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DANIEL ANDERSSON

"Courting Is Like Trading Horses, You Have to Keep Your Eyes Open"

Gender-Related Proverbs in a Peasant Society in Northern Sweden

ABSTRACT Proverbs offer insights into normative symbolic systems of meaning. In this article, proverbs collected in Northern Sweden that mirrors an older agrarian environment are studied with a specific subset of such a normative meaning system in focus: masculinity and femininity. The analysis is centered on three important domains of human experience: The Marriage Market, The Household and The Sexuality. It is argued that the gender conceptions found in the proverbs form a system of gender hegemony, with hierarchically superior masculinity and hierarchically subordinate femininity. Furthermore, a possible cultural model found in the proverbs, that of The Successful Household, is outlined and discussed.

KEYWORDS proverbs, gender, gender hegemony, Northern Sweden, nineteenth century, agrarian environment, masculinity, femininity

Proverbs are found in languages throughout the world. As pithy ready-made formulations they provide traditional wisdom to be used to "free

complex situations from ambiguity" (Mieder 2003: 155), in other words to help us make sense of the world.

Besides this categorical function, the proverbs contain explicit and implicit evaluative statements that brings with them directive force (White 1987: 151). Their authority comes, at least in part, from having survived the test of time and from echoing the authoritative voice of previous generations.

In this article, I analyse proverbs that deal with the relationship between and characterization of men and women; the setting is an agrarian environment in nineteenth and early twentieth century Northern Sweden. The focus lies more specifically on three domains of human experience that are brought to the fore by the material: *The Marriage Market*, *The Household* and *The Sexuality*. I argue that the gender conceptions found in the proverbs form a system of gender hegemony that supports masculine superiority and feminine subordination.

Nineteenth Century Northern Sweden and Its Proverbs

Proverbs that were used in an old agrarian environment in Northern Sweden have been collected by Swedish folklore archives, individual authors and various dialect groups; all examples in this article are drawn from a corpus of 199 gender-related proverbs, which is composed of predominantly written records from the above-mentioned sources.[1]

All examples have been collected in Lapland, Norrbotten, Ångermanland and Northern Jämtland and, although it is hard to determine which are unique to this geographical area, have been in use in Northern Sweden as expressions of popular wisdom (cf. Mieder 1993: 178 on proverbs from Vermont).

The proverbs were probably used at least during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. This is an estimation based upon date of collection, age of the informants and a known effort by the collectors to "rescue" knowledge and information from an older and disappearing peasant society (see Lilja 1996; Andersson 2009: 39–41). It should be noted, however, that proverbs have extraordinary long lifespans and that it is notoriously difficult to ascertain the absolute origin of most of them (see Mieder 1993: 12, 174). Some of the proverbs in the corpus have survived and are still in use, while others have disappeared from everyday language.

The proverbs' linguistic form is in most cases dialectal; regional dialects constituted people's first language in this time and place, although, as Edlund (2003: 12) states, a standard Swedish variant was used in certain specific situations.[2]

Map 1. Parishes in Northern Sweden where the proverb examples were gathered. Thanks to Fredrik Palm at Humlab, Umeå University, for help with constructing the map.

Much has changed in Sweden since the agrarian environments in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The economy, for example, was characterized by farming: in 1840, approximately 90 per cent of the population in the studied area lived by agriculture (Sundbärg 1910: 115), primarily animal production (Winberg 1977: 33). Other important sources of income and food were hunting and fishing (Sporrong 1970: 36) and, later, the expanding sawmill industry (Wik 1950: 80–82). A majority of people today live in cities and knowledge that once was vital for survival has long since been replaced. Changing living conditions also lead to changes in beliefs and values, but there are differences. Although, for example, the intricate practice of horse trading most likely is unknown to an urban IT-consultant in the twenty-first century, it is not necessarily so that equally old ideas and beliefs about men, women and their relationship have disappeared in the same way. By looking at gender conceptions in nineteenth century Northern Sweden, through the lens of proverbs, we also gain further insight into our own gender systems today. And, in doing this, we also shed light on the role folklore plays in maintaining normative systems of meaning.

Defining and Analysing the Proverb

Despite many definition attempts, there is no consensus among proverb researchers about what is the best one. This difficulty is famously expressed by Archer Taylor (1931: 3) who refers to an "incommunicable quality" that defines proverbs. A viable approach is to use sets of criteria or markers (Arora 1984; Norrick 1985) to determine what constitutes a proverb. An advantage of that approach is the possibility of recognizing differences in degree of proverbiality. An often cited definition is found in *American Folklore. An Encyclopedia* (Mieder 1996: 597): "Proverbs [are] concise traditional statements of apparent truths with currency among the folk."[3] I use these previous efforts, but build on Seitel's (1981: 124)[4] claim that the definition of the proverb cannot be separated from the type of material studied. Therefore I use a definition specifically designed to this study in order to sort out proverbial phrases, idioms and wellerisms, material often included in collections where proverbs are found. In order to be considered a proverb in this study, an item needs to: constitute an independent utterance, that is be syntactically independent, contain a "wisdom" or experience of some sort and not refer to an originator. Since the study groups and archives gathered material that had been in use in different dialects and areas, the commonly used criteria *traditional* (cf. Mieder 2004: 3) is here superfluous.

The analysis of the proverbs includes suggesting a possible *base meaning* (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1981), a conventional meaning shared by a group of

people. Such customary meaning is described by Norrick (1985) as *standard proverbial interpretation* (SPI) and corresponds to Prahlad's (1996) social level of meaning. A base meaning can be described as a short paraphrase: *No rose without a thorn*, for example, can be paraphrased with "there is no pleasant thing without some unpleasant aspect" (Norrick 1985: 2). Although such a short paraphrase by no means captures a proverb's full potential and all facets of meaning it is a good point of departure for a discussion of gender conceptions. It is also important to recognize that, for example, different interpretations of metaphors can lead to several base meanings for the same proverb within a speech community (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1981: 119).

To avoid introspective interpretations it is important to take into consideration all available ethnographic data in the interpretative process (see Prahlad 1996: 26). This means using all comments on the proverbs, given by the collectors and informants, and analysing the dialectal words as well as the material world used in metaphors and similes, but also in the literal proverbs. Analyses of the metaphors and similes are especially effective when trying to "unlock" the often enigmatic proverbs.

Proverbs can be used in different social contexts with different purposes, giving rise to a whole array of *performance meanings* (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1981; see also Norrick 1994). One could for example with the same proverb in one situation console someone and in another use it to convey an insult. Because many of the proverbs in the corpus lack descriptions of use, such performance meanings are often out of reach in the present study.

Conceptions of gender can be found in proverbs in mainly two different types: as part of the base meaning or as prerequisite and/or background information. This can be illustrated by the following two proverbs:

(1) A hit on the elbow is like widower grief, it hurts but quickly disappears (Norsjö)[5]

(2) The old fence will probably stand as long as no one steps on it (Umeå)

A possible base meaning of the first proverb is that 'when you hurt your elbow, it hurts a lot but only for a short time.' This meaning is however transmitted through a simile where knowledge about the widower is used as background information. The conception needed to fully understand the proverb is that a man that loses his wife quickly remarries and this conception is re-created every time the proverb is actualized, in communication or thought.

The second example, on the other hand, is figurative and lacks any explicit mentioning of either men or women. There are five variants of this

proverb in the corpus and besides descriptions of specific performances one collector gives the following possible base meaning: "The old maid will probably remain unmarried, as long as no suitor signs up" (ULMA 3560: 8). The old fence referred to is a commonly used wooden fence, so-called *gärdsgård*, which over time has decayed and become fragile. This structure corresponds to an apparent female chastity that will burst as soon as a suitor shows interest. Without discussing this proverb in more detail, it is apparent that this base meaning contains gender conceptions.

I will now introduce the concept of *Gender Hegemony*, which will be applied in the analysis.

The Concept of Gender Hegemony

Gender is individual—a part of individual identity—and at the same time collective—a cultural system of a normative nature. Analysis of the proverbs gives us insights into a symbolic system of gender conceptions, or "regulatory structure" (Butler 1990) that governs the individual when she or he is "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman 1987). The gender conceptions can be described as a system of gender hegemony, where *hegemony* should be understood as control by consent (e.g. Talbot 2005: 471; Schippers 2007: 90) or ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 832). Such gender hegemony supports a hierarchy where masculinity is superior to femininity.[6] I understand masculinity and femininity as configurations of properties and practices that in a certain cultural context are attributed to men and women.

The understanding of gender hegemony adopted here follows Schippers (2007) and focuses on the relationship between masculinity and femininity. The idea is that there exists an ideal relationship between masculinity and femininity, with hierarchically superior masculinity and complementary, hierarchically subordinate femininity. This system is supported by men and women that act in certain ways and show certain properties, for example hegemonic masculinity and hegemonic femininity.[7] Configurations of properties and practices that do not support this ideal relationship are socially unwanted and Schippers (2007: 95–96) describes these as *pariah femininity* and *male femininity*. Basically, male femininity is men showing properties and/or practices associated with hegemonic femininity, and pariah femininity women showing properties and/or practices associated with hegemonic masculinity (see Schippers 2007: 95–96). This focus on socially (un)wanted practices and characteristics makes proverbs a very convenient empirical material. This is because proverbs most often are either *ideal-conforming* or *ideal-disconforming* (Honeck 1997: 139); the former contain cultur-

ally preferred configurations of masculinity and femininity while the latter contain culturally unwanted ones.

It is now time to turn to the empirical data, and the first theme to be explored is found on The Marriage Market.

Chooser and Chosen on the Marriage Market

A large number of the proverbs, 61 out of the 199 in the corpus, contain gender conceptions relevant to the practice of finding a husband or wife (the system of meaning found in the proverb material is without exception heterosexual). This important part of human experience is often described using the market metaphor where both women and men view themselves as commodities (e.g. Eckert 1996) and it is in this way that the metaphor is used in this article.

One central theme in these proverbs is *the choice*, manifested in conceptions about who is supposed to make the choice, how it should be made and what criteria it should be based on. Choice on the marriage market is important because it entails a hierarchical structure where the position as chooser is hierarchically superior to the one who is chosen: the chooser has the power to influence and control the development of the marriage market.

Choosing is described as a masculine practice in the proverbs together with the practice of close examination in order to ensure a good choice; to be passive and to be chosen is described as a characteristic of femininity. This pattern is illustrated by the following example:

(3) Courting is like trading horses, you have to keep your eyes open (Edsele)

Left uncommented by the collector, this proverb transfers cultural knowledge about horse trading, through simile, to the domain of the human marriage market. The horse belonged to a masculine domain of responsibility in the agrarian environment in Northern Sweden and the practice of horse trading was prototypically carried out by men. The historian Rosemarie Fiebranz (2002: 139) states that all activities relating to the horse were strongly gender coded and that the horse was a symbolic representation of masculinity. To trade with horses meant that there was a risk that a bad deal could be made and there was always the chance of being swindled. In the proverb the man corresponds to the horse trader and the woman to the horse, that is the traded commodity. The proverb's main focus is on the practice of careful examination, which is carried out by men in order to prevent a bad choice.

A possible base meaning is that a man should carefully examine the women before courtship.

Capacity for work is put forward in the material as a property that the man on the marriage market should look for in a future wife. This is illustrated in proverb (3) through the correspondence between the horse and the woman on the marriage market: the horse was valued for its capacity for work, which through analogy suggests that the chooser should look for such properties in a future wife. This message is explicitly expressed in the following proverb:

(4) It's better to look for your wife in the barn door than in the church door (Överkalix)

This proverb is shortly commented on by the collector with: "the father's advice to the son" (ÖHÅ 1957: 15), while a second variant in the corpus is more elaborately explained: "they meant that you could better see what a woman was like when she worked" (ULMA 6696: 6). The door to the barn and the door to the church symbolize, through metonymy, capacity for work and beauty. In the church the woman was clean and well dressed, properties that meant little in the day-to-day life in the agrarian household, where women among other areas of responsibility (see section Division of Labour and Power in the Household) took care of the cows and other animals. A possible base meaning is that a man should choose a wife based on capacity for work rather than beauty.

The conception that a man should examine the future wife before making his choice is also present in ideal-disconforming proverbs, which further emphasize the importance of this practice. One such example is found in the following proverb:

(5) He who proposes in the dark, has to take what he gets (Edsele)

This proverb is present in three variants in the corpus with slight differences in pronouns: one has an initial generic pronoun (*den*, sing.) but a masculine pronoun in the second clause and one has generic pronouns in both positions (*de*, pl.). Given that masculine pronouns in Swedish dialects (as well as in standard Swedish) are often used generically, and no comment is made by the collectors in regard to the proverbs' meaning, it is, at least, possible that a common base meaning of these proverbs is generic in nature: if you make a choice without careful examination you have to settle for what you get, even if this is not what you wanted. Even with such a gender-neutral base meaning, the proverb evokes, as background information, the

practice of courting, which in the older agrarian Northern Sweden was seen as something carried out by men. The type of masculinity found as background information in this proverb embodies the practice of choosing, but not the practice of examining.

The proverbs warn against women practicing choosing on the marriage market and the result of such practice is exclusively described as having negatively valued results. Two examples of these ideal-disconfirming proverbs are:

(6) If the girl says no to a lot of suitors, she eventually has to propose herself (Edsele)

(7) Choose among the clover and stay in the sedge (Edsele)

The figurative no. (7) is found in two versions in the corpus, explained in the following way by the collectors. "This can happen to the girl who, while time passes, finds it hard to settle for the suitors that have been available" (Bergfors 1981: 30) and "[this] is said to a girl who rejected advantageous proposals and to avoid turning into an 'old maid' finally had to take what was offered" (DAUM 3864, covering letter without date). White clover, superior as fodder and also visually more elaborate, corresponds to attractive suitors, for example with regard to appearance, capacity for work and material assets. The less attractive suitors correspond to the more inconspicuous sedge. Similar base meanings can be suggested for these examples: if a girl is picky when courted she could end up either alone, as implied by the phrase "have to propose herself," or with a husband with lesser qualities than previous suitors.

This chooser–chosen relationship, which is also an active–passive one, is part of a system of gender hegemony, that is an idealized relationship between masculinity and femininity. The practice of choosing and examining positions places masculinity in a hierarchically superior position vis-à-vis femininity. The passive characteristic of the chosen woman supports this idealized relationship between masculinity and femininity. These positions are also complementary because neither of them could exist without the other. The active and choosing women on the marriage market do not support this idealized relationship between masculinity and femininity and could be described as an instance of pariah femininity (Schippers 2007: 95), that is hegemonic masculinity enacted by a woman. Correspondingly, male femininity, that is men embodying hegemonic femininity (Schippers 2007: 95), is found in the man not playing the part of the careful examiner.

Division of Labour and Power in the Household

The agrarian household in nineteenth century Northern Sweden often included several generations (Egerbladh 1989: 259, 261) and was primarily a production and consumption unit (Egerbladh 1989: 249). Historians and ethnologists have suggested that the household functioned as a cognitive model for how reality works (Fiebranz 2002: 32) and also as the base for political and social order (Lövkrona 1999: 21). The proverb corpus contains conceptions about the division of labour in the household, where the chores are divided into male and female areas of responsibility. This division of work creates a complementary relationship between masculinity and femininity. In this section I will look more closely at these conceptions and argue for an understanding of this relationship, not only as relational and complementary, but also as fundamentally hierarchical.

It is described in the proverbs as a masculine practice to bring resources, for example food, wood and money to the household and as a female practice to utilize these resources in a wise way. The following proverb exemplifies how this complementary gender relationship is expressed in the proverb corpus:

(8) What the man drags home with horse and sleigh, the wife can carry out in the apron (Nederkalix)

The collector gives the following explanation: "What the man earns, a foolish woman can waste on trifles" (DAUM 3906, no. 36), which also constitutes a possible base meaning. Two symbolic items are used in the proverb: the horse, which has been shown earlier to be strongly tied to a masculine domain and the apron, an effective symbol of the domestic work. There is a drastic difference in the proverb between the husband's efforts when he drags home resources to the household, with horse and sleigh, and the small pockets on the apron, with which the wife, seemingly without effort, carries it out again. This proverb draws on background information regarding the division of labour in the household: the husband is responsible for earning resources and the wife is responsible of managing the same resources in a wise way.

Other examples of this complementary division of labour in the household are found throughout the proverb material. It is for example described as a male duty to make sure the firewood is dry and a female duty to manage the fire. To clean and cook, manage textiles and to take care of the children are also described as female duties. The man is instead represented outside

the household as the one who creates the resources, for example as a lumberjack (see Andersson 2009: 183–185).

The managing of firewood provides an interesting meeting between gendered areas of responsibilities: although it was a masculine duty to cut and prepare the firewood, managing the fire was closely tied to the women's domain of responsibility (Fiebranz 2002: 146–148). This division of labour is effectively conveyed by the following pithy proverb:

(9) Wet wood—surly wife

Lost in translation is the homonymic pun utilizing the word *sur* 'wet' and *sur* 'surly.' The proverb lacks a verb phrase but the juxtaposing of the two noun phrases creates a causal link between them: wet wood leads to a surly wife. This is also a possible base meaning.

The gendered division of labour in nineteenth century Northern Sweden, however relational and complementary, could be interpreted as a relatively equal arrangement; an interpretation that some ethnologists and historians have made in the past (see Lövkrona 1990: 194, 179). However, the proverb material is clear about the power hierarchy in the agrarian household, with the man as master and the one who is supposed to make the important decisions. The following figurative example effectively conveys this hierarchy:

(10) It's the cock that should crow (Ytterlännäs)

This proverb, which exists in two variants in the corpus, is explained by the collectors with: "It is the man that should decide" (DAUM 3864, no. 256) and "it is the rooster that should crow (not the hen)" (Bergfors 1981: 28, 73). A possible base meaning of this proverb, which gathers its authority from the fact that cocks, not hens, crow, is that the man has the right to decide, not the woman.[8] This natural order found in the animal kingdom, where the rooster also has a clear superior position against the hens (se Odén 1994: 33), possibly conveys the conception that a hierarchical relationship between men and women, with a masculine superiority, also is natural. The reference to the rooster in the singular definite form and in the cited explanations of the man or the rooster and the hen indicates that the proverb could be used to comment on relations between a husband and wife, and not only on a general gender hierarchy.

This household hierarchy is also tied to a more general masculine superiority, expressed in proverbs such as the following:

(11) The man is the man (Umeå)

This proverb is explained with: "the saying wants to emphasize the man's superiority" (DAUM 372, no. 114) and in another record (ULMA 3704): "when a boy and a girl are wrestling, and the male strength departs with victory." A possible base meaning is that the men are superior to women, and as the second explanation shows, this superiority can specifically refer to physical strength.

That every household needs a strong master is expressed in the following proverb:

(12) A house with no master is no house (Nederluleå)

This proverb is present with four variants in the corpus and explained with: "Refers to the notion that there needs to be someone in every house that rules the roost" (Nordström 1980 [1925]: 49) and "if nobody pushes on in a house, it's no home" (*Verla däänsch upa i kålvråmp* 2000: 12). The word *kuse*, used in the original proverb, is found in the compound *huskuse* ('house-') with the meaning 'strict master of the household' (Swedish *husbonde*)[9] (Dorotea, ULMA 2314 = DAUM 3257; Sorsele, ULMA 2967 = DAUM 3256). This proverb seems primarily to comment on how a household should be governed and a possible base meaning is that a good household needs someone that pushes on. As a consequence hereof it conveys the conception that the husband in a household should "push on" and "rule the roost," in order to be a good *husbonde*, that is master of the household. This household power structure must be seen in conjunction with the widespread patriarchal ideology found in the Lutheran ideology of the three estates (church, state and household), where, the married man (Swedish *husfadern*) had material and spiritual responsibility for the members of the household. This ideology is expressed for example in the house table (Swedish *hustavla*), which is included in the Hymn Book and several catechism editions (Fiebranz 2005: 143; also Pleijel 1967), and widely embraced in eighteenth and nineteenth century Sweden.

Taken together, the strict division of labour in the household and the positioning of masculinity in a hierarchically superior position to femininity could be argued to be an example of gender hegemony. Hegemonic masculinity would then be to do the masculine encoded chores and to practice authority in the household, and hegemonic femininity would be to do the feminine encoded chores and to exhibit submissive behaviour in the household.

I will now turn to the third and last of the three major themes discussed

in this paper, Sexuality, here mainly divided into male sex drive and feminine fertility.

Masculine Sex Drive and Feminine Fertility

Researchers in the field of language and gender (see for example Cameron & Kulick 2003; Cameron & Kulick (eds.) 2006) have paid a great deal of attention to sexuality in the last 20 years. Here I follow Bucholtz and Hall's (2004: 470) definition of sexuality and include those conceptions of gender where the body is construed as either an "eroticized and/or reproductive site." This means the inclusion of conceptions that involve sexual desire or ability as well as conceptions about fertility.

One prominent gender conception in the proverb corpus is that men have a strong sex drive that is hard to control and/or leads to irrational behaviour. This is expressed in the following explicit proverb:

(13) When the cock stands, half of the sense is gone (Norsjö)

The phrase *when the cock stands* refers metonymically to male sexual excitement and a possible base meaning is that a man loses his judgment when he gets sexually aroused.

The male sex drive is even construed as a sign of good health, at least in the following proverb:

(14) If the men are well they probably want something dirty (Grundsunda)

The use of the phrase *something dirty* with reference to sexual activity emphasizes the sinfulness of this type of activity or desire. A possible base meaning is that men, if healthy, want to engage in sexual intercourse. An interesting consequence of this conception is that those men that do not have this desire are not healthy.

Female sexuality in the proverbs, fertility aside, is almost exclusively described as complementary to male sexuality; it is both the object of the male sex drive and something potentially threatening. The following example illustrates this complementarity:

(15) The dirty water puts out the fire (Ytterlännäs)

The proverb is explained by the collector with "answer when somebody wonders how men can 'visit' ugly and unpleasant women" (Bergfors 1981: 70). In this figurative proverb male sex drive corresponds to fire and female sexuality to water with the ability to dowse this fire. A possible base meaning is that women who are neither physically nor socially attractive can satisfy a man's sexual desires. Interestingly the correspondence between fire and masculine sexual ability/sex drive is found in several other examples in the corpus.

The scarcity in the corpus of conceptions about female active sexuality is in a way made up for with examples where fertility is described as something inherently positive. Worth noticing is also that female fertility is described in a similar fashion as the male sex drive/potency, with the use of similar metaphors. One example is when both the male and female aging body is compared to an old and dead tree in the following two proverbs:

(16) It happens sometimes that a dry spruce starts to grow (Sorsele)

(17) No matter how rotten the wood is, the twig is healthy (Överluleå)

The first example is explained by the collector (DAUM 3863, no. 14): "Said about a woman or old maid that got pregnant in old age" and the second: "about older men's appetite for women" (*Verla däänsch upa i kålvråmp* 2000: 136). The apparently dead spruce starts to grow, implying that even a woman with an old body can become pregnant, that is be fertile. The twig, in turn, is surprisingly unaffected by decay (due to its high tar quality), implying that even a man who has an old body still has a high level of potency.

Active female sexuality exists only in one example in the corpus:

(18) No grass grows on a public road (Åsele)

This proverb, which exists in three variants in the corpus, is explained in the following ways: "explanation of why floozy women do not have children" (Bergfors 1981: 70), "to excuse a pregnant girl" (DAUM 3857, no. 459) and "a harlot is infertile" (ULMA 3312, no. 51). This metaphorical proverb contains a public road with many travellers, which corresponds to a woman who has many sexual partners and the conception conveyed in this proverb is that she is barren. The first two explanations contain descriptions of performance meanings, both supporting a possible base meaning close to the third quote: a harlot is infertile. This base meaning conveys the conception that a woman that has a lot of sexual partners becomes infertile. As in (16), female fertility corresponds to vegetative growth. The performance

meaning "to excuse a pregnant girl" is very interesting here since it seems to excuse pre-marital sexual contact. Such a conception is found in similar descriptions of performance meanings tied to two other proverbs in the corpus, not discussed here. This can be explained by the courting customs in nineteenth century Northern Sweden, which were less formalized than in the south (Löfgren 1994: 246–247; also Löfgren 1969: 35). This probably led to a less strict view of pre-marital sexual contacts (cf. Westum 1999: 202) and to the notion that children could be conceived outside of marriage without being considered illegitimate (Löfgren 1994: 247–248).

The strong and active masculine sex drive and the female instrumental and passive sexuality are part of a hegemonic gender system. This ideal relationship is based on an active/passive dichotomy that could be construed as hierarchically asymmetrical: male sexuality is active and has important consequences while female sexuality is passive and instrumental. Female sexuality could also be said to lack agency. The woman with many sexual partners embodies hegemonic masculinity, that is having an active sexuality, which could be interpreted as an instance of pariah femininity.

The analysis so far has been centred on three themes: The Marriage Market, The Household and The Sexuality. I will now look more closely at two central conceptions: that of the nagging/quarrelsome wife and the highly valued capacity for work. These, it seems, can be interpreted in different ways, with implications for a possible system of gender hegemony.

What about the Nagging/Quarrelsome Wife?

One recurring gender conception in the proverb corpus, present in 28 examples, is that of the nagging or quarrelsome wife. These conceptions are often accompanied by conceptions of pain or discomfort that this nagging or quarrelling inflicts on the husband. The following proverb, which is present in five variants in the corpus, is one example:

(19) Feet blisters and a wife's nagging are the worst things that can happen to a human being here on earth (Vilhelmina)

The original proverb contains the word *käringgnag* ('wife gnaw') which is described by the collector as "the wife's bickering on the husband" (ULMA 884, 427). Blisters on the feet involve a recurring physical discomfort that repeats itself with every new step one takes. The pain grows more intense because the spot that hurts is constantly rubbed and can become agonizing. This physical experience is transferred to the human domain and used

to represent a husband's experience of his wife's nagging. A possible base meaning is that a wife's nagging is very unpleasant for the husband.

To be quarrelsome seems at first glance to contaminate the idealized relationship between masculinity and femininity, hence disturbing the gender hegemony. In fact, the quarrelsome wife has previously been interpreted as challenging male supremacy (cf. Svahn 1999: 66). This could be a correct assumption but there are arguments in the material that suggest otherwise. First there is the large number of proverbs that include this stereotype. Other contaminating characteristics and practices in the material, such as the sexually active woman in (18) "No grass grows on a public road," are few and deviate from the norm. However, the sheer number of proverbs that include the quarrelsome wife seems to suggest that this is the norm.

Another argument that supports this interpretation is the imagery in some of the proverbs that is used to convey this message. This will be illustrated by the following proverb, present in the corpus in five variants, where the arguing wife is likened to a thunderstorm:

(20) Weather from the east and a wife's arguing start with a storm and end with wetness (Älvsbyn)

The only comment given on this proverb is: "a true sign" (ULMA 31001, 15) and it is unclear if it alludes to the weather or the wife's behaviour, or both. This specific weather phenomenon is described as having a set course: storm (replaced with *lightning* in another variant of the proverb) and rain. This course is transferred to the human domain and characterizes a wife arguing; the analogy with a storm creates an understanding of the arguing as violent and the following rain corresponds to her tears. The wife's behaviour is described as natural, following a natural order. Instead of appearing as something deviant and unwanted, her arguing "nature" becomes natural.

One way to explain the stereotype of the nagging/quarrelsome wife and its place in a hegemonic gender system is that it plays an important role in the idealized relationship between masculinity and femininity. If the wife is construed as quarrelsome, then everything she says could be interpreted as an expression of her quarrelsome nature. Consequently, because the husband does not have to listen to her, her position as hierarchically subordinate is legitimized. Such an understanding would mean that hegemonic femininity in the household does not involve being tempered and compliant, but in fact quarrelsome.

Another frequent conception found in the corpus is that of the highly valued capacity for work, a conception also found to be susceptible to different interpretations.

A Non-Hierarchical Capacity for Work?

Conceptions about capacity for work are frequent in the proverb material and there is no doubt this was an important trait for both women and men. Ella Johansson (2003: 78), who studies the construction of masculinity in life stories of loggers in Northern Sweden, born between 1840 and 1900, finds that "gender was a muted discourse" and that "the ability to work took precedence in notions of respectability." She concludes that "masculinity [...] was more connected to maturity—and thus skill—than to the contrast with femininity" (Johansson 2003: 78). Mimi Schippers (2007: 97) refers to Johansson's study[10] and states that because these masculine characteristics were "not juxtaposed to inferior and complementary characteristics valued in women" they are examples of "idealized gender characteristics that do not perpetuate male dominance and therefore can be viewed as positive and valuable." I will here argue that conceptions in the proverbs about male and female capacity for work are in fact part of a hierarchical gender relationship.

The following two examples are illustrative of the masculine ability to work, as described in the proverbs:

(21) The power of God is great, but the power of men is even greater
(Nederluleå)

(22) A seven-year-old horse and a man in his twenties are best
(Skellefteå)

The first proverb exists in seven variants in the corpus and is explained with the following descriptions: "The wife/woman that has prayed to God for a long time to give her a cowshed, but finally has to hire the 'man power'" (Nordström 1980 [1925]: 55) and "if a women has received help from a man to do something, that she couldn't do herself, she could thank him by saying [the proverb]" (DAUM 3881, no. 31). One possible base meaning is that the practical work, carried out by men, is highly valued. Taking the above cited comments into consideration, the physical work, enacted by men, is here contrasted with female inability and thus positioned in a hierarchically superior position.

In the second proverb the masculine practice of horse-trading is evoked (as in example (1)). This suggests that the advice, rather than being directed to a woman on the marriage market, was more likely to be passed among men. The seven-year-old horse is best with regard to its capacity for work,[11] and through analogy the 20-year-old man could be considered best in the same respect.

I do not believe that these examples contain "idealized masculine characteristics that do not perpetuate male dominance" (Schippers 2007: 97). Instead, they can be viewed as part of a hegemonic relationship. When female capacity for work is mentioned in the proverbs, it is often as in example (4) "It's better to look for your wife in the barn door than in the church door," as advice to the man on the marriage market: he is told to choose a wife with this capacity, while male capacity for work is highly valued on its own.

Even though not especially salient, the hard working woman is also found in proverbs concerning the agrarian household, an institution that we have already seen was patriarchally organized with the married man as master and with the right of decision. When the proverbs stress the importance of the woman's work in the household, it is always within this overarching power structure. In order for the household to function, the woman as well as the man has to perform according to the gendered division of labour, and in doing so, create a successful household, and maintain the household structure. The female capacity for work is in this regard essential for the survival of the household, and the household structure.

The question raised here could be said to concern the particular structural level on which conceptions of certain characteristics are seen to adhere. If the female ability to manage the household resources is viewed strictly on the basis of the level of division of labour in the household, it could be argued that it—however relational—does not subordinate women to men and perpetuate male dominance. However, if it is viewed within a larger structure in which the married man is master of the household and with the right of decision, and in which this female practice is something essential for this system's survival, then it could be said to do just that.

Looking at gender conceptions and grouping them into themes always involves deciding what level this theme should be constructed at. There is always the possibility that superordinate structures need to be taken into account. The next section will suggest such a structure: the cultural model of the successful household.

The Cultural Model of the Successful Household

According to White (1987: 155, 152–153), proverbs express *key understandings* about everyday life and can therefore be used as sources of knowledge about cultural models, that is taken for granted models of the world (Quinn & Holland 1987: 4). He also suggests that proverbs presuppose cultural models and that these play an important part in the interpretation of proverbs (White 1987: 154). The proverb material indicates the presence of a cultural

model of the successful household that structures goals and exhorts action (see Strauss 1992: 3). Such a model must be seen as heavily influenced by the Lutheran ideology of the three estates discussed earlier. The evidence from the proverb material suggests that such a model awards men room to manoeuvre and assigns passive positions to women.

But, first of all, what did it mean for a household to be successful in the agrarian environment in Northern Sweden? The agrarian household was, as mentioned earlier, primarily a production and consumption unit and in order to be successful the production needed to be at least as high as the consumption, that is a sort of economic success. This usually involved hard work for husband and wife as well as children and servants if there were any. As previously discussed, the hegemonic relationship between masculinity and femininity on the marriage market involves an active choosing man and a passive woman who is chosen. A cultural model of the successful household, with the man as creator and maintainer, enables this chooser–chosen pattern: in order to create a successful household, men need room to manoeuver on the marriage market and the women should be available for their choice. The advice conveyed by the proverbs, that the man should look for a wife with good capacity for work, also fits this pattern.

The argument for such a model is further strengthened by some proverbs about the marriage market that convey the conception that material assets add value to women and guarantee them many suitors, as for example in the following:

(23) Many want to console a rich widow (Edsele)

(24) The one that marries a widow, he gets both tables and benches (Vilhelmina)

A possible base meaning of the first example is that a widow with material assets has many suitors. One possible interpretation here is that by choosing such a wife the man is given a "head start" towards achieving a successful household. In the second proverb, tables and benches metonymically refer to material assets and a possible base meaning is that the one who marries a widow gets material assets.

The ideal division of labour in the household and the male supremacy could also be understood in the light of the cultural model of the successful household: the household's production depended on the division of labour and if the creator of the household is a man, it follows that he is also responsible for its administration. From this it could also follow that he should have the right of decision.

It is also possible to view the high value of female fertility as something important for the successful household. Children meant extra labour (Winberg 1977: 60) but also possible successors and heirs. One of the other characteristics that add value to women on the marriage market is youth (see Andersson 2009: 130–131), which could also be connected to fertility.

Conclusion

In this article, it has been shown that gender conceptions found in proverbs in a peasant society in Northern Sweden form a system of gender hegemony that supports masculine superiority and feminine subordination. Hegemonic masculinity involves being active on the marriage market, choosing and examining women in order to ensure a good choice. In short, hegemonic femininity on the marriage market involves being passive and available for the masculine practice of choosing. In the household, hegemonic masculinity is to be the master of the household, that is to exercise power and hegemonic femininity to be hierarchically subordinated. Finally, hegemonic masculinity involves having a strong and active sex drive that leads to irrational and uncontrollable behaviour and hegemonic femininity to be sexually passive except as an instrument for the satisfaction of the masculine sex drive.

Two ambiguous clusters of gender conceptions have been discussed: the nagging/quarrelsome wife and the highly valued capacity for work. It is shown that the frequent stereotypical image of a quarrelsome wife could play an important role in the system of gender hegemony by allowing dissenting opinions to be dismissed as manifestations of a quarrelsome nature. The highly valued capacity for work is, it turns out, construed differently for men and women in the proverbs: masculine capacity for work is highly valued on its own while the feminine counterpart is described as either something the a man should look for in a future wife or something important in the household, which was patriarchally organized, and therefore a vital part of the hegemonic gender system.

What has been studied in this article are proverbs, items of folklore, but also a system of gender conceptions. Such a system is symbolic and not a direct reflection of how people lived their lives in an older agrarian environment in Northern Sweden. This could not be stressed enough. We do not know how many times a proverb was used ironically or in an emancipatory way (cf. Yitah 2007), or if other traditional communicative genres constituted a counterweight to the hegemonic relationship between masculinity and femininity found in the present study. One illustrative example of the discrepancy between the symbolic and the real is found in the conceptions

regarding division of labour in the household, which in the proverbs are strictly gender coded. Such a system, where men and women have separate duties, would have been impossible to uphold, due to a long tradition in the Bothnian area where men, mainly because of hunting and fishing, stayed away from the household for extended periods (Edlund 2000: 97). The strict gendered division of labour should perhaps be viewed as an ideal, not always practised (see Hansen 2006: 11, 53–54).

With these reservations made the fact remains that this system of gender conceptions existed, and was actualised over and over again by proverb use. Whether or not people viewed them as correct, or incorrect, they were there, as something everybody had to relate to when they tried to make sense of the world, and themselves in it.

Finally, this is a study of a proverb corpus from a specific time and place, that is an older agrarian society in Northern Sweden. Further study is required, where contemporary gender-related proverbs, traditional as well as proverb modifications (anti-proverbs) as well as completely new items with proverbial status, are studied. Proverbs, as well as gender norms, are long-lived phenomena, and change is only visible through diachronic studies. Contemporary studies also have the advantage that research in context is possible, as well as desirable.

NOTES

[1] This study takes its point of departure in findings from Andersson (2009), where the corpus also is described in more detail (pp. 33–45).

[2] Standard Swedish was also present in sermons and widely spread religious books, like the Hymn Book and Luther's Catechism (Pleijel 1967: 7–8).

[3] The definition continues: "More elaborately stated, proverbs are short, generally known sentences of the folk that contain wisdom, truths, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed, and memorizable form and that is handed down from generation to generation" (Mieder 1996: 597).

[4] First published in 1969.

[5] The original dialectal proverbs are presented in the appendix, together with standard Swedish translations and source references.

[6] The idea of multiple masculinities and femininities is often attributed Connell's theory of *hegemonic masculinity* (1987; 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt 2005).

[7] Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 848) use the concept of *emphasized femininity* instead of *hegemonic femininity*.

[8] Cf. Samper (1997).

[9] Also the likely origin of English *husband* (OED Online).

[10] Note that Schippers here refers to another article within the same anthology.

[11] Rolf Hedquist, an informant with great experience of horses said in an interview that "the horse can start to work at the age of three, but cannot handle the heaviest loads. At the age of seven, and a couple of years forward, you can demand the best" (3 August 2009, my translation from Swedish).

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No.	Original	Parish	Source
1	Ärmbågasmälln jer-som aintjsårja, he schwi-deill men gå snart om Armbågssmällen är som änklingssorgen, det svider till men går snart om	Norsjö	DAUM 3722
2	Gamhagan stå no meda ingen kliv på-n Den gamla gärdesgården står nog så länge ingen kliver på den	Umeå	ULMA 3560
3	Frie[1] ä söm tell å byte hästa, man fo ha yga vä sä Fria är som att byta hästar, man får ha ögonen med sig	Edsele	DAUM 3864, no. 337
4	He jer better at do lait di kuno uti fäosdöro en uti körkdöro Det är bättre du letar din hustru i fähusdörren än i kyrkdörren	Överkalix	ÖHÅ, 1957, 15
5	Han söm frie ti mörkre, fo ta dä han fo Den som friar i mörkret får ta det han får	Edsele	DAUM 3864, no. 338
6	Säg jänta nej ti mange frijara, sæ for na te sist frije sjålv Säger flickan nej till många friare, så får hon till sist fria själv	Edsele	Bergfors 1981: 30
7	Vålje häri väpplingen å stäne häri stära[2] Välja i väpplingen och stanna i starren	Edsele	DAUM 3864, no. 227
8	Hä kjarn dra ein ve hest å slera, kjan kuno bära öut ini firikliren Det karln drar in med häst och släde, kan hustrun bära ut i förklädet	Nederkalix	DAUM 3906, no. 36
9	Surn vö—sur a tjäring Sur ved—sur hustru	Ragunda	DAUM 3856, no. 207
10	Dä ä kank'n[3] söm skö gæla Det är tuppen som ska gala	Ytterlännäs	Bergfors 1981: 28, also 73

No.	Original	Parish	Source
11	Karn je karn Karlen är karlen	Umeå	DAUM 372, no. 114, and ULMA 3704
12	Där öyngän keos jer i heos, so jer ä öyngä heos Där ingen pådrivande husbonde finns i huset, så är det inget hus	Nederluleå	Nordström 1980 [1925]: 49
13	Da kukn sta da jer halve hove[4] bort[5] Då kuken står är halva vettet borta	Norsjö	DAUM 3722
14	Är kärarna frisk så nog vill dom nå furt Är karlarna friska så nog vill de något fult	Grundsunda	DAUM 4064, 6
15	Lortvattne hläkk ell'n Lortvattnet släcker elden	Ytterlännäs	Bergfors 1981: 70
16	Hä hänn ju iblann att en torrgran rånopp Det händer ju ibland att en torrgran återigen grönskar	Sorsele	DAUM 3863, no. 14
17	Om trede jer åldri se mårtne—no jer kwistn frisk Om trädet är aldrig så murknat—nog är kvisten frisk	Överluleå	Verla däänsch upa i kålvråmp 2000: 136
18	På allmän landsväg växer inget gräs	Åsele	DAUM 3857, no. 459
19	Skoskav och käringgnag är det värsta en människa kan råka ut för här på jorden	Vilhelmina	ULMA 884, 425
20	Östanväder och käringträta börjar med storm och slutar med väta	Älvsbyn	ULMA 31001, 15
21	Guds mäkt jer ståor, män karamäkta jer enda störrä Guds makt är stor, men karlmakten är ännu större	Nederluleå	Nordström 1980 [1925]: 55
22	N häst i sjuen å en karl i tjuen vara bäst En sjuårig häst och en tjugoårig karl är bäst	Skellefteå	Ordspråksboken 2004: 23

No.	Original	Parish	Source
23	N rik änkes sorg är e mang söm vel tröste En rik änkas sorg är det många som vill trösta	Edsele	DAUM 3864, no. 403
24	Daen söm jift sä vä änka, han fo bå bol å bänka Den som gifter sig med en änka han får både bord och bänkar	Vilhelmina	ULMA 884, 77

NOTES

[1] The word *frie* (*fria* in standard Swedish) used in the original proverb refers in relevant dialects to the practice of courting (a woman) (see Söderström 1994: 94b).

[2] The word *väppling* ['clover'] refers to white clover (ULMA 22759, OSDs) and *stära* ['sedge'], to a type of grass usually found in and around swamps (see Svahn 1991: 47).

[3] The word *kanke* means 'rooster' in relevant dialects (see e.g. Multrå, ULMA 7643, OSDs).

[4] The word *hov* is used in many relevant dialects with the meaning 'judgment, sense' (Larsson & Söderström 1979: 89b; Lundgren 1997: 112b; DAUM 3722).

[5] Compare to Latin *Penis erectus non habet conscientiam* (Taylor 1931: 171).

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Bjarmaland and Interaction in the North of Europe from the Viking Age until the Early Middle Ages

ABSTRACT The medieval Scandinavian written sources locate Bjarmaland to the White Sea. The words *Terfinna land* connect the location with the Kola Peninsula and the environs of the Varzuga River whereas the name *Gandvik* guides our interest towards the Kantalahti Bay of the White Sea. The name *Vina* can be connected with either the Northern Dvina River or Viena Karelia. The Bjarmians as portrayed in the written sources seem to have been a permanently settled group of Baltic Fennic speaking people that lived in the north of Europe since the Viking Age (first mentioned in writing in the ninth century) until the early Middle Ages (mid-thirteenth century). They seem to have been involved in the international fur trade and had continuous contacts with Norwegians with both looting and trade as integral part of interaction. The Bjarmians cannot be connected ethnically with any existing group of people but must be considered as a group of their own. The origin of the specific ethnical identity most likely lies in economical interaction (trade with furs and possibly other items) with neighbouring areas. Since the twelfth and thirteenth centuries new

settlers moved to the northern areas and many political and economical changes occurred in Northern Fennoscandia and Russia, all of which would have contributed to a change that left the Bjarmians out of written sources.

KEYWORDS Bjarmaland, Bjarmians, Beormas, Kola peninsula, Finno-ugrian peoples, Baltic Fennic language, fur trade.

This article intends to look at interaction in the very north of early medieval Europe with Bjarmaland as a starting point. After a short introduction to sources and historiography about Bjarmaland, the main content of the sources will be shortly discussed in order to establish what kind of information the written sources have to offer. Ethnical identification and economy of the Bjarmians will be discussed somewhat more thoroughly, since these aspects are closely related to interaction between Bjarmaland and other northerly areas, offering a perspective into fur trade that involved Scandinavia as well as areas in North-Western Russia. Archaeological material is scanty in the north, but can nevertheless contribute to our knowledge about areas of interaction and the finds that may in some way enlighten possible contacts between the various areas in the north of Europe will be included in the discussion.

The article at hand is based on a dissertation (Koskela Vasaru 2008) that discusses the sources in detail. Within the limits of this article it is impossible to have full discussions about all the aspects and the aim has thus been to include a summary of the main results and widen the discussion a bit on those aspects that enlighten the topics of interaction and contacts, as seen in the light of both the written sources and the archaeological material.

Sources, Historiography and Historicity

Bjarmaland (alternative spelling in the sources *Biarmaland*, in Latin texts *Biarmia*, *Byarmia*, and within Finnish literature *Bjarmia*) and its inhabitants (*Bjarmar* ON/*Beormas* OE, Latin spelling *Biarmar*) are known to us through c. 30 medieval written sources, most of them written in Norse, a few in Latin and one in Anglo-Saxon. The majority of the texts were written during the thirteenth century, but the stories they relate may nevertheless be of earlier date. The Kings' Sagas in particular often refer to tenth century events. The oldest of the sources is the so-called Ohthere's account, a ninth century Anglo-Saxon text added to the OE *Orosius* translation. The rest of the sources are of Norse-Icelandic origin including a number of konungasögur (several sagas in *Heimskringla* [*Haralds saga hárfagra*, *Haralds saga gráfeldar*, *Óláfs saga helga*, *Magnús saga berfœtts*], *Nóregs konunga tal* and

Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar, chronicles (*Historia Norvegiae*, *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*) and íslendingasögur (*Kormáks saga*, *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar*, *Landnámabók* and *Njáls saga Þorgeirssonar*), some texts of geographical nature (*Mappa Mundi*, *Landafræði* and two other geographical accounts, AM 736 I, 4º and AM 764), *Eymundar þáttr Hringssonar* ("*Eymundar saga*"), *Þáttr Hauks hábrokar* and a number of fornaldarsögur (*Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka*, *Ǫrvar-Oddssaga*, *Saga Heiðreks konúngs ens vitra*, *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar*, *Áns saga Bogsveigis*, *Bósa saga ok Herrauðs*, *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*, *Hálfdánar saga Brönufóstra*) as well as six annals (*Flatøbogens Annaler*, *Annales Reseniani*, *Henrik Høyers Annaler*, *Annales Regii*, *Skálholts-Annaler*, *Gottskalks Annaler*). Additionally *Haralds saga gráfeldar* contains a few skaldic verses (Ross 1940: 29–42).

No group of people or area is known as Bjarmians or Bjarmaland today and consequently there are many theories about the location and identity of them. The earliest theories in the sixteenth century placed Bjarmaland on the Kola Peninsula. During the seventeenth century Bjarmaland was often located in Lapland. Association with the Perm area in Russia was introduced in the seventeenth century and this theory has persisted until modern times despite being shown as scientifically untenable. Currently Bjarmaland is regularly connected with the Northern Dvina River. This association was first introduced in 1589 by Richard Hakluyt but became popular only from the eighteenth century onwards. In 1554 (Johannes Magnus, *Gothorum Sveonumque historia*) and 1555 (Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*) the Magnus brothers interpreted the line "in ulteriorem Byarmiam navigant" in *Gesta Danorum* (Olrik & Ræder (eds.) 1931: 228) in a misguided manner as a reference to the existence of *Biarmia ulterior* and *Biarmia citerior* (see Magnus [1554] 1617: 10, 91, 192; Magnus [1555] 1972: 9–10), although the text actually only reads "sailed on to the further coast of Biarmaland" (Fisher 1979: 251). Based on this faulty reading of Latin it is still often assumed that Bjarmaland was divided into *Biarmia ulterior* and *Biarmia citerior*. Many of those who rely on this theory place one part of Bjarmaland on the Kola Peninsula whereas the other part is often connected with the Northern Dvina River. Currently many researchers suggest that Ohthere's destination was on the Kola Peninsula whereas the target of later expeditions was on the Northern Dvina River. Bjarmians have been ethnically identified with many groups of people including the Karelians, Vepsians, Vatyans, Permians and Čud'. Nationalistic Finnish research of the nineteenth century also connected them with the Finns before they moved to the current Finnish area (Koskela Vasaru 2008: 55–58; Koskela Vasaru 2012: 399–400).

We do not know any area as Bjarmaland today and if medieval Scandinavian sources were the only literary proof of Bjarmaland, it might be justi-

fied to question the historical existence of the area, because the sagas are far from historically reliable sources in many ways, although some of them are contemporary and reflect the historical reality at the time of the writing more faithfully than for instance the non-contemporary *fornaldarsögur*. That is why it is significant for the historicity of Bjarmaland that the oldest source about Bjarmaland, a late ninth century Anglo-Saxon text addition to King Alfred's O*rosius* translation that is considered as a contemporary source (Bately 2007a: 18, 27; Storli 2007: 76), mentions the Bjarmians quite independently of the later Scandinavian sources.

A few elements in the medieval Scandinavian sources further give grounds to conclude that despite being unknown today, at one time an area named by the Viking Age and early medieval Scandinavians as *Bjarmaland* really existed and was visited by Norwegians. Bjarmaland appears in saga texts about Eiríkr blóðǫx (see Aðalbjarnarson (ed.) 1962: 134–135; Einarsson (ed.) 1985: 79) as one of the destinations of so-called "Viking" expeditions together with the British Isles and the wide Baltic area. In these texts that offer a Scandinavian view of "Viking" expeditions Bjarmaland, England and the Baltic area all appear on equal terms. Part of the motivation for writing the Kings' Sagas was to offer a historical perspective to the lives of the Norwegian kings (Knirk 1993: 362–363) and this kind of historical objective in a way anchors the general setting of the saga into an actual historical environment, albeit reconstructed up to several hundreds of years after the events. In establishing Bjarmaland as an actual historical area it is worth mentioning that it was still part of the Scandinavian scope of the world in the early thirteenth century as testified by the contemporary *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, one of the youngest sources available excepting the less reality oriented fornaldarsögur. It is also in principle one of the historically more reliable sagas by the force of having been written only a few decades after the events it describes (Knirk 1993: 365; Schach 1993: 259–260). In other words, the events in *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* are effectively placed in the actual historical environment at the time of the writing. In this text Bjarmaland is a part of this current world, not part of some mythical fantasy world as in many of the fornaldarsögur. Additionally, *Historia Norvegiae* (late twelfth century, *terminus a quo* in 1211) is thought to be at least partially independent from the Kings' Sagas in regard to the sources that were used (Santini 1993: 284–285). That Bjarmaland also appears in this text adds certain credibility for Bjarmaland as an actual historical area.

Bjarmaland appears in many *fornaldarsögur* and in a way the fantasy elements of these sagas lessen the image of Bjarmaland as a historical area. However, there are enough more historically oriented, contemporary sources to establish that Bjarmaland at one time existed and was visited by

Norwegians. But what do the sources we have available actually say about Bjarmaland?

Assorted Information about Bjarmaland

Bjarmaland most often appears in the written sources in connection with the Norwegian kings and their expeditions, or as a part of a general geographical description of northern areas. Consequently what we learn about Bjarmaland is somewhat haphazard and does not offer a complete picture although at times the information can be very detailed.

The information about the location of Bjarmaland is not precise enough to pinpoint Bjarmaland on the map with absolute precision and this has resulted in various theories. Location of Bjarmaland somewhere north and east of Norway is indicated by the place names *Vina*, *Gandvik* and *Terfinna land*. *Gandvik* directs the interest towards the White Sea and *Terfinna land* connects the location of Bjarmaland with the southern coast of the Kola Peninsula (especially the area around the Varzuga River). Neighbouring areas like Norway, Kvenland, Finnmark and Russia that appear in the texts also give some reference points in regard to the location. In Ohthere's account we can read that the fifteen-day journey from Northern Norway to Bjarmaland followed the coast and this information put together with the proximity of *Terfinna land* locate the *Beormas* on the Kola Peninsula (Ross 1940: 6–7, 24–28, 43, 58; Koskela Vasaru 2008: 89, 92–94, 103–105, 109–114, 255; Koskela Vasaru 2011: 176–177, 180–181). Varzuga is often mentioned in this connection (Johnsen 1923: 9; Ross 1940: 58; Binns 1961: 49; Vilkuna 1980: 647; Englert 2007: 127–128) and interestingly there are two medieval twelfth–thirteenth century burial sites at Kuzomen' by the Varzuga River (see Ovsyannikov 1984: 98–105; Jasinski & Ovsyannikov 1998: 25, 28, 30, 32, 34) indicating that there existed at least some sort of permanent medieval settlement in the area.

Many researchers today connect *Vina* of the sagas with the Northern Dvina River in Russia, but this association is in practice only based on the likeness of the names *Dvina*, *Viena* and *Vina*, since there really is no further substantial support for this assumption in either the written sources or the archaeological material. Thus it is advisable to consider if there are other names in the area that resemble *Vina*. There are no other *Dvina* names in the White Sea area nor is any name spelled *Vina*, but three toponyms in the White Sea area contain the Finnish name *Viena*. Besides the previously mentioned Northern (Severnaya) Dvina River that is called *Vienajoki* (i.e. the River Viena) in Finnish, the White Sea itself is called *Vienanmeri* (the Sea of Viena) and the northernmost part of Karelia (south of the Kantalahti

Bay) is called *Vienan Karjala* or just *Viena* (i.e. Viena Karelia). *Gandvík* in the Scandinavian sources is generally connected with the White Sea and it is interesting that one of the large bays of the sea is called *Kantalahti* Bay since this name resembles the name *Gandvík* (Finnish *lahti* means the same as Norse *vík*, i.e. 'bay;' *gand* and *kanta* sound very similar, although they mean different things; see Heide 2006 on *gand* and Itkonen (ed.) 1992: 300, 302; and Toivonen (ed.) 1955: 157 on *kanta*). It is worth considering that the existence of the name *Gandvík* hints at Scandinavian contacts with the Kantalahti Bay area. As long as the likeness of names is the only concrete evidence that connects Northern Dvina with the medieval Scandinavian *Vína*, one cannot in my opinion discard entirely the possibility that Viena Karelia south of the Kantalahti Bay of the White Sea could have been the source of *Vína* instead of Northern Dvina (Koskela Vasaru 2011: 177–183).

Bjarmians seem to have spoken a Baltic Fennic language, very much like Finnish or Karelian. This assumption is based on two things, firstly on Ohthere's observation that the languages of the Sami and the *Beormas* sounded alike (Bately (ed.) 2007b: 45), which would mean that the Bjarmian language was Finno-Ugrian and more importantly on the word *Jómali* (*Jómáli/Jómale*) that is mentioned in *Óláfs saga helga* as a name of a statue of a Bjarmian god located next to burial mounds (Aðalbjarnarson (ed.) 1945: 230). The word *Jómali* has been interpreted as the Finnish/Karelian word *jumala* that means 'god' (Ross 1940: 49–50).

One of the geographical accounts lets us know that the Bjarmians paid taxes to Rus' (in this context Novgorod) (*skattgilt undir Garða konúng*, Rafn (ed.) 1852: 404) probably by the end of the twelfth century. The words *Bjarmskar kindir* (i.e. 'Bjarmian peoples' or even 'peoples of Bjarmaland') in the verses of *Haralds saga gráfeldar* (Aðalbjarnarson (ed.) 1962: 217) uses a form that may indicate that the Bjarmians could have consisted of more than one group of people, although the wording may simply rise out of the verse form. However, additional confirmation for this assumption is found in *Historia Norvegiae*, which refers to two kinds of Bjarmians (*utrique Biarmones*, Rafn (ed.) 1852: 116). However, these meagre references do not give enough information for us to deduce the nature of the division, but it appears probable that it was either ethnical or geographical. *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* mentions the king of Bjarmaland (*Bjarma-konung*, Vigfusson (ed.) 1964: 87) indicating a hierarchic society (albeit not necessarily a society with actual kings).

About the Ethnicity of the Bjarmians

Ethnicity (derived from Greek *ethnos*) and ethnical group are concepts much used in sociology and anthropology as well as archaeology. The concept of

ethnicity includes the idea of contacts with other groups and can be approached from both the in-group and out-group point of view, the in-group having to do with a person's own identification with a certain group and the out-group identification making a difference between "us" and "them." By and large, ethnicity and group identity are created by communication with other groups (Hansen 1996: 32–40; Emberling 1997: 295–296, 301–302; Aalto 2010: 15, 17–18).

In regard to Bjarmaland we only have the out-group point of view, that is to say "Bjarmian," as an ethnonym in the medieval written sources refers to a group of people that are seen through medieval Norwegian eyes. Comparing the current ideas of ethnicity to those of medieval times is problematic (see Hansen 1996: 39). For instance, ethnic groups may cease to exist, new ones may appear, or the content of an ethnonym may change. There are countless attempts in the literature at ethnical identification of the Bjarmians. The following discussion is intended as a commentary on those suggestions.

Differences in almost any cultural feature can distinguish one ethnic group from others. Language is one of these features, but language (just like any other feature, for instance religion, economy or common geographical area) alone is not sufficient (Barth 1969: 10–11, 14; Emberling 1997: 303, 310). The sources provide us with only fragmentary pieces of information about Bjarmaland. By deduction it has been assumed that the Bjarmians spoke a Baltic Fennic language and this is perhaps the most important pointer regarding the ethnical identification of the Bjarmians. Geographically the location of Bjarmaland is bound with the (coastal zone of the) White Sea area. Although our knowledge of the ethnic situation in medieval North-Western Russia is far from complete, it is clear that we do not know enough to determine the ethnicity of a group based on location of the group only. For this the situation was too complex with several groups living alongside one another. However, putting together the information about both the language and the location it is possible to draw some conclusions and at least exclude certain suggestions.

As for the ethnical identification, the sources give indications that the Bjarmians were a group of people by the White Sea area speaking a Baltic Fennic language. The Bjarmians cannot be identified directly with any existing group of people simply because no group of people is currently or in the recent past known with this ethnonym. Over the years researchers have suggested many ethnical identifications for the Bjarmians, but closer scrutiny shows that none of the identifications are without problems. The most common suggestions include Karelians, Vepsians, Vatyans, Permians, Čud' and Finnish.

Karelians are mentioned in the written sources from the twelfth century onwards (Uino 1997: 192) and since Karelian is a Baltic Fennic language the Karelians are potentially interesting. However, the Bjarmians appear as a group already in the late ninth century and researchers today agree that clear Karelian ethnicity did not exist this early. In addition the Karelian settlement in Viena Karelia and the rest of the White Sea area is of a considerably later date than the late ninth century (Uino 1997: 101, 111–120, 128, 130, 166, 198, 203–204; Saksa 1998: 15, 157, 197–198, 202–206; Koskela Vasaru 2008: 403–404).

The Vepsian language is not that remote from Karelian or Finnish and the Vepsian variant of the word for 'god' is not very different from that in the two other languages, although the Finnish and Karelian word *jumala* is even closer to Scandinavian *Jómali* than the Vepsian variants *jumā*, *jumaλ* and *gumaλ* (Haavio 1965: 198–199). However, to our knowledge the Vepsians lived in the south-eastern Lake Ladoga region and did not move so far to the north as the coast of the White Sea (Saksa 1998: 196), which is indicated in the written sources as the location where the Bjarmians lived. Since Bjarmians of the written sources are clearly coast bound, it appears that we cannot connect the Bjarmians with the Vepsians. On the other hand, the medieval archaeological finds from the Varzuga River region show that many of the finds have counterparts exactly in the Vepsian south-eastern Lake Ladoga region (Gurina 1984: 16; Koskela Vasaru 2008: 133–138) and thus the inhabitants in the Varzuga area seem to have had some sort of connection with the Vepsian area.

As for the Vatyans, this is a rare suggestion (Jaakkola 1956) that has very little support save for the Finno-Ugrian/Baltic Fennic language of both the Vatyans and the Bjarmians. The Vatyans have traditionally lived in Ingria (Vuorela 1960: 7, 113–114) and there are no records of any kind (Ross 1940: 55) to connect them with the White Sea area that is inexorably bound with the location of Bjarmaland. The archaeological material does not reveal anything that would connect the Bjarmians with the Vatyans, either.

Permians (also known as Zyrians or Komi) of the Perm area in Russia (an area stretching from the White Sea to the Ural Mountains) have been etymologically connected with Bjarmaland due to similar sounding ethnonyms. However, modern etymological research rejects a connection between the two (Itkonen & Joki (eds.) 1962: 524–525). Permians speak a Finno-Ugrian language, but their language is Permian, not Baltic Fennic (Vuorela 1960: 7–9) like the language of the Bjarmians was according to the written sources. Also, the Permian area is far too easterly to fit into the descriptions of Bjarmaland that are found in the written sources. It has been suggested that the Permians came in contact with the Karelians in the

Northern Dvina River area, but the evidence for this is somewhat uncertain (Ross 1940: 53–55; Vuorela 1960: 245–247). There are no archaeological finds that would connect the inhabitants of the Perm with the White Sea area including both the Kola Peninsula and the Northern Dvina River as well as Viena Karelia (Koskela Vasaru 2008: 152). It is also worth noticing that references to Zyrians as Permians are late (Vasmer 1955: 343), which makes it unlikely that there would be any connection between the late pre-historical ethnonym *Bjarmian* and the later use of the ethnonym *Permian*.

The ethnonym *Čud'* (at times *Zavoločskaja Čud'*) appears in medieval Russian sources (Ovsyannikov 1984: 98; Hansen 1996: 83; Koskela Vasaru 2008: 402). It is assumed that it refers to Finno-Ugrian peoples in the northern areas of Russia. Some instances seem to refer to Estonians in particular but most often it appears to have been used as a general denomination of Finno-Ugrian groups of people. Some researchers have expressed the opinion that the ethnonym *Čud'* in medieval Russian written documents corresponds to the ethnonym *Bjarmians* of Scandinavian sources (see e.g. Storm 1894; Aspelin 1910; Brøgger 1928; Jansson 1936; Stang 1977; Häme 1987), but in my opinion *Čud'* is used of groups of people in a far too large geographical area to be connected with the Bjarmians in particular, although as a Finno-Ugrian people in Northern Russia the Bjarmians could be called *Čud'* if we follow the logic that it could refer to all Finno-Ugrian groups.

The nationalistically oriented Finnish research of the nineteenth century often suggested that the Bjarmians were Finnish. At that time it was maintained that the Finnish moved to their current area during the Iron Age, but this view has been discarded and there are no reasons to believe that Finland was devoid of the ancestors of the current Finno-Ugrian population during the early Iron Age (Koivunen 1992: 149–150; Koskela Vasaru 2008: 32, 36–39, 55; Koskela Vasaru 2012: 397, 399–400). The word *Jómali* corresponds closely to Finnish *jumala* and regarding the language only it appears reasonable to say that the language spoken in Bjarmaland was not very different from Finnish. However, archaeological material does not offer any indications at all that there might have been connections between the White Sea area and the current area of Finland. The content of two of the Northern Russian hoards that have artefacts similar to the Northern Finnish finds offer the only remarkable similarities (Koskela Vasaru 2008: 140–141, 145–146). However, the Northern Norwegian hoards contain artefacts similar to hoards in Northern Finland and Northern Russia (Spangen 2005: 77–78) and this indicates some sort of cultural affinity in the large northern area in general rather than a specific connection between the Bjarmians and people in Northern Finland. All in all, there is no evidence to connect Bjarmians with the Baltic Fennic inhabitants in Finland.

But if the Bjarmians cannot be identified with any of the ethnic groups that have been suggested over the years, who were they? It should be remembered that there existed many small Finno-Ugrian groups in Northern Russia that are not present today and that were never recorded in the medieval Russian written sources (Glazyrina 2000: 517–518, 521; Saarikivi 2009: 109, 113–114, 117–118). Since the Bjarmians cannot be connected with any known group of people it is reasonable to consider that they were one of the anonymous Finno-Ugrian groups of people in Russia that do not exist today.

It is also worth noting that late pre-historical/medieval populations were not in general very large (Jutikkala 1984: 366) and consequently the Bjarmians in all likelihood were a relatively small group of people. This notion may have a certain bearing as to why the Bjarmians disappear from the written sources after the mid-thirteenth century. That is to say, as a small group it is not unthinkable that they might have assimilated with another group of people.

The Bjarmians first appear in written sources in the late ninth century and are regularly (if not that often) mentioned during the following around 400 years. Soon after the middle of the thirteenth century this ethnonym is no longer present in the Scandinavian written sources save for a number of late texts and fornaldarsögur which are novel-like in their content and cannot be regarded as a historical source in their own right (Mitchell 1993: 206–208). The more historically oriented Kings' Sagas were not produced after the thirteenth century (Knirk 1993: 365) and partially the disappearance of Bjarmians from the written sources is connected with this change in the nature of the source material. Additionally the changing geopolitical conditions during the same period seem to have contributed to a process that made the ethnonym Bjarmian disappear. It is noteworthy that the written sources (including the Scandinavian ones) dated from the thirteenth century onwards consistently mention the Karelians in the area that had been previously connected with Bjarmaland (Hansen 1996: 56, 61; Hansen 2003: 14; Hansen & Olsen 2004: 160–161).

Medieval Novgorod was an important centre for fur trade and was expanding towards the northern areas of Russia with increasing intensity. One of the main reasons for this expansion was an interest in furs (Urbańczyk 1992: 232; Uino 1997: 192; Hansen & Olsen 2004: 138). The Karelians were under the rule of Novgorod and involved in the international fur trade. The Karelian settlement was expanding towards the north and in time reached the White Sea (Saksa 1998: 180–181; Hansen 2003: 12–14) and those areas that are in the written sources connected with the settlement area of the Bjarmians. Written sources (AM 736 I, 4º) let us know that by the dawn of the thirteenth century Bjarmaland was under Russian/Novgorodian rule (Rafn (ed.) 1852: 404).

Karelians and Bjarmians share a number of circumstances including allegiance to Novgorod, involvement in fur trade and closely related languages. These factors should perhaps be seen as the main reasons for explaining why the Bjarmians seemingly disappear from the written sources as an ethnic group. It is conceivable that the Bjarmians assimilated with the Karelians who in increasing numbers were settling in the White Sea area (Hansen 1996: 55–56; Koskela Vasaru 2008: 403–408).

This development becomes perhaps even more understandable and likely if we consider that the general geopolitical circumstances in Northern Europe were under change from the twelfth to the thirteenth century. These changes were of both economic and political character and included more organised states with control over the economy, new direction of trade, new trade articles (esp. dried fish) and Mongol invasion of Russia. In addition to all these factors the expansion of Novgorod that brought with it increased hostility with Norway in the northern areas (Johnsen 1923: 16; Urbańczyk 1992: 55, 231; Schach 1993: 259–260; Saksa 1998: 204–205; Hansen 2003: 9; Hansen & Olsen 2004: 61, 138–139, 152–154, 165–166, 219) may have contributed to why the Norwegians seemingly ceased to travel to Bjarmaland by the mid-thirteenth century. Although it does not necessarily have any direct bearing on Bjarmaland, it adds to the image of a changing political environment to keep in mind that Swedish expansion to Finland took place between the end of the twelfth century and the early fourteenth century (Törnblom 1993: 297–298, 310, 314). Also, Novgorod was in conflict not only with Sweden but the rest of its neighbours and this had a decisive impact on the geopolitical situation in the eastern part of the Baltic Sea and around the Lake Ladoga area. As a result of the war with the Mongols and the accompanying killing and looting, large areas in Russia became deserted. This escalated the settlement activity in the northern wilderness of Novgorod (Halperin 1987: 75–76, 79–80).

It appears that the Bjarmians are not the only Finno-Ugrian group of people who are not mentioned in the written sources after the thirteenth century. The Icelandic Annals mention the Kvens for the last time in 1271; after this only the Karelians or the Russians alone are mentioned (Carpelan 1993b: 223). As referred to earlier in connection with the Bjarmians dropping out of the written sources, this may have something to do with the change in nature of the written material that was produced, but it is not inconceivable that the circumstance may be partially due to the changing geopolitical conditions that affected people in the north and perhaps rearranged their way of life.

Observations Regarding the Economy of the Bjarmians

Our knowledge about the economy in Bjarmaland mainly relies on two separate pieces of information. There is the late ninth century observation that the Bjarmians cultivated land as opposed to the neighbouring Sami that had an itinerant lifestyle. In addition some of the Kings' Sagas (as well as *Ǫrvar-Oddssaga* and *Þáttr Hauks hábrokar*) refer to fur trade between the Bjarmians and the Norwegians.

To look at the cultivation first, according to Ohthere "*Þa Beormas hæfdon swiþe wel gebud hira land*" which translates 'The *Beormas* had settled their land very well' (Bately (ed.) 2007b: 45). This bit about settling the land well has been regularly interpreted as having "very greatly cultivated their land" (Crossley-Holland 1984: 64), although cultivation is not directly mentioned in the original Anglo-Saxon text. Yet researchers have found that this is the implicit meaning of the text (Ross 1940: 44–45; Binns 1961: 49; Odner 1983: 23, 81). This assumption finds support in the manner in which Ohthere makes a clear distinction between the "well settled" land of the *Beormas* and the "waste" land of the itinerant *Finnas* and "Terfinnas:"

> *He sæde þeah þæt* [*þæt*] *land sie swiþe lang norþ þonan; ac hit is eal weste, buton on feawum stowum styccemælum wiciað Finnas, on huntoðe on wintra 7 on sumera on fiscaþe be þære sæ*
>
> ['He said however that the land extends a very long way north from there, but it is all waste, except that in a few places here and there Finnas camp, engaged in hunting in winter and in summer in fishing by the sea'];
>
> *Ne mette he ær nan gebun land siþþan he from his agnum ham for, ac him wæs ealne weg weste land on þæt steorbord, butan fiscerum 7 fugelerum 7 huntum, 7 þæt wæron eall Finnas*
>
> ['He had not previously encountered any settled land since he travelled from his own home, but there was waste land all the way on his starboard side, except for fishermen and [wild]fowlers and hunters, and they were all Finnas, and open sea was always on his port side'];
>
> *ac þara Terfinna land wæs eal weste, buton ðær huntan gewicodon, oþþe fisceras, oþþe fugeleras.*
>
> ['But the land of the Terfinnas was all waste, except where hunters camped, or fishermen, or fowlers.'] (Bately (ed.) 2007b: 44–45)

The clear dichotomy between the well-settled land of the *Beormas* and wasteland of the *Finnas* indicates that the livelihood of the *Beormas* must have included other things than just hunting, fishing and fowling and thus cultivation of land appears as a likely solution.

It is worth noting that Ohthere considered himself as an agriculturalist although he cultivated only small portions of land in addition to keeping cows, sheep, pigs and reindeer, all of which was on a modest scale compared to for instance contemporary Englishmen (Bately 2007c: 55). We can only guess at the type of agriculture among the *Beormas* and both pastoral and arable variants are conceivable, as well as a combination of the two. If the cultivation was arable, rye is the most probable crop, but barley is also conceivable. Nowadays the cultivation of rye, the ripening of fodder-grass and hay-making are possible on the south coast of the Kola Peninsula under natural conditions and it is known from historical times that Karelians by the White Sea cultivated land and had domesticated animals (Storm 1894: 96; Ross 1940: 45; Urbańczyk 1992: 174–175).

Growing of crops cannot have had a very prominent role as was the case in northerly regions in general, including Northern Norway (Storli 2007: 88). Mixed livelihood (in Finnish called *erä*) with a certain amount of agriculture and animal husbandry that was supplemented by hunting, fishing and other related activities like collecting down was still practised in the northern parts of Fennoscandia during the Middle Ages, although people were considered as permanently settled (Luukko 1981: 40–43, 45; Myrdal 1993: 3).

In addition to Ohthere's rather explicit references there are a number of more circumstantial pointers that corroborate the notion that the Bjarmians did not lead an itinerant life. Stressing this has some importance since a number of twentieth century researchers have suggested that the Bjarmians were ambulant traders who gathered at seasonal trading places (Vilkuna 1980: 647–651; Carpelan 1993a: 231–233; Hansen 1996: 45–46, 51–52). Looking at the written sources as a whole this kind of idea has to be rejected.

Reference to dwellings in the verses of *Haralds saga gráfeldar* and existence of burial mounds give indications of permanent settlement. *Haralds saga gráfeldar* mentions burning dwellings in connection with a battle in Bjarmaland (Aðalbjarnarson (ed.) 1962: 217). This seems to be a clear reference to houses, a clear sign of permanent settlement rather than a seasonal trading place. The account in *Óláfs saga helga* (Aðalbjarnarson (ed.) 1945: 227–232) implies that the burial/religious site that the Norwegians looted was not very far from the river. It is very common that the burial sites were placed close to where people lived (see e.g. Koivunen 1985: 56). We can only assume that this applies to the Bjarmians as well. Accordingly, it would seem

that if the burial site was located close to the market place by the river, then the Bjarmians could not have lived very far from these two sites. All this would seem to indicate a regular pattern of settlement with men, women and children living together in a permanent type of settlement.

The conclusion based on these texts is that the Bjarmians lived and traded at the same location. Actually none of the texts give rise to the idea that the Bjarmians would have needed to travel to meet the Norwegians. It was the Norwegians who travelled to meet the Bjarmians in the location where they lived on a regular basis. Of course, the references are very scanty and one may discuss their accuracy. However, we can perhaps read between the lines that part of the image of Bjarmaland was that the authors had regarded the Bjarmians as a permanently settled group of people, since this is the implicit image that the texts reflect (and Ohthere's account also refers to this explicitly).

It appears reasonably clear that the Bjarmians were permanently settled agriculturalists, but the written sources offer one more piece of information that probably had a central role for the economy in Bjarmaland. It is mentioned in *Óláfs saga helga* that the Norwegians made a truce during which they traded with the Bjarmians. According to this text the Norwegians bought furs of squirrel, sable and beaver from the Bjarmians (*Tóksk þar kaupstefna. Fengu þeir menn allir fullræði fjár, er fé hǫfðu til at verja. Þórir fekk óf grávǫru ok bjór ok safala. Karli hafði ok allmikit fé, þat er hann keypti skinnavǫru marga*, Aðalbjarnarson (ed.) 1945: 229). Also *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* refers first to a trading expedition to Bjarmaland and later on to looting furs among other valuables (Vigfusson (ed.) 1964: 70–71). The importance of furs for the economy in all of Northern Fennoscandia, Karelia and Northern Russia (esp. Novgorod) is constantly stressed (Kivikoski 1964: 290; Martin 1986: 19, 41, 51, 53, 151–152, 166–169; Urbańczyk 1992: 231; Uino 1997: 166; Hansen 2003: 12, 14; Hansen & Olsen 2004: 138) and based on this it can be suggested that trade with furs was a key element in Bjarmian economy.

If we assume that fur trade played a major role in the economy of the Bjarmians, it appears likely that at least to some extent they hunted the animals themselves in the areas surrounding their home district and perhaps also in areas further away. Furs from the northernmost areas are considered to have the highest quality (Martin 1986: 1) and these were sought after in Europe. Since the Bjarmian area was located in the very north, the furs hunted in the area would have held high quality and this assumed high quality may have been one of the reasons why the Norwegians would have wanted to trade particularly with the Bjarmians.

It might have been profitable to partially replace long hunting expeditions and instead trade furs from people who lived in more easterly areas. In

this manner the Bjarmians would also have been able to secure access to furs of animals that lived only in the more easterly areas. For example, sable that is mentioned in connection with Bjarmaland in the medieval Scandinavian sources has an easterly distribution (Wallerström 1995: 226).

A little piece of information in *Óláfs saga helga* lets us know that the furs the Norwegians had bought in Bjarmaland ended up in England (Aðalbjarnarson (ed.) 1945: 253) and this tells us that there existed a further market for the furs. An episode in *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (Vigfusson 1964: 70–71) gives rise to the idea that also Suzdal may have been a market for Bjarmian furs, either through direct trade between the Bjarmians and the Suzdalians or through intermediaries like the Norwegians that are mentioned in the saga.

Neighbouring areas including Novgorod, Norway and also Finland (people from southern Finland and/or the Kvens) would have been the most likely market for furs from Bjarmaland. However, we have explicit (written) sources only about trade between the Bjarmians and the Norwegians, the others remain as suggestions only.

Despite many possible supplementary ways of livelihood, fur trade seems to have had an undeniable role in the Bjarmian economy. It is considered that Finno-Ugrian peoples in Russia had a complex economy at the end of the first millennium AD with a combination of hunting, fishing and simple (slash-and-burn) agriculture as the basis, supplied by other means of livelihood including various crafts. Each group practised their own, specific combination of economic activities (Glazyrina 2000: 518–519). This kind of model seems to fit to the Bjarmians as well, with pastoral and/or arable agriculture (perhaps fishing and fowling too) as the basis supplemented by hunting and trade with furs.

We know that fur trade was gaining importance during the Viking Age. There were good hunting grounds in the north and this could have made it tempting to settle in the very north when fur trade was expanding. For somebody living by the White Sea there would also have been trading partners in nearly all directions including (Northern) Norway, Karelia, Novgorod and the Vepsian area in the south-eastern Lake Ladoga region (Saksa 1998: 201). Based on accessibility to furs and the market for them it is quite feasible that there would have been reasonably good conditions for people to settle in the White Sea area and make a decent living.

A thought to consider is that perhaps the Bjarmian ethnical identity in fact was born when fur trade provided a sufficient incentive for the Bjarmians to settle permanently in a specific location on the White Sea. It is worth noting that the archaeological material on the Kola Peninsula shows close contacts with the (probably Vepsian) south-eastern Lake Ladoga area (Gurina 1984: 16; Jasinski & Ovsyannikov 1998: 25, 28, 30, 32, 34, 62). One possi-

bility to consider is that people from the south-eastern Lake Ladoga region could have migrated to the Kola Peninsula in the late Merovingian Period or early Viking Age and became known as the Bjarmians by the Norwegians when they started to trade together.

Further Observations Regarding Contacts

The sources we have available were written from the Norwegian point of view (i.e. persons that appear in the accounts are from Norway with the exception of a few characters in some fornaldarsögur), and they only refer directly to contacts between the Bjarmians and the Norwegians (disregarding the few fictive references to Swedish in *Gesta Danorum*, *Þáttr Hauks hábrokar*, *Bósa saga ok Herrauðs*, *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar* and *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*; see Koskela Vasaru 2008: 419). These contacts had an economic incentive, had both a peaceful and a belligerent aspect, and continued for nearly 400 years from the late ninth century until the middle of the thirteenth century (Koskela Vasaru 2008: 366–368, 370).

In the written sources the kings of Norway are closely (although not exclusively) connected with Bjarmaland expeditions. Either the king himself travelled to Bjarmaland, or sent his representative. The sources most often mention Viking Age expeditions of the kings. A number of the Kings' Sagas (*Nóregs konunga tal*, *Haralds saga hárfagra*, *Haralds saga gráfeldar*, *Magnús saga berfœtts*, *Óláfs saga helga*, *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* as well as *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar*) mention battles and looting indicating contacts of a less peaceful nature, but trade is mentioned as well (*Óláfs saga helga*, *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*), although less often and in both cases as an addition to looting. In fact many of the Norwegian Bjarmaland expeditions are described in the sources in the same manner as other so-called "Viking" expeditions that were carried on in both western and eastern parts of Europe (esp. the Baltic Sea area and the British Isles) (Koskela Vasaru 2008: 378–379).

An episode in *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (Vigfusson (ed.) 1964: 358) recalls that around the middle of the thirteenth century a group of Bjarmians settled in Malangen in Norway after they had been forced to leave their home. This incident hints that the relations were not necessarily always aggressive and it appears quite possible that partially the aggressive image of the Norwegian–Bjarmian contacts is due to the nature of the sources, that is to say what kinds of things and in what manner it was common to mention them in the sagas. Undoubtedly aggression was a part of the expeditions, but the frequency of it need not have been as high in reality as the frequency of such accounts in the written sources (Koskela Vasaru 2008: 261, 366–368). In any case, trading and looting seem to have gone hand in

hand, as an account about trading turning into looting in *Óláfs saga helga* (Aðalbjarnarson (ed.) 1945: 227–232) would seem to suggest.

If we are to find any further clues about contacts we have to take a look at the archaeological material, which is rather scarce in the Russian north, but nevertheless the only additional means save for pure speculation. Medieval twelfth–thirteenth century burials in Kuzomen' I and II close to the Varzuga River seem to point mostly towards contacts with the (Vepsian) south-eastern Lake Ladoga area. The material also shows some similarities with material from the Vaga and Beloozero areas and it might be justified to say that the finds in Kuzomen' are generally connected with the Finno-Ugrian settlement in Northern Russia (Gurina 1984: 16; Ovsyannikov 1984: 98–105; Jasinski & Ovsyannikov 1998: 25, 28, 30, 32, 34). The southern coast of the Kola Peninsula is linked with the location of Bjarmaland and consequently the archaeological finds give rise to the thought that there were contacts between (the Bjarmian) inhabitants of the Kola Peninsula and the Vepsians of the south-eastern Lake Ladoga region at least around the twelfth–thirteenth centuries.

The few Northern Russian hoards found in Kem, Varzuga and Arkhangelsk area connect the White Sea with the larger Northern Fenno-scandian cultural area. Northern hoards have been connected with border and transition zones where the Sami and other ethnical groups met (Hansen & Olsen 2004: 83–86). In Northern Norway the other ethnical group was the Germanic population but in regard to Northern Finland and the White Sea area we can only speculate who the other group(s) might have been. On the other hand, Russian scholars connect the Northern Russian hoards with trade. The hoards from Varzuga and Kem contain a collection of artefacts similar to the Northern Finnish hoards and a few artefact types that have been found in the White Sea area have counterparts in a couple of the so-called stray finds in Northern Finland (neck rings from Oulujoki Koveronkoski and Vaala) (Jasinski & Ovsyannikov 1998: 62; Koskela Vasaru 2008: 145–152). The similarity would seem to refer to some sort of connections between Northern Finland and the coastal area of the White Sea, but the nature of these connections remains unclear as long as there is no additional source material that could clarify the issue.

We have no direct knowledge of other Bjarmian contacts than those with the Norwegians, but if we consider the neighbouring areas of Bjarmaland and take into account that the Bjarmians were involved in fur trade as stated in the written sources, we can assume that they had some sort of contacts with Novgorod. It appears likely that the Bjarmians would have had contacts with the Karelians as well since they, too, were involved in fur trade and closely associated with Novgorod. Suzdal should be considered as

a possible party in fur trade, as suggested by a reference in *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* about trading Norwegians travelling to Suzdal from Bjarmaland (Vigfusson (ed.) 1964: 70–71). It is known that Sami lived on the Kola Peninsula (Vuorela 1960: 23–27) and since Bjarmians are located there as well, it is likely that these two groups had some sort of contacts.

A Few Summarising Notions

Written sources reveal some details about Bjarmaland. We can pinpoint its approximate location to the White Sea. The Kola Peninsula seems to be firmly connected with Bjarmaland, whereas association with either Viena Karelia or the Northern Dvina River is less firmly indicated in the sources. Bjarmians seem to have been an independent group of people that spoke a Baltic Fennic language. They were permanently settled and engaged in agriculture and fur trade. Written sources indicate that the Bjarmians had come under the political influence of Novgorod just prior to the thirteenth century. After the mid-thirteenth century written sources mention only Karelians in the area that was previously connected with Bjarmaland. Bjarmians may have become assimilated with the Karelians with whom they shared many characteristics including language, involvement in fur trade, association with Novgorod and gradually also area of settlement.

Involvement in fur trade offers a perspective into interaction in the north of Europe. Written sources mention explicitly trade between Bjarmians and Norwegians and hints in a more roundabout way about contacts with Suzdal. Otherwise we can speculate about contacts with neighbouring areas. Novgorod and Karelia are both associated with fur trade and from a geographical point of view it appears likely that Bjarmaland would have had contact with these areas. There is very little to connect Finland with Bjarmaland (similarity of archaeological material between artefacts in hoards and a couple of stray finds) and even less to connect Bjarmaland and Sweden (a few references in fantasy filled sagas), but from a geographical point of view it is entirely possible that people from these areas would have had (fur trade motivated) contacts with the Bjarmians. Additionally archaeological material gives indications that the people living on the Kola Peninsula in the vicinity of the Varzuga River had some sort of connections with the Vepsian south-eastern Lake Ladoga region. It must also be mentioned that there are records of the Sami living on the Kola Peninsula, especially east of the Varzuga River, and the proximity of this area to that of the assumed Bjarmian area would seem to suggest that these two groups must have been having some sort of contacts.

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Kola Sami in the Stalinist Terror

A Quantitative Analysis

ABSTRACT The study is focused on aspects that have been understudied by previous research on the Kola Sami. First there is a quantitative analysis of the Sami victims of the Stalinist terror. Second there is a discussion of the short- and long-term roles of state violence for the affected indigenous community. Most prior studies of the ethnic aspects of the Stalinist terror have focused on the large Diaspora nationalities or post-war deportations, while this paper concentrates on a small homogenous indigenous community. The study reaches a new level of accuracy about the nature of Soviet terror, and who became victims and why.

KEYWORDS indigenous people, Stalinist terror, mass violence, Sami, Kola Peninsula

Introduction. Kola Sami in the Soviet Union[1]

The Sami of the Kola Peninsula are descendants of indigenous people of Northern Russia whose roots date back to medieval times (Wheelersburg & Gutsol 2008; Sergejeva 2000). Until the imperial Russian edict of 1905, Sami reindeer herders were able to migrate freely in Fennoscandia from Sweden–Norway to the Grand Duchy of Finland and the

Arkhangelsk region. Linguistically the Russian Sami were divided into five dialect groups. The largest group was the Kildin Sami (c. 700 individuals). The smaller groups of Ter-Jokanga, Akkala, Skolt and Filman followed after them. The majority of the Kola Sami were reindeer herders. However, many of the Skolt and Filman Sami had dealt with fishery in the Barents Sea and on the lakes and rivers of the peninsula. Almost all Kola Sami (except the Filmans) belonged to the Russian Orthodox Church, spoke Eastern Sami dialects and used Russian as a language of inter-ethnic communication and written language. However, Filmans were Lutherans and spoke Northern Sami, Finnish or Norwegian (Thorvaldsen 2011: 122–128). In the 1910s, four Lutheran churches existed on the Kola Peninsula (Murmansk, Ura-Guba, Aleksandrovsk and Tsyp-Navolok).

Fig. 1. Kola Sami Ilya Barkhatov and his family, Simbozero 1910. His son Fedor Barkhatov was arrested by the NKVD and disappeared in 1940. Photo: Gustaf Hallström (courtesy of the Research Archives at Umeå University Library, Sweden).

In the Russian empire, the Sami had no native-language schools and administrative autonomy. After the 1917 October revolution, the politics of self-determination became a dominant trope for Bolsheviks expressing national aspirations for "oppressed" indigenous peoples of the tsarist regime. The Soviet government looked on the indigenous people in a good way regarding them as a "primitive socialistic social group" (Leete 2004: 28–30).

The Soviet regime in the Barents region was established only in 1920 after three years of civil war. The remote Northern area was *terra incognita* for Soviet leadership, whose personal experience was urban and linked to the

industrial milieu. Therefore, with the help of a favourable national policy, the Bolsheviks wanted to attract indigenous peoples to take their side (Toulouze 2005: 140–141). The official nomenclature of indigenous peoples was changed, and Soviet officials began to use politically correct names. Thus, instead of Lapps (Russian *lopari*) the Sami (Russian *saamy*) appeared in the Soviet law and media. In 1917, a delegation of the Kola Sami was met in the Kremlin by Joseph Stalin—Soviet Russian minister for Nationalities (Souvarine 1939: 200). In 1920, the national assembly of the Kola Sami appealed to the Soviet government of Murmansk with a requirement of political autonomy (Dashchinskiy 1999: 21).

The interwar Soviet Union was unlike many other states in Europe. This difference concerns not only the abolition of private property and the dictatorship of the Communist Party, but also a nationalities policy based on internationalism. The Soviet Union was practically the first great power in the world that systematically promoted the national consciousness of indigenous peoples and established for them institutional forms characteristic of a modern nation. While indigenous peoples faced discrimination, the Soviet Union proclaimed in 1923 a policy of self-determination, cultural and linguistic rights for all minorities (Martin 2001). The main aim of the Soviet nationalities policy in the North was "to liberate indigenous peoples from the vestiges of the past" (Slezkine 1994: 220–221). The Bolshevik party decided to overcome "backwardness of indigenous peoples" and make them "modern," which meant to develop them in the short term at a higher level of more advanced minorities (Sundström 2007: 130–135). The fascinating experiment of early Soviet minority politics included the establishment of several national autonomies for indigenous peoples, the training and promotion of ethnic cadres, invention of new written languages and the introduction of a native system of education.

The first Soviet census of 1926 counted 1,708 Sami living in Northern Russia, 99.4 per cent of whom worked at that time with reindeer breeding, and the vast area of the Kola tundra was used by Sami reindeer (Kisilev & Kisileva 1987). The total population on the Kola Peninsula at that time was 22,858 persons. The Sami people consisted of 7.5 per cent of the total population and was a significant minority of the Barents region, exceeded in numbers only by the Russian majority.[2] Besides the Sami, 1,697 Finns, 715 Komi, 222 Karelians, 168 Norwegians, 108 Nenets and 12 Swedes were registered on the Kola Peninsula in 1926. Thus the Nordic and Northern minorities consisted of more than 20 per cent of the total population of the Kola Peninsula. In 1933, the majority of Russian Sami (985 persons or 54.5 per cent of the Kola Sami) were living in the western part of the peninsula in the border area to Finland. At that time, 599 Sami (or 33.2 per cent of

Kola Sami) were living in the central part of the peninsula (Lovozero) and 222 Sami (12.3 per cent) in the eastern part (*Indigenous Peoples of the Kola Peninsula* 2008).

The first Soviet administrative reform of Russian Lapland was based on ethnic criteria. Sami, Finnish and Norwegian national units were established on the Kola Peninsula. Two special Sami districts were established in 1930, and the Sami enjoyed considerable political autonomy. The politics of the indigenization was provided in 1924–1935 under the control of the specially created State Committee of the North (*Komitet Severa*) with a section in Murmansk.

During the collectivization of 1930–1932, twenty-nine Sami national reindeer kolkhozes were established in the tundra (Ruotsala 2005). After the collectivization, the Sami combined the maintenance of basic elements of collective reindeer keeping, while at the same time there were a varying number of privately owned animals (Konstantinov 2005). Each Sami kolkhoz received a specific grazing area to use in perpetuity. The map of grazing lands was sealed by the act between the state and Sami kolkhozes, which guaranteed by law land-use for reindeer herding (Kisilev & Kisileva 1987; Volkov 1996). Thus, in the 1930s administrative and agrarian reforms retained the Kola Sami rights to work with reindeer husbandry on traditional grazing areas. A group of Soviet scholars was sent to the Sami area in order to learn their dialects and culture and create a research-based written language (Eidlitz Kuoljok 1985). In 1929, teacher training for Sami native cadres was started in Murmansk pedagogical college and in Leningrad at the Institute for Peoples of the North. In 1933, a written Sami language was created using Latin script, and textbooks were published for Sami schools.[3]

Therefore, the Sami benefited from Soviet nationalities politics (Kiselev & Kiseleva 1987; Volkov 1996; Ruotsala 2005). As Eva Toulouze points out, the Soviet authorities needed to have educated mediators who would be able to ensure communication between the state and indigenous peoples in order to transmit new Soviet values (Toulouze 2005: 141).

However, the situation changed dramatically when in 1937 the NKVD (the security service) started a mass operation in order to execute members of the Sami community. 68 Sami were arrested and accused of being members of a fictitious underground organization, the aim of which would be to establish an independent Sami state. In 1938, the Sami national districts were dismissed and native schools closed (Kisilev 1999). The favourable policy of support of Sami rights had now been changed by state-run violence.

Previous Research and Sources

In 1999, professor Aleksei Kiselev published the first article about the mass operation of the NKVD against Sami (Kiselev 1999). The same year journalist Stanislav Dashchinskiy published an essay about Vasiliy Alymov, Aleksandr Salazkin and other leaders of the Sami cultural movement executed by the NKVD in 1937–1938 (Dashchinskiy 1999: 23–30). A number of documents about and interviews with Skolt Sami about their life under Stalin were prepared for publishing by the Murmansk journalist Aleksandr Stepanenko (Stepanenko 2002). In 2006, the Finnish linguist Leif Rantala prepared an anthology on the Soviet history of the Kola Sami, which includes a number of documents translated from Russian into Swedish (Rantala (ed.) 2006). In an article about the modern history of Northern Sami (Filmans) on the Kola Peninsula, Marja Leinonen discussed briefly the Great Terror and stressed the role of family ties in the purges (Leinonen 2007). In 2010, geographers Sergey Lar'kov and Fedor Romanenko published a collection of articles including general data on victims of Stalinist terror among the indigenous peoples of the Russian North (Lar'kov & Romanenko 2010).

However, the explanation of the Soviet terror made by previous researchers does not work with respect to the studies of mass violence, and the question is still in need of explanation. The quantitative analysis of Stalinist terror against Sami has still not been a subject for thorough academic study, and scholars do not have a clear picture of what happened with the Sami community during the rule of Stalin. The micro historical approach allows reducing the scale of observations and provides an intensive study of limited data. The aim of this study is to analyse the Sami victims of mass violence in order to reach a new level of accuracy about the purpose of the Stalinist terror, and who became victims and why.

The data of this study is based on the published and digital databases of the victims of the Soviet terror, where ethnicity and place of residence are mandatory criteria. The first data on the Sami people arrested and executed during the Stalinist terror was published in Murmansk (*Kniga pamyati* 1997). The other digital databases which were used are the Memorial database with over 2.6 million names of victims of the Stalinist terror (http://lists.memo.ru), the regional database of North-Western Russia "Recovered Names" (http://visz.nlr.ru) and the database "Repressed Russia" with over 1.4 million names (http://rosagr.natm.ru/memorybook.php).

As a rule, each entry in these databases contains the following information about the victims of the terror: full name, date of birth, ethnicity, residence, place of work and occupation, education, political background (where relevant), class origin, date of arrest, date of trial, statute of criminal

code, sentence and date of execution. This data is used in comparison with the data sets of the 1926, 1937 and 1939 All-Soviet censuses and the reports of the ethnographic expeditions to the Kola Peninsula. The database collected by the author includes 96 names of Sami victims of Stalinist terror. Several Sami were arrested twice, some of them classified by the NKVD as Russians or Finns.

National Operations of NKVD

The study of mass killing took a major turn in the post-Second World War period because of the Holocaust. However, it has taken a rather long time for researchers to get involved in the ethnic aspects of Soviet terror. Robert Conquest, who popularized the term *Great Terror* in his classic account of Stalin's terror, depicts these events as repressions first of all against political, cultural and military elites (Conquest 1968). The pioneer study of Aleksandr Nekrich was devoted to the post-war deportations of Soviet Crimean and Caucasian minorities (Nekrich 1978). The access in the 1990s to previously inaccessible sources from the Soviet archives has shed light on the ethnic aspects of the Great Terror (Samuelson & Sorokin 2007: 739–756). At a meeting of the Politburo on 20 July, 1937, Stalin initiated the German operation by writing "a proposal" that "*all* Germans working in our military and chemical factories, electrical stations and building construction in *all* regions, *all* must be arrested" (Okhotin & Roginskiy 1999: 35). In all 56,787 ethnic Germans were arrested, of which 41,898 were shot. Only 820 of them were citizens of the Reich. The next operation was "Polish" in terms of which 139,815 Soviet Poles were arrested and 111,071 were executed (*Repressii protiv polyakov i pol'skikh grazhdan* 1997). A number of smaller national operations were organized by the central government according to the Polish model. Among them were: the Greek, Iranian, Afghan, Bulgarian, Korean and Finnish operations (Takala 1998: 161–200; Nikolskiy 2001: 74–88). Moreover, the Latvian operation was initiated by the local NKVD of Smolensk. During this operation, which started 3 December, 1937, 17,851 Soviet citizens, mainly of Latvian origin, were arrested and 13,444 were shot (Platonau & Shashkevich 1993). Altogether, 335,513 people were arrested in the national operations and 247,157 of them were shot (Werth 2003: 232).

A number of features separate the national operations of the NKVD from other parts of the Great Terror, making them similar to genocide. The suspicious ethnicity was the determining criterion for arrests. The terror against national minorities was top-secret unlike, for example, the open Moscow trials against "old Bolsheviks." The murders were conducted on a mass scale without a trial. Victims were killed under cover of the night in

special places protected by the security service, who then sought to conceal all traces. Today, the national operations of NKVD are seen by scholars as a central theme of the Great Terror (Martin 1998: 813–861; Werth 2003: 215–239; Morris 2004: 751–766).

The role of ethnicity and/or class in the Soviet Great Terror is still a questionable issue for contemporary historiography. Scholars have put forward many different explanations for the mass murders committed in 1937–1938 in minority areas (Savin 2012: 40–61). Two main approaches deserve special attention. Most scholars focus on the Diaspora nationalities (so called "Western minorities") and security dilemma and explain that this part of the Soviet terror was based not on ethnic origin but on security reasons. The key factor was the attempt of the Kremlin to clean the Soviet borderlands from the "problematic minorities" in order to stop their contacts with neighbouring hostile countries (Werth 2003: 215–239; Mann 2005: 318–328; Kuromiya 2007: 141–143). Some scholars argue that Soviet terror against minorities was actually mass murder based first of all on an ethnic criterion (Nahaylo & Swoboda 1990: 79–80; Jones 2006: 124–140; Kostiainen 1996: 332–341; Baberowski 2003: 195–197; Snyder 2010: 89–118; Kotljarchuk 2012: 122–179). The Sami operation was actually not a "national operation" and the majority of Sami victims were exterminated as "anti-Soviet elements" by the NKVD order no. 00447. However the state-run violence against the Sami population was designed by the NKVD investigators in accordance with the principles of national operations.

Kola Sami in Stalin's purges

The demarcation made in 1920 in Tartu forcibly divided Eastern Sami by the unique straight-line boundary under Finnish and Soviet control. For the first time in Sami history, a well-guarded border between two hostile states isolated Kola Sami from their western kinsmen (Ylikoski 2007: 87–88). The new border broke family ties of Skolt and Filman Sami (Nickul 1948: 14–15). Stalin's xenophobia was given an additional institutional embodiment when in the end of the 1920s a special security zone (Russian *pogranzona*) was established (Martin 1998: 830). On the Kola Peninsula this zone included a high security 22 kilometre area where only border guards and locals could act and a 90 kilometre security zone that required special permission from the NKVD for Soviet citizens and was a prohibited area for all foreigners.

During the second five-year plan for the national economy of the Soviet Union (1932–1937), a number of large strategically important factories, objects and towns were built on the Kola tundra. Among them was the final stage of the Murmansk Railway construction, the joint stock company

Fig. 2. Murmansk region. From *Karmannyy atlas SSSR* ['Pocket atlas of the USSR'] (Moscow 1939).

Apatit in Khibinogorsk, the Severo-Nickel plant in Monchegorsk and the Nizhnetulomskaya hydroelectric plant. In the mid-1930s, the Kola Peninsula became a place for camps and special settlements of the Gulag (Shashkov 2000; Mikolyuk 2003). In July 1933, Joseph Stalin visited the Kola Peninsula. By his decision the Northern Fleet with its central base in Polyarny was established in 1933. The militarization and "gulagization" of the Pen-

insula led to decreasing of the local NKVD staff. On 28 May 1938 a separate Murmansk region was established (previously the Murmansk district was part of the Leningrad region). As a result, the local district NKVD was transformed into a regional NKVD with a large security staff. Thus, in the mid-1930s in the sparsely populated and remote peninsula four different NKVD staffs operated simultaneously (regional, military, border guard and

the Gulag). Each of the departments had its own plan for the arrests. For instance, many Skolt Sami were arrested and persecuted by the officers of the 35th Murmansk border guard detachment (Stepanenko 2002: 136–137). This factor also led to the intensification of the terror on the Kola Peninsula.

Therefore, over a short period of time the Sami territory on the Kola Peninsula turned from a nature reserve to a high military and security area. From this point of view it could be interesting to analyse the statistical data on the victims of the Stalinist terror among Kola Sami. Did Sami living on the Finnish-Russian borderland suffer more from the Stalinist terror? One of the other working hypotheses is that the representatives of the educated strata of Sami became a primary target for mass repressions.

The first arrest in the Kola tundra took place in 1930 and was connected to the forced collectivization of reindeer husbandry. The arrests involved those Sami who resisted colletivization. Altogether in 1930–1936 eleven Sami who resisted collectivization were arrested. The majority of them were sentenced to five-year imprisonment. In 1934, the leading Soviet expert on the Kola Sami, professor David Zolotarev (1885–1935), Russian by descent, was arrested and died in the Gulag.

The climax of the terror occurred in 1937–1938. In 1937, the Murmansk NKVD fabricated the so-called "Sami Complot." Dozens of Sami were accused of being spies for Finland and members of the fictitious underground organization the alleged aim of which was to rebel against the USSR in order to establish an independent Sami republic. Free-moving Sami who had weapons posed a threat to the totalitarian state, whose aim was to maximize control over its citizens.

However, low-educated Sami were not well suited to the role of separatist leaders. Therefore, this role was assigned to Russian scholars. The director of the Murmansk regional museum Vasiliy Alymov was accused by the NKVD of being the president of the future Sami republic.[4] The NKVD used his correspondence with Nordic scholars as evidence of the contacts of "the Sami underground organization." The policemen confiscated the correspondence of Alymov with Karl Bernhard Wiklund, Allan Wallenius, Just Knud Qvigstad and Toivo Immanuel Itkonen (Shabalina 2005: 47–50; Rantala (ed.) 2006: 19–21, 61–65, 77–125).[5] The wife of Alymov, Sofia Alymova, was also arrested and shot by the NKVD. The head of the "Sami insurgent army" was, according to the NKVD, Aleksandr Salazkin, who was supposed to be a future Defence Minister of the Sami republic.[6] The Sami plot was a great mystification for the NKVD and already in 1940 a number of Murmansk policemen were arrested and sentenced to prison for "violations of socialist legality" during the investigation of the Sami case (Kiselev 1999). Einar Laidinen and Sergey Verigin—authors of the monograph on the activity of the

Finnish intelligence service in the northern regions of the interwar USSR found out names of 179 Finnish agents, of whom 89 people were natives of the Soviet borderland. Among them there were no Sami (Laidinen & Verigin 2004: 168–169).[7]

Altogether 68 Kola Sami were arrested in 1937–1938. The majority of them were executed. The executions were decided out of court on a mass scale by a so-called *troika* (a three-man meeting of the local chief for the NKVD, the party secretary and the local prosecutor). Moreover, 22 Sami were arrested in 1939–1947 for different "political crimes." However, no one of them was sentenced to death. In my opinion, the Second World War contributed to the mitigation of repressions against the Sami. For the first time in history, Sami youth were called upon to the Red Army.[8] The Sami were recruited into the special reindeer brigades (Gorter & Suprun 2007: 163–182). In just one district of Kola, 24 Sami fell on the Northern front in the battles against Finland (*Voiny-saamy* 2011). The Kola Sami did not collaborate with the Finnish state;[9] and unlike Finns of Ingria, they avoided deportation from their native territory after the war (Matley 1979: 1–16).

What is significant of the targeted ethnic group? At least three points can explain the focus of this study on the Sami. First, they did not represent foreign colonists or Diaspora nationalities, but belonged to the historical minority of Russia, which was well integrated into society. Second, unlike Soviet Germans or Poles they were not among "problematic" minorities. Third, the majority of Sami victims did not represent members of the political elite or urban population. They belonged to the rural population that was fairly easy to control, especially in times of peace. From this perspective, the study can serve as a complement to previous academic research on the ethnic aspects of the Stalinist terror, which has often focused on the large minorities/Diaspora nationalities, security dilemma and highest decision-makers.

Quantitative Analysis of Sami victims of the Stalinist terror

As we see from Diagram 1 and 2, the death rate of the Sami victims peaked during the Great Terror. The death rate at that time is 64.7 per cent, which is lower than the death rate of Soviet Latvians (75.3 per cent) but comparable with the average of national operations of NKVD (73.8 per cent). We should take into consideration that those Sami who had been officially sentenced by a *troika* to "ten years incommunicado" were most probably also murdered (Leinonen 2007: 158). Thus, the final death rate of the Sami victims could be even higher.

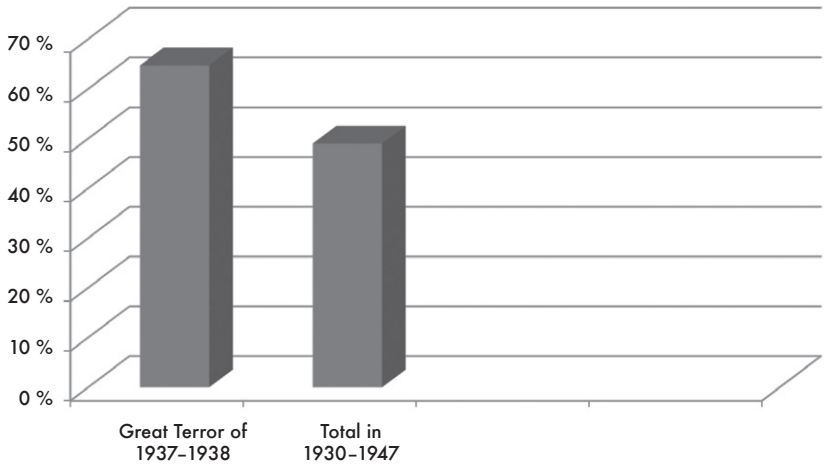

Diagram 1. The death rate, in per cent, among Kola Sami in the 1930s and 1940s.

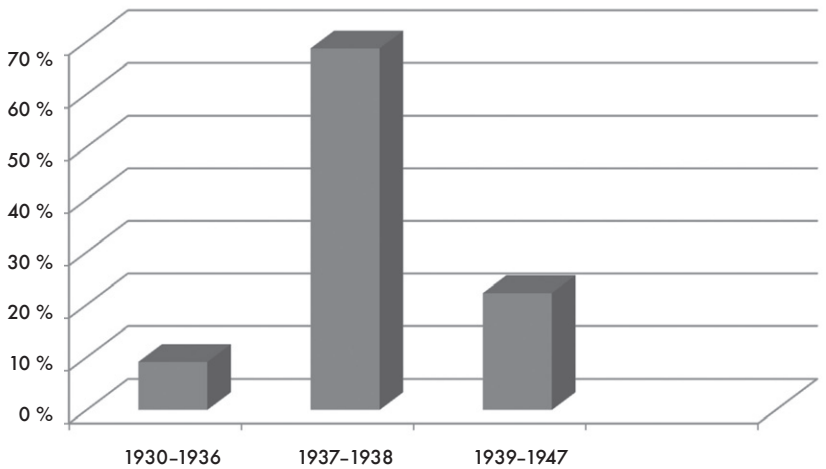

Diagram 2. Dispersion, in per cent, of the total amount of the arrested Kola Sami 1930–1947.

The Sami victims of the Stalinist terror were overwhelmingly male, as can be seen from Table 1. Apparently this is due to the fact that it was the male reindeer herders that traditionally had firearms. Possession of arms was a strong argument for the NKVD to accuse Sami of insurgency (Kiselev 1999). Nevertheless, it seems that the proportion of female victims of the Stalinist terror among Sami (7.2 per cent) was above the national average. For example, only c. 4 per cent of those who were executed during the Great Terror in the city of Leningrad were women (Ilic 2000: 1518).

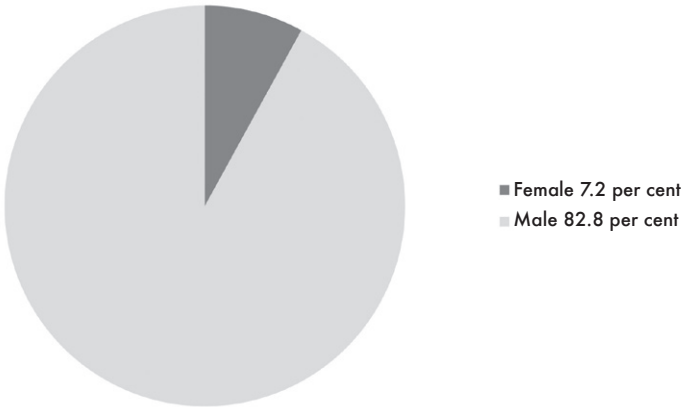

Table 1. Gender of Sami victims in 1937–1938.

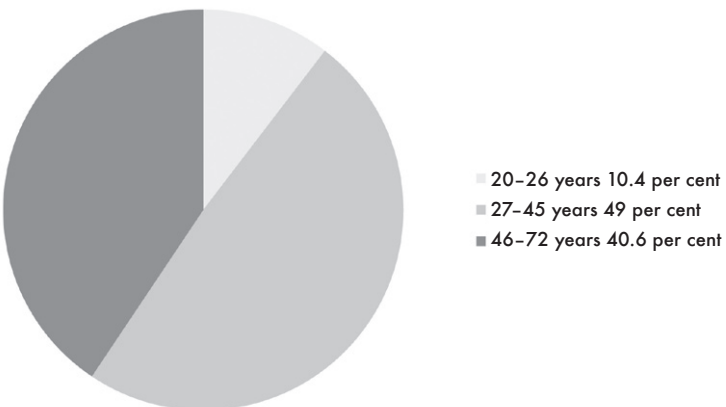

Table 2. Age profile of Sami victims in 1937–1938.

In relation to the Sami population, the Stalinist terror had a disproportional impact on those over 27 years of age, as can be seen from Table 2. The brunt of repression was directed against the Sami in the age of sexual reproduction, which in turn contributed to the vulnerability of the Sami population (Axelsson & Sköld 2006). The age profile of the Sami victims may reflect the fact that older Sami who traditionally occupied the leading position in the local community suffered most from the terror. The great impact of the terror on men in the age group of 46–72 years of age can be explained by

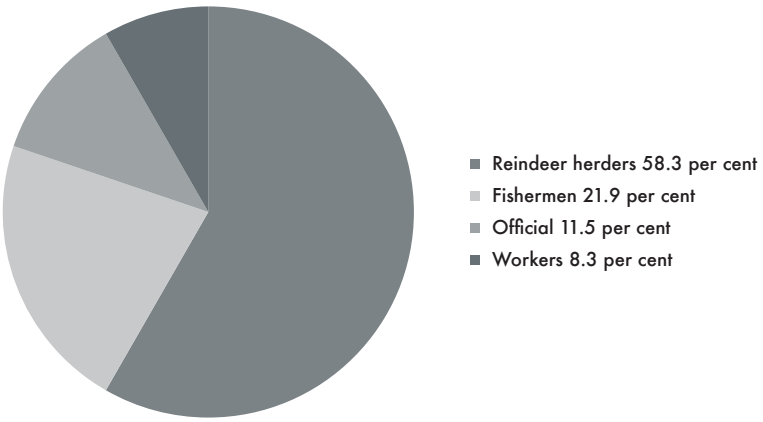

Table 3. Occupation of Sami victims in 1937–1938.

the fact that all of them reached adulthood before 1920 when the Bolsheviks seized power on the Kola Peninsula. These people belonged to *l'ancien régime* and therefore were seen as potential enemies of the Soviet government.

The absolute majority of Sami victims (80.2 per cent), as can be seen from Table 3, had been occupied with the traditional lifestyle (reindeer herding or fishery). It should be noted that a significant proportion of victims (11.5 per cent) were representatives of the educated Sami strata. Among the victims of the state-sponsored terror against Sami were four chairmen of the Sami national kolkhozes, a judge, a native language schoolteacher, and a head of the Sami national district. This very thin layer of Sami intelligentsia was actually created by the Soviet authorities in the late 1920s and then eliminated in the Great Terror. Among the victims were: Fedor Zakharov, the chairman of the Sami kolkhoz "Arsjok;" Vasiliy Kiprianov, the chairman of the Sami kolkhoz "Lutto;" Nikita Matrekhin, the chairman of the Sami kolkhoz "Avt-Varre;" Aleksey Moshnikov, the chairman of the Sami kolkhoz "Nivankylä;" Yakov Osipov, the judge of the Polar district, who was the first Sami who received a law degree; Aleksandr Gerasimov, the teacher of the Sami elementary school in the village of Ristkent; his brother Nikon Gerasimov, the head of staff of the district executive committee of the Sami national district; Andrian Gerasimov, the head of the Kola fur procurement office (*Kolskaya zagotkontora pushniny*); Nikonor Kostylev, the accountant of the Sami kolkhoz "Vosmus;" Aleksandr Yakovlev, the postman of the Sami village of Voronya; and Fedor Arkhipov, the major keeper of the Lapland national reserve.

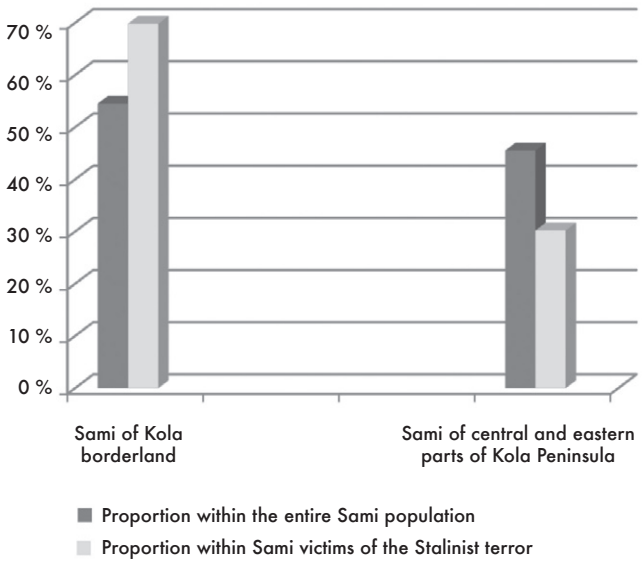

Diagram 3. Residency and proportion of victimized Kola Sami.

As we can see from Diagram 3, the Sami of the borderland were a primary goal for the Stalinist terror. As a result, small-numbered groups of Sami (Skolt and Filmans) living in the border area suffered most of the terror. The results of quantitative studies show that the security dilemma played an important role in political decision-making defining the direction of mass violence.

Conclusions

Terry Martin drew attention to the connection between the Great Terror and the liquidation of the national system of administration, national schools and the expanding educational sphere of the Russian language (Martin 2001: 422–429). Indeed in 1938, the Sami national districts were abolished (Gatagova 2005: 310–313). In 1937 the Latin script of the Sami language was replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet.[10] However, in 1938, all native-language textbooks in both scripts were confiscated, and all Sami schools were closed and replaced later by Russian schools. The promotion of Sami culture in Russia was fully stopped simultaneously until the Perestroika. The mass violence was followed by the 1940 deportation when the Skolt Sami were forcibly relocated from the border area to the inland of the Russian Barents Sea region (Stepanenko 2002) together with other minorities of the North (Laine 2001: 155–164; Tkachenko 2002: 58–65).

Fig. 3. Pelageya and Fekla Chaporova with a mourning ribbon in the Sami language dedicated to their father Petr G. Chaporov (executed in 1937 by the NKVD in Leningrad). Levashovo Memorial Cemetery, St. Petersburg 2000. Photo: Aleksandr Stepanenko.

In a short period of time the Sami minority decreased from 1,841 individuals in 1937 to 1,755 persons in 1939. These population losses may reflect the purges of the Great Terror. Altogether, 96 Sami were arrested during the Stalinist terror. This means that c. 15 per cent of the adult Sami population suffered directly from the state-run terror, which possibly gives this crime against humanity a genocidal character. The Sami were shot under cover of the night in special places protected by the security service, who then sought to conceal all traces. The children of victims did not know what really happened to their disappeared parents until the 1990s. The burial places of Sami victims of Soviet terror are still unknown.

The death rate of Sami victims of the Great Terror (64.7 per cent) was one of the highest in the history of Soviet reprisals. The indigenous peoples of the Murmansk region (Sami, Komi and Nenets) amounted to 2.3 per cent of the victims of the Great Terror, whereas among the entire province population, they amounted in 1939 to only 0.9 per cent (Mikolyuk 2003: 66). However, among those arrested as members of the Sami insurgency there were also Russians and Karelians. This fact makes it difficult to prove that the main intent of the Soviet government was to destroy, in whole or in part, the Sami ethnic group.

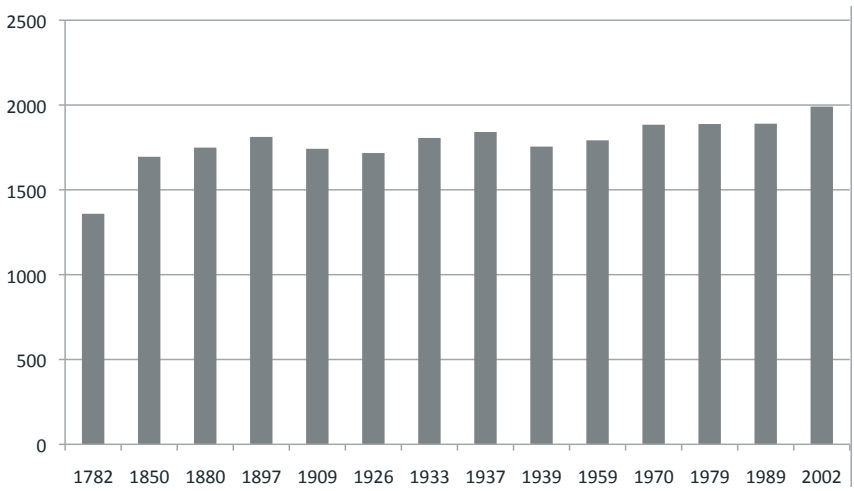

Diagram 4. Kola Sami population estimates from 1782 to 2002, based on the Russian and Soviet censuses.

The small-numbered groups of Filman, Ter-Jokanga and Akkala Sami were never able to recover from such massive terror and deportations and simply became extinct. The groups of Filman and Akkala Sami have practically disappeared. At present, there are only two native speakers of the Ter-Jokanga Sami dialect. There are only 25 Skolt Sami left in Russia. Practically, only the largest group, the Kildin Sami, survived the Stalinist terror without significant losses, but even they were seriously weakened. As a result of the growing militarization and hydroelectricity construction, the nomadic Sami population was deported in the 1950s from the western to the central part of the peninsula (the Lovozero district). The western Sami *pogost*s (villages) do not exist anymore. Since the 1960s, more than 90 per cent of the Russian Sami have been concentrated in the Lovozero area. There the Sami of different dialect origin lived, and they worked together with Komi and Russians and had to use Russian as a language of everyday communication.

About 80 per cent of the Kola Sami born after the Second World War grew up in mixed families. In 1989, 40 per cent of the Kola Sami were urban dwellers and only 42 per cent of the Russian Sami could speak the native language (Luk'yanchenko 1994: 310–312; Khelimskiy 2002: 155–157). Today, the Russian Sami are the most assimilated group within the Sami popula-

tion. The 2002 census registered 1,991 Sami in Russia. A mere 13 per cent of them work with reindeer breeding and only 25 per cent can speak their native language (the 2002 Russian census). Nowadays, reindeer husbandry on the Kola Peninsula is conducted on a limited scale in small collective and individual farms, which are concentrated mostly in the Lovozero area (Prakhova 2002).

Stalin's terror against the Sami people was a taboo subject for Soviet historiography and commemoration efforts. This memory was uncomfortable for the state, probably because it could be a starting-point for the construction of a strong Sami identity. Until the late 1990s, knowledge of the Stalinist terror against Sami people in Russia was almost unknown outside the Sami group. The situation within the group at that time could be described by a formula: remembering without commemoration (Gustavsen 2001: 36–37). The first article on this issue was published in 1999. In 2006, a memorial cross was erected in Lovozero dedicated to the victims of the Stalinist terror. Mass murder, deportations and removal to the reservation led to widespread mortality and assimilation of the Kola Sami. The decades of state-run mass violence had become a major cause for the contemporary crisis of the Kola Sami national identity and subsistence lifestyle. The results of this study show that the security dilemma had a more important role than ethnicity defining the direction and magnitude of state-run mass violence. The mass terror against Sami could be explained by the geographical position. The Sami people are the only indigenous group of European Russia that lives along a state border. For further research it will be interesting to compare the extent of Soviet terror against Kola Sami with state-run violence against the internal indigenous population of the Russian North and the situation in the indigenous territory of the Far East alongside the border to China and Japan.

Fig. 4. Memorial cross erected in 2006 in Lovozero and dedicated to all local victims of the Stalinist terror.

NOTES

[1] This study was supported by Umeå University, the Baltic Donation (Umeå), and the Foundation for Baltic and Eastern European Studies (Stockholm). An early paper on this subject was presented at Vaartoe—Centre for Sami Research (Umeå University), 20 April 2010. I would like to thank Peter Sköld, Olle Sundström, Tomislav Dulic and anonymous reviewers for their comments.

[2] Calculated from the 1926 All-Soviet census; http://demoscope.ru; access date 1 November 2011.

[3] See Cherniakov, Z., *Saam Bukvar* (Leningrad 1933); Zulev, P. N., *Kniga logkəm guejka* (Leningrad 1934); *Men antij Oktabr Revolucia robtusdadb saamit* (Leningrad 1933); Valerstejn, L. M., *Mi lij mogka industrializacija jemnest* (Leningrad 1934); Saveljev, L., *Koht jemne milt vhjet* (Leningrad 1934); Caruśin, E., *Jeljes poak jemnen* (Leningrad 1935); Popova, N. S., *Arifmetika* (Leningrad 1934).

[4] Vasiliy K. Alymov (1883–1938) was born in Ingria, in the village of Ruch'i near Tosno/Tusina. In 1924–1935 he was a head of the Murmansk branch of the governmental "Committee for Assistance to the Peoples of Northern Frontiers" (*Komitet Severa*). In 1937–1938 he was director of the Murmansk regional museum. He was arrested by the NKVD on 27 March 1938 and shot on 22 October 1938. Rehabilitated in 1957.

[5] Karl Bernhard Wiklund (1868–1934)—professor of Finno-Ugric languages at Uppsala University (1905–1933) with special interest in the Sami language, member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences (since 1930). Allan Wallenius (1890–1942)—Swedish-speaking Finn, one of the most prominent leftist intellectuals of Scandinavia, in 1930–1935 the director of the Komintern library at Lenin's party school in Moscow, arrested in 1935, died in the Gulag. Just Knud Qvigstad (1853–1957)—Norwegian philologist and ethnographer, researcher of Norwegian minority populations in Finland and Russia, minister of Education and Church Affairs of Norway. Toivo Immanuel Itkonen (1891–1968)—Finnish historian and linguist specializing in the Sami language and culture, head of the Ethnographic Department at the National museum of Finland (1935–1955).

[6] Aleksandr S. Salazkin (1894–1938) was born in the town of Kasimov in an ethnic Russian family. He was the son of professor Sergey Salazkin—Minister of Education in the Russian government of Aleksandr Kerensky. Aleksandr Salazkin was a graduate of the Geographical Faculty of St. Petersburg State University. In 1933–1938 he was a senior researcher at the Murmansk experimental reindeer farm in Lovozero. He was arrested by the NKVD on 2 March 1938 and shot 22 October 1938. Rehabilitated in 1957.

[7] After the mass operation of the NKVD in the borderland Sami kolkhoz "Tundra" a reindeer herder, Peter Alekseev (Karelian by descent), fled to Finland. His brother Fedor Alekseev was arrested by the NKVD and shot together with other Sami in August 1937. In Finland Peter Alekseev was recruited by Harry Broms—the head of the intelligence service department in Rovaniemi (Laidinen & Verigin 2004: 150, 239).

[8] Sami as an indigenous group of the North was exempt in tsarist Russia from military conscription.

[9] Leif Rantala notes that Maksim Antonov (1919–1983) was a single Kola Sami recruited to the Finnish army during the Second World War. Antonov was drafted into the Red Army and presumed dead in 1941 on the Murmansk front. In fact, he was captured by Finnish soldiers and joined in 1942 the Finnish *heimopataljoona*, which was made up of Soviet citizens of Finno-Ugric origin. In 1943, Antonov was temporarily withdrawn from the front to work with a Finnish scholar, Toivo Immanuel Itkonen, see note 5. After the Second World War Antonov moved to Sweden (Rantala (ed.) 2006: 129–140).

[10] See for example the new schoolbooks published in 1937 in Sami with Cyrillic letters: Endyukovskiy, A. G/Эндюковский А. Г. *Саамь букварь* ['A Sami primer'] (Leningrad 1937); Popova, N. S/Попова, Н. С. *Олкхэш школа варас арифметика опнуввэм книга* ['Arithmetic textbook for elementary schools'] (Leningrad 1937).

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Corporeality of Consultant Expertise in Arctic Natural Gas Development

ABSTRACT The contemporary ethnographic landscape and social fields of emerging actors involved in resource extraction in the Arctic draw attention to the role "expert" knowledge, specifically, the organization of consultant work, the production, commodification and dissemination of expert forecasting, and technologies. While anthropology traditionally has focused on adaptations in northern areas in relation to state policies, regulations of the environment and ethnopolitical categorizations, in this article we introduce new approaches to the study of experts and forms of knowledge that have the potential for shaping energy development in the Arctic. We contribute to the state of theory and knowledge in relation to how experts drive the structure and content of pivotal conversations on Arctic oil and gas development by building a conceptual terminology and typology of relations between products of human bodies associated with expertise (gesture, ideas, voice, linguistic phenomena) and the material environment that ensures the security and authority of experts (turnstiles, ID badges, guards) as forces of energy production in their own right.

KEYWORDS Arctic, energy, expertise, corporeality

Introduction

In this article, we consider the interactions of consultants and decision makers over the future of Arctic energy development that are taking place in specific, exclusive, and guarded environments. Specifically, we examine the relations between products of human bodies associated with expertise (gesture, ideas, voice, linguistic phenomena) and the material environment that ensures the security and authority of experts (turnstiles, ID badges, guards) as forces of energy production in their own right. This effort is part of a larger project concerning the fleeting phenomena surrounding how agendas are promoted through expertise and the role of corporeality in shaping energy development across the Arctic. We argue that such experts who provide knowledge within the context of capitalism are not simply working for capital, they are themselves important commodities that work in particular ways. They receive specific training, validated through higher education degrees and prestigious grants; they also possess affiliation across academic, government, and private institutions. Moreover, increasingly these specialists require particular material surroundings to highlight their self-worth.

For many years, expert knowledge of Arctic energy development has been reflected upon by reference to written documents, most often in the format of reports. For instance, the legacy of "paper pipelines," a phrase calling attention to failed Arctic energy transportation proposals, is legendary. Reflecting on the wealth of written knowledge required to assess an Alaska natural gas pipeline proposal, for example, economist George Rogers states during the 1970s:

> The sheer bulk of existing reports, studies, and supporting documents from which an environmental analysis could be made is impressive, and the task of reviewing and assessing them sometimes seems greater than the challenge of compiling them in the first place. The staff of the Federal Power Commission, for its February 1977 report alone, reviewed 253 volumes of transcript, embracing almost 45,000 pages and about 1,000 exhibits, some of which were environmental impact statements of over a thousand pages. (Rogers 1977: 21)

Over 20 years after Dr. Rogers' observations, a new generation of stakeholders continue to call attention to the pile-up of expert documents. Consider the following quip in a report produced by the State of Alaska in conjunction with consulting firms Petrie Parkman & Co. and C2M Hill:

> A North Slope gas pipeline has been seriously considered since the 1970s, but to date questionable economics have always blocked its con-

> struction. The project is further complicated—or aided, depending on your perspective—by the significant amount of study, legislation, development and permitting that have already occurred or may yet need to occur in the United States and Canada. (ADR 2002: 3.1)

As the starting point for their analysis, officials of the State of Alaska cite an existing body of written documentation consisting of at least eight separate Alaska pipeline project reports commissioned since 1978.

Despite such observations on the volume of materials produced, our own ethnography gathered over the last decade at conferences and in interviews with Arctic pipeline advocates suggests that a different kind of interest at play in decision-making processes is embodied in what we would describe as "the corporeality of expertise."

To frame the issue, consider one example. Recalling the dramatic energy events in fall 2000, one State of Alaska economist states:

> there was a natural gas summit in Columbus, Ohio, put together by Daniel Yergin [of Cambridge Energy]. It was when natural gas prices were starting to rocket up. It was a national thing, co-hosted by Alaska Governor Tony Knowles and the facilitator was Cambridge Energy Research Associates [CERA]. CERA had their *analysts come up one after the other* and explain what was going on—introducing to the public the new gas paradigm and why prices were going so high. (Personal conversation with Marks, emphasis added.)

According to an aide serving the Knowles administration who attended the event, what became evident at the gas summit was the "fantasy that Dan Yergin was going to guide us into how to get the [Alaska] natural gas pipe built very fast." At the gas summit,

> the governor turned to us at some point and said 'I want to get these guys on contract, as advisors.' And we said, 'what do you want them to do' [to which] the governor replied 'I just want them, they can advise us.' (Personal conversation with Persily.)

Two months after the gas summit, the Knowles administration awarded a US $350,000 "no-bid" contract to Cambridge Energy that included for the governor 24-hour cellphone access to Daniel Yergin (ADN January 31, 2001).

This vignette highlights CERA's success in becoming a frontrunner in the field of energy expertise and gaining the trust of a governor based on the charismatic authority of Daniel Yergin. Here, the human body serves as a conduit for the display of knowledge. What is more, this corporeal-type knowledge stands apart from the costly written reports typically sold as

end-products of expertise. The occasion of the governor's face-to-face experience with Yergin created a "eureka moment," a type of inspiration that resulted in a new idea to solve a problem and an entrepreneurial thought for seizing opportunity. In this way, we argue, the body of the expert—through gesture, immediacy, spontaneous commentary—provides sense-making performances that channel the complexity of facts about the future of the Arctic into the kinds of simplicity that can further political and economic decision making.

In what follows, we outline an argument in which the corporeality of expertise is a crucial site where the future of the Arctic is being constructed as a hydrocarbon-rich and accessible landscape. Through face-to-face exchanges at executive roundtables, such as Cambridge Energy Week in Houston, Texas, and the St. Petersburg Economic Forum in Russia (forums that abound in numbers) experts' own bodies become a reflection of the Arctic as a valuable energy extractive frontier.

Mind and Body

Various scholarly treatments have considered the intersection of expertise and the body. The most recent suggestion is that the intellectual professional is "de-corporealized," where the material body is independent of what actually constitutes self-worth (Boyer 2005: 247; Brydon 1998). For Bruno Latour (1999: 4), the expert is a "mind in a vat." This is so, according to Dominic Boyer (2005), because the physical body of the expert does not belong to those characteristics for which we commonly identify and evaluate intellectuals and their labor. The reason for this is that intellectuals encourage each other to experience their mental activities as originating in a purely cognitive process. Experts evaluate and consider *genuine knowledge* only that which derives from mental activities (reading, thinking) (Abbott 1988; Bourdieu 1998).

A different perspective contrasts the immediacy, inspiration, and face-to-face interaction associated with the body of expertise, to the deliberative, contemplative, and isolated activity of reading expert reports. Peter Sloterdijk (1982), for example, contrasts corporeality and textuality by referring to two types of knowledge: ancient kynicism (corporeal, anecdotal) and modern cynicism (distanced reflection through textual familiarity). Pierre Bourdieu (1984) employs a similar dichotomy in the terms "Kantian" and "anti-Kantian" aesthetic, the former tending toward a rejection of representations of the obvious in favor of principles of the esoteric, and the latter, a preference for the sensual, immediate, and obvious. Similar contrasts are found in such phrases as the "civilizing process" (Elias 1978), what

Max Weber (1946: 140) calls "progressiveness," and what Georg Simmel (1972: 31) refers to as "the blasé attitude," all of which call attention to a preference for distance from the corporeal subject by way of experiences that favor intellectual practice.

For anthropologists, the corporeal and textual divide marks a threshold of modernity. Here, literacy (textual) emphasizes abstraction, universalization, and depersonalization and thus makes it possible to dispense with spectacle and demonstration in securing the belief and obedience of others. By contrast, for pre-capitalist modes of obedience, relations of power are made, unmade, and remade through personal interactions (corporeal) that rely on visible (conspicuous) expenditures of time and performance of the body. Knowledge and truth are, so to say, carried through the body, which is necessary for symbolic recognition (Mauss 1990).

Thus, an expanded understanding of the role of corporeality raises the possibility that the legitimacy of expertise in a post-capitalist society is based not solely upon theoretical knowledge but, instead, upon pre-capitalist modes of spectacle, charisma, and enchantment—what Alfred Whitehead (1926: 11) called the "staging of verification" in scientific experiments or Bruno Latour (1987: 73) refers to as "inscription."

The intersection of corporeality and expertise also suggests an imitable quality, of the kind akin to the dichotomy in the *The King's Two Bodies*: the body natural, which is subject to physical experience, and the body politic, which transcends the natural life and serves as a symbol of status that allows for the continuity of power, and in our case also the continuity of knowledge (Kantorowicz 1997).

In his study on expert efficiency, for example, Thomas Princen (2005) argues in favor of the imitable quality of the discretionary principles upon which expert advice is based. The expert, he argues, escapes the threat of outsourcing that comes with eliminating redundancies in labor markets precisely because expertise is unique [imitable] and not open to achieving greater *efficiencies*. In fact, our evidence suggests that the imitable quality of consultant expertise appears on the level of linguistic expression. Western capitalist word formations associated with experts working in Russia, for example, retain English-sounding patterns ("energy consulting" becomes *enerdzhi konsalting/энерджи консалтинг*, versus standard usage of "energy"—*energiya/энергия*). Firms such as Cambridge Energy Research Associates appear in Russian news headlines without the typical possessive grammatical declension (*Компания Кембридж Энерджи Рисерч Ассошиэйтс*). The acronyms of global energy consulting firms such as IHS appear on business cards and engraved on office plaques translated into Russian as a string of words (*Ay-Eych-Es/Ай-Эйч-Эс*), thereby demanding Russian speakers to articulate

sound patterns in English ("aye aech es"). Examples such as these protect the imitable quality of expertise and invite a great deal of security through the ubiquity of bodyguards, turnstiles, and identification badges that restrict the body in relation to expert knowledge. More generally, these views resonate with ideas having a long history in the Western intellectual tradition, as in the separation of mind from body. Recent legacies include the effectiveness of Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics* in which he poses the radical separation of the denotational sign (qua sign) from the material world.

Presence of Elites and Expertise

The current research is funded by a US National Science Foundation (NSF) grant titled *Assessing Intermediary Expertise in Russian Arctic Natural Gas Development*. The study is informed from earlier explorations of Alaska natural gas development, where we examined the role of energy consultants in fostering social coordination. In that work, we showed how consulting firms in the natural gas industry were capable of redressing the uncertainties of clients. Through scenario planning, executive roundtables, and Internet-based analysis, consultants could objectify risks and operations of industry in ways that generated undisputed knowledge. Technical prediction combined with fashionable modes of communication created socially amenable, and to some extent, ritualized occasions that underlined the knowledge (predictions and solutions) being fashioned (Mason 2007). While in this previous work, we emphasized the establishment of *communities of interpretation* (Mason 2007: 374) our current research is less focused on what is shared than what is *performed*. As such, we are concerned with how the expert becomes a location of non-scripted, non-literate forms of knowledge transmission, while at the same time, a key site where the practices of institutions, imagination, and subjectivity take corporeal form.

Our methodology employs ethnographic data collection consisting of participant observation and semi-structured interviews of expert consultants in North America, Western Europe, and Russia who provide knowledge to industry leaders involved in natural gas development in the Barents Sea area of Russia—in particular, the offshore energy proposal called Shtokman. The Shtokman field is currently under development by three companies: the Russian firm Gazprom, Norway's Statoil, and France's Total. Unlike gas development in Alaska, where controversies are fairly concrete, the issues of Shtokman are broader and less defined. For this reason, there are fewer focal points in space and time as project development takes place at a different stage of temporality than Alaska pipeline development.

Because of its international engagement, Shtokman development invites expertise surrounding not only market-oriented trends defining the economic outlook of the project, but also knowledge of political insight. A good case in point is the recent fact that Russia was late to acknowledge the importance of non-conventional natural gas, such as the increase in extracting shale gas in the United States. Russia's largest natural gas firm, Gazprom, glossed over the premise; nevertheless, the importance of new technology, such as hydraulic fracturing, in increasing supply levels for the United States, forced a reformulated vision of global gas development.

Our field research includes a focus on *key networking events*, where interaction among industry, government, and consultants create communities of consensus around imagined futures. This helps us understand the wider social field of actors and institutions and their sense-making performances as well as the distribution of common sense of Arctic energy development in diverse locations. We then supplement these observations with a set of semi-structured interviews with key players in the field by focusing on *ad hoc communications* where future imaginaries are kept dynamic and fresh in people's minds through regular interactions. We consider this data collection process as a road map for approaching expert knowledge about the Arctic, knowledge that is otherwise inaccessible via publicly funded science research. Our method addresses specifically how consultants acquire, generate, and circulate knowledge of Arctic energy development.

One such event was the Norwegian Research Council sponsored workshop Petrosam on Russian gas development, which took place in May 2010 in Oslo, Norway. In attendance were experts of renown, including Jonathan Stern, Director of Gas Research at Oxford Institute for Energy Studies; Arild Moe, Deputy Director of Norway's Fridtjof Nansen Institute and Valeriy Kryukov, who holds a Chair at Moscow's Higher School of Economics. While few industry leaders attended this event, we interpreted the meeting as an incubation forum for creating understandings that would later be presented to industry executives. For example, in February 2011, Stern would serve as a natural gas mediator at one of Europe's leading industry events, the Oslo Energy Forum. The general cost for attendance at this forum was US$15,000; important participants included Helge Lund, President of Statoil, which holds a one-quarter stake in Shtokman. At the three-day forum, Stern performed a series of crucial stagings surrounding the importance of the public's perception of natural gas. He used his message as a counterpoint to proposals focusing on the so-called clean coal (coal provides 50 per cent of current global electricity production versus 25 per cent for natural gas).

In Russia, we traveled to Murmansk, to attend Petromaks, the jointly

organized Norwegian-Russian Shtokman gas field development workshop. This Norwegian government-sponsored program took place within the region of Barents Sea development; unlike the other more enclosed events, it was attended by a wider forum of Russian and Norwegian academics, representatives of NGOs and environmental groups, as well as residents of Teriberka, the village location of the proposed off-loading site for the Shtokman gas field. Speakers at this event were comprised mostly of technical experts—geologists, engineers, and risk assessors, whose technical discourses often served as surrogates for political and community-related issues.

In St. Petersburg, Russia, we attended the International Economic Forum. In attendance was the Russian prime minister, Dmitry Medvedev, and the French president, Nicolas Sarkozy. Also present was Daniel Yergin, chairman of Cambridge Energy Research Associates. Yergin led a key roundtable on global gas development, titled "Energy Futures," a premier gathering where industry leaders set priorities for Barents Sea gas development, including the determining role of government in market-based decision making.

In Moscow, we attended the Russian Oil and Gas Congress, considered a popular gathering of Western-based companies with offices within Russia. Attendance included journalists, consultants, academics, and government ministry representatives. Among the expert speakers was specialist on Russian natural gas energy Thane Gustafson, senior expert for Cambridge Energy. Gustafson attended the St. Petersburg Forum, accompanying Yergin as the consulting firm's "Russian expert." Also at the Congress was Bengt Hansen, then president of the Moscow office of Statoil. Finally, we attended Cambridge Energy Research Week in Houston, where in attendance were corporate sponsors of Russian arctic gas development (Exxon, Rosneft, Gazprom, Statoil, Total), government (European regulatory and Russian ministries), concerns financing Arctic gas (Deutsche), and journalists.

Security of Corporeal Expertise

There is a great deal of security surrounding the expert body. This is especially noticeable when attending the executive roundtable event, CERAWeek, where police personnel are ubiquitous. At this event, which takes place in Houston and is attended by elite industry leaders for a five-day discussion of energy trends, we noticed between five and seven policemen wandering the main gathering area, with their hands resting on firearms. The turnstile is another form of security that is often a part of the built-in material framework at the entrance of offices of consulting firms, but also appearing as temporary installations at the entrance of pavilions,

for example, at the St. Petersburg International Economic Forum in Russia. Turnstile security is common in many buildings across the world and is often accompanied by personnel who register the identity of visitors. In the London offices of CERA, turnstile security is highly aestheticized by the appearance of glamorously dressed administrative assistants, who greet visitors without little or no conversation. Often, there are restrictions on taking photographs of security, as for example, at the St. Petersburg Economic Forum or at the World Bank in Washington DC, where our attempts to capture images of security personnel were thwarted at every turn, with guards requesting formal explanations of our purpose in capturing such images. Ultimately, security measures surrounding the expert body contribute to the aura of the experts' inimitable quality.

The third most ubiquitous form of security, behind the policeman and the barricade, is the identification badge. Everyone attending executive roundtables, such as CERAWeek, is required to wear these badges. They typically hang from a lanyard around the neck and are used not only to identify the names of clients and their place of employment, but also possess computer readable bar codes for access to Internet use or when registering participants as they enter rooms where consultants are giving presentations.

These forms of security add to the aura of expertise by creating a distance between the client of expertise and those persons for whom attendance is not possible because of financial limitations. The concept of aura, according to Walter Benjamin is a phenomenon of distance, a form of resistance that has led to the twin desire for bringing things closer spatially, while overcoming the uniqueness of every reality by accepting its reproduction. "Every day" Benjamin writes, "the urge grows stronger to get hold of an object at very close range by way of its likeness, its reproduction" (Benjamin 1989: 572). The role of the guard, the turnstile, and the ID badge provides expertise with an aura precisely through its twin effect of distancing the client from the non-client and ensuring proximity between the client and expert knowledge.

The issue of proximity and distance may be explored from another perspective focusing on how the expert body appears on the *front-stage* and the *back-stage*, concepts developed by Erving Goffman (1959). In exploring these concepts, Goffman have tried to capture the shifting identity of individuals, based on their role performances and the consensus between actors and the audience as a kind of dramaturgical development. Similarly, expert roundtables are orchestrated so that actors become manifest as "experts" or "clients" and thus come to understand themselves, specifically on the basis of their expertise and non-expertise. The spaces where clients are allowed to view, participate, and otherwise have access to expertise, for example, may be considered the front-stage, while the space where clients are forbid-

den from entering are the back-stage. In these situations, distances are further secured by rules governing what portion of an event a client is provided access to, whether by payment, prestige, or function.

During CERAWeek, we were provided with an identification badge with the word "TuesWed," which meant that our participation was restricted to Tuesday and Wednesday, the two days we paid for attendance. These sequestrations or restrictions also include the given status of a particular participant (speaker, sponsor, journalist) or the position of a client within their own organization that accords them with certain privileges and access to events. Of course, for someone unfamiliar with such events, all industry access we encounter may be considered back-stagings, since these events require formal invitations, elaborate vettings of identity, and large advance payments (attendance at executive roundtables costs US$6,000 to US$15,000).

Security draws attention also to the fragility of the body of an expert. Whenever we shake hands with a consultant, we feel as if we are holding the hand of a baby. This soft cellular physicality, developed from years of typing, holding a coffee mug, and sitting, could be brought to physical harm quite easily and great damage would result. By contrast, for example, on Kodiak Island, Alaska, where we worked with communities and experts during the Exxon Valdez oil spill (Mason 2008), among rural villagers, we could not help noticing how hard the hands of informants were and with what "zing" they gripped us in introductory handshakes. They received this strength from working many decades in the fishing industry where they constantly would be using their hands to turn a cold steel wench, pull an icy wet rope, or throw a salmon into a brailer. Physical activity in the commercial salmon fishing environment is a habit that is not quickly or easily acquired, and for persons working decades in these fields, becomes durable. Among retired fishermen in their eighties, handshakes were still strong.

The fragility of the hand is an especially sensitive issue, since it is a point of physical contact between experts and non-experts. A strong handshake from a non-expert is tantamount to aggression and would raise eyebrows. The act serves to enforce authority over the expert by demonstrating physical prowess and is considered an unacceptable practice. The rare instance where the strength of a handshake by a client indicates that their inferior status as a professional could be compensated by the fact that they could handily beat the expert to a pulp, is one scenario that experts avoid by having bodyguards immediately visible and present.

Sumptuousness of Staging

Spaces of expertise are elegant, and security ensures that everyone present can relax in an elite sequestered environment where knowledge is a high-

ly expensive, sequestered commodity. We have been studying executive roundtables for some time, and often we are struck by the venue chosen for the gathering. Venue is a hallmark for the way the body of an expert is registered. In our experience as anthropologists, we have noticed within our own disciplinary meetings that the venue is given little regard, for example, by the acceptance of speaker systems that do not work well or routine problems with image projectors. These issues we accept with a feeling that knowledge is outside the purview of issues that preoccupy wealthier (and thus more superficial) gatherings. But even for anthropologists, venue matters; otherwise, we could hold job talks in New York's Times Square (and just think how much knowledge would be transferred then!).

In our experience, venues of energy consultants are high-end and represent a sumptuousness of occasion. They usually take place in four-star hotels in major cities across the globe—Houston, London, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Washington DC. Elaborate details are created for the occasion, including personal name place cards, menus, table settings, brochures, and the like. Such sumptuous atmospheres are taken for granted by participants and only commented upon when they do not exist, as for example, in 2010 when CERAWeek changed its venue from the Galleria in Houston to the Hilton. Many attendees we spoke with breathed a sigh of relief about the move, complaining that the Galleria, a four-star hotel and meeting place in its own right, had become outdated and that the move to the newly constructed Hilton put CERAWeek once again back on the A-list of energy events.

In such venues, it is expected that all activities will be orchestrated without a flaw. For example, there are electricity needs, in which the reliability of available energy flow needs to be constant and convenient. In 2010, CERAWeek utilized 20-foot wall screens to depict a live broadcast of Secretary of State Hilary Clinton—a period of time, highly ritualized, in which reliable energy requirements are a necessity. This sumptuousness of space frames the grandeur of the ideas that the expert body desires to convey, with the more ambitious concepts and ritual stagings requiring more prestigious settings.

Productive Calm

Dominic Boyer (2005) notes how the body of the professional intellectual is an efficient yet passive mechanism for energizing mental activity. Its normative ideal is a state of productive calm. As such, productive calm completes the codification of the body as a purely kinetic and physical entity that would not be expected or affirmed to display expertise in any ration-

alist conception of the term. Thus, intellectual life is often considered a purely mental enterprise that is phenomenologically indebted to (1) intense subject focus of experience upon mental activity and (2) continuous reinvestment of productive energy into the creation and transaction of epistemic [knowledge] forms. This phenomenological enhancement is further stressed by social relations of professionalism that maintain a sanctity of boundaried economies of expertise and honing productive activity.

We had the opportunity of experiencing the productive calm of consultant experts at a number of institutes and think tanks. In both Paris and Moscow, we visited the offices of CERA and discussed research with senior experts. In Oslo, we spent several days understanding the operations of three consulting firms: Econ-Pöry, Fridtjof Nansen Institute, and the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI). In addition, in October 2010, we had exchanges with consultants from NUPI in Helsinki, Finland, attending the Aleksanteri conference, a premier event on Russian energy, which included Norwegian consular members from Moscow.

With exception of Fridtjof Nansen Institute, all offices were in downtown areas in post-1970s glass and brick towers, with fashionable restaurants and bars on the ground floors. A brief tour of NUPI provided a sense of the setting for these locations. Without exception, in each of these offices, books, reports, and written papers could be seen *on display* as primary end-products of intellectual activity. At the reception area of NUPI, for example, an installation for books represents the published products of NUPI experts. All these institutes have in-house libraries and maintain *reading rooms* where employees can browse through various newspapers. As we wandered the hallway, a familiar sight at NUPI was the intellectual professional in his or her office, surrounded by the *clutter of paper*. These scenes emphasize the importance experts place on the written word, but also, the practice of sitting at a desk.

At these locations, the visitor is witness to consultants busy at work which consists of reading, underlining words in books, stacking journals on shelves, printing drafts, and drinking coffee to keep the brain alert, that is, to keep the cognitive capacities working. This activity takes place in temperature-controlled office rooms under warm lighting.

Perhaps one of the more notable representations of the intellectual body in a seated position is the bronze sculpture by Auguste Rodin called *The Thinker*. For many, its significance lies in the ability to re-present the potential of man as a contemplative subject—as a form of distance from corporeal needs. *The Thinker* is a visible signature of intellectual labor and is differentiated from other forms of (manual) labor, drawing attention to the Cartesian duality of mind and body activity. That is, the image of a man

leaning his chin on a fist does not bring to mind a bodily gesture, but in fact, transfers the materiality of the body into the written materials that serve as the end-products of thinking. Nevertheless, the body of *The Thinker* is still a body. It has gesture that signals the appropriate physical position for carrying out the practice of modern thinking, for carrying out the activity of receiving secular knowledge, that is, how to appropriately receive modern facts. *The Thinker* is thus, a reminder that obtaining modern knowledge requires its own *bodily position*. As such, *The Thinker* is best contrasted to another type of gesture, that of religious prayer, of kneeling, placing one's hands together as when communicating and receiving non-secular knowledge. What we see in *The Thinker* is not an emphasis on thinking, but instead, a departure from gestures used to obtain religious, mythical, and magical knowledge of means/ends causality. Reason and rationality under conditions of modernity have their own corporeal expressions.

Conclusion

Our recent work is part of a larger project concerning the *fleeting phenomena* surrounding how agendas are set through expertise. Here, what we refer to is not political institutions or the history of the energy industry, but instead, all facets (unveiled by the ethnographic eye) of what happens when consultants engage with elites. In doing so, we attempt to recognize that the bodies we examine are not subject to institutions of knowledge but, instead, are representatives of these institutions. They speak on behalf of the firms and institutions they represent. In this sense, our informants represent two faces of the sovereign body, in that they have properties by which institutions can take form. And yet they are also entirely replaceable—what remains is their structural standing (and yet, because the body stands in the positions, the body in effect, makes decisions). Capturing fleeting phenomena is always about the actual ritual context of the moment, despite whether or not certain forms could be historicized.

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Reviews/Comptes rendus/Besprechungen

Cathrine Baglo, *På ville veger? Levende utstillinger av samer i Europa og Amerika* (Diss., Fakultet for humaniora, samfunnsvitenskap og lærerutdanning, Institutt for arkeologi og sosialantropologi), Tromsø University 2011, ISBN 9788282440516, 370 pp.

During the nineteenth century the display of foreign peoples at exhibitions intrigued people in the big European cities. Human exhibitions were a form of popular public entertainment whereby the crowds, journalists and scientists were given the opportunity to reflect on racial difference, missionary work and empire. Qureshi emphasizes that these exhibitions have left a lasting legacy both in the formation of early anthropological inquiry and in the creation of public attitudes toward racial difference (Qureshi 2011). The staging of indigenous peoples as different from modern men in ethnographic exhibitions was performed at the intersections of show business and racial science (Magubane 2009). During the nineteenth century new practices for representing strange, "primitive" peoples evolved. One such practice was live exhibitions of peoples in European and American metropolitan areas. By viewing ethnographic showcases arranged for the purpose of entertaining and instructing an urban, white audience the intended spectators of the showcases were shown "how far the exhibited deviated from the European 'norm' and thus how low they ranked in civilization" (Magubane 2009: 48).

The theme of Catherine Baglo's dissertation *På ville veger? Levende utstillinger av samer i Europa og Amerika* ['Going astray? Live exhibitions of Sami people in Europe and America'], published in Norwegian in 2011, is the exhibition of Sami people from Norway, Sweden and Finland on urban stages in Europe and the United States. During the eighteenth and the first part of the nineteenth century around 400 Sami individuals were installed together with reindeer and tools in reconstructions of settlements where they were to perform everyday activities that could be viewed by visiting spectators. These exhibitions continued until about 1950. The dissertation is divided into seven chapters. The first provides an introduction that is followed by a discussion of theoretical and methodological issues. The third chapter analyses various exhibitions of Sami people starting with Mr. Bullock's "exhibition of Laplanders" in London 1822–1823 and concluding with a section about exhibitions after 1924. The fourth chapter focuses on how live exhibitions intersected with understandings of racial difference in nineteenth century scientific discourse. Chapter five analyses the staging and arrangement of the showcases and their reception. The sixth chapter goes more into depth in the analysis of how the showcases gave rise to audience experiences, negotiations of meanings and how these relate to the motives of the showmen. The chapter further includes sections about self-representation, cultural resistance, exhibitions as a contact zone and live exhibitions as "purifying work"

(Norwegian *renselsearbeid*) and a relational field. The final chapter summarises interpretations and the impact of exhibitions of live people. In various sections the chapter discusses the fall and return of live exhibitions, genre aspects of the exhibitions and their character of mass medium, the role of museums as an "intermediary" showing dolls instead of real people, and how the exhibitions contributed to shaping consciousness and accumulating cultural capital. Furthermore the chapter highlights how the life-world and lands of the Sami have been mediated in recent times, as well as connections between cultural mediation, commercialism and performances as the "Other."

The first introductory chapter gives a background to the phenomenon of live exhibitions of "strange" peoples for western, urban audiences. Baglo points out that the first time Sami people were included in such an exhibition was in London in 1822. London was the centre of the first phase of human exhibitions. During this early period one and the same exhibition could be displayed at a variety of establishments such as theatres, concert halls, pleasure gardens and museums. Baglo concludes that the practice of exhibiting non-western peoples became widespread during the 1870s. From then on zoos, as well as circuses, became arenas where exotic peoples were shown. The geographical focus had by then shifted to Austria–Hungary and Germany. Carl Hagenbeck's Zoo in Hamburg is particularly mentioned as a mass medium of the time that added humans as new attractions. In 1875 Hagenbeck engaged a group of Sami people from Karesuando and Tromsø who were to be exhibited together with reindeer and ethnographic objects. From then on the Hagenbeck exhibitions were to tour large parts of Europe from their base at the Zoo in Hamburg. Another context for exhibiting non-western peoples was that of the large World Fairs. Baglo mentions the Exposition Universelle 1878 in Paris, which is said to be the first European World Fair that exhibited "primitive" peoples (p. 12). The definite breakthrough for exhibitions of live people in this format came with the Paris exhibition of 1889. On this occasion more than 400 people representing non-western cultures were installed in so called *villages indigènes*. After this such villages became a popular part of large exhibitions both in Europe and the United States.

The emergence and establishment of showcases of live people is connected with an increased focus on visually oriented institutions for cultural representation exemplified by the development of new technologies such as film, which could provide spectators with enhanced experiences of being immersed in cultural phenomena conceived of as new and exciting. Baglo also discusses terminology used for designating exhibitions of humans such as the rather controversial term "human zoo." In connection with this she points out that she chose not to use the term "freakshow," which she conceives of as referring to the showing of individuals conceived of as physically different compared to what was seen as the norm. She claims that in the human showcases of non-western peoples collective groups who were shown were conceived of as being collectively different from the vantage point of western culture (p. 14). While this is true the practice may also imply that "exotic" peoples were being shown as "freaks" from the vantage point of western ideals and norms. The showing of foreign peoples served a number of different purposes. One of them was to amuse the public. Baglo does not dwell on the question of to what extent exhibitors may have manipulated reality in order to put on an entertaining show. When discussing this

issue Magubane quotes an English missionary who claimed that "the Bushmen specimens brought to Europe have been selected [...] on account of their extreme ugliness" (p. 50). He goes on to emphasise the effect this manipulation had on the opinions about strange people formed by the spectators. His point is that the exhibitor consciously chose to show individuals whose appearance deviated from western ideals of beauty and normality. As the term "human zoos" indicates, the staging of indigenous peoples at exhibitions involves elements of dehumanization. Baglo suggests that the Sami people who were exhibited differed from other indigenous peoples, as they were more in control and more prepared for various situations they were to encounter (pp. 24–25). However no evidence is presented which supports this supposition.

When presenting a survey of previous research Baglo underlines that little has been written about the exhibition of humans and particularly about exhibitions of Sami. However there are more studies than those mentioned. One study published in the same year as Baglo's dissertation is Rikke Andreassen and Anne Folke Henningsen's book on the exhibitions of humans at the Zoological Gardens and Tivoli of Copenhagen (Andreassen & Folke Henningsen 2011). Baglo enumerates a large number of questions she wishes to answer: 1) How did the exhibitions contribute to shaping ideas about the Sami and other indigenous peoples?; 2) In what respect may the exhibitions and activities related to them be seen as "inscriptions" in the sense Bruno Latour uses the term?; 3) How was the genre of live exhibitions transformed over time?; 4) What processes led to the decline and disappearance of human exhibitions?; 5) To what extent were the live exhibitions influenced by other technologies for representation and exhibition?; 6) What was the role of the middlemen and agents?

One main aim of the dissertation is to present a counter-account to previous research, which according to Baglo has victimized and anonymised the Sami people who were exhibited (p. 23). She highlights that exhibitions of live Sami people contributed to the establishment of specific images of Sami and other indigenous peoples (p. 15). When describing this process she suggests that the Sami people involved in this process actually were agents in the negotiation and creation of meanings in the contact zones of the exhibitions. When discussing previous research on the exhibition of Sami people Baglo highlights an article by Gunnar Broberg as a source of inspiration (Broberg 1981–1982). However she is also critical of Broberg's and other researchers', in her opinion, one-sided view on the exhibited people as passive victims. On the contrary, she wishes to highlight positive aspects of participating in exhibitions and of life at the exhibitions:

> When the working-day was over, as a rule another life began than that of being exhibited as a Sami: the life of a tourist, cultural ambassador, citizen of the world and modern European (p. 24; my translation).

One issue that Baglo's hypothesis that the Sami people were active agents in control of activities related to being exhibited, does not take into account is that even if there may have been certain individual gratifications, the exhibitions as such contributed to discursively constructing the Sami as the Others of the modern western world. This can hardly have contributed to the formation of a viable Sami ethnic and cultural identity. The differences evoked by the exhibitions im-

ply that the Sami, like other indigenous peoples, were constructed as a remnant doomed in the modern world (Mebius 1999; Smith 2008). This circumstance is not changed by the fact that some of the exhibited people may have had opportunities for tourism and exchange with the modern urban world during hours of leisure.

Another aim that makes this dissertation different from other accounts of ethnographic exhibitions is that Baglo explicitly states that she wants to highlight the individual stories of the various Sami people involved in the exhibitions (p. 23). This involves the ambition to provide detailed information about individuals as opposed to accounts that anonymise participants of exhibitions. Surprisingly Baglo claims that this strategy is more ethical than strategies that treat information about individuals confidentially (pp. 22–23). Baglo highlights interconnections between the colonial heritage the exhibitions of humans sprang out of and objectification, passivisation and anonymisation of participants who were seen as race typological examples (p. 23). In order to counter this she aims at "personalizing" (Norwegian *personliggjøre*) circumstances and events by providing information about individuals. This is a problematic stance, the ethical aspects of which ought to have been discussed.

The second chapter elaborates on the theoretical foundation of the dissertation contrasting Foucault's work on disciplinary technologies, power relations and discourses with that of Latour's theories of networks and "immutable mobiles," which are highlighted as appropriate for describing the knowledge production about live exhibitions of Sami peoples to which Baglo herself wishes to contribute. According to Baglo Latour's ideas about the role of people and objects as active elements in a continuous process help to explain the active role she herself assigns to the exhibited Sami people (p. 41). By appropriating Latour's concept of "mediators" Baglo wishes to show that the Sami were actors that were able to transform, translate, distort and modify (p. 43). Through references to Latour the role of power asymmetries for the production of meanings is downplayed, while the role of mobile networks in which various actors are relatively equal is highlighted.

The longest chapter of the dissertation, chapter 3 (pp. 46–183), gives a chronological presentation of various exhibitions of Sami people from the start with Mr. Bullock's Exhibition of Laplanders in London 1822–1823 until the decline of the phenomenon in the first part of the twentieth century. As far as possible Baglo renders the names of the Sami people who were exhibited as well as of the people in the networks organizing the exhibitions. She emphasises that although the exhibitions were mobile in the sense that they were shown at various places there was a high degree of standardization and conformity in the way the Sami were presented. Attributes such as reindeer, tents and household items from the reindeer-herding nomadic Sami culture became standard ingredients in the display and construction of Saminess. Baglo highlights that although the material expressions of Saminess were quite in accordance, the discursive contexts and networks surrounding the exhibitions varied over time. From the 1870s a gap between the spectators and exhibited people was increasingly evoked. The exhibited people were now seen as primitive and as different from the spectators. It is also during this period that the exhibitions are being shown at zoos. During the 1880s and 1890s exhibitions of live people were incorporated in large state-spon-

sored international exhibitions. In this context strange peoples were shown for didactic purposes as illustrations of racial variation, in which modern western people represented the pinnacle of evolution. Exhibitions were legitimized as valuable field laboratories where scientists could examine racial variation. Baglo points out that during this period anthropologists did not travel to strange parts of the world in order to do fieldwork, but that the "field" was brought to them in the form of exhibited people and items brought to the exhibitions' sites as props and illustrations. During the twentieth century there was an increased critique of human exhibitions. The connection to the state and scientific community was dissolved and gradually the phenomenon of exhibiting peoples came to an end, as the general public lost interest in it as a form of popular entertainment.

The idea of human exhibitions as anthropological field laboratories is further discussed in the fourth chapter. Baglo recounts how the Sami people in the exhibitions were measured and photographed. Plaster casts were made of hands and feet. At least on some occasion singing and yoik were recorded. Anthropological societies where the accumulated findings were presented were established in France, Germany and Great Britain. Physical anthropology emerged as an academic discipline and the exhibitions of Sami people were integrated in a scientific discourse on race. Germany's most prominent anthropologist, Rudolf Virchows, was an ardent spokesman for human exhibitions until his death in 1902. The Sami people were constructed as "primitive" but opinions differed among scientists in Germany, France and Britain whether the Sami were doomed in the modern world, or not, and if, or to what degree, they were "degenerate." Eventually new ideas concerning the study of non-western cultures emerged. Franz Boas, for example, propagated that cultures ought to be studied on their own premises and in their original context. By and by these ideas were adopted by the scientific communities and as a result the interconnection between human exhibitions and the scientific study of non-western peoples and cultures was disrupted.

In the fifth chapter Baglo elaborates on Carl Hagenbeck's role as a renewer of the genre of human exhibitions. She suggests that previous interpretations of the use of zoos as exhibition spaces are misleading. According to Baglo Hagenbeck did not intend to suggest that there was an evolutionary continuum stretching from the animals that were exhibited to the humans. Instead she makes the point that the genre which Hagenbeck himself called "antropologisch-zoologische Ausstellung" (p. 221) connotes a specific form of assemblage of strange peoples and exotic animals within the same exhibition space (p. 222). Animals, as well as plants, ethnographic objects, clothes etcetera were used by Hagenbeck in the reconstruction of environments which aimed at visualizing the habitat of the strange people that were exhibited. Baglo further points out that one effect of this was that the exhibited people were essentialised. As opposed to modern man they were seen as closely connected with a natural habitat. Hagenbeck's enterprises were commercial and as such he had to consider the expectations of the audience. Contracts were signed with the exhibited people regulating how they were to dress and act during the exhibitions. In order to appear authentic they were forbidden to cut their hair during the time the exhibition lasted. They agreed to wear traditional clothes during the shows, which they were not allowed to wear if they left the exhibition area etcetera. As Baglo remarks, the authentic-

ity of the exhibited people was heavily regulated through contracts stating their obligations. Naturally there was a conflict between the role of the exhibitions as scientific field-laboratories and as public entertainment. One way of expressing this is to say that the exhibitions filled multiple purposes and were arranged with a view to a segmented audience. According to Baglo their role as mass-entertainment has been under-communicated. She makes the point that in this context there was no stress on racial differentiation and evolutionary stages, which was the case in contemporary scientific discourses. As the genre became more diverse the element of comparison and celebrations of modernity and progress became essential elements of the large World Exhibitions' staging of hierarchic comparisons between peoples and cultures (p. 242).

When discussing the physical demarcations of human exhibitions Baglo proposes that previous researchers who have emphasized that there is a distance and demarcation between the exhibited people and the audience have neglected that these were not absolute. She even suggests that the exhibitions engendered contact zones for people of diverse cultural backgrounds making it possible for the exhibited and visiting people to interact (p. 252). There is no discussion of the concept of the "contact zone" when it is first used. The concept was launched and elaborated by Mary Louise Pratt (Pratt 1991; Pratt 1992), who used it to designate social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other (Pratt 1992: 4). After Pratt the concept has also been used to designate forms of hybridity resulting from transcultural exchange in contact zones. As Baglo emphasizes in her discussion of contracts regulating the participation of the Sami people, they were required to appear "authentic" and "natural," certainly not as "contaminated" by modern life. In other words the concept of the "antropologisch-zoologische Ausstellung" implied the construction of "authentic, natural" Sami culture by keeping it apart from influences from the modern world. In no way do the examples provided by Baglo of contacts between the exhibited and the viewers qualify as transcultural negotiations resulting in new hybrid cultural constellations. On the contrary Baglo's discussion of the role of regulation and arrangement for the presentation of the Sami as different, and the role of the audiences' expectations of presenting them as such, speaks against the notion of the human exhibitions as contact zones.

In the following chapter there is a section with the subtitle "Utstillingene som kontaktsone" ['The exhibitions as contact zones']. The chapter includes explicit references to Pratt and the claim that, far from being spaces where binaries were strengthened, the exhibitions were complex mixtures, "or hybrids" where "animals, objects and people, nature and culture, exhibitor and exhibited, the well-known and strange intermingled" (my translation). However, Baglo does not give any examples of in what respect the exhibitions resulted in hybrid constellations and how they functioned as "relational fields" (p. 308). One example of how a Patagonian man is greeting a Sami man in Hamburg in 1879 mentioned by Baglo, recounts how the Patagonian performs a greeting ceremony which the Sami finds utterly strange. When it is his turn to greet the Patagonian he mimics the strange behaviour thus giving the Patagonian the impression that the Sami have the same kind of greeting ceremony. The quote which is being recounted in support of the claim that the exhibition formed important spaces for meetings between indigenous peoples and minorities ends as follows: "Afterwards they

[the Sami and the Patagonian] shook hands, and thus this encounter where one did not understand the other, was over" (p. 306; my translation). The question that remains to be answered is: in what respect is this type of meeting significant as a transcultural encounter in a contact zone? Of course Baglo is right in emphasizing that the Sami people who participated in the exhibitions had new experiences of modernity and that they saw new places which some of the travellers experienced as exciting. However, the responses of the participants vary, as Baglo points out, so it is hardly possible to draw any other conclusion than that different people experienced the life at the exhibitions in diverse ways. Baglo discusses the construction of the Sami as "authentic," "natural," "primitive," and rightly underlines that this is a construction. In real life many, perhaps the majority, of the Sami who were engaged for the exhibitions, had experienced modern life in their countries of origin. With this in mind it may be argued that they already were familiar with transcultural negotiations and cultural hybridization before they started their lives as exhibition elements in (re)constructed "natural" environments.

One problem with an examination like Baglo's is that there are not many sources that provide reliable information. This is mentioned, but in my opinion it ought to be emphasized more and the material ought to be scrutinized critically. The sixth chapter includes a discussion of the middleman Adrian Jacobsen's role in hiring people for Hagenbeck's shows. Baglo mentions Jacobsen's extensive documentation. He wrote journals, had an extensive correspondence, took photographs, and published books. This, of course, is interesting material. Baglo proposes that the journals may have been written with the aim that they would later be published as books. This interesting observation might have been elaborated upon. If this is the case, what might this imply for the way Jacobsen tells about his encounters with various agents and representatives of indigenous peoples and the events that take place during negotiations and journeys?

Baglo explicitly states that she wishes to question prevailing negative ideas about live human exhibitions. Particularly she wants to problematize the notion that the exhibited people were innocent or reluctant victims without a will of their own and without the capacity to participate, experience and enter into dialogue (p. 264). She suggests that becoming a member of a metropolitan show in fact was a viable alternative both for people who were badly off at home due to discrimination and hard times and for people who were better off who wanted to see the world. By establishing analogies with American Indians whose participation in shows has been described as a means to preserve a culture that was disappearing in the modern world, Baglo suggests that this may have also been the case with the Sami people who were exhibited. While not wishing to deny that there were multiple reasons for people to let themselves be exhibited, the idea of cultural preservation through participation in human exhibitions needs to be analysed more in depth in order to become convincing. As Baglo herself mentions, the construction of Saminess at the exhibitions was regulated by the wishes of various groups (exhibitors, scientists, journalists, the public, the exhibited people themselves). To what extent could the exhibited people perform cultural "resistance" to cultural marginalization, as Baglo claims they did? The example given of how an audience is scared by a performance by a group of indigenous people that included elements of cannibalism (pp. 300–302) speaks against the idea of

successful resistance in the shape of performances that were at odds with western ideas of propriety and beauty. Baglo mentions the performance of yoik as a Sami form of resistance, but she concludes that: "No matter what the intentions were, unfortunately the outcome was often the same, namely a reinforcement of people's opinion that the exhibited people were primitive" (p. 302; my translation). Surely Baglo has a point, and if this is the case, cultural performances that contributed to a dichotomization between indigenous peoples and modern man can hardly be seen as a viable form of resistance to cultural marginalization and effacement.

The final chapter emphasizes the conclusion that the live exhibitions with Sami participants ought to be seen in a more positive light than has been the case in previous research. When discussing the reasons for the decline and end of human exhibitions Baglo introduces the notion that they perhaps did not come to an end after all, by discussing the emergence of museums such as the open air museum Skansen in Stockholm as a development of the genre of exhibiting live people for mass audiences. Baglo's point is that new ethnographic and anthropological museums actually were inspired by earlier live exhibitions in zoos, which is manifested through the emphasis put upon presentations of cultural contexts and the construction of realistic environments for exhibited wax figures, stuffed animals and ethnographic objects. In the case of Skansen real people and animals were used. While there had been academic protests against the "old" form of human exhibitions, the museum context legitimised the new open-air museums' displays of people and animals representing traditional life. Baglo also draws a line from Sami participation in live exhibitions to present-day constructions of experiences for tourists in the form of Sami villages and theme parks. She makes the claim that the Sami people who were exhibited helped to accumulate a competence that helped Sami people to arrange events and attractions based on self-exotification. Present day eco-tourism and the development of heritage industries managed by Sami people themselves are mentioned as offsprings. It is proposed that the often invoked concept of "authenticity" is neither useful, nor relevant, for describing constructions of Saminess in the shape of attractions for tourists. By pointing out that much that today is conceived of as traditional and authentic once was seen as new and "inauthentic" Baglo highlights the constructed nature and ongoing transformation of tradition (p. 338).

Baglo's study introduces interesting perspectives both on the complex character of live exhibitions during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and on possible connections with present-day efforts at creating experiences for tourists related to ideas of tradition and heritage. The author explicitly states that she wishes to question previous accounts that have victimized the people who were exhibited as well as the genre of commercial live exhibitions produced for the instruction and entertainment of mass audiences. While the author has a point in emphasizing the network of actors involved in the production and consumption of exhibitions, and the multiple interests and expectations that the people who were involved had, there are also problematic aspects. The discussion of the relationship between the exhibited and exhibitors, middlemen, producers and audience as more symmetrical than what is usually assumed is not altogether convincing. Furthermore there are ethical aspects related to the de-anonymisation of exhibited people that ought to have been addressed. How-

ever, as a whole *På ville veger? Levende utstillinger av samer i Europa och Amerika* is thought-provoking reading that introduces new perspectives on the study of live exhibitions of Sami people.

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Peter Paul Bajer, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 16th–18th Centuries. The Formation and Disappearance of an Ethnic Group* (The Northern World. North Europe and the Baltic, c. 400–1700 AD. Peoples, Economies and Cultures 57), Leiden & Boston: Brill 2012, ISBN9789004212473, xxviii + 588 pp., index and illustrations.

Until its disappearance from the European map during the so-called Partitions of Poland in the second half of the eighteenth century, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was not only one of the largest polities on the European continent but also one of the most ethnically absorptive. Its titular "nations" were the Poles (about 40–50 % of the total) and Lithuanians who had formed this state in 1569 by a treaty known as the Union of Lublin. But beyond these two, the Commonwealth (Polish *Rzeczpospolita*) had among its residents a great variety of other "nations," among them the Scots, who are the focus of Bajer's superbly researched study that covers about two early modern centuries in real time. In numerical terms, the Scots were probably a relatively small "ethnic group" (as Bajer terms them), numbering in the 1640s about 4,000 to 7,000 individuals in a total Commonwealth population of about 11 million (which also included, beyond the three groups mentioned, Jews, Ruthenians, Baltic Germans, Armenians, Tatars, Italians, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Magyars, Transylvanians, Czechs, Croats, Valachians, Flemings, Walloons, and Swedes [p. 65]). Aggregate numbers for these subpopulations are now and probably will remain estimates since archival sources do not permit greater precision. Moreover, the number of Scots in the 1640s was probably the maximum ever reached, since the first century of their presence was one of growth, and the second a long period of decline. At its base, the story Bajer tells therefore has a beginning and an end, with the former in the second half of the fourteenth century (p. 4) and latter coming in the last decades of the eighteenth century when "the Scots ceased to exist as a separate ethnic group and [...] many became unaware of their origins altogether" (p. 352). For the centuries between, Bajer has offered the reader a punctiliously researched group portrait covering virtually every aspect of the collective life of the Commonwealth Scots. This is a remarkable accomplishment in view of the linguistic requirements of the subject. The diversity of languages (some archaic) in the Commonwealth's archival sources probably exceeds that of other early modern European societies, the Commonwealth having been not only multi-ethnic but also multi-lingual, with its documentary record prone to transform Scottish (and other foreigners') names and surnames into Germanic, Slavic, or near-Slavic forms. The resuscitation for the purpose of serious analysis and description of a long-gone "ethnic group" that arrived in north-central Europe from an island on the western edge of the continent is therefore an admirable achievement indeed.

The book begins with a lengthy review of the current scholarship concerning Scottish migration to the Commonwealth and the sources available for it. Understandably, much of this previous work was done by Polish scholars as part of the "national" history of Poland-Lithuania, but a number of spe-

cialized article-length studies exist in the English language as part of Scotland's "national" history (including earlier work by Bajer himself). Thereafter, in Chapter 2 the author turns to the question of Scottish motives for leaving their homeland ("push" and "pull" mechanisms) and considers the role of demographic pressures, low living standards, the persistence of religious conflicts and wars, plagues, and inheritance practices (these latter touching on the inevitable question of "younger sons"). The exploration of these topics is judicious, and, given the long period involved, all the mentioned factors played a role at some point. The receiving country—the Commonwealth—is considered in turn: its demographic capacity for absorbing foreigners, the opportunities for commerce and trade that indigenous peoples were not able to exploit fully, the Commonwealth army's needs for skilled leaders, religious freedom, and the structure of the migration itself, in which the author finds elements of both chain and cyclical movement. Chapter 3 deals with the complicated questions of scale, size, and long-term patterns, bringing parish register sources into the discussion as an original contribution. Many of the older estimates were based on travellers' accounts, but Bajer is able to add precision by using Commonwealth records that listed the presence of Scots after arrival. The inflow of Scots began in the medieval centuries and shrank to a trickle in the eighteenth century, reaching its zenith in the middle decades of the seventeenth century when, evidently, the number of Scots in the Commonwealth could be estimated as between 5,000 to 7,000 individuals. In spite of the careful handling of this question, the author has to conclude that "it must be accepted that it is impossible to establish a precise number of Scottish immigrants in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at any given period" (p. 114). Certainly one reason for this is demonstrated in the compendium (about 150 pages) of reprinted lists of names in the book's appendices. Here we see one of the problems scholars faced: the listings, prepared by various Polish-Lithuanian scribes of the early modern period, routinely converted Scottish surnames into other forms, so that, for example, *Dunbar* becomes *Dabar*, *Shanks* becomes *Szyng*, *Green* becomes *Greig*, and *Sinclair* becomes *Senkler*. Not all names are converted in this way, and there are other indicators of "nationality," but the quest for precision remains. Chapter 4 considers in detail the geographic origins of the migrants within Scotland (Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire dominate) and examines in turn all the identifiable socio-economic groupings participating in the migrations: tradesmen and small-scale merchants (both men and women—the latter possibly about 30 % of the total), mercenaries, academics and scholars, clergymen, as well as persons who were not properly speaking migrants but had been sent by Scottish enterprises as representatives to the Commonwealth. Numerically, dominance is had by those whom the author calls "subsistence migrants"—the people simply seeking opportunities for a better life—and the skilled and business-oriented persons ("betterment migrants"), these being "young, single, and upwardly mobile" (p. 134). These and, in fact, all the various categories overlap somewhat, but together they distance the collective portrait away from the traditional stereotype of the Scottish migrant simply as "vagrant." Chapter 5 considers the life of the Scottish arrivals after settlement in the host country. There was some hostility toward them, especially among natives in the same lines of work the Scots took up, but not very much. By the seventeenth century,

Scottish names could be found in the lists of practitioners in virtually every occupation: one analysis lists some 63 different occupations in which they were involved (p. 181). Not every Scotsman remained in the same occupation forever: there were failures, bankruptcies, and changes both in work and venue of work. But there were also fortunes built in one generation; the commercial acumen of some of the Scots caught the eye of the Crown, and these exceptional immigrants were granted special status that released them from subordinate jurisdictions and enlarged their scope of business operations. Long-term Scottish residents of the Commonwealth, of course, sought to regularize their standing by seeking citizenship (pp. 186–189), a complicated process that required petitions and fulfillment of a host of requirements; the wealthier Scots found this task easier than the less well-endowed. Analysis of a variety of tax and name lists suggests that the economically active Scottish population was stratified in terms of income and professional standing. Of great significance in this respect were the Scottish "brotherhoods:" contemporary sources report that "many Scots banded together for mutual protection in trade union-like organizations [...] which existed in more than twelve cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth" (p. 210). Though these were in principle "nationality-based" and thus relatively open, documents indicate that they were dominated by settled, wealthy merchants, which in turn suggests to the author that "the Scottish oligarchy had an aspiration to subordinate and rule over their less successful and less settled peers" (p. 212). Over time the "brotherhoods" became less commercially oriented and took on the character of "ecclesiastical associations."

Chapter 6 deals with the religious faith of the Scots immigrants and the churches they belonged to. Their loyalty was to Protestantism and the Scottish brand of Calvinism within the Protestant movement. In the main, their faith met with toleration in largely Catholic Poland-Lithuania, but levels of toleration varied throughout the country (p. 234), being highest in urban areas. In city, town, and rural areas, most of the immigrants joined close-knit congregations and remained active members for life; some congregations even earned the patronage of influential noble families such as the Radziwiłłs. Worship with co-nationals helped to maintain a Scottish identity in the long run. The war with Sweden (1655–1660) and the accompanying Swedish invasion of Poland-Lithuania, however, had the long-term effect of placing Protestant congregations under a cloud of suspicion as collaborators with the enemy, and Bajer believes that this introduced an "irreversible" break between Calvinism and Catholicism. In fact, some Scots followed the Swedes out of the Commonwealth as the latter withdrew by the end of the war.

Chapter 7 investigates the related subjects of integration and assimilation, intertwined processes that by the end of the eighteenth century had resulted in the Scots "disappearing" in some sense (p. 352). The slow but seemingly inexorable absorption of a relatively small but culturally distinct subpopulation into a much larger dominant population is a universal phenomenon, and in early modern European society, movement across political borders and settlement in new homelands was more frequent than traditionally has been thought. Bajer handles this difficult topic by means of a close study of genealogies of the better-known Scots—mostly the "nobility"—and examines the processes of naturalization (gaining citizenship), ennoblement (obtaining noble status

within the Commonwealth, frequently for military service), and the formation of familial and kin ties between prominent Scots and Commonwealth families through intermarriage. The latter was not as frequent as might be expected, and, in fact, the upper-level Scots tended prominently toward endogamy. At the same time, those who attained citizenship and ennoblement tended to marry afterwards in the opposite direction and drew closer to their Polish-Lithuanian socio-economic peers. Still, ethnic identity could be maintained for more than a few generations. As the author summarizes, there was no single reason for the "disappearance" of the Scots from the Commonwealth by the end of the eighteenth century. Remigration, conversion to Roman Catholicism, assimilation through intermarriage, admission to the indigenous Commonwealth nobility, acceptance of civil rights, and settlement in the more remote parts of the Commonwealth were all factors in the process: such dynamics, operating among the prominent no doubt were present also among the less prominent (p. 352). The book's narrative ends with a tightly-knit summary of the main uniting argument of the earlier chapters: that only the full utilization of the archival sources leads to a satisfying portraiture of how a subpopulation that relocates to another, much larger, society, persists as an identifiable ethnic group there for a number of generations, but in the course of time merges into it and with it. Operating in past time, the human component of such macro-processes will reveal itself only through patient examination of manuscript sources, careful inference from the empirical evidence thus gained, knowledge of all the languages (living and archaic) used by the actors, and the reexamination of the stereotypical accounts of migrants left by contemporary observers in the old and the new homelands.

The coexistence of "nations"—that is, culturally and linguistically distinct subpopulations—in the lands of early modern Europe and especially in the large and sprawling heterogeneous dynasties such as the Commonwealth was not unusual in itself. Territorial expansion, recruitment of foreigners for various purposes by central governments, and normal migration motivated by search for a better life all brought together into a single polity a variety of groups that wise rulers could manage and administer to serve the ends of the state. In the region examined by Bajer, the "nation-state," strictly defined, was a polity of the future; a defining language, a "national" consciousness, exclusionary understanding of national belonging came much later. Bajer's careful study can easily serve as a model of how to study the composition of these early modern multi-ethnic states, especially those of their components that were added to them by the process of migration. The reviewed volume is even more valuable because the task is a particularly difficult one, involving, as it does in the case of the Scots in the Commonwealth, a population that survived and was replenished over the early modern centuries but then disappeared from view well before modern times.

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Oskar Bandle, *Die Gliederung des Nordgermanischen. Reprint der Erstauflage mit einer Einführung von Kurt Braunmüller* (Beiträge zur nordischen Philologie 47), Tübingen & Basel: A. Francke Verlag 2011, ISSN 16612086; ISBN 9783772084164, xxv + 117 pp., 24 maps.

This is a new edition of Oskar Bandle's epoch-making survey work from 1973, and will therefore be dealt with only briefly here. As is well known the author tries in this work, based on his empirical language material, to divide the North Germanic area into smaller areas, a not quite easy endeavour. The division is made above all on the basis of the innovations arising in different periods, and indicates the author's exceptionally extensive knowledge of the Nordic dialects. He studies western, eastern and southern innovations and also deals with what he calls "nördliche Entwicklungen." Innovations are uncovered and the distribution is analysed down to the last detail. Bandle decides on a North Scandinavian, a South Scandinavian and a West Scandinavian area. Even if the material on which the survey is based has been shown to be wrong in some cases (for example by Kristian Ringgaard), and in addition individual standpoints and the division can be discussed for good reasons (as has been done by Gun Widmark), a pan-Nordic view is taken here, mobilising features in the phonology and morphology, and to some extent in the syntax as well, and features in the lexicon. The presentations on the maps are generally of high class, although there is reason to make some modifications of details. As Kurt Braunmüller points out in his introduction (p. VII), Bandle's work constitutes "die bislang *letzte Summa der traditionellen* (europäischen) *Dialektologie*, die zum skandinavischen Raum als Ganzem vorliegt und die – und dies erscheint mir wesentlich – eine *zusammenhängende* wie *eigenständige Sichtweise* präsentiert." The book also contains a list of Bandle's publications and in any case the major part of the commemorative words that were dedicated to him on his death.

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Britt-Louise Gunnarsson (ed.), *Language of Science in the Eighteenth Century*, Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton 2011, ISBN 9783110255058; e-ISBN 9783110255065, XI + 365 pp.

In the Linnaean year 2007 a symposium was held at Uppsala University on "Languages of Science in the Time of Linnaeus." The symposium was arranged by Hans Helander and Britt-Louise Gunnarsson. Most of the contributions in this volume were presented on this occasion. The editor gives an introduction to the volume, in which among other things the scientific dissemination of ideas and scientific writing of the eighteenth century are presented, and naturally not least Carl Linnaeus is focused on. The 17 contributions in the volume fall into four sections. The first section collects contributions under the heading "The Forming of Scientific Communities." Charles Bazerman describes from a socio-constructivist perspective the origin of and prerequisites for the early scientific publication in Europe. He points in his essay also forwards to the modern research universities. Gunilla Gren-Eklund gives an initiated account of philology in eighteenth century Europe, not least in Sweden, paying particular attention to Johan Ihre. Ulf Teleman deals with the language policy and language

practice that developed in the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, which was founded in 1739 and which from the very beginning had decided that Swedish should be used in the printed proceedings. The second section deals with the origin and development of scientific language in the eighteenth century. Renata Schellenberg writes here about "scientific literacy," which developed in eighteenth century Germany. Anna Helga Hannesdóttir deals with the development of Swedish into a scientific language and refers to the parts of the language planning process that Einar Haugen has defined by means of the concepts 'selection–codification–implementation–elaboration;' the article relates also to Linnaeus' linguistic contributions. Lars Wollin describes "the early modern emergence of a professional vernacular variety in Sweden," a study implemented at the lexical level, where among other things words formed together with a number of Latin prefixes are focused on. Richard Sörman's contribution deals with Carl Linnaeus and Georges Louis Leclerc de Buffon, who competed with each other. Philippe Selosse writes from a rich perspective about Linnaeus' botanical nomenclature. What the dissemination of ideas was like in the eighteenth century is dealt with by the contributors in the third section of the book, and contacts in several directions are brought to the fore. Ann-Mari Jönsson writes about Linnaeus' correspondence with botanists in a number of European countries. Linnaeus' importance for *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1771) is dealt with by Rosemarie Gläser, who shows that his ideas were well received in Great Britain. In a fascinating contribution Kenneth J. Knoespel describes Linnaeus' Russian dissertations and his Russian contacts. In the last article of this section Palmira Fontes da Costa writes about the introduction of the Linnaean classification in Portugal. The fourth section deals with various aspects of scientific writing in the eighteenth century. Carl Linnaeus' position in the Swedish history of language is elucidated in an interesting way by Bo Ralph. Two of Linnaeus' texts, *Fundamenta Botanica* (1736) och *Philosophia Botanica* (1751), are focused on in Han-Liang Chang's article, while Swedish gardening literature is text linguistically analysed by Andreas Nord. The last two articles deal with medical texts: Britt-Louise Gunnarsson describes a Swedish corpus that is analysed within a socio-constructivist framework, while Päivi Pahta discusses medical texts in English. The texts of the book present a multitude of linguistic perspectives—textlinguistic, sociolinguistic, stylistic perspectives etcetera—but in the anthology aspects of the philosophy of language and the history and sociology of science are also represented. All in all this is a comprehensive anthology.

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Wilhelm Heizmann & Morten Axboe (Hrsgg.), *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit. Auswertung und Neufunde* (Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit 4.3), Berlin & New York: De Gruyter 2011, ISSN 18667678; ISBN 9783110224115; e-ISBN 9783110224122, XIV + 1024 pp. + 102 "Tafeln."

This impressive work is focused on the gold bracteates of the Migration Period and contains a profound presentation of new finds and a survey of what is known, or in any case be-

lieved to be known, of this important group of finds. This is volume 4.3 in the series *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit*. Volumes 1–3 are an iconographic catalogue (1985–1989), volume 4.1. Morten Axboe's *Herstellungsprobleme und Chronologie* (2004) and volume 4.2 Alexandra Pesch's *Thema und Variation. Die Formularfamilien der Bilddarstellungen* (2007). The present work is reminiscent of the now late pioneer Karl Hauck's spirit—the book is also dedicated to him and Ilse Hauck—, whose study *Goldbrakteaten aus Sievern. Spätantike Amulett-Bilder* (1970) constitutes a milestone in the area. In the work to be presented here twelve studies have been collected together with a catalogue of new finds. A survey of the research on bracteates is given by Charlotte Behr, who demonstrates a multifaceted and multidisciplinary research area, where Hauck's achievements are visualised, not least in the methodological area. Some remaining research problems are also noted in Behr's article. Two contributions by Hauck are included in the volume. The first is entitled "Machttaten Odins" and makes a survey of fundamental issues and methods in the field. The figurative language in Late Antiquity is described here, the use of mediaeval Nordic texts in the interpretation is discussed, as is the interpretation of the runic texts on the bracteates in relation to the pictures. The other article by Hauck is also focused on methodology and theory and includes concretely the interpretation of the so-called *Drei-Götter-Brakteaten* with Wodan/Oden, Balder and Loki. Then there are articles on the bracteates in time and space. Martin Axboe deals with the chronology of bracteates with inscriptions, and thinks that he is able to discern different groups. Alexandra Pesch focuses on the central places and the contact patterns—in other words the cooperation and the competition—in the prehistoric society that can be understood through studies of gold bracteates. On a map (p. 244) it is shown where these central places may have been situated in Southern Scandinavia and Northern Germany. Klaus Düwel and Sean Nowak analyse in a joint article a small number of texts on the bracteates, the semantically readable inscriptions. The importance of an independent—one might almost say "rigorous"—text analysis is emphasised here, which is felt to be methodologically well justified. A summary of the research on the formulaic words on the gold bracteates—such as **alu, laÞu, laukaR, ota**—is made in Wilhelm Heizmann's study, which accounts for a research discussion that has been going on for a long time. In one article Klaus Düwel discusses the letter and alphabet magic, touching on the gold bracteates' function as amulets. Gunther Müller deals with the names, including among other things a discussion of a corpus with a number of possible examples of names. The so-called "I" formula on the bracteates is also discussed by Müller. Name problems are also focused on in Heinrich Beck's contribution. Lutz E. von Padberg uses the gold bracteates to study how symbols belonging to Christianity are exposed on the bracteates, and Taina Dickinson studies animal ornaments in early Anglo-Saxon England. Some of the articles collected in the volume exist in previously published versions but have been updated here, and in one case an article has been included that was written a considerable number of years ago but has not until now been published, in a revised version. Morten Axboe's catalogue of the new finds—in the work on which he was

assisted by Charlotte Behr and Klaus Düwel—concludes the volume, after the reference list. The latter provides a picture of a very vital research area. For those who wish to familiarise themselves with the articles in the book in a simple way there are both German Zusammenfassungen and English Summaries. A rich pictorial material accompanies the reading. Despite the great amount of research on the area questions still remain, for example regarding the interpretation of individual words and pictures but also concerning the relation between texts and pictures. But this book collects the multidisciplinary research, and by means of the catalogue of new finds, further studies of the gold bracteates can certainly now be more easily conducted. Not least for this reason the book will be of great importance.

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Robert Nedoma, *Altisländisches Lesebuch. Ausgewählte Texte und Minimalwörterbuch des Altisländischen* (Indogermanische Bibliothek. Begründet von H. Hirt & W. Streitberg. Fortgeführt von H. Krahe. Herausgegeben von Alfred Bammesberger & Thomas Lindner. Erste Reihe. Lehr- und Handbücher), Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter 2011, ISBN 9783825359515, 291 pp.

This is the textbook that relates to Robert Nedoma's *Kleinen Grammatik des Altisländischen* (Heidelberg 2010); some printing errors in this grammar are by the way corrected in the introduction to the textbook. *Altisländisches Lesebuch* begins with a short variant narrating that "Hannes ok Gretta ganga af leið í skógi...," but shortly afterwards there are normalised texts from *Eiríks saga rauða* and *Grœnlendinga saga*. On pp. 17 ff. there is a non-normalised version of Paternoster. Then there follows a post-classical text, *Gautreks saga konungs* with a translation and a normalised excerpt from *Heimskringla*, where the skaldic verse is accompanied by a detailed interpretation. Other saga texts are then presented, from *Orkneyinga saga*, *Brennu-Njáls saga* and *Gísla saga Súrssonar*. There follows an excerpt from *Gylfaginning* with a facsimile of a line from the manuscript. In *Erex saga* there is an example of a post-classical text. Some more prose texts are followed by *Vǫlundarkviða*, which is accompanied by a translation. Of *Atlakviða* and *Hamðismál* there are however no translations. *Hjálmarsmál* is then rendered with some notes and comments. Then there follow parts of *Vǫlospá*. In one section it is demonstrated what a text may be like in manuscript, transliteration, normalisation and different translations. Some runic inscriptions are then accounted for, Gripsholm II and Karlevi. The volume is concluded with some verses from the skaldic poem *Ragnarsdrápa*. It is easy to see the progression in the volume. Both well-known texts and more unknown ones are placed beside each other in the textbook, which is advantageous. The fact that Nedoma chose to include two East Nordic runic inscriptions can surely be defended by these texts having definite qualities, but in addition the West Nordic area could also have been allowed to contribute some interesting inscriptions (cf. the review of Michael Schulte in NOWELE vols. 64/65, 2012, p. 240 f.). In every separate case the texts are provided with information about the time of origin, the manuscripts (or, in some cases, the runic inscriptions) dealt with and

the text editions referred to, which is gratefully noted, and in the comments there is information that facilitates the reading. The dictionary part, a *Minimalwörterbuch*, as it is called, contains words with grammatical information and German translation. In the part listing names, there are first different individual names, then collective names of ethnic groups, families, dynasties etcetera, then a section with "Bionyme," that is names of animals (such as the hell hound *Garmr*) and plants (the world tree *Yggdrasill*), place-names and finally so-called ergonyms (names of things, such as *Gjallarhorn* and *Brimir*). As we have seen, this textbook provides information about the manuscripts and the texts, which is good—it might even have included more of this material. I also think that the comments could have been even more generous and some more texts could have been provided with translations. But how useful a book like this is in the end will not be proved until it has been used in practice in concrete teaching situations. I gladly pass on the exhortation in the introduction—*Tolle lege*, *tolle lege*! ['Take up and read!'].

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Michael Schulte & Robert Nedoma (eds.), *Language and Literacy in Early Scandinavia and Beyond* (NOWELE. North-Western European Language Evolution. Vols. 62/63, October 2011), Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark; Volda University College 2011, ISSN 01088416; ISBN 9788776745912, 442 pp.

In this double issue of NOWELE a number of articles have been collected under the joint heading "Language and Literacy in Early Scandinavia and Beyond." The introduction to the volume does not really account for any precise programme declaration, but one of the articles states that the contributors had been invited to participate in "methodische[n] Reflexionen zur Sprachgeschichte von unten, die für das Altgermaniche/Altskandinavische relevant sind oder sein können" (p. 249). To some extent this provides frameworks, albeit wide, for the theme of the book. The two editors contribute an essay each. Michael Schulte examines systematically the early Scandinavian legal texts and argues that there are no convincing examples of a pre-literary metric composition of these laws. The study is interesting not least methodologically, for example in its discussion of how different stylistic features can be assessed. Robert Nedoma deals with personal names on fibulae produced in the period from about 200 to 700, and accounts for both spatial and socio-onomastic standpoints. Elmar Seebold's essay "Typologische Chronologie der ältereren nordischen Runen" leads us into a currently ongoing research discussion in the journal's columns (cf. NOWELE vols. 56/57, 2009; vols. 60/61, 2011) Seebold argues among other things that the younger runic alphabet should be seen as a new use of the script, "[d]ie Entwicklung einer in wesentlichen Punkten neuen Kulturtechnik" (p. 147). An interesting literacy perspective on the runic inscriptions is found in Martin Hannes Graf's article "Schrift, Sprache und was dazwischen liegt. Zur Materialität epigraphischer Schriftlichkeit der ältesten Runeninschriften." We know fairly little, however, about the societal frameworks of the writing and use of writing—the convention—in this period. Lisbeth M. Imer writes about the dating and the spa-

tial distribution of the oldest runic monuments in the Nordic countries. Oliver Ernst's and Stephan Elspaß' article elucidates work with a history of language from below, and deals concretely with "althochdeutsche Glossen," but the article has a more general theme than that. Peter Trudgill presents in his study of copulae "language-contact speculations in first-millennium England." But the perspectives are widened even more; thus Theo Vennemann's controversial thesis of a Mesolithic "Europa Vasconica" is discussed. Based on an interesting source material Jonas Wellendorf deals with pragmatic translations in the West-Nordic area. Anatoly Liberman's article has the heading "A Short History of the God *Óðinn*," but is in reality a voluminous study (80 pages) that in a many-sided way deals with the figure of *Woden* and the changes of it and the derivation of the name of the god. The article is reasoning and discusses previous investigations—made within different research paradigms—from different periods. This is very meritorious, since in the treatment of such a thoroughly studied subject as this it is necessary to understand why different results have been obtained in different "schools" in the search for the deity's background and the basis of his name. Liberman's contribution is in this way interesting from the point of view of methodology and history of science. In spite of the difficult subject the article is easily readable. As a whole this special issue of NOWELE is valuable for the reader as regards the elucidation of a number of current problems in the Germanic and Scandinavian research field. The value is enhanced not least by the accounts of source materials that are found in several places in the volume. An introductory editorial text would however have made it easier for the reader to see the theme of the volume even better.

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Dieter Strauch, *Mittelalterliches nordisches Recht bis 1500. Eine Quellenkunde* (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. Hrsg. von Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich & Heiko Steuer. Band 73), Berlin & New York: De Gruyter 2011, ISSN 18667678; ISBN 9783110250763; e-ISBN 9783110250770, XXXVI + 886 pp.

This impressive work in the area of Nordic legal history has been compiled by the researcher who must be regarded as the now most prominent expert on mediaeval Nordic law, Dieter Strauch. He is emeritus professor at the Institut für Neuere Privatrechtsgeschichte, Deutsche und Rheinische Rechtsgeschichte at the University of Cologne. This comprehensive book contains a broad and well-informed description of Nordic law from the Viking Age up to the sixteenth century, and of the different sources where this law is found, thus not only law but also records and literary sources. In an introductory part the source situation is depicted and the reader is given a more general conception of the influence of Christianity in Scandinavia—which naturally also has a bearing on the legal sources—and "Die Veränderbarkeit des Rechts," where among other things Elsa Sjöholm's controversial interpretations are refuted, after which the more specific conditions in Norway, on Iceland and in Denmark and Sweden are accounted for. Sweden is dealt with in the longest section, where among other things one can read about the devel-

opment of the Church in the twelfth century, the relationship between the Church and the royal power in the thirteenth century, and many other things. A lot of detailed information is given, which is relevant for understanding the conditions of the legal history, such as concerning Skänninge Meeting in 1248 (pp. 78 ff.) and Tälje Provincial Council in 1279 (pp. 90 f.), only to mention two examples. A section on slavery and its abolition concludes this introductory presentation. There follow seven chapters in which the conditions in different states and areas are described in detail. In the first chapter on Norway there is not only an account of the Norwegian legal sources but there are also sections on the conditions on the Faroe Isles (among other things *Seyðabrævið* and *Hundabrævr*), the Orkney Islands, Shetland (Hjaltland) and the Hebrides, the Isle of Man and Ireland. The chapter on Iceland and Greenland describes among many other things the Icelandic conditions in the Althing, presents *Grágás* (the Grey Goose Laws), paying attention also to language conditions, and in a short section the testimony of the Sagas. The limited information that exists about the conditions on Greenland is also presented (pp. 267–279). The third chapter deals with the Danish legal sources with Zealand, Scania and Jutland laws, urban laws and later legal sources, and the issue of Danish law in England is also included. The short chapter 4 deals with Normandy, where the traces that may exist of Norman legislation are accounted for, among other things regarding terminology (pp. 375 f.). The following chapter deals in great detail with Sweden; the chapter comprises more than 200 pages. It describes the Elder and the Younger Västgöta Law, the Östgöta Law and other Göta laws, further the Uppland Law, the Södermanna Law, the Hälsinge Law, the Guta Law, the Bjärköa Legislation, Visby Urban Law, to mention a couple of more important exemples. A short section here deals with *Forsaringen* (pp. 501 f.). The national law codes and Magnus Eriksson's urban law are accounted for. A special section deals with *Um Styrilse Konunga* and *Höfdinga*. The conditions in Finland are dealt with in a separate chapter, where not unexpectedly for example the fishing legislation is described as well as the Bjärköa legislation in Finland. The chapter touches on both the *Kvenir/Kainulaiset* and *Birkarla* problems (pp. 630 f.) and the Swedish colonisation (pp. 632 ff.). The last chapter deals with the Scandinavian legislation in Russia with a detailed description of legal sources and comparisons with the Old Swedish conditions. The book is concluded with an account of sources and literature comprising almost 140 pages. There are also comprehensive person, place and subject indexes; the last index contains a number of important lexemes in the legal sources. The book also contains a large number of maps of areas that are dealt with, not only national maps but also detailed maps of Shetland (p. 199), Sodor and Man and the Isle of Man (pp. 206 f.), Greenland (pp. 268 f.) and Russian areas (p. 670). The maps have been taken from primary sources, but the fact that they have been gathered here is valuable. Hopefully this content summary indicates the book's many-sidedness but also its depth. Literature in many languages is referred to and summarised, including some works in Finnish and Russian, and it is actually difficult to find anything that is missing in the documentation. Dieter Strauch's *Mittelalterliches nordisches Recht bis 1500*

is as already underlined an impressive work. As a reference work concerning an essential part of the Nordic mediaeval history the book will remain important for a very long time to come.

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Per-Axel Wiktorsson (ed.), *Äldre Västgötalagen och dess bilagor i Cod. Holm. B 59. Utgivna av Föreningen för Västgötalitteratur*, vols. 1–2 (Skara stiftshistoriska sällskaps skriftserie 60), [Skara]: Föreningen för Västgötalitteratur 2011, ISBN 9789197807913; 9789186681005, 264 + 313 pp.

As we know, the Elder Västgöta Law is one of the most important sources from the Swedish middle ages. It is then not strange that this Old Swedish text has been published no less than ten times, and has in addition been translated eight times, four of which (1883, 1923, 1924, 1946) into Swedish. When Per-Axel Wiktorsson took on the task of publishing the law text, he wanted to publish the complete manuscript in question, that is Cod. Holm. B 59, in which the Elder Västgöta Law is included. In addition he wanted to publish both the facsimile and the text edition and translation in one connection, and in the translation he had the ambition to position himself as close to the original as possible, not only regarding wording but also concerning the division of the text on pages and lines. He also felt that it was important to clarify the different involved scribes' contributions—this is after all Wiktorsson's expert area. As luck would have it the publisher was given a free hand to work with the publication on this basis, and the result is praiseworthy. In his introduction in Part 1 the publisher gives a brief but well organised and highly interesting account of the manuscript's contents, use and history and above all of its scribes. In this last-mentioned section Wiktorsson distinguishes Vidhemsprästen (Herr Lars), "kursivhanden" ['the italics hand'], Tyrgils Kristinesson and Lydikinus. The identification of the different handwritings in B 59 is completely different from what previous research has assumed, which is a very important contribution to the research. In his contribution in Part 1 Göran B. Nilsson conceives of the manuscript B 59 as a workbook "established by Skara cathedral chapter to serve as an aid before and during the negotiations about the Younger Västgöta Law" (p. 59); when it had served this primary purpose it came into other hands that then designed its more mixed appearance. Some of the names found in the Elder Västgöta Law's appendices, namely those referring to the common waters, are dealt with by Svante Strandberg. Among these are *loðne* for Hornborgasjön, *scaður* for Skagern and *ymsi* for Ymsen. This is included in Part 1, which however chiefly contains the facsimile edition of the manuscript in colour but also place and person indexes and a survey of the contents of the manuscript. In so far as it has been possible Part 2 contains a rendition of the manuscript based on its pages and lines on the left-hand page and a translation on the right-hand page. It is important to be given in this way a total picture of all the appendices, including texts, among many other things, about the borders of Västergötland, the doomsmen of the inhabitants of Västergötland, Christian bishops, and not least, in the later parts, Lydekinus's memoranda and Tyrgils Kristinesson's minor texts, even if there are cryptic elements in these latter parts. Wiktorsson tries to

position himself as close to the original text as possible also in the wording of the translation. The publisher does not give very many explanations of the translation in the notes, but there are some. Thus *gengärd* is translated 'goods for the bishop's maintenance, while he visits the parish' (p. 9), *tångbrink* 'seaweed slope, beach' (p. 55) and *riva* 'rake' (p. 149). The explanations could however have been even more numerous, such as for example in connection with the expression "m*edh* vmfærþ" (p. 260). More indexes, perhaps about words that are explained, would also have been greatly advantageous to the reader. But this criticism is of minor importance. That this important manuscript has now been published in its entirety, transliterated and translated is immensely valuable. The most important scholarly aspect is Per-Axel Wiktorsson's correct assessment as far as can be judged of who were involved in the origin of the manuscript. As a whole the edition is an important achievement.

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Lars Wollin (ed.), *Bilden av Budde. Studier kring en svensk språkpionjär* (Samlingar utg. av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet. Serie 1. Svenska skrifter 95), Uppsala: Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet 2011, ISSN 03475026; ISBN 9789197611862, 121 pp. [= Åbo: Åbo Akademis förlag 2011, ISBN 9789517655866.]

At the symposium "Jöns Budde – språkpionjär och samtidsaktör" ['Jöns Budde—language pioneer and leading figure of his time'], arranged at Åbo Akademi in 2008, a number of talks were given, the majority of which are published here. As is well known, the Bridgittine brother Jöns Budde worked in the Nådendal monestary in the latter part of the fifteenth century, but not very much is known about him. In the editor Lars Wollin's introduction, with the heading "Jöns Budde och eftervärlden. En presentation, en forskningsrapsodi, några spekulationer" ['Jöns Budde and posterity. A presentation, a research rhapsody, some speculations'] Budde is described in a well-informed way together with the historical background and a survey is given of the research tradition. In her contribution Kristina Nikula discusses Jöns Budde's geographical provenance, which based on the location of the language features in the texts attributed to him can, according to Nikula, be located to middle and east Österbotten and east Åland respectively, west Åboland and the coastal area of Finland Proper. Olav Ahlbäck and Eskil Hummelstedt have earlier argued for a location in Österbotten in works independent of each other, but Nikula seems perhaps somewhat more inclined to give precedence to a location in the southern Fenno-Swedish area. Nikula emphasises however the considerable methodological problems. Jonas Carlquist and Seija Tiisala deal in their contributions from different perspectives with the translation into Swedish of Honorius Augustodunensis' textbook *Elucidarius*—called *Lucidarius* by Jöns Budde—which is included in Cod. Holm. A 58. In the marginal notes of the text Carlquist thinks one can find an encyclopaedic tendency, and Budde might have wanted to produce a homiletic reference work. At the same time *Lucidarius* fulfils a pedagogical function where the needs existing among laymen may have influenced the design. Carlquist also discusses the text's detailed descriptions of the torments

to be suffered in Purgatory and Hell, while the descriptions of Paradise seem to be more toned down—Budde is maybe in his preaching a fire-and-brimstone preacher? Tiisala's study deals with hendiadyoin—where two words are used to express one and the same concept—duplication and expansion in *Lucidarius*. Examples of word duplication in Budde's translation are discussed in comparison with the original work. The purpose of the duplications is twofold: to make the message more understandable through conscious redundancy and to find more complete expressions for abstract Latin words at the same time as they are concretised. She summarises her study by pointing out that Budde was an inventive translator displaying a good knowledge of the semantic nuances of Latin. Marko Lamberg analyses the text *Tundalus syn och uppenbarelse*. The message seems here to be admonitory, since a "message of obedience" is formulated for the monastery sisters. Marginal notes show an interest in the torments of Hell. There is for example the intense vision of Hell where monastery brethren become pregnant and give painful birth to monsters—this text seems to direct "a clearer admonition to brethren than to nuns, since condemned monastery brethren are deprived not only of eternal bliss but also of their masculinity", as it is put by Lamberg (p. 85). In Wollin's introductory text the translation perspective is emphasised among other things and Budde's role in the history of the Swedish language is underlined. "Present-day colleagues in the Swedish fraternity of translators have called Budde 'our first professional'" (p. 29). Thanks to this book "the Picture of Budde" has become somewhat clearer at any rate.

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The languages of publication are English, French or German.

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The manuscript should be accompanied by a separate sheet with a brief note on the contributor (50 words), institutional address, e-mail address, telephone and fax numbers and an abstract of no more than 200 words plus 10 or fewer keywords.

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Use indentation instead of a skipped line to mark the beginning of a new paragraph.

Notes should be numbered consecutively through the text and collected at

the end of the article as endnotes.

3. References

Book

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

Edited book

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

Journal

Roesdahl, E. (1998). "L'ivoire de morse et les colonies norroises du Groenland," *Proxima Thulé. Revue d'études nordiques*, 3, pp. 9–48.

Chapter in edited book

Ränk, G. (1985). "The North-Eurasian background of the Ruto-cult," in *Saami Pre-Christian Religion. Studies on the Oldest Traces of Religion among the Saamis* (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion 25), eds. L. Bäckman & Å. Hultkrantz, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, pp. 169–178.

Conference proceedings

Fatychova, F. (2006). "Namenstraditionen unter den Baschkiren," *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Onomastic Sciences. Uppsala 19–24 August 2002*, vol. 2, Uppsala: Språk- och folkminnesinstitutet, pp. 89–95.

Newspaper

Palm, G. (1969). "De söp, dansade och älskade i vår märkligaste religiösa väckelse" ['They got drunk, danced, and made love in our most astonishing religious revival'], *Göteborgsposten* 12 October.

"Lärarinna säger upp sig för att flyga med kristallarken" ['Woman teacher resigns in order to fly with the crystal ark'], unsigned article in *Aftonbladet* 10 March 1935.

Electronic media

Grace, S. (2003). "Performing the Auto/Biographical Pact. Towards a Theory of Identity in Performance [paper delivered to ACTR conference, May 2003];" www.english.ubc.ca/faculty/grace/THTR_AB.HTM#paper; access date.

Unpublished dissertation

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

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

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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