the tale. Whatever the case, during the very winter of her return to Sweden, Iŋgá marries a local Sami from Čohkkeras in a wedding nearly prevented by an abnormally powerful torrential rainstorm, a hint of the supernatural repercussions that are to follow.

In this story, as in other accounts in Turi’s text, particular significance is attached to the image of Norway. One needs to be careful when dealing

with Norwegian Sami, and jilting such a beau is likely to have supernatural ramifications. As we shall see, Norway is often the place Čohkkeras Sami go to when they need the assistance of a substantial *noaidi*; the knowledge and competence of local Čohkkeras Sami appear far less in comparison with these impressive healers or cursers to the north. At the same time, the very efficacy of Norwegian *noaidit* makes them figures to fear in the Čohkkeras community, and local Sami seem to attribute many downturns in personal fortune to association with Sami from the Norwegian side. It is noteworthy that Turi himself had come from Norway as a child: he never quite identifies totally with the Čohkkeras community, whom he describes to one extent or another from an outsider's perspective. Given that Turi's grandfather was a noted healer and his father also respected as a Christian healer (see below), this image of the Norwegian *noaidi* must have held particular significance, and potentially some poignancy, for Turi.

In the account that Turi writes about this apparently fickle Čohkkeras bride, the ambiguities of the girl's winter sojourn in Norway soon become the basis of an open conflict. The newly married couple arrives in Norway in the spring and are confronted by the angry former suitor who accuses his Swedish counterpart of having stolen his wife. The Swedish Sami husband states that he had not known about the situation before, and the two men come to terms through the payment of compensation. When the Norwegian suitor requests one further reindeer hide as part of the settlement, however, Iŋgá intervenes, slapping him with the skin and preventing her husband from completing the compensation. Her aggression toward her former lover seems to indicate that their relation had not ended peaceably, and the former suitor, humiliated and dissatisfied, returns to Norway empty-handed. The Swedish Sami husband, on the other hand, can be seen to face issues of his own, as his wife and in-laws neglected to tell him of Iŋgá's prior marital alliance and intentions, a grievous impropriety at the opening of the twentieth century.

That next winter, the Swedish husband begins to experience supernatural assault by spirits. People can see that he is choking, but only an old maid with some knowledge of *noaidi* arts (*noaiddes-lágáš*, 'nearly noaidi') can actually see the spirits that are attacking. Lifting up her skirts over her back end and making use of the inherent power of her old maid odor, she chases the unseen spirits away, pursuing them all over the tent until they flee in the form of a reindeer herd and flock of birds. She pursues them even further until they are chased beyond a watershed, from which they cannot easily return, as Turi notes in his discussion of demonic angels (xii, 25 f.). The process takes the woman a full night and a day, and although she is successful in her efforts, she does not seem to garner much gratitude or notice from

the family. Turi writes:

Muhto de eai goitge lean guhká ovdalgo fas bohte. Ja gal dat lei ain jorgalit, jos dat livčče sihtan—de lei oažžut buorit vuomme; muhto olbmot eai dádjadan sihtat. Ja de fas bohte ja godde eret (xliv, 48).

[‘It did not last long, however, until [the spirits] came back. And she would have driven them out again, if they had asked—she would get better powers; but they did not know to ask. And at length they [the spirits] came back and killed him.’]

At this point, it is clear that the complexities of the changing world of Turi’s day have had their hand in creating this problem. The sociological issue of settled vs. migratory life seems to have contributed to the romantic quarrel, while the bride and her family evince an arrogance born of ignorance of the potential dangers of humiliating or otherwise injuring the feelings of other people. *Noaidi* defensive magic when offered goes hardly noticed, even when it is effective (as in the case of the helpful old maid), and spirits are permitted to return and murder as a result. Supernatural techniques that could have resulted in a strengthened local defense against magical assault are allowed to fail: the intended victim is killed while the family neglects to safeguard his health, and a further decline in the family’s fortunes is made inevitable. The immediate cause of the family’s misfortune is almost certainly a curse performed or paid for by the jilted lover, one which is successful because of the foolishness and arrogance of the wealthy family itself.

From here, the negative effects of these events begin to take their toll directly on Iŋgá. After the birth of a child—a son—she becomes insane, and travels to Norway where she finds some *noaidit* who are successful in clearing her mind, at least part of the time. She marries a second (third) husband named Nihkaš-Ándaras, whose origins remain unclear although he is described as an inveterate reindeer thief who marks the reindeer of his stepchildren with his own mark in order to swindle them out of their inheritance. Iŋgá’s insanity seems to leave her altogether at the time that her son reaches adulthood. But, just at that moment, her son falls ill and dies of mysterious causes, his body showing signs of strangulation. Here, as noted above, the Sami fear of contagion comes into play, as the family struggles to find someone willing to nurse the young man in his final days. Writes Turi: “Ja de dat gal lei surgat maid oaidnit, ja eai olbmot duostan guoskkahit go jur roahkkadeamus vehá. Ja ii son eallán go vahkku, de jámii” [‘It was pathetic to see him so, and people did not dare to touch him, except for the bravest who did so a little. And he didn’t live more than a week before he died’] (xliv, 48).

With his stepson dead, Nihkaš-Ándaras now invites his brother’s son

Unna Jounaš to come work with him, schooling his nephew in the underhanded practice of falsifying ear marks so as to steal others' reindeer. Unna Jounaš soon turns the table on his uncle, stealing reindeer from him, although, Turi notes, Nihkaš-Ándaras never seemed to grow less wealthy, a sign either of his sustained reindeer theft or the supernatural assistance he is receiving from a clandestine relationship with spirit helpers. Given that reindeer theft was a major motive for shamanic activities, as Turi notes, these two possible explanations may be related.

Now Nihkaš-Ándaras's daughter Ristina comes of age, and Unna Jounaš begins to court her. The cousins are clearly interested in each other, and the marriage deal is brokered by a well-known settled farmer named Liddu-Jussa who is said to often fill this role for migrating Sami. Despite these efforts, however, Injá and Nihkaš-Ándaras refuse their nephew's offer, regarding him as not wealthy enough for their daughter. Turi notes that the parents regarded Ristina as so valuable a catch that scarcely any suitor would prove adequate. As if in retaliation for this act of pride, the parents soon witness their daughter's rapid slide into insanity, Turi noting wryly "ja de gal veaháš hálbui dat divrras nieida" ['and then the price of that valuable girl certainly fell'] (49). Nihkaš-Ándaras is compelled to seek (expensive) help from *noaidit* in Norway and faces difficulty in finding anyone willing to accompany his daughter there, except for one (presumably Unna Jounaš) whose intentions he distrusts, and another, whose unreliability regarding money makes him an equally unsuitable candidate. At last Nihkaš-Ándaras takes Ristina to Norway himself.

In Norway, Nihkaš-Ándaras brings his daughter to a Sami *noaidi*, whose initial help he pays for. The *noaidi* warns him that the girl will have to come to see him again for further treatment. Once they have left this *noaidi*'s home, however, Nihkaš-Ándaras and his daughter come upon a Finnish healer who offers to heal her, presumably for a better price. The men agree and Nihkaš-Ándaras pays the Finn, whose treatments, however, prove completely ineffectual. In the meantime, the Sami *noaidi* has become aware of Nihkaš-Ándaras's outside consultation, and angered at his client's attempted evasion of paying him any further, prophecies that Nihkaš-Ándaras will have to consult other doctors since he seems to have plenty of money to do so.

A year later, after fruitlessly searching for another *noaidi* who can help, Nihkaš-Ándaras returns to the original *noaidi* with his daughter. He pays him somewhat more and she improves somewhat as well. Turi notes that the *noaidi* did not need the money but was in the custom of receiving the money that patients offered: the willing payment is pre-

sumably a sign of both respect and belief in the efficacy of the treatment, important elements for the success of the procedure.

Since none will marry the insane Ristina, Nihkaš-Ándaras is forced to try to hire men to impregnate her, hoping that pregnancy will clear her mind. Due to the Sami aversion to contagion, however, he finds no takers. As the girl's younger sister dies unexpectedly, the family is left with an unmarriageable insane daughter and few prospects for a worthy son-in-law. Finally, Turi ends his tale with the family's most recent attempts at salvaging the situation:

Ja de fas Vazáš doaktára luhtte lei ovttá dálvvi dat boarrásset nieida, ja de gulustuvai nu, ahte doavttir lei gohččon náitalit. Ja de soamis geafes nuorra bárdni válddii ja náitalii. Ja de lei veaháš áigge čielggas, ja de fas bieđđalii. Ja de fas manai Norggas ohcame ábu. Ja de lea jur boahtán dobbe ruoktot dál, ja de in dál dieđe, čielgágo vai ii (50).

['The older daughter spent one winter in Vittangi at the home of the doctor there, and it has been said that the doctor told her to marry. And then some poor young boy took her and married her. And for a little while she was clear-headed, and then she became mixed up again. And then she went to Norway searching for help. And now she has just recently come back home, and I don't know whether she's clear-headed or not.']

In Turi's account, two major symptoms repeatedly plague the family in question. Men of the family seem to experience invisible strangulation, while women grow insane. The causes of the problem appear to originate with Inǵá's overbearing pride at her family's considerable wealth. It is noteworthy here that a Čohkkeras herding family appears markedly higher in terms of both status and property than a settled Sami in Norway and this situation passes without any comment from Turi. Turi himself grew up in Gárasavvon/Karesuando, but his family had migrated there from Norway and he often describes a marked cultural rift and ill will lingering between Swedish Sami herding communities and the newcomer Norwegians. In Turi's rendering, Norway is the home of real *noaidi* expertise, while Čohkkeras—his home from his twenties on—possesses only people with smatterings of *noaidi* skills, such as the old maid who attempts to drive the ghosts away from Inǵá's first husband. Crucially, the Čohkkeras Sami do not seem as familiar with *noaidi* protocol, as they repeatedly insult or disregard Norwegians with *noaidi* skills, aggravating their already difficult family crises. Reindeer theft appears rampant among these wealthy families, and Nihkaš-Ándaras manages to gain entry into the family and maintain status in the community despite his obvious misdeeds in this arena. An official healer, the Vittangi

doctor, is also consulted somewhat late in the game, but the family seems to flit back and forth between this source of healing and the *noaidi* arts they so poorly understand in Norway. The family makes no reported use of religious healing in any way.

Case 3. *Stuora Biehtár*

Turi presents a very different tale about *Stuora Biehtár* ['Big Peter'] (xlv, 51–53). Here again, we find a family that tries a variety of means in order to attempt to heal their leader. Although they too are unsuccessful, their experiences help map further avenues of resort open to the sick and the desperate of Turi's day. At the beginning of the tale, *Stuora Biehtár* is a wealthy man with a large herd, three sons, and three daughters. He faces, however, constant depredation of his herd by thieves and wolves. Such misfortunes, as we have seen, could be often attributed to *noaidi* magic, but Turi notes that *Stuora Biehtár* was so stingy that he didn't know what to do when so oppressed. Presumably, *Stuora Biehtár* should have obtained competent help from a Sami *noaidi*, perhaps one in Norway; instead, he heeds the offer of a Finnish itinerant (*golgi*, 'tramp') who offers him help at a lower price: "ja de vuvddii oktii *Stuora Biehtáarii* olles noaide-vuoimmi, nu ahte ii galgan dan bohccu heavahit ii suola iige návdi. Dat lei gullon, ahte son vuvdii girkomuolddu ja jámeha bániid" ['he sold *Stuora Biehtár* some fullblown *noaidi* power so that neither thieves nor wolves should be able to destroy his reindeer. It is said that he sold him churchyard soil and the teeth of some dead people'] (51). As with the Finn of the previous tale, this tramp proves less than satisfactory, and his assistance soon begins to destroy *Stuora Biehtár's* family. In a note supplied by Demant-Hatt but clearly informed by Turi's own explanations, the situation is glossed for us: *Stuora Biehtár* has purchased powerful spirit helpers, but lacks the incantations and knowledge necessary to control them. Since such spirits are prone to act once summoned, *Stuora Biehtár's* lack of competence in this area proves his downfall (fn 62, 178). The spirits soon begin to cause illness to *Stuora Biehtár's* sons, and two of them die of unknown causes. *Stuora Biehtár* himself then dies and becomes a haunting presence that further worsens the family's situation. After his death, the family finds the small bag of churchyard soil and teeth that *Stuora Biehtár* had secretly purchased, a bag similar in form and content to that which Finnish *tietäjät* sometimes used in their magic (Sihvo 1986: 6–11). Before they have decided what to do with this occult paraphernalia, however, another family member, *Anni-Biehtár*, takes the bag and hides it again, apparently for his own use.

Next, *Stuora Biehtár's* oldest daughter grows insane, a fact that little helps her ugly appearance, dirty ways, and talkative manner. The family

looks for people to heal the sister, and soon they approach the former girlfriend of one of the deceased sons: a woman who Turi describes as *noaiddes-lágás* [‘nearly *noaidi*’]. They also approach Turi as well, who had once courted one of the family’s younger daughters but been rejected by her. Both the woman and Turi were known as possible *noaidit*, and although both had reasons to dislike the family, the family nonetheless prevailed upon them to attempt a healing. Turi bleeds the woman and has to sleep next to her in the tent, blocking the spirits from coming through the tent wall and entering the woman in her sleep. The next day the family tries to convince Turi to carry the bag with soil and teeth back to Vittangi churchyard, but the insane sister says that Anni-Biehtár should do the job. Anni-Biehtár does so, and receives help in Vittangi from a Finnish healer named Huru, who prevents the spirits from bearing Anni-Biehtár away in their fury. After Anni-Biehtár returns home safely, the sister’s condition begins to improve, and Turi receives what he regards as a rather ungenerous payment for his role in the healing. Turi recounts a number of prophecies that the older sister made during her insanity, all of which came true, including Turi’s own estrangement from the family and her sister Sanna’s eventual impoverishment. Since Sanna concealed part of her father’s inheritance at the time of his death, she was fated to grow poor and to die without marrying.

In this account, we see similar problems and similar solutions for the family in question. They too suffer a combined assault of reindeer depredation, fatal male illness, and protracted female insanity. As in the previous case, Stuora Biehtár’s initial situation is aggravated by foolish and poorly-informed actions on the part of Stuora Biehtár himself. Rather than paying for a worthy *noaidi* to put a halt to the clandestine reindeer theft, he asks for help from an itinerant Finnish healer. The Finn’s magic proves powerful, as does that of the tale’s later Finn Huru, who is successful in banishing the helping spirits once they are no longer wanted. But Stuora Biehtár has not learned the incantations and gained the supernatural *gravitas* necessary to subdue and direct the spirits as he wills. Without proper leadership, the spirits begin to plague Stuora Biehtár’s own family, destroying the lives of his sons and driving one of the daughters insane. After the spirits succeed in killing Stuora Biehtár as well, the family realizes that they need *noaidi* assistance, and they turn to two local people whom they believe possess the requisite skills to accomplish the task. The former girlfriend and Turi do indeed manage to improve the oldest sister’s condition, but it is the disposal of the purchased bag of power and the successful banishment of the spirits it contained that allow the family to regain some measure of normalcy. These events occur at the Christian churchyard of Vittangi, the same place where the insane daughter of the last account—Ristina—went to consult a doctor.

It is, in other words, a center of official power, a place of seeming finality, where a family can make a last-ditch effort at regaining health for the ill family member. In the case of Ristina, of course, the outcome of the therapy at Vittangi remains unclear at the time of Turi's writing, and Ristina does not seem to put her hope only in the Western doctor's treatment and her new husband. In the case of Stuora Biehtár's children, they do seem to have gained permanent respite from their journey to Vittangi, but only thanks to the helpful intervention of the Finn Huru, whose powers over the spirits mirrors and undoes the powers of the earlier Finn who had provided Stuora Biehtár with the bag. In both cases, considerable reindeer wealth goes unclaimed in the next generation due to each family's inability to recruit and sustain viable marriage partners for the next generation. Worthy suitors are squandered, like the original settled Norwegian of the first tale or, in the second, like Turi himself and the jilted girlfriend—who had, in fact, become pregnant with her boyfriend's child before being rejected. On the other hand, completely unsuitable matches are accepted: Inggá marries a known reindeer thief, and the family tries to pay men to impregnate their insane daughter. The foolishness of these families in terms of wise and constructive social acts is mirrored by their incompetence in reading and negotiating with the supernatural world. And in both cases, the results are devastating to the family's well-being.

Case 4. Unna Dommusaš

A final story illustrates a further set of healing options for people of Turi's era and area: recourse to Christian healing (xlvi, 55–58). Although Turi figures personally in this tale as well, the healing does not prove successful in the end and indeed, the events related have grievous repercussions for Turi personally. Unna Dommusaš ['Little Tom'] is a rich but guileless Sami, who, like Turi's family, had relocated to Čohkkeras after originally living near Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino, Norway. His lands lie along a major herd migration route, which means that his animals often get swept away when another herder passes through the area on an annual migration. Such happens once with the herd of Njálla-Mihkkal ['Arctic Fox Michael'], a wealthy and unscrupulous herder of the area. When a large number of reindeer belonging to Unna Dommusaš join into Njálla-Mihkkal's herd as it passes by, Unna Dommusaš requests a *rátikka*: a round-up and division of the herd in which each owner will recognize his animals by means of their ear marks and divide them into separate corrals. Such work was labor intensive and irksome for migrating Sami, yet it was the only fair way to reverse the reindeer's own natural tendency to form aggregate herds when brought into proximity with each other. Njálla-Mihkkal refuses to undertake the *rátikka*,

essentially stealing the reindeer belonging to Unna Dommusaš that had joined his herd. Later, when Unna Dommusaš and neighbors seek to recover the missing reindeer at Njálla-Mihkkal's corrals, they find that the latter has changed the earmarks of the reindeer so that they appear to be his own. A slow legal battle is undertaken in Norway with the help of Turi's father Ovlla, who is proficient in Norwegian and Swedish and can thus represent the monolingual Unna Dommusaš in court. Eventually, Njálla-Mihkkal and Unna Dommusaš become reconciled at the annual coming together of Sami, held, again, at Vittangi. As Turi writes, however: "muhto Njálás lei goit suoli vašši" ['but Arctic Fox bore secret hatred'] (56). The term *vašši* here has, of course, shamanic overtones, suggesting the same sorts of "evils" that the various incantations we have looked at were intended to control, or the kind of hatred that motivates a woman like Raži-Girsti. This implication is confirmed when Turi notes: "ja son olbmuid jáhku mielde lei bijahan mañi-lažžaid sutnje" ['and it was people's belief that he had set followers [spirits] after him'] (56).

In the aftermath of this secret curse, Unna Dommusaš's sister Unna Inggáš ['Little Inga'] becomes pregnant out of wedlock, a situation that is likely to cause her a very painful labor and delivery according to Sami belief of the time. Her pregnancy seems to be a hard one, and she must remain home at the *goahti* while others travel to the hills to participate in the fall roundup. Unna Dommusaš, for his part, becomes lost at round-up time and does not arrive at the corrals as expected. Turi and a companion join in the search for the older man, and stop by the *goahti* of Unna Inggáš to borrow a hymnbook, apparently to use in Christian *noaidi* countermagic. Unna Inggáš grows panicked when hearing that they want the hymnal and becomes even more ill than she had been. As a result, the family opts for a more serious form of aid: they send to Norway for the *noaidi* Ruŋgu-Nihkke, who comes to the area and is successful in treating Unna Inggáš.

After nine days, when Unna Dommusaš has still not turned up, the family desperately asks Ruŋgu-Nihkke to join in the search. He refuses, but consents to call out for Unna Dommusaš from the edge of camp, and the next day the latter returns at daybreak, confused and disoriented. People assume he had been kidnapped by the *ulddat*, the Sami equivalent of the broader Scandinavian *huldra* ['hidden people']. Dommusaš joins the Læstadian movement, and is alternately delighted by small singing birds or beset by raucous ravens, apparently curse-bearing messengers of the type Turi describes when detailing the methods of *noaidi* supernatural aggression. Unna Inggáš eventually recovers, but Unna Dommusaš never regains his health, dying nine days after his rediscovery. Turi ends his account with a poignant personal note:

Ja go lei jápmán, de vižže Ovllaš-vuorrasa, dahje čálli áhči. Ja go álge gárvvuhit, de dat áhččán oaččui galmma-hája ja álggii skihppát. Ja Dommus hávdáduvvui Lenesjávri lulle-geahčái dan guhkes njárgii. Ja dat njárga oaččui nama Dommus-njárga, ja das lea vel dálnai dat namma. Ja mu áhčči jámii deina vigiin, ja Inggá dearvvasnuvai goit dálvet easka riehta (58).

[‘And when he had died they sought out old Ovllaš, the writer’s father. And when he started to dress the corpse, my father caught wind of the corpse odor and grew ill. And Dommus was buried on the long headland at the south end of the lake Lenesjávri. And that headland became known as Dommus Headland and that is the name it goes by even today. And my father died of that ailment, and Inggá recovered fully only that winter.’]

Here, the corrosive effects of secret curses is again illustrated, this time attributed to an economic rival who had eventually reconciled with Unna Dommusaš, but who remained a suspect when ill fortune struck the family thereafter. Unna Dommusaš is not particularly observant as a Christian before the events, and indeed, his sister’s pregnancy is a sign of overall laxity regarding moral proprieties in the family. Nonetheless, Unna Dommusaš is portrayed as a kind and generous man, who asks only for fairness from the rapacious and self-centered Njállá-Mihkkal. In this tale, as in others in Turi’s repertoire, niceness does not necessarily translate into an unproblematic or blessed life. Instead, the gullible and the trusting can expose themselves to depredation, which in turn worsens as the aggressors and evil-doers press their advantage. In Turi’s world, a canny householder knows how to recognize and turn away antisocial acts at their very outset, regardless of whether they occur on the social or supernatural plane. To fail to do so opens the individual and the individual’s broader family to dangers of a greater kind.

In the case of Unna Dommusaš, the curse of the disgruntled rival manifests itself in a different manner than in the previous two cases: here, it is the man who seems to grow insane: losing his way for a total of ten days before reappearing, and displaying much nervous agitation ever after. Correspondingly, it is the female family member Unna Inggáš who experiences the life-threatening disease. The Turi family is depicted engaged in Christian aid, attempting to locate the missing Unna Dommusaš through use of the hymnbook and eventually agreeing to care for the deceased man’s corpse as an act of Christian charity. In accord with Sami fears of contagion, Ovlla dies as a result of his contact with Unna Dommusaš’s body and its deleterious smell. Thus, in this case, the power of the Christian *noaidi*—if either Johan or Ovlla can be regarded as exemplars—does not seem a match for the evils of a truly powerful curse or the dangers of a polluting cadaver.

Turi does not comment further on these failures, but they contrast with the evident success of the Norwegian *noaidi* Rungu-Nihkke or even Turi's own non-Christian healing of Stuurra Biehtár's daughter. In the world in which Turi lives, the real assistance comes from canny use of magic, combined with constant vigilance regarding the actions, resentments, and potential contaminations of one's surrounding populace and environment.

In the world sketched in Turi's *Sámi deavsttat*, Sami *noaidevuohtha* is anything but a singular healing system. It is made up of ideas drawn from different sources: from old Sami traditions, as well as Finnish and probably other Nordic healing lore. Although people in Turi's locale had knowledge of past *noaidi* practices and attributed certain ailments or misfortunes to the supernatural aggression of *noaidit*, they also recognized gradations of skill in the workings of magic practitioners. *Noaidi* magic varied from the most powerful—capable of causing death or insanity and barely reversible, except by the actions of another, equally powerful, *noaidi*—to more mundane or partial magic (e.g., creating love charms or chasing away spirits), undertaken by persons with more limited skills or training. Although many people in Turi's locale seem to know and recognize *noaidi* aggression when it occurs, many of the greatest victims in Turi's accounts are wholly unaware of such dangers until it is too late. In most cases, their ignorance makes them easy victims. Complete obliviousness to such magic could prove advantageous, however, if accompanied with great faith in Christ—something fairly rare in Turi's portrayal. Along with Sami and Finnish healing, Western medicine is also an option for the desperate, although it does not seem to hold much more potential for success than any other mode of healing. Most crucially, challenges to health are understood as attacks not on an individual but on an entire family, and their effects can be felt ultimately on the members of the family's next generation. Cursed individuals watch their herds shrink and their family members die or grow insane. Over the course of years, they find themselves bereft of descendents and become impoverished and displaced. Fortunate families maintain their luck in herd size, health, and marital success. They grow prosperous but do not grow overly wealthy, a development which would be taken as the possible result of clandestine magic. They make good matches in marriage, respect the feelings and dignity of others, and keep attentive to the possibility of supernatural aggression in their dealings with their neighbors. If in so doing, they seemed similar to other Nordic communities of the far north at the outset of the twentieth century, they remained nonetheless distinctively Sami as well: incorporating a wide array of different cultural influences into a single, variegated but nonetheless characteristic Sami way of life. Appreciating the Sami dimen-

sion of Johan Turi's *Sámi deavsttat* entails accepting the complex realities of the North at the turn of the twentieth century: a world of overlapping and interacting ethnicities, in which one's neighbors figured as both potential sources of danger and as possible resources for healing and prosperity. This was the "Sami" world that Johan Turi described in his texts for Emilie Demant-Hatt and which we can glimpse in all its nuances and contradictions in the pages of *Sámi deavsttat*.

NOTES

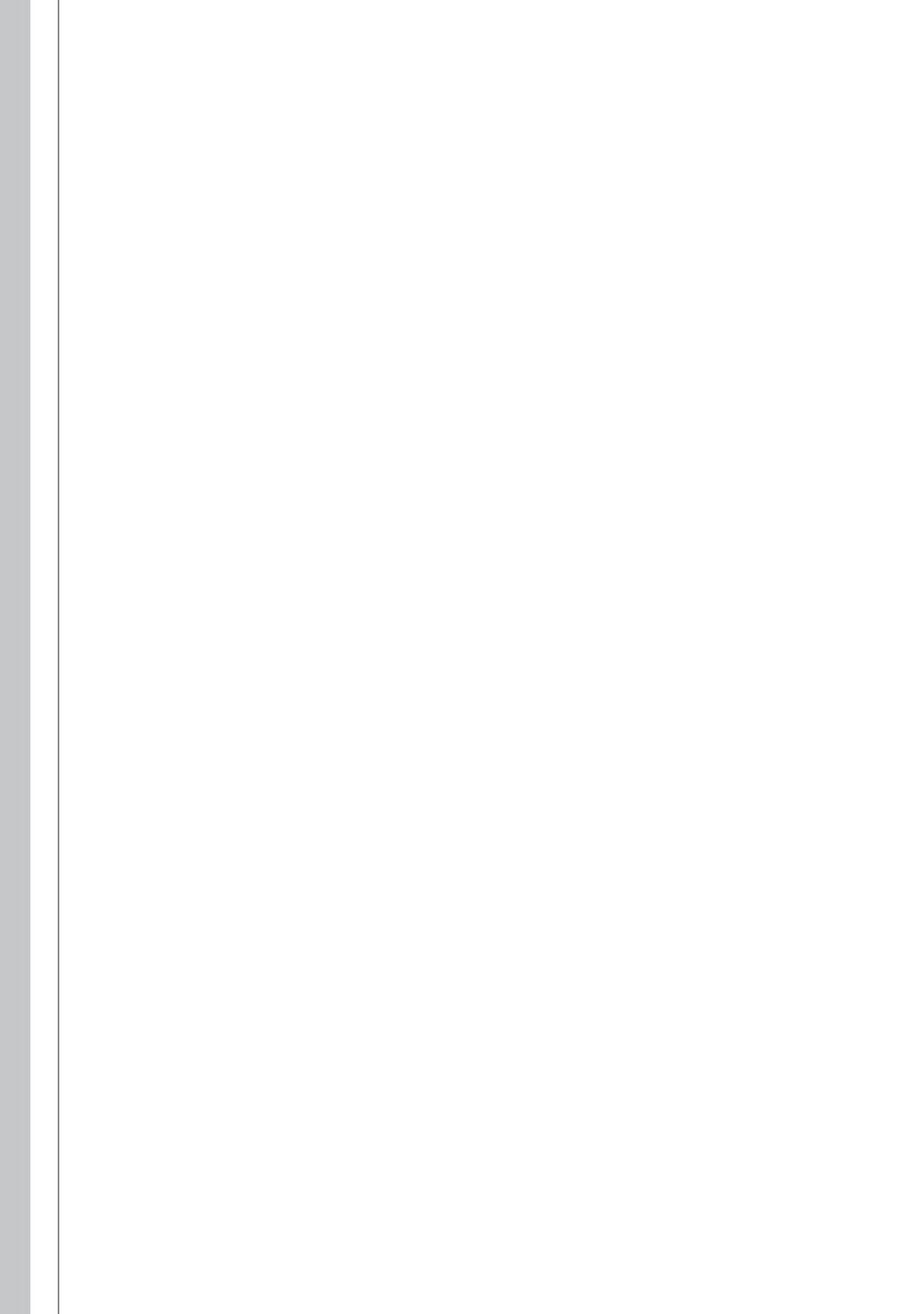
¹ I have used the modern North Sami orthography of Turi's *Muitalus Sámiid birra* as it appears in the 1987 re-issue of his work edited by Samuli Aikio and Mikael Svonni (Turi 1987). I have also used the modernized orthography of *Sámi deavsttat* as it appears in the edition of Nils Erik Hansegård (Turi 1988), although I cite Demant-Hatt's original English introduction and footnotes as they appear in the 1918–1919 edition. My thanks to one of the anonymous readers for this article who suggested further modernizations of Hansegård's orthography, which I have incorporated in various places here.

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GUNNAR GJENGSET

Citizens and Nomads

The Literary Works of Matti Aikio
with Emphasis on *Bygden på elveneset*

ABSTRACT The Sami author Matti Aikio from Karasjok made his debut in 1904 in Copenhagen with *Kong Akab* ['King Akab']. He was one of the world's earliest indigenous authors, and presented his first novel to the Norwegian public with *I dyreskind* ['In Hide'] in 1906. The last of a total of six novels was *Bygden på elveneset* [The Parish on the Riverbank], launched posthumously in 1929.

In this article I present a post-colonial reading of this last novel of his. My hypothesis is that he wrote his first Norwegian novel anew, but this time social success amongst the Sami population is dependent upon the conduct of Sami culture. All of his novels reflect upon different strategies at hand for members of an ethnic minority in times of an advancing European industry, economy and culture, heavily influenced by a social-Darwinist political and anthropological cosmology.

Being the first registered Sami student of Norway, while writing his novels in Norwegian, Matti Aikio developed skills as a master of mimicry. Having experienced the importance of hybridity, he studies the limits of mimicry in his novels. This is the main project of his literary work, and with tools from post-colonial literary theories, this essay discusses the author's attitudes to the possibilities of his own ethnic culture's survival in the future.

KEYWORDS indigenous author, Matti Aikio, master of mimicry, hybridity, post-colonial reading, survival of Sami culture

In this article I seek to demonstrate that Matti Aikio in his time was engaged in restoring ethnic self-esteem on behalf of the Sami people. Through both his literary production and actions, Aikio evolved from seemingly serving as an alibi for the greater society's hard-handed assimilation policy to launching a long-term and what I would call ex-

tremely cunning strategy that we can now recognise as *hybridisation*: in terms of appearances one conforms to the authorities' requirements for submission, while using one's bastardised position to establish the foundation for acceptance of a distinctive Sami character and Sami self-determination.¹

Hybridity vs. Class Differences

This duality with which Matti Aikio had chosen to live is reflected in the title that he personally selected for his posthumous manuscript, namely *Borgere og nomader* ['Citizens and nomads']. The author Regine Normann edited this book and proposed *Bygden på elveneset* ['The parish on the riverbank'] as a better title. She might have misread the title as *Citizens or nomads*, as this was the general picture of the Sami people held by contemporary Europeans. While Aikio's idea might have been to underline that in spite of this all-colonialistic idea of any indigenous culture, contemporary Sami were, in fact, both *Citizens and nomads*. That was the whole idea! This assertion can be made on the ground that Aikio always was both smart and clever in the titling of his novel. With this change of title he lost the signal effect about Sami self-awareness that the original title contained: it does not refer to the contradiction between Sami (as nomads) and Norwegians (as citizens), but to the fact that Sami people can be simultaneously *both* nomads and citizens. Matti Aikio's last book does not address the contradictions or co-existence of the Sami and Norwegian peoples, but rather the superior features of hybridity as a long-term strategy for one culture under pressure from another. And in this last book: Sami supremacy in their own habitat.

This will be the further progression of the article: first I will present some biographical information on Matti Aikio. Then there follows an introduction to the main concepts of the post-colonial literary theories, before I lay out the analytic highlights of the novel being scrutinized. In conclusion, I will discuss the evolution of the author's ethnic awareness, as demonstrated in his handful of novels.

Matti Aikio, or Mathis Isachsen as he originally called himself, was born in Karasjok on 18 June 1872. His parents were the parish clerk and mayor Mathis Isachsen (1827–1904) and Ragna Heimo (1835–1912) (Blix 1987: 24 ff.). Aikio died on 25 July 1929 in Oslo; his grave was moved to the Vestre Gravlund cemetery for artists and celebrities in 1991. He was a Sami author who wrote in Norwegian at a time when the Sami people's position in Norway was threatened, and his books and descriptions of the Sami life and customs were perceived by many as caricatures of the Sami people. This article will challenge such a perception.

In 1890 Matti was granted one of the two places reserved for Sami stu-

dents at the teachers' training college in Tromsø. This was his first encounter with the Norwegian language in a learning situation and it was also here that he took his teaching certificate exam in 1892. As Norway's first registered Sami student, he took *anneneksamen*² in the autumn of 1896. He started out as an author with the novel *Kong Akab* ['King Akab'], which was published in Copenhagen in 1904.

He made his Norwegian debut with *I dyreskind* ['In hide'] in 1906.³ It was on the occasion of this publication that he took the pen name of Matti Aikio. He chose a paradoxical position, in that he "came out" as a Sami during a particularly assimilation-friendly period. He dressed in the traditional tunic from Karasjok and adopted the Sami-sounding name of Aikio. Already the following year, *Ginunga-Gap* ['The Ginunga Gap'] was published, but his fourth book, *Hebræerens søn*, ['The son of the Hebrew'] was not published until 1911. In 1914 Aikio published a collection of articles entitled *Polarlands-breve og andre* ['Letters from the Arctic'] which included two articles about Lars Levi Læstadius and a more extensive article about the Kautokeino uprising in 1852. The year after the first Sami National Congress in 1917 (which opened in Trondhjem on 6 February, which is why this date was later chosen as the Sami people's national holiday), *Hyrdernes kapel* ['The shepherds' chapel'] was published. In 1919 the second Sami National Congress was held in Östersund in Sweden. And in 1929 his last novel was finally published, *Bygden på elveneset*. This was translated into Sami by Harald Kåven with the title *Márkannjárga* in 1994. *I dyreskind* was translated by the same man as *Náhkehasat* in 2003.

Throughout the course of his life Aikio was a freelance writer for the Norwegian newspaper *Tidens Tegn*. In addition, he made his debut in 1916 as a pictorial artist and was a well-known silhouette cutter. For many years he struggled to have a play accepted by the Norwegian National Theatre and finally succeeded in having the farce *Under blinkfyret* ['Beneath the light-house'] staged at the Centralteateret in 1926. In his time he was an active editorialist and debater. And this will be my overriding task with this paper: hopefully demonstrating the slowly growing manifestation of Aikio's belief in the Sami people's supremacy in the realms of its own culture in the circumpolar regions.

Matti Aikio's long-term goal was the autonomy of the Sami people in all areas, though not territorially. Today, all of his aspirations have been fully realised: the Sami people in Norway have their own Sami parliament, they are educated in their own language and the Sami culture has acquired considerable visibility in both the Norwegian and global public sphere. In the first book that Matti Aikio had published in Norway, *I dyreskind*, he described a Sami people *In Hide*, while his own people in the author's post-

humorous manuscript are depicted as both citizens and nomads at the centre of Aikio's universe: *The Parish on the Riverbank*. In short: the history of the Sami associations parallels the development of a Sami consciousness in Aikio's novels—with Aikio one generation ahead.

The plot of *Bygden på elveneset* begins in 1882. The central plot is about two love relationships: Andijn's and Elle's. Andijn Hooch is the daughter of the village merchant. Like her father, she was born in the village, but has been spending time in Kristiania (the name of the Norwegian capital before 1925, written as *Christiania* up to the 1880s), in order to experience European culture and refinement. The primary objective of this visit is to find an affluent Norwegian suitor of an appropriate age. The objective is fulfilled: when Andijn returns, she is engaged to the attorney Einar Asper.

But they have just become (pre-)engaged without thinking about what the culmination of such a contract will entail. It quickly turns out that the young attorney has problems with even getting to the village. He does not attend the wedding and returns to Kristiania to straighten out some dubious business before settling down in "the city there in the east," that is, a small city on the coast of Finnmark. He there renews a liaison with a former girlfriend from Kristiania, Miss Signe André. She has taken a position as a telegraph operator in the same city and is romantically involved with the circuit judge Ludvig Mæhre. He has, for his own part, fallen in love with Andijn Hooch, who has feelings for nothing but the circuit judge's social status. On the other hand, she makes amorous advances to the stalwart Sami youth Halle Johanas.

All the threads of this tangled web come undone when Signe André marries Ludvig Mæhre and washes her hands of Einar Asper. He is also rejected by Andijn, and in the end dies, allegedly from a brain tumour. While Andijn has been waiting for a clarification of her relationship to the two Norwegian lawyers, she accordingly enters into an affair with Halle Johanas, who is a settled Sami farmer. She goads him into driving his horse so hard that it collapses during a sleigh ride, and is later directly responsible for Halle Johanas destroying a valuable riverboat. Her father disapproves of any close contact between Halle Johanas and Andijn, and demonstrates this by refusing to compensate for the damages that his daughter inflicts upon Halle Johanas. After the affair has ended and Andijn has left for Kristiania, Halle Johanas settles the score with the merchant Hooch. Halle Johanas is not a suitor for Andijn, and marries a Sami girl. Andijn is thereby left as an unmarried Norwegian woman in a Sami village.

The Sami girl Elle is the book's other main female character. She is a Sami nomad from the regions surrounding the parish on the riverbank, in other words, from Karasjok. She is in love with Mikkal who was born in

“Vestviddesognet” [‘the Vestvidda parish’], in other words, the Kautokeino district. As is the case in all of Aikio’s books containing subject matter from inner Finnmark, there is antagonism between these two districts where the author’s sympathy is obviously on the side of the Karasjok residents. This complicates the Elle/Mikkal relationship. Mikkal is condemned for reindeer theft and is therefore sent to prison in the city of Trondhjem.

In the meantime, Elle’s feelings for him cool down. She has an erotic relationship with her father’s herdsman Gonge, who also comes from Vestviddesognet. A relationship between them is completely unacceptable to Elle’s father Sire Andaras, who tries to find other suitors for her when she proves to be pregnant. But Elle sends both the wooers, farmer Andi Piera and the wealthy Mikkal home again, and her father is reluctantly obliged to marry her off to the herdsman Gonge.

Two other relationships are apparently more peripheral to the plot: the bailiff Jørgensen’s marriage with the Norwegian-Sami Anga, and Andijn’s brother Fridtjof Hooch’s with the Finnish woman Lisa Bergström. The bailiff is hated by the Sami people and disliked by the Norwegians in the town. He marries Anga, the daughter of the “shaman” Ågall. Jørgensen behaves like a tyrant in relation to his wife and in-laws, and simultaneously strives to improve his own social and commercial position in the district. He runs a retail business on the coast and sets up a wine cellar in the town, but in the end dies from blood poisoning. His father-in-law suddenly loses all the magical powers believed to reside in a *noaidi* [‘shaman’], and therefore cannot intervene.

Andijn’s brother Fridtjof is sent to Arkhangelsk to learn commerce. But he learns for the most part to speak and drink in Russian, and is blinded in a suicide attempt. This event brings him self-knowledge and he refuses to enter into the family business. Instead he seeks company among those below his social status, and marries a Finnish girl who, to add to the bargain, is the daughter of a suspected spy and a bankrupt Finnish merchant. They settle down in a small Norwegian town near the Russian border and are perfectly happy together.

These two chains of events are smaller in scope but broader in their implications: they are in fact distortions of the two main plots. The relation between ‘Norwegian’ Andijn (her family is actually Dutch) and the Sami Halle Johanas cannot be realised within the Sami core region of Karasjok. Although the Sami character is in the upper echelon of society, it becomes clear that a marriage with Andijn would be hubris. This is depicted symbolically by his over-working his horse and destroying a riverboat when in her company. The situation is further complicated by the fact that she is the daughter of the merchant Hooch. But the son of the same merchant

can marry below his station, with the Finnish woman Lisa Bergström. She was “mørkøiet og mørkhåret [...] var ellers ofte ute med kvenfiskerne ute på sjøen—hun som på sett og vis var dame” [‘dark eyed and dark haired [...] was otherwise often out at sea with the Finnish fishermen—she who, in a manner of speaking, was a lady’] (192). They are both affiliated, in a sense, with the “white settled locals” and their relationship is therefore more acceptable—also due to their settling down in the mixed-town of Neiden. Their mixed relationship becomes thereby a success.

The mixed relationship between Sami Anga and the Norwegian bailiff Jørgensen, on the other hand, develops into a tragedy. Through his behaviour Jørgensen challenges the established cooperation between the Sami people and the Norwegian elite in Karasjøk; he demands among other things that Anga appears to be fully Norwegian. *Mimicry* is not a game for Jørgensen, who challenges his environment with brutish power and oppression. He thereby dies, when a self-proclaimed hybrid, his father-in-law Ågall who is Norwegian but lives *like a Sami*, fails to help him. Neglecting to perform active assistance in relation to the bailiff is portrayed as passive resistance.

But Aikio has thereby made his point: ethnicity sets limits to mixed relationships—these are most easily realised in the areas outside of the text’s core regions, in a kind of a spacial *in-between*—among several different cultures: “The non-synchronous temporality of global and national cultures opens up a cultural space—a third space—where the negotiation of incommensurable differences creates a tension peculiar to borderline existences” (Bhabha 1994: 218). Another strategy open for individuals living in areas of mixed cultures is to practise what Homi K. Bhabha calls *mimicry*. The word itself is adapted from biology: “a superficial resemblance of one organism to another.”⁴ Transposed into postcolonial terms, however, *mimicry* is the sign of a double articulation, a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which “appropriates the Other as it visualizes power” (Bhabha 1994: 86). At the same time *mimicry* is also the sign of the inappropriate, a difference that “intensifies surveillance, and poses an immanent threat to both ‘normalized’ knowledges and disciplinary powers” (Bhabha 1994: 86). The situation between the bailiff Jørgensen and his father-in-law demonstrates how *mimicry* works: Ågall is a success as a Sami shaman, although he is a Norwegian, whilst Jørgensen who marries his half-breed daughter, and later mocks both Anga and her father, meets with a painful death—“the Other [...] visualizes power” (Bhabha 1994: 86).

Class differences also make it difficult to arrange relationships, but do not render them impossible: Elle, the daughter of the parish’s richest reindeer owner, marries the reindeer owner’s herdsman, who even comes from the competing neighbouring parish. For this young couple a full and sensi-

ble Sami life is at hand. For Aikio himself life did not add up as easily, he was obliged to endure a hybrid existence in a country that was more preoccupied with its own independence and nation building, and in such a climate he had asked in vain for mercy for his people. That had put him into a position where he was viewed as a suspect individual, both by his own people and by the greater society, like the intellectual Indians with Bhabha: “a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect” (Bhabha 1994: 87), in other words *a mimic man* (cf. Naipaul 1967). Or, as Bhabha puts it very precisely: “colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a *subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*” (Bhabha 1984: 126).

Aikio therefore rewrote *I dyreskind*, his Norwegian debut. He wanted to cast off the animal hides—he wanted to show that “Livet kan gro sammen der en minst venter det skal kunne gro sammen” [‘Life can heal where one least expects that it will be able to heal’] (231). He is back in the same environment and in the same era, the same young people are all searching for partners in a typical colonial environment, and here too a young person must find a living space in the wasteland, outside of the text’s social dimension. But on this occasion, this is the case for *Norwegians*. In this text, the colonised individuals are those who without doubt best resolve the ethnic contradictions of colonial Finnmark in the 1880s. With this book the author seeks to get even, particularly with his own people. It was therefore no coincidence that he wanted to call the book *Borgere og nomader* [‘Citizens and nomads’]. With such a title, he wanted to tell the Sami people that this was a book *for* Norwegian society, but which first and foremost was *about* Sami people. With this book, Aikio was carrying out nation building on a modest scale: “The identity of a nation is something narrated [...] but at the same time the national subjects are inventing the nation at every moment, changing the ideas of itself as well as its institutions” (Bhabha 1994: 121).

He had been speaking of the idea of a separate Sami nation ever since 1910, when he visited the Jewish congress in Hamburg (Elster 1910).⁵ Now in 1928–1929, in a pre-fascistic period, the possibilities of a Sami nation looked even more remote than ever, but Aikio could at any rate write about it, so that Samiland was launched as something narrated, at the very least. Reading this book therefore becomes a question of how we perceive ourselves, how we perceive others and are perceived by others: “To us, the man who adores the Negro is as ‘sick’ as the man who abominates him. [...] Conversely, the black man who wants to turn his race white is as miserable as he who preaches hatred for the whites” (Fanon 1967: 8 f.).

The Parish on the Riverbank

My analysis of *Bygden på elveneset* starts with the love affairs that Aikio outlines in this novel: “Andijn Hooch var blitt forlovet med ham nu siste vår nede i Christiania” [‘Andijn Hooch had become engaged with him the last time she was down in Christiania’] (8), “him” being Einar Asper. He simultaneously reveals a serious character flaw. He violates the rules in effect for *mimicry*, and he cannot handle the surroundings. Einar Asper is a cheat who cannot adapt to Norwegian or Sami social codes. He dies allegedly of a brain tumour, although nobody really believes this. It is therefore more productive to view Asper’s tumour as a simile for the Norwegian presence in Samiland, as “the alien life form, which burgeons out of its proper place and destroys the cultures it infiltrates” (Newman 2004: 16). Asper never even reaches Samiland. He would never be accepted there, because he committed an offence against the unwritten pacts with the subaltern, and was made thereby ‘impure’ in the text’s universe: “People in a marginal state, homeless and outside of the social structure become ‘soiled,’ a source of impurity and danger, because their status is indefinable” (Newman 2004: 14). His sudden death thereby becomes a natural consequence of his dissembling already at the time of his very first meeting with Sami people.

Halle Johanas is on the other hand an articulate fellow. He brings Andijn along on a sleigh ride on Christmas Day. He is Sami and Andijn is Norwegian. But Halle Johanas masters the requisite *mimicry*, and he was “alltid i lag med storkarsfolket!” [‘always on good terms with the gentry!’] (54). She goads him into driving the horse too hard, so that it collapses and dies from the harsh treatment. “Men Hoo’ka hadde ikke nevnt noe om, at han ville gi Halle Johanas erstatning for hesten” [‘But Hoo’ka hadn’t mentioned anything about his wanting to give Halle Johanas compensation for the horse’] (55).

The balance between Halle Johanas and Hooch is hereby disrupted, and will move from *mimicry* to *mockery*. The main ingredients of *mimicry* being repetition, variation and inversion and thus resembling parody, irony and satire—until it ends up in *mockery*, according to Bhabha:

It is from this area between mimicry and mockery, where the reforming, civilizing mission is threatened by the displacing gaze of its disciplinary double, that my instances of colonial imitation come (Bhabha 1994: 86).

But first Andijn will inflict one more loss upon ‘the farm Lapp’ Halle Johanas. She accompanies him on the log driving down to Langnes, and at Storfossen she waits so long to ask to be brought to land on the light craft

that it is destroyed. Neither on this occasion will he blame Andijn for the damage: “Men vi behøver ikke å snakke til andre om det. La det være et uhell!” [‘But we need not speak about it with anyone. Let it be an accident!’] (155). This can appear altruistic but in the long term Halle Johanas is actually buying shares in Hooch’s colonial conscience: “there is an element of negotiation of cultural meaning. [...] colonizer and colonized depend on each other” (Huddart 2006: 3). And for the time being, it is Halle Johanas who has the upper hand. On the other hand, he does not improve his holdings with Andijn, for this time she offers financial compensation.

Halle Johanas is therefore prepared to make a claim for some respect from the shopkeeper Hooch. He shows up when Halle Johanas returns and gives him a scolding for not having delivered the mail more quickly. When Halle Johanas retorts: “men husk ellers at vi møtes igjen, og da skal vi gjøre op, Hoo’ka” [‘But remember otherwise that we will meet again and then we will settle things, Hoo’ka’] (199).

Andijn continues on to the capital city after a brief visit home. She does not return until the other chains of events in the text have been brought to their conclusions. She cannot bring her Norwegian suitors into Samiland, and a relationship with a well-standing Sami cannot come about outside of the village. She finds herself in the same situation as Adele Qusted in *A Passage to India*, who is never able to find a comfortable position: “Generations of invaders have tried, but they remain in exile” (Forster 1924: 97).

Nor is Andijn’s brother Fridtjof able to resolve the situation. The intention is for Fridtjof to take over the grandfather’s business in Vadsø “og derfor hadde han tatt en volontør-stilling i Arkhangelsk for å lære russisk” [‘and he had therefore accepted an apprenticeship in Arkhangelsk to learn Russian’] (233). “Arkhangelsk er pomorenes hovedstad,” [‘Arkhangelsk is the pomor capital’]⁶ and the city was therefore important for the Hooch business. For Fridtjof the city name Arkhangelsk, meaning ‘Archangel,’ has a double significance, since he meets with a profound theological conflict here with regard to his life’s existential meaning.

Fridtjof goes into an alley with a clear intention of shooting off his manhood, but is stopped in the act by a constable. Whether he intended to shoot off his manhood or was going for a more complete castration is not stated explicitly. He hits at any rate his face. And he has thereby come home from Arkhangelsk “uten syn, begge øieplene var tatt ut” [‘blind, both eyeballs had been taken out’] (170). But paradoxically, also with a more clarified view of existence.

In a *mapping* of the text, the regions around the Russian border acquire the character of being a social and national no-man’s land.⁷ This impression is reinforced by the presence here of a chapel from a foreign country’s reli-

gion: "Til naboriket hørte et lite stykke land på den for øvrig norske siden av elven, og her var et gresk-russisk kapell" ['A tiny parcel of land on the otherwise Norwegian side of the river belonged to the neighbouring nation, and here there was a Greek-Russian chapel'] (235).

In this no-man's land, the voluntarily de-classed Norwegian Fridtjof can settle down with the Finnish woman Lisa Borgström. In the topography he is situated halfway between the Sami village and the Norwegian dominated areas in Eastern Finnmark. Liberated from all of the requirements that ethnic descent and social class have imposed, Fridtjof has found his way into the text's *third space*, a kind of contemporary Parisian everyman's land, in the border region's no-man's land, where Skolt Sami, Finns, destitute Norwegians and lifeless Russian theologians live together in an international and cultural mix. The paradox of his situation is that he cannot assume the role of a hegemon after having lived in a situation as a common minority in a foreign culture. He had learned the technique of *mimicry*, and the kind of cooperation without expectations that he could thereby experience in humble living conditions: a peaceful co-existence, the establishment of which was rarely possible within the text's universe.

On the way from *Bygden på elveneset* to the coast, Aikio makes a small detour in the text to the parish on the border from *I dyreskind*: "Deroppe i den lille dalen er Otsejok-kirke" ['Up there in the little valley is the Otsejok church'] (152 f.). Aikio wrote here about Jussa, the Sami youth who became a Finnish clergyman and followed his vocation in a parish on the border, which in the book *I dyreskind* was situated outside of the social sphere, in Finnish Utsjok. In *Bygden på elveneset* Neiden has taken over this role as the topographical periphery, but here the periphery acquires another function. The place is no longer the topos for banishment, but instead the site of liberation from the social and ethnic conflicts permeating the remainder of the topography. The geographic location surrounding the Russian/Sami chapel becomes therefore the text's *post-colonial room*, outside of all of the other places where the social structure and ethnicity impose their limits.

The other spaces are "Bygden" and "Vestviddesognet," and the territories around and between them—and the factual town of Langnes and the Norwegian-dominated cities along the coast. In *Bygden på elveneset* and the Norwegian cities and towns, Norwegian culture's social ranking dominates. In the mountain plateaus and regions between the urban spaces, the traditional Sami culture is dominant. In the first space we find Norwegians at the upper social level, but only as long as they adhere to the implicit, unstated rules of the game between the coloniser and the colonised. Here ethnicity becomes a decisive qualifying criterion. In the mountains there are also clear rules for social superiority and inferiority with corresponding possi-

bilities for ascent and descent. But here anyone at all can qualify. We do not however find the most important roles within these spaces at the top rung of the social ladder. These roles are held by the attorney Toddy-Jacobsen and the reindeer herdsman Gonge.

In the novel's second plot we find Elle, who belongs to the mountain. She is the daughter of the wealthiest reindeer owner in these parts, Sire Andaras. She is engaged to Mikkal who is even richer; he is namely the son of the wealthiest reindeer owner in the "Vestviddesognet," in other words, the area surrounding Kautokeino. In the text's *mapping* both are found in the space where reindeer nomadism and the affiliated culture are normative.

While Mikkal is serving his time, Elle goes out and gets pregnant with Gonge. He is, like Mikkal, originally from Vestviddesognet: "Gonge hadde engang selv været Hoamma" ['Gonge himself had once been *Hoamma*']⁸ (108). He should therefore have been even less appropriate as a suitor, in that he was also a herdsman for Elle's father. Gonge personally therefore perceives marriage between them as impossible. In a comment Aikio has already made it clear that one's native soil does not bear social stigma for a Sami: "man kan godt være fattig og hedersmann samtidig, for om man er født og opvokset i Vestviddesognet—det er mange hedersmenn der" ['one can very well be poor and a gentleman at the same time, if one were born and raised in Vestviddesognet—there are many gentlemen there'] (119). In addition to this, the author makes an investment on Gonge's behalf; he has Gonge slaughter one of his own few reindeer instead of stealing one from his employer. In the reader's mind, Gonge becomes thereby the honest character from Vestviddesognet, while Mikkal is dishonest.

But the social dimension imposes certain hindrances. Sire Andaras prefers, in spite of everything, the son of a wealthy reindeer owner, "den av ham før så foraktede Mikkal" ['the one he previously despised so, Mikkal'] to his own herdsman (209). He must yield when Elle insists on marrying the father of her child. The author makes sure that everyone takes notice of Gonge:

Gonge, Gonge var synet! Opstaset fra topp til tå, skinnende renvasket og med klippet hår og skjegg—i snehvite finnsko, bukseben av sortglin-sende, korthåret skinn fra forskankene på renen—og buksebenene var om ankelen forlenget med et bredt skarlagensklæde, omvundet med kunstvevet bånd—pesken av fineste sort renkalvskinn—og skarlagensk-lædet langs den opprettstående kraven forlenget med to lange sløifer nedover brystet. Oterskinns-luen med den stjerneformede pullen med dun i, var splitterny—og nederst kantet med hvitt røskattskinn. Og gull-belte om livet! Han vakte den rene bestyrkelse! (216)

[Gonge, Gonge was a vision! Dressed up from top to toe, shingly clean and with his hair and beard trimmed—in snow white finnesko reindeer boots, trouser legs of black glossy, short-haired reindeer hide—and the trouser legs were at the ankles lengthened with a broad scarlet material, fastened by braided ribbon—the reindeer jacket was of the finest calfskin—and a scarlet trim along the standing collar extended with two long sashes down the chest. The otter skin down-filled cap with the star-shaped crown was brand new—and at the bottom edging of white ermine. And the gold belt around his waist! He aroused a great commotion!]

The author allows us to acquire a new perspective of Gonge, who with an impeccable Sami appearance qualifies for the upper echelon of the Sami social scale. The author thereby makes Gonge the foremost agent for Aikio's new message with regard to the Sami people: respectability in Sami cultural practice has an importance superior to any other social and occupational/geographical differences within the ethnic group. And this is the clue of the novel, the nave that Aikio's new cosmology evolves around: the Sami are superior inside the boundaries of their own culture, but they have to prove their supremacy by showing excellence in Sami handicraft such as the construction of *pulk* ['sledge,' Sami fashion], and the proper driving of such—with a reindeer; the making of knives, the embroidering of the costumes, the know-how of *yoik*, the Sami chanting—and so forth. Gonge's appearance is an eclatant example of such supremacy in Sami cultural practice.

It is first of all in association with the Norwegian hegemony that situations fraught with difficulties can arise. The rejected suitor Mikkal is represented in the reindeer theft trial by attorney Toddy-Jacobsen. He does a good job, and suggests that the bailiff Jørgensen has harassed the accused while he was incarcerated. Jacobsen insists, and this is the reaction from the public: "Toddy-Jacobsen hadde gjort noe uhørt: vendt sig mot sine egne, mot myndighetene, [...] hvad ialverden gik der av Toddy-Jacobsen?" ["Toddy-Jacobsen had done something unheard of: turned against his own, against the authorities, [...] what in the world was the matter with Toddy-Jacobsen?"] (94). Nothing else but that "a partial and double force disturbs the visibility of the colonial presence and makes the recognition of its authority problematic" (Bhabha 1994: 111). Hybridisation is a two-way street, with the result that the colonised objects sneak away from the hands of power, which in turn becomes "an 'empty' presence of strategic devices" (Bhabha 1994: 113). That is why the public reacts, because it "[k]unde såmenn være at han hadde rett, men slikt pleide da myndighetene å greie op med sig imellem, man hadde ikke opvask midt for almuens øine" ['It could thus be that he was right, but this was how the authorities usually settled things

among themselves, dirty laundry was not washed in public'] (94). In this manner the colonised would develop techniques to avoid surveillance and punishment: "If discriminatory effects enable the authorities to keep an eye on them, their proliferating difference evades the eye, escapes that surveillance" (Bhabha 1994: 112).

Gonge and Toddy-Jacobsen hereby become, each within his respective ethnic group, the most important cog wheels in this novel—because they indicate the manner in which the events will unfold in this universe. The Sami people can certainly claim their rights, but this would require devoted participation on the part of representatives of the colonisers: devotion bordering on martyrdom. No wonder the reading public stared open-mouthed, there were few like this in Aikio's time.

But there are other sensational episodes in this text: the merchant Hooch violated the same unwritten contract between colonisers and their *subalterns* when he offended Halle Johanas on three occasions: first when he refused to replace a horse that he drove to the point of collapse, under pressure by Hooch's daughter Andijn, subsequently when the same daughter's behaviour led to the wreckage of the light craft, and finally when he reprimanded Halle Johanas without reasonable cause in front of his crew. Halle Johanas had warned that this injustice would have to be rectified: "–Jeg er, som du vet, Hoo'ka, ingen farlig mann. Men ett er uundgåelig: jeg må gi deg ris" ['I am, as you know, Hoo'ka, not a dangerous man. But one thing is unavoidable, I must give you a beating'] (210). And Hooch was spanked, because, "jeg begynte å forstå at jeg vilde ende med å bli et dårlig menneske i mitt hjerte og sinn og i andres øine, om jeg ikke fikk gjort et kjennelig oprør" ['I began to understand that I would end up becoming a bad person in my heart and mind, and in the eyes of others, if I did not protest in an unmistakable manner'] (212). And more so: "Jeg må også fortelle det til andre, og jeg må råde dig til ikke å nekte det—for ellers må jeg gjøre det samme op igjen i andres nærvær" ['I must also tell others about it and I must advise you not to deny it—because otherwise I will have to do the same thing again in the presence of others'] (212).

Halle Johanas was able to restore the balance and Aikio has him state that this was to be understood as an "unmistakable manner" of protest. Norwegian critics did not notice this (see Gjengset 2004). One may then ask where the critics have focused their gaze? Presumably on arctic Orientalism, while they were reconnoitring for "an Asian shadow [...] behind the Northern lights" (Hauge 2004: 244). And possibly they caught a glimpse of it when they saw the shaman Ågall. He and his daughter Anga are true hybrids. She is half Sami and accordingly *almost the same, but not quite* (*white*) (Bhabha 1994: 86). For Ågall this is less certain: "faren var jo efter all sansyn-

lighet helt norsk av fødsel; moren var nok lapp” [‘the father was after all in all likelihood pure Norwegian by birth; the mother was certainly Lapp’] (241).

Ågall behaves like a true hybrid, and his behaviour emphasises that “[h]ybridity liberates one from official constructions and constructions of otherness” (Hauge 2004: 246). But in terms of ethnicity, Ågall could “godt ha vært i slekt med folk i ægypternes land der Gosen var” [‘easily have been a descendant of the people of the land of Egypt where Gosen was’] (41). In other words, one of the twelve tribes of Israel, of whom some in Aikio’s time believed that the Sami people were descendants (see Gjengset 1980). At any rate, he was a shaman and evil humans could risk meeting with “dødninger, utsendt av Ågall” [‘ghosts, sent out by Ågall’] (40). His half-Sami daughter Anga is more closed; it was difficult to discern “hvad der bodde bak Angas lukkede ansikt” [‘what went on there behind Anga’s closed face’] (103).

The bailiff Jørgensen, who had haunted Mikkal while he was in custody and was chastised for this by attorney Toddy-Jacobsen, takes on Ågall. When Jørgensen holds a compulsory auction and he knocks over the poor, grieving widow, Ågall demands: “–Reis henne op, du Jørgensen lensmannsdreng” [‘Pick her up, you bailiff Jørgensen’] (101). But Jørgensen breaks all the rules of good communication and replies: “–Dra til helvete med dig, Ågall” [‘To hell with you Ågall’] (101). The reaction is in any case poor *mimicry*: “Mimicry, according to Bhabha is in principle a strategy on the part of the colonizer for acquiring power over the colonized” (Thisted 2004: 106). But the violation of these rules has the result that it is Ågall who appropriates power over Jørgensen: “du har intet annet å gjøre enn ... ja, gjør forresten som du vil—du har fritt valg for så vidt” [‘you have no other option but to ... yes, after all, do what you want—you are, for the most part, free to choose’] (102).

Ågall has thereby cast a spell over the bailiff Jørgensen, who must suffer through hellish anguish while staying in the arrest-room, where he had formerly spooked Mikkal. As such, Ågall becomes a kind of spiritual sheriff in this colonial landscape where the colonisers must behave decently in order to gain the trust of the district’s subalterns. The bailiff Jørgensen breaks these implicit rules for hybridity: “The presence of colonialist authority is no longer immediately visible” (Bhabha 1994: 114). The shaman Ågall’s ambiguous ethnicity is thus suitable—as a Norwegian who has elected to live as a Lapp—when a Norwegian coloniser must be punished for violating the rules for cultural collaboration in a district of mixed ethnicity. Following his punishment, he marries off his daughter Anga to none other than Jørgensen, who immediately demands that she “helt og holdent skulle bli norsk” [‘become wholly and fully Norwegian’] (240). The bailiff reinforces the image of himself as a classic hegemon—he sets up a wine cellar in the midst of Samiland: “Jørgensen hadde virkelig det man kalder kulturinstinkt

i så måte” [‘Jørgensen really had what one calls a cultural instinct in this regard’] (241). It was like a fort in enemy territory and it was off limits for Sami: “Og ingen annen enn han selv skulde komme ned i den kjelderen—det skulde han sørge for” [‘And none other than he personally would be permitted to go down into the cellar—he would make sure of that’] (241). Nonetheless he has forebodings of a Sami conspiracy and of his wife he suspects: “at hun på en eller annen måte hadde fått lirket sig inn i vinkjelleren for å få fatt i brennevin til Mikkal” [‘that she in one way or another had succeeded in worming her way into the wine cellar to get hold of some aquavit for Mikkal’] (242).

If setting up a wine cellar in the Sami village seems foolish, there is no shortage of irony in connection with the bailiff’s sudden death. The direct cause is a bite in his finger that is inflicted while he is arresting a Sami resident: “Balto Hansa bet fast i fingeren og slapp den ikke” [‘Balto Hansa bit deep into his finger and would not let go’] (242). He lives too far away from the closest doctor, and his father-in-law the shaman is suddenly unable to do anything. The Norwegian person of authority has been injured by a Sami resident, and it becomes doubly ironic when a potential Norwegian who lives like a Sami and who has criticised another Norwegian for his lack of ability to devise hybrid conduct, contributes to Jørgensen’s death precisely by *not* doing anything. Jørgensen is injured in Samiland because he does not do as he should and dies because another person does not do what he was able to.

The fact that the wine cellar is more than merely a collection of bottles of wine for Jørgensen emerges in the scene of his dying—where the only thing he is concerned about is exactly the wine cellar: “Men da rettet den døende sig op med et uhyggelig uttrykk i ansiktet: –Jeg spør ennu en gang: hvor har dere tatt denne champagnen fra?” [‘But then the dying man straightened up with a sinister expression on his face. “I am asking you again: where did you get this champagne from?”’] (246). It is the sheriff’s wife who has taken the bottles; Sami Anga does not dare stand up to her husband even when he is on his deathbed. But it is Anga who afterwards leaves this expression of European cultural imperialism in ruins: “Og en for en knuser hun flaskene, idet hun hver gang sier: jeg spør ennu en gang. Og hun vasser i alt dette hellige fluidum på gulvet” [‘And she smashes the bottles one by one, as she says with each one: I am asking you again. And she wades in all of this holy fluid on the floor’] (245). The scene could have been taken from the short story *The day they burned the books* by Jean Rhys (Rhys 1968), where Mrs. Sawyer burns her husband’s books in revenge for his harassment. Both actions may be understood as reactions to “the reductionism inherent in imperialist representation of the ‘Other’” (Bjørhovde 2001: 169).

The bailiff Jørgensen's death is Matti Aikio's warning to Norwegian society—we can stir up a lot of commotion just by being who we are, without having to resort to action. The story of the rise and fall of bailiff Jørgensen is actually an account of the merits of hybridity. He sets out to defy the game of *intermediaries*: “Mimicry conceals no presence or identity behind its mask” (Huddart 2006: 65). Jørgensen lets the mask fall away and he is revealed as a coloniser. He stares at Anga: “Jørgensen lennsmansdrengeens øine står på stilker” [‘the bailiff Jørgensen’s eyes bulged’] (42) and thereby challenges her father Ågall. But he “returns the coloniser’s gaze” (Huddart 2006: 66). Jørgensen dies, “[o]g Ågalls ry tok til å stige påny” [‘and Ågall’s reputation was redeemed’] (246). The balance is restored; in *Bygden på elveneset* neither the bailiff nor the merchant can establish themselves as hegemon in relation to the local subaltern’s reigning culture.

Evolving from *In Hide* to *The Parish on the Riverbank*

This analysis of *Bygden på elveneset* was introduced by the assertion that Matti Aikio rewrote *I dyreskind*, that he looks back. *I dyreskind* was a document in defence of the preservation of the traditional Sami way of life and culture. A young Sami, who attempts to qualify himself within Norwegian culture by studying theology so as to thereby certify for an official posting, is dispatched to an outlying parish on the Finnish side of Finnmark. A love affair with the Norwegian daughter of the Karasjok merchant cannot be realised.

This defeatist attitude has been completely abandoned in *Bygen på elveneset*. There are more love affairs here and Aikio is thereby able to show how social and ethnic boundaries function in Samiland: an incredible feud is still going on between Karasjok and Kautokeino, where we can hardly assume that Aikio is unbiased. But they can wed one another, although the fiancée is from the wrong parish and the bride is the daughter of the wealthiest reindeer owner in the right parish. As I have already mentioned: the showing off of traditional Sami handicraft and cultural excellence was made crucial by the Sami author Matti Aikio, in order to demonstrate Sami supremacy in their own rights. And therefore cross-county marriages are made possible. Just as long as they are respectable Sami! Marriage across ethnic boundaries is on the other hand more problematic. But here it is *Norwegians* who reap the negative consequences. When Norwegian Andijn cannot realise a relationship with Sami Halle Johanas outside of their own village, she remains an unmarried spinster, while he marries a Sami girl. When the Norwegian bailiff Jørgensen marries the Sami Anga, he runs into difficulties when he ignores the transcultural rules for cooperation that are thereby activated.

But ethnicity thereby sets certain limits that must be respected, although their transgression is possible. The situation is not as inflexible as Spivak (1999) describes, more in the direction of “an element of negotiation of cultural meaning [...] colonizer and colonized depend on each other” (Huddart 2006: 3). It is accordingly the Sami roles that emerge reinforced from situations that appear to be too transgressive. *Bygden på elveneset* demonstrates quite openly that 56 years after Member of Parliament Johan Sverdrup proclaimed absorption of the Sami people,⁹ they continue to live and prosper and have come into an assertive position 23 years after Aikio wrote *I dyreskind*. Aikio simultaneously has Norwegians lose in the conflicts that arise in the text, he is saying that it is the Sami culture that is eternal here, while intruders must adapt—or lose.

In this way Norwegian Fridtjof got lost in the Norwegian cultural space, but regained his balance in a third space in the text's topos, an ethnic and cultural *in-between* in a village in the border regions between Russia, Norway and Finland. *Bygden på elveneset* hereby becomes a visionary text about a post-colonial society where “cultures cannot be fully present: they are not a matter of being, but of becoming” (Bhabha 1994: 148). For the one who raises his eyes and voice things go badly in *I dyreskind*, “[g]apet slukte ham” [‘the gap swallowed him’] (Aikio 1906: 130). “Norwegian” Fridtjof in *Bygden på elveneset* loses his gaze completely: “Men nu var Fridtjof tross alt blitt en lykkelig mand” [‘But now Fridtjof had after all become a happy man’] (248). His sister Andijn does not dare to make the multicultural leap, but she becomes the godmother of Halle Johanas’ “lille barn som hun også hadde holdt over dåpen” [‘tiny baby whom she also had held during the christening’] (248). Now and then she perhaps regrets that she did not dare: “Men da pleide hun å gå til Halle Johanas og få ham til å spenne for og kjøre henne en lang tur langs med elveneset” [‘But then she would go to Halle Johanas and have him hitch up the team and take her for a ride along the riverbank’] (249). On the basis of this one might say that Matti Aikio made a number of bold moves in *Bygden på elveneset* that were not acknowledged by contemporary society.

With his last book Aikio confirmed this rising of Sami self-awareness: it is we Sami who are “Us” and Norwegians in the Norwegian greater society and all other ethnic groups on the continent who are “the Others.” Here, where we live, it is the Norwegians who are the minority. Who is it then that defines who is “Us” and “the Others?” Aikio’s message was: it doesn’t matter! Because it is the one with the power of definition who decides who is “Us.” And it is the way we speak, how we behave and how we dress that determines who “Us” is. But we are simultaneously a part of “the Others.” Aikio therefore insisted throughout his life that the Sami people had to

learn Norwegian, because mastering the language of those in power was a prerequisite for claiming power of their own. And Aikio wanted a separate Samiland, in a remote, utopian age. But then as a region with cultural and linguistic self-determination—not as a separate national territory. He was certainly therefore continually misunderstood and misinterpreted, both by his own people and by society at large.

The easiest manner of tracking Aikio's development in his literary work is by following the development of his ethnic consciousness. This we can determine by measuring the status of hybridity among the main persons of the novels, and the reach for possible post-national in-between spaces. (These conditions are outlined in my monography on the author.)¹⁰ In the debut novel *Kong Akab* (1904), the main character Falk is granted his Norwegian girlfriend, who is the daughter of a member of the honourable classes. This is only possible because the hero's true ethnicity as a Sami is concealed. The floor is not yet open neither for hybridity nor for mimicry.

It was not until the year after the independence in 1905 that he had his debut in Norway, with *I dyreskind* (1906). The hero is the Sami boy Jussa who is in love with Elna, daughter of the local Norwegian merchant. He believes that an upgrading of his own social status will serve to qualify him as a suitor for the Norwegian woman and he therefore studies theology. As the title *I dyreskind* indicates, this book is about *otherness*. The Sami author enables us to view our Sami minority with our Norwegian gaze and in so doing the Sami people appear just as in hide—*I dyreskind*. A Sami suitor for a Norwegian woman in the midst of Samiland is unthinkable and even if the suitor has qualified himself as a Norwegian high-ranking official, he is sent to a desolate district outside of the text's topography. The author does not here provide any third space for cooperation between colonisers and the subaltern. The hero assumes a hybrid position, but it does not help him. But still there is some process: a Sami from Karasjok is fully educated as a Norwegian civil servant. So the Sami is partly throwing away his hide.

It was only in his posthumous novel *Bygden på elveneset* that things turn out badly for those Norwegians who challenge the limits that the subalterns set for the hegemony's execution of power in the context of an asymmetric power structure. Both in Sami core regions and in the Norwegian-dominated coastal towns, intricate rules prevail for cultural cooperation and violations have consequences. As maintained above, this book is a rewriting of *I dyreskind*, but here it is the Norwegians who suffer if their actions are in conflict with cultural customs.

Matti Aikio shared his claims on behalf of the Sami with the Sami organisations: the preservation of the Sami languages, the teaching of those languages in their own schools, the right to have their say in their own re-

gions, their own register of people of the Sami population—and their own parliament. These claims are today granted the Sami of all the Nordic countries, and are met with rising sympathy in Russia. In that respect one can allege that all of Aikio's long-term claims have been met—eventually. And therefore his visionary position in Norwegian literature has been acknowledged also by the Sami—both *I dyreskind* and *Bygden på elveneset* have recently been translated into Sami (2003 and 1994 respectively).¹¹ They both ought to be translated into English, in order to reach an international audience of indigenous readers—and Others.

Aikio returns in his last book the hegemony's gaze, as Bhabha describes this in his essay "Of Mimicry and Men:"

...the look of surveillance returns as the displacing gaze of the disciplined, where the observer becomes the observed and "partial" representation reactivates the whole notion of *identity* and alienates it from essence (Bhabha 1994: 86).

While in the process of working on this book, Matti Aikio must have felt that the Sami culture will survive. Justice had a prominent position in Aikio's life, and in his last book, injustice is punishable by death, as with the fate suffered by the Norwegian bailiff Jørgensen. But those Sami people who exhibited proper behaviour and excellence within their own Sami culture would find pleasure and prosperity in their lives. Matti Aikio's posthumous message was thereby that the Sami people would have to create their own justice within the borders of what was, at least in part, a hostile nation state. Claiming the right to a separate Sami nation state across the national borders of the North Calotte was certainly somewhat utopian, although Aikio publicly expressed his sympathy for the Zionists' demand for a separate Palestine (see above). It was far more pragmatic to fight for a peaceful and equal co-existence within the established national borders. In this manner the Sami people could create their own space, where the Sami culture in the midst of greater society could become *Bygden på elveneset*.

NOTES

¹ "The term hybridity has been most recently associated with Homi Bhabha," in Laragy 2006, <http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofEnglish/imperial/key-concepts/Hybridity.htm>; access date 4 March 2010.

² A preliminary exam in Philosophy and Latin, mandatory to obtain status as a student.

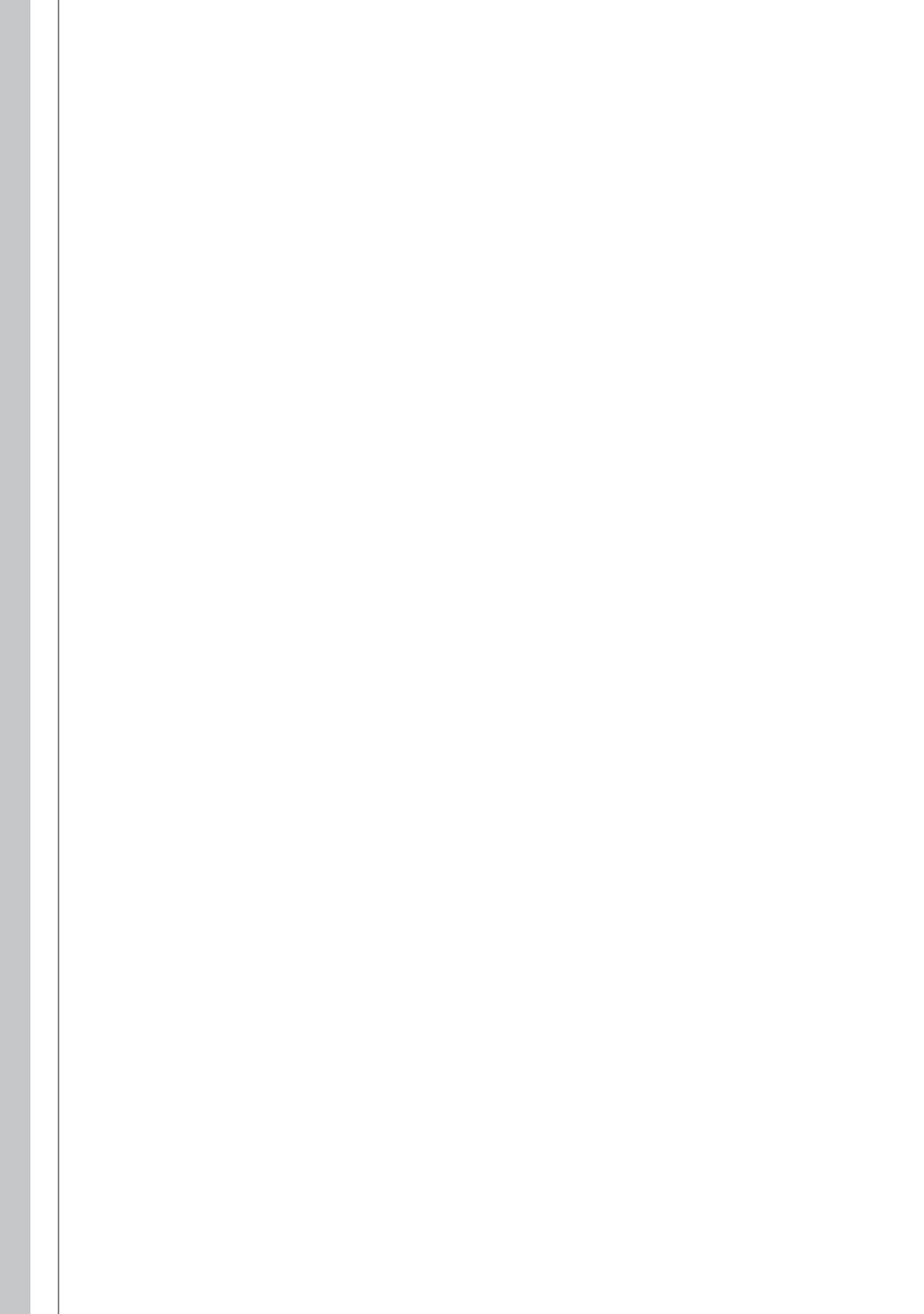
³ A second edition appeared in 1922, and a third edition in 1975, illustrated by Iver Jåks. Translated into Finnish in 1912, and translated into North Sami by Harald Kåven in 2003: Aikio, M. 2003. *Náhkehasat*, Karasjok: ČálliidLágádus.

- ⁴ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/mimicry>; access date 9 July 2008.
- ⁵ Aikio had attended a Zionist congress in Hamburg, headed by Theodor Herzl, the author of *Der Judenstaat* (1896) and *Altneuland* (1902).
- ⁶ <http://www.ub.uit.no/northernlights/nor/pomor.htm>, access date 6 November 2006.
- ⁷ *Mapping*. Initially inspired by Antonio Gramsci's writings on the history of subaltern classes, the Subaltern Studies authors adopted a "history from below" paradigm to contest "elite" history writing of Indian nationalists, from the left and right. Later this project shifted away from its social history origins by drawing upon eclectic thinkers such as Edward Said, Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida. In his reading of Naipaul's *The Mimic Men*, Bhabha suggests that "Naipaul 'translates' Conrad from Africa to the Caribbean in order to transform the despair of postcolonial history into an appeal for the autonomy of art" (Bhabha 1994: 110). Thus this literary *mapping* "is the question that brings us to the ambivalence of the presence of authority, peculiarly visible in its colonial articulation" (Bhabha 1994: 118).
- ⁸ *Hoamma* means 'coming from the Vestvidde parish.'
- ⁹ "Den eneste Redning for Lapperne er at absorberes med den norske Nation" ['The only solution for the Lapps is their absorption into the Norwegian nation'] (Johan Sverdrup in *Norsk Retstidende* 1863: 39). Sverdrup was the leader of the left-wing opposition in the *Storting*, the Norwegian national assembly, in the 1860s. He was one of the founders of *Venstre*, the Left party, Norway's oldest political party, in 1884. He became Norway's prime minister at the same time.
- ¹⁰ Gjengset 2004. This monography is designed for the commercial market, and the analysis of each novel is somewhat superfluous. This partly fictionalised monography is, however, based on research for my scientific monography that will be presented as a PhD-thesis in Literature at Umeå University in 2010.
- ¹¹ A second edition of *Bygden på elveneset* appeared in 1976, illustrated by Iver Jåks. In 1994 it appeared in North Sami, translated by Harald Kåven: Aikio, M. (1994). *Márkannjárga*, Karasjok: ČálliidLágádus.

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SUSI K. FRANK

Arctic Science and Fiction

A Novel by a Soviet Geologist

ABSTRACT The article analyses the popular novel *Sannikov's land* (published in 1926) by the famous Russian and Soviet geologist Vladimir A. Obruchev (1863–1956) and asks how scientific discourse on the one hand and literary, fictional discourse on the other interact in this text that tells the story of the discovery of an Arctic island that a Russian merchant had asserted to have seen, but the existence of which never could be affirmed. Basing his novel exclusively on well-founded scientific (geological as well as anthropological) hypotheses, Obruchev polemizes with a whole range of pretexts from J. Verne to K. Hloucha. Unfolding the story of the Russian expedition, Obruchev pursues the aim (1) to deconstruct the utopian myth of a paradise on earth beyond the Arctic ice in its countless varieties; (2) to show that ancient myths—like the myth of the existence of warm islands in the Arctic—are a form of protoscientific insight that should be taken seriously by modern science and transformed into scientific knowledge; and (3) to suggest that the Arctic islands—really existing, supposed to exist or be doomed—from a geological point of view belong to the Siberian mainland and therefore to Russian/Soviet territory.

KEYWORDS Arctic science fiction, visions of Arctic warming, utopian mythopoeics of the Arctic, Soviet conquest of the Arctic, Arctic geology, geographic conceptualization of the Arctic, Vladimir A. Obruchev, Jules Verne

Today, in the context of global warming, the vision of a warm Arctic seems to be a threat to us. In the past it circulated in European literature as a utopian myth that justified numerous expeditions and geological research.

In this article I will elaborate on an example of literary work on that myth, a Soviet geo-science fiction novel from 1926, and demonstrate the interaction, interweaving and divergences between geological and literary discourse.

The novel is called *Zemlya Sannikova* ['Sannikov's Land'] (1926), and

the specific trait of its author, Vladimir Obruchev, was that he was a geologist and a writer at the same time.

My thesis will be that the fictionalization of geological hypotheses in this novel not only pursues the popularization of scientific expertise, but also—by fictionally establishing an evolutionist worldview—negates mythical imaginings of the Arctic as a kind of netherworld and thereby clears the way for symbolic integration of this outermost northern periphery into Soviet space.

Vladimir Obruchev and the Cultural and Political Dimensions of Literature and Geology in the Soviet Union in the 1920s

Vladimir A. Obruchev, who lived from 1863 to 1956, was one of the most reputable Russian geologists. He had gained fame before the October Revolution and—nevertheless—became a highly decorated Soviet scientist afterwards. He conducted fundamental research on the geology of Siberia, on permafrost, on Siberian gold deposits and other topics of importance beyond the field of mere scientific interest. During his life he held leading positions at central research institutions. Obruchev, who in his younger years in the late nineteenth century dabbled in creative writing with his mother, began to write popular science fiction at the age of approximately 50. Two novels were published in the 1920s in the context of the young Soviet Union at a time when literary politics focused on science fiction as a veritable instrument for the promotion of social development. As Matthias Schwartz has recently argued (Schwartz 2008: 418 ff.), during the debates of the following years three programmatic aspects came to the fore: to popularize scientific insights and thereby to fulfil the serious task of popular enlightenment; to complement scientific research by means of the creative imagination (science fiction should not only teach ordinary people but also inspire scientists themselves); and, thirdly, to give an idea of how the Soviet Union could look after the total communist transformation of the land. In a sense Obruchev, along with other authors such as Aleksandr Beljaev, became a pioneer of this development until at the end of the 1920s the official directives for “scientific fantasticism”—as it was then called—changed and fiction was replaced first by factographical modes of writing, and then by the doctrine of Socialist Realism, which was announced in 1934. Through this programme science fiction became more moderate, its fantastic moment more tamed and more tied back to the experience of the already existing world, than it ever had been since its emergence.¹

Obruchev’s own statements, although fitting the political directives very well, stylize his concern as an author of fiction in a rather personal

way, avoiding any association with literary politics by accentuating the role of pre-revolutionary experiences. Science—that is, geology—and literature, Obruchev states, were for him closely connected to each other from the beginning. Obruchev, who had a German mother and spoke more French and German than Russian at home, gained his first motivation to become a geologist from the founding father of European science fiction, Jules Verne. Verne's novel, *Voyages et aventures du Capitaine Hatteras*, which envisions the scenario of a volcano at the top of the world, the North Pole, was one of his favourites, along with Verne's *Voyage au centre de la terre*, both of which he read in the original French version.

And, conversely, science later on became the most exigent motivation for Obruchev to write science fiction novels himself: the deficient scientific plausibility, in particular some science fiction on the topic of the polar region, presented—again in his own words—a challenge to him to make it better, to write some thoroughly probable and scientifically well-grounded Arctic science fiction. Being here in complete agreement with the official concept of “scientific fantasticism,” Obruchev declared Karel Hloucha's *Zakletá země* [‘Enchanted land’] to be the immediate inducement to write *San'nikov's Land* as a scientifically well-grounded counter piece. I will return to this point below.

As a geologist who wrote science fiction, using geological knowledge and theories, Obruchev was a pioneer² in this early post-revolutionary period. What are the main geological hypotheses upon which the fanciful tale of the warm polar region is based? In geological science the hypothesis of tropics in the Arctic was inferred from fossil records first discovered by the Arctic explorer William Edward Parry on his voyage in the Arctic in 1819–1820, fossils of animals and plants that were obviously tropical. These findings supported a physicist's concept of a gradually cooling earth, formulated some years earlier by Jean-Baptist Joseph Fourier,³ a hypothesis that subsequently became a matter of consensus among geologists.⁴ Obruchev's research as well as his novel is obviously based on this hypothesis. But for him (as for other Russian texts, c.f. below) a second hypothesis—a hypothesis that emerged in the context of what was known as the “diluvial theory” of a great deluge that had covered the better part of the earth's surface (cf. Rudwick 2008: 173 ff.)—was also essential to provide an additional explanation of how animals and plants got to the Arctic islands far away from the mainland: the hypothesis of the Arctic or rather of the islands in the Arctic as relics of a formerly larger Siberian or Eurasian continent, which extended much farther northwards.

Let us take a look at an excerpt from Obruchev's well-known book *Geologie von Sibirien*:

This amounts to the following scheme of quaternary epirogenetical movements of Northern Siberia: 1. Elevation: glaciation of the North and the mountains; 2. Lowering: deglaciation of the glaciers; transgression; 3. Elevation: second diminished glaciation of the North and the mountains; 4. Lowering: deglaciation; second diminished transgression; 5. Elevation ... still ongoing.

After the glaciation, the neo-Siberian islands were connected to Asia and the first lowering only put the Northern part under water, since in the Southern part there was a lake at that time and a considerable mammoth fauna, because a rich flora could after deglaciation expand from the continent, i.e. Siberia. The land's fragmentation through disruption and lowering of great parts under sea level might have taken place after the second glaciation, because at that time, the endangered mammoth fauna was replaced first by a bison and horse fauna, which could only have expanded from the continent (Obruchev 1926: 398).

In my opinion, this hypothesis on geological history provides us with an indication of a potential geopolitical dimension of geological arguments. By the way: was this not the same hypothesis that reappeared in summer 2007 to justify Russian territorial pretensions in the Arctic, when a team of geologists declared the sea floor of the North Pole to be part of the so-called *Lomonosov Ridge*, which from a geological point of view belongs to the Siberian mainland?

Geology as a science has had a double agenda ever since its emergence: scientific cognition and material exploitation. Furthermore, as a discourse it may serve as an instrument to pursue political strategies of laying claim to the right of territorial property, as the recent case of the Russian geologists hoisting the Russian colours on the Arctic sea floor in 2007 once more clearly demonstrates. As authors of scientific descriptions of land that, incidentally, is considered the territorial property of states which are divided into parts, geologists themselves are agents, engineers of geological units as integrative and differentiated political and cultural space. In this respect, I would argue, geologists and authors of fiction compare well. They are both engaged with constructing geocultural and geopolitical entities, each in their specific discourse.

Narrative Strategies. 'Scientific Fiction'

But let us return to Obruchev the writer. What is the fictional approach of *Sannikov's Land*, one of the most popular novels of Soviet popular (youth) literature throughout the last century?⁵ It seems to be significant that Obruchev chooses for the title and the setting a toponym that refers to something concrete but not yet verified, in the existence of which he himself believed. Obruchev pursues a mimetic strategy of probability, using nu-

merous *effets de réel*. Some of these refer directly to literary pretexts, that is to other pseudo-factographic fiction such as the attached drawn map of the island, which will remind every reader of Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (Fig. 1), while others refer to historical and geographical facts. *Sannikov's Land* is named after the real merchant Jakov Sannikov, who traded in polar animals and allegedly discovered an "island with high stone mountains" north of the Bennett Island, one of the De Long Islands, named after George W. De-Long who discovered them in 1881 north-east of the New Siberian Islands or Anzhu Islands, as they are called today (Fig. 2). Given that Sannikov had already discovered two truly existing islands, his presumption provided the impetus for several expeditions during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: most famous among these were the 1886 and 1893 expeditions headed by Baron Toll, who affirmed Sannikov's presumption, but himself never returned from the final leg of the journey. Up to Obruchev's days, then, the existence of the island could not be confirmed. In the mid-1930s, Obruchev himself proposed a new search with the help of Soviet aviators, who were famous at that time for their polar flights,⁶ and published a scientific essay on the probability of the island's existence. But when in 1937 the crew of the icebreaker *Sadko* claimed to have seen only icebergs in the region, further expeditions in this matter were stopped (cf. Andreev *et al.* 2008).

Briefly on the plot of the novel: Obruchev—significantly for his science fiction novels of sorts—places the plot in the past rather than in the future. Around the year 1904, an expedition team is established with the help of Schenk, a leading member of the Imperial Geographical Society under the leadership of a former student, who has been banished for political reasons, in order to search for Sannikov's island north of the recently discovered Bennett Island, following Baron Toll's example. The fictitious team of the novel consists of three banished former students (Matvey Goryunov, Semen Ordin, Pavel Kostyakov), the assimilated native Yakut (Nikita Gorokhov), who is described as a brother of a member of Toll's crew (an additional *effet de réel*), and a Cossack (Kapitan Nikiforov).⁷ The last two, scouts familiar with the language and place, were to help to ensure success. What the team find exceeds all their expectations: a fertile and almost tropical microcosm where people and animals have survived that elsewhere long ago had become extinct, such as mammoths. Although peaceful contacts can be established, happiness does not last for long. What at first seemed to the expedition participants to be only an abstract possibility becomes a fatal reality. The scientifically educated Russians discover the cause of the microcosm's existence, which also brings about its destruction: volcanism, manifest, for example, in geysers, a common phenomenon in many Arctic re-

gions (Iceland, Kamchatka). In their presence, the whole island is destroyed step-by-step by earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and floods, sweeping away not only all inhabitants but also the expedition's entire research material.

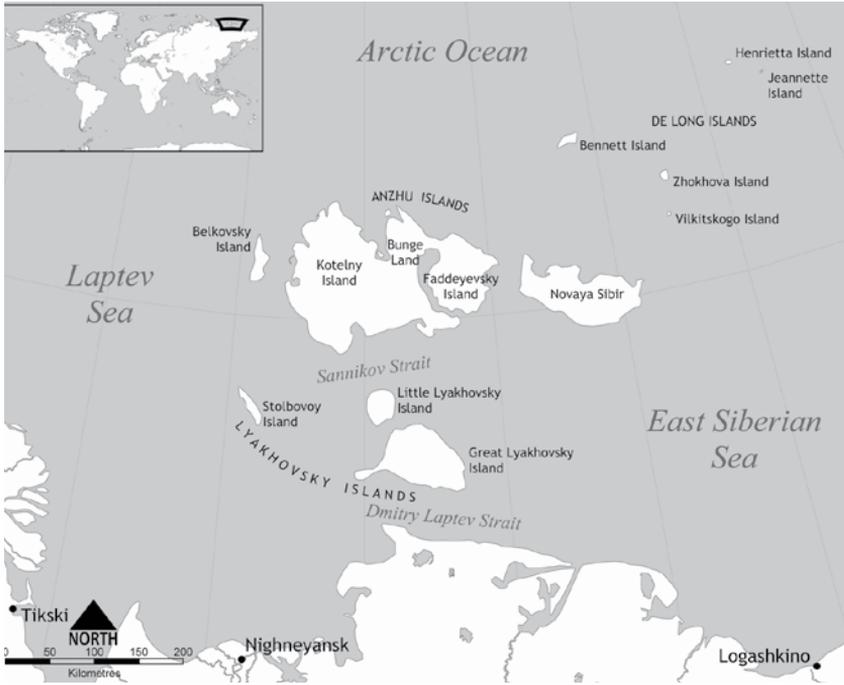


Fig. 2. Map over actual islands in the East Siberian Sea. From http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Файл:New_Siberian_Islands_map.png

Mythology of the Arctic Paradise and its Literary Transformations

From the perspective of the history of literary mythopoetics, Obruchev's novel is situated in the context of a particular group of texts on an Arctic topic, which re-enact the old utopian myth of an ideal place or island of friendly climatic conditions inaccessibly hidden behind the awful, life-threatening ice.

It is the myth of the Hyperboreans, first recorded by Herodotus and Pindar: the myth of an artistically highly gifted people, beloved by the gods, living inaccessibly beyond the "North Wind" (boreas), the existence of whom is indicated to normal people only by the annual flight of migratory birds northwards to a place where everybody would expect only frost and ice but not comfortable conditions to get through the winter. Part of this myth is also the story of Apollo riding on a swan in order to visit his favour-

ite Hyperboreans, who live in a place where the sun is supposed to rise and set only once a year, where people live in peace to the age of one thousand and enjoy lives of complete happiness. Since the Middle Ages the myth of the earthly paradise has from time to time become interwoven with the myth of the Hyperboreans. Whereas in written texts two locations of paradise dominate, “to the east” (India, Ethiopia) or on the top of a very high mountain, cartography brings out an interesting continuity in cultural imaginations and visual representation: in most cases paradise is located at the top of the map/earth (cf. Delumeau 1995: 39 ff.), a fact that superimposes different references to the ‘top,’ the difference in cartographical orientation between maps of the Middle Ages, which were oriented towards the East, and modern maps, which are oriented northwards. Furthermore, remoteness and inaccessibility are also parallels to the myth of the Hyperboreans.

European adaptations of the modern period historicize the Hyperborean myth by combining it with the utopian myth of Atlantis conveyed in Plato’s “Kritias” and “Timaios,” and thereby narratively overcome the simple spatial two-world dichotomy.

Furthermore, the Hyperborean myth has been charged with national significance since the seventeenth century in northern European countries, among them Russia: it appeared at the same time as a historical or, rather, transhistorical point of departure and as the endpoint, the goal of human history. Parallel national acquisitions can be observed in Scandinavian countries and in Russia. Authors of the so-called “Gothic tradition” such as the Swede Olof Rudbeck laid claim to the North by imagining it as the cradle of Swedish, but also of all human civilization. Consequently, Rudbeck envisaged the North as an equivalent of Paradise, where the “Blessed and Elysium” dwell and where in the end Paradise is to be restored (Sörlin 2002: 87 f.). Similarly the Russian Vasilii Kapnist, under the influence of the Russian victory over Napoleon in 1812, wrote a pseudo-historiographic essay “Kratkoe izyskanie o giperboreanakh” [‘A short investigation of the Hyperboreans’], in which he identified the Russians with Apollo’s favourite people and, like Rudbeck and others, renewed in a national context the topography of the ideal, warm place beyond the ice (cf. Boele 1996: 41 ff.). In both countries the Hyperborean tradition continued during national romanticism and beyond, as in Germany too in the context of Nietzsche it experienced a revival in the early twentieth century.⁸

Obruchev, however, was not interested in a renewal of the Hyperborean myth, neither as such nor in a nationalizing context. As a Soviet writer and scientist and therefore as an advocate of scientific enlightenment, Obruchev in his novel performatively re-enacts the myth of the Hyperboreans with all its connotations and the myth of Atlantis, and at the same

time unmasks and thereby deconstructs it. This is my proposition, which will be demonstrated in the following.

Literary Precursors of Sannikov's Land

At least four prose texts, all in a sense belonging to the genre of science fiction, seem to be important as precursors of Obruchev's novel and help to understand the specificity of Obruchev's own handling of the myths. Jules Verne's novel *Voyages et aventures du Capitaine Hatteras* (1864),⁹ which Obruchev had known in the French original since his youth, took from the myth of the Hyperborean only the motif of the warm island beyond the ice. At the North Pole the expedition of Captain Hatteras discovers a volcano. Its crater coincides exactly with the geographical North Pole. People do not live there. The captain behaves in a way quite typical of conquerors of the Pole: with his last bit of strength he climbs the volcano up to the crater and, threatened by death, fixes the Union Jack at the Pole, in the midst of the crater. As we can see, Verne here combines several mythological narrative patterns into a whole cluster: the warm island at the Pole is at the same time the top of the world (thereby corresponding to ancient cartographical representations of the world) and the entry point to the hollow earth.¹⁰ Obruchev was inspired by Verne's fictional adaptations of the theory of the hollow earth when writing his first science fiction novel, *Plutonia*, in the early 1920s. In *Sannikov's Land* only the topos of Arctic volcanism and the warmth caused by it remain important.

The plot of the 1875 book *Egész az északi polusig! Vagy: Mi lett tovább a Tegetthoffal?*,¹¹ a short novel by the patriotic Hungarian novelist Mór Jókai, is based on the famous Austro-Hungarian expedition of Payer and Weyprecht, who gave Franz Joseph Land its name and left behind the expedition vessel *Admiral Tegethoff* frozen in the ice. At the beginning of the novel, the multiethnic Austro-Hungarian crew accidentally leaves behind its Hungarian member sleeping in his cabin. For the young Hungarian this circumstance becomes the chance of his life. Alone in the Arctic he discovers a paradisiacal island, which appears in his dreams as an ideal Hungary freed from the imperial yoke. Representing quite a funny example of Hungarian patriotic fantasies under the rule of the Habsburgs, the novel pictures the possibilities of a temporal warming of an Arctic island and its consequences in a much more 'unrealistic' way than Obruchev does (besides the emergence of a paradisiacal autonomous Hungary and the reanimation of paleontological fauna as well as biblical heroes take place).

The novel *Zakletá země* (1910, in Russian 1923), by which the author, Karel Hloucha, achieved his reputation as the founder of Czech science fiction, served Obruchev—as has already been said—as a foil, to which

Obruchev intended to respond. In a sense, Obruchev took the plot from Hloucha, who had envisioned a warm oasis amidst Greenlandian ice, where mammoths and Stone Age people had survived, transposed it onto another—scientifically more probable—setting, and added a catastrophic climax that made it more realistic and more phantasmagorical at the same time.¹²

Historically not the nearest but semantically probably the most important subtext for Obruchev is Osip Senkovskiy's "Erudite Trip to Bear Island," which belongs to the fantasticist literature of romanticism. Both Senkovskiy and Obruchev use fresh scholarly insights with regard to the Arctic, but each of them thereby pursues a very specific strategy of relating science and fiction. Senkovskiy's text, a piece of which is known as the "Works of Baron Brambeus"—a mystification typical of romanticist prose writing—gives the account of a joint trip by the baron and a geologist to the Arctic. In this narrative the myth of the warm Arctic is historicized in another specific way. It unfolds in an imbedded narrative: the travellers find an inscription at the entry to a huge cave on the top of a high mountain. Considering the surface structure of the stone to be hieroglyphs, Baron Brambeus—thereby parodying the trend for fascination with decryption after Champollion—is able without any problems to decipher what is assumed to be the carved journal of the last antediluvian man. This carved journal reports first the story of a life under paradisiacal circumstances and then the approaching deluge, evoked by earthquakes and volcanism. As the water level mounts higher and higher, people try to escape, and finally the last creatures retreat to that very same highest mountain. Food becomes scarce and the few left start to eat each other. When there is only one human being left—that is, the author of the fictitious journal—the temperature starts sinking, all the surrounding water freezes, and the last man freezes to death.

The fantasy of this text is obviously not the trip itself or its destination (the utopian island) but the story—the text assumed to have been found and deciphered by the baron, which afterwards emerges simply as the surface structure of a rare stone (a stalagmite). In narrative terms, this story is motivated as a symptom of "illness with theory:" the baron says about himself that the doctor has infected him with theory. Within the paradigm of romanticism Senkovskiy thus turns the tables and by means of fiction lampoons science's fancy. In Obruchev's novel, in contrast, science seems to be taken quite seriously, as is the fantasy of ancient times: the story makes it clear that by means of science every fantasy can become a rational insight.

In the following, I want to answer three further questions concerning Obruchev's literary strategies: (1) How does Obruchev work on the utopian mythology of the warm Arctic? Is there any mythopoetics in his novel? (2)

Is there any added value generated by literary discourse? And (3) are there any political strategies in his staging of geological hypotheses? And if so, of what kind are they?

Obruchev's Work on the Utopian Mythology of the Warm Arctic

How does Obruchev proceed in handling mythology along with geological hypotheses? Compared to Senkovskiy's fanciful account, Obruchev's novel is lacking any temporal or ironic alienation. The expedition and the discovery of the island are presented immediately as incidents of a near, albeit pre-revolutionary past. Therefore, it seems at a first glance to be of a higher degree of fantasy. But at a second glance it is easy to detect that the whole narrative is configured as the verification of a scientific hypothesis that is based on perception and findings conveyed by oral tradition. Considering the immediate Soviet context, Obruchev's text represents a very particular form of "science fiction" that differs from the more common type, in which scientific or technical cognitions are pushed forward to the utmost imaginable extreme. Obruchev's fiction instead illustrates with the aim of not inspiring the imagination by detaching it from reality but of justifying seemingly fantastical imaginings by demonstrating their reality.

But what about mythopoetics? Obruchev uses central elements of ancient mythology: the warm island beyond the Arctic ice and the happy people living there in peace are elements of the Hyperboreans' story, and the biblical tradition of utopian discourse is explicitly quoted in a chapter title: "На пороге обетованной земли" ['At the edge of the promised land']. The catastrophic perishing of the blessed fortunate island is the final event of the Atlantis myth. But the focalization of the narrative foregrounds personages who do not trust in myths but rather in empirical knowledge and sensory perception. The head of the fictitious expedition trusts in recent reports on the unknown, not yet located, island in the Arctic, and in the scientific theories of the movement of the old Siberian tribe called *Onkilon* from the far eastern peninsula where the Chukchee lived northwards to the remote Arctic shore. Accordingly, all reported incidents originate from scientifically plausible causes. The fact that the *Onkilon* tribe now live on an island in the middle of the Arctic Sea where species long extinct elsewhere such as the mammoth survived can be explained through geologic arguments:

В этой уединенной Земле Санникова, отрезанной льдами от остального мира, уцелели благодаря этому как животные, вымершие ... так и первобытный человек, остановившийся в своем развитии на низкой ступени вследствие оторванности от остальной земли (Obruchev 1955: 146).

[‘On this lonesome island that had been separated by ice from all the rest of the world, [supposedly] extinct animals as well as human tribes, which due to isolation stopped their evolution on a primitive level, survived due to just this circumstance.’]¹³

In contrast to the utopian conditions ascribed to Hyperborea, the agreeable climatic conditions and fertile soil on Sannikov’s island are the result of subterranean volcanic activity and therefore unstable and illusive. In the view of the Russian travellers the perishing of the island is no singular event, but a natural catastrophe quite typical of the region, the causes of which can be explained scientifically without any problem. Despite all its mythological motifs, the specific focalization of the narrative prevents the reader from ascribing any mythological meaning to events or protagonists. Accordingly, the Onkilon, although described as happy and living more or less in peace, are neither idealized nor marked out by quasi-divine talents reminding one of the Hyperboreans. They are, rather, shown as a people determined and handicapped by their low level of civilization. Adhering to shamanism, empowering the shaman as their all-knowing godlike leader, they are characterized by a state of “mythic consciousness” (to cite a cultural philosophy term contemporary to Obruchev, used by L. Lévy-Bruhl, E. Cassirer, O. Frejdenberg) that misleads them and makes them unable to understand what really happens around them. Instead of diagnosing the events as symptoms of a geological process, as the Russians do, “the Onkilon believe now more than ever that under the soil there live evil ghosts” (Ru. *онкилоны теперь ... были убеждены более чем когда-либо, что здесь, под землей, обитают злые духи*) (Obruchev 1955: 164). With the intention of appeasing the ghosts, they perform rituals of immolation.¹⁴

Comparing the story in Obruchev’s novel with the typical plot of a fairy tale—which as a mythological genre is also based on a two-world dichotomy—we can see that this genre pattern also serves as a foil for Obruchev: the hero of the fairy tale, upon returning from his trip to the “other” world, has to forget about it. Obruchev’s novel borrows this structure, but relativizes it: as the catastrophe comes about, the island disappears and all collected materials are lost. So, on the one hand, the existence of the island once again cannot be verified and therefore retains the status of a fairyland. On the other hand, through the successful completion of the characters’ journey, through their return, and, last but not least, through the novel itself, the two-world dichotomy as a basis for myth and utopia as well is definitely annulled.

Altogether Obruchev’s narrative strategy seems clear: by deconstructing the cited myths, by annihilating their utopian elements (two-world

dichotomy, idealization), Obruchev integrates the island into the space of everyman's experience, makes of it a place that can be described within the same paradigm as part of Russia (the Soviet Union) and as part of the empirical world in general.

The Added Value of the Literary Text

The literary narrative of the novel—I would argue—allows the author, firstly, to experiment with reality, to take speculations as given and, secondly, to combine and integrate different scientific hypotheses into a narrative that outranges scientific discourse on a semantic level, because it provides an all-embracing perspective.

Obruchev, who loved to popularize his scientific insights in public lectures, essays and popular fiction, combines a geological perspective with an anthropological one in his novel. My hypothesis is that he narratively instrumentalizes geological events to demonstrate an anthropological proposition. Let me explain this in a few sentences.

Obruchev explicitly cites and fictionally unfolds several geological propositions: (1) that islands in the Arctic appear and perish through volcanism; (2) that warm places in the Arctic are possible in principle because of the same volcanism;¹⁵ and (3) that islands in the Arctic initially emerged through geological catastrophes that brought about a disruption of the northern part of the Siberian mainland.¹⁶

The semantic consequence of these presuppositions for the narrative is that the border between Russia and the located island is conceptualized not as an absolute border between two worlds, but as a geohistorically contingent border, which, all the more, is put into perspective as it is only an effect of geological events of a quite near geohistorical past. As a consequence, the setting of the whole narrative appears as one spatial unity and the categorical difference between two spaces (worlds) presumed by the utopian myths is annulled.

Accordingly, the anthropological correlation between Siberian peoples and the indigenous Onkilon is narratively conceptualized not as a principal difference of different races but as a relative difference on the scale of evolutionary development: the evolutionary gap is explained and thereby bridged through the fictionally illustrated hypothesis of the Siberian descent of this people, through their affinity to existing Siberian peoples such as the Chukchee, through comparison with them and through the description of them as an "ordinary" Siberian people.¹⁷ Therefore no principal distinction between the mainland and island populations can be drawn.

The same applies to the relation between Russian travellers and the Onkilon: any categorical distinction comparable to the myth of the Hyper-

boreans is excluded. Likewise, the islanders are not idealized as the Hyperboreans or the Atlanteans were, but rather gradually subordinated to the Russian travellers. All the characters in Obruchev's narrative belong to one world, to one anthropological totality because they are anthropologically perceived as representatives of different evolutionary levels.¹⁸ Obruchev's strategy of setting a scientific worldview against the two-world concept of myth should now be ultimately clear.

Now, as for the way Obruchev correlates geological and anthropological concepts: on the level of narrative logic the geological catastrophe that is the cause of the Onkilons' doom, as well as an expedition member's killing the shaman in self-defence at the end of the story,¹⁹ turns out to be a kind of execution of evolutionary law. On the level of fiction it comes across as an illustration of this law.

But there are at least three interesting points in this narrative illustration of anthropological evolutionism which at a first glance contradict the suggested reading: the head of the expedition, Goryunov, has—as indicated by the name—a double, Gorokhov, a native-born but completely assimilated Yakut. According to anthropological stratification both are situated at the top level of civilizational development, but in other respects they are opposed. They are distinguished by contrary attitudes towards (1) myth and reality and (2) native people adhering to shamanism. While Goryunov notices only the blindness and ignorance of the indigenous Onkilon, Gorokhov treats them with respect and empathy. This attitude is, of course, inherently motivated by Gorokhov's descent, and determines Gorokhov to be ranked on a somewhat lower civilizational level. But while still approaching the unknown island, Gorokhov seems to exceed Goryunov in enlightened scepticism: while it is Goryunov who—like Obruchev in real life—believes in the existence of the island because he trusts that there is a grain of truth in the myth, Gorokhov does not even believe his eyes when the island appears on the horizon. He states: "It seemed to me that this is no island at all, but a mirage" (*И подумалось мне, что это не земля, а марево*) (Obruchev 1955: 24), and: "[...] tomorrow, you will see, we will wake up and there won't be anything but snow" (*Вот увидите, завтра проснемся, ничего, кроме снега, не будет*) (Obruchev 1955: 27). According to the narrative logic of the novel this point of view is refuted quite soon. Here one could detect a myth that Obruchev himself creates, a myth concerning science, suggesting that scientific research is able to prove myth—the existence of a fairyland beyond the ice—to be reality. But this myth in its turn comes out as no myth at all, because the fairyland turns out to be no fairyland but simply part of the well-known mainland.

But is there not yet another level on which Gorokhov's assumption

bears up? In my opinion there is such a level, namely the metafictional level: Gorokhov's statement may be read as a statement about the novel, which really is a mirage because it has no reference outside fiction; it is a mirage aroused in the reader, who will awaken after reading is completed.

Before concluding the interpretation of this passage I want to draw attention to two other details: although the Onkilon cannot escape their doom because they do not understand what is really happening, the prophecy of their shaman is not confuted by the sequence of events; the prophecy that the disaster of the Onkilon will start with the arrival of "white people" ultimately turns out to be true. Although it misses the causal connection, this vision proves itself true. And the other detail: despite the accidental death of one expedition member, one can observe that the group remains numerically constant because the place of the dead Russian is taken by an Onkilon woman, whom Gorokhov takes along as his new wife. How can we interpret this? I would propose that the narrative deals with the plot elements in a ritualistic way. The story performs a ritual exchange: the perished Onkilon people are symbolically (and not only symbolically) saved by submerging themselves to become Russian people.

Taken together, all three details make it possible, in my opinion, to reconstruct quite a specific hypothesis of anthropological evolutionism, which is narratively displayed in Obruchev's novel: what is old, outdated, is overcome and replaced, but only on one level (cognitive, scientific). It does not totally disappear, but is integrated and gains a new function on the new level of the civilizational process. Therefore, Gorokhov's metafictional statement may be understood to hint at a model that functionally differentiates between scientific and literary discourse, in which literature becomes important not only as a residue of mythological thinking, but also as the discourse through which the modern, scientific world view can benefit from ancient mythology, as the discourse in which scientific cognition can be pushed forwards by mirages.

Political Strategies of Fictional Staging of Geological Hypotheses

But does this integrative anthropo-geological vision not have political implications as well? This last point brings us back to the beginning: as we stated, geology is a science of great political and economical significance, because it promotes mining and may serve as an instrument of quite effective territorial appropriation. On a symbolical level it may provide a tool for justifying territorial claims.

Therefore, no one should be amazed by the high social status that So-

viet geologists enjoyed. Even Obruchev's seamless career, which really is a rare case in Soviet history—he started under the tsarist regime and as a highly decorated dignitary outlived even Stalin—does not need any further explanation.

But is Obruchev's reputation simply based on the practical exploitation of his explorations? Or does he rather pursue a political strategy on the symbolic level of literary discourse as well? Yes, he does: by fictionally enacting the hypothesis that the Arctic islands geologically belong to the Eurasian—that is, from his point of view, Russian or Soviet—mainland and combining it with a harmonizing anthropological thesis into an all-embracing concept of a unitary (temporalized) geocultural space, Obruchev pursues, firstly, a strategy of disenchantment of the Arctic and, secondly, a strategy of dissolving the boundary between Siberia and the North, of pushing Siberia forwards into the Arctic.

But taking a comparative look to what happened afterwards in the 1930s helps us to understand what Obruchev did not do.

The myth of the warm Arctic did not disappear after Obruchev. On the contrary, it experienced a significant revaluation during the 1930s. At this time—in the context of world-famous expeditions that led to the final “conquest” of the North Pole—Stalinist fiction symbolically incorporated the Arctic into a new conceptualization of Soviet space and made of it a symbolically crucial place of Soviet space. Thereby, this new Arctic was envisioned as transformable by Soviet heroes into a warm country, into an (almost) ideal place for Soviet living.²⁰

This is what Obruchev did not do. He contented himself with transforming an Arctic that formerly was conceptualized as a kind of hereafter into a geologically, geographically and symbolically “normal” part of the globe and thereby opening it up for further exploration. To this extent, Obruchev's novel has much in common with other Soviet texts of the 1920s that—as E. Widdis (2003) put it—wanted to explore, but not yet to conquer.

NOTES

¹ Cf. Renate Lachmann, who defines science fiction as a specific kind of moderated, tamed literary fantasticism, because it experiments with the possible, the thinkable but not yet realized, which (presumably) can be derived from new scientific findings and technical expertise (Lachmann 2002: III f.).

² Seen in the context of the late 1920s, Obruchev could be regarded as a prototype of the writer envisaged by the late futurist concept of factography, e.g. by Viktor Shklovskij in his article “O pisatele i proizvodstve” [‘On the writer and production’], in which creative writing (focused on reality) is expected to be based on the professional knowledge and professional experience of the writer. The writer has to be an expert in the field he is

“factographically” describing (Shklovskiy 2000 [1929]).

- ³ It was not Fourier but the French mathematical astronomer Pierre Simon de Laplace who first formulated a “nebular hypothesis” concerning the origin of the whole solar system and explaining its development through a process of incessant cooling (cf. Rudwick 2008: 124 f.).
- ⁴ Cf. Adolphe Brongniart’s stratigraphical investigations of plant life on a cooling earth (Rudwick 2008: 167–175). Since the 1930s the theory of the cooling earth has been replaced by the theory of global warming—whose pioneers are Svante Arrhenius and Hans Ahlmann (cf. Sörlin 2002: 101 ff.)—which is causing quite a stir in our times.
- ⁵ Obruchev’s novel, from its first appearance in print, was edited nearly every year in Soviet times and afterwards. Based on the novel, a movie was released in 1973 (A. Mkrtchyan/L. Popov), which in Russia remains popular to this day. Since the end of the USSR the number and variety of editions apparently has even increased.
- ⁶ During the 1930s the Arctic and the Pole were the most prestigious objects of conquest for Soviet aviators. When in 1934 a squadron of aviators rescued the crew of the Chelyuskin expedition, who after the catastrophic accident of their vessel had held out on an iceflow for more than two months, they were honoured as “heroes of the Soviet Union.” Together with Otto J. Schmidt, leader of this and several other well-known expeditions into the Arctic, M. Babushkin, Vodop’yanov and others were called “conquerors of the Arctic,” especially when in 1937 they landed directly on the polar ice over the North Pole for the first time, and when in the same year a Soviet aviator for the first time performed a long-distance flight from Russia to the USA, traversing the Arctic and the North Pole. On the symbolic significance of Soviet Arctic heroes in the 1930s cf. McCannon 1998, Günther 1993.
- ⁷ This configuration of the crew exemplarily demonstrates the most important protagonists of Russian colonization of Siberia, the Far North and the Far East. A pretty good part of the field investigation of the Imperial Geographical Society was made by banished scientists (cf. Weiss 2007: 37 ff.). That exiles were engaged with field investigation in remote regions is not untypical for Soviet circumstances either.
- ⁸ Today the Hyperborean myth lives on in the northern parts of Europe as an important part of the imagology of the political ultra-right. For the Russian context cf. the influential book of the leader of the so-called “Eurasianists” (sic!), Aleksandr Dugin, *Znaki velikogo norda. Giperboreyskaya teoriya* [‘Signs of the great nord. A Hyperborean theory’] (2008).
- ⁹ Jules Verne picked up the two myths, Atlantis and the Hyperboreans, separately in two novels (Hyperboreans in *Voyages et aventures du capitaine Hatteras*, 1866, Atlantis in *Vingt mille lieues sous les mers*, the novel about the underwater world of Captain Nemo). Obruchev too, aside from *Sannikov’s Land*, took a great interest in the myth of Atlantis and dedicated some fiction and an essay to this topic (cf. Murzaev 1986).
- ¹⁰ The astronomer Edmond Halley, as a deduction from Newton’s theory of gravitation, mapped out the theory of the hollow earth. Among many other science fiction texts, Verne’s novel *Voyage au centre de la terre* is obviously inspired by the theory of the hollow earth too. At the end of the nineteenth century and in the early decades of the twentieth century this theory experienced a revival and in some esoteric and/or neo-Nazi associations remains popular to this day.
- ¹¹ This novel first appeared in print in 25 issues of the journal *Az Üstökös* between 2 January and 19 June 1875. The German translation appeared in print simultaneously in 26 issues of the journal *Pester Lloyd* between 3 January and 22 July 1875. Afterwards, the

short novel underwent many reprints. For the reference to the novel by Mór Jókai I am indebted to Johan Schimanski.

- ¹² Concerning Greenland, the idea of a warm centre of the Arctic island was not new at all. The toponym itself hints at it or at least at a warmer past. I am grateful to one of my anonymous reviewers, who advised me of the fact that the idea of a warm inner part of the island guided Sibiriakoff in his sponsorship of Nordenskiöld's Greenland expedition.
- ¹³ Although an English translation of the novel exists (three editions—from 1969, 1988, and 2002—seem to be available at the moment), the translations from *Sannikov's Island* in this article are mine, S.F.
- ¹⁴ E.g.: "... онкилоны бросили несколько кусков мяса в озеро и три раза поклонились ему. — Воины благодарят подземных духов за то, что они ночью только поугали, но не причинили зла, пояснила Аннуир" ['... the Onkilon threw some peaces of meat into the lake and then three times took a bow. — The warriors thank the subterranean ghosts for only spooking at night but not doing any harm, Annuir explained'] (Obruchev 1955: 166).
- ¹⁵ Cf. e.g. a dialogue between the protagonists: "Но разве могут быть вулканы среди полярных льдов? спросил Костяков. — Почему же нет! В южной полярной области есть даже действующие вулканы Эребус и Терпор [...] А в Ледовитом океане мы находим вулканические породы разного рода" ['But is volcanism actually possible amidst the Arctic ice? Kostyakov asked. — Why not! In the southern Arctic region even active volcanoes occur [...] And in the Arctic Ocean we can find many different kinds of volcanism'] (Obruchev 1955: 61).
- ¹⁶ "Почему же Большой Ляховский остров стал излюбленным приютом различных млекопитающих последнедикового времени? Это можно объяснить тем, что в начале четвертичного периода суша Сибири простиралась значительно дальше на север, чем в настоящее время, и Новосибирские острова входили в состав этой суши" ['Why did the Great Lyakhovskiy Island become a popular home of several mammals of the postglacial era? This can only be explained by the mainland of Siberia reaching much farther northward than today at the beginning of the Quarternary, and the Novosibirsk Islands being part of that mainland then'] (Obruchev 1955: 31).
- ¹⁷ The parallel is repeated several times. Cf. e.g.: "Подобно другим народам Севера" ['Like the other Northern tribes'] (Obruchev 1955: 151).
- ¹⁸ The civilizational stratification of the one evolutionary space becomes even more differentiated by introducing a second tribe, the Vampu, who in comparison to the Onkilon are situated on an even lower civilizational level. These tribes are held in opposition in terms of world view, religion, and social structure, and are assigned to the great periods of the history of mankind: the beginning of the Stone Age and the transition to the Iron Age.
- ¹⁹ An episode that in a way anticipates the Soviet campaign of the late 1920s against Siberian shamanism (cf. Slezkine 1994: 226ff.).
- ²⁰ On the history of Soviet concrete and symbolic "conquest" of the Arctic cf. McCannon's book *Red Arctic* (McCannon 1998). On the concept of the "warm Arctic," or rather of "warming the Soviet Arctic," cf. my article (Frank 2010).

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BIRGITTA ROECK HANSEN

Early Land Organisation around the Gulf of Bothnia

ABSTRACT The area around the Gulf of Bothnia is a distinct region with historic roots. In 1809, after the peace treaty at Fredrikshamn, the area was divided into a Swedish and a Finnish (Russian) part through a new border on the Torne River. Earlier the whole area on both sides of the Gulf, in Sweden as well as in Finland, belonged to the same taxation district and was subject to the same taxes based on winter hunting and summer harvesting.

The cultural landscape in this region can be seen in cadastral maps from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the villages, which were large compared to those in other places in Sweden and Finland, the same division of the arable land can be seen in the Torne river valley in the west as in the eastern coastal area to Kronoby in the south. South of the Torne River valley traces of this land organisation can be seen on the early maps.

This land organisation had social causes depending on the main industry in the area of hunting and fishing. The roots of both social organisation and early taxation lay in the east as opposed to most areas in Sweden and Finland, in which a westerly influence dominated.

KEYWORDS Sweden-Finland, Gulf of Bothnia, land ownership, social organisation

Introduction

A modern map with present-day national borders often presents a picture that is different compared to an earlier situation. Historical studies concerning neighbouring countries between which the borders earlier ran in a different area or did not even exist must take such a fact into ac-

count in order to understand the historical situation. This is the case when studying the border area in the north between Sweden and Finland around the Gulf of Bothnia, an area with special prerequisites, which for a long time formed a distinct region. To some extent, this is true also in modern times but based on other kinds of resources than in the past; an article in 2001 described the area as harbouring five universities and several companies with a close cooperation in modern technology (Forsberg 2001).

From the Middle Ages to 1809 Sweden and Finland were under one rule. Through the peace treaty at Fredrikshamn, which ended the war between Sweden and Russia and through which Sweden lost Finland, a new border in the north between the two countries was drawn in the Torne River. All along the frontier between the two countries the border is drawn in separating waters: the Baltic Sea, the Bothnian Sea and the Gulf of Bothnia. The northernmost border was also drawn in a watercourse but in a much narrower one. Nowhere else along the frontier do Sweden and Finland come as close to each other as in this area. For a long time, the villages in the Torne River valley had owned and used land on both sides of the river, but through this new boundary the villages were split in two so that one part became Swedish and one part Finnish. What kind of cultural landscape was thus divided and what type of local economy had shaped it? To what cultural sphere did it belong? Those are questions that will be discussed in this paper.

For several years I have studied the cultural landscape in southwest Finland and in the north of Sweden, and in most villages in these areas the organisation of agricultural land was connected to the taxation of the land and, in many places, introduced by the government as an administrative measure. This was probably the case in parts of Finland during the beginning of the Swedish reign, foremost in Finland Proper and in Tavastia, where the arable land in several villages was organized strictly according to the rules of *solskifte* ['sun division'] as practised in Eastern Central Sweden at least from the thirteenth century. Traces of this land division can be seen in most Finnish areas where Swedish colonisers had settled. The influence in these areas clearly went from west to east. But in one area the earliest known land organisation did not conform to this pattern. This was in the region around the Gulf of Bothnia and particularly in the coastal area of present-day Finnish Lapland and in the Torne River valley in Sweden.

Norra Botten. A special region

In the sixteenth century the area around the Gulf of Bothnia was regarded by the Swedish government as a special region for tax purposes called *Norra Botn* ['North Bottom'] or *Botten* ['the Bottom'] (Friberg 1983) and this referred to both the west and the east side of the Gulf. The west side was later

called *Västerbotten*, ['West Bothnia,' 'the west side of the Bottom'] and the east side *Österbotten* ['Ostrobothnia,' 'the east side of the Bottom']. In tax rolls from the mid sixteenth century both *Västerbotten* and *Österbotten* were listed under the administrative province of Korsholm, an area comprising present-day *Österbotten* and Lapland in Finland (Jonsson 1971). According to another author, the same taxes were levied in *Västerbotten* and the Parish of Kemi in *Österbotten* during the late Middle Ages (Ahlund 1946). The Parish of Kemi, first mentioned in 1327 (KLNLM 1971: 398), covered the area around the Kemi River with its outlet in the Gulf of Bothnia some twenty kilometres to the east of the Torne River (Fig. 1).

Taxation

At this time, taxes in this northern area were of two kinds, a summer tax and a winter tax. The winter tax was called *bågaskatt* ['bow tax']. According to the provincial law of Hälsingland from the fourteenth century, which at

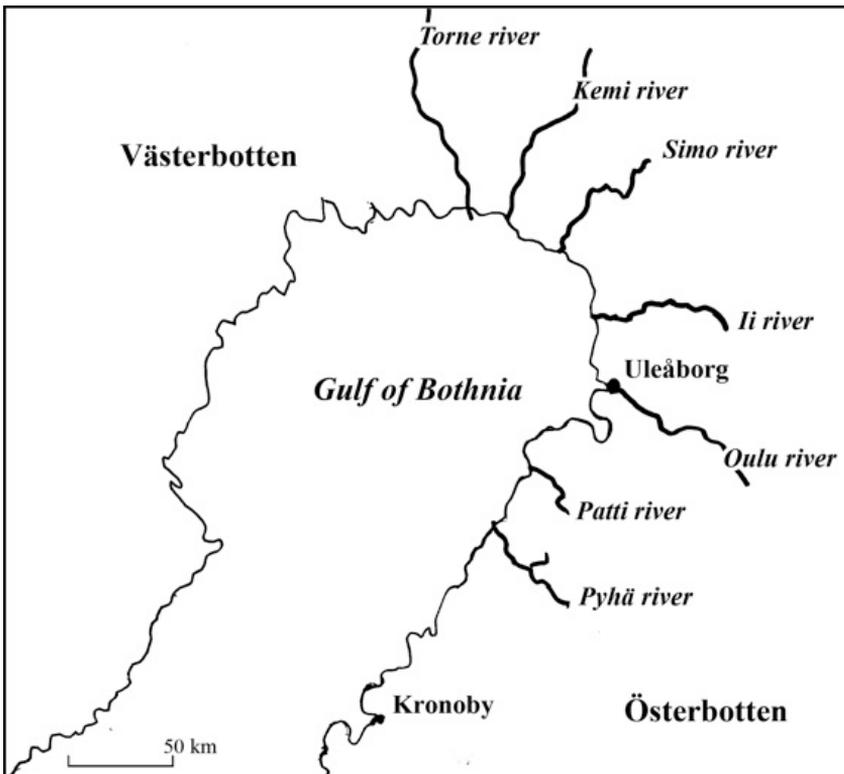


Fig. 1. The investigated area around the Gulf of Bothnia.

this time was valid in the whole of northern Sweden, every adult man who was strong enough to draw his bow was obliged to pay one winter skin of a squirrel (Swedish *gråskinn*) (Holmbäck & Wessén 1979). In areas further south, the tax could be paid wholly or partly in money, but in Torneå and Kemi, the northernmost parishes on the west and east side respectively of the present-day border, it was paid in kind, in squirrel skins (Ahnlund 1946), probably because the quality of the skins in this northern area were of the highest quality and much in demand among persons of rank. It could also have been a reflection of the local economy in which money played a minor part at this time. The *bågaskatt* was an ancient form of taxation with roots in the east, dating from before the Swedish crown had control over this northern part of the Gulf of Bothnia. It had earlier been more widespread and lived on the longest in these northern areas (Ahnlund 1946). It was abolished in 1606.

The summer tax was the main one and it was based on the ownership of arable land. However, not only the quality of the land was taken into account when the tax was determined but also other economic resources such as woodland, fishing water and meadowland. In the tax roll of 1539 the tax in the Parish of Torneå was 24 *penningar* (the currency at the time) per *spannland* (1 *spannland* = c. 1,840 square metres), whereas the other seven parishes in the vast region of Västerbotten paid between 8 and 12 *penningar* for each *spannland*. It is obvious that this high level of tax was not based on the arable land alone: in Torneå each farm (*nominatus*) had on average 2.5 *spannland* compared to the rest of the province in which the farms had areas of 6.4 to 9.9 *spannland* per taxation unit.

The winter tax was obviously the oldest tax in the area, dating from a time when agriculture was of very little importance here. The tax based on the ownership of land was a later addition and one that was modelled on the situation in more pronounced agricultural areas than the area around the Gulf of Bothnia. It was founded on the Swedish land assessment in *markland*, which in turn was based on the current monetary system (Roeck Hansen 2008). The taxes of the time tell us that hunting here had a long history as part of the economy and was still important, whereas agriculture played a minor role. What they cannot tell us is how the land was organised and owned. This evidence can be found in the cadastral maps from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which show a land organisation that was still unaffected by the land reforms that came later, during the second half of the eighteenth and during the nineteenth century. The evidence of the maps will be discussed below.

Land Ownership and Social Organisation

On a present-day map some villages can be seen which show traces of how land was owned before the 1809 border was erected. Several villages still exist on both the Swedish and the Finnish side of the river, for instance Kukkola, Karunki and Korpikylä. Cadastral maps from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries of course show similarities in land organisation on both sides of this river, but more interesting is the fact that the same type of organising the land in the villages also continued on the Finnish side of



Fig. 2. Land-owning systems in Sweden and Finland around 1700. After Sporrøng 1994 with the addition of systems in Finland and northern Sweden. From Roeck Hansen 2008: 80.

the Gulf of Bothnia, the water that separates the two territories. From the Torne River valley to an area south of Uleåborg (Oulu) in Finland, the villages in the coastal areas and around the rivers Kemi, Simo, Ii and Oulu were all organised in the same way. This similarity continued down the east side of the Gulf of Bothnia to the Kronoby valley, with some difference: in the northern part of the area the arable land was yearly cropped, while further south, beginning from an area between Uleåborg and Kronoby, a two-year crop rotation was practised (Fig. 2).

The farms in these villages were situated singly or two to three in consolidated areas with small privately owned fields or fields with unsystematically mixed ownership. Nowhere in this area was there an open-field system where all the farms in a village had shares, a land organisation that was common further south, in Sweden as well as in western Finland. The parcels were small and irregularly shaped (Fig. 3). The villages in the area were in general large compared to others in both Sweden and Finland; according to the land registers from the mid sixteenth century, the villages in the Torne River valley had up to 38 farms. The concept of village in these northern



Fig. 3. Alavojakkala, the Parish of Nedertorneå 1681. The village is situated about 10 kilometers from the coast on the east side of Torne River. In 1681 there were 38 farms in the village and they owned land on both sides of the river. On the west side seven single farms were situated on their own land and another four in pairs in two consolidated areas. East of the river there were eight single farms and three in pairs in consolidated areas. In two of the other consolidated areas there were three and six farms respectively. In these areas with several farms the ownership in the arable was irregularly mixed. The figure shows a part of the village with the largest consolidated field. From Roeck Hansen 2002: 61.

areas was however not the same as further south. Settlements here were separated into taxation units with separate names by administratively constructed boundary lines. This was often done by the land surveyor when mapping the villages by drawing a straight line across the land furthest away from the farm buildings in two neighbouring settlements. The result was what has been termed territorial villages (*Bebyggelsen i Finland på 1560-talet*, 1973). These constructions were however not stable and the names and range of the settlements could change over time.

On both sides of the Gulf land organisation changed further south. On the Swedish side a new element could be seen, irregular strip parcelling of the fields. Mixed ownership and strip parcelling, the form of land organisation common in Eastern Central Sweden and further south, began to appear in the villages in the river valleys to the west and south of the Torne River valley. However, in those villages where an open field is documented in the cadastral maps from the early eighteenth century, there were always consolidated areas as well (Swedish *gårdsgårdor*), a relict from an earlier form of economy. Strip parcelling was a later development of the agrarian landscape, probably introduced by the Swedish government in the fourteenth century or somewhat later and made possible by the rapid shore regression in the area, which had resulted in new cultivable land. It is the shore regression that makes it possible to give an approximate dating of the two kinds of fields: the strip fields are all situated at a lower level than the consolidated fields. The latter are usually found above the 10-metre level dated to the ninth century, and the strip fields between 10 and 5 metres above sea level, a level dated to 1400 AD (Roeck Hansen 2002). In Finland strip parcelling began in the villages of southern Satakunta and was used in most villages in Finland Proper, Tavastia and Nyland (Roeck Hansen 1996).

Land organisation around the Gulf of Bothnia can thus be seen to be clearly different from the way in which land in agrarian settlements in other parts of both Sweden and Finland was arranged where mixed ownership was the rule. What then was the reason for the fact that the cultivable land, foremost the arable land, was here consolidated or in mixed ownership among some farms in a village but never involving the whole village? Villages are usually established because there is a need for cooperation in the utilisation of scarce resources like arable land. The kind of cooperation depended on the economy of the settlement. In this case the ownership structure of the arable land documented in the cadastral maps shows that farming was not the main industry here. The fact that most of the arable land was privately owned and consolidated was an indication that in this part of the economy no cooperation was usual. The small areas of arable land also indicate that agriculture was not an important part of the economy. So we

must ask what kind of resource utilisation other than agriculture made it necessary for people in this area to live in conglomerated settlements.

We have to look for an economic resource that was shared and that needed several hands in cooperation to be utilised to explain the fact that people lived in villages. As pointed out by many authors, the answer here is hunting and fishing, particularly salmon fishing. Several sources point out the rich fishing that was to be had in many of the rivers in Västerbotten, the richest in the Torne River (Friberg 1983). In northern Ostrobothnia the rivers Kemi and Oulu were said to be particularly rich in salmon and fishing was here practised by farmers in several villages in cooperation. During the Middle Ages, the economy in general in this area, described as the Wilderness of Finland, was based mainly on cattle rearing, fishing and hunting. The areas of arable land were small (Edgren & Törnblom 1993: 369). Regarding the Torne River valley, Jonsson and others have pointed out that the areas of arable land were small compared to what was found in other agrarian areas in northern Sweden and that fishing was the principal industry (Jonsson 1971: 245). This was the reason for the forming of villages; fishing as well as hunting, particularly seal hunting, were activities that required groups of people. Furthermore, permanent arrangements for catching fish, particularly salmon, were owned in common and this was another factor that constituted a tie within a group of people larger than a family, a village.

The ownership of the land and the way it is documented in the detailed early maps give us not only the physical layout of the agrarian landscape in these northern river valleys, but they also offer the key to understanding the social structure of these villages, a structure that depended on the utilisation of the natural resources that were the most important to the local industry.

Political Influences

Even if land organisation in this area was primarily the effect of resource utilisation, there were also political and administrative influences. Earlier studies have demonstrated the extent of the influence of the Swedish Crown from the late Middle Ages on land organisation in northern Sweden and in the western parts of Finland (Roeck Hansen 1996; 1999; 2002). In the cadastral maps this influence could be seen in the form of village open fields in which strips were mixed more or less systematically. But in the villages around the Gulf of Bothnia such land organisation was absent, from the Torne River valley in the west to Kronoby in the east.

What had decided this change in the use and ownership of agricultural land? It may of course have been caused solely by a geographical boundary to do with conditions of soil and climate but a political reason is also

possible. On the Finnish side, between Kronoby and the area around the rivers Pyhä(joki) and Patti(joki) south of Uleåborg, the western border that was agreed upon in 1323 in the peace treaty between Sweden and Novgorod at Nöteborg is presumed to have run (Tarkiainen 2008). According to the peace treaty, the area north of this border was to be used and taxed jointly by Swedes and Russians. By and by the Swedish crown extended its sovereignty over the area but that was much later and land organisation in the settlements in the river valleys was then well established. It was an organisation with ancient roots in the east and also the one that was best suited to conditions in this northern area, conditions that were also reflected in the early taxes.

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MARTIN ERIKSSON

Regional Development, Transport Infrastructure and Government Policy

The Case of Ice-Breaking along the Coastline of Norrland, Sweden, 1940–1975

ABSTRACT Due to the cold climate, navigation along the coast lines of the northern regions in Sweden, Finland, Canada, Russia and the United States must negotiate winter conditions which cause ports to freeze over. In order to avoid the negative economic effects of such interruptions, ice-breaking and other measures to facilitate winter navigation have been introduced. This article deals with the introduction of ice-breaking along the coast line of the five northernmost counties in Sweden, the Norrland region, from a perspective that examines and analyzes the underlying decision-making processes. It is concluded that the ability of regional interest groups to link their demands for an improved ice-breaker service to important aims within macro policy such as trade policy, growth policy and regional development policy contributed to the outcome of the decision-making processes. The international competitiveness of the export industries in Norrland was therefore regarded as a national concern during the decision-making processes. Another factor that contributed to the outcome of the decision-making processes was the sectoral organization within the government maritime bodies. Large-scale planning and operational experimentation was allowed to take place within the ice-breaker service, which convinced the government that ice-breaking and winter navigation were a feasible transport alternative.

KEYWORDS regional economic history, Norrland, winter navigation, ice-breaker policy, decision-making, regional interest groups, institutional analysis, corporatism, concerted action

Introduction

The economies of the northern regions in Russia, Canada and the Nordic countries are dominated by export of natural resources, for example from the metal and forestry sectors. As the geographies of these regions generally are characterized by a peripheral location, vast distances and a harsh climate, the construction of suitable transport and communications networks has been a decisive factor behind their integration into the world markets (North 1955; North 1958). For instance, Canadian economic historian Harold A. Innis has described the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad as one of the most important preconditions for the introduction of Canadian export goods such as timber, iron ore and fur on the world markets (Innis 1923).

One problem shared not only by Nordic countries such as Sweden and Finland but also by the Arctic regions of Canada, Russia and the United States is that navigation must negotiate winter conditions, which cause ports to freeze over. Consequently, the sea trading routes cannot be used or remain idle for several months. This situation restrains exports or even prevents exploitation of certain natural resources altogether, which in turn affects regional growth and development.

In Sweden, this problem was first addressed in the 1920s, when a limited ice-breaker service was organised by the government as a measure to facilitate year-round navigation. The limitations of the ice-breaker service meant however that it could only reach a limited number of ports along the coastal line of the five northern counties in Sweden, the Norrland region. Norrland still had the coastline in Sweden with the longest port closures during winters (Layton 1978). This affected the industrial firms in the forestry and metal sectors, as their transports were dependent on conveyors that can handle heavy goods, preferably bulk ships. When trying to deal with the difficulties associated with winter navigation, industrial firms in the exporting sectors experienced that the alternatives to ice-breaking raised their costs and reduced their international competitiveness. These alternatives included other means of transport, primarily railways, and stockpiling of the products over the winter (Styrelsen för Vintersjöfartforskning 1972).

During the post-war period, the government ice-breaker service was gradually expanded until the first part of the 1970s, when all ports along the coast of Norrland finally could be kept open throughout the winter season. Today the ice-breaker service is still vital for the basic manufacturing industry firms in Norrland, which account for more than one quarter of the total Swedish export value (Länsstyrelserna i Västerbottens och Norrbottens län 2008: 9).

The expansion of the government ice-breaker service was a long and complex political process, which coincided with the period of rapid sectoral shift in Norrland between 1950–1970, when the service and manufacturing sectors emerged and the role of agriculture diminished (Danell 1995). As industrial production grew during the sectoral shift, demands from regional interest groups in Norrland for an expansion of the government ice-breaker service increased. These demands were integrated in a comprehensive discussion where the future modernization and development strategies in Norrland were contested and formulated (Sörlin 1988: 254).

These strategies were formulated through interaction among the ambitions and visions of the government, the regional elite and their historical context (Nyström 2003; Andersson-Skog 2001). This embedding of the agents in their historical context resulted in an outcome that reflected a blending of national and regional interests. The aim of this article is to examine and analyze the decision-making processes concerning ice-breaking along the coast of Norrland during the period 1940–1975 from this perspective. I will examine the actions of regional interest groups and government agents at different administrative levels against the background of their historical motivations and constraints in order to elucidate the historical process that lies behind the emergence of the contemporary Swedish ice-breaker service.

Theoretical Framework and Points of Departure

This study departs from a set of marked assumptions regarding the relations between the government and interest groups. Firstly, my interest group perspective is based on Scandinavian corporatist theory. Scandinavian corporatist theory implies that the government controls the policy agenda during a decision-making process. The government, however, grants interest groups access to decision-making processes in order to justify government decisions and acquire additional resources for policy-making (Rothstein 1992).

Accordingly, the government offers interest groups forums and procedures for structural consulting through various organisational arrangements (Heclø & Madsen 1987: 12). One type of arrangement is the consulting between the Swedish Maritime Administration and regional interest groups. Previous research has pointed out that a trend towards bureaucratization and professionalization characterized the expanding bureaucracies in the Swedish transport sector in the post-war period. As a result, the transport bureaucracies could determine the developments within their transport sector with considerable autonomy. Here, networks within the transport bureaucracies between government representatives and interest groups were formed (Petterson 1988; Torstendahl 1991). Interest group participa-

tion also took place within the official investigatory commissions regarding ice-breaking and during the so-called *remiss* procedures, where they were invited to comment on committee drafts in reports to the government.

Following previous Swedish transport history research, I have also emphasized the importance of the institutional context for the outcome of decision-making processes (Andersson-Skog 1993; Pettersson 1999; Andersson 2004). I apply the historical structuration perspective within the New Institutional Economics (NIE), which focuses on the interaction of agents and their societal and institutional structure during decision-making (North 1990). According to the NIE, I will try to identify how government institutions—both those within the maritime sector and those related to the Norrland region—influenced the decision-making processes.

In this respect, I assume that policy decisions are concerted actions, where the interests of the government and interest groups overlap and coincide. I have therefore focused on specific initiating events that have triggered change and new developments within the government ice-breaker policy (Hoffman 1999: 353). I interpret such events according to John Kingdon's idea of decision-making as a policy window. Kingdon describes a policy window in a field as an opportunity for a linkage of problems and proposed solutions (Kingdon 1984: 203 f.).

A final delineation in this study is that I focus exclusively on the formal dimensions of the decision-making processes. This means that I can use the archive and record material that has been deposited in different public archives. The informal contacts that may have taken place during the decision-making processes, for instance between members of the regional elite and government officials, will however not be included in the study. The reason behind this exclusion is not that I regard these informal contacts as irrelevant, but rather the lack of historical information. It is for instance worth noting that the absolute majority of the agents that were active during the decision-making processes now have passed away. The long period that has passed since the decision-making processes were concluded also means that possible informants do not remember all the important historical details for such an analysis.

Ice-Breaking and Maritime Policy Change in the Post-War Period

During the 1940s, the Swedish ice-breaking policy was investigated by two government commissions. The first commission, the Ice-breaker Commission of 1941 (*1941 års isbrytarutredning*), did not result, however, in any significant policy recommendations (SOU 1942:53). After the commission had concluded its report, its passive stance was criticised in the Parliament by

representatives from the counties in Norrland. After this intervention, it was decided that the problem of winter navigation along the coastline of Norrland should be investigated by the so-called *Norrland Commission* (*Norrlandskommittén*) (SOU 1948:31: 8 ff.).

The *Norrland Commission* investigated how the region and the government should meet the social and economic challenges that Norrland was going to face in the post-war period. The commission was composed of representatives from the regional elite such as businessmen, industrialists and politicians (SOU 1949:1). In its study of ice-breaking, the *Norrland Commission* criticised the low standard of the maritime infrastructure along the coastline of Norrland (SOU 1948:31: 57). It noted that there were few navigational aids. Furthermore, markers and buoys were mostly floating and only temporary. They were removed before the ice came and not replaced until the break-up of the ice was completed in spring. This was also the case with the lightships, which were used instead of fixed lighthouses along certain parts of the coastline (Layton 1978: 9).

The *Norrland Commission* emphasized that an improvement of the maritime infrastructure was necessary. This conclusion was reached through consulting with shipping interests in Norrland during the preparation of the commission report.¹ The commission therefore recommended that the government should pay more attention to areas such as navigational aids and meteorological forecasts (SOU 1948:31: 88).

Consequently, the situation within those areas improved during the early 1950s. The government authorities responsible for winter navigation such as the National Board of Trade (*Kommerskollegium*), the Navy, the State Meteorological and Hydrological Institute (SMHI) and the State Icebreaker Committee (*Statens Isbrytarnämnd*) underwent a learning process.² Perhaps the most significant improvement took place within SMHI. During the 1950s, ships sometimes entered the waters along the coast of Norrland without information of what ice conditions they could expect (*Västerbottens-Kuriren* 1 December 1951; *Västerbottens-Kuriren* 17 December 1955). This practice often led to dangerous situations and inefficient use of ice-breakers, as they had to intervene urgently to save ships from damage caused by ice.

However, in 1957 the first ice chart was drawn up by SMHI. Moreover, SMHI and the Swedish ice-breaker command took the initiative to write a new Baltic Sea ice code, which formed the basis for the renewal of the information system on winter navigation in the Baltic Sea (*Östersjökode*). As SMHI had a permanent seat in the State Icebreaker Committee, general knowledge of how to prepare for winter navigation was also quickly spread among shipping companies and other agents concerned (Thompson & Udin 1973: 63 f.).

In 1956, an integrated Swedish Maritime Administration (*Sjöfartsstyrelsen*) was formed through a merger of the different authorities that up to then had been concerned with maritime issues (Government Bill 124/1955). One of the first tasks assigned to the newly organized maritime administration was a reorganization of the ice-breaker service. This coincided with an ice situation that paralysed the navigation along the coast of Norrland. Fig. 1 illustrates the severity of winters during the middle of the 1950s. Some ports were closed for over five months, as ice-breaker traffic was concentrated to the ports in southern Sweden (*Västerbottens-Kuriren* 20 December 1955).

The prevailing ice situation caused an urgent need for consultation between the Swedish Maritime Administration and shipping interests in Norrland. In January 1956 Folke Thunborg, the county governor of Norrbotten, organized a conference on the future of winter navigation along the coast of Norrland. During the conference, regional interest groups concluded that it was devastating for the region to be repeatedly paralyzed by ice during winters. Rather than passively accept those barriers to mobility caused by winter and ice, it was necessary to confront this issue in a more systematic manner.³ A coalition of agents based in the County of Norrbotten was the regional interest group that acted most forcefully in this situation. In communications to the Ministry of Trade, the County Administrative Board of Norrbotten together with the Chamber of Commerce in Norrbotten and

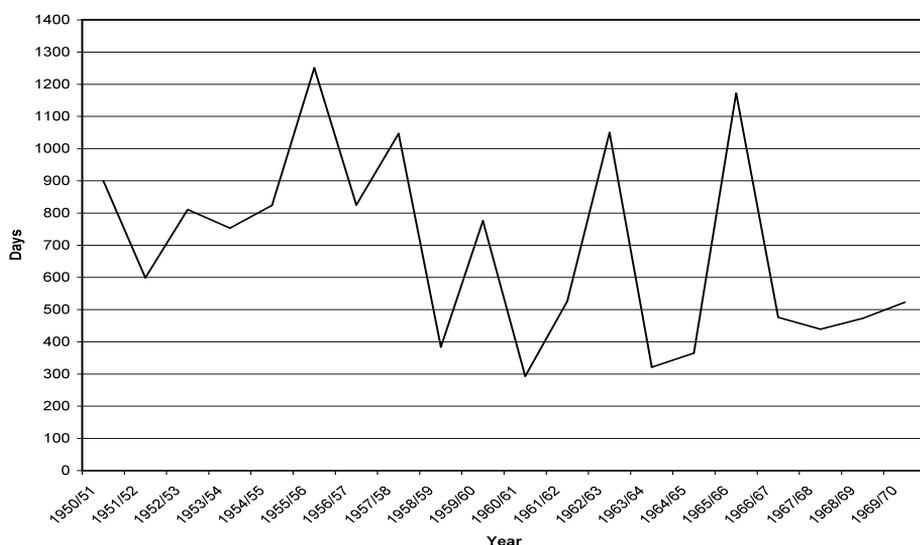


Fig. 1. The total number of days when the ten main ports along the coast of Norrland were closed in the period 1950–1970. The total number of days was calculated by adding the number of days the ports Karlsborg, Luleå, Piteå, Skellefteå, Umeå, Örnsköldsvik, Härnösand, Sundsvall, Söderhamn and Gävle were closed each winter by using data from Kungl. Sjöfartsstyrelsen (1965) and Sjöfartsverket (1974).

Västerbotten argued that winter navigation was as dependent on the ice-breaker service as on infrastructure such as lighthouses, radio beacons and nautical charts. These agents illustrated the primitive state of the maritime infrastructure along the coast of Norrbotten and demanded new government investments to improve that area.⁴

After 1958, government investments in the maritime infrastructure along the coastline of Norrland increased significantly (Government Bill 1/1958, appendix 12: 143). For instance, the ten lightships operating in 1955 had been replaced by fixed caisson lighthouses up to 1971. The number of lighthouses was also increased to 38 from being only 14 in 1874. The quality of nautical charts was also improved. Finally, a network of about 20 radio beacons became operational in the 1950s and 1960s and in 1962 the Decca Navigator System came into operation in the Gulf of Bothnia (Layton 1978: 10). This was followed by the employment of technology such as satellite images in the forecasts and radio facsimile transmission to receive ice charts on the high seas (Seinä, Palosuo & Grönvall 1997: 4).

The main reason behind this new emphasis on winter navigation in government policy may be related to the formation of the Swedish Maritime Administration in 1956, which led to increased strength and bargaining power for the maritime sector within the political system and government bureaucracies. It also meant that large-scale planning and operational experimentation was allowed to take place within the ice-breaker service. As the government became convinced that ice-breaking and winter navigation were a feasible transport alternative, the opportunities for allocation of new budget funds to the ice-breaker service and the maritime infrastructure increased (Eriksson 2009).

The changes within the government maritime sector also facilitated investments in new ice-breakers. As Table 1 illustrates, Sweden only had three ice-breakers until 1957. Among those, the HMS *Atle* was ageing and not operationally effective, whereas the HMS *Thule* was designed for operations in the sound between Sweden and Denmark. For that reason, there was an urgent need for new ice-breakers that could serve the sea routes along the coastal line of Norrland in the middle of the 1950s.

This situation was substantially improved with the introduction of the HMS *Oden*, the HMS *Tor* and the HMS *Njord* during the period 1957–1969. The construction of these ice-breakers was initiated by the State Ice-breaker Committee. The State Ice-breaker Committee was formed in 1947 for structural consulting between the maritime administration and interest groups. Through regular consulting, the draft proposals for the HMS *Oden*, the HMS *Tor* and the HMS *Njord* were drawn up jointly between the maritime administration and representatives of the business associations within

Name	First winter	Decommissioned	Built by	Horsepower
Atle (I)	1925	1966	Lindholmen	4 000
Ymer (I)	1933	1976	Kockums	9 000
Thule	1954	1988	Karlskronavarvet	5 040
Oden (I)	1957	1988	Wärtsila	10 500
Tor	1964	2000	Wärtsila	12 000
Njord	1969	2000	Wärtsila	12 000
Ale	1974	–	Wärtsila	4 750
Atle (II)	1974	–	Wärtsila	22 000
Frej	1976	–	Wärtsila	22 000
Ymer (II)	1977	–	Wärtsila	22 000
Oden (II)	1988	–	Götaverken	24 800

Table 1. The Swedish ice-breaker fleet 1925–1988. Source: Fischerström (1997).

the forestry sector. In these proposals, the ice-breakers were projected as trade policy instruments aiming to strengthen the international competitiveness of the forestry industries in Norrland (Eriksson 2009: 145 f.).

These arguments corresponded well with how the government interpreted the contemporary situation of the forestry industries. The government encouraged large investments in production technology to counter the increased competition on the expanding international markets by North American firms in the late 1950s and early 1960s (Melander 1997). Ice-breaking was therefore considered to be a complement to other growth measures directed towards the forestry sector in the government decisions to fund those ice-breakers (Eriksson 2009: 148 f.).

Ice-Breaking as Industrial and Regional Subsidy

The modernized and expanded ice-breaker fleet could however only serve the ports in the counties of Gävleborg and Västernorrland, where major forestry firms such as *Skandinaviska Cellulosa Aktiebolaget* (SCA), *Iggesund* and *Mo och Domsjö AB* (MoDo) were located. The northernmost ports along the coast of Norrland still had to be closed during winters. The triggering event behind the rapid expansion of the Swedish ice-breaker fleet after 1970 was the introduction of an expansive regional and industrial development policy (Government Bill 185/1964; Government Bill 75/1970). The Swedish transport policy was therefore adjusted from a market-oriented system to a system that allowed government compensation to those firms estimated to be in need of compensation for their transport costs (Government Bill

84/1970).

In this context, the government viewed ice-breaking as an indirect transport subsidy to the heavy manufacturing industry sector. The government support to ice-breaking was seen as a complement to the direct transport subsidies introduced in 1971. The aim behind the introduction of the transport subsidy was to subsidize the cost of transportation for certain goods-producing companies in northern Sweden in order to strengthen their ability to compete in markets in southern Sweden or abroad (Pettersson 1999).

The idea of ice-breaking as a complement to regional and industrial policy was most strongly expressed by the Port Commission of 1965 (*1965 års Hamnutredning*). In its report, the Port Commission of 1965 proposed an expansion of the government ice-breaker service to all ports in Norrland (SOU 1971:63). The primary factor behind this proposal was the substantial contemporary government investments in the basic industries located in the County of Norrbotten. The investments in state-owned enterprises such as the steel plant *Norrbottens Järnverk AB* (NJA) and the forestry conglomerate *AB Statens Skogsindustrier* (ASSI) were part of the regional development policy. However, those investments were accompanied by concerns regarding the transport situation of the firms. If the shipping season was not extended, the firms would probably not be internationally competitive. After consulting with both State-owned enterprises such as ASSI and NJA and private firms such as MoDo and SCA, the Port Commission of 1965 therefore recommended that the government should meet the transport demands of those industries (SOU 1971:63: chapter 5).

However, the recommendations from the Port Commission of 1965 were not fully implemented. Instead, the final triggering event occurred when a new steel plant, *Stålverk 80*, was planned in Luleå during 1973–1974 (Jonsson 1990). This meant that the transport problems of the heavy manufacturing industry had to be considered once again, which resulted in the investment in one additional ice-breaker, the HMS *Ymer* (Government Bill 1/1975, appendix 8: 300). When the first severe ice winter of the 1970s occurred in 1978–1979, it turned out that this ice-breaker was the marginal resource needed to keep all the ports along the coast of Norrland open (Sjöfartsverket 1979).

Concluding Discussion and Analysis

This study has shown that the contemporary Swedish ice-breaker service may be traced historically to an intense interaction among the government, regional interest groups and their societal context in the post-war period. Essentially, the ice-breaker service emerged through the ability of regional

interest groups in Norrland to relate their demands to different areas within government policy.

This pattern appeared already in the 1940s, when industrialization was seen as a key instrument for modernizing the regional economy in Norrland and overcoming the hardships caused by small-scale farming. Against this background, ice-breaking was considered to be a suitable growth instrument whose potential needed to be investigated further.

From the 1950s, the outcome of the decision-making processes may be related to a combination of institutional factors emanating from both the sectoral and national levels. As for the sectoral level, the Swedish Maritime Administration experienced organizational and financial changes that benefited the expansion of ice-breaking and the maritime infrastructure along the coast of Norrland. Here, increased bureaucratization and professionalism were combined with a generous financial situation for the maritime sector. This situation may be compared with the political attitude towards the railway sector, where businesslike reforms and a criterion of profitability related to a market-oriented transport policy restricted the agenda (Andersson-Skog 1993).

During these decision-making processes, the drafts or comments prepared by the maritime administration and regional interest groups also corresponded strongly to the general aims of macro policy. This meant that their demands were viewed as legitimate by the agents at the national level such as the Ministry of Trade and Ministry of Communications at the time of decision-making. Up to around 1970, the ice-breaker service along the coast of Norrland was considered as an instrument for increasing the international competitiveness of the heavy basic industries in the Norrland region. Even though the institutional context at the national level changed after 1970, as icebreaking was regarded as a vital transport subsidy for the heavy basic industries in the Norrland region, this pattern was sustained over the whole examined time period.

In this study, I have interpreted this style of decision-making as concerted actions, where the interests of the government and regional interest groups were merged. As for interest group participation, it is worth noting that all significant agents in Norrland such as municipalities, county boards, chambers of commerce and heavy manufacturing industries were in favour of an expansion of the ice-breaker service. This reflects a general feature in the emergence of the modern Norrland region during the post-war period. The industrial exploitation of natural resources through the heavy manufacturing industry was identified as a driving force behind social and economic modernization, which meant that it dominated the regional political agenda. The heavy manufacturing export industries were

therefore promoted to such an extent that they would eventually dominate the economy (Westin 2006).

The economic interests connected to the exports from the heavy basic industries were, in turn, so strong that they also appealed to the government. In this way the future of Norrland was negotiated through a political process of compromise, where the interests of the region and the government were mixed and merged to such an extent that we sometimes cannot distinguish between them (Nyström 2003: 24). In this respect, it is important to note the mutual ideological understanding between trade union leaders and Social Democratic politicians in Norrland on one hand and the national Social Democratic government on the other hand that existed during the post-war period. According to those agents, the interwar depression had meant devastating social and economic effects for Norrland. A strong government intervention in the heavy manufacturing sector as well as the introduction of general welfare programs was therefore considered to be a guarantee for a progressive modernization in Norrland by policy makers at both the national and regional level. One area that needed to be improved to realize those ideas was the government ice-breaker service, which obviously was expanded rapidly (Norrbottnens socialdemokratiska partidistrikt 1972).

Undoubtedly, the emphasis on the public sector and the heavy manufacturing industries in the Norrland policy has also resulted in a lop-sided economy, as other sectors in the economy of the region were left relatively undeveloped. From a macro-economic point of view, it might be argued that the economy of Norrland is showing signs of structural economic problems associated with this bias in development strategy. In this article, I will not further discuss how these deficiencies might be related to phenomena such as the “resource curse,” the “staple trap” or the “Dutch disease” (Mehlum, Moene & Torvik 2006; Innis 1970). However, I argue that the hitherto successful reliance on export of natural resources has had a decisive cognitive impact on the elite in Norrland. Over time, the chosen strategy and bias towards the exploitation of natural resources has narrowed the options and created vested interests among the regional elite that are reluctant to develop complements to the exports of natural resources and the public sector in the regional economy. This reliance on a single development strategy bears a strong resemblance to the concept of “path-dependency” as it has been used in the NIE tradition (North 1990). From this perspective, perhaps the most important challenge for the future renewal of the economy and society of Norrland is the introduction of new ideas for sustainable growth and development that would make the region fully competitive in the global economy.

NOTES

- ¹ Härnösands Landsarkiv, Norrländska Hamnförbundet, Handlingar 1946–1951 [‘The Provincial Record Office, Härnösand, The Port Federation of Norrland, documents 1946–1951’].
- ² Riksarkivet, Kommerskollegium, Sjöfartsbyrån, Administrativa sektionen, vol. FI:171 [‘The Swedish National Archives, Archive of the Navigation Bureau within the National Board of Trade, vol. FI:171’].
- ³ Härnösands Landsarkiv, Landshövdingars i Västernorrlands län arkiv, vol. FI:25, [‘The Provincial Record Office, Härnösand, The Archive of the County Governors in Västernorrland, vol. FI:25’].
- ⁴ Riksarkivet, Kommunikationsdepartementet, konseljakt den 21 april 1966, ärende 45 [‘The Swedish National Archives, The Ministry of Trade, Cabinet Meeting Documents 21 April 1966, item 45’].

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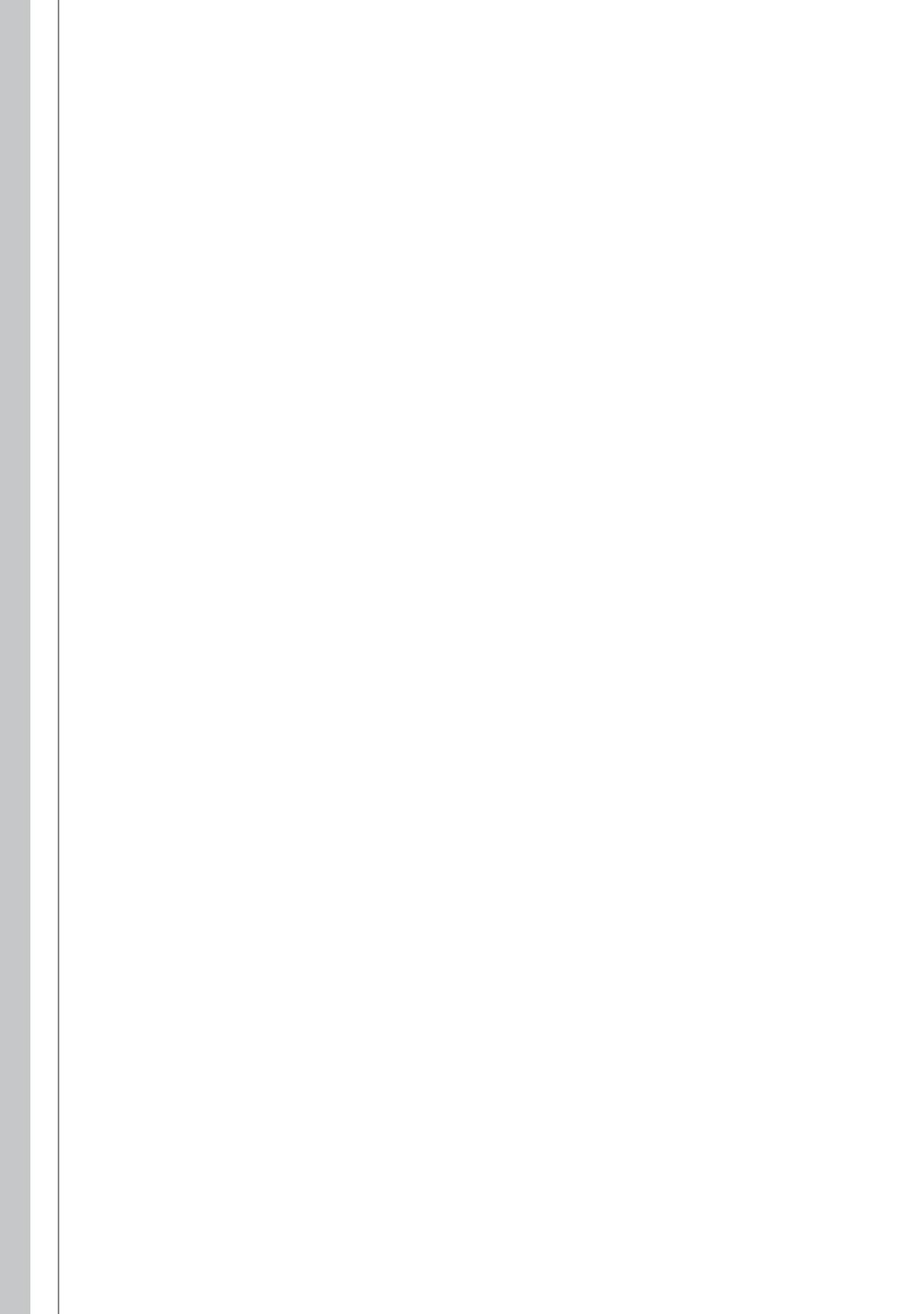
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Miscellanea: Notes / Notizen

Toward North Corps

Nurturing the Spirit of Inuit Independence while Pre-Empting a Movement for Inuit Secession

It's time for a circumpolar North Corps program, modeled on the Peace Corps, to help the North achieve its full potential

Securing the Northern Front

In the years since the nail-biter of a referendum on Québec separation held on 30 October 1995, Québec and Anglo-Canada have worked hard to patch up their differences, and on 22 November 2006, Prime Minister Stephen Harper preempted a renewed effort by Québec separatists to assert their enduring nationhood in yet another referendum that would unravel the Canadian confederation, and “surprised the House of Commons [...] by announcing his party wants to recognize Québec as nation within a united Canada” (Weeks 2006).

For the moment, the issue of Québec’s distinctiveness, and its yearning for independence, seems to have been alleviated, but the perennial nature of this issue, across so many generations, suggests it will inevitably resurface again, and when it does, the role of the Arctic as a potential strategic counter-balance to an independent Québec will have to be assessed, as will its role as part of the re-emerging “Arctic front” as the world community races to exploit the strategic and economic opportunities of a polar thaw.

In anticipation of a future secessionist threat from Québec or an external challenge to Canada’s Arctic sovereignty, a tighter integration of the Inuit homeland with the rest of Anglo-Canada would go far to enhance the bond that unites Canada, north and south, fostering greater loyalty to Canada among the people of the Arctic. This can be achieved by a closer collaboration between Ottawa and Nunavut in their land claims implementation and co-management efforts, and through continued recruitment, training, and deployment of Canadian Rangers that patrol the Arctic coast, engage in surveillance, and assist in search and rescue in partnership with the crown.

But just as the aspiration of Québec to become independent will likely never entirely be extinguished, it is possible that a genuine desire by the Inuit for independence might also emerge. In Greenland, which is one of the world’s largest, remotest, and poorest islands, and which within the context of long-term global warming shows many potential attributes of sovereign independence—with its own language, a distinct culture, vast offshore and potential onshore resources—the case for independence, and to end its colonial dependency on Denmark, is indeed compelling.

Between Inuit Dependency and Independence

For the Inuit of North America, who inhabit the coastal strip along the con-

continent's northern shore as well as the islands further north, the issue is more complicated—owing to their habitation of the North American mainland where the United States and Canada have asserted formal sovereignty, and to the resolved nature of their land claims, through which the Inuit and the national governments have mutually recognized one another, and agreed to subordinate tribal sovereignty to that of the state with whom they have partnered through a lengthy series of negotiations and the formal implementation of their final accords, which include “cede and surrender” clauses legally extinguishing Aboriginal title to their homelands.

But just because the Inuit have entered into these binding, constitutional arrangements does not mean that they will always accept their legitimacy, particularly in light of the passionate reaction against the extinguishment clause, and what has been perceived by many Inuit to be a less than candid, or at least less than clear, explanation by their leadership of the full extent and implications of their surrender of Aboriginal rights and title. In the effort to sell the land claims as negotiated to the beneficiaries who must ratify the accords, Aboriginal leaders have tended to understate the risks inherent in the surrender and to emphasize the benefits.

As time passes, and in particular as the climate warms and the Arctic basin opens up to all manner of new external influences, challenges, and opportunities, the yearnings for more formal Inuit independence could begin to be felt. Especially if the bold and ambitious Nunavut experiment continues to disappoint the Inuit, and if the Inuit continue to perceive indifference and at times bad faith from Ottawa when it comes to implementation of their land claim accord.

As recalled by Andrea Mandel-Campbell in her January 2005 *Walrus* magazine article, “Who Controls Canada’s Arctic?” during the middle of the twentieth century,

Ottawa largely neglected the region’s sparse aboriginal population, which suffered from rampant tuberculosis, lack of housing, and even starvation. The dire situation facing the Inuit forced St. Laurent to admit at the time that Ottawa had “administered these vast territories of the north in an almost continuing state of absence of mind” (Mandel-Campbell 2005).

After Prime Minister John Diefenbaker launched “what became known as a golden age in Arctic science and research during the 1960s and 1970s,” she adds that a general decline set in and since the 1980s, “Canada’s underfunded programs in Arctic research have lagged behind most other northern nations” (Mandel-Campbell 2005). Part of the problem, Mandel-Campbell writes, is that while Canada is an Arctic state, “most Canadians do live within one hundred miles of the border, and are more obsessed with U.S. trade and culture than a dwindling scientific and military presence in the North,” and as a consequence, “the Arctic remains an imagined place far from their daily realities” (Mandel-Campbell 2005).

The continuing perception of neglect, when combined with the historical grievance from broken promises, mistreatment, and cultural insensitivity during the 1950s relocation of the “High Arctic Exile” families, and further

compounded by the despair experienced in the communities where shockingly high youth suicide rates remain a deep social wound, could become politically potent, and boil over to rage—and that rage, if no longer directed inward but instead becomes directed outward, toward the government and its continuing neglect, could result in a bona fide independence movement. This is partly why Ottawa is now so intent on jump-starting the economic development of Nunavut, having lately recognized the strategic risk of continued northern underdevelopment and committing last spring to the establishment of the Northern Economic Development Agency based in Iqaluit, reiterated in its Northern Strategy unveiled this past summer.

Aspirations for Arctic Sovereignty

But the seeds of an Inuit independence movement are already planted, as reflected in the April 2009 Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty, which stopped short of declaring independence but established a compelling legal, historical, and political context for one to later emerge—should the modern state fail to assert Arctic sovereignty in a manner that is respectful of Inuit values and inclusive of Inuit participation. When communism collapsed in Europe, many sovereign political entities that did not adequately or justly address the aspirations of their underlying nations, tribes, or social groups—which had until then been content with increased autonomy within the modern state—quickly broke apart, fracturing into their constituent parts as they found sovereign expression in a smaller form. Many long-standing, internationally recognized constitutional frameworks and formal sovereign structures of governance evaporated between 1989 and 1991—as if works of fiction.

Should Nunavut fail, and other Inuit regions—whether governed by municipal, territorial, or tribal systems of governance—continue to stagnate and to endure the festering persistence of despair, their failure could turn Canada's bold experiment in Aboriginal self-governance into a catalyst of a secession struggle, much as the original structures of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act—in particular the twenty-year window when exclusive Native title to lands and shareholder equity was at risk, and newborns were excluded from the claim—left many Alaska Natives with the perception that their land claim was designed either to fail, or worse, to eradicate Native culture, as chronicled by Thomas Berger in *Village Journey*.

This fueled a Native sovereignty movement that swept like a prairie fire across village Alaska during the 1980s, culminating in an Inupiat secession threat in 1992, Alaska's very own Balkanization crisis. So far, however, Inuit aspirations for independence have been largely episodic, ebbing and flowing without a sustained build-up of momentum, enabling decisive government action to preempt a formal independence movement—thus far at least. And with the exception of Greenland, there is currently no active movement to form an independent Inuit nation, at least none that commands a significant political following. But that does not mean this always will be the case. In Canada, as in Alaska, movements for secession have been thus far contained within the broader sovereign and constitutional framework of their countries. In Alaska, when Balkanization appeared to be a clear and present danger to the unity of the state, the Inupiat leadership called for a fifty-first state, but not their own country.

And in Canada, during the formation of Nunavut, the Inuit seceded from the Northwest Territories to form their very own territory, while remaining a part of Canada—indeed helping Canada to more credibly assert sovereignty in the Arctic in the process. And with the formation of the North Slope Borough in Alaska, the Inupiat remained part of both the United States, and part of Alaska, with their own municipal authority but without their own state-level government.

Until now, the Greenlandic Inuit have remained part of Denmark, albeit with their own autonomous Home Rule government, with substantial authority on domestic issues and an increasing role in diplomatic and strategic affairs—with an eye to eventually gaining formal independence once they achieve economic self-sufficiency, made possible in large measure by the effects of global warming, as evident in their decisive “Yes” vote in the non-binding referendum on Greenlandic independence on 26 November 2008. But it remains to be seen if the Inuit aspiration for sovereignty and that of the modern state can remain integrated in a mutually reinforcing and balanced fashion, especially if the Arctic demographic balance begins to shift as greatly and as rapidly as seen in the Yukon during the Klondike Gold Rush, or like Alaska experienced during World War II and in the years preceding statehood, when a non-Native influx forever altered the political balance in favor of non-Native interests—or even more recently, as seen in Yellowknife during the Diamond Rush of the 1990s, with its indigenous Native majority becoming a minority in less than a single decade, making an indigenous assertion of sovereignty that much harder to implement.

Even along the Arctic coast, where the Inuit maintain their demographic predominance, the larger administrative centers such as Barrow, Inuvik, Iqaluit, and Nuuk have seen a dramatic influx of non-Inuit, helping to fulfill the need for skilled workers to staff the positions in the new governments—as what some scholars have recently described as the “Aboriginal Industry” sets up shop purportedly to help Natives achieve self-government, but then becomes a permanent drain on the Arctic economy, siphoning off resources meant for the Inuit and desperately needed in the villages into the coffers of consultancies that ultimately contribute to a continued economic stagnation that persists at the village level, where jobs remain scarce, and marketable skills continue to elude local residents who long to participate as equals in the new, northern economy.

New Thinking Required

Even a decade after Nunavut was formed, a crisis persists, with hope in retreat and despair on the rise—requiring the attention of the highest levels of the Government of Canada, and the return of the famed retired B. C. Supreme Court Justice, Thomas Berger, to facilitate a solution. At a constitutional conference in Yellowknife in 1995, one Dene leader noted in his remarks to the delegates that behind every chief, behind every tribal leader, stood a non-Native consultant.

Fifteen years later, that situation remains largely unchanged—though a much-needed public discussion has at last begun, as awareness of the depths of this problem leapt into Canada’s national consciousness in 2009 with publication by McGill-Queen’s University Press of the controversial but widely read and nationally debated book, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry. The Deception Behind Indigenous Cultural Preservation* (Widdowson & Howard 2008). This work was selected as just one of five Canadian books chosen to stand as final-

ists for the prestigious 2009 Donner Prize, though it was not the eventual winner. Nonetheless, their work has transformed the debate in Canada on how best to address the issue of indigenous sovereignty, shining a much-needed light on the problem of the inherent corrupting influence of what they have effectively dubbed the “Aboriginal industry.” In a review of their book in the *National Post*, Kevin Libin wrote that the authors:

identify the main culprits as the primarily non-native agents such as lawyers, consultants and anthropologists who thrive on our segregated policy approach to First Nations people. The tens of billions of dollars a year channelled to reserves and Canada’s North from governments and industrialists, they argue, attracts mercenaries in swarms, manipulating Natives to inflate land claim grievances, demand industry payoffs and pressure politicians for more funding with few strings attached (Libin 2008).

Ironically, the movement for greater Inuit self-governance has unwittingly contributed to the declining demographic prominence of the Inuit in their homeland, as a new class of government administrators migrate north to fill the many positions left vacant owing to the continued lack of fully credentialed locals with the required degrees and accreditations.

Rather than revolutionize these new job descriptions to reflect the cultural, political, and educational realities of the Arctic, and commit to a massive on-the-job training program on the scale of the U.S. Peace Corps, a veritable Marshall Plan of northern development to enable the creation of a truly Inuit government, Nunavut has instead become as dependent upon non-indigenous experts as the old territorial government the Inuit worked so hard to separate from. Thomas Berger has proposed a recommitment to the preservation of Inuit language and culture as the backbone of the new government, but his program requires a substantial commitment of new educational funds to be viable. In the meantime, Nunavut continues to be pulled in two directions, as the dueling assertions of state and Inuit sovereignty continue to collide.

Berger delivered the seventeenth annual John Holmes Memorial Lecture at the Glendon Campus of York University in Toronto on 31 March, 2009, on the topic of “From the Mackenzie Valley to Nunavut. Northern Challenges,” in which he noted “30,000 people live in Nunavut on a land the size of India,” and

while 85 percent of its population is Inuit, only about 50 percent of government employees come from that background, doing mostly lesser-paying jobs. The problem lies in education, because there are not enough qualified Inuit to fill the jobs requiring higher skills” (Kemeny 2009).

Berger reaffirmed his belief that “Canada has an obligation to help the Inuit improve their situation and take their place in running their own affairs,” adding that “societies find strength in diversity,” and concluding that “we have an obligation to keep our promise to help them succeed” (Kemeny 2009).

But add to this the new uncertainties and challenges of climate change, which could usher forth a new wave of migration of non-Inuit into the Arctic, and the situation promises to become even more complex—and finding a bal-

ance that reconciles the interests and sovereign aspirations of the Inuit and the modern state will become even harder to strike. Mandel-Campbell considers a solution proffered by Canadian Arctic sovereignty expert, and author of *Politics of the Northwest Passage*, Franklyn Griffiths, to overcome what he calls Canada's "two-faced approach to sovereignty" (Mandel-Campbell 2005). As she describes it, Griffiths

advocates the establishment of a consultative committee for the archipelago similar in design to the Arctic Council, a Canadian-inspired international body, which brings together the world's eight circumpolar countries and aboriginal groups. The committee would serve as a forum for government departments to consult with the Inuit on such issues as shipping and seabed mapping. "We should be taking the lead from the Inuit," says Griffiths (Mandel-Campbell 2005).

Such an approach is precisely what the Inuit have called for in their Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty at Tromsø, Norway, on 28 April 2009—where they reaffirmed their desire to achieve a synthesis of these two competing perspectives on sovereignty, and thereby find a balance in the sovereign aspirations of the Inuit and the modern state throughout the Arctic. Section 4.3 of the declaration observes, "[i]ssues of sovereignty and sovereign rights in the Arctic have become inextricably linked to issues of self-determination in the Arctic. Inuit and Arctic states must, therefore, work together closely and constructively to chart the future of the Arctic" (Inuit Circumpolar Council 2009a). As ICC chair Patricia Cochran explained, "[w]e have lived here for thousands and thousands of years and by making this declaration, we are saying to those who want to use Inuit Nunaat for their own purposes, you must talk to us and respect our rights" (Inuit Circumpolar Council 2009b). ICC vice-chair Duane Smith added that the declaration's provisions "make it clear that it is in the interests of states, industry, and others to include us partners in the new Arctic, and to respect our land claims and self-government agreements" (Inuit Circumpolar Council 2009b).

Beyond the Nunavut Project. Time for North Corps

To help align the interests of the Inuit and the modern states with whom their destinies are intertwined, and to ensure that the opportunities and not just the challenges of Arctic sovereignty are maximized, a program even more ambitious than that called for by Thomas Berger with his proposed Nunavut Project is required. Think "Marshall Plan" in scale, and "Peace Corps" in institutional endurance. In short, what is needed is the formation of circumpolar North Corps, a global program to catalyze the full economic and social development of the North, and help unite the two solitudes of north and south in a manner that is both enduring and uplifting.

North Corps would require the investment and commitment of all the Arctic states, and like the Peace Corps would rely on the voluntarism of our best and brightest students, our mid-career professionals, even our active retirees, who would venture north for a year or two, and whose knowledge and skills will help stimulate a wave of growth and development much as we have seen in the "Far

South” ever since President Kennedy proudly unveiled this innovative army of educators in 1961.

Like the Peace Corps, North Corps would not need expensive salaries and benefits packages as demanded by the growing civil services of the northern territories, whose unions are adept at padding wage and benefits packages, straining the capacity of northern governments to remain self-governing. It would not rely on antiquated job descriptions from the failed bureaucracies of yesterday, but instead would infuse the North with new talent, new skills, new insights, a spirit of innovation, not bureaucratization. It would help reduce dependency on what Widdowson et al. describe as a self-aggrandizing “Aboriginal Industry” and instead foster a spirit of true self-reliance, and dare say even a spirit of independence. But this independent spirit would be one that could and would readily co-exist with the generosity of the Arctic nations whose youth donated their time and freely shared their skills to help the North achieve its full potential, thereby strengthening the bond that unites north and south.

With the formation of the North Corps program, we will be able to shatter the constraints of the old mold, and help transform the North, harnessing the spirit of independence while healing the very sources of despair. In this way, the spirit of Inuit independence can be rekindled, but without the risks or dangers of a true movement for secession—making Canada that much stronger along the way.

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The Strategic Environmental Archaeology Database (SEAD)

An International Research Cyber-Infrastructure for Studying Past Changes in Climate, Environment and Human Activities

Introduction

In 2008 the Environmental Archaeology Lab (*Miljöarkeologiska laboratoriet*: MAL) and HUMlab (The Humanities Computing Lab) at Umeå University, Sweden, were awarded a research and development grant for the construction of an international standard research database for environmental archaeology. The funding was provided by the Swedish Research Council's Database InfraStructures Committee (DISC) and forms part of a national and European level drive towards increasing open access to scientific data and results. It was a requirement of the grant that the project be outside the scope of any single research group, and the SEAD team are working to achieve their goals in collaboration with a number of international database and research groups working with scientific archaeological and palaeoenvironmental data.

A large proportion of environmental archaeology data are buried in archaeological file reports (grey literature), the majority of which never receive wide-scale readership and are rarely used in scientific research or method development. SEAD will provide a mechanism for providing free online access to these data. The primary aim is to be able to provide a high quality resource for scientists, an online research infrastructure for environmental archaeology, by the end of 2010, and then build on this over the subsequent two years by adding more datasets and tools.

Need for SEAD

Environmental archaeology is the science of the past interaction of people and their environments. This encompasses a wide spectrum of concepts, including climate change, human impact, sustainable land use and agriculture, cultural landscapes, resource management and availability, household activities, food cultures and many more areas where biological or physical/chemical remains can help us to understand the past. There is an inclination in the work of many environmental archaeologists towards focussing on humans as the central, unifying theme, although it is understood by the majority that an awareness of the natural (or otherwise) surroundings of any group of people is essential when interpreting data. Without an understanding of background signals, or "normal" processes of change, it is difficult to resolve and understand the anomalies caused by human activities. Innovations in agricultural technologies, for example, have had massive impacts on the landscape and have helped to transform Holocene landforms into the largely anthropogenic European countryside of today.

The evidence for these events and their environmental settings is contained in buried sediments and the fossil plants, animals and other organisms which they sometimes contain. When they were alive, the organisms naturally lived within their ecological tolerances, that is they were able to live at a particular place because the environment and climate supported them. Humans have a habit of modifying environments and creating microclimates which support organisms beyond their "natural" geographical ranges, and a number of species have adapted to these, rela-

tively new, possibilities. Geochemical and physical properties of sediments can also give us useful information on the nature of events that affected them prior to and post deposition. By reading these archaeo- and palaeoenvironmental records, and determining their ages, we can therefore interpret the preserved remains in terms of the environment(s) that existed at particular places and times. Geochemistry and soil properties, along with other geoaerchaeological techniques, also provide methods for mapping variations which can help us to understand the spatial extent and nature of past land management and archaeological sites. In other words, the fossils and geoaerchaeology provide proxies for past changes.

The amount of data collectively provided by the endless hours of field and laboratory work resulting from these methods is considerable. The fossil insect database BugsCEP, for example, which is now part of SEAD, contains over 250,000 records, each of which includes several fields of data. These correspond to something in the order of 2.5 million data elements which represent the large part of the published European fossil beetle record (Buckland & Buckland 2006; Buckland 2007). Even a collection of small samples from a poorly preserved Bronze Age well may result in over 750 records of data for insects, snails, plant macrofossils, pollen and geochemistry. Whilst such relatively small datasets, from a single site, may feasibly be managed in a series of spreadsheets, there are limits to how efficiently analyses and interpretations can be made without solutions for easily cross comparing proxies. Multi-proxy analyses are generally the most informative, as the various data sources complement each other in terms of the different components of the past that they are able to reflect. The usual method is to represent the data in separate diagrams and tables of abundance and magnitude, and then visually compare them. The more proxies, archaeological features, bog and lake profiles in an investigation, the more difficult this becomes. Storing the data in a relational database and providing user-friendly interfaces for management, retrieval, analysis and visualisation greatly improves the power and efficiency with which this process can be undertaken. This is especially so if the system can provide facilities for visualising data from multiple sites on the same diagram.

The true power of databases becomes evident when using data from multiple sites, the amount of data increasing geometrically with each site included in the analyses. Through SEAD, data can be queried and aggregated from any number of sites to help provide answers to complex spatio-chronological questions such as: "How did winter and summer temperatures change across Europe during deglaciation?" (see Buckland 2007), and, "How did agriculture initially spread across Scandinavia?" The system provides the appropriate data and visualisations with which further analyses, statistics and interpretations can be made. Fig. 1, by way of example, shows a set of, originally database linked, maps which were produced when providing data for an English Nature investigation into the evidence for the nature of mid-Holocene woodlands in the British Isles (Buckland *et al.* 2005).

For each and every species found, ecology, distribution and to an extent, ethnographic data are needed in order to understand the meaning of the finds, as is an understanding of the taphonomies and methodologies involved. An extremely time-saving function of SEAD/BugsCEP is the ability to provide a report of the ecology/habitat and distribution of every insect species recorded from a site, or an aggregate collection of samples from multiple sites. Hours, if not days of archive, Internet and literature searching can be saved in this way, and the feature will eventually be in-

UK sites with fossil insects for three time-slices

Interglacial

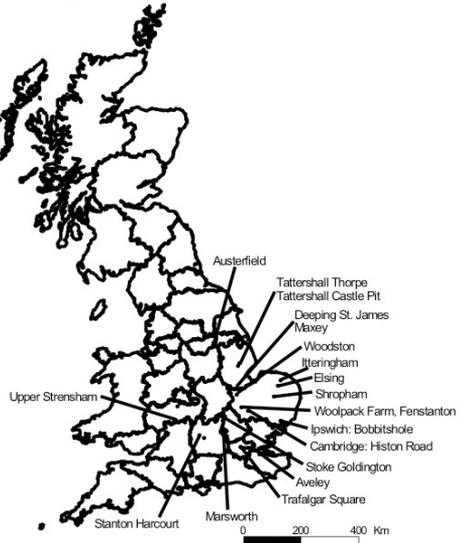


Fig. 1. The results of GIS analysis of fossil insect sites from the UK, looking at C14 dated finds of species indicating woodland environments. SEAD will allow the plant macro and pollen data to be easily added to these analyses for a more complete picture of Holocene woodlands. Modified with permission of the authors (Buckland *et al.* 2005).

troduced for plants and other proxies. SEAD also stores descriptions of the methods used to create all of the data held within it along with a linked bibliography of all original data sources and relevant publications.

Database and Tools Integrated

SEAD is a client-server based research database infrastructure system with both Internet based online components and downloadable, synchronisable data entry and quality assurance facilities. Centralisation of the master database ensures that users will always have access to the latest data. Downloadable components also allow users to securely analyse their unpublished data without having to upload it to the public database. The SEAD system concept includes web-based tools for data retrieval and visualisation, which will be expanded to include additional analysis tools and enhancements with time. All development tools, libraries and software components used in producing SEAD are freely available and the project is part of a series of ongoing innovative ICT solution and method development projects at HUMlab and MAL.

SEAD is stored in a single PostgreSQL 8.3 relational database and was developed by Philip I. Buckland, Erik J. Eriksson and Johan Olofsson (MAL) in consultation with Fredrik Palm (HUMlab), Eric Grimm (Neotoma/Tilia, Illinois State Museum, USA), Brian Bills (Center for Environmental Informatics, Penn State University, USA) and Paul Buckland (Bugs, Sheffield, UK). The structure is highly normalised, in that tables store data in their smallest divisible form where detailed data retrieval

Early Holocene



Mid Holocene



requests are anticipated, with 128 tables. The database also has the capacity to hold data from any type of investigation producing proxy data in continuous, integer or relative values, and is highly expandable, should the storage of new methods be required. The system can also register “master datasets” which ensures that data collections, or ingested (virtual) databases, are assigned appropriate credit and can be extracted independently.

Whilst there is essentially no limit to the potential geographical scope of SEAD, the focus is primarily European, the initial data scope reflecting the spatial extent of the original constituent databases (BugsCEP and MAL; Fig. 2). The potential practical problems associated with variations between the species naming systems used in different countries are reduced by allowing for multiple taxonomic systems and synonyms for each of the ca 18,000 taxa currently stored. With the import of all of the data currently held at MAL, in addition to the BugsCEP virtual database, SEAD will become the largest repository of environmental archaeology data in the World, with the possible exception of the Neotoma database with which the project cooperates (Neotoma 2009).

The developers of SEAD firmly believe in the integration of database and tools for its use from an early stage. This ensures that the database structure can be adapted to any late occurring user needs and if necessary adapt to opportunities afforded by new software and interface related technologies. It also ensures that the project will produce the necessary tools for non-expert users to access the data themselves, rather than have to rely on standard database management software or the assistance

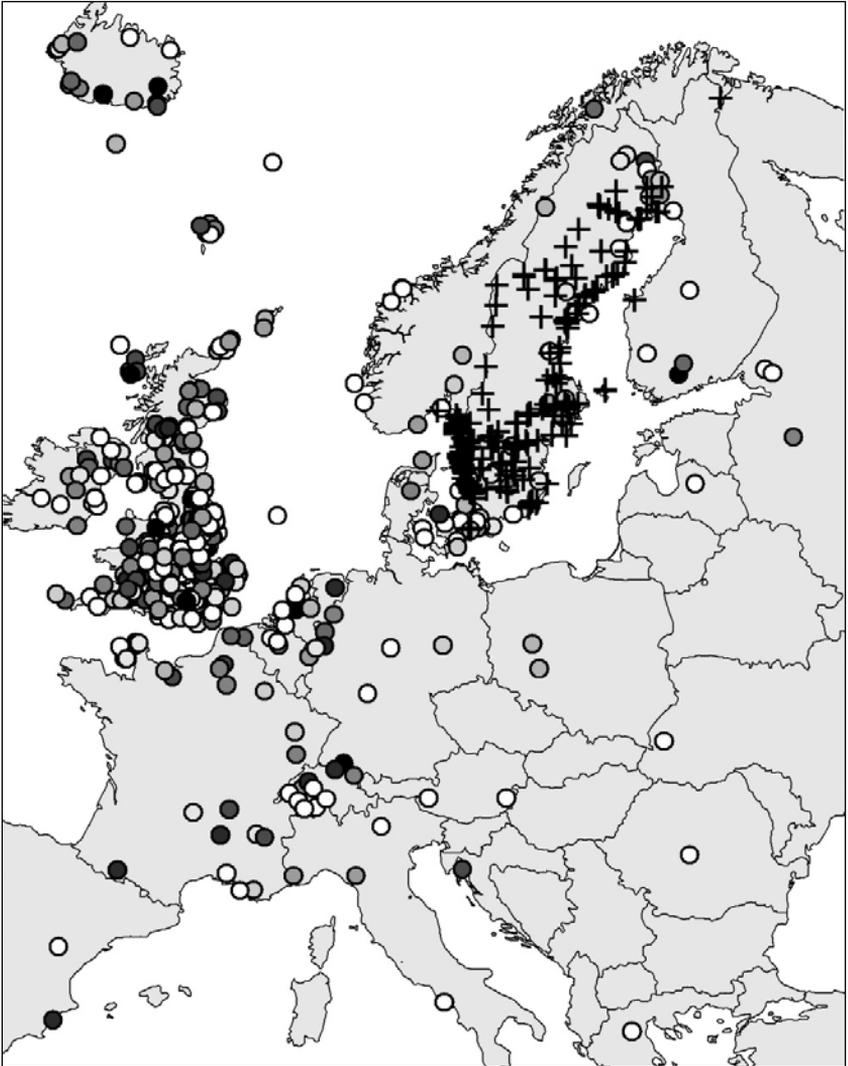


Fig. 2. Map of sites currently stored or scheduled for storage in SEAD, representing the initial datasets extracted and digitised from BugsCEP (circles) and the MAL archive (plusses). Circle point shade is proportional to the ratio *total number of individuals/total number of taxa* per site (quantile classified), a simple site diversity overview made easy with a large database.

of IT staff. Environmental archaeology is implicitly spatially and chronologically aware, and SEAD embraces this concept through a combination of browser, analysis tools and GIS (Geographical Information Systems) functionalities. It is hoped that by centralising this resource, ensuring the quality of data through external clearing houses, and providing free, unrestricted access, an international and multidisciplinary audience will be reached.

Concluding Points and Future Plans

By the summer of 2010 the SEAD project will have released public beta versions of data retrieval interfaces using the faceted browser, map and chronology query systems. The database will have been populated with the BugsCEP data and initial datasets from MAL. It is hoped that these will provide a taste of what the future can hold in terms of integrated, multidisciplinary scientific research infrastructure resources and that the international research community will use them to produce new knowledge on the nature of past climates, environments and human interactions with these. The system will also be integrated into teaching at a number of institutions, and specific teaching and online learning interfaces will be developed in the near future. Future developments will also be coordinated in collaboration with the Neotoma (2009) international consortium for palaeoecology databases.

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Reviews/Comptes rendus/Besprechungen

Vuokko Hirvonen, *Voices from Sápmi. Sámi Women's Path to Authorship*, Kautokeino: DAT 2008 (English translation: Kaija Anttonen) ISBN 978 82 90625 58 5, 263 pp.

Vuokko Hirvonen's *Sámeeatnama jienat—sápmelaš nissona bálggis girječállin* (1998) is the first doctoral thesis published entirely in Sami. It is also the first academic dissertation that analyses the emergence, genealogy and historical and ideological setting of a Sami women's literary tradition. According to Hirvonen Sami women's literature was born during the 1970s in connection with contemporary feminist and ethno-political movements. Her thesis was published both in Sami and Finnish in 1998. When it was published in English under the title *Voices from Sápmi. Sámi Women's Path to Authorship* by the Sami publishing house DAT in 2008, this made it accessible to a wider readership. One point of departure of Hirvonen's study is that Sami women have a marginal position not only in literature (58), but also in the dominant, majority culture, as well as in Sami culture. This involves the claim that Sami women have been subjected to triple discrimination related to the fact that they are Sami, women and Sami women. This is the incentive for the strong emphasis on ethnicity and gender throughout the study. In relation to this the emergence of a tradition of Sami women authors is seen as an emancipatory project that may be described as anti-colonial, or de-colonising, feminism.

Voices from Sápmi. Sámi Women's Path to Authorship is divided into four parts. The study is restricted to 40 authors who reside in the Nordic countries (20), which means that Russian Sami writers are not included. When it comes to the definition of *Sámi* literature, Hirvonen defines authors as Sami "as long as they consider themselves Sámi—no matter in what language they choose to write." (20). The first part of *Voices from Sápmi*, entitled "The Ethno-Feminist Perspective," provides a discussion of the theoretical foundation of the study, which is a combination of perspectives from feminist, anticolonial and postcolonial studies. The second part, "Sámi Women Become Authors," consists of one chapter, which provides a general presentation of the Sami languages, literature, the ambiguous role of education, as well as the importance of writing skills and ethnic awareness for the emergence of a Sami women's literature. In the following chapter Hirvonen presents a genealogy of Sami women writers in a typology with four levels: the "Foremothers," the "Grandmothers," the "Mothers" and the "Daughters." The point of departure of the categorisation is the time of birth of the respective authors. The "foremothers" are writers born in the late 1800s. The "grandmothers" were born between 1900 and 1939, the "mothers" between 1940 and 1960, and the "daughters" from the 1960s on (23–24). The third part deals with the issue of Sami identity and experiences of colonisation. Hirvonen particularly highlights connections among ambivalent feelings related to Sami identity formation in contexts where Sami culture has been marginalised and suppressed. In particular she focuses upon the role of residential schools, where Sami children from migrant families were sent, with subsequent loss of Sami cultural identity and with the emergence of feelings of shame. The discussion of these themes is based on readings of literary texts by Sami women authors. The

second chapter of part three discusses the yoik tradition and how it continues to influence Sami poetry. The fourth part, "Constructing a New Kind of Woman," consists of three chapters that discuss the Sami gender system and female identities, women's consciousness and feminism in the work of Sami women authors. Finally, the chapter "Voices of Sámi Women Authors" sums up the results of the study.

Hirvonen situates *Voices from Sápmi* within the framework of the Sami ethnic awakening of the 1960s and 1970s:

the turn of the 1960s and 1970s was the time when the Sámi, along with many other minority groups, began to demand political, cultural and economic rights for themselves. Sámi women took part in this activity, writing many political texts (24).

One important issue in this context is that of language. Hirvonen particularly highlights that one reason for the cultural marginalisation of the Sami in the Nordic nation-states is the lack of a long tradition of writing in Sami by Sami writers. Furthermore she emphasises the dominance of male writers in the corpus of what has been written: "Sámi research, the written history of the Sámi, and the history of Sámi writing are all male history—history that was often dominated by non-Sámi men" (23). This is one historical backdrop of the role of the use of Sami language in Sami cultural mobilisation. One prerequisite for the use of Sami is the changes in the view on the Sami languages which has resulted in legislation that has made it possible to learn Sami at school: "Only in the past few decades have ordinary people learned to read and write Sámi to a greater extent, thanks to changes in educational and language policies" (23). The history of assimilation, followed by a fairly recent revitalisation of the Sami language, adds an ideological dimension to the language issue, as one aspect of the use of Sami is that it may be associated with anti-colonial critique. This theme has been highlighted in proposals for decolonising methodologies within the field of indigenous research, for example in *Decolonizing Methodologies* by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Smith 2006) and *Decolonizing the Mind* by Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o. Thiong'o addresses the issue of the use of language as a possibility for engaging in anti-colonial struggle in an African context. According to Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o, writing in the language of the coloniser implies paying them homage, while writing in an African language involves resistance and critique (Thiong'o 1986). This is a theme adopted by Hirvonen when presenting the rationale for writing her thesis in Sami in the first place: "The choice of the language in which one writes is also a form of resistance through which we can undermine Western intellectual and political hegemony" (44). She goes on to quote from JanMohamed's and Lloyd's foreword to *The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse*: "Every time we speak or write in English, French, German, or another dominant European language, we pay homage to Western intellectual and political hegemony" (44).

Although thought provoking and consistent with a critical, anti-colonial perspective, Hirvonen's emphasis on the ideological implications of the use of language may seem excessively romantic and unconcerned about the material conditions of publishing. One problem is that it does not take into account the prerequisites for the establishment and sustenance of a Sami print culture. In

The Sámi People. A Handbook, John Trygve Solbakk makes the following observation: “There has never been sufficient Sámi readership to cover production and distribution expenses through sales alone. Sámi language publications will therefore continue to depend on public subsidies” (Solbakk 2006: 136). This implies that while anti-colonial critique may be an incentive for writing in Sami, there are also drawbacks to writing in a small language, as the readership will be restricted to a small group of people. The fact that there are several Sami languages further complicates the issue. Hirvonen does mention this theme: “Sámi literature has been published in six Sámi languages: South, Lule, North, Inari, Skolt and Kildin Sámi, which all have an officially adopted orthography” (16). Another factor pointed out by Hirvonen is that all Sami people are not proficient in a Sami language.

When depicting the backdrop of Sami ethno-political mobilisation, Hirvonen points to the history of assimilation politics aiming at cultural homogenisation, to colonisation and the Sami people’s loss of land and to lappological research which contributed to the marginalisation of the Sami. One of her claims is that Said’s notion of Orientalism may be applied to the lappological research tradition, which contributed to constructing the Sami as the Others (30). When discussing the present-day Sami critique of colonial and lappological rationales for marginalising the Sami, Hirvonen furthermore proposes the deployment of strategies presented in another postcolonial classic, namely Ashcroft’s, Griffiths’ and Tiffin’s *The Empire Writes Back* (1989). One major strategy involves critical investigations of notions of a centre and its outside, or margin, which is an important element in all brands of anti-colonial critique and decolonising methodologies.

The critique of notions of centres that have resulted in a marginalisation of the Sami people, as well as other minorities and indigenous peoples, is one example of a decentring and recentring methodology whereby an attempt is made to make Sami authors visible. In the project of making Sami women visible Hirvonen attaches great importance to literature and art: “it was the birth of literature and other forms of art that made Sámi women visible: they have made the voice of Sámi women more audible than anything else has” (18). The emergence of Sami women writers is interpreted as the creation of a platform for the expression of thoughts and experiences related to gender and ethnicity, and to the relationship between the Sami and the majority society. Furthermore the decentring and recentring may be interpreted as a challenge to the epistemological barriers created by compliance among colonialism, modernisation and science that has constructed the Sami as the Others.

The “foremothers” of Hirvonen’s genealogy of a Sami women’s literary tradition are represented by two pioneers who struggled for Sami rights, Elsa Laula, later Renberg, (1877–1931), and Karin Stenberg (1884–1969). The first Sami women’s association, *Bruskanken Samiske Kvindeforening*, was founded in 1910 on the initiative of Elsa Laula-Renberg. Laula-Renberg is also the author of the pamphlet *Inför Lif eller Död? Sanningsord i de Lappska förhållandena* [‘Facing Life or Death? Words of Truth in the Lapp Situation’] (1904), which discusses the situation of the Sami and their prospects of survival under the assimilationist policy of the Swedish government. Laula-Renberg was of the opinion that cooperation among the Sami was crucial and that women should engage in this actively. As

a result of the women's association the first National Congress of the Nordic Sami was brought about in 1917 (Kulonen *et. al.* (eds.) 2005: 434). Karin Stenberg, who carried on the work of Elsa Laula-Renberg, was also preoccupied with the promotion of Sami culture, particularly the Forest Sami culture, and with the enhancement of opportunities for Sami to get an education. Education was seen by these pioneers as a prerequisite for the improvement of the situation of the Sami, as it would facilitate contacts and negotiations with the majority society and adaptation to the modern world. Hirvonen emphasises the role of a booklet by Stenberg on the early history of Sami demands for rights, *Dat láh mijen situd!, Det är vår vilja!* ["This is our wish!"], published by Stenberg and the Árjjapluovvi Sami association in 1920. According to Hirvonen the criticism of the booklet "is directed against the social Darwinist, ethnocentric and colonialist views of the Swedes, dealing with the hegemony of the producer of knowledge" (79). As this quote shows, Hirvonen's manner of arguing is clearly influenced by anti-colonial, postcolonial and indigenous studies. Considering that the demand for self-determination is an important theme in the struggle of indigenous peoples worldwide, it is interesting to see that this theme was on the agenda already in the early days of Sami mobilisation, and that two women played a major role in the history of Sami struggle for rights.

In the chapter about literary "grandmothers" Hirvonen highlights the wish to preserve traditions as an incentive for women authors. According to Hirvonen the "need to sustain and pass down traditions" is a central theme in their writing (81). One important historical and social backdrop is the ongoing marginalisation of Sami culture as a result of assimilation politics. Hirvonen points out that the "grandmothers" in fact did not begin to publish their works until the early 1970s, just like the generation of "mothers" (81). The emergence of the first generation of women authors is described as the result of a transition from the oral tradition to writing. This of course describes the development of Sami literature as a whole. The emergence of writing involved not only a new kind of mediation, but also the establishment of a print-culture with publishing houses and channels for the distribution and sale of Sami literature. When discussing the contribution of the "grandmothers," Hirvonen particularly highlights the deployment of traditional Sami genres in writing, for example a kind of reminiscence literature, *muittašangirjjálašvuhta*. One aspect of Sami reminiscence literature is, according to Hirvonen, that it presents counter-memories, which represent resistance and criticism of the authorities for having oppressed the Sami (87). One common characteristic of the "grandmothers" is that "they have kept a strong Sami identity," despite the fact that they had to give up their first language, Sami, during their schooldays (88). In the chapter about the next generation of authors, "The Mothers. Growing up in residential schools," a strong focus is put upon Sami women's identity loss related to assimilation politics and discrimination. Hirvonen particularly emphasises the role of residential schools for Sami children's loss of language, identity, sense of belonging and a positive self-image. These are also themes explored in the literary writing of the "mothers." The most important genres for this generation are, according to Hirvonen, children's literature and poetry (97).

In the chapter about the "daughters," "The Daughters. The benefits of education," Hirvonen explicitly highlights the role of education for the develop-

ment of Sami women's literature. The works of this generation were published in the late 1980s and the early 1990s (104). Hirvonen points out that the generation of "daughters" is the first generation that was able to "enjoy the fruits of the social policy initiated by their foremothers: the ones who first demanded equal social, political and educational rights for the Sámi" (104). While this characterisation does indicate that a shift in the policy affecting the Sami has occurred, and that some kind of justice has been achieved, it is not clear if Hirvonen thinks that the colonisation has come to an end. This is in fact an interesting theme, as there are different views among the Sami themselves when it comes to the issue of land, and other, rights. This issue also has theoretical implications, as the issue of colonisation will affect whether anti-colonial or postcolonial perspectives are deployed in the analysis of Sami cultural mobilisation.

One aspect that differentiates Hirvonen's study from other examinations of Sami culture is the deployment of perspectives from feminist and gender studies. In particular her analysis of traditional Sami culture, socialisation and the establishment of gender patterns in part four, "Construction of a new kind of woman," is interesting, as it highlights aspects of traditional Sami culture which are problematic from a feminist perspective. In my opinion Hirvonen's contribution is a refreshing complement to other studies, which have tended to romanticise and exoticise Sami traditions by presenting them as positive ecological and holistic alternatives to those of modern Western societies. One important aspect of Hirvonen's study is that while she does not deny positive qualities of traditional Sami culture, she also highlights aspects that are problematic from a feminist vantage point. In this context she particularly focuses upon the role of handicraft for shaping ethnic and gender identities. With examples from literary texts by women authors from different generations, she elucidates the ambiguous and contextual role of handicraft for shaping a Sami female identity. The significance of sewing skills in the writing of Sami women is discussed by contrasting the positive connotations these skills have in the poetry of the young Swedish Sami Anna-Stina Svakko with the negative connotations expressed in the work of the older poet Rauni Magga Lukkari. Hirvonen concludes that the difference may be related to the circumstance that Lukkari herself has experienced the hard work of sewing clothes, which was expected of women in traditional communities, while Svakko views women's handicraft from a present-day position involving a search for a Sami women's culture which to a large extent has been lost for the generation of young Sami (174).

Summing Up

Hirvonen's doctoral thesis is a valuable contribution to literary, cultural, gender and indigenous studies. It is the first of its kind in more than one respect. While the Sami version is embedded in the context of Sami cultural mobilisation, which involves the revitalisation and development of the North Sami language, it has now become accessible to a larger readership through the translation into English. When *Sámeeatnama jienat—sápmelaš nissona bálggis girječállin* was first published in 1998, it contributed to the development of Sami literary studies, as well as challenged masculinist tendencies of marginalising women in the ongoing construction of a Sami literary canon. By emphasising tendencies to marginalise women, both in Sami tradition and in the process of constructing a Sami cultural

identity and literary culture, Hirvonen's study contributes to highlighting the role of gender in the present-day negotiation about identity and canon formation. One interesting conclusion Hirvonen makes is that markers of a traditional Sami culture, which may fulfil a positive function in the dominant Sami (male-dominated) cultural mobilisation, may be represented as oppressive by women authors dissatisfied with the role of women in traditional culture. With the English translation *Voices from Sápmi. Sámi Women's Path to Authorship* a wider readership may now take part of Hirvonen's discussion of intersections of gender, colonialism, anti-colonial struggle and Sami cultural mobilisation, analysed with perspectives from feminist, anti-colonial and postcolonial studies.

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