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MARIANNE LILIEQUIST & LENA KARLSSON

Elderly Sami as the "Other"

Discourses on the Elderly Care of the Sami, 1850–1930

ABSTRACT In this article, the authors have examined images of elderly Sami in relation to elderly care in Sweden between the years 1850 and 1930. What discourses can be revealed from spoken statements, written documents and everyday practices? This study has shown that the higher the degree of closeness and mutual exchange between Sami and non-Sami, the more the image of the "Other" as something "foreign" has been challenged and rejected. To be able to one-sidedly distance oneself from other people and turn them into stereotypes requires a certain amount of emotional and geographic distance. Where there has been physical distance and a lack of mutually beneficial exchange, the elderly Sami are more often described as "foreign," "threatening" and "deviant," a force of nature that must be tamed and controlled. The Sami dismissed as "not-quite-human" in the popular discourse were the paupers among them. A more balanced relationship existed between the Sami and the settlers in the mountains and the elderly Sami were often described as "one of the family." The staffs of the Sami old-age homes were far more nuanced in their view of the elderly than the civil servants sent from Stockholm to report back on the Sami.

KEYWORDS Sami, elderly, elderly care, discourses, ethnicity

Introduction

A source from the early 1890s details how the auctioning of elderly Sami was conducted. Auctions of the poor were a form of entertainment for the better-situated, ethnic Swedish farmers back then. They had a few drinks and discussed the strengths and weaknesses of the paupers on display in a relaxed, playful atmosphere. This auction took place on a cold winter's day in the village of Vilhelmina. Three grey-headed Sami were led to the auction block.

> The poor people were lined up in a row out in the snow and cold for display. One potential buyer approached the unhappy souls and opened each of their mouths to inspect their teeth, as people do when buying a horse. This was met with raucous laughter.
>
> One of the most drunken men succeeded in winning the bidding on all three and put them in his sleigh. As he drove away amid more laughter, the other men asked where he planned on keeping them. Not in the house with the rest of the family, he answered. I'll put them in the sauna. And that is exactly what he did (Johansson 1968: 127).

In this article, the authors will examine images of elderly Sami in relation to elderly care in Sweden between the years 1850 and 1930, a time span ranging from before to well after the establishment of retirement homes. What discourses can be revealed from spoken statements, written documents and everyday practices? The material includes recorded and transcribed interviews from DAUM,[1] the Inquiry on Poor Relief of 1924 and spoken statements from the old-age homes.

Historical Background

The indigenous Sami were until the beginning of the nineteenth century the majority population in the northern region of Sweden called *Sápmi*. The Sami culture was complex with cultural differences between the Sami in the north and in the south and between the Sami who lived a nomadic life as reindeer herders, made their living by hunting and fishing, were settled or left the reindeer herding for a more agricultural way of living (Sköld & Axelsson 2008). As the nineteenth century progressed, however, Sápmi underwent a major demographic change due to intense in-migration of settlers. The Swedish Government used different incentives to colonize and develop Sápmi. The Settlement Act was passed in 1673, according to which settlers were promised fifteen years of tax exemption (Lundmark 1998). Settlers had first arrived in the late seventeenth century, but not in significant numbers until more than a hundred years later. At that point, the colonization process began in earnest and within one hundred and fifty years the Sami became a minority in their own land.

During the colonization process, taxation, land rights allocation, the school system, and religious practice were all factors strongly affecting the living conditions of the Sami population. Colonization led to conflict between the Sami and non-Sami populations, including disputes over fishing rights and damage caused by the reindeer, though it also led to an exchange of services. To understand these conflicts better, it is essential to examine the regional policies formulated by the Swedish state (Nordin 2009). The period between 1846 and 1913 is characterized by burgeoning

scientific interest in race biology, a view of the Sami as a dying breed, and a policy of *assimilation*. In turn, the period between 1913 and 1971 is characterized by the opinion that "Lap should be Lap," indicative of paternalism and *segregation*.

Previous Research

We possess almost no knowledge about the conditions in which elderly Sami lived and how they experienced ageing, either in the traditional nomad culture or in modern Swedish society (Olofsson 2004). While there are some fragments of research worth seeking out (cf. Amft 2000; Balto 1997; Campbell 1982: 225–240; Cocq 2008; Beach 1988; Kjellström 2003: 270; and Åhrén 2008: 116–119), there is only one single academic study entirely dedicated to the subject (Aléx 2007). Further insight can be gleaned in some ethnological works (cf. Johansson 1968: 126–133; *Sameland i förvandling* 1986) and in autobiographies (Thomasson 1994).

Elderly Care. From Family Matter to Municipal Policy

As early as the seventeenth century, some parish regulations dictated that the community take care of its own poor (Holgersson 2008). An act of the Swedish Parliament in 1763 clarified how the burden was to be shared between the state and the local community (Engberg 2005). Poor relief in each parish would be financed primarily through voluntary charitable donations and administered by the local clergyman and his church council (Andersson 1996). Parish meetings were decision-making events where clergy and parishioners discussed and determined affairs of parish policy, such as who was eligible to receive poor relief. Thus the self-governance imposed by the state resulted in a growing need to define the limits of "belongingness" to the local community (Lees 1998).

Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, no poor relief was specifically earmarked for the Sami. Care of the elderly was primarily a private, family matter. If an individual grew too weak to undertake the trek to the settlement, he was placed on the shores of a lake where he could make a living fishing and hunting (Kjellström 2003). The Poor Law of 1847 further clarified the financial and administrative responsibilities assigned to the parishes. Each was instructed to establish its own social welfare board and levy a tariff on every member of the parish to finance poor relief (Engberg 2005). The social issue was therewith brought to the fore and the poor were now the object of national instead of local attention. Philanthropists began concentrating their efforts on particular poverty-stricken groups (Nilsson Ranta 2008). Thus at this point in time, care of elderly Sami was transformed from

a family matter to an activity practised and administered by the Church (Andersson 1996).

At the same time, a public discussion about poor relief and the Sami began, mainly at the initiative of the church. During a session of the Swedish Parliament in 1851, Bishop Israel Bergman raised the question of specific poor relief for the Sami (SOU 1924:58). Bishop Bergman had lived close to the Sami and noted the harsh conditions to which the elderly were subjected. His question was formulated in a motion and resulted in a fund-gathering campaign aimed at finding appropriate homes for those Sami who were too old to travel. In the South Sami parishes of Jämtland, social welfare boards manned by Swedish representatives were created.

The passing of the Municipal Laws of 1862 established poor relief as a tax-funded municipal responsibility (Engberg 2005). Historically, this period is considered restrictive financially speaking (Holgersson 2008). While the Swedish state increased its interest in the care of elderly Sami, the clergy proved most active. Bishop Olof Bergqvist, for example, began collecting money to build old-age homes for the Sami, the first of which was opened in Jokkmokk in 1911.

Before a new Poor Law was enacted in 1918, the Church had been the main practitioner of poor relief. From the mid-nineteenth century until the new Poor Law the elderly care in rural areas included: accommodations, auctions, poorhouses and begging among different farmers (Edebalk & Lindgren 1996: 138–139; Engberg 2005: 184–186). In the poorhouses, it was not unusual to mix elderly with chronically sick and mentally disabled persons and orphans (Edebalk & Lindgren 1996: 139). The refurbished law obligated municipalities to establish county-supervised homes for the elderly (Holgersson 2008), which effectively ended the influence exercised by the clergy in this field (SOU 1924:58: 5). The law also inhibited the use of auctions and begging. The law embraced every inhabitant of Sweden, but many opined that a certain group existed beyond the scope of the law. That group was the Sami.

So in 1919, a commission was convened to determine how best to provide poor relief to Sami in need. A committee travelled throughout Sápmi discussing the question of poor relief with Sami and settlers alike (SOU 1924:58). One of the tasks of this fact-finding mission was to determine whether it was economically feasible to hand over elderly care to local communities. Since legally the Sami population did not belong to any municipality and did not pay local taxes, some felt that the state should assume responsibility (SOU 1924:58). The committee concluded that the best solution would be for the state to finance poor relief, while the municipality assumed the task of supervision and administration (SOU 1924:58). Social

and humanitarian arguments were emphasized, due to the unusual lifestyle and habits of the Sami.

The committee thought it would be preferable for the Sami to have their own, separate old-age homes, the better to deal with possible problems concerning the particular living and eating habits of the Sami. As a consequence, a government subsidy was established in 1927 and legislation drafted to insure that every Sami parish have its own old folk's home. By the end of the 1940s, care of the elderly was in local hands. However, an elderly care study conducted in 1952 concluded that special funds earmarked for the Sami had failed to put the Sami on an equal footing with the non-Sami. A year later, the Swedish Parliament voted to curtail the public funding of special old-age homes for the Sami (Andersson 1996).

Theory, Method and Material

Our study is mainly based on discourse analysis (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips 2000) and the ideas of the literary critic Edward Said (1993) on the Western, colonial construction of the "Other," the primitive savage located lower down on the Darwinian evolutionary scale than the white man. While the "Other" is feared as a strange, alien, impure being, he is also fascinating due to the natural state in which he lives and his perceived authenticity.

The taboo theory of anthropologists Mary Douglas (1995 [1966]) and Edmund Leach (1964) is another source of inspiration. This theory can be fruitfully linked with Said's idea about our tendency to think in terms of the "Other," whereby those who are different are assumed to display characteristics we do not want to find in ourselves. According to Douglas and Leach, there is a universally basic way of thinking whereby the world is divided into pure and impure, accepted and taboo. Each culture has its own way of defining what is pure or impure.

The present analysis combines the view of elderly Sami expressed directly in oral or written statements with those stated indirectly through the reception and care of the elderly. In analyzing written statements, we are inspired by Michel Foucault's definition of the term *discourse*, that is, the written form of utterance which shapes scholarship and exerts power by defining certain points of view as legitimate and others as illegitimate (Foucault 1987). This definition of discourse we have combined with the term *popular discourse* (cf. Sabean 1984), which is used to describe non-written, oral utterances. Oral discourse is influenced by written discourse, though they are separate entities in many other respects.

Both actions and material reality are discursive and expressed in the institutions of society (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips 2000). Foucault's term

practitioner is used when focusing on the treatment received by the elderly Sami in their encounters with elderly care in varying contexts. What utterances about elderly Sami could be identified in the material? What values are indirectly expressed in these utterances and in the actual care of the elderly? How do the Sami react and how do the practitioners responsible for their care define them? What dominating discourses could these identified utterances be connected with? Discourse analysis is both theoretical and methodical, aimed at analyzing how reality is constructed through language. We also note the consequences of the use of discourse in the form of inequitable relationships. We have searched for nodal points in the source material, central signs around which other meanings evolve (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips 2000).

The present analysis of the oral discourse is based on material housed in the archives of the Department of Dialectology, Onomastics and Folklore Research (DAUM) in Umeå, while the official, written discourse has been recorded by the Government's Poor Relief Inquiry of 1924, with additional accounts coming from residents of old-age homes. The archive material from DAUM concerning Sami seniors from the 1880s up until the establishment of the first old-age homes is mainly found in the Southern Sami region. The sources consist of recorded and transcribed interviews where the settlers are telling about the elderly Sami. The voices of the Sami are not to be found. Some of the written stories cannot be used as sources in this study and are rather to be seen as legends. There is also a lack of material concerning the practice at the Sami old-age homes. The few sources found will be used as examples about how the elderly Sami were treated and conceived of at these homes.

The image of the Sami in Oral Culture

Ageing Sami participated in reindeer herding for as long as possible. Elderly reindeer owners often had servants to help with the heaviest tasks (Beach 1988: 222). As mentioned above, when they became too old and weak for the nomadic life, they often set up camps on the shores of a lake and made a scant living from fishing (Kjellström 2003: 278). The same goes for the elderly Sami who had lost their reindeer or never owned any in the first place (Amft 2000: 39).

They are Just like Us

When the elderly settlers where retiring, they gave away their farms to the eldest son, thereby in return getting food and housing for the rest of their lives (Kjellman 1981). When no longer capable of managing on her or his

own, a retired Sami could find accommodation in the home of a settler, for a price (Kjellström 2003: 270). Ethnologist Åke Campbell and folklorist Levi Johansson have both written about mutual exchange between the Sami and the settlers. Settlers offered migrating Sami room and board and might also house the sick and elderly or small children who had difficulty making the long treks (Johansson 1967: 336–337; Campbell 1982: 225–230, 236–240). Sometimes a Sami purchased a settlement in preparation for retirement. Until then, he could lease the settlement to someone else.[2]

By the end of the eighteenth century, a number of Forest Sami had become home owners (Ruong 1975: 157) and thus could care for the elderly in their own houses.[3] Before that, they too placed their elderly in the homes of local settlers or farmers. Sixten Engelmark, born in Risträsk, Gällivare, in 1908, tells this story.

> In my village my great-grandfather Erik Hansson cared for a Forest Sami in his old age. In return the son of the Forest Sami gave my great-grandfather some meat. Every time the reindeer herd passed by and left, the old Forest Sami cried, I am told. My great-grandfather even built a cabin for the old man.[4]

In an interview recorded in Tallberg, in the parish of Jörn in Västerbotten, Jonas Wikman recalls an elderly Sami woman who lived in his parent's home during his childhood in the 1920s. She used to sit and sew Lapp shoes and now and then she would take a pinch of snuff. She taught the children to speak Sami and as proof he recites the prayer Our Father in Sami. Jonas says that she believed in all manner of superstition, which she also taught the children. This gives us a picture of a close and confidential relationship between the Sami woman and the children of the house; she comes across as an old, cherished relative. Jonas concludes his account with an emphatic "they are just ordinary people like us!"[5]

They are Filthy and Rude

In Lapland, where settlers and Sami lived together in mutually advantageous cooperation, there was nothing of the distanced and contemptuous attitude one can find in rural farming communities. The popular utterances among settlers who lived in commercial symbiosis with the Sami presuppose that the Sami are just like everyone else. The statements about the Sami as "Others" originated in the more established farm villages. Levi Johansson, who himself grew up in the settlement of Raukasjö, Jämtland, where the settlers lived in perfect harmony with their Sami neighbours, was shocked when, as an eleven-year-old goat herder, he entered service as a farmhand and became

aware of the abundant racial hatred. "The word 'Finn' [Sami, author's note] did not sound much better here than 'Jew' in Nazi Germany" (Johansson 1967: 337). He suggests that attitudes were most hostile in parishes the Sami had abandoned long ago. Johansson traces the main source of this contempt to legal disputes between Sami and settlers over grazing land, the most suitable of which the Sami had been forced off. Hostile attitudes originated in competition for natural resources, he concludes. Thus when the number of settlers was maintained at a level leaving plenty of resources available to all, cooperation and friendship resulted. But wherever the arable land was too small to support both economies, conflict arose and the Sami were inevitably forced out of the area (Johansson 1967: 333–337). Racism was evident in characterizations of the Sami as "filthy" and "rude." A man describing his childhood in Vargträsk, in the parish of Örträsk, at the beginning of the twentieth century, recalled an old, destitute Sami who lived in a cabin on the farm. He was made fun of because of his strange habits, like relieving himself just outside the door.[6] From the parish of Gällivare there is the story about

> a poor Forest Sami who couldn't manage to follow the wanderings. He sat stiffly on a chair, stiffly and toothless, in the home of some settlers. The children told him to open his mouth and took turns tossing pieces of sugar into his mouth.[7]

Not Quite Human

Some penurious seniors had no relatives who could or would pay for their care and supervision. What happened when they no longer could support themselves? In the minutes of a parish meeting held in Vilhelmina in 1845, it is stated that the majority of the "Lapp" elderly are so poor they cannot all be accommodated with the residential population. As a result, it is decided that four "Lapp paupers" will "be taken in by the parish." Included among them was "the poor Lapp widow Christina Zackris D:r [who] has been left here in Kyrkovallen, by request of relatives because of her inability to support herself due to her old age" (*Vilhelmina. En lappmarksbygd på väg mot framtiden* 2006: 153).

The oldest system of elderly care meant that paupers were compelled to switch between different farms for food and lodging. There is evidence from throughout the country that paupers in general were often subjected to humiliating treatment and that the families responsible for their care tried to get away with laying out as little as possible. From the parish of Vilhelmina it is told that the food for the paupers was the worst imaginable. Usually the pauper was served small dried fish, which was neither cleaned nor scaled. Some farmers expecting paupers for dinner merely scraped

leftovers into poorly washed bowls, caked with dried food. Few caregivers laundered or mended their clothes. The number of days a guest had to be tolerated depended on the size of the farm. In those cases where the responsible farm only had to provide one meal, the pauper was sometimes forced to leave even though it was late at night and more than ten kilometres to the next farm (Johansson 1968: 123–133).

The Sami pauper was treated with even more contempt. From the parish of Malå it is said that

> an old and weak pair of Lapps, supporting themselves on sticks, asked the provider for a few kilos of coarse rye flour to cook some porridge, but the answer was NO, the sooner the old Lapps died the better it would be for the parish.[8]

The same source speaks of an elderly Sami who, upon finishing a meal provided by a local farmer was told, "Now, you snuff-snorting Lapp, you have had enough, so you can go home and be lazy!" The chronicler suggests that the only protection the Sami had against the hostility of the Swedes was their fear of Sami witchcraft.[9]

After the system of being shuttled between farms had been abolished, those in need of care were auctioned off publicly, which could lead to elderly spouses being separated.[10] The people of Vilhelmina had a popular term for this form of care: "to feed until death." Since the winning bidder was the one demanding the lowest compensation from the parish, the shorter the pauper lived the bigger the profit. Circumstances were the same as before, except that lodgers were housed permanently in one single home. They often had to work hard for as long as they could, and when they no longer managed to keep themselves clean they had to move into the barn or the sauna (a building where they dried the corn) (Liliequist 1994).[11]

Lisa Johansson of Vilhelmina tells a story about a wealthy farmer who made money taking in elderly Sami no one else would bid on.

> He used to take on old Sami for a lump sum and lock them up in some shed. Often the shed or the sauna became their living space and ultimately the place where they died. Now Nils Lars had gotten some "Lapps" from Vilhelmina. According to the story it was two old men and a woman. They were said to be dangerous since they practised witchcraft. But the farmer Lars laughed and said that he would cure them of that. When he received the agreed compensation, he went off with his "witchcraft practising Lapps." They were tired and sick people who were brought home to Lars in Nordansjö while showered with jokes and ridicule. When Lars arrived home with his "Lapps" he fixed up the sauna. They had to lie on the corn-drying shelves, which would be just the right place for "Lapps." The food was the

> worst imaginable. It didn't take long before the "Lapps" were too exhausted to get up or keep themselves clean. There was a terrible reek from the sauna. Three old people who couldn't manage to go out. They would lie there and crawl around as much as they could in the dark sauna. Nobody heard their complaints, nobody heard their cries for water when they were thirsty or for food when they were hungry. They were witchcraft practising Lapps, so it was dangerous to go near them. The poor people were treated like creatures from the underworld, not like people.[12]

This story reveals that the distancing and dehumanization to which all the poor were subjected was even more inimical when it came to the Sami. They were not quite human, they looked like trolls in their rags and they smelled bad. They spoke some kind of troll language and were known to be harmful since they could cast a spell on a person. Thus their reputed mastery of witchcraft provided the Sami with no defence here. Instead, superstition among the peasants led to the Sami being categorized as supernatural, non-human beings, permitting the farmer to stow them away out of sight and thereby making the elderly extra vulnerable.

Two Contrasting Discourses

In the period ranging from 1880 to the establishment of old-age homes for the Sami, two contrasting images of elder care and the attitudes of "the Swedes" towards the elderly Sami can be discerned in the material we have studied. The most basic explanation of the divergence in these discourses lies in financial and social conditions. Equality between the caregivers and their charges is a decisive factor. In the example from Tallberg, where the Sami woman enjoyed the same status as the household's own elders, the relationship between Sami and Swede is equitable. In return for taking care of seniors, the farm household received reindeer meat from the Sami in accordance with a system of reciprocity, the mutual exchange of goods, gifts and services (Campbell 1982). But in the case of the auctions and in compelling the elderly to move from farm to farm, reciprocity is absent. Poverty-stricken seniors ended up outside the bounds of the system. They could neither afford to pay for their own care nor had relatives who could pay for them (Kjellman 1981). Elderly Sami were even more vulnerable due to discrimination, the fact that they were the "Other," they were not like us.

The Image of the Sami in Public Discussion of Old-Age Homes

In 1924, the committee charged with investigating poor relief among the Sami submitted its final report. It makes for interesting reading insofar as it

provides invaluable insight into the view of the Sami as expressed by official representatives of the Swedish Government. Furthermore, the investigation influenced the development of old-age homes specifically designed for the Sami. The driving forces behind the establishment of these facilities were often private citizens affiliated with church groups or missionary societies, which indicates that they were constructed on religious and philanthropic foundations. In other words, the aim was not only to care for the health and welfare of the elderly but also to shape their moral and religious beliefs. This involved time-consuming negotiation in order to choose the best locations and to identify exactly who was qualified to receive benefits. At the same time, the question was asked as to whether the Sami would actually feel at home in these controlled environments. The process reflects the perception of the Sami as a group with special characteristics and special needs, which in turn influenced both legislation and the everyday lives of the elderly. While ideological forces were influencing and designing poor relief for the Sami, local practice and attitudes shaped everyday poor relief on the ground.

Upon meeting representatives of the Sami community during their fact-finding mission in Sápmi, they broached the idea of old-age homes specifically designed for their needs. According to this proposal, the homes would be designed to resemble a settlement, featuring a main building, several smaller outbuildings, a permanent staff made up of a nurse and a housekeeper and an infirmary. Residents would be free to go hunting and fishing and to visit friends and relatives, since the homes would be built close to existing Sami settlements. They would also have access to a physician and a priest, and would live in surroundings designed to incorporate Sami culture and tradition. With only the odd reservation about the best location for these homes, the Sami approved of the proposal (Riksarkivet: YK 193:2).

However, the report also admitted that the Sami were poorly represented in the process and encouraged their increased participation, while at the same time enumerating reasons why it might be difficult

> to determine the number of Lapps that should be included on the board [...] the difficulty of finding Lapps who were suitable and willing to join the board or dedicate the time necessary to the task (SOU 1924:58: 89).

The Sami as "Peculiar"

The early twentieth century witnessed scientific, political and ideological efforts to separate and categorize ethnic groups according to their perceived special characteristics and peculiar natures (Furuhagen 2007). In Sweden, this was the era of the "Lapps should be Lapps" policy, expressed by the will

to protect the Sami by preserving their nomadic, reindeer-herding lifestyle (Lundmark 1998). This policy of keeping the Sami separate from the majority population and different groups of Sami from one another was in fact expressed by the Poor Relief Inquiry, which at the same time conversely stressed the similarities between the Sami and settler populations. In its report, "real" Sami appear to be synonymous with living the nomadic life. Thus the question of defining who was a Sami was important. The committee intended the old-folks home to house Mountain Sami over sixty years of age, with any vacancies to be filled by needy Forest Sami. And yet ambivalent attitudes and mixed signals abound in the report's attempt at definition.

> Those in most pressing need of institutional care are the nomadic Lapps [...] But it ought not be ruled out, but rather intended, that other Sami, who have maintained the traditional customs and not adopted or assimilated the customs, clothing, etcetera of the domiciled population, be admitted and receive the available care as space allows (SOU 1924:58: 96).

The report thus distinguishes between Mountain Sami and Forest Sami, reindeer-herding Sami and Sami who did not make their living from reindeer herding. It also made a distinction between Sami living in North Sápmi and Sami living in the south. For the Sami in South Sápmi, in Jämtland, the old-age homes were free to resemble the homes of the settlers, whereas special attention was needed for the Sami population of Norrbotten, due to their "peculiar" living conditions and unique habits (SOU 1924:58). The group most sorely lacking these positive attributes were the poor, aged, non-reindeer herding Sami of South Sápmi.

The overall image portrayed by the public discourse about the Sami is that they comprised a group with a "peculiar nature," which consisted not only of their nomadic life style and their living apart from the settler population, but also of specific, inherent character traits. The willingness to separate different groups within the Sami population and protect the "right" kind of Sami was informed by images of which characteristics were the "right" ones and which were not. The report also reveals traces of race biology, commonplace in the early twentieth century, in its reference to their "peculiar living habits and characteristics, at least partly engendered by their profession but also by their origins and natural gifts, so very different from the rest of the Swedish population" (SOU 1924:58: 14). Desired and undesirable characteristics are described throughout this document.

The Sami as Quarrelsome and Unmanageable

The Sami are consistently portrayed as quarrelsome, troublesome and incapable of adhering to the precepts of "good manners." Freedom of move-

ment and the flexible enforcement of house rules were seen as necessary to prevent the Sami elderly from causing trouble and disturbing domestic peace, "since the Lapps take such liberties and constantly violate clear instructions, causing discord and discomfort" (SOU 1924:58: 97). It was feared that the old folks would escape from the homes and follow their relatives to the settlement if regulations were formulated too strictly. This perception also influenced everyday practice, as is evident in a report from the home in Jokkmokk, where one particular group were seen as particularly bellicose.

> [D]isorderliness between antagonistic parties has been difficult to prevent, especially as the subject of contention has often been of a religious nature. The Laestadians, as they purport to be, have been liberal with their oaths and have told off the matron in no uncertain terms on more than one occasion (Ahlfort 1924: 20).

The Sami as Lazy and Greedy

Other characteristics attributed to the Sami population in the report include greediness and laziness. They are accused of snatching any public relief they can get their hands on, making them stagnant and no longer willing to contribute to society. This is particularly evident in discussing the non-reindeer herding Sami.

> And as far as the Lapps are concerned [...] it is difficult not to note that as soon as any temporary need occurs, they have become used to turning to public poor relief and asking for assistance rather than trying to work things out for themselves (SOU 1924:58: 68).

At the same time, a completely contradictory perception of the Sami as happy to pay their way existed, which emerged when describing elderly Sami in care whose relatives commonly paid in kind. The report mentions that they delivered not just any reindeer, but "really good reindeer," since the Sami were eager to give only the best (SOU 1924:58: 98).

The Sami as Dirty and Childlike

Another recurring complaint is that the Sami were unhygienic. The report urges the need to make allowance for the way of living traditional to the Sami, but not to the extent that it "compromises the cleanliness and tidiness of the home, nor degenerates into indulgence of unwarranted whims" (SOU 1924:58: 97). The solution proffered was to allow the residents a degree of freedom, though not enough for it to spiral out of control. It turned out that the Sami were more pliable than was expected.

> At first, the matron's biggest concern was how to go about teaching her charges clean habits. The Lapps are not renowned for their excessive cleanliness. However, it turned out that these fears were unfounded. Nothing proved easier than getting them to appreciate the advantages of cleanliness. They were of course unused to sleeping on clean sheets, but now they rejoice, and furthermore, have realized that proper hygiene is essential to their well being, something they were not aware of before (Berlin 1914: 38–39).

This paternalistic view of the necessity to teach them "proper" behaviour and "proper" hygiene engendered an attendant, ambiguous image of the elderly Sami as childlike, in need of extra care and comfort, discipline and patience.

> [The matron] has, with infinite patience and forbearance, as should be, viewed her pensioners as great, big children, to whom one must show tolerance [...] Indeed, they are big children, these old Lapps (Ahlfort 1924: 20).

The view of the elderly Sami as children was not exclusively unique for the Sami population. Instead, the view of elderly in need of discipline and protection was part of a greater discourse of elderly with care needs at this point in time (Edebalk 1991; Qvarsell 1993).

The Sami as Imaginative, Wise and in Harmony with Nature

The Sami lifestyle is portrayed as hard, demanding considerable effort and skill to master a life in an extremely harsh and unforgiving climate. This is complemented with a perception of the people as wise and imaginative by nature. After visiting a Sami woman named *Kristina* at one of the old-age homes, Bishop Olof Bergqvist wrote: "We discussed life's supreme questions and she shared a lifetime of profound spiritual depth with me... a wise expression rested in her weathered features, like a reflection of inner peace" (Bergqvist 1924: 34). However, a lifetime of hard work in a harsh climate seems to have a downside. According to reports, the Sami were a heavy-hearted people who often suffered from mental illness (SOU 1924:58: 79–80).

The Sami in Public Discourse

There is no single public discourse about the elderly Sami. Instead, a series of competing, even contrary discourses was conducted simultaneously. The dominant discourse is ambiguous, too, as it paints two different images. On the one hand, we have the "problematic" Sami, characterized as lazy, primitive and contentious. These seniors were considered quarrelsome and diffi-

cult to deal with. On the other, we have the "well-behaved" Sami, said to be gentle and wise, "frozen sparrows" deserving warmth and attention. In general, the "problematic" point of view dominated public perceptions, while the "well-behaved" one informed everyday practice. This dual discourse also led to differentiated practices and patterns of behaviour by the staff of the old-age homes.

Popular and Official Discourses. Differences and Similarities

Both discourses on the Sami as the "Other" in Swedish society were dominated by images of the primitive savage, uncivilized and naïve but also authentic and at one with nature. The "official" discourse expressed in government inquiries is fraught with Social-Darwinist perceptions of the Sami as savages who need to be elevated and educated to become civilized. These perceptions were widely embraced in the West at the time, which reinforced the supremacy of the white man and his responsibility to educate the races further down the evolutionary ladder. From the view of the Western and European culture as superior to other cultures, a more pronounced biologically determined racism culminated in the early twentieth century (Furuhagen 2007). In Sweden, interest in race biological science was highly intensified during the 1910s and 1920s with the establishment of the State Institute for Race Biology in the year 1922 (Furuhagen 2007). The official committee report on the Sami is permeated with ambivalence and fear of what was perceived as "foreign" and is clearly representative of the times in which it was composed. Issued in 1924, it features obvious traces of race biology influence, while at the same time indicating an ambivalent attitude toward race biology itself. Biological heritage explained typical Sami characteristics ("characteristics depending on natural predisposition"), which made it essential to determine who exactly was Sami and differentiate between "full Lapps" and "half-Lapps." At the same time, government policy put the Sami on equal footing with the rest of the population, and access to old-age homes was to be based on the extent to which an individual lived in accordance with Sami tradition.

By the 1930s, race biology and race hygiene were subjected to harsher criticism. The discourse of hygienization, with its roots in nineteenth-century medicine, focused on dirt and impurity, something characteristic of the "Other" (Frykman & Löfgren 1979). To the Oscarian middle-class, farmers, workers and Sami were dirty, while the settlers and farmers considered the Sami dirty. But hygiene and biology are not enough to explain attitudes towards elderly Sami. Since the authorities invariably supported

settlers in land disputes between settlers and the Sami, the settlers came into indirect contact with contemporary official attitudes toward the Sami and understood that they were more highly valued than the Sami. However, the most direct ideological influence exercised on the population came via the pulpits of the Lutheran Church (Liliequist 1994). The church's unmitigated condemnation and oppression of the shamanic faith of the Sami surrounded the latter with a supernatural aura.

There are similarities and differences between the popular, oral discourse and the official, written one when it comes to the characterization of the Sami differentness. Both are rife with perceptions of the Sami as filthy, ill mannered, rude and lazy. But in the popular discourse this does not lead to calls for their education and improvement. People just want to have as little as possible to do with them. The popular discourse also contains an element of superstition. The Sami are attributed supernatural powers, and an elderly Sami pauper is often seen as not quite human, a creature of the underworld capable of casting evil spells and should thus best be avoided.

Proximity has significance for how a discourse on the "Other" manifests itself. This study has shown that the higher the degree of closeness and mutual exchange between Sami and non-Sami, the more the image of the "Other" as something "foreign" has been challenged and rejected. To be able to one-sidedly distance oneself from other people and turn them into stereotypes requires a certain amount of emotional and geographic distance. Where there has been physical distance and a lack of mutually beneficial exchange, the elderly Sami are more often described as "foreign," "threatening" and "deviant," a force of nature that must be tamed and controlled. The latter is clearly evident in the Poor Relief report, which is permeated by fears that the "deviant" Sami will take unfair advantage of social services, commit infringements on public mores and generally create an unpleasant atmosphere in the proposed old-age facilities. But the stereotypes did not hold up in practical reality. Closeness breeds tolerance, which is evident in the fact that the staff of the homes were far more nuanced in their view of the elderly than the civil servants sent from Stockholm to report back on the Sami.

In fact, an air of equanimity among Sami residents and non-Sami caregivers pervades the popular discourse. The Sami dismissed as "not-quite-human" were the paupers among them. A more balanced relationship existed between the Sami and the settlers in the mountains. The social and economic circumstances the small number of settlers in that region found themselves in meant that they lived in close cooperation with the Sami. Both were dependent on each other, which effectively counteracted the effects of the dominant discourse. Reciprocity bred equality and the elderly

Sami were treated the same way as the settlers' own elders and often described as "one of the family."

Over the period under investigation, practices toward the Sami changed radically. Auctions of the poor were abolished and old-age homes became mandatory in every Sami parish. Our study has shown that external change was not always a direct consequence of changes in points of view and values. The care of elderly Sami became official public business, mostly through the good offices of individual clergymen. Retirement homes meant that in their dotage, the Sami were no longer dependent on the local community, though the dominant discourse of the Sami as "Others" would follow them all the way into their corridors.

NOTES

[1] Dialekt-, ortnamns- och folkminnesarkivet i Umeå/Department of Dialectology, Onomastics and Folklore Research in Umeå.
[2] DAUM, Bd 50:2, Tärna; Bd 53:1 Tärna.
[3] DAUM, acc 9862, Malå.
[4] DAUM, acc 4685, Gällivare.
[5] DAUM, Bd 1267, Jörn.
[6] DAUM, Bd 4961, Örträsk.
[7] DAUM, acc 4685, Gällivare.
[8] DAUM, acc 9862, Malå.
[9] DAUM, acc 9862, Malå.
[10] DAUM, acc 9862, Malå.
[11] DAUM, acc 9862, Malå; DAUM, acc 1010, Vilhelmina.
[12] DAUM (FFÖN), acc 1010, Vilhelmina.

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"Wild Weirdness?" "Gross Humbugs!"

Memory-Images of the North and Finnish Photography

ABSTRACT In this essay it is argued that northern photography can serve as an epistemological triangle both combining different layers of experiences and memories with one another—experience in the north, experience as inhabitants of the north and experience as such—and connecting photographers, subjects of photography and viewers with one another. The essay discusses selected photographs of northern indigenous people and landscapes—and the approaches underlying them—in terms of what is here deemed key concepts in social research including northern studies: experience and memory. Owing to the surplus of meaning that images inevitably carry with them and their irreducibility to one meaning, photographic images, it is argued, contribute to what Sherrill Grace has called the north's "resistance to measure and closure." Images may help the beholder to acknowledge that different groups of people may have different memories of what only seems to be the same history. A brief discussion of the work of Jorma Puranen, Tiina Itkonen and Antero Takala substantiates these claims.

KEYWORDS photography, experience, memory, Jorma Puranen, Tiina Itkonen, Antero Takala

"Not bad, they all agreed, exploding water, rather interesting, rather strange. But they wanted wild weirdness, [...] in the manner of all the old dreams of the north, the "other world" of Thule."

In the above quotation,[1] Joanna Kavenna (2006: 98) describes Victorian travellers' slightly disappointed reactions to their experience of Icelandic geysers. Her description serves well as a starting-point for the following reflections on memory-images of the north, because it refers to different layers of experience that can be observed in social research including northern studies: experience in a given place (for example, the north), experience as an inhabitant of this place and experience as such. In what follows, these layers will be related to contemporary photographic representations of northern people, peoples and places.

I would certainly not be the first to claim that people, rather than representing themselves, are often represented by others (Couldry 2000). Such forms of representation were an integral component of colonial photography, for example. There are, however, different forms of representation and some may be more in accordance with the interests and self-images of those depicted than others: not all forms of visual representation are colonizing, patronizing and exploitative. In a period of profound changes in visual representations owing to, among other things, the transformation of analogue forms of image production into digital forms and the dramatic increase in the number of images (see Ritchin 2009), it may be useful to reflect upon ways through which photography can help photographers, subjects of photography and viewers to connect with one another so as to produce inclusive memory-images of the north—that is to say, images of northern people which reflect the self-images of those depicted, communicate the images those depicted want to communicate to others and respect their individual and collective attitudes to memory, identity and place.

The following text targets primarily readers who are interested in the connection between visual representation, experience and memory without, however, being experts on visual representation. Indeed, the article is not primarily meant as a contribution to the rich specialist literature in connection with, for example, the history of photography, indigenous photography, museum studies or post-colonial studies. The text proceeds by discussing key concepts of current social research—experience and memory—in relation to visual representations. The photographic work of Jorma Puranen, Tiina Itkonen and Antero Takala will subsequently be discussed in light of these concepts. A brief return to "exploding water," interesting and strange but ultimately disappointing, is a useful starting point.

Pieces of Paper

In the case of the Victorian travellers referred to above, it seems that nature did not match the image of weird wildness or wild weirdness that the travel-

lers had carried with them and that had probably motivated their long journey to Iceland in the first place. For them, geysers in particular and the north in general were culture not nature, "constructs," as Simon Schama (1995: 61) puts it with respect to landscape in general, "of the imagination projected onto wood and rock"—and water. The travellers seem to have been looking for confirmation of their pre-existing beliefs, imagined and discursively constructed prior to their journey on the basis of other travellers' experiences or imaginations, dating back, perhaps, to Greek writings emphasizing the north's otherworldliness. When nature deviated from imagination, they were disappointed, referring to the geysers as "gross humbugs" (Kavenna 2006: 97).

The images of geysers the Victorians had seen prior to their journey or constructed in their minds on the basis of written or other reports were, no doubt, images of overwhelming natural, superhuman power, dwarfing human beings. These mental images could not stand the test when confronted with the vicissitudes of volcanic and sulphuric activity and, especially, passivity. Experience gained by actually observing nature was not appreciated. As "the scale at which we look very often depends on the object that we hope will become visible" (Lorimer 2006: 505), the experienced north paled against the imagined one because the scales did not match; the imagined dwarfed the real. Visual evidence and lived experience contradicted imagination but rather than altering their imagination, the travellers ridiculed the north as humbug.

Experience is one of the key concepts with which social research tries to make sense of the world (LaCapra 2004: 35–71). The term refers to each person's "individual history of reflection" (Couldry 2000: 51)—and memory of reflection—enabling partial identification with one another and recognition of both sameness and difference: no one can be reduced to that which he or she shares with others; no-one can be reduced to that which separates him or her from others. Based on the distinction between the "real" and the "imagined" north, experience has also become an important concept in northern studies (see Hulan 2002), influenced by the importance assigned to lived experience (rather than to Western, abstract, scientific representations such as maps) by indigenous people. For example, the Innu Elder Pien Penashue reportedly articulated scepticism of maps by saying that "[m]aps are only pieces of paper. I know ponds and lakes because I was there" (Samson 2003: 69). Different forms of experience can also be found underlying Finnish paintings of northern landscapes: there were those painters "who travelled to Lapland," those who "lived there" and those who "felt the urge to depict the region's great vistas without actually going there" but all of them are said to have expressed a "sense of infinity that one finds in Lapland" (Hautala-Hirvioja 2011: 109).

As Renée Hulan has shown, the focus on lived experience resulted in the assumption that accounts of the north that are based on personal experience are epistemologically superior to accounts that are lacking such experience. In a second step, it was assumed that accounts of the north that are based on the experience as an inhabitant of the north, that is to say, as someone permanently residing in the north, are epistemologically superior to accounts merely based on temporary experience in the north by, for example, visiting researchers, photographers or travellers. In a third step, however, preference given to experience as a northern inhabitant gave way to the idea of experience as such. Emphasis on experience as such resulted in a focus on reflexivity. Researchers and travellers started questioning their own subject positions when visiting the north and doing social research including northern studies. This approach suggested that "speakers gain epistemic privilege through experience *in* the north rather than experience *as* a northern inhabitant" (Hulan 2002: 15) and through reflection on their experience—hence the plethora of travel writings based on first-person accounts, replacing the silent voices of indigenous people, mostly absent from these writings, with accounts focusing on "the individual's role as a storyteller speaking for the silent north" (Hulan 2002: 152). However, the inclusion of indigenous voices in such writings does not necessarily result in what David MacDougall calls "indigenous statements" because "a method that purports to disperse some of its authority to its subjects is also capable of using this to reinforce its own" (MacDougall 1998: 154).

The problems involved in absorbing indigenous statements into non-indigenous narratives are of course immense and well known. Often the issue is not one of translation but one of "simulation" (Samson 2003: 59) effectively eliminating indigenous practices and thought patterns from representation. Rather than treating indigenous writings as an end in itself, they are frequently used as a means to an end. By adapting indigenous narratives to the worldview of non-indigenous readers, their credibility and comprehensibility for the readers are increased just as is their salability on non-indigenous markets; their authenticity and indigenousness, however, are undermined. In academic research, indigenous lives and stories are often reduced to "mere data" (Samson 2003: 23) serving the researcher's empirical and theoretical mission. In land claims negotiations, indigenous voices are frequently presented by their (often non-indigenous) advisors in such a manner that they do not openly challenge "the scientific materialism" on which Western knowledge production is based (Samson 2003: 58). Thus, they are presented in terms other than their own, translated into concepts derived from the Western world and thereby ultimately liquidated—a good example of what Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966: 133) call "ni-

hilation," that is to say, a process of meaning-making by translating statements into "more 'correct' terms." This would then seem to be a form of exploitation of indigenous voices and, in effect, a second—and ultimate—silencing.

Experience and Memory

The story of the Victorian travellers that opened this essay is also important in the present context because it touches upon the idea that every person carries with them a huge reservoir of stories, images, dreams, imaginations and memories. This reservoir is the property of this person alone and it serves among other things as the standard against which new information is being evaluated. Thus, if we talk about stories and images, we also talk about memory, because it is by means of memory that stories and images are contextualized and meaning is assigned to them. Without memory, most stories and most images would not mean much to us. "Without memory, there can be no recognition of difference [...], no tolerance for the rich complexities and instabilities of personal and cultural, political and national identities" (Huyssen 1995: 252).

Although memory is intimately linked to experience, it is often very difficult to differentiate between "real" memories based on experience and "imagined" memories devoid of a person's own experience. Surely, "[w]hat we refer to as experience is typically the memory of experience" (LaCapra 2004: 66), but from this it neither follows that experiences are literally translated into memories nor that "imagined" and "invented" memories would be less powerful than "real" ones. Indeed, "invented" memories would not seem to be less "true" than "real" ones as long as they are believed to be "true." All memories are derived from experience, albeit to different degrees and not necessarily from one's own experience. At the same time, memory is detached from experience; it never is a carbon copy of experience. Memories are adapted to the needs of the present. In contrast to traumatic re-enactment, memories tend to change especially when incorporated into, or told as, a story (Levi 1989: 24). They also change when reshaped and rethought in the light of visual accounts of the remembered event in film, photography and television (Welzer 2002: 175). Memories are often based on visual rather than verbal sources and this adds to memory's notorious unreliability another source of unreliability, namely, the peculiarities of images, especially the surplus of meaning that images carry with them and their non-reducibility to one specific meaning (Möller 2009)—and one specific memory.

Groups of people define themselves and others—and are defined by others—through a variety of means including visual representations. A sense

of place and belonging, derived from inter-subjectively shared memories of experiences, is often articulated by means of images or some form of word-image hybrid (see Kuhn & MacAllister (eds.) 2006). Book illustrations and photographs became important carriers and constructors of social memories and identities as early as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, respectively. In the twentieth century, illustrated journals contributed critically to our image and our memory of the century (Sontag 2003) while also occasionally undermining hegemonic forms of storytelling (Kelsey & Stimson 2008: xviii–xix). At the same time, the photographic family album—initially ridiculed in some writings[2]—became an important vehicle for the construction, justification and maintenance of often idealized family relationships and rules of appropriate behaviour. It is one of the everyday places where identities are constructed, notions of self and others developed, feelings of belonging articulated and collective memories formed (Hirsch 1997). It is a place of intimacy, meaningful only for those who are either aware of the tacit assumptions and implicit relationships that can be felt rather than seen in the photographs or capable of deciphering the hidden codes and symbols camouflaging issues pertaining to gender, race and class.[3] Internet-based social networks are certainly no places of intimacy but they, too, are places where identities are constructed and collective memories are formed, often based on questionable friendship designations. Family albums, social networks and other collections of photographs provide individuals and groups of people with reservoirs of images with which to define themselves and others and from which to select those images which allegedly show who "we" are. (The family album will be revisited below in connection with Tiina Itkonen's work.)

Memories, while ultimately being individual properties, can be said to be collective in the sense that they are socially constructed and negotiated in communication with others in the process of, for example, story-telling. Acts of communication are not medium-specific; therefore, they cannot be reduced to verbal utterances (Mitchell 1994). Thus, without ignoring the role of language in the construction of collective memories and the intricacies of the image-word relationship, it is useful to treat visual representations, too, as acts of communication by means of which groups of people define, perceive and represent themselves and others. Appeals to and constructions of collective memories as parts of representational strategies with which to further group interests can be observed in abundance. However, memories—individual and collective, communicative and cultural, emotional and cognitive, pictorial and non-pictorial—are more than that, and group memories cannot be reduced to the politics of memory (just as identity cannot be reduced to identity politics): memories affect, shape, form, condi-

tion, determine, facilitate, restrict, render difficult, make impossible and expand the possibilities to act, politically or otherwise. The construction of social memories is an integral part of the construction of group identities. Without collective memories, collective identities can hardly be thought of: memory serves as glue connecting otherwise disconnected points in time to a seemingly coherent narrative without which identity can hardly be thought of (Zerubavel 2003: 40). By so doing, it supports the identity of the group and provides the group with notions of continuity and we-feeling, thus helping to construct the group in the first place.

However, collective memory often takes the form of stipulation—"that *this* is important, and this is the story about how it happened, with the pictures that lock the story in our minds" (Sontag 2003: 86). A specific way to remember an event is said to be more important and more appropriate than others; the legitimacy of other ways to remember this very event is called into question. Colin Samson's (2003) account of the extinguishment of the Innu in Labrador, for example, is a poignant account of the extinguishment of cultural difference including the extinguishment of collective memories. However, the story of the north has always been more complicated, ambiguous and hybrid than those interested in *the* story and *the* memory of the north would want to acknowledge. As Sherrill Grace has noted, in the Canadian discursive construction of the north in geography, historiography and political rhetoric there can be observed "a quixotic desire for closure or stability" (Grace 2001: 48) but this desire has recently been undermined by strategies of "writing back" (Grace 2001: 227–260).

Indeed, closure is unattainable and attempts at nihilation are necessarily undermined by the surplus of meaning (King 2003: 180) that images inevitably carry with them. The irreducibility of images is often disregarded in social research by subordinating the analysis of images to the analysis of the texts surrounding them; by editorial practices prioritizing text over image; and by reducing images to illustrations of text so as to "prove" what has already been established by means of language (see Ritchin 1999). The reduction of a given image to one specific meaning—for example, by what Walter Benjamin (2008b: 27) has called "signposts"—obviously has an important drama-setting, memory-constructing and identity-building and, as such, eminently political function. Images, however, always tell different stories at the same time; they co-represent similarities and differences, the general and the particular, the central and the peripheral, nearness and remoteness, absences and presences, voices and silences, past and present, life and death (MacDougall 1998).

The stipulation of an image's meaning by means of captions or other such devices also reflects the over-estimation of the truth-value of pho-

tographic representation. This overestimation—reflecting photography's ostensible documentary potentialities, its mechanical way of reproduction and the long history of the use of photographs as evidence in all sorts of circumstances—tells us less about photography than about our longing for some degree of certainty and assurance. It is often ignored that there is no necessary and direct connection between a photograph and what John Tagg (1988: 2) calls "prior reality." Thus, we believe in photography's truth-value mainly because we *want* to believe in it. This longing for certainty can surely be understood in the northern context because owing to, among other things, global warming, environmental degradation and exploitation of natural resources, nothing will be as it used to be in the future. Uncertainty as to the question of "what our descendants will need to know about ourselves in order to understand their own lives"—the "acceleration of history"—is among the reasons for the current interest in questions pertaining to memory just as is the "democratization of history" resulting in the reframing and re-claiming of stories and memories (Nora 2002).

Images of the North

In the northern context, there obviously is a huge reservoir of images including photographs (King & Lidchi (eds.) 1996). In Europe, for example, visualizing and photographing the north can be observed in connection with the visual mapping of indigenous peoples and cultures, their "anthropologicization," in the process of the nation-state's northern expansion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Edwards 1999b: 42) justified with reference to Western, allegedly scientific ways of knowledge production. Photographs have also been taken during expeditions to the north as early as, for example, Prince Roland Bonaparte's expedition to Swedish and Norwegian Lapland in 1884. It is not surprising that most of these photographs reflect the colonial spirit of the time but, as has been argued in connection with questions pertaining to territorial and cultural sovereignty in the Canadian Arctic, "the existence today of historic photographs permits Arctic peoples to repossess their histories and to reassert sovereignty over their cultures" (Stern 1996: 51). While colonial photography documented the names and ages of the subjects so as to categorize them according to anthropological types, nowadays "the very act of naming allows a space for re-engagement and re-activating" (Edwards 1999b: 46). Thus, in the north there can be observed not only strategies of "writing back" but also visual strategies of re-claiming access and right to land as well as strategies of reframing and re-claiming memories. Colonial photography simultaneously produces and undermines colonial practices and thought patterns.

In the North European context, art history and political history have analyzed late nineteenth and early twentieth century landscape painting with respect to the construction of collective identities and senses of place. In Finland, landscape painting helped appropriate eastern landscapes in terms of "national landscapes." Serving as the visual foundation of Finnishness, these paintings became reference points for the construction of national identity (see Valkanen 2001). Words and pictures seemed to work hand in hand: words seemed to explain what the paintings showed; the paintings seemed to support the words; together words and images created an "intellectual stereoscopic effect" (Gilgen 2003: 55) strengthening the overall message. The politics of memory, as long as it utilizes both texts and images, also often relies on the stereoscopic effect to strengthen the overall effect.

Early depictions of Finland's northern territories (largely unvisited at the time) replaced "the fearsome unknown" with "the romantic exoticism of the fells" (Hautala-Hirvioja 2011: 78)—often in light of the midnight sun and the northern lights, the nightless summer and (what seems to be) the lightless winter. Owing to the strength of Karelianism prevailing at the time, however, they failed to establish Lapland as a national landscape. After independence, "landscape painting made the abstraction of 'nationhood' something visible and tangible" (Hautala-Hirvioja 2011: 78) and depictions of northern landscapes, especially fell sceneries, contributed to the construction of national identity. As a major recent exhibition shows,[4] Finland's north has indeed been exceedingly visualized, first by means of paintings, then photographs. Alternatively, landscape painting may also be critically investigated in terms of expropriation, displacement and cultural governance (Shapiro 2004: 117–119). By investigating the concept of landscape (see Manning 2003: 1–30) the relationship between landscape painting and the construction of the Nordic nation-states can be revealed: historical landscape paintings often, but not always, seemed to communicate the north as devoid of human beings thus waiting to be captured, populated, "developed" and "civilized." Indeed, "[w]ith a few exceptions, the Sámi are not to be found in Lapland landscapes" (Hautala-Hirvioja 2011: 99) arguably because their depiction would seem to confuse the idea of homogeneous Finnishness. Those Sami that were to be found in landscape paintings were normally accessories to the landscape, thus strengthening the sense of emptiness and vastness.

Recently, however, the visual arts seem to have established some degree of distance to the nation-states. The arts appear to have been interested in breaking with traditional, homogenizing approaches to memories of/in landscapes and in acknowledging both what Ari Lehtinen (2003) calls the "multilayered geographies" of the north and the changeability of (the

memories of) the north—their stubborn refusal to yield to unifying stories. Artists appear to have effectively called into question the premise of the need for both unitary stories and unitary memories underlying most political integration projects (Möller 2005). In a different context, Dominick LaCapra (2004: 43) has noted the

> possibility that art, in its specific (often highly mediated, indirect, darkly playful, powerful but other than narrowly documentary or informational) forms of bearing witness or testifying to that [traumatic] past, might assist in partially working that past over and through, thereby making more available other possibilities in the present and future.

LaCapra's argumentation would seem to be particularly suitable for art addressing indigenous people who are often said to be traumatized (to different degrees) by the experience of colonization, expropriation and forced adaptation to Western ways of living and thought patterns (see Samson 2003). Works of art including photography may help "envisage a form of memory for more than one subject, inhabited in different modalities by different people" (Bennett 2005: 11). At the very least, works of art may make the viewers think about both the conditions depicted in the artwork and their own involvement in, and responsibility for, these very conditions (Alphen 2005). Rather than simply confirming existing knowledge, art also produces new knowledge and new visions: "art articulates a vision of the world that is insightful and consequential; and the vision and the insight can be analysed" (Danchev 2009: 4). Thus, visual representations seem to be capable of contributing to the north's "resistance to measure and closure" (Grace 2001: 49). As suggested by Jill Bennett (2005: 2) in her discussion of art relating to the topic of traumatic memory, the issue is also one of

> mov[ing] away from evaluating art in terms of its capacity to reflect predefined conditions and symptomologies, and open[ing] up the question of what art itself might tell us about the lived experience and memory of trauma.

The question is what art can tell us about "the experiences of conflict and loss" (Bennett 2005: 2). Art reveals "new configurations of what can be seen, what can be said and what can be thought" (Rancière 2009: 103) without which new political configurations can hardly emerge. With Bennett it can then be asked "what it is that art itself *does* that gives rise to a way of thinking and feeling about [trauma]" (Bennett 2005: 2). Although I will be dealing here with work by non-indigenous photographers who do not themselves seem to be traumatised, I want to suggest that this work can contribute to

the "reclaiming of the image of the Arctic" (McGhee 2005: 266).[5] It focuses on a form of knowledge production in which the subjects are represented in communication with the photographer as part of a dialogical relationship between photographer and subject but also involving the viewers who are given the possibility to call into question the ways they usually, and often without much reflection, make sense of images of the north.

There is another reason for focusing on photography and this refers back to the concepts of experience discussed above. Photographs of the north cannot be taken without a photographer, at some point, being in the north. It is therefore suggested here to see photographs as epistemological triangles linking with one another the photographer (a person in the north without necessarily being an inhabitant of the north), the subject (often an inhabitant of the north) and the viewer (often a southerner). The relationship between photographer, subject and viewer is an important one because it is here that the meanings of an image are constantly negotiated and re-negotiated in a process of discursive meaning making. In the following discussion, attention is directed to the contribution photography can make to attempts by northern people to position themselves in their own history without appearing as frozen in time, to prevent their memories from being absorbed in Western narratives and to strengthen their inter-generational connectedness. The contribution that photography can make to all of the above may be small but it may be important all the same.

Jorma Puranen, *Imaginary Homecoming*

Connecting extensive fieldwork with an anthropological approach to photography, Jorma Puranen[6] connects in most of his work his experience in the north with the experiences of northern inhabitants so as to enable "a dialogue between the past and the present; between two landscapes and historical moments, but also between two cultures." By so doing, he aims "to suggest a sort of historical 'counter-memory'" and "to offer an alternative way of looking at a landscape and the concomitant facts, which we may know already" (Puranen 1999: 11–12). Those who are interested in categorizations may refer to Puranen's work also in terms suggested by Charlotte Cotton, that is to say, in terms of "Revived and Remade." Such photographs, according to Cotton, invite the viewers "to explicitly acknowledge the cultural coding that photography mediates" (Cotton 2009: 192). As Elizabeth Edwards has noted in her excellent essay in Puranen's *Imaginary Homecoming*, these images are also "an invitation to the viewer to engage with the issues of memory and history, of dispossession and marginalization" (Edwards 1999a: 17).[7] Such invitation was especially pertinent at the time, the

1990s, as it resonated with the democratization of history referred to above and "postcolonial debates about imagery and representation" (Wells 2009: 21) both of which made use of photography: photographs, as "supposedly enduring materials," are archival, not performative (Taylor 2003: 19) and, therefore, good vehicles for what Cotton (2009: 210) calls "projects of archive-retrieval."

In *Imaginary Homecoming*, compiled between 1991 and 1997, Puranen—similar to, but not identical with, such archive-retrieval projects—used images of Sami people of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century,[8] re-photographed them, developed them on graphic film, enlarged them on acrylic panels or polyester sheets, positioned them in northern landscapes and re-photographed them (Edwards 1999b: 43). What then was an ingredient of the Nordic nation-state building project at the expense of the indigenous population can now be seen to represent the claim of the Sami people to their own lands. Puranen's photographs visualize different layers of memories. By so doing, they show that current identities cannot be thought of without the memories, individual and collective, of colonization, expropriation, dispossession and traumatization. But how can these memories be represented without patronizing their owners? After all, the photographer represents the memories of other people, not his own. According to Edwards, this can be done by "speaking about" rather than "speaking for" them (Edwards 1999a: 17), but it can also be done by speaking *with* them in a conversation that amounts to a dialogical construction of photographic trauma work. This conversation involves the viewers: Puranen's photographs are invitations to discussion widening the discursive frame within which conversations about the north normally take place. They are also invitations to transform visuality into a deeper form of visibility linked to representation and participation. Indeed, rather than pointing only at "what we may have lost," these images also point at "what we might, perhaps, still find" (Puranen 1999: 12).

Many visual representations of indigenous people detach their subjects from time. As a result, the subjects' "*afflictions are communicated, but recognition is lacking*" (Samson 2003: 227). However, rather than offering static representations of Sami life, Puranen shows how it became what it is today: in some images, historical pictures reproduced on acrylic are held by people who are situated behind another photograph as yet another layer of historical memories and experiences, showing the trajectory from then to now. As Edwards (1999b: 43) explains, in Puranen's work "the dead and the living are brought together."

In another image, a fence cutting the landscape and the photograph in two parts symbolizes the tension between the indigenous way of life and

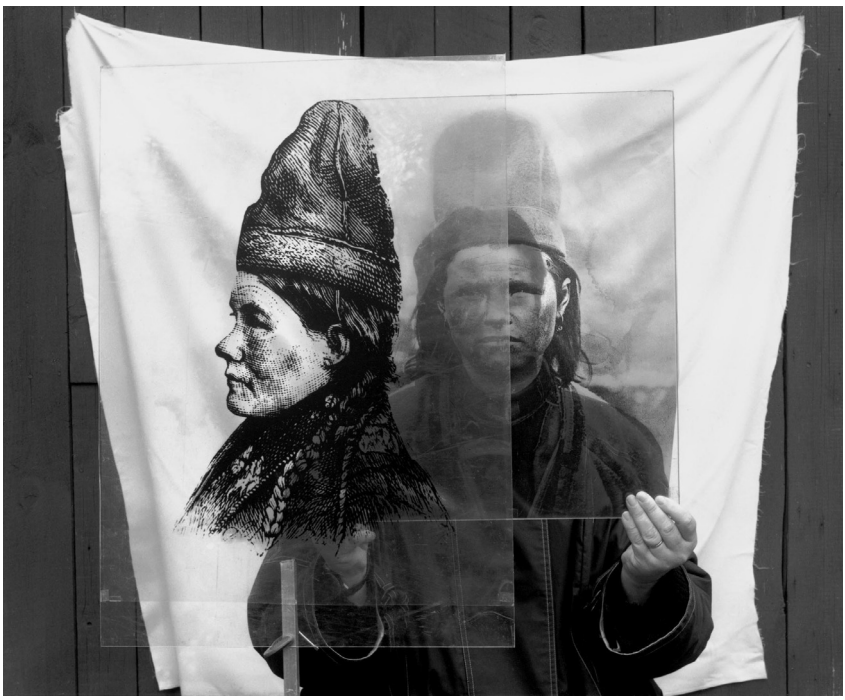

Fig. 1. Jorma Puranen, Anár, Finland, 1994 (reproduced with permission by the artist).

the nation-state building process characterized by the erection of borders along a north-south line which challenged and to some extent rendered impossible the east-west migratory movements of the indigenous peoples. The indigenous way of life and the erection of national boundaries were mutually exclusive. To some extent they still are, therefore the title: "the homecoming" can only be imaginary, that is to say, it "exist[s] only in imagination or fancy."[9]

At the same time, Puranen avoids nostalgic romanticization and idealization of the northern peoples' way of life just as he avoids (seemingly) empty landscapes. More importantly, by "putting something in between the viewer and the subject: transparent portraits, phrases in Latin, flags"[10] he interrupts the viewer's gaze, challenges habitual viewing patterns and invites engagement. Indeed, as Ernst van Alphen has noted, vision can be engaged by "raising obstacles." Obstacles encourage, among other things, "to try something when it is impossible, to intrude on a space that is not yours and has to be respected as secret or somebody else's" (Alphen 2005: 92). As such, they are an important ingredient of what Edwards calls "the critical edge of the work," which might seem threatened by its "sheer beauty" (Edwards 1999c: 61). In particular, the use in Puranen's work of flags in-

dicates a move from "the act of re-framing to re-claiming the identity of a landscape" (Papastergiadis 2000: 23). The use of white sheets on which historical photographs of Sami people are reproduced and positioned in the landscape also challenges the viewer. This procedure is reminiscent of the practice of colonial photography of taking pictures of indigenous people in front of white sheets and, by doing so, visually isolating them from their own culture and context. However, it also deconstructs this very practice by re-contextualizing the subjects and re-positioning them in the/their landscapes.

Other images show such modern elements as railway tracks, electric power stations and telecommunications installations, symbolizing the enduring conflict over land use. Placing historic images of Sami people in an economically exploited and partly devastated environment such as open-pit mines or above railway tracks indicates the dispossession of the Sami people of their own lands. However, it may also be seen as a claim to Sami participation in current and future forms of land use and global economic networks rather than freezing them as eternal reindeer herders. Yet, the indigenous peoples' connection with nature is acknowledged as an important one: in one image, a single light bulb reflects the faces of Sami people, photographed a hundred years ago and now reproduced on acrylic, on snow thus symbolically reuniting people and nature. In another image, the reflections of people's faces can be seen on the surface of a lake. At least visually, the indigenous people merge with, and regain possession of, their lands; at least visually, a homecoming is possible.

Tiina Itkonen, *Inughuit*

How to combine experience in the north with experience as a northern inhabitant without exploiting the subject by, for example, simply catering to the viewers' aesthetic pleasure? A possible answer can arguably be found in Tiina Itkonen's photographs of North-western Greenland's people and landscapes (Itkonen 2004), especially in those photographs that depict the family life—women and children as well as ordinary and daily activities.[11] These photographs are extraordinary although, from the point of view of the subjects, they show nothing special. Itkonen's portraits offer an alternative to the usual representational mode of approaching the north mainly as vast and empty landscapes and/or in terms of hunting, focusing on the unusual, the spectacular and the extraordinary (unusual, spectacular and extraordinary at least in the eyes of southern observers while being integral elements of the lives of the indigenous people). Itkonen's work may be seen as a family album. The family album is one of the everyday places where

Fig. 2. Tiina Itkonen, *Jonas*, Savissivik (reproduced with permission by the artist).

memories other than those stipulated for political or economic purposes are formed and cultivated, identities constructed and re-constructed and narratives tailored to the needs of the group (Hirsch 1997). The family album is a place where by means of story-telling and story-showing personal experiences are transformed into shared memories; a place where memories are transmitted from one generation to the next, thus preparing the future by narrating the past (a process that inevitably changes memories); and a place where current generations are linked to their ancestors, providing the family with a sense of continuous identity by verbally and visually linking the present with the past. Furthermore, photographs may not only appeal to or even touch the viewer but they can also be touched by the viewer, thus physically linking the viewer to the subject depicted. Indeed, touch "pro-

duces a much less dramatic transubstantiation of the object's material substance and form into a spiritual expression of boundless significance than do seeing or hearing" (Gilgen 2003: 54).

Itkonen's work can also be seen in light of the democratization of history noted above, that is to say, as an attempt to give voices and images to people and peoples marginalized, silenced and either made invisible or visualised for colonial purpose and for the purpose of satisfying the curiosity of southerners as to what they regard as "exotic" peoples. Indeed, as alluded to above, the current interest in collective memories has been explained with reference to processes of decolonization and democratization of history, in the course of which ethnic groups and minorities are said to "rehabilitat[e] their past [as] part and parcel of reaffirming their identity" (Nora 2002).

Itkonen's work, like Puranen's, is neither nostalgic nor static. It reflects the degree to which modernity has entered the lives of the Inughuit—remote control, coffee machine, a boy (Jonas) posing hilariously in a superman outfit, plastic toys, modern clothing and non-traditional housing. In combination with the accompanying captions revealing the names of those depicted, these photographs deviate from the visual colonial mode of depicting anonymous people, equating namelessness with a lack of identity. Itkonen therefore breaks with the practice of taking photographic possession of other people's lives, lands and identities. Based on respect for their lives, senses of place and identities, she constructs images in communication with the subjects. Ultimately, of course, it is for the people depicted to say whether they feel represented adequately or not.

Antero Takala, *Kaamos*

Traditional Finnish landscape painting has often been criticized for its depiction of what appears to be mere landscape (mainly hills, forests and lakes) devoid of people thus seeming to justify, and indeed invite, the colonial taking possession of the northern lands (Shapiro 2004: 117). At first sight, this criticism seems to be applicable also to the work of Antero Takala (2006, 2010), depicting the polar night and *kaamos*, the winter darkness, in Finnish Lapland but showing no human beings.[12] The exclusion from representation of human beings, especially indigenous people, has often been seen as an element of cultural governance, justifying the expansion of the nation-state. However, this assessment is dubious on three accounts. First, it shows only limited regard for the capability of the viewers to identify the nation-state's representational strategies and their underlying motives and interests. Secondly, it confuses reduction in meaning as a part of cultural governance with the multiple meanings of the images. These meanings do

not simply evaporate just because official preference is given to one specific meaning; alternative meanings may be temporarily suppressed or marginalized but they cannot be extinguished altogether; thus, they may re-appear in different circumstances. Thirdly, it ignores the capability of images to work at the same time on different levels, to show by implication that which seems to be excluded from representation, and to co-represent presences and absences. Thus, the above criticism confuses the meanings of an image with the social processes through which a particular interpretation of a given image becomes the dominant one under particular spatial-temporal circumstances. While it is an important ingredient of political analysis to identify these processes, images cannot be reduced to them; art itself might give rise to a way of thinking and feeling about the north beyond, and deviating from, official stipulations of meaning.

In Takala's photographs, co-representing absences and presences, human beings are present (just as they are present in older landscape paintings) although they seem to be absent from both (which qualifies the conventional criticism of landscape paintings outlined above). Their seeming absence might even invite the viewers to ponder why they are not depicted and this may lead to a critical investigation of viewing practices, modes of representation and forms of cultural governance. Takala furthermore undermines standard patterns of depicting Finnish Lapland by focusing on a situation where shadows are cast only by the moon thus interrupting the viewers' habits of viewing: there "is hardly any light while an extreme richness characterizes the little that is there" (Takala 2006: 10). For the viewer, it takes time to identify this richness and the different layers of meaning that can be found in the photographs because "[s]ometimes, the shadowless world that presents itself in unreal guise sends obscure perceptions to the brain" (Takala 2006: 75). Takala's work invites what Mieke Bal (2007: 113), in a different context, has called "slow looking." Indeed, shadowlessness and slowness condition one another because it takes time to see both that which can be seen because it is depicted and that which can be seen—or felt—although it is not depicted: *kaamos* "is a thing to be experienced rather than seen. The camera functions as the mediator of experience" (Takala 2006: 10). Due to the intimate relationship between both experience and memory, and memory and landscape it also functions as a mediator of memories of landscapes and, with it, senses of place and belonging.

Conclusion

In this essay it has been suggested that photography can serve as an epistemological triangle combining with one another different layers of expe-

riences and memories: the experiences (and memories of experiences) in the north with the experiences (and memories of experiences) as northern inhabitants. Both forms of experience can be communicated visually to the viewers of photographs without representing the experiences of northern inhabitants in terms other than their own. Obviously, photography is a medium through which all sorts of stories can be told and all forms of experiences can be communicated—stories and experiences supporting as well as criticizing existing and non-existing ways of life (Samson 2003) in the north. Indeed, from the surplus of meaning that images inevitably carry with them it follows that they cannot be reduced to one specific meaning. Images, therefore, may help their readers to live with difference, to respect other people's experiences and memories of experiences and to acknowledge that different groups of people may have different memories of what only seems to be the same history.

NOTES

[1] An earlier version of this article was presented at the conference North and Nordicity: Representations of the North, Munk Centre for International Studies at Trinity College in the University of Toronto, Canada, 17–19 May 2007. I am grateful to Heidi Hansson, Maggie McCarthy and two anonymous referees for *Journal of Northern Studies* for wonderfully constructive comments on different versions of this paper.

[2] See, for example, Walter Benjamin's scathing remarks on photography albums displaying "Uncle Alex," "Aunt Riekchen" and "little Trudi"—"... and finally, to make our shame complete, we ourselves—as a parlor Tyrolean, yodeling, waving our hat before a painted snowscape, or as a smartly turned-out sailor, standing rakishly with our weight on one leg, as is proper, leaning against a polished door jamb" (Benjamin 2008a: 282). In the meantime, the family album has been explored by a number of scholars including Richard Chalfen, Annette Kuhn and Julia Hirsch. I am grateful to one of the reviewers for pointing these authors out to me.

[3] See Sherrill Grace's discussion of portraits of Kate Carmack/Shaaw Tláa (Grace 2001: 98–104).

[4] The Magic of Lapland: Lapland in Art from the 1800s to Today, Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki, 16 June 2011–8 January 2012.

[5] While the incorporation in the analysis of indigenous photography would certainly be important, this cannot be done without systematically discussing the above concepts in terms of indigenous knowledge production which, in turn, cannot be done within the scope of a short article.

[6] Born in 1951, Puranen, a graduate of the University of Art and Design in Helsinki, is widely considered to be one of the most important contemporary Finnish photographers. His work is regularly shown nationally and internationally in both solo and group exhibitions. A professor of photography at the University of Art and Design from 1996 to 1998, Puranen is regarded as one of the most important figures behind the current international rise of Finnish photography. A good introduction into

his recent work can be found at www.helsinkischool.fi/helsinkischool/artist.php?id=9032&type=slideshow; access date 29 September 2011.

[7] What follows is inspired by Edwards's thoughtful reflections on *Imaginary Homecoming*.

[8] Most of these photographs had been taken by a professional French photographer, G. Roche, during Prince Roland Bonaparte's expedition to Lapland in 1884. The photographs, some 400 negatives, are collected in the Musée de l'Homme in Paris (Puranen 1999: 11).

[9] *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, Volume 1, p. 1023.

[10] Dialogue: Marjatta Levanto and Jorma Puranen, at www.anhava.com; access date 29 September 2011.

[11] Born in 1968, Tiina Itkonen lives and works in Helsinki. Her work has been featured widely in both solo and group exhibitions as well as in numerous publications. A good introduction into her work on Greenlandic people and landscapes can be found at www.tiinaitkonen.com/landscape_gallery.html; access date 29 September 2011.

[12] Born in 1939, Antero Takala lives and works in Helsinki. A former television cameraman, Takala is well known for his photographs of northern landscapes (*Laplandscape*, 1977; *Kaamos*, 1987; *Mindscapes*, 2003) taken under very difficult light conditions. He also realized television video art works. Some of his landscape photographs can be found at www.katse.org/galleria/anterotakala; access date 29 September 2011.

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River Lamprey *Lampetra fluviatilis* (L.) Fishing in the Area around the Baltic Sea

ABSTRACT The river lamprey (*Lampetra fluviatilis*) was previously caught in large numbers in Europe when migrating up in the rivers during autumn for spawning the next spring. It was used as food and was also used as bait in cod fishing in the North Sea. Today the river lamprey has decreased in numbers over much of it's distribution range, but in the Baltic Sea area, the population is still at a fairly good level, and fishing for lampreys as food (a tradition going back to at least the fifteenth century) is still going on in northern Swedish and Finnish rivers, as well as in coastal rivers in the southern Baltic Sea area. In this article the current situation as regards river lamprey fishing in Sweden, Finland, Latvia and, to some extent, Estonia, Lithuania and Poland is presented.

KEYWORDS river lamprey, *Lampetra fluviatilis* (L.), Baltic Sea area, lamprey fishing, lamprey fishing gears

Introduction

The river lamprey has a distribution range from Southern Norway, into the Baltic Sea, and further along the Continental coast, around the British Isles and into the Mediterranean Sea, where a population still may exist along the west coast of Italy (Imam *et al.* 1958; Gaygalas & Matskev-

ichyus 1968; Hardisty 1986a; Hardisty 1986b; Maitland 2003; Saat *et al.* 2003; Igoe *et al.* 2004; Freyhof & Kottelat 2008; Thiel *et al.* 2009). It is also present in some large lakes, so called *land-locked populations*, for example in the lakes Vänern and Vättern in Sweden (Tjernberg & Svensson (eds.) 2007), and in Finland in large lakes of the watercourses of the rivers Vuoksi, Kymijoki and Kokemäenjoki (Tuuniainen *et al.* 1980). Populations of many anadromous fish, including lampreys, have declined in European waters since the mid-twentieth century (Renaud 1997; Kelly & King 2001; Hardisty 2006).

Fishing for river lamprey has a long tradition in Europe. It has been used for consumption in England and on the Continent, and was previously also used as bait for cod fishing on a large scale at Dogger Bank by Dutch fishermen (Lanzing 1959; Hardisty 1986a). The tradition of using lamprey for food goes back at least to Roman times (Root 1978), although then it could be confused with the sea lamprey (*Petromyzon marinus*). However, the fishing in such major rivers as the Rhine, the Weser, the Elbe, the Oder and the Vistula decreased dramatically or ceased totally in the twentieth century, as in many other rivers in heavily industrialized areas (Lanzing 1959; Hardisty 1986a). The reason is exploitation of the rivers for many different purposes (e.g. building hydroelectric power plants), but water pollution has also played a role.

Today it is mainly in the Baltic Sea area that the tradition of river lamprey fishing for food consumption is concentrated. Lamprey fishing still exists in Northern Sweden and Northern Finland along the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia, and in the Baltic States and Poland along the coast of the Gulf of Finland and the Baltic Proper. Here too, however, many of the large rivers are regulated and utilized for hydroelectric purposes, where the dams prevent the river lampreys from reaching their spawning grounds further upstream in their migration from the sea (Witkowski 1992; Hardisty 2006; Ljunggren 2006; Soler & Nathanson 2006; Witkowski 2010; Aronsuu 2011a; Aronsuu 2011c).

This article deals with the present situation for the river lamprey in the Baltic Sea area and reviews fishing for lampreys, particularly the situation in Sweden, but also in Finland and Latvia, and to some extent in Estonia and further south in the Baltic Sea area. In a subsequent article, the focus will be on the fishing gear types used for lamprey fishing in the same region.

Study Area, Material and Methods

In 2010 twelwe rivers in Sweden where river lamprey fishing is still performed were visited in the autumn fishing season. Nine lamprey rivers were visited in Finland and four lamprey rivers in Latvia. In the autumn of 2011 the same rivers were revisited, and along the Swedish coast 15 river lam-

prey fishermen were interviewed about their fishing activities, based upon a questionnaire with 58 questions about the lamprey fishing in the rivers where they were working as fishermen. Because official statistics about lamprey fishing are not collected in Sweden any longer, each fisherman was asked to estimate the total average catch of lampreys in their respective rivers, as well as the number of fishermen and the number of gears they use. If the answers differed among different fishermen, their figures were averaged. Of course the figures cannot be exact, except in rivers where the only catches are made in connection with a hydroelectric plant dam, where personnel from the hydroelectric plant or related fish farm are responsible for the fishing. Individual fishermen are not required to report their catches to any authorities. However, the number of fishermen in each lamprey river is low, and they know each other, so they have fairly good information about the number of fishermen, catches, and gears. Each interview was performed at personal meetings and during the same year, thus avoiding comparisons of catches between rivers that could appear between years.

On the Finnish side of the Gulf of Bothnia two lamprey fishermen were interviewed based on the questionnaire and information from seven more persons with knowledge about the lamprey fishing provided information, but there the questionnaire was not used for linguistic reasons. On the Finnish side there is also information available from environmental and fishery authorities, and the figures presented about lamprey catches are mainly based on published data.

In Latvia the fishing of river lampreys was studied in rivers emptying in the Gulf of Riga in the eastern part of the country and in rivers emptying into the Baltic Proper in the western part in 2010 and 2011 during the autumn fishing period. Besides interviews with local fishermen, information was collected from people who processed lampreys, from the heads of the museums of Salacgriva and Daugava, from representatives at the Fisheries Department and from information about lamprey fishing in Latvian literature and official statistics. In Estonia lamprey fishing was studied in the River Pärnu, emptying into the Gulf of Riga, in the autumn of 2011. Information was further collected from experts at the University of Tartu, and from Estonian literature about river lamprey fishing. Data about lamprey fishing in Lithuania, Poland and Germany is based on official statistics and published information.

Biology

The river lamprey has an eel-shaped body form. Instead of bones, they have cartilage (Maitland 2003). The lamprey belongs to the family *Petromyzon-*

tidae (Kullander 2011) and is characterized by a round sucker-like mouth with which it can attach to for example a stone in the river (compare Fig. 1) or to a fish during the parasitic growth period in the sea. In the mouth and on the tongue they have teeth with which they rasp the surface of attacked fish (e.g. Maitland 2003).

The larvae spend four to six years in the bottom sediment in a river, and when they are about 9–13 centimetres long they metamorphose to the adult phase (e.g. Fogelin 1972; Tuunainen *et al.* 1980; Sjöberg 1980; Valtonen 1986). They then actively or passively go with the water flow to the sea, where they live a parasitic life on herring (*Clupea harengus*), sprat (*Spattus sprattus*) and other fish species (Eglite 1958b; Hardisty 1986a). When they enter the rivers again, mainly in the autumn after a further half a year or more (Aronsuu 2011c), they have reached a length of about 30 centimetres and a weight of about 50 grams. However, there are substantial geographic and seasonal variations (Witkowski & Kuszewski 1995; Bartel *et al.* 2010). In Gdansk Bay in Poland, for example, the mean weight is as much as 149.5 grams, and there is a gradient with increasing length and weight from north to southwest (Bartel *et al.* 2010). The river lampreys migrate upstream the river during the night. They spend the winter in the river without eating, and after the spawning in spring when the water temperature reaches about 10°C, they die (e.g. Maitland 2003, Hardisty 2006).

In the Baltic Sea area there exist three species of lampreys, the river lamprey, the sea lamprey (*Petromyzon marinus*), and the brook lamprey (*Lampetra planeri*). It is the river lamprey that is fished for food. The brook lamprey is too small to utilize as food, and the sea lamprey is too rare in the region, but it has been fished for further west on the Continent. For detailed information about the biology of lampreys see e.g. Hardisty & Potter (eds.) 1971; Maitland 1980; Maitland 2003; Hardisty 1986a; Hardisty 1986b; Hardisty 2006.

Fishing for Lampreys

The river lamprey is an anadromous species, that is, it spends some time in the sea while it grows to adulthood, but migrates up in the rivers for spawning. In all the bigger rivers emptying into the Baltic Sea region, that is, the Baltic Proper in the south, the Gulf of Finland to the east and the Gulf of Bothnia to the north, fishing for anadromous fish species has been important. At least in the northern rivers, the most important species has been the salmon (*Salmo salar*), along with the whitefish (*Coregonus lavaretus*) and sea trout (*Salmo trutta*). However, the river lamprey fishing has also been important as shown by the fact that even as far back as the sixteenth century it was an object of official taxation in Sweden and Finland (Nordberg 1977; Storå 1978).

Lamprey Fishing in Sweden

In Sweden, river lamprey fishing has been performed in most of the rivers from the River Dalälven and northwards. The catches have been in the order of 10 tons, that is, approximately 200,000 fish per year for example in the River Dalälven and in the River Umeälven (Berg 1960; Sjöberg 1980; Öhman 2000), but the situation worsened in the middle and late twentieth century because of construction of hydroelectric power plants in many of the main rivers (Soler & Nathanson 2006). Nowadays there are hardly any professional lamprey fishermen. Those who still perform lamprey fishing are mostly elderly men who fish as a leisure-time activity and to keep the tradition alive, and much of the catches are used for private consumption by family and neighbours. Only in five of the Swedish rivers are the catches of lampreys of such a size that they could be of some economic importance for the fishermen.

In a 2006 inventory, Soler and Nathanson (2006) concluded that lamprey fishing was performed in 25 rivers shortly after 1950, but had been reduced to 14 in the early 2000s. Among them, the following rivers had the most important catches: the River Ljusnan, the River Öreälven, the River Rickleån, the River Kalixälven and the River Torneälven (Swedish side). Approximately 50 persons were active as lamprey fishermen, and they used about 700 traps. The total catch per year during the period 1993–2003 was estimated to be approximately between 11,000 and 19,000 kilos. Assuming that the mean weight of a single lamprey is 50 grams in the region, the total number of the mean catch is between 220,000 and 380,000 lampreys. It is striking to compare these catches to the times before the rivers were exploited for hydroelectric power plants. For example, the mean catch was greater than nine tons in the River Dalälven alone during the period 1937–1948, and in the River Umeälven further north the mean catch was almost ten tons per year corresponding to about 200,000 lampreys during the period 1942–1951 (Berg 1960; Sjöberg 1980). These two rivers are just two of many which were exploited for power plants, where dams prevented the lampreys from reaching their spawning areas further upstream. Consequently, there has been a sharp decrease in the lamprey fishing during the last few decades, and in many rivers the lamprey fishing has ceased. There are no general restrictions against or rules for lamprey fishing in Sweden. It is up to the organizations or persons who have the fishing rights to decide about the fishing.

In 2010 and 2011 lamprey fishing was still performed in about 14 rivers, and fishermen along the main rivers estimated the total number of persons fishing for lampreys to be around 50–55, that is, similar figures as Soler and Nathanson (2006) presented for the period 1993–2003. The number of traps

in 2010 and 2011 was around 420 and the total catch was estimated to be about 7,500 kilos, or approximately 150,000 lampreys. Thus, the number of traps in use is much lower, and the total catch is reduced to just about half of the figures presented by Soler and Nathanson (2006). However, it ought to be noted that the investigation in 2010–2011 is based on interviews with different numbers of lamprey fishermen in the different rivers, and not on the total number of fishermen. As described in detail in the Methods section, the fishermen were asked to estimate the total number of fishermen, traps and catches in the rivers where they fish and are thus familiar with.

Lamprey Fishing in Finland

According to Hurme (1966) the lamprey stock was plentiful in all the rivers emptying in the Gulf of Bothnia at that time and the lamprey fishing was practised on a commercial basis, and partly for home consumption. The harmful effects of civilisation had not usually reached the spawning lampreys in the lower parts of the river, so the stock had been maintained so far. Later on Tuunainen *et al.* (1980) also wrote that formerly most Finnish rivers flowing to the Baltic Sea supported river lamprey stocks, but because of for example dams, pollution and timber floating, many stocks had been destroyed or weakened.

The total catch in the early 1970s was around 2.7–3.0 million individuals, corresponding to about 130 tons and for 1980 the figure was calculated to be 2.0–2.5 million, corresponding to c. 100 tons. For example, in 1978 the figure was 2.3–2.5 million (Tuunainen *et al.* 1980). For the year 1988, the catch of river lampreys was 1.8–1.9 million (Mäkelä & Kokko 1990).

In contrast to Sweden, Finland still collects statistics on their catches of river lamprey, although here too the data may vary widely in precision among rivers (see for example Kaski & Oikarinen 2011 for details). In the 2000s the total mean figures were close to 1.1 million river lampreys with a variation from the maximum of 1.8 million in 2000 to the minimum of 0.55 million in 2003. Between the years 2006 and 2009 between 0.8 and 0.9 million individuals were caught yearly according to information based on catches from about 15 watersheds, covering the most important lamprey rivers. The figures are estimated to cover about 95 per cent of the total yearly catch in Finland.[1]

In a recent report, Aronsuu (2011c) estimated that the average catch is about 900,000 individuals. The figures indicate that the river lamprey catches seem to have decreased in Finland too in the latest decades.

Although the most important recent catches mentioned above are from 15 rivers, Lehtonen (2006) estimates that river lampreys are fished commercially in at least 33 rivers. There are at present roughly about 400 lamprey fishermen in Finland (Aronsuu 2011c). Most of the lamprey fishermen are semi-profes-

sionals or catch lampreys for their own needs. Just a minority is professional, but lamprey is never their main target (Aronsuu 2011c; cf. Katajisto 2001).

Lamprey Fishing in Latvia

Back in 1958 the river lamprey migrated up in all Latvian rivers, and they were caught in large numbers particularly in the rivers Salaca, Gauja, Daugava and Venta (Eglite 1958a). During the period 1948–1960 the mean catches per year of river lamprey in the Latvian SSR was 67 tons (Ryapolova 1960). Between 1974 and 1979 the mean catches in Latvia were 147 tons, while in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s the number was 58, 128 and 99 tons, respectively. The lowest catch during the whole period was eight tons 1980, and the highest was 270 tons 1975 (Riekstiņš *et al.* (eds.) 2010). To get an idea of the importance of lamprey, these figures can be compared with the total catch of other fish species in Latvian inland waters. In 2003 for example, that catch was 381 tons. The same year the catch of lampreys was 112 tons (Riekstiņš *et al.* (eds.) 2010), that is, corresponding to approximately 1.3 million lampreys (based on the assumption that the mean weight of a lampreys is 82.0–95.5 grams in the Riga Bay) (Bartel *et al.* 2010). In the main lamprey rivers, there is a restriction period for fishing from 1 February to 31 July and in lamprey rivers of less importance the restriction period is from 1 February to 31 October.

Lamprey Fishing in Estonia

Lamprey fishing is quite important in Estonia. The river lamprey enters most of the rivers that empty into the Baltic Sea. The largest catches are from the River Narva, emptying in the Gulf of Finland, and the second river of importance is the River Pärnu, emptying into the Pärnu Bay (Saat *et al.* 2003; Oras (ed.) 2007). According to Saat *et al.* (2003) the catches have decreased over the last 60–70 years and they fluctuate considerably among years. The biggest annual catches were recorded between 1928 and 1938 with an average of 67 tons, and from the periods 1959–1968 and 1969–1988 the mean values were 21 and 26 tons, respectively (Saat *et al.* 2003). During the period 1994 to 2005 the biggest catch was 63 tons (Oras 2007). There is a closed season for lamprey fishing from 1 April till 30 June (Saat *et al.* 2003).

Lamprey Fishing in Lithuania, Poland and Germany

Gaygalas and Matskevichyus (1968) described the situation for the river lamprey in the basin of the River Nyamuas in Lithuania as being in an excellent state at that time. They suggested that if fishing could be organized properly, the annual catch could reach 30,000 to 50,000 kilos. They refer to literature that describes previous catches from the area, for example dur-

ing 1930–1933 catches ranged from 30,100 to 52,700 kilos. However, during World War II and some years after that, no lampreys were caught in the area, but river lamprey fishing was then resumed and rose from 800 kilos in 1958 to 11,200 kilos in 1966 (Gaygalas & Matskevichyus 1968). During the spawning season river lampreys are observed in 17 rivers (Kesminas & Švagždys 2010).

Witkowski (1992) wrote that in Poland the river lamprey enters the rivers in the northern part of the country and at that time it was still locally abundant, although a distinct tendency to decrease could be seen. Between the wars and after World War II, over 100 tons of river lampreys were caught in the Vistula near Gdansk. However, at the end of the 1950s the catches were so low that fishing ceased (Witkowski 1992; Witkowski & Kuszewski 1995). Later, Witkowski and Jęsior (2000) and Witkowski (2010) stated that the occurrence of river lampreys in Polish rivers was low due to environmental pollution, overfishing and river damming. The river lamprey was concentrated to the lower Vistula basin. There the catches from 1990 to 1999 varied from 1.8 tons in 1998 to 8.3 tons in 1995.

In former times there was an important river lamprey fishery in the German rivers emptying into the southern Baltic Sea (e.g. Imam *et al.* 1958; Sterba 1962; Hardisty 1986a), but there seems not to be any lamprey fishing there now (Thiel *et al.* 2009).

Gear Types Used for Lamprey Fishing

The fishing gears which have been used for river lamprey fishing in the Baltic Sea area can be divided into the following types: hollowed out tree-trunk (Fig. 2), log-like structures made from boards (Swedish *nättingstock*) (Fig. 3), baskets, often of willow or juniper (Swedish *nättingkasse*) (Fig. 4, 5), pots made of laths (Swedish *tinor*) (Fig. 6), finely-woven fyke nets (Swedish *nättingryssja*) (Fig. 7, 8) and other designs, for example large milk pots and plastic pipes. Sometimes these traps are equipped with a lifting frame, and in that case they are often attached to a wooden construction built some metres out in the river from the river bank (in Finnish and Swedish *pata*; also known by some as *pato*) (Fig. 9, 10, 11, and 12) (cf. Storå 1978; Sjöberg 1982). Trap types are adjusted to the stream condition and water level in the rivers. Except for the fyke net trap, the gears described from Sweden and Finland are used in connection to rapids or streaming sections.

Some types of fishing gear are no longer in use in Sweden, and in the last few decades the materials in the traditional trap types have been replaced by other types of material. However, some of the methods known from former times have been in use until quite recently. For example, the lamprey trap described by Linnæus back in 1732 during his journey in the

County of Norrbotten in the northernmost part in Sweden (Linnæus 2003 [1732]) was made of tree-trunks split into halves, hollowed out and then put together again. A similar model was in use up to the middle of the last century in for example the River Piteälven and the River Gideälven (Fig. 2). It is easy to think that the wooden model made of boards and still in use in the River Rickleå (Fig. 3) and the River Öreälven is a direct descendant of the hollowed out trunk model.

In 1772 Juvelius (1772) described a lamprey trap in Ostrobothnia in Finland constructed of twigs or shoots of willow. River fishing has been done in the rivers in the area for hundreds of years, and they are adjusted to the conditions in the rivers. Thus, it is still possible to see this type of trap in use for example in the River Simojoki in the southern part of the province of Lapland (Fig. 4). However, in the 1980s the traditional type of baskets constructed of willow shoots began to be replaced by baskets built from plastic coated wire netting, plastic nets, or later on even by fibreglass in Finland (Fig. 13 and 14), and a bit later also in Sweden, where even metallic nets are used. Some wooden trap types (other than those made of wooden boards), for example the traps made of wooden laths, are still in use in the River Torneälven, although in recent years they are being replaced more and more by a trap of similar shape but made of glass fibre. Otherwise, a significant difference between the fishing gears in Finland and Sweden is that fyke nets are nowadays frequently used in most of the Finnish lamprey rivers, but not at all in Sweden (apart from tests in two rivers). In Finland they were used in the River Kalajoki for a short period in the 1940s, but from the mid 1960s the use of fyke nets increased rapidly, and from there it spread to other rivers (Tuomi-Nikula 1986). For example, in the early 2000s there were approximately 70 fyke nets in use in the River Kalajoki and 90 per cent of the catch was caught by them, while in 2010 the number of fyke nets was 35 and their proportion of catch was 78 per cent (Aronsuu 2011c). According to Aronsuu (2011c) the number of traps has been restricted by the owners of the fishing rights in almost all of the Finnish lamprey rivers because of decreasing populations.

In Latvia fishing gears of traditional materials are still used (Fig. 12). However, baskets made of willow shoots or spruce are no longer in use. Spruce was preferred when available, but in the River Daugava the traps were made of willow, because spruce is not common in that area. According to the fishermen, the wooden traps used at the weirs in the River Salaca had been successively abandoned since the early 1980s and about 15 years ago they all seem to have been replaced by traps with nets. During the transition period the fishermen compared and evaluated the two types of traps in practice. They have not been replaced by plastic or metallic netting materi-

als. Fyke nets are used in Latvia (Fig. 8), but without the wings typical of the nets in Finland.

In Estonia lampreys are mostly caught in fyke nets (Oras (ed.) 2007), but fishing gears formed as cones, made of plastic, are also used. Kangur *et al.* (2005) mention "lamprey bags and small traps." When Gaygalas and Matskevichyus (1968) described the situation for the river lamprey in the basin of the River Nyamuas in Lithuania in former times, they also mentioned that different types of net traps and osier cone traps were used for catching lampreys.

Organization of the Fishing

Generally, fishing rights in Swedish and Finnish rivers belong to the landowners along the river in question (Storå 1978; Storå 1986). However, in reality the lamprey fishing is often performed as a community activity, and a fishing site can also be leased, as is done in for example the River Piteälven in Sweden and in the River Lestijoki in Finland. In some cases the fishing is locally quite strictly regulated, as in the rapids near to the river mouth in the River Rickleå. There the fishing is divided into 256 *skäl*, an old measurement for grain, etcetera but also regarded as a measurement of taxation assessment based on the acreage, position, etcetera of the farm. The fishing is done by teams of two persons. Every night two teams fish, one on each side of the river. The fishing implements are utilized in common by all members of the community and every fishing team is supposed to keep a certain number of *nättingstockar* available. There can be a total of up to 70 *stockar* in use in the rapids every night. In practice, this organization is restricted to the lower part of the river. Further upstream every member of the village can fish for lampreys anywhere in the river. Similar strict organization of the lamprey fishing was also in use in the formerly important lamprey rivers Dalälven and Umeälven in Sweden (Berg 1960; Ehn 1970; Ehn 1986; Öhman 2000).

Similarly, in Finland the landowners also own the fishing rights, but today the organization can differ among rivers. For example in the River Simojoki the landowners still have access to the best fishing sites, while for example in the River Perhonjoki all persons living in the community have the right to fish for lampreys, but the number of fishing gears allowed to be used is regulated. Each person has the right to use one fyke net or ten pots. It is very likely that the fairly late introduction of fyke nets as fishing gear for river lamprey has changed the previously strict regulation of lamprey fishing: fish traps (like baskets) are placed in rapids, and thus in restricted areas along the river, while the fyke nets are normally placed in the water

between the mouth of the river and the first rapid. For more detailed descriptions of the organization of lamprey fishing in the different northern Finnish rivers, see for example Tuikkala 1986; Tuomi-Nikula 1986; Kaski & Oikarinen 2011; and for more detailed information about fishing rights in Finland in general, see: www.fao.org/fi/oldsite/FCP/en/FIN/body.htm. The river lamprey-fishing season starts on 16 August and ends on 31 March. In practice, however, fishing ends at the end of October or November when ice begins to cover the rivers (Tuunainen *et al.* 1986; Lehtonen 2006).

The lamprey fishing in Latvia is commercial; no fishing for recreational purposes is allowed. The Fishery Department of Latvia decides in what rivers lamprey fishing is allowed, and the type and number of fishing gears are also decided by the Department, based on historical experiences gained from practising fishermen. Then the responsibility for the fishing is delegated to the municipalities on the rivers, and fishermen can apply for a license to the municipality. A licence can then cover a period of for example 15 years. In 2011 17 rivers were open for lamprey fishing. As in Sweden and Finland, one may not completely block the river with nets or traps, but a certain fraction of the river must remain open. This is to ensure that some fish can pass the gears.

Economic Importance

In the autumn of 2011 fishermen in Sweden received about 2.5 SEK (approximately 0.27 Euro) per lamprey, while at the market in Umeå in Northern Sweden the price for ten vacuum-packed cold-smoked lampreys was 120 SEK, that is, about 13 Euro, and in a grocery shop the price for one cold-smoked lamprey from Klabböle in the River Umeälven was 15 SEK, that is, about 1.6 Euro. In Finland, the fishermen in the River Perhonjoki got 50 Eurocents each for the fresh lampreys during the autumn of 2011, while for example in Ii in Northern Finland the cost of one grilled lamprey was two Euros (as of 11 December 2011, the exchange rate was one Euro to 8.99 SEK).

If the present catch of lampreys in Finland is approximately 0.9 million (Aronsuu 2011c) and the potential value of one lamprey is 50 cents to the fishermen, as in the River Perhonjok in 2011, then the approximate total value of the lamprey fishing would be about 450,000 Euros, but Aronsuu (2011c) estimates the value of fresh lampreys at about 0.5 million Euros per year and as refined about 1.5 million Euros (the prize for one kilogram of grilled lamprey at the market places is usually 20–50 Euros). Kaski and Oikarinen (2011) estimated the number of lampreys caught in the rivers between Tornionjoki and Perhonjoki in Northern Finland (it

is from this area that 80–90 per cent of the total catch of lampreys in Finland comes) to be between 660 and 850 thousand in the last few years with a weight of between 28 and 50 tons, given a value of 0.4–0.5 million Euros (the mean value for one kilo of fresh lampreys in 2010 was 10–11 Euros). The most important rivers are Tornionjoki, Kemijoki, Iijoki, Siikajoki, Pyhäjoki, Kalajoki and Lestijoki. Other important rivers are Simojoki, Kiiminkijoki and Perhonjoki. In 2010 297 persons fished with 193 fyke nets and 1926 traps within the region according to a compilation made by Kaski and Oikarinen (2011) (see also Seppälä & Sarell 2002).

A similar estimate of the Swedish value (based on a total catch of approximately 0.15 million lampreys and a potential value of 2.5 SEK each) yields a total value of approximately 0.38 million SEK, or about 42,000 Euros for fresh lampreys.

The general impression among the fishermen in Latvia is that the demand for lampreys is higher than what they can deliver, and the prices for lampreys are at the higher end of the scale for fishes. At the Central Market in Riga in November 2011, the price for one kilo of grilled river lamprey was about eight Latvian Lats (equal to 104 SEK or 11.24 Euros as of the exchange rates at that time). At the same time the price the fishermen got was 2.5–3.5 Lats per kilo. If the total catch in Latvia is about 100 tons, the total value of the catch would be approximately 4.2 million SEK or approximately 467,000 Euros. In the market the retail price in 2011 for fresh lampreys (i.e. the price for one kilo of fresh lampreys at the fish market) was starting from 4.9 Lats per kilo.

The Market for River Lamprey

During the season, that is, mostly during September and October in Sweden and Finland, river lampreys are sold in grocery stores and at markets in the vicinity of the fishing sites. However, in some areas the lampreys are prepared for the market on a larger scale. In Sweden, the towns of Umeå and Gävle are such places, and in Finland Ii, Oulu, Kalajoki, Himanka and Pori along the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia are similar centres. In these areas, resellers of lampreys collect lampreys from different rivers having a surplus of lampreys. In Latvia the towns of Carnikava and Salacgriva in the eastern part of the country are centres for preparation of lampreys.

In Finland the structure of lamprey fishing and lamprey markets has been studied by Katajisto (2001) from the fishermen's viewpoint, as well of the lamprey consumers and buying behaviour along the rivers Tiukanjoki, Kyrönjoki , Perhonjoki and Lestijoki. It was concluded, based on a questionnaire, that the lamprey purchasers are usually middle-aged and of varying

social and economic status, and in general people were satisfied with the supply of processed lamprey and the price of the products. Furthermore, the fishermen sell the main part of the yearly catch unprocessed, and most of the catch is directly sold to the processing companies or their purchasers. None of the fishermen intended to stop fishing because of low prices (Katajisto 2001).

As mentioned above, the interviewed fishermen in Latvia regarded the market for river lamprey as good. During a part of the season in 2011 unsuitable winds in the Baltic resulted in smaller numbers of migrating lampreys than normal in the rivers, and the prices for lampreys were unusually high (www.ej.uz/xi5u). Still the consumers bought the products, and the fishermen regarded the demand for lampreys as bigger than the catches. In the Central Market in Riga there were at least 17 different sellers in the fish section who offered grilled river lampreys for sail (just one offered smoked lampreys).

At least eleven companies in Latvia are involved in processing lampreys and most of them are located in the town of Carnikava east of Riga (www.delfi.lv).

How Lampreys are Prepared for Food

The lampreys are consumed as cold-smoked, warm-smoked, grilled, pan-fried, boiled or as an ingredient in soup. There are regional differences in preference, as described for Finland by Tuomi-Nikula (1977), but in general in the northern part of coastal Sweden, smoked lampreys dominate, while further south grilled lampreys are more common. Along the Finnish coastal region of the Gulf of Bothnia, grilled lamprey seems to be preferred today (sometimes marinated), and Latvia is similar.

The preparation of the river lamprey for consumption also varies among different river valleys and regions. In most geographic areas, the abundant slime that the lampreys secrete is removed before preparation (Fig. 15). This is achieved by placing the live fish in water to which ash or lime has been added, as is done along the rivers Rickleå and Umeälven, or in salt, as along the River Torneälven and the Lestijoki and Perhonjoki valleys in Finland. The lampreys are then carefully washed in fresh water. In the Rickleå district the lampreys are then put in salt brine for 24 hours, after which they are ready for smoking. Alder wood is used, sometimes with the addition of juniper wood to yield another colour and taste. (For a detailed description of the former fishing in the River Nykarleby in Finland, see Juvelius 1772; Storå 1978; Storå 2008; and for River Dalälven in Sweden, see Ehn 1970; Ehn 1986.)

In Latvia most of the lampreys are consumed fried or grilled, but it is also possible to buy smoked lampreys (Riekstiņš 1999). In Latvian homes the lampreys are mostly eaten grilled or fried, and smoked lampreys are not

common. The slime is not always taken away before preparation, but when it is done, salt is normally used.[2]

Fig. 1. Eric Andersson at the River Rickleå, province of Västerbotten, Sweden, demonstrates how a river lamprey can attach to objects like his hand by their sucking mouth. The scientific name *Lampetra* means 'stone licker,' referring to its habit to attach to stones in the river (Kullander 2011). 30 August 2011. Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

Fig. 2. River lamprey stocks, each of them cloven in two parts, hollowed out, and then put together again, were commonly used in the River Gideälven, province of Västernorrland, Sweden, until the middle of the 1950s. 19 September 2011. Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

Fig. 3. Eric Andersson and Greger Roos emptying traditional lamprey fishing gears made of wooden boards (Swedish: *nättingstockar*) in the River Rickleå, province of Västerbotten, Sweden, 30 August 2011. Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

Fig. 4. In the River Simojoki in the southern part of the Finnish province of Lapland, traditional lamprey traps constructed of willow shoots still dominate, although the use of modern materials like fibreglass is increasing here too. In this river the fishing gears dry during the day after emptying them in the morning. In the evening they are put back into the river. The reason is that the baskets are quite fragile and last just a few years, and also because leaves and other organic materials drifting in the river are attached to the fishing gears and slow down the water flow through the gears if they are exposed around the clock. Furthermore, the lampreys only migrate during the night, so few are missed when the traps are out of the water. 27 September 2011.
Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

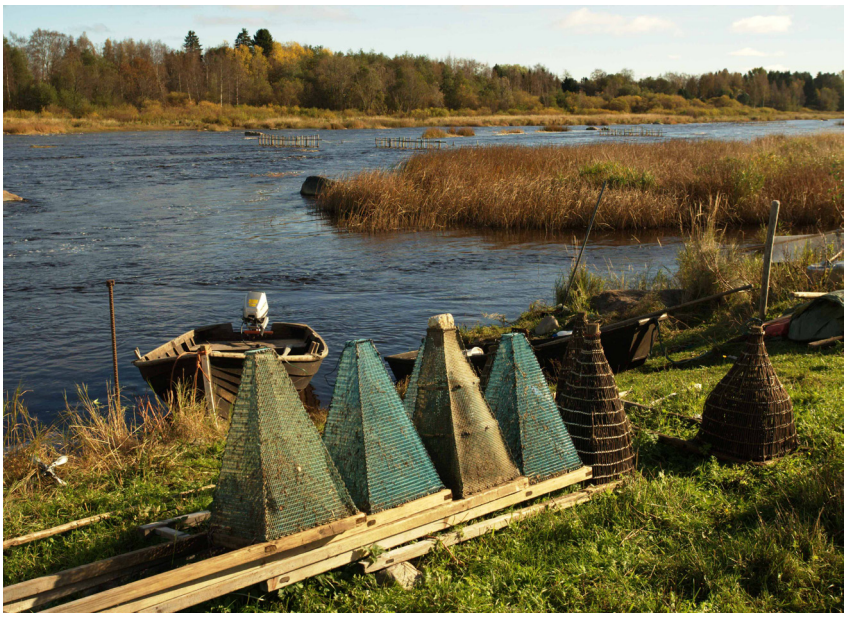

Fig. 5. The River Kalajoki in the southern part of the province of Northern Ostrobothnia, Finland. A mix of traditional baskets and modern material is used in the river. In the river wooden weirs or barriers are seen, where the traps, equipped with lifting frames, are attached. 27 September 2011. Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

Fig. 6. Because of the unusually high water levels in many of the northern Swedish and Finnish rivers in the end of September 2011, some of the fishing gears for lampreys was temporarily brought to the shore, as shown here in the River Torneälven (Finnish: River Tornionjoki), the river dividing Sweden and Finland. The fishing gears in the front are constructed of wooden laths. 26 September 2011. Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

Fig. 7. In the River Lestijoki in the province of Middle Ostrobothnia, Finland, fyke nets, as shown here, are today the dominant lamprey trap type. 29 September 2011. Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

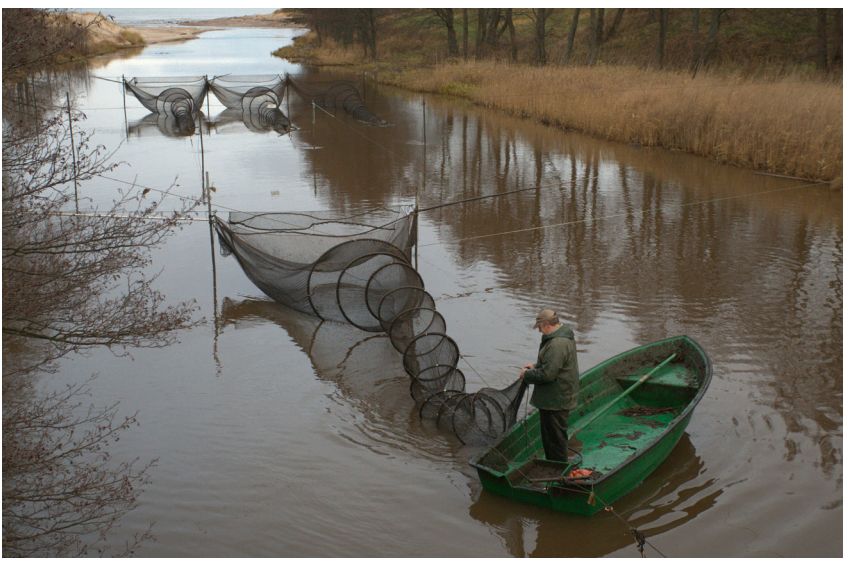

Fig. 8. Normunds Lode emptying his river lamprey fyke nets in the River Užava in Western Latvia, 17 November 2010. Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

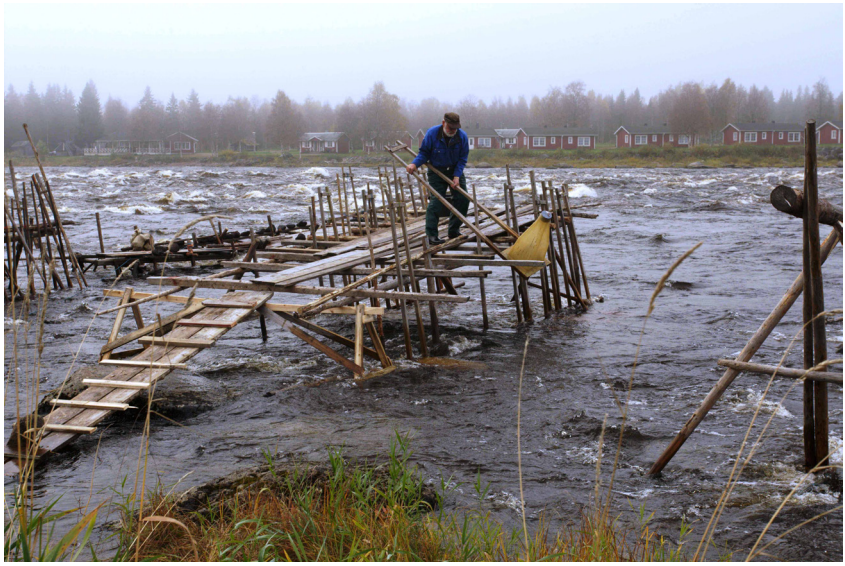

Fig. 9. On the Finnish side of the River Torneälven along the border between Sweden and Finland, river lamprey fishing is still carried on with traditional methods with baskets on lifting frames attached to wooden barriers along rapids in the river. In this river there are no obstacles in the form of hydroelectric power plant dams, and lampreys can be caught in rapids as far as 40 kilometres upstream from the mouth of the river. View of a wooden construction called *pata* (or *pato*) in the Kukkola rapid in the River Torneälven (Finnish side), 26 September 2011. Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

Fig. 10. On more simple wooden constructions lamprey gears are attached in a row out from the shore. Here, the Finnish side of the Kukkola rapid in the River Torneälven, 26 September 2011. Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

Fig. 11. Helge Blomlid and Bertil Niska emptying their lamprey traps attached to a *pata* (or *pato*) along the Swedish side of the River Torneälven, early in the morning of 26 September 2011. Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

Fig. 12. A weir in the River Salaca in eastern Latvia with gears designed for river lampreys, 18 November 2010. Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

Fig. 13. Present-day fishing gears for river lamprey fishing in the River Perhonjoki in the province of Middle Ostrobothnia, Finland. Note that traditional gear design is still used, but willow shoots have been replaced by metallic nets covered by plastic (the light green traps in the foreground), or by plastic nets (the dark green traps in the background). 28 September 2011.
Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

Fig. 14. The traditional river lamprey traps constructed of wood are more and more being succeeded by similar traps made from other materials, like here in the River Torneälven (Finnish side), where the use of wooden lath traps (Fig. 6) is changing to glass fibre traps. 26 September 2011.
Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

Fig. 15. Sven Öberg is preparing river lampreys for cold smoking by mixing them in a solution of salt in water, after their slime has been removed by rotating them in a mix of lime and water for some minutes, and then carefully rinsing in water. The River Öreälven, province of Västerbotten, Sweden, 16 September 2011. Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

Activities to Improve Lamprey Populations in the Rivers

Improvement of Fish Ways

Hydroelectric power plant dams are regarded as one of the most important reasons for the decline of river lampreys (e.g. Fig. 16). For example, regulation of the water flow can dry out larval habitats and spawning sites, or cause damage due to changes in water level. However, another problem for the lampreys is that they cannot normally pass a power plant dam even if a waterway or fish way is constructed, because they are mainly designed for salmonid fish, and not for relatively weak swimmers like the lamprey. For that reason studies and experiments have been made to evaluate and improve the situation for the upstream migration of lampreys (Laine *et al.* 1998; Larinier 2008; Lucas *et al.* 2009). When brushes were added in the lower end of slots, lampreys were able to swim through vertical slot sections of the fish way in the River Kemijoki and the results seem promising (Aronsuu 2011b).

Fig. 16. The nowadays more or less dry rapid Baggböleforsen in the River Umeälven, province of Västerbotten, Sweden, is an example of the effect on lamprey habitats by construction of a hydroelectric power plant station. This rapid was once one of the best fishing sites for lamprey fishing in Sweden. Back in the 1970s about ten tons of lampreys were caught annually, that is, about 200,000 lampreys. Now the water in the river is by-passed and the water runs in a tunnel in the ground, emptying downstream of the nearly dry rapid which is shown above, and leaving this section of the river with just a trickle of water in the middle of the river.
18 October 2011. Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

Transportation of Lampreys above Migration Barriers

To make it possible for the lampreys to reach reproduction areas and habitats above power plant dams, transportation of lampreys above such migration barriers is performed at least in the following Finnish rivers (Aronsuu 2011b): the River Kemijoki, 100,000 adult lampreys per year; the River Iijoki, 60,000 adults per year; the River Oulujoki, 50,000 adults per year; the River Perhonjoki, 10,000 adults per year; the River Kokemäenjoki, 5,000 adults per year. In the River Perhonjoki, 576,118 adult lampreys were transported over a dam between 1981 and 2010 (Vikström 2011a). According to Aronsuu and Tuohino (2011) there has been no detectable increase in response in the number of lampreys migrating upstream, which can be clearly attributed to these actions, but they suggest that this might be due to the lack of homing behaviour of the lampreys, resulting in migrating to other rivers instead of their home river.

Transportation of lampreys around barriers like dams has been performed in Sweden although at a smaller scale than in Finland; currently such transportation is performed in the River Dalälven and the River Ljusnan. In the River Dalälven some thousand per year are caught at Älvkarleby. During the period 2006–2009 in total 14,466 lampreys were caught, with a weight of 1,037 kilos, that is, a mean value of 71.7 grams per lamprey, and 12,271 of them were transported over the dam at Älvkarleby. For example, in 2008, 6,173 lampreys were caught, with a weight of 392 kilos,[3] thus with a mean weight of 63.5 grams. In the River Ljusnan lampreys have been caught and transported around a hydroelectric power station dam close to the river mouth since 1989. In total, 5,231 kilos of lampreys were transported in that way between 1989 and 2010, giving a mean value of 238 kilos per year.[4]

Artificial Production and Release of Larval Lampreys

Artificial production of river lamprey larvae was tried for the first time in Finland in the early 1980s and has been performed in the River Perhonjoki and other rivers since that time (Vikström 2002; Aronsuu 2011b; see also Tuohino 2011a; Tuohino 2011b). At present two million larvae per year are released in the River Iijoki, and 15 million per year in the River Perhonjoki. Between 1997 and 2010 a total of 210 million lamprey larvae have been released in the river Perhonjoki and its tributaries (Aronsuu 2011b; Vikström 2011a). Some of the results seem to be promising and release of larvae has increased larval densities in one of the tributaries, which was earlier blocked by damming. However, in the main river larval densities are still at a low level (Aronsuu & Tuohino 2011). River lamprey larvae have also been released in the rivers Kyrönjoki, Lappväärtinjoki, Tiukanjoki Lestijoki and Perhonjoki (www.miljo.fi or www.ymparisto.fi).

Nothing of this kind is done in Sweden, but in Latvia artificial production of river lamprey larvae is performed as in Finland, and during the period 2003–2009 a mean number of 14.2 million larvae were produced and released in eight Latvian rivers, among them the Daugava, Gauja, Salaca and Venta (Riekstiņš *et al.* (eds.) 2010). In Estonia, fertilized river lamprey eggs have been reared in fish hatcheries since the 1950s (Saat *et al.* 2003).

Water Quality, Spawning Sites and Larval Habitats in Lamprey Rivers

In Finland, the effect of water quality on the river lamprey has been studied in the River Kyrönjoki (Mäenpää *et al.* 2000) and in the River Perhonjoki, where Myllynen *et al.* (1997) investigated the effects of the prevailing water quality on the hatchability of lamprey roe and survival of newly hatched larvae. They found that the survival of lamprey at early life states can be markedly affected by water quality. In particular, high iron concentrations, together with acid pH appeared to reduce the hatchability of fertilized eggs and increase the mortality of newly hatched larvae.

In the rivers Kalajoki, Perhonjoki and Pyhäjoki the effects of river regulation on lampreys were studied by Eklund *et al.* (1984) and Niemi and Kauppinen (1986). In the River Kalajoki they found a close connection between the effects on water quality of a water reservoir and a decline (and subsequent recovery) of the lamprey stock. In the River Perhonjoki a dam is blocking lamprey migration 32 kilometres from the sea. Much of the lower course has been dredged, and thus made largely uninhabitable for larval lamprey (*ammocoetes*). Their conclusion was that the river lamprey population was likely to collapse unless spawners were transported over the dam. Ojutkangas *et al.* (1995) studied the abundance of lamprey larvae in the River Perhonjoki and concluded that thick ice cover was formed on the most important production sites in the river below the dams as a result of short-term water regulation. Thick ice cover and fluctuations in water flow increased erosion, and therefore decreased both the quality and quantity of the production sites. Further studies in the River Perhonjoki have indicated that river regulation measures and short-term fluctuations in the water level below the power plant have rendered this section almost totally unsuitable for larval production (Aronsuu & Tuohino 2011).

Larval habitats have been studied in the River Kalajoki and there are less suitable habitats near a power plant due to short-term regulation and also in embanked and dredged sections of the river (Aronsuu & Tuohino 2011). Based on the conclusions from these studies (and others), restoration work has been done in both the River Kalajoki and the River Perhonjoki. For example, spawning habitats have been restored by transportation of sieved

gravel to riffle areas and new spawning habitats have also been similarly created. Furthermore, big piles of gravel have been left in the uppermost parts of restored riffle areas so that gravel is spread downstream over time with the help of floods (Aronsuu 2011b). Larval habitats have been restored by modification of the straightened river banks and fish ways and artificial rapids have been constructed in the River Kalajoki (Aronsuu 2011a; Aronsuu 2011b). Similar activities and studies have also been performed in other Ostrobothnian rivers in Finland (for more information, see www.miljo.fi or www.ymparisto.fi).

The Future of Lamprey Fishing

Among those fishermen interviewed along the Swedish side of the Gulf of Bothnia in this study, most have learned and taken over the fishing tradition from their fathers. They are thus continuing a tradition that is several hundred years old. For most of them there is no great profit in the activity; they fish for tradition and for their own households and for neighbours. However, only a few of them have successors to take up the tradition when they stop fishing themselves. Furthermore, because most of the fishermen are elderly (many are in their 60s or 70s), the future for lamprey fishing in Sweden seems to be quite uncertain at present.

The situation in Finland appears to be better than in Sweden. The fishing is more extensive, there are more active fishermen, they use more efficient fishing gear, the market for the fish is more developed, and studies about the quality of river lamprey as food are performed (Merivirta 2007). There are also ongoing restoration activities to improve the situation for the lampreys in the rivers, for example on the spawning grounds.

In Latvia the situation seems to be even better than in Finland. There still exist about 50–100 professional river lamprey fishermen[5] and there is a more industrial scale in the operations producing lamprey products for the market. According to local fishermen, it is not difficult to recruit new fishermen to lamprey fishing at present. Furthermore, the river lamprey is still a well-known food among the Latvian people, and the price for the lamprey in the market is towards the higher end of the scale among fish species (Fig. 17).[6] For example, at the Central Market in Riga, the price for a kilo of fresh river lamprey was 4.90 Lats per kilo, and the price for fresh pike perch was 3.80 Lats per kilo on 9 November 2011.

Discussion

River lampreys were once a widespread species along the coastal areas of Europe, and during spawning migration up the rivers, they were caught in

Fig. 17. River lamprey products for sale at the Central Market in Riga, 9 November 2011. Photo: Kjell Sjöberg.

large numbers for food (e.g. Sterba 1962; Hardisty 2006). Today there is essentially no river lamprey fishing for food performed in the British Isles (Igoe *et al*. 2004; Kelly & King 2001), and that seems to be the case also in Germany (Thiel *et al*. 2009). However, river lampreys are still caught in the tidal Ouse in North-East England, where for example almost 40,000 lampreys were caught in 2003–2004, but they are sold to anglers for use as bait (Masters *et al*. 2006).

In the northern part of the Baltic Sea area, the tradition of river lamprey fishing for food still lives on. In addition, in Lithuania in the Southern Baltic Sea area, river lamprey fishing still exists and particularly so in Estonia and Latvia. However, the catches have decreased in Sweden as well as in Finland during the last few decades, even though the fishing gear used there has become more efficient and easier to handle (Ojutkangas *et al*. 1995). There could be multiple interacting reasons for the decline including a decrease in the lamprey populations, overfishing, a reduction in fishing effort, and/or changes in the market demand for river lampreys.

It seems reasonable to assume that the construction of hydroelectric power plants in the middle of the last century had a negative effect on river lamprey populations, because large areas of lamprey spawning and larval habitats are no longer available in many of the larger rivers in the Baltic Sea area (e.g. Tuunainen *et al*. 1980; Soler & Nathanson 2006; Nathanson & Liby 2007).

Constructions of hydroelectric power plants in the lower parts of rivers are barriers for the anadromous river lamprey when it enters the rivers from the sea to spend the winter in the river and for spawning the next spring. Such barriers are impossible for the lampreys to pass, and even if there are fish ways (fish ladders) constructed in connection to a dam, the lampreys are normally too weak swimmers to be able to pass even then (fish ways are mainly designed for salmon and trout). Short-term regulation of water levels and dredging of the rivers, which influences the larval and spawning habitats are other effects of hydroelectric power plants (e.g. Kainua & Valtonen 1980; Eklund *et al.* 1984; Ojutkangas *et al.* 1995). Additional reasons for a decline are changes in the quality of river water due to contamination as well as other aspects like the pH level (Myllynen *et al.* 1997; Edén *et al.* 1999).

In HELCOM's (Helsinki Commission) red list of threatened and decreasing species in the Baltic Sea (HELCOM 2007), the river lamprey was listed as a species with high priority in 2005, and with the notation that the species is of global importance. It was also defined as a *key species*, that is, as a species that has a controlling influence on a community. It is regarded as a species that is decreasing in number and this decrease is classified as being of importance regionally, particularly in the southern Baltic Sea. In the northern part of the Baltic Sea it is classified as *Near threatened* (NT), but here there is only a moderate decrease (HELCOM 2007).

In Sweden the river lamprey was included in the national Red List Book in the 2005 edition as *Near threatened* (NT), but in 2010 it was deleted and the population was given the definition *Least concern* (LC) (Gärdenfors (ed.) 2005; Gärdenfors (ed.) 2010). In the Finnish Red List it was concluded that the river lamprey has decreased in number recently and that the number of larvae fluctuates. Therefore the category *Near threatened* (NT) was retained in that list (Urho *et al.* 2010). In the national Red List of Germany it is regarded as *Critically endangered* (CR) and as *Vulnerable* (VU) in the Polish list (HELCOM 2007), but in the IUCN category as *Endangered* (EN) (Witkowski 2010).

Overall, there seem to be different levels of threats to the river lamprey in different parts of the Baltic Sea area. However, the fact that there are attempts to improve the situation for lamprey, for example by transporting them over barriers in the rivers emptying into the Baltic Sea, release of lamprey larvae, and restoration of spawning and larval habitats certainly indicate some level of concern. In the rivers Kalajoki and Perhonjoki in Finland, there seems to be a negative trend in the number of up migrating lampreys, although the catches have fluctuated widely from year to year since the late 1970s (Kaski & Oikarinen 2011). In the River Perhonjoki, studies have also shown that the number of lamprey larvae has decreased signifi-

cantly since 1982 due to river regulation measures (Ojutkangas *et al.* 1995; Aronsuu 2011a).

Could overfishing be a reason for decreasing lamprey populations? Only one study has been performed in Sweden where the number of river lampreys migrating into a river was calculated (by the mark-release-recapture method) in relation to the number of fish caught (Asplund & Södergren 1975). However, that study was performed just for one year and rather a long while ago (data collection in 1973). This study calculated that the catch comprised 43 per cent of the total population.

In Finland, in the River Kalajoki, the catches have been related to the estimated total number of migrating lampreys since the late 1970s (Aronsuu 2011a). There were great variations among years. For example in 1981 the catch efficiency was 49 per cent, but values up to 60 per cent were calculated for single years. Valtonen (1980) estimated the fishing mortality to be above 80 per cent for the end of September and middle October in the River Kalajoki, but then it decreased rapidly because ice on the river prevented most of the trap net fishing and some fishing with baskets. In the River Pyhäjoki the rate of exploitation was calculated to between 50 and 60 per cent at the beginning of October. In a similar study in the River Perhonjoki for 1981, the catch efficiency was 44 per cent (Eklund *et al.* 1984), but in the last decade the figure is about 31 per cent, according to a compilation by Vikström (2011b). However, when including all the years since the 1970s, Aronsuu and Tuohino (2011) calculated the mortality in Kalajoki at 50 per cent on average, and in Perhonjoki at 43 per cent, and they found that in the last decade the catches and migrating stock of lampreys were at a low level. The fishermen at the River Kalajoki have voluntarily decreased the number of fishing gears in the last few years[7] and generally the catches are regulated for example by rules for how many gears the fishermen are allowed to use. In the River Perhonjoki the number of traps was 107 in 2009 but 77 in 2010, and the number of fyke nets was 38 in 2009 but 17 in 2010 (in 1980 the number of traps was 275 and the number of fyke nets was six) (Vikström 2011b). At least along two rivers in Northern Finland the fishermen have decided not to use the efficient fyke nets. Thus, with the present levels of catches, and with knowledge about the age structure among the fishermen, the judgement is that the river lamprey populations are not threatened (Kaski & Oikarinen 2011).

From the River Vistula in Poland, Witkowski (1992) refers to catches of river lampreys between the wars and after the Wold War II, when over 100 tons of lampreys were caught. At the end of the 1950s, however, the catches were so low that the fishing ceased. The result was regarded as depending on very strong fishery exploitation of lampreys migrating to their spawning grounds.

Even if the present situation for the river lamprey populations might be acceptable, at least in some rivers, the situation for lamprey fishing could still be different in the future. Particularly in Sweden the number of fishermen is low and is likely to continue to decrease, because most of the fishermen are elderly (and they fish for lampreys for tradition and leisure, rather than for economic reasons). The situation is similar in Finland, although not as pronounced as in Sweden. In a study of lamprey fishing in the river valleys of Lappväärtinjoki-Isojoki, Tiukanjoki, Kyrönjoki, Perhonjoki and Lestijoki in Finland, 42 per cent of 45 fishermen were over 60 years old, and only 2.2 per cent of them were younger than 20 years old. Just 4.5 per cent of them regarded themselves as full-time professional lamprey fishermen, while 18.2 per cent regarded themselves as part-time (i.e. 50 per cent) professionals. The other persons fished for lamprey for their own household or for recreation (Katajisto 2001). The best situation seems to be in Latvia, where there still exist 50–100 professional river lamprey fishermen.[8]

What about the expected future market for river lampreys? The interviews in this study indicated that although the fishermen say that they can currently sell their catches on the market, it is important to note that also the consumers of lampreys are mostly elderly people, and many among the younger generation have no tradition or history of eating river lamprey (cf. Katajisto 2001; Nathanson & Liby 2007). Thus, as most of the Swedish fishermen have few successors and their consumers are ageing, in Sweden the prognosis for the future of river lamprey fishing does not seem to be promising. The situation appears to be better in Finland and even more so in Latvia, where there still exist professional lamprey fishermen, and in these countries the tradition of river lamprey eating seems to be more strongly kept than in Sweden.

However, today fishing for river lampreys occurs in at least 16 Swedish rivers, and in at least 20 Finnish rivers. In Latvia licences for lamprey fishing are available in 17 rivers. Thus, in conclusion, although certainly decreasing in importance, the tradition of river lamprey fishing in the Baltic Sea area is still alive!

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NOTES

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Catching Basking Ide, *Leuciscus idus* (L.), in the Baltic Sea

Fishing and Local Knowledge in the Finnish and Swedish Archipelagos

ABSTRACT Ide (*Leuciscus idus* (L.)) gathers in shallow bays in the Baltic archipelagos during warm summer days. Finnish, Estonian and Swedish islanders called this "basking" or "sunbathing." The phenomenon was previously well known among fishermen, but it is very little researched. Local people caught the basking fish until some decades ago with special techniques, for example closing the bay with nets. Catching basking ide required observation, knowledge, attention and skill, but could provide a large catch when done properly. The method called for cooperation, but also divided the islanders according to fishing rights. The islanders' observations and fishing techniques reflect a broad local ecological knowledge and the capability to utilise local resources from the environment. This historical and ethno-biological study investigates perceptions and traditional knowledge of basking ide, fishing techniques connected to ide and from a larger perspective, the interaction between humans and fish in the Baltic archipelagos.

KEYWORDS ide, *Leuciscus idus* (L.), Baltic Sea, local knowledge, historical fishing methods

Introduction

"In late summer," writes the Swedish author August Strindberg, the water gets warm in the bays and the ide comes up for *basking* as the

locals say. He describes how the islanders at this time kept watch from the treetops and when someone observed that the "water becomes alive, he tells his comrades, who arrive in their flat skiffs from both points around the bay. The oars are carefully wound with wool stockings in order not to scare off the fish. Then they stretch a net over the mouth of the bay" (Strindberg 1888).

Strindberg's collection of short stories, *Life of the Men in the Skerries* (orig. *Skärkarlsliv*), describes people in the Stockholm archipelago in the 1880s. The account has a very authentic ring and supposedly the author took part in or observed an ide fishing event himself. Actually, he describes both certain ide behaviour known to the local fishermen and a special kind of fishing technique for ide (*Leuciscus idus* (L.)), which was still common in Sweden and Finland half a century ago. The basking behaviour of ide near the surface is well known also among biologists, but there is little research on the topic. The story of Strindberg reflects the thorough local knowledge of the sea and its inhabitants that islanders in the Baltic Sea possessed. It is also an excellent example of traditional relations between coastal inhabitants and marine biota.

The ide is a brackish and freshwater fish of the family Cyprinidae. It reaches a length of 40 to 60 centimetres and weighs up to two kilos, in rare cases even six kilos. Ide feeds on insect larvae and adults, cladocerans, worms, spawn of other fishes, small molluscs, diatoms and filamentous algae (Mutenia 1978; Brabrand 1985). Ide was previously distributed all over northern Europe, including Russia and northwest Siberia. In Sweden it occurs from the Öresund in the south along the Baltic coast into the Gulf of Bothnia. It also occurs around the island of Gotland (Kottelat & Freyhof 2007: 206–207). In Finland, ide occurs in coastal brackish waters and almost all main watersheds, with a concentration around the southwest archipelagos, especially the Åbo (Turku) area (Järvi 1932: 36; Piironen 1994). Today ide populations are diminishing, because of environmental stress stemming from both local and international sources, such as nutrient loading, fish farming, intense agriculture and increasing ship and boat traffic. Presently eutrophication is the main threat to the Baltic Sea and its inhabitants (Leppäkoski *et al*. 1999; Elmgren 2001; Ådjers *et al*. 2006).

The anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss noted as early as 1962 that local populations are deeply familiar with the natural environment they depend on and pay close attention to it. They devote a lifetime to learning, understanding and mastering their environment. This understanding (Lévi-Strauss calls it "science of the concrete") is today usually called *local knowledge* (Lévi-Strauss 1962; Hunn 2011: 85). Such knowledge includes not only those organisms and contexts that reflect cultural, economic or medicinal

Ide (*Leuciscus idus*) from Finland. Chromolithography by Gösta Sundman (from *Finlands fiskar målade efter naturen af Gösta Sundman* 1883–1893).

needs of humans, but comprises a profound and detailed knowledge of the entire ecosystem in which the population lives and acts. Local knowledge is often defined as the product of long-term observation and trial and error efforts. Some traditions are transmitted through generations and have crystallised into a summary of experiences and observations made by several persons. Such knowledge is usually incorporated in a complex system, including beliefs and practices, social relations, information on gathering techniques and data distribution (Berkes *et al*. 1995).

Local knowledge among fishermen is growing in importance internationally and it is used for the improvement of fisheries. Fishermen provide information about fishing practices, environment and ecology, behaviour, diet, habitat, predators and abundance trends of fish (Johannes *et al*. 2000; Silvano *et al*. 2008). In the Baltic Sea region, however, the significance of biological folk knowledge for fisheries and environmental issues is only beginning to be recognised. Yet rich data on local knowledge has been gathered from coastal dwellers around the Baltic Sea over the past few centuries. Most knowledge is, of course, lost through change and never recorded. Today some written information can be found in archives and printed books. Since the end of the nineteenth century, the population in the Baltic archipelagos has decreased and continues to diminish. Urbanisation, economic and cultural changes, emigration and globalisation processes are the main causes. In the past decades, ecological changes have also influenced the demographical processes on the islands (Leppäkoski *et al*. 1999).

Sources, Methods and Purpose

Historical ethnobiology differs from fieldwork-based research in that the researcher is unable to carry out interviews or observation activities on the spot. A qualitative rather than quantitative approach is required. Instead of doing fieldwork, we have to use narrative sources which at best convey concrete descriptions. Narrative sources are for example travelogues, topographical descriptions, chronicles, diaries, memoirs and older fauna surveys. Here we find descriptions and information on human perceptions that can be exposed to source criticism, analysis and interpretation. The sources often also provide data that cannot be extracted by other means, such as material culture, traces in the landscape or toponyms. Thus we are able to reconstruct folk knowledge that would otherwise be lost (Ståhlberg & Svanberg 2010; Svanberg *et al*. 2011).

Historical sources are in general scarce and fragmentary, but ethnobiological information can be analysed by applying a consistent comparative perspective with other sources, biological research, etcetera (Kinzelbach 1999; Myrdal 2007; Svanberg 2010). In the case of ide, there are a number of ethnographic descriptions, which can be found in archives and older publications. These descriptions are mainly based on eyewitness accounts or self-perceived experiences and observations from the eighteenth to the earlier half of the twentieth century (Sundevall 1855; Ohlsson 1944). For this study, we have used unpublished records in the archives of the Society of Swedish Literature in Helsinki (SLS), Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki (SKS/KRA), Finland, and the Institute for Language and Folklore in Uppsala (ULMA; Department of Dialectology and Folklore Research, Uppsala), Sweden, together with published sources.

The study of previous local knowledge is important for its historical, social, cultural and ecological values, for the practical reasons mentioned above, for biodiversity conservation and for the gathering of diachronic data (Berkes *et al*. 1995; Kinzelbach 1999; Huntington 2000). Our aim here is to describe folk knowledge about ide and ide fishing from around the Baltic Sea, compare it with the surprisingly scarce biological data on the phenomenon of basking ide and discuss the significance and relevance of the traditional knowledge in relation to modern research.

Folk Knowledge about Baltic Fish

Ethnobiologists often analyse folk taxonomies of fish, but seldom consider other knowledge about fish fauna (May 2005). As Kornhall (1968), Ernby (1985) and Edlund (2010) show, taxonomic folk knowledge about fish was previously very common in Scandinavia. In coastal areas along the Swedish

province of Hälsingland, fishermen could for example distinguish 25 kinds of Baltic herring (*Clupea harengus* (L.)), naming them according to occurrence, size and spawning season (Hedblom 1913).

Local people normally name different species of fish, but other aspects of fish fauna are considered important as well and receive names. This reflects an activity context (Balée 1994). Yet fish move in a completely different habitat than other animals caught by humans. Humans have limited physical possibilities to gather knowledge about fish. It is rather *ecology*, more than *taxonomy* that distinguishes fish from other prey. Fishermen cannot observe fish in the same way as hunters observe birds, mammals or other animals living in forests or fields. Yet most fishermen in the Baltic region were capable of recording not only the species, but also the signs of fish behaviour and to interpret them (Pálsson 1990). This kind of knowledge was very important for the success of the catch and ultimately, for the survival of the human population in the archipelagos.

An example of local knowledge is the "bubbling" of the Baltic herring, a well-known phenomenon among peasant fishermen in Sweden, Finland and Estonia. When big swarms of herring gathered together, fishermen around the Baltic Sea observed the quantity of bubbles rising to the surface. Fishermen in Norrland (Northern Sweden) said that the herring *mölar* or *mörar*, while fishermen in the western Finnish archipelago distinguished between *aamusore* 'morning bubbling' and *ehtoosore* 'evening bubbling' (Gisler 1748: 118; Ljungman 1879; Numelin & Hellevaara 1915).

Through looking for such traces of fish on the water surface, the archipelago population could locate the fish shoals. There is naturally a biological and physical explanation of such an observation, to the reasons for the gathering of lots of fish on a small area and how they stir up the water. On the other hand, the interpretation of the "bubbling" behaviour and similar pieces of folk knowledge must be understood within the context of the economic and ecological background. There was a special situation before starting the fishing event, which included waiting, uncertainty and tension, according to Orvar Löfgren (1981; see also Storå 2003: 111–129 for further examples on the strategies used in fishing as part of local knowledge).

Cyprinids comprise a large proportion of fish communities in lowland rivers in Northern Europe, but little is known about their migratory behaviour. There are a few studies on migrations, for example in the Netherlands and Germany (Lucas *et al*. 2000; Winter & Fredrich 2003). Fluctuations in ide population and general behaviour, especially in the Baltic Sea, are also not very well known (MacKenziel *et al*. 2002). Folk knowledge appears to contain more data on certain ide behaviour than modern research and especially the "basking" is a phenomenon which has, as far as we know, not been researched before.

Basking Ide

Folk terminology in relation to ide is rich and detailed. During spawning season, the ide migrates from the sea into rivers and streams (Cala 1970). When ide shoals reach the coast, they are an impressive sight. The English hunter Llewellyn Lloyd (1854), who lived in Sweden, observed an ide shoal arriving at a river mouth and observed that the fishes were packed very closely together and lashed the surface with their tails, which gave a peculiar noise. The male ide was the first to reach streams and rivers in spring. This first ide for the year was called *isfisk*, 'ice fish,' in Sweden (Ekström 1831). In Uppland, north of Stockholm, the name was *tjälid*, 'the ide that comes when the frost has left the ground,' or *strömid*, 'stream ide.' A later arrival was the *ängsid*, 'meadow ide,' which was already bigger than the previous fishes (Lönnberg 1908; cf. Cala 1970).

On warm summer days, the ide for reasons yet undefined comes up to the water surface. It gathers in great shoals in shallow bays and ponds around islands. In the Swedish and Finnish archipelagos, there are thousands of islands, often small and close to one another. In Sweden the extraordinary behaviour of the ide was called *badfisk*, 'basking fish,' or *badid*, 'basking ide.' The Swedish names *badfisk* and *badid* are related in meaning to the Estonian *päilik* or *päiliku kalad*, 'sun fish,' which at Hiiumaa meant fish, among others ide, which kept to the surface when the weather was sunny, and was caught with seine (Saareste 1958).

The name *badfisk* originates from the idea that the fish comes up to sunbathe, like humans bask in the sun in summer. Especially in Sweden and Finland, winters tend to be long, dark and cold; previously the Baltic was covered with ice for several months. In 1935, John Westin observed the catching of "basking ide" and "basking roach" on the Swedish coast. The fish was, according to him, caught during the hottest summer days in shallow water, "when it got up to (sun) bask." The weather had to be warm, calm and clear. When a cloud hid the sun, the ide "jumped out" which further confirmed its addiction to the sun, according to the local people (Westin 1935).

Also from Finland there is information that explains the origin of the concept. In late summer, when the ide gathered in the bays of islands and stood still in great shoals, seemingly not feeding, the Swedish-speaking population in the Åbo (Turku) archipelago called the phenomenon *bada*, 'to bask,' 'to bath,' in the meaning of sunbathing. At this time, according to folk tradition, the ide tasted the best. Therefore the bays were closely watched by the local people who would put in a net or a seine (Zilliacus 1955). In Finnish the bay fishing technique is called every-man's *hellepyynti*, 'heat fishing' (Järvi 1932: 99).

In the Baltic archipelago, ide is generally the fish species mostly identified with basking or sunbathing. However, not only the ide is basking. Other fish species did the same:

> In the summer, when the weather is beautiful and warm, and there is a small wind, fish of all kinds such as pike, ide, perch, roach, rudd and others rise from the depths and move into small, narrow sounds and bays. They amuse themselves in different ways and the fishermen have the habit, not without profit, to seal up the basking fish in such a place, and then haul a seine called *bonotar*, or a similar seine through the bay or sound (Enholm 1753).

Fishermen in the Swedish provinces of Gästrikland, Uppland and Östergötland as well as the Swedish-speaking population in the archipelagos of Finland also knew *badmört* 'basking roach,' *badabborre*, 'basking perch' (*Perca fluviatilis*) and *badbraxen*, 'basking bream' (*Abramis brama*) (Lönnberg 1925; Westerberg 1958; Ahlbäck 1982: 93). The basking behaviour in large shoals is also known for the chub (*Squalius cephalus*) in England (Amphlett 1906: 39; Page *et al*. 1968: 153).

Possibly this unusual behaviour of the ide and some other fish species is due to the fact that they feed on insects, especially night flies, or search for smaller animals and fish from the bottom of the shallow bays. It is also possible that the shoal simply rests and enjoys the warm environment. The folk connotation of basking seems therefore quite adequate. This kind of behaviour is still well known among fishermen in the archipelagos, even though many of the fish species are hardly caught anymore (personal communications from fishermen in Sweden and Finland).

Concepts about Ide Behaviour

Traditional knowledge about ide behaviour in the Baltic Sea is varied and covers not only the fish, but several other aspects as well. Modern research is lacking; the local ecological knowledge comprises a complex system of observations, experience and calculations.

The timing of *badid* rising to the bays varied according to latitude. Normally the Baltic Sea does not become very warm even in summer. Along the coastline of Finland the average summer peak temperature of the water varied from 11 to 17°C, depending on weather, latitude and site (Järvi 1932: 14). For the ide to rise, the water had to be close to its warmest peak for the summer. In the northern regions, the seawater temperature rose slowly and usually reached the peak only at the brink of autumn. In Blekinge and Kalmar in Southern Sweden, ide shoals started gathering already after Midsummer (24 June). In Östergötland this took place around the end of July

and in Uppland north of Stockholm it could occur in August, depending on the summer's weather and water temperatures. Also on the Baltic island of Gotland one could usually catch ide only in August. The inlet fishing method of ide was a highly popular occupation. One of the possible reasons for the positive connotations about ide fishing in folk knowledge is that the local peoples liked the fairly warm water, which was much more pleasant than the usual fishing in deep sea or cold waters during most of the year (Modeer 1767; Gustavson 1918–40; Klintberg & Gustavson 1972).

For the local population the right timing of fishing preparations with the ide arrival was most important. The time was mainly calculated on the basis of weather conditions and water surface observations. At Kalmarsund in Southern Sweden, the locals kept close watch over the usual "basking" places in summer. When the water "boiled" as in a pot, it was time to start fishing (Granlund 1958). As Strindberg described in 1888, the people in the archipelago would sit on a treetop or a cliff and check on the fish during this time of the summer. They observed closely the sites where the fish were supposed to appear. Other informants had a different explanation: they say that if there was fish on the surface, it was necessary to climb a tree far away from the bay or stand on a cliff. Then it was possible to see if the fish swam at the water's edge; their fins stood up in the water. This was the time to start fishing (Westin 1935).

There were also other ways of knowing when the fish was on its way. Wild animals that preyed on the ide were a certain sign. Roland Svensson (1961) also shows the importance of weather: "The air was hot, the wind turned with the sun and small, white clouds moved over the blue sky" on a summer day in Möja, Stockholm archipelago. Now the fish was expected, both ide and bream, which in huge swarms found their way into the bays. Those who possessed fishing rights for the area watched closely over the water, as they had to react quickly with their especially constructed rod-nets. Sometimes the calm bay would turn into a "boiling gruel" of slime in which the fish rolled. If water surface observation was missed and the fish already had arrived in the bay, the white-tailed eagles (*Haliaeetus albicilla*) and gulls were the first to find them, according to Svensson's informants. The eagles would, according to local tradition, "push the fish into the bays with their shadow." Then humans, alarmed by the appearance of the birds, which were busy catching fish, turned immediately up at the fishing site (Svensson 1961).

Difficulties when fishing arose from the nets and the weather. The ide preferred calm, hot weather, which is a rarity in the Baltic Sea. In an old thesis about Baltic fish, an observer noted:

> Around the day of St Olof [29 July] this fish rises in large groups up to the surface, especially around sunset, in the bays, close to islets and rocks. Sometimes it only shows its head, rolling like a harbour porpoise, sometimes it jumps and beats with the tail. Then the fishermen join in and put their nets around the beaches and catch him [the ide], certain of a lucky catch (Enholm 1753).

Enholm adds that the profit was not very big, because of the difficulties of putting out the nets and sometimes hard weather conditions and high waves. In other instances (examples below) the time of the day was not important, but weather conditions could seriously influence the fishing. It was therefore important to interpret meteorological processes and their relationship to fish behaviour correctly. "When the summer heat arrived, the fish gathered together," wrote one anonymous observer in Finland more than a century ago. The warmer and sunnier the weather, the more fish collected in shoals. During the night, sometimes also in daytime when the wind was calm, the fish stayed in the shallow bays and would not return to the deep sea. Yet if the wind blew up, they immediately retreated and were observed to follow certain paths and swim along specific cliffs and islet beaches (O. R. 1896).

Ide Fishing Techniques

In pre-industrial, predominantly agricultural Scandinavia, ide was an economic asset for the fishermen and their families. Ide was caught at two different times, spawning season and summer and the two techniques differed. Locally, ide fishing could give sizeable catches. The ethnologist John Granlund (1958) reported from Kalmarsund in the early twentieth century that if the fishing was successful, the islanders could around Midsummer catch thousands of kilograms of ide in warm weather.

Fresh ide was in demand in the city and commanded a good price. Therefore the successful fishermen sailed quickly to the next steamboat station or to Vaxholm near Stockholm, where they sold the fish to urban summer guests. The locals could sometimes keep several sacks of ide for themselves as well. The best ones were put in a fish well for later use as food; part was given to pigs and chickens and the rest was thrown back into the sea (Svensson 1961). Different ide fishing techniques and use reflect the local inhabitants' understanding about the habitat and behaviour of ide. They used their traditional knowledge for nutritional and economic needs, but until now researchers have not shown much interest in ide fishing and its importance for the diet and the local economy. Only some seasonal variations in fish stock and abundance dynamics have been studied (cf. Ojaveer & Lehtonen 2001).

Traditional fishing methods often depend on the way in which the fish appear (cf. Bartz 1964: 30). Islanders had to wait for a shoal to approach the coast. Along the Baltic coast, ide was fished with nets, bow-nets and osier baskets. The spawning of ide usually begins in late spring, once the water holds a temperature of about 5°C for two or three days (usually in April or May). Different blocking and other catching devices were used for the spawning fish in spring, although nets and bow-nets were the most common. Often fishing took place during the night, which gave bigger catches (Cajanus 1755; Tolvanen 1915). From Karttula in Finland, it is recorded that during the spring fishing of ide, the nets had to be put out and the oars and steering-tackle painted red. With these colourful implements the fishermen moved with their boats towards the nets. The ide would follow and then spawn near the nets, providing the fishermen with a good catch (Oksman 1937).

On the coast of Småland, ide moving upstream was caught with hoop nets and common nets (Modéer 1928; Lundin 1950). In Skåne, southernmost Sweden, spawning ide was taken with cast nets (Nilsson 1855: 309). This technique could give a catch of up to 300 kilos or more due to the large amount of fish (Arwidsson 1930). Yet in the Östergötland archipelago, where ide was economically very important for the local population, it was fished throughout the summer. After the spring fishing it was also caught with seine in the open sea together with other fish included in the general folk category *fjällfisk*, 'scale fish.' Often ide was consumed with different "scale fish" as fresh food (Österman 1950).

Inlet Fishing of Basking Ide

The kind of inlet fishing technique for ide described by August Strindberg was neither spring fishing, nor ordinary seine-hauling in the Baltic Sea, which usually brought in a mixture of different fish species during the whole fishing season. Inlet fishing was rather a specific method that was carried out in summer, when the large shoals of ide headed for the bays to "bask." The catching of *badfisk* took place in the whole of Southern Finland, the Åland archipelago and in the Gulf of Bothnia, Estonia, around Gotland and the archipelagos of the Swedish coast from Uppland in the north to Kalmarsund and Eastern Blekinge in the south (Hesselman 1918; Gustavson 1918–40; Danell 1951: 11; Andersson 1964: 94; Klintberg & Gustavson 1972; Ahlbäck 1982: 93).

Inlet fishing of *badid* was not an easy technique. Apart from the important knowledge of ide behaviour, skill and prudence were needed to catch the fish. Several records emphasize the importance of acting quickly, pro-

fessionally and silently. When the fish came, neighbours along the Finnish coast all the way in the eastern parts of the Gulf of Finland went out with their nets and laid them down beside each other in a long line. Men and women were standing fully clothed even up to their waists in the water. Slowly walking, they closed the circle so that the fish were surrounded. Then they pulled the line of nets together and onto the shore (Järvi 1932: 99–100).

Strindberg mentioned that wool stockings isolated the sound from boat oars. Yet one had to be very careful already when observing the fish, because the ide was regarded as extremely shy. This explains why the observer had to climb a tree or a cliff; local people were certain that the ide would flee if it knew humans were observing it. Because of its quick reactions to human activities, there was no need to chase it with oars or other instruments. As soon as the boats floated over the surface, the fish rushed towards the net (Svensson 1961).

The fishermen could reap sizeable catches if they were many and skilful enough to cut off the retreat of the fish with nets or to angle together when the fish moved. Firstly, the fish had to be held in the bay with the help of a net. For instance in the region of Väddö in Sweden, *täppor*, a kind of fine nets, were used to keep the basking fish in the shallows (Gustavsson 1960). Secondly, helpers were needed. The extensive shoals of large fish that congregated in the inlets of coastal islands created extensive social activities for the local peoples. Fishing rights played an important role for the decision on who could fish and who divided the catch (Svensson 1961). This aspect has not yet been studied, but could provide valuable information on the social and economic relationships in the Baltic Sea region. The fishing rights were in many places connected to the land rights. Ide fishing was in comparison with other fishing done closer to the coastal waters and touched the rights of the landowners of the specific beaches. Therefore the owners joined together for the fishing, everyone with his part in the long line of the nets (Hedenstierna 1949: 215; Ehn 1991: 51; Storå 2003: 34–49).

Summer ide was caught in a very different way compared to any other fish and emotions ran high. Women participated in ide fishing in Finland, joining the men and distributing the catch to all participants and stakeholders (Järvi 1932: plate 62). Olle Andersson (1980) experienced *badid* catching at Aspö in the Stockholm archipelago. Here ide fishing was a male occupation. Women were excluded from the event. His description gives an idea of the technique as well as the accompanying thrill and excitement that one would (and expected to) experience while catching *badid*:

> It was a wonderful sight to see the whole bay boiling. We undressed. Fixed a rod net on the beach. Then we glided naked down into the water, pulling the net with us. When it was stretched to its full length, an eel bow-net was tied to it, a new net, again a bow-net, and the next rod net reached the other side. Now the bay was closed. All the time we moved with utmost care in order not to disturb the ide (Andersson 1980).

After this, the fishermen needed only to draw in the nets and they would have an easy catch. There were several uses for ide in the archipelagos. *Badfisk* was mostly salted for the winter. C. U. Ekström describes ide consumption in Södermanland in 1831:

> In the places where ide is caught in great quantities, it is an important article in the household. It can be conserved for a long time and the taste improves rather than deteriorates with time. When ide is cooked, it receives a reddish complexion; after it has cooled, the meat is loose and contains many bones, but is still quite delicious. It is usually salted or dried. If the latter method is applied, ide easily becomes rancid, due to the great quantity of fat it contains, and the taste is harsh and unpleasant. When salted, it is only washed and eaten as such; then it is called *spikefisk*, meaning 'salted and dried fish,' and it makes up a significant part of the garnish of common people. In this simple preparation it has a complexion and taste similar to salmon (Ekström 1831).

Lloyd (1854) too mentions that when properly prepared, ide made a very palatable dish. It was eaten fresh, salted, smoked or pickled, that is, served cold in its own gelatine with vinegar and spices.

Conclusion

Until the 1950s, ide was the object of rather extensive fishing in the Baltic Sea. The large size of the fish and the huge shoals it forms were the main causes of the previous importance. Cyprinids were previously the most commonly consumed fish species in the Baltic Sea (Leppäkoski *et al*. 1999). Previously there was an abundance of ide, a market demand and a local importance of the fish. Ide fishing was also part of a complex and diversified resource utilisation system. Islanders kept cattle which grazed on islets in the summer, caught different fish species, hunted birds, gathered eggs from wild birds, collected hazelnuts and sold fish, nuts, handicraft products and firewood to town inhabitants in order to survive; very few were prosperous (Eskeröd 1954; Granlund 1958; Storå 1985).

Today catching ide and especially the inlet fishing techniques hold no economic value and are forgotten. In Finland ide is still consumed, but

only locally and in very small quantities. A general decrease in appreciation of Cyprinids for human consumption has occurred in the past decades (Bonow & Svanberg 2011), together with urbanisation and the decrease of archipelago populations. Salmon and herring are the most popular contemporary fish species in Scandinavia. As early as the 1930s, the diminishing tendency could be observed. John Westin writes in 1935 that the method of inlet fishing for roach had disappeared and that only ide was still caught in this way (Westin 1935). The fact that ide does not have any economic value anymore probably explains the lacking interest among researchers.

The traditional concepts and folk observations of ide described in this study reflect a profound local ecological knowledge that can be used in modern fish research. Folk knowledge was integrated in a complex resource system, necessary for the sustenance of the rural population in the Finnish, Estonian and Swedish archipelagos in the Baltic Sea, but today it can be used to improve fisheries and the deteriorating condition of the Baltic Sea. Our specific piece of folk knowledge about ide is not an isolated case. Traditional knowledge is not only important as a source of information about the past, but it can help us change the future. The islanders' familiarity with the various local fish species, behaviour, habitat, predators and diet; the fishing techniques adapted to the geographical conditions; and their tradition- and experience-based information and beliefs about the fish were all part of their skill for managing and harvesting available biological resources. This can be seen as a kind of organic database comprising many different kinds of information, changing with every experience, season, fishing occasion and every new piece of information. Actually, the local peoples lived *in* the archipelago, not *on* it, as Leppäkoski *et al*. (1999) assert, which means they were completely integrated in the ecosystem.

The future will show if the problems in world fisheries based on predatory fish will result in an increasing interest in omnivorous and herbivore species such as ide. Locally produced foods already receive more attention due to growing ecological consciousness. The concerns about high-energy consumption, for example for transportation and climate change, combined with the question of food quality could result in a comeback for fish like ide. Especially in Finland, but also in Sweden, interest in traditional food has become something of a fashion trend in recent years.

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Reviews/Comptes rendus/Besprechungen

Karen Langgård & Kirsten Thisted (eds.), *From Oral Tradition to Rap. Literatures of the Polar North*, Nuuk: Ilismatusarfik/Forlaget Atuagkat 2011, ISBN 9788792554215, 287 pp.

From Oral Tradition to Rap. Literatures of the Polar North edited by Karen Langgård and Kirsten Thisted is the result of a project that started as an International Polar Year project. The project was funded by the Nordic Council of Ministers' Arctic Joint Program 2006–2008 and the University of Greenland Ilisimatusarfik's Publishing Funding. The volume includes chapters on Sami, Faroese, Greenlandic, Canadian Inuit, native Alaskan and indigenous Siberian literature from the Polar North. According to the English press release, the volume wishes to compare the literatures of the Polar North across state borders and colonial relations by renegotiating "outdated" centre-periphery constructions. The press release furthermore expresses the wish to base the description of the literary landscape of the Polar North "on the indigenous peoples' own descriptions and thoughts about their past and their future."

The geographical point of departure for the project is Greenland. This is emphasized in the introduction by Karen Langgård and Kirsten Thisted. One important issue addressed is what counts as the Polar Region, or the Arctic. They specifically mention that they wanted to go in two directions from Greenland, to the Nordic Countries and to North America. The introduction emphasizes the diversity of the literatures, both written and oral, in the somewhat indistinct space called the *Arctic*. One way of coming to terms with the lack of contours would have been to treat the Arctic more as a discourse than as a geographical space. This is a strategy used in *Arctic Discourses* (2010) edited by Anka Ryall, Johan Schimanski and Henning Howlid Waerp. An important theme in both volumes is that the Arctic has been constructed in various ways in different contexts. The editors of *From Oral Tradition to Rap* specifically mention colonial encounters as a common backdrop to the different chapters' presentations of present-day cultural production. They emphasize the heterogeneity of the literatures of the Polar North as manifested in the various chapters on Sami, Faroese, Greenlandic, Canadian Inuit, Alaskan and Koryak literature. A discussion would have been interesting of how the considerable differences, for example between literatures without a written tradition and literatures which have come a long way in the establishment of writing, discursively construct the Polar North, or the Arctic. Yet, it is easy to sympathize with the editors' declaration that they wished to promote research on the Arctic and to "create a platform for comparison, and to create from the juxtaposition of these literatures, a new space from where new angles and perspectives might arise" (p. 13).

The majority of the chapters focus upon the literature (oral and written) of indigenous peoples who have their ancestral homelands in the Polar North. The author of the first chapter "Song, poetry, and images in writing. Sami lit-

erature," the Norwegian Sami Harald Gaski, is well known for his writing on particularly Northern Sami literature. Unfortunately, the first chapter's survey of Sami literature turns out to be quite problematic for readers not familiar with Sami culture. The opening of the first sentence reads as follows: "The article is an overview of Sami literature, past and present [. . .]" (p. 15). This aim is immediately contradicted by an endnote that includes the important information that there are several Sami languages "not mutually comprehendable" (p. 37). This should have been mentioned in the article itself and it ought to have been made clear that when Gaski writes about the Sami language in the singular he refers to Northern Sami.

Undeniably Gaski is an expert on Sami culture and his proficiency in the Northern Sami language is an asset. This being said there is an unfortunate tendency in the text to homogenize the Sami people, language and culture. The article as such fails to convey the diversity of Sami traditions and life styles. When briefly presenting Elsa Laula's (later Elsa Renberg's) contribution to a policy for resisting assimilation of the Sami, Gaski mentions that she was a Southern Sami, without outlining the differences between her group and other Sami groups. It is odd that the dominant, and largest Sami group, the Northern Sami, are not mentioned as a specific group but referred to as "the Sami."

The article functions as a presentation of important genres, writers and texts, with brief comments on stylistic characteristics. The style is popular, with ample recapitulation of the contents of texts and appreciative comments concerning their merits. Does it work? That depends on who the intended reader is. This is an issue that might have been addressed by the editors in the introduction. For whom is the anthology intended?

Malan Marnersdóttir, the author of the second chapter "From oral poetry to rap in the Faroes," presents the history of the development of a Faroese literary writing in twenty pages. She points out that although the emergence of a Faroese national identity, language and literature has been an important issue for the Faroese, the country still belongs to the Danish Kingdom. Considering that national identity and nation-building are important themes in the text, it would have been interesting if the author had linked this presentation to theories about cultural identities, nationalism, and specifically to the role of language and literature for the creation of the imagined community in the form of the Faroese nation. It is obvious that the author knows her material. Unfortunately the presentation becomes rather monotonous, as to a large extent it consists of a chronological enumeration of writers, texts, events and contexts that have led to the present-day Faroese literary landscape.

What about Marnersdóttir's presentation of the relationship between orality and writing? It seems to me that she implicates that first there was orality, then it disappeared when literacy and writing was established, and finally in our own time orality has come back. In the last section with the title "The return to orality" (p. 55) Marnersdóttir proposes that present-day Faroese rap by implication is a parallel to the medieval ballad genre. This makes the title problematic, since surely the Faroese had oral performances of lyrical texts also in the period between the time of the medieval ballads and present-day rap. Lars Lönnroth's study *Den dubbla scenen. Muntlig diktning från Eddan till ABBA* ['The double scene. Oral poetry from Edda to ABBA'] (Lönnroth 1978) comes to mind. **Lönnroth ex-**

emplifies transformations of oral culture and its performances from the Middle Ages to present-day popular culture in a Swedish context without suggesting that there has been any break. Rather a certain degree of continuity together with transformations is a key concept. This is also the point of Kirsten Thisted's chapter "Greenlandic oral traditions. Collection, reframing and reinvention."

Thisted's contribution gives an overview of the emergence, construction and development of a Greenlandic literary tradition. This is related to ideas of the nation and national culture, as well as postcolonial theory, which are used to explain and interpret the formation of a national Greenlandic consciousness and the role of culture in this process. Thisted is careful not to homogenize Greenlandic culture. Throughout the presentations she emphasizes the role of internal differences between West Greenlandic and East Greenlandic living conditions, social organization and cultural traditions, as well as diversity among various Inuit groups in the process of constructing a Greenlandic ethnic, national identity. This process is described as a negotiation whereby elements that at one time have been silenced may be reframed in reinventions of a Greenlandic tradition at a later stage. Examples mentioned are the integration of the East Greenlandic mask dance and the renewed interest and use of burlesque and humorous narratives. The role of missionary activities for censoring certain aspects of Greenlandic culture is highlighted. At the same time alternative modes of dealing with traditional material are focused on, for example through the discussion of Jens Kreutzmann's documentation of material, such as

> grotesque pranks and incidents which served no other purpose than making the audience laugh, risqué stories, including gang bangs, and the mention of other acts and body parts that were not usually addressed in writing (p. 94).

Another major theme is the appropriation and integration of elements from a Danish, and European cultural tradition, which have become part of Greenlandic culture. One element of this tradition is Christianity. Thisted demonstrates a constructivist view on Greenlandic cultural production and the examples discussed are related to theories of how the past is being used and constructed. A particular importance is attached to Knud Rasmussen's fifth Thule Expedition, which is presented as the incentive for a "grand narrative about the Inuit's [sic] shared culture" which resulted in "a sense of connectedness, an imagined community of all Inuit" (p. 88). Today this grand narrative is actively being deployed in organizations like the Inuit Circumpolar Council and in contexts where the rights of indigenous peoples are being negotiated.

The article discusses the period from when the Danish colonization of Greenland began in 1721, with the arrival of Hans Egede, who claimed the land in the name of the Danish-Norwegian state, to the present. Colonization is an important theme, as well as encounters between Greenlanders and Danes within the colonial framework. The mapping of the colonization of Greenland presented by Thisted is not a narrative of binary opposites in which there are inseparable borders between colonizers and colonized. On the contrary the article focuses upon interaction, negotiations and the blurring of borders. In accordance with postcolonial studies there is a focus on hybridization and exchange between various traditions. One important aspect of the article is the role attached to self-

definition whereby ethnic groups, such as the Greenlanders, define themselves and how these definitions may negotiate, challenge, and sometimes deconstruct, descriptions produced from the vantage point of the colonizers.

To some extent the content of Karen Langgård's over fifty pages long chapter, "Greenlandic literature from colonial times to self-government," overlaps Kirsten Thisted's. The chapter covers a range of subjects from a discussion of Greenland's colonial past, to the creation of Greenlandic ethno-national symbols, which function as distinguishing markers in ethno-political mobilization, to the emergence of writing in new, imported genres and a discussion of serious social problems in contemporary Greenlandic society. After having functioned as positive symbols in the formation of a Greenlandic imagined community, which involves attempts at decolonizing people's minds, Langgård underlines that today these symbols, such as the seal hunter and the kayak, and the very discourse of cultural mobilization they have been embedded in, are in fact hampering artistic creativity and diminishing young people's interest in Greenlandic literature. Other problems are posed by the lack of publishing houses willing to publish in Kalaallisut (Greenlandic), lack of professional reviews and institutionalized literary criticism. The author's ambition has been to present the very latest trends and publications. The last texts mentioned in the overview of Greenlandic publications are from 2010. Given the length of the chapter it has not been possible to analyze the texts presented in depth. It is obvious from Langgård's comments that a number of the texts presented have neither a social impact, nor literary qualities. Is it enough that they are written in Kalaallisut? This question needs to be addressed when writing presentations of literatures written in minor languages.

In the chapter "Canadian Inuit literature in English. A critical bibliography" Michael P. J. Kennedy chooses to present his material in the form of a critical bibliography. First the subject and aim of the presentation are introduced in an exemplary way, with a definition of the central term *orature*, which he uses instead of *oral literature* (p. 189). The variations in the use of terminology is commented upon by the editors in the introduction. It is apparent that there are variations among researchers from different research environments. In the continuation of the study of literatures of the Polar North that will hopefully come about, a more comprehensive discussion of terminology and theoretical points of departure would be rewarding. Furthermore Kennedy gives a historical background and an overview of Canadian Inuit literature, which is related both to a Canadian national context and to transnational projects promoting the literatures of indigenous peoples. As in Langgård's chapter there is a brief discussion about the problems of recruiting new writers and readers, who are both necessary if Inuit literature is to survive, develop and make an impact on national curricula. The chapter is well structured, to the point and clear about its aim. Its latter part (pp. 200–222) consists of a compilation of primary and secondary sources useful for scholars, students and readers interested in Canadian Inuit literature.

Noel McDermott's chapter, "Canadian literature in Inuktitut," aims at describing what has been written and published in Inuktitut during the roughly one hundred and fifty years the language has existed in a written form. The author specifically mentions that the aim is not to present an exhaustive bibliography, but to highlight representative texts, contexts and trends. Like Langgård

and Kennedy, McDermott emphasizes the need for more printed books if the language is to survive and develop and the need to encourage the production of new texts particularly for children and young people. In this context he elaborates upon the need for a standardized written language. Today there are at least eight dialects and two standard orthographies (p. 236). This resembles the situation for Sami, which also has several dialects (some, for example Vuokko Hirvonen, see them as different languages) and more than one orthography. The themes of linguistic revitalization, threats of extinction and what is needed for the development of a minority language are discussed in McDermott's article as well as in other contributions. So is the role of Christianity for spreading literacy and introducing writing. Like Langgård, McDermott also suggests that today the ties between a traditional Christian worldview and literary writing may have a negative impact on the emergence of imaginative fiction which may appeal to modern readers (particularly young people) with easy access to global popular culture.

Unlike the majority of the authors, William Schneider and Alexander D. King are not affiliated to literature departments. Schneider is Curator of Oral History in the Alaska and Polar Regions Department at the Elmer Rasmuson Library at the University of Alaska. King, who has a degree in Anthropology, is currently involved in a research project on indigenous Koryak culture in Kamchatka. The authors' different backgrounds in terms of academic training are an asset. Hopefully this kind of collaboration will develop. As a result researchers from various disciplines could get input from researchers who work with the same kind of material, but within other institutional and departmental frameworks. This is particularly prompting when working with the literatures of groups of people without a history of established literary writing, literatures without standardized orthographies, or written in languages threatened by extinction. In the case of marginalized minorities, ethnic groups and indigenous peoples, the literature in their own language fulfils other functions than the literature of majority populations with long histories of a common written culture. This fact is emphasized in Schneider's article "Alaska native writers. Writing and tradition." Schneider is particularly interested in writing as a documentation of an oral tradition that records history and customs which otherwise would be lost. One of Schneider's points is that writing has been a proficiency held in high esteem and connected with power by the native Alaskans. A person who can write can also disseminate his, or her, particular experiences and view on the world. Writing can also preserve subject matters that otherwise would be lost. As in the other articles of the anthology, Schneider traces the introduction of literacy among native Alaskans to missionary activities, in this case by Russian Orthodox priests who established schools at the time when Alaska belonged to Russia. Schneider also problematizes writing as a strategy for self-definition, sometimes performed in opposition to accounts made by outsiders. His discussion of the specific character of oral performances that are contextually produced, and that cannot be translated into a fixed medium like a printed book, is of particular interest (p. 262). This theme deserves to be elaborated in further studies of literatures based on, and influenced by, oral tradition. Schneider also highlights ethical aspects of storytelling which arise when the traditions of native peoples are not in accordance with the copyright laws of the majority society. This concerns an issue highlighted in indigenous studies, namely the question of who owns a story:

> In Southeast Alaska, some of the stories are actually owned by particular clans who control who may re-tell them, how they may be told, and the appropriate audience to be present. This makes publication very problematic (p. 262).

The last article of the anthology, Alexander D. King's "A literary history of Koryak. Writing and publishing an indigenous Siberian language" is very much about the preservation and revitalization of a small indigenous language. The history of Koryak literacy is closely related to the Soviet development program for "'backwards' primitives needing to make a 'leap of 1.000 years' to catch up with modern Soviet culture" (Grant 1995, quoted in King, p. 269). King presents a history of how Koryak literacy has faced changes connected with ideological fluctuations. Literacy was introduced with an orthography based on Latin letters (p. 271). A couple of years later this practice was condemned for being "cosmopolitan" and anti-revolutionary and by 1937, or 1938, the Cyrillic alphabet replaced the newly established orthography (p. 272). According to King the development of Koryak literacy is closely connected to a Soviet state project of control and propaganda. After World War II publication in Koryak diminished as assimilationist policies were implemented. Koryak was no longer used as a school language and consequently the proficiency in Koryak decreased. This situation continued till the 1980s when textbooks for schools were produced. King's conclusion is that Koryak is an endangered language today. Most language users are bilingual, but the problem for the development of Koryak is that most people are more comfortable reading Russian than they are reading Koryak (p. 279). This is why a large proportion of books published for a Koryak readership is aimed at children with a goal to revive interest and prestige in Koryak (p. 279).

The articles provide a point of departure for further research, which may develop terminology, as well as theories and methodologies useful for the description, and analysis of Arctic literatures. There is a clear bibliographical bias in the volume. This might have been acknowledged and discussed more explicitly in the introduction and the articles that contain large sections of compilations of texts and writers. Bibliography is important, as it is necessary to have an overview of the material that is to be examined. However, it is also important to consider how analysis may be developed. If for example the aim is to relate literature to society, perspectives from the sociology of literature might be useful. And if literary/artistic qualities are in focus, other theoretical and methodological perspectives will be needed. Given that a majority of the articles present literature of indigenous peoples, it might also be useful to consider using perspectives from indigenous, or ethnic, studies. Another important issue is the question of the intended reader. For whom is the anthology published? If the target group is students and researchers in the field of academic literary studies, this of course requires that theoretical and methodological points of departure are considered carefully. In some of the articles the theme of writing for an indigenous readership is explicitly expressed. The importance of writing in a minority language, as for example Inuktitut, in order to preserve and develop the language is one issue to consider, as is the fact that some Inuit do not know an Inuit language due to assimilation and cultural homogenization. If the primarily intended readership is formerly colonized and marginalized minorities in the part of world referred

to as the Polar North, this places other demands on the presentations of an anthology than if the implied reader is a person schooled in Western literary and cultural analysis. Analyses of the literatures of indigenous peoples and of the literature of the Polar North are under-represented in literary scholarly research. This makes *From Oral Tradition to Rap. Literatures of the Polar North* a welcome contribution to a field that will hopefully be strengthened. Today there is a great sensitivity about cultural diversity and the role of globalization and migration for transformations of national identities and national culture. As the anthology demonstrates, the theme of creating literatures where alternative histories, voices and experiences may be expressed is not a new one. As the result of colonialism, cultural homogenization and assimilationist policies, there are domestic Others within the nation states which partly cover the Polar North. It is easy to sympathize with the editors' wish to create a space, in the form of an anthology, where the voices of these peoples may be heard.

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Håkan Rydving, *Tracing Sami Traditions. In Search of the Indigenous Religion among the Western Sami during the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning, Serie B, Skrifter 135), Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, Novus forlag 2010, ISBN 9788270995431, 168 pp.

In *Tracing Sami Traditions* Håkan Rydving has collected ten articles on the study of indigenous Sami religion, written between 1987 and 2002. The texts concern solely the information about religion in the western, Scandinavian part of Sápmi, not in the eastern, Russian part. Some of the articles were originally published in Swedish (or Norwegian), and all of them have now been partly revised, updated with some new terminology and references to recent research. The revisions are mostly minor. Considering that it is more than twenty years since the first of the texts was written, it is encouraging to see how well high-quality scholarly works resist the ravages of time. This is worth emphasizing particularly in these days with increasing demands, also on research, to comply with the quick turnovers and high velocity of postmodern society.

Significantly, the book is entitled *Tracing Sami Traditions*. The aim is thus not to give a comprehensive picture, or attempt a complete reconstruction, of traditional Sami religion. To this end the sources are much too insufficient and defective. But searching for traces of it is still a most instructive, as well as thrilling, exercise. When Rydving is turning all the stones and pages in the source material, we learn not only about what can and cannot safely be asserted about indigenous Sami rituals and worldviews in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We also learn how the biases of the (mostly) Christian producers of both the written sources and subsequent research have contributed to creating the conceptions, as well as misconceptions, held in posterity of Sami traditions. In this way the author gives a most comprehensive picture of the sources and previous research on the topic, demonstrating their potential and limitations.

Following the preface, where Rydving delineates the main source categories for information on western Sami religion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the book consists of three parts. The first part serves as an introduction in which he discusses the research history on the subject from the end of the nineteenth century and onwards (thus leaving out e.g. Lars-Levi Læstadius' monograph on Sami mythology). Rydving shows how the study of Sami religion became interesting to Scandinavianists by the end of the nineteenth century. Their reason for turning to the sources on the Sami was to find supplementary information for the understanding of ancient Scandinavian religion up to the early Middle Ages. The idea was that the religion of the Sami was a mere reflection of, and a borrowing from, Old Norse religion. The initial preoccupation with finding parallels between Viking Age Scandinavian and seventeenth and eighteenth century Sami ritual practices and mythology came to dominate research on Sami religion for much of the twentieth century. For Rydving this predominant focus on comparisons was problematic. The comparisons were made between isolated elements, taken out of their context and with few indications of criteria for ex-

plaining or judging the proposed similarities (p. 25). In addition, comparisons were generally made between a religion that the scholar knew quite well and another that the scholar was familiar with only through secondary literature. The purported resemblances were therefore often rather vague and superficial. There were of course competing paradigms in twentieth century scholarship, where for example Sami and Scandinavian religions were looked upon as completely isolated from each other—as indigenous to their respective narrow contexts, or as pertaining to quite different cultural and religious backgrounds, the Uralic and the Indo-European respectively. In some studies both Sami and Scandinavian religions were seen in the context of a common North Eurasian cultural area. In the second half of the twentieth century interest in finding analogies between the two waned only to return in the beginning of the twenty-first. It is interesting to see how much of the research on Sami religion has, in some way or another, revolved around questions of origin and analogies with other peoples' religions, at the expense of other questions (such as e.g. on function, meaning, contextuality, regional variation, gender, power relations etc.). The chapter gives an example of the importance of, as Rydving himself puts it, "knowledge about the history of scholarship [...] to achieve a full understanding of the hidden assumptions that influence the research process" (p. 24).

In part II Rydving investigates some of the source categories—archaeological finds (Ch. 2), the Sami drums with their painted figures (Ch. 3), the accounts of the missionaries from the decades around the turn of the eighteenth century (Ch. 4)—the most comprehensive and therefore most important category of sources—and language—Sami terminologies for the ritual specialist and his activities (Ch. 5), names of certain deities in different dialects (Ch. 6) and place-names (Ch. 7). In order to prevent imaginative guesswork Rydving suggests useful analytical categories for different types of archaeological finds and for place-names, thereby clarifying to what extent they can give information on Sami rituals. When it comes to archaeological remains, potentially revealing religious notions and ritual activity, he proposes a differentiation among "sacred places," "ritual sites," and "sacrificial sites," which overlap but are theoretically important to distinguish among. Likewise, he points out the crucial differences among remains of a "sacrificial site," a "bone collection," and a "bone deposit." Concerning Sami place-names, relevant for the historian of religions, Rydving suggests a terminological distinction between *ritual* place-names—containing a word indicating that rituals were performed—and *theoforic*—with names of, or words for, a deity. Both of these are to be considered *sacred* place-names, but the places may have had quite different functions and values in the Sami religious landscape. He also emphasizes that it is important to establish whether a sacred place-name is primary or secondary, that is, whether the place designated was in itself considered "sacred" (primary place-name) or received its name because of some association with a sacred place (secondary place-name).

In his survey of the missionary accounts in chapter 4, Rydving demonstrates how political considerations in the Nordic kingdoms led to the production of the written sources and how differing theological trends among Scandinavian clergy—such as Lutheran Orthodoxy in the seventeenth century and Lutheran pietism in the eighteenth—shaped the questions asked by the source writers, and thus the entire documentation of Sami religion.

The chapter on the Sami drums, with their enigmatic figures painted on the membranes, is one of the most important, because of the importance of the drums themselves. In the seventeenth century, these drums were the very symbol of the Sami religion, as well as the focal point for the missionary attempts to obliterate it; and today they have again appeared, in art and popular culture, as the epitome of ancient Sami beliefs and ritual practices. Suggested explanations of the meanings of the figures have been numerous through the centuries. Most of them take their point of departure in the explanations given by the missionaries, whose assignment it was to expropriate, and often destroy, the drums. Put simply, the missionaries explain the drawings as reflecting Sami mythology—and accordingly, from their point of view, they looked upon the drum as "the Devil's Bible." Of the very few concrete drums with preserved interpretations of the drawings, from the time when the drums were in use, there are only two that have been explained by Sami owners themselves, one from the northern part of Sápmi, and the other from the southern part. The images on the two drum heads are quite different in design (and possibly also in meaning). What is remarkable in the history of research on the Sami drums is that these two indigenous explanations have been to a large extent neglected to the benefit of the missionaries' renderings. If the latter interpret the figures as referring to Sami mythology, the owners explicate them as (at least in addition) depicting personages from the Christian mythology or as relating mostly to everyday life and practical issues such as hunting, fishing and reindeer herding (the southern). The last mentioned argument is also the one used by those Sami who defended drum usage to the representatives of the Churches/States in court proceedings. Because of the many uncertainties pertaining to the "outsiders'" accounts of the drums, Rydving suggests that, when trying to understand the drawings on the drums, we take as a starting point the explanations given by the actual users of the drums: "Other assumptions easily lead to speculation and unreliable interpretations" (p. 51). In relation to the interpretations of the drums he also proposes both an *Entmythologisierung*—dispelling of the mythologizing interpretations—and an *Enttheologisierung*—that, in a good source critical manner, we look beyond the theological frames of reference of the missionaries. In addition, he proposes a regionalisation of the known drums and drum heads, so that the variation is accounted for, and so that possible common patterns between them can be established.

I agree with Rydving that the interpretations made by the missionaries of the drum figures must be critically scrutinized and contextualized—and that they must be doubted all the more since they contrast so sharply with the indigenous explanations. But I am not convinced that the statements of the Sami are as reliable as Rydving depicts them. It is a bit surprising that, in this particular chapter, he does not mention the reasons the Sami could have had for explaining the drums as connected rather to Christian mythology or the economic everyday life. He himself mentions as an important source critical memento, in another chapter in the book (p. 125), that the Sami could deliberately have misled their interrogators, be they missionaries or court prosecutors. We must remember that severe penalties, up to capital punishment, were imposed on Sami using and owning a drum at the time. Together with the circumstance that the drum seems to have been perceived as vital to the Sami, they ought to have had all the rea-

sons to describe it as something harmless, as the opposite of "the Devil's Bible." It might seem that doubting even the sincerity of the drum owners' statements would leave us with even fewer clues to unravelling the enigma of the drum figures. On the other hand, what is gained is a quite vivid picture of the character of the two opposing sides in the highly strained religio-political situation in Sápmi around the turn of the eighteenth century. Indeed, one of Rydving's main points in the chapter is also

> that the drum figures should be regarded as an internal Sami development that arose in response to the encounter with Christianity, a religion that demanded exclusiveness, thus forcing the Sami to reflect on their own religion and to give it new structure (p. 44).

Throughout the centuries, indigenous Sami religion has been depicted as quite uniform, despite the Sami groups' diffusion over vast areas, varying ways of sustenance and considerable differences in language and dialects. This trend is obvious already in the missionary accounts, and it has been continued in research up to the present. Rydving shows how, by scrutinizing the sources, one can differentiate the information in them, and in many cases define the provenance and the temporal context of single pieces of evidence. He consistently chooses a very low level of detail in his studies, applying the most strict source criticism. The point of doing this is to have a chance to discover the "common basic structures" behind regional, local and individual differences. According to Rydving, it is only by way of such a deductive method we will be able to come close to reconstructions of these structures (p. 57). This is a more important point than is commonly acknowledged, and an overlooked working method in favour of broad, loosely grounded, hypotheses about indigenous religions as well as human culture and behaviour at large.

Part III consists of three intriguing scholarly *études* in how to analyse selected segments of Sami religion: the invisible landscape and its inhabitants—the South Sami *saajvh*, invisible tutelary beings inhabiting particular mountains (Ch. 8); the ritual specialist's—the *noaidi*'s—tutelary spirits in the form of birds (Ch. 9); and a *noaidi*'s ritual behaviour (Ch. 10). The articles are inspiring lessons on how to extract reliable information about indigenous Sami religion from the sources, despite their shortcomings. This is not an easy task, and it demands a restrained approach to interpretation. As Rydving correctly states:

> If the interpretative keys are missing or incomplete, it is easy to get lost and to be misguided by one's own imagination, imagining meanings that were never there and disregarding meanings that did exist (p. 115).

Such imaginative wanderings have regrettably been routine in studies of indigenous, oral traditions of the past. We will never be able to fully understand—and even less experience—the worldview of the Sami three hundred years ago. But, figuratively speaking, with the interpretative keys that Rydving has uncovered, he can at least unlock some doors and show us glimpses of the largely forgotten invisible world inside a *saajve* or *basseváre*, a 'sacred mountain.' To obtain these keys he has used a whole set of auxiliary skills—linguistic proficiency, cultural

competence, profound source criticism, methodical training in handling various kinds of sources, from archaeological to written ones, and theoretical concepts and considerations from Western academic scholarship.

To scholars studying indigenous Sami religion, many of these articles have since long been well-known and indispensable points of reference—even if Rydving's methodical models have not always been followed. All the same I find it most fruitful to publish them together in a monograph. For one thing, the edition gives the texts an opportunity to meet a new audience. In addition, reading them again, and placing them side by side, gives the reader a more comprehensive picture of the state of the art. Essentially *Tracing Sami Traditions* is a work on methodology and source criticism, and as such it focuses on the very foundation of scientific exploration of religions in history. I fully agree with Rydving when he asserts that "[w]ithout a solid basis of careful source analysis, our interpretations tend to float around on a quagmire of passing fancies" (p. 7). In the articles Rydving points out the way to more trustworthy, and thus more long-lasting, conclusions. For these reasons the book is an interesting read far beyond the circle of specialists in Sami religion, but to all those who study the history of religions. The study of indigenous traditions has had, and still has, a prominent position in the general study of religion. Oftentimes these traditions are the stuff from which scientific theories are woven. To paraphrase Martin P:son Nilsson's characterisation of the Sami drum as a "repetitorium of practical life"—rather than of Sami mythology—Rydving's compendium of articles serves its purpose as a *repetitorium* of scientific methodology and source criticism in the study of indigenous religion—in short, things needed to be able to trace Sami traditions.

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Thorsten Andersson, Vad *och* vade. *Svensk slåtter-, rågångs- och arealterminologi* (Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 110), Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur 2010, ISBN 9789185352845; ISSN 00650897, 163 pp.

Thorsten Andersson wrote his first manuscript on the terms *vad* and *vade* more than forty years ago and the work has now been published by the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy in Uppsala. In the first section of the monograph the author analyses the Old Swedish haymaking terms *vaþ* neuter (n.) and *vaþi* masculine (m.) and the corresponding words in Swedish dialects, *vad* n. and *vade* m. The words, which are amply recorded in the Mälar region, refer apparently to the "waded" boundary that at haymaking was treaded between the individual strips of each piece of meadowland in unenclosed villages, while outside the core area the words secondarily acquired a less precise meaning, for example on Åland, where a farm boundary may be referred to. The words *vad*, *vade* are related to the verb *vada* 'wade (through water),' which designates a movement where one tries to take increasingly high and long steps. This was precisely the way in which people moved in the dewy grass when marking the boundaries between the strips. In the second section of the work the author examines the further use of Old Swedish *vaþi* and Modern Swedish *vade* as a boundary and area term, functions emanating from the haymaking term. The word *vaþi* is dealt with here, used as a designation of village and farm areas and their boundaries, as a designation of an estate complex, as a designation of urban areas and their boundaries (with the compound *stadsvadhi*; cf. also *stadsvade* as a historical technical term) and in the compound *klostervadhi*, which was used in Vadstena Abbey. This section also deals with Old Swedish *utvaþi* and *invaþi* and *vaþi* as a toponymic element. Everything is described in great detail and with rich exemplification. An extra advantage is the work's two language maps, which with symbols or shading show word forms in dialects and Old Swedish. The occasional problem is left unsolved, such as how the first element in the widespread *åvad*, 'length of allotment that is ploughed without turning the horse' should really be etymologised. The monograph elucidates the use and distribution in Old Swedish and dialects of a Swedish haymaking, boundary and area term, and touches on important semantic issues in the process. In addition Thorsten Andersson's monograph complements K. F. Söderwall's dictionary of Old Swedish and its supplement with some words, and succeeds thereby in clarifying the meaning of some words in Old Swedish. Thanks to its systematic account the book can serve as a model for how a vocabulary study with a historical approach can—and should—be arranged. For this reason too it is very good that this monograph has now been published.

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Torben Arboe & Inger Schoonderbeek Hansen (eds.), *Jysk, ømål, rigsdansk mv. Studier i dansk sprog med sideblik til nordisk og tysk. Festskrift til Viggo Sørensen og Ove Rasmussen utgivet på Viggo Sørensens 70-års dag den 25. februar 2011*, Århus: Peter Skautrup Centret for Jysk Dialektforskning, Nordisk Institut, Aarhus Universitet 2011, ISBN 9788799087136, 402 pp.

This Festschrift celebrates two assiduous collaborators at *Jysk Ordbok*, Viggo Sørensen and Ove Rasmussen. Their efforts of many years' duration for the dictionary are emphasised in Torben Arboe's preface. The other editor, Inger Schoonderbeek Hansen, writes on her part about the dictionary's long previous history. Peter Skautrup, who is known to have had a decisive importance for *Jysk Ordbog*, gets his portrait as a language politician drawn by Henrik Galberg Jacobsen. A large number of contributions in the book deal with the area of dialectology and language history. The point of departure of Allan Karker's contribution is a translation into Jysk of one of Cicero's speeches, where Karker describes the background to the translation, and in addition Torben Arboe makes a brief complementary characteristic of the dialect in the translation. Karen Margrethe Pedersen writes about the variation of the relative conjunctions in Danish dialects. Asgerd Gudiksen describes the development of *u* in front of an Old Danish plosive and spirant in Danish insular dialects. Anette Jensen deals with personal names included as main elements in compounds in the same group of dialects. The article has the expressive title "Sjuskedorte, sladrersidse, somalene, svinemikkel och alle de andre," and in a special section Jensen describes compounds with *Jan*. An interesting material is accounted for by Erik Vive Larsen in his survey of replies found in Sokkelund's court records from the first part of the seventeenth century. In this section there is also a contribution from an entirely different geographical area, namely Ann-Marie Ivars' on the southern Ostrobothnian *så* construction. One section of the Festschrift gathers contributions about modern dialects, regional languages and sociolinguistics. It contains Lars Brink's article on the Vendelbo dialect in three generations, in which the dialect's characteristics in different periods are accounted for. Anker Jensen—who has been called Denmark's first sociolinguist—is dealt with by Finn Køster. Inge Lise Pedersen describes the generalisation of *-et* as a preterite ending in weak verbs. About how Sønderjysk in speech and writing came to be used in the municipal election campaign in 2009, for the purpose of marking the regional roots of the Slesvigsk Part, can be read in Karen Margrethe Pedersen's article, while the intonation in modern Danish with Jutland and Copenhagen accents respectively is the subject of Tore Kristiansen, Marie Maegaard and Nicolai Pharao's in their joint contribution. In view of the two honoured persons' scholarly achievements it is not particularly remarkable that the book also contains a number of articles about dictionaries and lexicography. One of these is Lena Wienecke Andersen's essay about research on words and things, which also involves ideas about her ongoing thesis work on words in the area of milk handling. Torben Arboe describes fixed word combinations and locutions in *Jysk Ordbog* and accounts for some terminological ideas on the basis of this. Torben Christiansen' contribution is about informal designations of places in Denmark in the form of one-word or multi-word designations (such as *Kjøbenhavnstrup*, *solskinsøen*, *Østersøens perle*). With exemplification from Norway Tor Erik Jenstad illustrates the question of participant observation as a lexicographic method. The volume also contains a further number of articles on different subjects, and is concluded with the honoured persons' bibliographies. Empirical findings of different kinds are

described in some articles without any great efforts being made to analyse the material, while the analysis in others is carried much further. In other words, the range of variation is large. On the whole it is however a valuable collection of articles above all in the areas of dialectology and sociolinguistics.

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Marco Bianchi, *Runor som resurs. Vikingatida skriftkultur i Uppland och Södermanland* (Runrön. Runologiska bidrag utg. av Institutionen för nordiska språk vid Uppsala universitet 20), Uppsala: Institutionen för nordiska språk, Uppsala universitet 2010, ISBN 9789150621266; ISSN 11001690, 256 pp. + 20 plates.

In this study the author wants to show that the runes were one of the resources that those who took part in the interaction in the Viking Age utilised for the purpose of communication: On the one hand the runes constituted a semiotic resource for the *rune-carver* aimed at structuring and communicating a message; on the other the *reader* could interpret "the offers of importance that suited her/his preconditions and aims" (pp. 13 f.). The thesis may be described as a multimodal analysis of the runic inscriptions, at the same time as the usual rune philological perspectives are found throughout the study. The theoretical chapter (Ch. 2) is headlined "Den multimodala runstenen" ['The multimodal rune-stone'] and tackles some literacy-related issues, but another feature of great interest is the combination of the medium-related and conceptual literacy with Halliday's and other researchers' socio-semantic models. There is also an account here of multimodal strata such as discourse, design and production. *Design* is used here to signify the abstract counterpart of the inscription, while the *medium*, through which this design is realised, is the rune-stone, thus the material and the chiselling. Against this background it is exciting to start reading the three main chapters of the thesis, where an empirical material is analysed. In the first of these chapters the visual conventions are investigated, that is how the runic inscriptions should be read and the relation between the syntax of the inscriptions and the visual representation. It is shown here that there are obviously strategies promoting readability in the inscriptions; a runic inscription is for example often started in the lower left part of the ornamental band. Connections between the syntax and the inscriptions' visual structure are shown, and the rune-master Öpir's inscriptions are subjected to a special examination. The following chapter investigates the runic inscriptions employing more than one writing system. The author assumes that the variation may indicate pleasure in playing with the runes' visual power of expression and expresses a social level of ambition in the writing. In this connection it might be meaningful to see the use of a deviating writing system in a small part of Södermanland (in and round the district of Rönö) as a fashion trend, a communication system that had gained status among the regional elite. In the last of these chapters it is assumed that the *language* of the inscription only constitutes a part of the message of the rune-stone. Here the author examines 33 runic inscriptions in the provinces of Uppland and Södermanland that do not have a coherent linguistic message. As shown in the research over-

view, several fanciful suggestions for interpretations have previously been made in order to try to create meaning in the sequences that are hard to interpret: The texts have been seen as renditions of a foreign language or as songs, as ciphers, as the result of a dyslectic's attempts to inscribe etcetera. Bianchi states that this type of inscription—apart from the language—seems to be governed by the same textual conventions and utilises the same types of semiotic resources as other inscriptions, and "precisely through its imitative character [may] be said to reflect the norms and conventions that were largely prevalent in the written culture of the Late Viking Age" (p. 221). Bianchi's monograph deals with a traditional research material and approaches it from completely new points of departure. He contributes new perspectives in many respects and answers some questions, at the same time as new questions are gradually generated. In this way the thesis provides stimulating reading. The great task of describing the runestones' visual grammar in its entirety constitutes a future challenge, where Marco Bianchi's thesis will be an important starting-point.

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Ann Blückert, *Juridiska – ett nytt språk? En studie av juridikstudenters språkliga inskolning* (Skrifter utg. av Institutionen för nordiska språk vid Uppsala universitet 79), Uppsala: Uppsala universitet 2010, ISBN 9789150621235; ISSN 00834661, 320 pp.

Juridiska—the designation of legal language use as it is conceived by someone outside or by a beginner (English *legalese*)—is focused on in this thesis, which deals with writing, text response and linguistic norm communication in the law programme at Uppsala University. Besides text analyses the investigation contains ethnographic observations, interviews and inquiries, which together give the reader a multifaceted picture of the law students' linguistic training. Like most research on writing, the study is incorporated in a sociocultural framework, of which a description is provided. Methodological aspects are then discussed. The law education at the university is presented, and the reader is given an insight into what talks at a law seminar and the teaching practice are concretely like. The linguistic norms that are communicated through supervision and comments are presented (written language norm, general scientific norm, legal norm). A model in ten text levels for analysing teachers' comments is also accounted for. Teachers' comments illustrated on the basis of text levels are described and concretely discussed—there are comments on formalities, construction (e.g. concord), sentence structure, text structure and content. The choice of words and style are often dealt with in the teachers' comments; among other things there are comments on "unlegal tone," colloquialisms, archaic features, value-laden words and figurative language. After concrete comments at different levels have been accounted for, there follows a chapter on "the art of commenting and the art of understanding comments." This brings to the fore the fundamental need for the teacher to comment so that the message reaches the recipient and for the student to interpret the comments correctly. It is evident that a teaching practice implying that the student and the teacher do not meet

and can talk about the texts places great demands on the teacher's comments. The teachers' comments are often markedly brief and of a general nature. The thesis is rounded off by the author accounting for some reflections on writing pedagogy and trying to see the linguistic training from a plain language perspective and as socialization into a culture. The last section, which is about "claritas" and "puritas," provides a picture of the linguistic ideals that the education seems to strive for. Ann Blückert's thesis gives a complex picture of the linguistic training that the law students undergo, but it also conveys, more generally, important ideas about writing pedagogy.

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Matthias Egeler, *Walküren, Bodbs, Sirenen. Gedanken zur religionsgeschichtlichen Anbindung Nordwesteuropas an den mediterranen Raum* (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. Herausgegeben von Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich & Heiko Steuer. Band 71), Berlin & New York: De Gruyter 2010, ISBN 9783110246605; e-ISBN 9783110246612; ISSN 18667678, IX + 597 pp.

This voluminous book constitutes the revised version of Matthias Egeler's doctoral thesis presented at Oxford in the autumn of 2009. Its focus is on the half divine, often demonic female characters that meet dying people on the border between life and death, "Diesseits und Jenseits." They are represented by somewhat different characters in the European area as furies and Valkyries. The aim of the work is defined in this way: "Zum einen will sie eine Darstellung des Charakters der Walküren in der altnordischen Literatur vorlegen, und zum anderen nach der Stellung dieses Charakters im weiteren Kontext der frühen europäischen Religionsgeschichte fragen" (p. 28). When a comprehensive view is taken in this way of empirical findings concerning cultures that are far apart and from widely different periods, one has to be observant of the methodological problems—how should possible similarities really be interpreted? Previous research has not always been very stringent, but Egeler is very observant on this point. The book documents sources in minute detail but also a vast number of data from secondary literature in a number of areas. First the Valkyries in the Nordic area are dealt with, then what is called *Bodb* in Old Irish and the possible counterparts in the Romano-British and Continental Celtic areas, including the Iberian; the considerations in these latter parts seem to be rather intricate. Then we can read about the soul attendant Vanth in the Etruscan tradition and finally Furies, Erinnyes, Harpies, Keres and Sirens from the Mediterranean area. It is fascinating to read about the many characters in the early European cultures, but it is striking that the source conditions differ greatly among the various areas. The sources from the Mediterranean area are older and more detailed, while the Nordic material is late and relatively sprawling. The most relevant section for our context concerns the Valkyries. The Valkyries, "die Wählerinnen der Schlachtentoten," their relation to death, the martial context in which they occur, their existence in the guise of birds and the sexual connotations that may be observed in connection with them in a later

tradition, all this and more things are described in the chapter, which also deals with the many names they have, for example the one mentioned in Grímnismál 36, *Herfjǫtur* 'Heeresfessel.' It must be agreed that the Valkyries exist in a context "das einen zentralen und facettenreichen Teil der Mythologie der Krieges bildet" (p. 115). The Irish Bodb also exists in a martial context, and there are clear elements of transformation into birds and sexuality. More than 200 pages deal with conditions in Etruria with Vanth and various counterparts in the Mediterranean area, about which we have a rich ancient material. Matthias Egeler's investigation deals with a large material that is sometimes difficult to interpret. It is evident, however, that it is fruitful to analyse the ancient Nordic conceptions concerning this material from a European perspective, but it may naturally be discussed how the similarities should be interpreted—do the conceptions have some kind of historical connection with each other or are they a matter of typological parallels? After Egeler's study there still remain unanswered questions, but the following discussion can now start from a far safer platform than before.

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Märit Frändén, *"Att blotta vem jag är". Släktnamnsskick och släktnamnsbyten hos samer i Sverige 1920*–2009 (Namn och samhälle 23), Uppsala: Uppsala universitet 2010, ISBN 9789150621525; ISSN 14041790, 312 pp.

Sami surnames (family names) in Sweden are in focus in this thesis, which has the ambition to describe what the present-day naming custom is like and how this has been influenced by the name-bearers' changes of surnames and to describe the factors that might lie behind the changes of these names. Chapters 1–3 give the background, first with an account of terminology and the development of the surname custom in Sweden, then concerning the Sami background conditions and previous research on Sami surnames. What is of interest here is for example the role of personal names as ethnic position markers. This is in summary what is said in one place:

> A well known Sami surname can mark the affiliation to one's own group, but at the same time reveal the ethnic affiliation to the majority society and in this way expose the bearer to discrimination. A neutral name makes it possible to pass as an 'ordinary Swede' without having constantly to assume a defensive position, but may also imply that one is not welcomed in the Sami core (p. 55; my translation).

The question of whether the surnames of the Sami have an indigenous background or are the result of external influence is dealt with without any final answers being given. (That the very early recorded Swedish surname custom in the province of Norrbotten might be connected to the Sami or East Finnish name customs is an interesting idea, which however will have to be more thoroughly tested in order to be verified.) Theoretical points of departure and methodological perspectives are accounted for in chapters 4 and 5. These elucidate issues of identity, ethnicity and names and how names and ethnicity can interact. The theoretical approach is broad. These background chapters are followed by an account of three investigations, a

chiefly quantitative study concerning the distribution of names with different linguistic origins—based on the 2005 electoral register for the Swedish Sami Parliament—a study of the Swedish Sami's changes of surnames over the period 1920–2004 and a study of the adoption of "Sami-marked" surnames. Some individual results may be commented on. In the electoral register for example it can be seen that among the 10 most frequent surnames there are 7 names ending in *-son*, that *Blind* is in place 6, and *Nutti* and *Labba* in places 9 and 10. Other more frequent Swedish language names among the Sami surnames are *Påve* and *Fjällström*; among the Sami language names one also finds among others *Svonni*, *Sunna* and *Utsi* as some of the somewhat more frequent ones, and among the Finnish language ones *Kuhmunen* and *Sevä*. Some regional difference in the surname custom may also be noted. It may be seen that the final element *-fjäll* is used on several occasions in the Sami neologisms, and that a number of Sami surnames are adopted and registered, but that in most cases it is previously recorded names and that some Finnish language names are translated into Swedish. Some new names are based on toponyms: *Salming* on Finnish *Salmi* and *Daimar* on Sami *Daima*. No doubt the most interesting part of the study deals with adoption of surnames marked as Sami in character, above all during the period 1999–2009. Based on an interview investigation, among other things, different considerations that caused the adoption of this kind of name can be noted: the name as an ethnic marker within one's own group, the will to manifest a Sami name in the majority society, the view of the surname as a cultural heritage etcetera. The thesis—whose account might have been concentrated to some extent and also polished with regard to structure—elucidates changes of surnames among the members of a language minority from different perspectives, not least in the light of political conditions that have changed over time.

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Kristina Hagren (ed.), *Ordbok över folkmålen i övre Dalarna*, Häfte 39, Stypplig–Syt (Skrifter utg. av Institutet för språk och folkminnen. Ser. D 1), Uppsala: Institutet för språk och folkminnen. Dialektavdelningen 2010, ISBN 9789172290709; ISSN 16511204, 80 pp.; *Ordbok över folkmålen i övre Dalarna*, Häfte 38, Illustrationer S–Stupteln (Skrifter utg. av Institutet för språk och folkminnen. Ser. D 1), Uppsala: Institutet för språk och folkminnen. Dialektavdelningen 2010, ISBN 9789172290792; ISSN 16511204, 64 pp.

The publication of *Ordbok över folkmålen i övre Dalarna* ['Dictionary of dialects of Upper Dalecarlia'] proceeds with these parts. After an interval—part 37 was published in 2002—both the illustration part (no. 38), which thereby concludes volume 4, and the text part with the words *Stypplig–Syt* (no. 39) have now been published. With this latter part some changes in the editing principles have been introduced. Thus the dictionary no longer contains long translations into English of the word definitions, and as for the literature references some restrictions have—regrettably—also been made. In the usual manner the dictionary communicates a great deal of knowledge of linguistic and cultural conditions in former times in Upper Dalecarlia. The

illustration part comprises more than 450 pictures and shows, among many other things, pictures of a *skåle* ['temporarily built shelter,' 'shed'] from Älvdalen (no. 1776) and a *stekarehus* ['log cabin with a central hearth'] (no. 2010), a *sladd* ['clod-crusher harrow'], a *slepa* ['sledge'] and a *slipa* ['sledge'] (nos. 1829, 1837, 1839), and shows how a *snargård* ['fence consisting of small pines and spruces that leads into a bird-snare'] was constructed (no. 1903). One opening (pp. 44–45) shows what a bodice belonging to a female peasant dress (Swedish *snörliv*) looked like in different parishes in Upper Dalecarlia, and here as in many other places in the part there are illuminative illustrations in colour, something one would like to see more of. What different kinds of *drög* ['sleigh'] looked like is shown with pictures of a *stakdrög* ['sleigh used for transporting timber and wood'] (no. 1998), a *stendrög* ['sled used for transporting heavy stones'] (nos. 1829, 1837, 1839), a *stockdrög* ['lumber-sled'] (nos. 2041–2042) and a *stordrög* ['long and broad sled used for transporting timber'] (no. 2053). In the text part it is easy to become absorbed in different words. A large, well worked-out article is devoted to *stå/stånda* ['stand'], which is dealt with on four pages. In the dictionary the reader is also informed that *svenska* can be used as a verb and then means 'speak Standard Swedish or a dialect with a strong element of Standard Swedish,' and that *svensköl* is a 'fine kind of drink.' There are of course quite a few derogatory words, for example *sullfot* 'person who does bad work, bungler;' 'child who soils itself,' *sullkarl* 'careless and slovenly man,' *sullmoster* 'careless, soiling and slovenly woman' and *sullra* 'slow and lazy woman,' which are to be compared with the adjective *sullig* 'messy, smeary;' 'untidy, disordered;' 'slow, tardy;' 'unclear' and the verb *sulla* 'soil, smear'; 'be slow' etcetera—such series of related words are easy to find in this dialectal word material. There are quite a few specifying terrain words in it, which shows that language users in former times had access to a much larger arsenal of words than modern people, for example from this part, *städja* 'bank or steep slope alongside a road or watercourse, riverbank,' *svacka*, *svad*, *svada* and *svadland*, which all refer to waterlogged depressions, and the somewhat special *subb* 'small part of partitioned forest or arable land' (provided with a *sub number*!). Some very special meanings are also communicated: a *ståndhol* is the designation of a small rise in the terrain or a wooded hill by a swamp, where during the grazing cows and horses could rest in the middle of the day, and *ståndholsbönen* is the prayer that the cattle herders said over the animals when arriving at *ståndholen*. The number of compounds is in principle endless and it may be assumed that the fact that precisely this last-mentioned compound was included must imply that this prayer was something special. The dictionary does not give us any further guidance on this matter, however. Such cases are very rare in this well worked-out dictionary.

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Therese Leinonen, *An Acoustic Analysis of Vowel Pronunciation in Swedish Dialects* (Groningen Dissertations in Linguistics (GRODIL) 83), Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit 2010, ISBN 9789036743617; ISSN 09280030, XVIII + 237 pp.

In Therese Leinonen's thesis vowels

and their pronunciation in the Swedishspeaking area are studied. The basis of the study consists of the material that was gathered in the phonetic project SweDia2000, which collected spoken language from about 100 Swedish dialects with at least 12 old and young male and female speakers in each selected place. By way of introduction the reader is given a perhaps somewhat too brief description of Swedish dialects and standard language, of Swedish geolinguistics and of Swedish vowels and the acoustic analysis of them. Dialectometric research is presented in a special section. At the level of linguistic features there is then an analysis—by means of an acoustic method that admits analysis of large corpora—of 19 vowels from more than one thousand dialect speakers with reference vowels from a number of standard language speakers. In minute detail the pronunciation is described of the vowels of informants of different ages in the places in question, and the degree of co-variation among the vowel features is assessed in order to capture more overarching patterns. There are numerous details here, but in order to illustrate *one* major change at any rate, one can for example see how younger speakers pronounce front-mid vowels in words such as *dör* ['die'] and *lär* ['learn'] more openly than older speakers. The conditions may be easily studied on the colour-based maps that systematically accompany the account. One might say that these maps provide a cohesive atlas of the pronunciation of vowels in the different varieties of Modern Swedish, with patterns that are additionally generation-related for some of the features. In the chapter with the heading "Aggregate analysis" the vowels are studied at the variety level, and multidimensional scaling (MDS) is then used. One can see that the maps generated by this aggregate analysis markedly resemble the dialect area maps found in Elias Wessén's manual *Våra folkmål* ['Our dialects'] (1969) and in Claes-Christian Elert's article "Indelning och gränser inom området för den talade svenskan" ['Classification and boundaries in the area of spoken Swedish'] (1994) and are also shown in Gösta Bruce's studies of Swedish intonation patterns (2004, 2010). On the other hand the picture differs from that given in Felix Schaeffler's study (2005) concerning the phonological quantity in Swedish dialects. The conclusion of Leinonen's study is that the contours of the dialect areas that could be observed based on features of phonology and morphology in traditional dialects are in all essentials present also when the vowels in the Modern Swedish dialects serve as the basis of the classification. It is certainly a matter of a continuum, but it is evident, however, that there are boundaries. By way of summary the author talks about "a large-scale levelling of Swedish dialects" (p. 173), where generally speaking the differences are smaller among younger speakers from different areas than among older speakers in the different places. Furthermore the pronunciation changes are most notable for the spoken varieties closest to Stockholm and Gothenburg, while the dialects on the island of Gotland, in south of Sweden, in parts of Norrland and round Lake Vänern and in the Finland Swedish area seem to be more stable. It may also be observed that there are great differences between different generations of speakers in Norrbotten in northern Sweden, where the older ones for example use many diphthongs—both older diphthongs and ones that are a result of later developments—whereas

the younger speakers, in accordance with the standard language model, use monophthongs. The strength of the innovative thesis is that it takes a comprehensive view of the Swedish language area and describes changes of both the nineteen vowels and the Moderns Swedish varieties, on the basis of a cohesive material and with the aid of modern technology, which has made large-scale analyses possible.

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Sigmund Oehrl, *Vierbeinerdarstellungen auf schwedischen Runensteinen. Studien zur nordgermanischen Tier- und Fesselungsikonographie* (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. Herausgegeben von Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich & Heiko Steuer 72), Berlin & New York: De Gruyter 2011, ISBN 9783110227420; e-ISBN 9783110227437; ISSN 18667678, XI + 371 pp., Appendix mit 385 Abbildungen.

This monograph deals with the iconography on the Swedish rune-stones of the late Viking period, with the book's subtitle, its "Tier- und Fesselungsikonographie." Despite its focus on the *Swedish* rune-stones and picture stones, the perspectives are widened in different directions—both chronologically and geographically—in the book; other Germanic conditions are thus paid attention to, and besides the pictures that are dealt with, written and various kinds of other sources are also referred to. On the rune-stones and picture stones one can see a quadruped, a motif in Swedish called *det stora djuret* ("the big animal") said by several prominent archaeologists (Bernhard Salin, Nils Åberg, Sune Lindqvist) to represent a lion. Oehrl goes through his material systematically and it is also accounted for in the comprehensive catalogue. The analysis is structured with the aid of Erwin Panofsky's three-step model—which consists of a kind of pre-iconographic description, an iconographic analysis and an iconological interpretation. An examination of the source material shows that the lion symbolism is weakly represented in the early Nordic tradition. A priori it also seems most probable that such a central motif would have native roots. For this reason the author suggests that the rune-stones and picture stones depict a wolf, which has a far more solid place in the tradition. Quite a few of the animals are fettered and Oehrl pays a great deal of attention to this theme. In this part of the study he first goes through the existing written evidence of the fettered Satan in animal and human guise respectively in the Christian tradition as well as the Old Nordic narratives of the fettered Fenris Wolf and Loki. A long section deals with pictures with both anthropomorphic and teriomorphic figures. Ideas about and pictures of fettered figures evidently played an important role in the Viking Age. It is obviously a fact that the fettered animals on the rune-stones do not have merely an aesthetic motivation but probably also constitute "Ausdruck bestimmter religiöser, kultischer, magischer oder symbolischer Vorstellungen" (p. 198). It is obvious that it was easy to re-interpret these pre-Christian motifs in a later Christian context. Oehrl's monograph is a very well-documented account and is rich in perspectives. The research overview shows that previous analyses of the picture motif have been brief and impressionistic, even more associative, in all likelihood because the

researchers did not form a coherent conception of the iconographic conditions encountered here. There is now such a coherent view in Oehrl. He certainly says that several important issues must be kept open, but in spite of this "so scheint der erste große Schritt getan zu sein" (p. 293) in the exploration of this material. This is no doubt the case. It may be added that the monograph constitutes "die überarbeitete und erweiterte Fassung" of a thesis that was presented in 2008 at Georg-August-Universität Göttingen.

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Judy Quinn & Emily Lethbridge (eds.), *Creating the Medieval Saga. Versions, Variability and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature* (The Viking Collection. Studies in Northern Civilization. General editors: Margaret Clunies Ross, Matthew Driscoll & Mats Malm. Vol. 18), Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark 2010, ISBN 9788776745325; ISSN 01088408, 337 pp.

In this volume a number of articles have been gathered that deal with important themes in the area of saga philology with special focus on editorial methodologies. The reader is given a good entry into the different themes of the work in Judy Quinn's comprehensive introduction. The three introductory essays present different methodological perspectives in a more general way. In the article "Stitching the Text Together. Documentary and Eclectic Editions in Old Norse Philology" Odd Einar Haugen describes, among other things, editions based on several sources and with a uniformity of structure and orthography, where "the eclectic text is helpful for an understanding of the literary work preserved in the manuscripts." The construction of a kind of intertextual "open corpus edition"—possible to handle by means of computer technology—is sketched out by Karl G. Johansson, who also discusses the establishment of what he calls *topical units* and *semantic units* in a text. M. J. Driscoll takes a wide approach to the philological work, and also characterises different (often implicit) methods that are used in editions of Konráð Gíslason, Finnur Jónsson and Jón Helgason, among others. The following six essays in the volume deal with individual texts, which are thoroughly elucidated from different aspects. They are concretely about *Gísla saga Súrssonar* (Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson, Emily Lethbridge), *Orkneyinga saga* (Judith Jesch), *Sturlunga saga* (Guðrún Nordal), *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* (Margaret Clunies Ross) and *Grettisfærsla* and *Grettis saga* (Kate Heslop). Many details might be commented on in these works, but only a few samples can be presented here. Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson illustrates how one can compile an edition of a saga based on several versions, an edition that is suitable for literary analysis but also is aimed at both a scholarly and non-scholarly audience. Judith Jesch shows how *Orkneyinga saga* has probably developed from having been a historical work to a narrative work, a saga—it has been, in the words of the subheading, "A Work in Progress." The interpretation of some dream sequences in *Sturlunga saga* is thoroughly analysed by Guðrún Nordal, who places the saga in an adequate interpretative framework. *Grettisfærsla*, a poem found in *Grettis saga*, chapter 52, can, according to Kate Heslop, "make few claims to greatness." Hes-

lop tries to describe the late medieval context where this poem was created. In the last two essays in the volume Russell Poole deals with *þulir*, thereby leading us far back in time, while Andrew Wawn focuses on *Úlfs saga Uggasonar*, which was probably written around 1500. The book is concluded with a very valuable coherent bibliography and an index of names and manuscripts. As Judy Quinn points out in her introduction there is still no cohesive work on the history of editing Old Norse texts, but when such a work is published, it will be "a history full of philological debate, changing literary fashions and developing theories of textual criticism, as well as nationalist and institutional politics" (p. 36). Quinn also states that hopefully the present volume "will stimulate interest in the intellectual history of the editing and interpretation of medieval sagas, as well as in editorial praxis" (pp. 36 f.). It can be said that the volume reaches these goals in an excellent way, both through the theoretical and methodological awareness of the individual contributions and through the concrete text exemplification and the discussion of individual texts.

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Gro-Renée Rambø, *Historiske og sosiale betingelser for språkkontakt mellom nedertysk og skandinavisk i seinmiddelalderen – et bidrag til historisk språksosiologi*, Oslo: Novus Forlag 2010, ISBN 9788270996216, 421 pp.

The present voluminous monograph constitutes the slightly revised version of Gro-Renée Rambø's "doctor artium"-thesis, defended at the University of Agder in 2009. It is by no means a new subject that is dealt with, on the contrary there is extensive literature on the contacts between Low German tradesmen and the late medieval Scandinavian population. One of the background chapters of the book gives the reader an overview of previous research on the contacts, in which works by for example Lena Moberg, Vibeke Winge, Kurt Braunmüller (and his co-workers) and Agnete Nesse are presented. On the other hand, individual studies of loanwords are outside the author's focus of interest. A broad view is taken of the field of research, and historical sociolinguistics, modern language contact research and interactional sociolinguistics with accommodation theory and Acts of Identity are mentioned as theoretical foundations. The theoretical and methodological background is described in the third chapter, an account with emphasis on aspects concerning societal and linguistic conditions as mutual variables. Chapters 4–8 are gathered under a third section and account for empirical conditions concerning "Language contact between Low German and Scandinavian in the Late Middle Ages," at first more generally and then in separate sections specifically about conditions on Gotland (Visby) and in Denmark (Copenhagen, Ribe), Sweden (Kalmar, Stockholm) and Norway (Bergen, Oslo/Tønsberg). The general chapter (Ch. 4) deals with the Hanseatics and Scandinavia, where the importance of trade is emphasised as well as the role of Latin as a *lingua franca* in the Late Middle Ages. For each individual town dealt with in Chapters 5–8 there is an account of what is known about the historical frameworks with for example the role of the Hanseatic League, demographic composition and settlement structure—how did

different demographic groups live in relation to one another?—furthermore the conditions for the language contact, the appearance of the language society and the situations of language use and the usage that may be assumed to have existed. It is obvious that the Germans were generally defined as foreigners. But there were differences: in Visby and Stockholm the Germans settled with their families and participated together with the local burghers in town councils etcetera, while the Germans in Bergen isolated themselves in their own trade stations that delimited them from the local population, in the political respect as well. The reading clarifies that there were differences among the towns concerning the points of time of the contacts as well as regarding the length of the contact period. It is emphasised in the final chapter that the term *semicommunication*, which has lately come to be used to some extent in order to describe the linguistic relation between Scandinavian languages and Low German in the Late Middle Ages, "kanskje ikke er tilstrekkelig oppklarende" ['is perhaps not sufficiently enlightening'] (p. 374). What is instead discussed here is "**reseptiv tospråklighet**" ['**receptive** bilingualism']—bilingualism that "på ett eller annet tidspunkt kan gå over til å bli aktiv tospråklighet" ['at one point of time or another may be transformed into active bilingualism'] (p. 375). As already mentioned, the thesis deals with a well-studied area, and it can therefore not be demanded that everything should be thoroughly elucidated. Discussing the language contact between Low German and Gutnish in the Late Middle Ages only on the basis of handbooks by Elias Wessén and Bengt Pamp is however too superficial—for example. Herbert Gustavson's investigations contain a lot of important information in this respect—to mention just one example. Gro-Renée Rambø tackles the subject in an ambitious way in her thesis, and deals with a large, almost boundless, amount of empirical data. Even if the analysis is not always very profound and, in addition, could have been more clearly based on the theories referred to, the monograph must be given credit, since it clearly summarises many aspects concerning the historical and social conditions for the language contact among the Scandinavian and Low German populations in the Nordic countries in the Late Middle Ages.

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Berit Sandnes, *Skånes ortnamn*, Serie A Bebyggelsenamn. Del 6 Gärds härad, Lund: Institutet för språk och folkminnen. Dialekt- och ortnamnsarkivet i Lund 2010, ISBN 9789172290693; ISSN 02842416, 261 pp.

We have several times earlier in this journal paid attention to the purposeful publication of the series *Skånes ortnamn* ['The toponyms of Skåne']. In the current survey we will review the volume that deals with the names in the district of Gärd. The author is Berit Sandnes, who in 2003 defended her doctoral thesis in Trondheim on the contact between the Nordic and Scottish languages in the toponyms on the Orkney Islands. By way of introduction she says that, when she came to Dialekt- och ortnamnsarkivet, Lund ['**Department of Dialectology and Onomastics, Lund**'] in 2006, she had never worked with toponyms in Skåne, nor had she written a

word of Swedish. It is therefore a notable feat to publish a volume of the series *Skånes ortnamn* only four years later. One can note that, in contrast to previous volumes of the series, the selection of names of parts of homesteads and crofts is more restrictive in this volume than before, and in addition transparent names like *Ola Jöns* are dealt with only if they display some continuity. These changes are defensible. The district of Gärd in the present Municipality of Kristianstad has the Kristianstad Plain in the east, and in the south and west forest areas, and between these areas the so-called *risbygden*. These conditions are also reflected in the toponyms. Maglehem is the only parish in the district that has a coastline towards the Baltic Sea, and significantly enough there are names in *-drätt* there for places where people fished with some type of seine (p. 124). In the introduction there is an overview of toponyms of different ages in the area. As regards the dialectal conditions the reader is told, among other things, that apical *r* was common in records in the district about 1900, and as late as the 1930s apical *r* and uvular *r* seem to have varied in the parishes of Everöd and Ö. Sönnarslöv. As usual there are a number of topographic words represented in the toponyms, such as *kupa* in connection with *Kuberup* (p. 52) and *ribba* about a strip of land in connection with *Rebbetuaröd* (pp. 82 f.). The interpretation of *Ugerup* as being connected to **wik*, **wiki* 'river bend' is interesting (pp. 91 f.); with this derivation the name would mean 'the croft on the river bend,' which seems to be topographically justified. The connection among Old English *waroð*, *warð*, Icelandic *vör* and Norwegian dialectal *vor*—which is mentioned in connection with the derivation of *Everöd* (p. 58)—might have been better clarified in connection with earlier etymological analyses. In connection with the interpretation of *Köle* (p. 133) and *Öllsjö* (p. 160) the interpretative alternatives could have been further tested. In some cases an interpretation is rejected in connection to a word that is not borne out with examples in the dialect, as in the case of *Klårröd* (p. 164), where a connection to an older **klā* 'hill,' 'ravine' should after all be kept open. On the other hand there should have been a more thorough examination of a formation of *Gringelstad* to an element corresponding to Dutch *grind* 'coarse sand,' 'coarse meal' and Old Nordic *grind* 'sand,' 'gravel' (p. 85). A name worth paying attention to—just to mention one of the many younger names—is *Rallate* (p. 41), which is the name of a farmhouse in a deep valley, formed on the verb phrase *ralla té* (*ralla* 'stumble away'). Usually imperative names of this type refer to inns, but this is not possible in this case. The figures in the monographs are praiseworthy, as is the illustrative series of pictures on pages 104–118 elucidating the factual backgrounds of individual names. There is good reason to be grateful for the publication of the series *Skånes ortnamn* continuing so purposefully, and for this volume now being added to the thirteen earlier ones.

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Helge Sandøy, *Romsdalsk språkhistorie. Från runer til sms – och vel så det*, Oslo: Novus Forlag 2010, ISBN 9788270996124, 343 pp.

Romsdalsk is the northernmost outpost of Vestlandsk dialect in western Norway. As far as can be judged,

the boundary between the dialect in the traditional district of Nordmøre and the dialect spoken in Romsdal is at least a thousand years old, and is manifested through clear differences between the dialects. After Helge Sandøy has presented the linguistic features of Romsdalsk, internal differences in the area have been clarified and hence different types of Romsdalsk have been visualised, he describes the oldest traces of language in the area. There have been people there for perhaps 4,000 years, but the oldest physical linguistic memorials consist of some rune inscriptions from the fifth and sixth centuries. These are presented, as well as the old toponyms in the area, where not least the toponym *Romsdal*(*en*) is attended by interpretation problems of various kinds. The following chapters, which deal with different linguistic periods, are on the whole organised in the same way: first a general historical overview, then an account of the linguistic evidence that exists from the period in question, then a survey of language changes and language culture—which may deal with written culture, school system, personal names etcetera—and in most chapters a section on language contact. In the chapter that deals with the language from about 1300 to the sixteenth century, the reader chiefly notes the numerous and important language changes: the svarabhakti vowel *e* is established, the effect of progressive *j* mutation and palatalisations may be observed, as well as quite a few other sound changes and morphological changes etcetera. The changes in the period 1500–1800 are exemplified by means of for example tax lists, a county governor's notes from 1744 and a wedding poem. Language contacts are described with for example Dutch influence. The chapter about the nineteenth century is headlined "Nasjonen skal byggast" ['The nation will be built up'], and the chapter devoted to the twentieth century has the heading "Den moderne tida" ['The modern time']. Individual sections on collections of traditional material and on the Molde urban dialect are noted. The last chapter is an experiment. Starting out from a text that Ivar Aasen has rendered according to Nordmøringer, Sandøy has compiled an Old Norse ("Old Romsdalsk") version and two Romsdalsk ones, one aimed at reflecting the dialect around 1800 and one reflecting the language today. The texts are compared with each other on different linguistic levels, and the authors states that during the 550-year period 1250–1800 there occur 11 lexical changes, 7 syntactic ones, 33 morphological ones and 100 phonological ones, taken together thus 151 changes or 27 per century. In contrast, during the period 1800–2000 there occur 1 lexical change, 4 morphological ones and 4 phonological ones, thus all in all 9 changes or about 4 per century. Even though the investigation is small and the results can otherwise also be discussed, it must be agreed that the changes "dei siste par hundreåra er relativt småe i forhold til alt det som skjedde i språket før" ['the last couple of centuries are small in relation to everything that happened earlier in the language'] (p. 309). The book contains eight grammar boxes, and seventeen maps—some of the latter are unfortunately somewhat deficient in reproduction. With the arrangement that Helge Sandøy has chosen, the monograph is a good introduction to the area of dialect and language change.

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3. References

Book

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

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

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