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A page from the Swedish vicar Jonas A. Nensén's (1791–1881)
notations of Sami words in northern Sweden (Uppsala University
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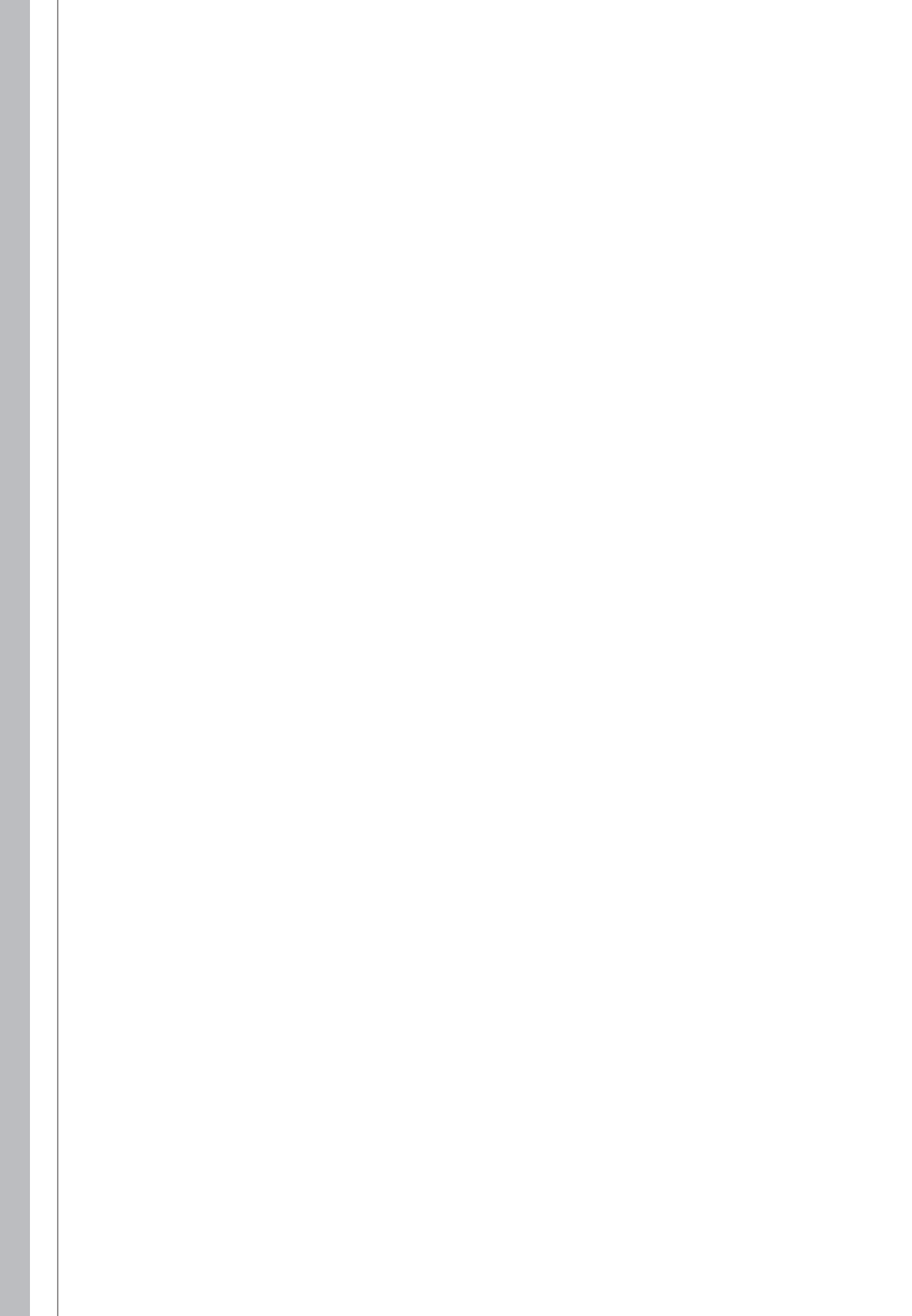
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HENRIK LÅNG, ERLAND MÅRALD & CHRISTER NORDLUND

Making Wilderness

An Inquiry into Stig Wesslén's Documentation and Representation of the Northern Swedish Landscape

ABSTRACT The present article explores images of the Northern Swedish landscape, produced and mediated by Stig Wesslén (1902–1987) in the 1930s and 1940s. Trained as a forester, Wesslén gradually turned into a documentarist, focusing on the wilderness, notably big birds, predators and the mountain range in Lapland. Along with making a number of ambitious movies and embarking on intensive lecture tours, he was an active debater and writer and published six, richly illustrated books. These careers were interwoven, partly for practical reasons; income from lecturing and journalism financed his filmmaking and gave him time to write his books. It is argued in the article that Wesslén was driven by a strong feeling for wilderness and that he was against the way modern civilization exploited nature. The goal of his documentary work was ultimately to raise public awareness regarding the state of nature and he may thus be seen as a link between the preservationists of the early twentieth century and the environmentalists of the 1960s. In order to reveal the true essence of nature, Wesslén developed a “scientific” documentary technique, which he called “camera hunting.” The idea was to use the best camera equipment possible that would allow him to observe nature at a distance, not disturb the natural order of things, and present authentic images. Yet, as the article shows, Wesslén sometimes anthropomorphized the animals and also dramatized nature in many of his works.

KEYWORDS Stig Wesslén, nature documentary, wilderness, Lapland, critique of civilisation, “camera hunting”

Introduction

Popular depictions of the natural world in texts, photographs and movies have had an enormous influence on people's image of nature, and the northern Swedish space with its landscape and mountain ranges, are no exception. Swedish documentarians, including Borg Mesch, Kai Curry-Lindahl, Jan Lindblad, Edvin Nilsson, Bo Landin and Yngve Ryd have all made significant contributions in this field. Another documentarian who deserves mention as a particularly interesting member of this company is Stig Wesslén (1902–1987). At its peak in the mid-twentieth century, the extent and variety of his productivity was indeed impressive. Along with making a large number of movies and embarking on intensive lecture tours both within and beyond the borders of the country, he was an active debater and writer producing six, richly illustrated books for a prestigious publishing house. Since his production concentrates for the most part on the forests, mountains and wildlife of northern Sweden, Wesslén's contribution to the image of the north is well worth in-depth analysis.

Although nature documentaries, and movies in particular, have enjoyed a large audience from their very inception, and nature photography and videotaping has today become something of a national pastime, making a significant impact on our perception of nature and the state of the environment, research into the genre is surprisingly limited. Internationally, and especially in the US, the history of the nature documentary has been studied in depth (Bousé 1998; Mitman 1999; Bousé 2000; Vivanco 2002; Dunaway 2005; Horak 2006; Brower 2010; Tobias 2011; Rust *et al.* (eds.) 2012). As Bousé has shown, the history of wildlife film coincides with the very origin of motion pictures (Bousé 2000). Animals were often feature attractions in the very early days of cinema, but in arranged takes of tamed beasts usually shot in zoos. New technology, such as the more powerful lenses that became available in the 1920s, made it possible to film animals in the wild from great distances, and the Safari and hunting film was established as a category within wildlife movies. Another category was scientific-educational films where the scientific ambition was to show the natural world, usually with a Darwinian motif. The mid-twentieth century saw a breakthrough for the adventure narratives with the launch of Walt Disney's series "True Life Adventures" playing a key role. These shorts were characterized by their accessible story lines, in which animals were portrayed with distinctly human attributes, in the stylistic tradition of Disney's animated menagerie (Bousé 1998; Bousé 2000; Horak 2006; Tobias 2011).

Original research into the history of the nature documentary in a Scandinavian context is still thin on the ground (see however Qvist 1986; Ganetz 2004; Andersson & Eliasson 2006; Ganetz 2012). Wesslén was one of the

most renowned mid-century nature documentarians, a Scandinavian counterpart to Ansel Adams (1902–1984) in the US or Jean Painlevé (1902–1989) in France, who were of the same age as him. But in contrast to Adams or Painlevé, with the passage of time, Wesslén's accomplishments have faded almost entirely into obscurity (Furhammar 1982), only very recently becoming the subject of a more comprehensive commentary (Mårald & Nordlund 2010), but even then only in Swedish.

Wesslén is also interesting inasmuch as he represents a period in modern environmental history that is often overlooked by scholars. Both in Sweden and internationally, there is a tendency to focus on turn of the twentieth century pioneer conservationists and advocates of the breakthrough of ecological politics and consciousness from the late sixties onwards. In Sweden, the first conservation laws, the first national parks and the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation were all established in 1909, inspired by a similar development in the US and in Germany. In the sixties, a similar leap forward occurred when natural resource and environmental protection legislation was passed and the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency was established. There is, however, historical continuity between these periods and studies of the transition between them contribute to creating a broader and better historical understanding of modern conservationism and environmentalism (Kylhammar 1990; Kylhammar 1992; Linnér 2003; Anselm 2004; Mårald 2008; Sörlin 2011; Lundgren 2011). Yet to date, the significance of visual and documentary techniques in mediating a deeper public understanding of nature in this period has generally, in a Swedish context, been most notable by its absence.

By combining approaches from environmental history, media history, and history of science and ideas the present article aims to explore the image of nature and examine the attitude to the relationship between nature and society mediated by Stig Wesslén, along with the painstaking manner in which he sought to portray it. We have asked the following questions: What aspects of nature did Wesslén choose to highlight? How did he manage to carry out his costly, complicated projects? How did he keep a balance between the popular entertainment and scientific documentation roles of the natural film genre? How were his results received in Sweden and abroad? Furthermore, we intend to locate Wesslén's accomplishments in their chronological context but also relate him to a particular school of thought in modern environmentalist thinking.

We have chosen to limit the parameters of this article to Wesslén's production during the 1930s and 1940s, during which time he developed his documentary method, formulated his basic tenets about nature and combined writing with photography and filmmaking in a dynamic manner.

This impressively creative period culminated in the film *I Lapplandsbjörrens rike* ['In the kingdom of the Lapland bear'] (1940), which is considered his *chef-d'oeuvre*. Another reason to focus on Wesslén and on this period, is that it precedes the breakthrough of the better-known Swedish wildlife filmmaker, Arne Sucksdorff (1917–2001) (Barnouw 1993). Since Wesslén and Sucksdorff represent different approaches towards the making of wildlife films, a study of Wesslén provides a broader perspective on the establishment of such films in Sweden.

Aside from Wesslén's documentary production—articles, films and books—the present article is based on a wealth of source material in the form of diaries, correspondence and press cuttings from the period under investigation, kept at Ájtte, the Swedish Mountain and Sami Museum in Jokkmokk.

A Life in the Service of the Nature Documentary

Before delving deeper into his rich production, we would first like to introduce Wesslén himself and give a brief overview of his work and its context. Stig Wesslén was born in Stockholm in 1902. After graduating from high school in Västerås, he served lengthy forestry internships in the 1920s. This practice made a formative impression on the young man; it was during this time he began taking photographs of the wildlife he encountered, primarily avian, awakening a passion for conservation and concern for the precarious situation of the great birds of prey (Lundström & Wesslén 2010; Olsson 2010). Field training was a prerequisite for acceptance to the two-year forester program offered by the School of Forestry in Stockholm, which Wesslén began attending in 1928 and which provided him with both a theoretical and practical education in forestry, hunting and biology.

Wesslén started to write for a wider public as early as 1925, when he published an article in *Svenska Jägareförbundets tidskrift* ['Magazine of the Swedish hunting association'] that accounted for the habits of the osprey, based on studies and photographs taken from a camouflaged blind on top of an observation tower. By the end of the decade, he was regularly contributing articles to the forest journal *Skogen* ['The forest'] and to the national daily *Svenska Dagbladet*, on black grouse, capercaillie, the draining of the wetlands, the devastating consequences of poaching and the deforestation that so deeply worried him (Lång & Nordlund 2010).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, contemporary animal protection and hunting legislation made few concessions to nature conservation in a general sense. Animal protection in Sweden focused on domesticated animals with the primary aim of preventing unnecessary suffering in individuals, rather than the preservation of entire species. Seed- and in-

sect-eating birds were the exception to this rule, their long association with positive values warranting protection in the minds of legislators. Larger wild birds were however not considered to be in any danger and the hunting of some species was, in fact, encouraged by the law (Lundgren 2009). During the 1920s approximately one hundred owls, a dozen eagles and as many as 15,000 hawks were shot and killed in Sweden each year (Bernes & Lundgren 2009).

This situation was, according to Wesslén, deeply problematic. He insisted that poaching and the mass felling policy of the forestry industry were having a serious impact on already decimated or endangered species. The most outrageous thing, readers were informed, was the fact that demands for nature and wildlife protection fell on deaf ears as far as hunters and foresters were concerned. The extinction of countless species of birds of prey was at risk of being accelerated (Lång & Nordlund 2010).

Wesslén bought his first camera during the course of his forestry studies, and slowly but surely turned into a fully-fledged documentarian. As a writer, photographer and finally film director, Wesslén was entirely self-taught, trained as it were by the network of contacts he created, comprising foresters, hunters and Sami, spread throughout Sweden, who provided him with hands-on knowledge about how to approach wild animals, sent him data on sightings and in turn were hired as assistants on his expeditions. He also made contact with a number of scientists, but these relationships were significantly more distant and formal (Danell 2010).

Immediately after gaining his degree in 1930, Wesslén headed for Laisdalen in the northern mountains to make his first movie, *Ardnas – Nordfjällens konung* ['Ardnas—the king of the northern mountains'] (1932). The expedition also resulted in newspaper reports and the book *Kungsörnarnas dal* ['The valley of the golden eagles'] (1932). He toured this movie throughout Sweden during the winter, two showings per day each preceded by a lecture. Such public speaking was to become the financial pillar of his career and he continued well into the mid-1960s. In the thirties, he also lectured frequently in Austria and Germany and could attract audiences of up to 3,500 people. He even broadcast radio lectures in German. According to his own reckoning, he lectured to some 120,000 people on the continent (Lundström & Wesslén 2010: 21).

Apparently, Wesslén's images of Northern nature, together with the macho public persona he developed, fitted the contemporary Nazi context well. His books were translated and published by the Deutsches Verlagsgesellschaft, some in several editions, and he and his pictures appeared in newspapers and magazines, such as the Nazi *N.S. Bildbeobachter* in 1934 and the propaganda magazine *Der Norden*, published by Nordische Gesellschaft

(managed by Alfred Rosenberg and Heinrich Himmler among others) in 1941. Wesslén was also keen to attend the Internationale Jagdsausstellung in Berlin in 1937, organized by Reichsforstmeister and Reichsjägermeister Hermann Göring, where the Swedish nature artist Bruno Liljefors received “der Grosse Preis Adolf Hitlers” (Wonders 2006; Sörlin 2010). Wesslén did not, however, return to Germany after this visit until after the war.

As far as we know, Wesslén was not a supporter of the Nazi ideology. Rather, it was his ideas about the importance of protecting nature from modern civilization that resonated with the German conservation and animal welfare movement of the Third Reich period (cf. Uekotter 2006). What Wesslén really thought about political matters—apart from a somewhat reactionary critique of modernization and a romantic view of nature—is in fact very difficult to say. The historian of ideas Sverker Sörlin, who has made an analysis of ideological tendencies in Stig Wessléns documentary artwork, talks about “politics in camouflage” (Sörlin 2010). He has, nevertheless, detected explicit traces of an anti-communistic attitude.

In 1934, Wesslén embarked on his next major production, a documentary on the endangered brown bear and Arctic fox. The film *I Lapplandsbjörrens rike* took six years to complete, during which time he continued to write newspaper columns, publish books and produce short films. Success for the project was long in coming, but when in the autumn of 1938 he became the first man in the world to capture the brown bear in its native habitat, it made headlines across the world (Mårald 2010).

While filming in the mountains, Wesslén got close to the local Sami population, which piqued the interest of the documentarian in him. He concluded that traditional Sami life, like the wilderness itself, was under threat from encroaching modernization. After contacting Ernst Manker (1893–1972), ethnographer and curator of the Nordic Museum in Stockholm, an ambitious film project was undertaken in order to preserve Sami culture on film. This resulted in the documentary *Från vinterviste till sommarfjäll* [‘From winter camp to summer grazing’] and the scripted drama *Sampo Lappelill*, both of which premiered in 1949. For a long time, Wesslén’s perception of the Sami reflected contemporary essentialist cultural ideas which believed that a “Laplander should act like a Laplander.” On the one hand, the Sami were considered members of a culture inferior to “the Swedish,” while on the other, they were, after all, best suited to a nomadic, reindeer-herding life in the high north. Were they to abandon this traditional way of life, their culture would inevitably wither and die. Eventually, Wesslén re-evaluated his opinion and accepted the idea that the Sami too should benefit from the advantages of modernization (Lantto 2010; Aronsson 2010; Kouljok 2010).

His ambition and meticulousness seem only to have increased with the years. The last major project on which he embarked was intended to catalogue all the regional biotopes in Sweden and a vast number of their animal inhabitants. Filming began in 1950 and resulted sixteen years later in the movie *Den levande skogen* ['The living forest']. One reason it took so long was that ten years into shooting, a new, higher quality film stock became available. Wesslén was keen to use it and discarded everything he had recorded up to that point. He was also doing everything himself and spared neither time nor effort on quality and detail. The film failed to become the success Wesslén had hoped. The critics were kind but audiences stayed home. Since it had taken so long to make, time had left him behind. With the introduction of television, audiences were no longer thronging to the local cinema to see documentaries, which also impacted on Wesslén's lecture tours (Lisberg-Jensen 2010). Wesslén made his last movie in 1970. But in 1984, he was once again in the spotlight when director Tage Danielsson used footage from *Den levande skogen* in his film version of *Ronja rövardotter* ['Ronja, the robber's daughter'], based on the Astrid Lindgren children's book of the same name. Three years later, Wesslén was dead.

In the following sections, we will first focus on Wesslén's writings and documentary books and then explore his filmmaking, notably his "scientific" documentary method. This division is made for analytical reasons; in reality, Wesslén's writing, photography and filmmaking often developed simultaneously.

Critique of Modern Civilization, Worship of Nature

The chief characteristics of Stig Wesslén's style were established at an early stage: a romantic, narrative viewpoint with concrete examples, legal paragraphs and elegant description regularly interwoven. An essay on the great snipe, for example, evolved into an encomium over nature's beauty and mystery. His vocabulary speaks volumes: the landscape of the north is "wild and grotesque" and the wilderness is portrayed as pristine, an unfamiliar source of power difficult for the human mind to access, clouded as it was by rationality and locked behind the iron doors of the machine age.

This critical stance toward modern civilization became something of a hallmark for his authorship. The attitude was far from unique among contemporary natural filmmakers internationally, especially in the US (Mitman 1999). Such opinions also existed in Sweden but were far from mainstream. In the decades that followed, the public debate on natural resources and pollution was most notable for its absence. Sverker Sörlin accurately summarizes the general, interwar consensus in the words, "The veneration of Electricity and Technology and Engineering still easily trumped the respect

shown the environment” (Sörlin (ed.) 1992: 408). Attitudes toward the forest itself, where management of the resource developed increasingly mechanical and large-scale methods after the Second World War, were similar, with clear-cutting, contour ploughing and monoculture as logical results (Kardell 2004; Enander 2007).

The polarity between nature and culture, man and pristine wilderness, recurs consistently in Wesslén’s works. In his very first book, *Träskets aristokrater* [‘The aristocrats of the marshlands’] (1930), the ruthlessness of mankind is contrasted with the serenity of nature. In a fiery tirade, stoked by poaching and mass felling, Wesslén give full reign to his outrage.

Man is a barbarian, a plunderer and murderer in a world created in balance and relative harmony, he abuses the power an optimistic Creator gave him, and when we compare the animal population now roaming our lands, with what it was a mere century ago, one cannot but wonder over the speed with which the herds have been decimated. (Wesslén 1930: 5–6.)

Harsh words, probably influenced by Wesslén’s own observations and experiences in the field. That he had learned much about the forest and the land from people who possessed so-called “traditional” ecological wisdom also seems likely (Danell 2010). However, Wesslén’s reference to a state of balance is also reminiscent of a longer tradition of nature romanticism, albeit one with dystopian undertones. While he does not offer his reader clear references to sources of inspiration or specific books, it is not difficult to find points of contact with the critical naturalist literature that emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century, particularly with *Man and Nature*, the 1864 work by American diplomat George Perkins Marsh, one of the main hypotheses of which is that the activities of mankind affect nature in a very concrete and negative manner. “Man is everywhere a disturbing agent,” he insisted. “Wherever he plants his foot the harmonies of nature are turned to discords.” Marsh’s opinion of man was pessimistic and bereft of that faith in cultural progress that otherwise so typified the era: of all organic beings, man alone was to be regarded as essentially a destructive power. Linnaeus’ *Homo sapiens* had turned into a *Homo destruens* (Uddenberg 1994: 31–32).

Despite being dense with facts, the ideas *Man and Nature* mediated spread quickly and soon took on political significance, especially in North America. By linking culture to nature and science and history, the book, according to Marsh’s biographer David Lowenthal (2003), became one of the most influential texts of its age. Like Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* (1962), it has been called a “wake-up call.” It is, however, difficult to estimate its impact on the Swedish debate; it was never at least translated. Nonetheless,

similar ideas problematizing mankind's relationship with nature were soon being expressed in Sweden, although the Swedish debate was primarily influenced by its German counterpart and especially by Hugo Conwentz (Linnér & Lohm 1995; Lundgren 2009). Among early Swedish nature conservationists the author and lecturer Karl-Erik Forsslund (1872–1941) expressed a more radical opinion. In 1914 he characterized modern man as a “mass-murderer of the rest of the earth's inhabitants, a greedy and wasteful plunderer of its treasures” (Forsslund 1914: 7). Forsslund was reacting to the ravages of industrialization, but had also been inspired to do so by German zoologist Ernst Haeckel, the man who coined the term “ecology” (Sundin 1984).

For Marsh mankind was a “destructive force,” for Forsslund a “mass murderer,” and “plunderer,” and for Wesslén, a “barbarian, a plunderer and murderer.” Obviously this was a recurring motif, but Wesslén's critique of modern civilization can also be placed in a synchronous context. In the 1930s, the project of modernizing Swedish society was well and truly underway; social reform and the push for industrialization were instilled with a glowing faith in progress. Yet it was also a turbulent time internationally, fraught with financial and political crises, in the wake of which followed a burgeoning, diverse counterculture critical of these very blessings (Conford 2001; Leppänen 2005). Some of those belonging to this movement problematized culture and values and the relationships between individuals, while others, including Wesslén, concentrated on man's relationship with nature.

Wesslén was drawn to the preservationist phalanx of nature conservationists. In Sweden, this stance was primarily taken by natural scientists. These were no critics of modernization as such, but rather calls for the hitherto “untouched” parts of nature to be conserved. The argument has both scientific and nationalistic roots (Sundin 2001). Wesslén's message is very straightforward on this point: the wilderness must be preserved, for its own sake as well as for the sake of mankind. This is the creed he wished to spread among the general public (Wesslén 1930: 7).

Literary Devices and Anthropomorphized Birds of Prey

A sense of adventure and a taste for debate fuelled Wesslén's first book, but first and foremost, it is a vivid, literary tale about a family of harriers, captured in words and pictures. It is a summer idyll in which the fledglings are always satiated, being fed “the very moment they opened wide” (Wesslén 1930: 71), interlaced with drama whenever the “aristocrats” of the marshlands, the harriers, take flight, causing the other denizens to seek shelter as they “glide over the reedy mass with assured, even strokes of their mighty wings” (Wesslén 1930: 20).

Wesslén's writing is marred by another common characteristic of na-

ture documentaries—the tendency to impose human qualities on his birds. When the long-eared owl is described as “loathed” and “despised” by the northern lapwing, he inches perilously close to the vocabulary of the child’s fable. This may partly be explained by its belonging to a literary subgenre in which all fauna and fowl are perceived as individuals, giving the story greater impact and capturing the interest and empathy of the reader (cf. Dirke 2000). In *Träskets artistokrater*, as in the books that followed it in the 1930s, this stylistic device recurs frequently enough to lead one to suspect that a deeper conviction lies behind it.

Though his first book was given a favourable reception by arts pages’ critics, several of whom praised the attractive illustrations and empathetic descriptions of nature, there were complaints about his tendency to anthropomorphize. Wesslén heeded his critics and in an article entitled “Acting like an Animal” in the daily *Dagens Nyheter* (23 October 1932), he took a more realistic approach. He rejected the theory that animals might be cruel or, for that matter, that it was even possible to endow them with human attributes. Nature quite simply deviates from the game plan drawn up by modern industrial society, and “human idiosyncrasies like nervousness, anxiety and angst” do not exist in it. Once again, Wesslén expresses his high estimation of the balanced character of the natural world.

The contrast between wilderness—often described as pristine and primal—and contemporary civilization is striking. As Darwin had made clear, there is struggle and exclusion in the animal world, but it is based on an ancient drive which modern society has lost. Any portrait of Wesslén as a critic of modern society is inevitably double-edged: the proud exponent of the latest in photographic and film technology shared the same body with the romantic contemplator of the dynamics of the wild terrain. Such ambivalence toward modernity was hardly unique; while many modernists expressed grave doubts about the new and unknown, they did not want to miss the opportunities offered (Källström & Sellberg (eds.) 1991).

Wesslén saw himself as a skilled coordinator of these somewhat contradictory perspectives. His self-apprehension as a professional seems more often than not to have been based on his conviction that he was simply the right man for the job. His various roles—photographer, author, moviemaker, lecturer—all played into the same ambition: to make a living and to disseminate knowledge and awareness of the wilderness and its inhabitants.

The Clash of Romanticism and Modern Civilization in the Mountains

In Sweden, conservationists, outdoorsmen and wilderness enthusiasts have long headed for the hills in the North, thereby charging them with a particular aesthetic and emotional value. As ethnologists Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren indicate, the mountains have come to symbolize the wild and exotic but also the lone and lofty, health-giving and purifying (Frykman & Löfgren 1979). Forsslund made his way there, and so did Wesslén, as photographer, writer and filmmaker.



Fig. 1. Stig Wesslén's media persona: a writer, lecturer and filmmaker as well as careful researcher and adventurous explorer in the northern space. Photo: Curt Götlén.

The ambitious documentary book *Kungsörnarnas dal* offers essential insight into Wesslén's romanticizing of the mountains, as does his meticulous planning and relentless search for memorable images. His pedagogy is spiced with some fairly macho jargon, making it clear, for example, that the mountains are no place "for weaklings." The phrase calls to mind Nietzsche, whose superman ideal had inspired Forsslund in the latter's image of the heroic mountain-climber (Sundin 1984). His book further interposes simplistic and, even in their own day, outdated ideas about the nomadic Sami

and the mystical mountain landscape, where the struggle for survival is a daily routine. The windswept landscape is described as stately, a field of power since time immemorial.

This is the country of the Laplander and the grand herds of reindeer, of the bear and the wolf, the home of wolverine and the golden eagle, where death teeters on every precipice and where the lot of the weak is to perish for the benefit of the strong. (Wesslén 1932: 7.)

This fixation on grand struggle, which involves all living things, signifies an extremely romanticized image of the wilderness. Wesslén's view of nature is reflected in his description of the Sami, who are declared to be mere components in a mystical wholeness. They become the primitives incorporated into a fairy tale world where reindeer bells and ceremonial drums echo far and wide over the mountain range, as the Sami sing and dance with abandon. This mythologized perception of the actual state of things feels hopelessly rococo to a contemporary reader, as it did to a number of contemporary critics. The writer and literary scholar Gösta Attorps, who had been very pleased with Wesslén's previous book, thought this one was even better and praised both the photography and wordsmithing. He did however point out one big failing, which lay in the free reign Wesslén gave to his "lamentable mysticism." The writer Harald Schiller arrived at a similar conclusion in his review in the daily *Sydsvenskan* (23 March 1932).

Their objections are understandable. Wesslén certainly over-eggs the narrative pudding. The pure, pristine and primeval—insofar as both nature and man are concerned—determines what must be protected and preserved. In a way, this attitude can be seen as the crux of Wesslén's critique of modern civilization in the thirties: it requires that a line of demarcation be drawn between nature and culture. That Sami, animals and the mountain landscape itself for that matter will allow themselves to be preserved seems a foregone conclusion, and those who, like Wesslén, have the opportunity to leave civilization behind, undergo an act of purification:

Eventually, the infernal racket of spinning wheels, which has caused millions of people to lose their natural instincts and turned them into soulless drones in a huge, dead machine also fades away. (Wesslén 1932: 31.)

Here and in subsequent works, Wesslén is both the impassioned polemicist and starry-eyed romantic. Contrast and contradiction are well-worn stylistic elements; the city languishes in the shadow of the mountains, its citizens live less authentic lives than the aboriginal population—and on the horizon, a glimmer of hope, that the drive to struggle for daily existence under the open sky can be reclaimed.

Untouched or Staged

Wesslén clearly enjoys using full-blooded imagery to bring nature to life for his readers. He also presents himself as a painstaking observer; biding his time in his camouflaged hide, he sees and photographs the wondrous details of nature. Insects, wild ducks, curlews, and ospreys pass his way. The message is simple: behold nature and be amazed. The sensation of proximity and precision is often dazzling, even if his descriptive conceits far too often tip over into melodrama.

His estimation of himself and the role of the nature documentarian was, however, not shared by all. Both his first film *Ardnas* and the book *Kungsörnarnas dal* triggered a bitter debate in the daily *Dagens Nyheter* in January of 1933. The well-known Sami pastor Gustav Park (1886–1968) initiated the dispute when he sharply criticized Wesslén's description of the Sami and local society. There was also criticism of how Wesslén filmed nature, including accusations that a merlin had been shot for encroaching on the nesting place of an osprey, and that the nest of an eagle owl had been moved to a more photogenic location, and destroyed in the process.

However, the greatest outcry was raised by the report that Wesslén had “tethered” a grass snake to a marsh harrier nest with a piece of rope in order to capture pictures of the life and death struggle. Ornithologists called his methods “animal cruelty” and insisted that his work in no way conformed to reality (13 January 1933). Wesslén responded repeatedly to this criticism, categorically denying some accusations and insisting on his honourable intention to disseminate an interest in nature in order to promote animal welfare. Eventually it was proven that some of the accusations were based in fact. Wesslén admitted that he ordered a licensed hunter to shoot “a common merlin” so that the rarer osprey might retain its nest. He had invested much time and money in filming the osprey, so shooting the intruder was an unfortunate necessity. This, he let it be known, “is the only animal I have killed or had killed since 1925.” His explanation for the incident with the grass snake was far less convincing. The fight with the marsh harrier was accurately reconstructed and “the snake was trapped and temporarily tied to a thin piece of thread” (21 January 1933). Wesslén was hardly alone in trying to rearrange nature to make it more photogenic. Throughout the history of the wildlife documentary there has been a tension between the striving for authenticity and efforts to stage the natural setting to make it more dramatic and fit established genres (Mitman 1999; Bousé 2000).

Wesslén was, however, upset by the aspersions cast on his integrity and was convinced that the criticism emanated from “a tiny clique of bookish, armchair ornithologists, too cosy to dedicate themselves to real, penetrating and substantial study of nature. My humble person has attracted their holy

wrath" (21 January 1933). This dubious reputation still remained with him when, several years later, he attempted to finance his next expedition: to film bear and Arctic fox in the mountains. His application for SEK 10,000 of state funding was denied. The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, which vetted his application, gave the following answer on 22 April 1936:

In principle, it would be improper to encourage enterprises of the present, more or less businesslike character, as they not only may fatefully disturb wildlife in general in its most fragile phases, but also because it is the rarest, nearly extinct and thus particularly vulnerable animal species that have attracted the interest of the film photographer.

Wesslén was not the kind of man to let something like that pass without comment. In a letter dated less than a month later, he refuted all criticism. The work would be performed professionally with all the required caution, he explained. A state-of-the-art camera with a quality of lens that would allow shooting at a great distance would be used in order not to disturb the animals. His sheer presence would also serve to keep poachers at bay. Despite this appeal, Wesslén received no state funding and in future, he would act with greater temperance in his role as photographer and filmmaker. Temperance was however the last adjective that could be used to describe the character of his contributions to the debate on the unchecked poaching and threat of extinction hovering over his beloved birds of prey.

An Unfair Fight against Poaching

If *Kungsörnarnas dal* was the first volley in a fierce confrontation with contemporary conservation and hunting legislation, it was but a pale foreboding of things to come. Of the two topics that captured Wesslén's interest in the first half of 1930s—studying and photographing birds of prey and the fight against poaching and the destruction of the wilderness—it was the latter that dominated his next authorial effort. The book was called *Den ojämnna striden* ['The unequal struggle'] (1933) and was presented as a dialogue between a lumberjack of the old school and a conservationist who, according to our interpretation, acts as Wesslén's alter ego. Here he lets loose his admonishing, polemical side, arguing that lumberjacks and hunters are bringing both birds and mammals to the brink of extinction at a blistering pace.

Wesslén goes as far as to claim that there is a direct connection between modern forestry and widespread poaching; lumberjacks bring rifles into the forest and shoot for sport. The fact that hunting and preservation laws were not enforced is one more unfortunate circumstance. Ethics and aesthetics ought to complement one another; an attractive fen and forest fill mankind with respect for its denizens. Perceptions of the "pristine" are interwoven

with an idea of cultivation based on achieving gradual proximity to the shy animals. Total segregation is of course impossible since study—and photography—of endangered species is another way of taking increased responsibility for their survival (Wesslén 1933).

This impassioned appeal, delivered in the form of a novel, for the preservation of Sweden's wilderness, greater restrictions on the forestry industry, and protection of forest inhabitants, along with strict enforcement of adequate hunting laws, is the most ambitious of Wesslén's conservationist texts. The narrative is carried along by visionary ecological thinking and conservationist pathos, even if it occasionally slides back into an older, preservationist tradition. As far as style and structure are concerned the book is a mix of fact, boy's own adventures and intense polemic. The conclusion is that only thoughtful behaviour in the wild can put an end to mankind's negative impact on his surroundings.

Den ojämna striden was well received by Swedish as well as Norwegian critics. But it is ironic that Wesslén's next book, *Pappa Kroknäbbs resa från Skåne till Lappland* ['Father Hookbill's journey from Scania to Lapland'] (1934), met with exclusively good reviews, for it is with this book for a younger readership, more an abridged Reader's Digest version of all his previous books, that his level of ambition appears to have been contained within a manageable format. It is just as clear, however, that novelty—and ecological tradition—has been sacrificed to a more modest and straightforward description of birds of prey. It also reminds us that Wesslén's reputation was actually built on his photographic gifts. That they were for a time also accompanied by commentary on contemporary predator and hunting issues made for an interesting combination of fiction, conservationist debate and art.

By this time, Wesslén was ready for new adventures in the wilderness. Preparations for his long, arduous expedition among the bears and film projects in Lapland were in full swing. By the mid-1930s, his polemic momentum had temporarily run out steam, but his documentarian zeal had zeroed in on a new target.

Wesslén Captures Bears on Film

An essential piece of the technical puzzle of making it possible to shoot wild bears fell into place when Wesslén bought exclusive new equipment in Germany in early 1936: camera, motor, battery box and lenses ranging up to 120 centimetres, which facilitated long-distance shots. The camera cost him a small fortune, so funding the project was his next major priority. Aside from all the necessary equipment, funds to pay for the extended stay in the field had to be found. Wesslén spent the majority of each April to Sep-

tember between 1936 and 1939 in the mountains, also undertaking shorter expeditions in wintertime. Nor was he alone. Two of his assistants appear on camera, but in fact there were often four or five of them accompanying him most of the time.

Wesslén was constantly pitching himself to possible investors. He wrote regularly about the expedition in the daily *Stockholms-Tidningen*, where the project was referred to as “the Stockholms-Tidningen Expedition to the Mountains of Lapland.” Lecture tours up and down Sweden and on the continent brought in a substantial sum during the winter months, with Wesslén taking to the podium almost every evening. During the time it took to prepare his feature, Wesslén also produced six profitable short films. Relentless production was necessary to attract the necessary capital.

Although his equipment was the best that money could buy, it still needed modification to function in the field. Wesslén had a twenty-kilo, custom-made gyroscopic tripod produced and made further camera alterations himself. During the first years in particular, his diaries describe how he spent his evenings in cabins, tents and under the stars experimenting with details and adjustments. Aside from experimenting with different qualities of film stock, apertures, distances and development techniques, Wesslén manufactured a camera hide, special transport boxes, a support tripod, remote shutter releases, sound insulated ski poles, a pump for defogging the lenses and a telescopic focus.

The equipment weighed some 150 kilos altogether and on embarking for the mountains from Stockholm by train he had a total of 250 kilos of baggage in seventeen trunks. Added to this was all the equipment and provisions sourced locally. To speak of hardship and logistical difficulties along the mountain range is no exaggeration, especially considering that the network of roads was not particularly extensive in that part of Sweden. This may be the reason filming was eventually restricted to the area between Ammarnäs and Laisdalen, although the changes made by Wesslén to his method for attempting to capture the bears on film also played a role.

From the time of his debut with *Ardnas*, Stig Wesslén was well versed in how to document courting and brooding in avian life, a period when the birds were easy to locate and relatively stationary. The method he used was simply to build hides near their nests or mating grounds and wait. In comparison, bears posed a much greater challenge. Building hides where bears were known to pass did not work. At this time, an estimated 200–250 bears were located in an area that stretched from Treriksroset to Dalecarlia in Sweden, a stretch as long as the road between Stockholm and Vienna. Were he to simply mount a camera in an ideal location and wait for a passing bear, he could find himself “sitting and waiting for years, for doomsday itself,” as

he put it in a lecture. Nor was there any kind of manual to consult on how to film a wild bear, since no one had ever done it before. This was long before useful devices for tracking and monitoring wild animals had come into use (Benson 2010).

Wesslén had no alternative to trial and error, suffering one setback after another between 1936 and 1938, including trying to wake a hibernating bear with water and creating a network of “bear stations” using animal carcasses as bait, as was reported in *Stockholms Dagblad* (21 April 1937). Even his method of moving quickly on a broad front over the terrain was abandoned when members of the expedition unexpectedly ran into bears, which were scared off before they could get their camera out (Mårald 2010).

When bear hunting resumed in September 1938, Wesslén introduced a new method, described in a lecture entitled “In the Mountains of Lapland.” The plan was now to try and adapt to the habits of the bears. While their prey slept away the day, the expedition also rested. Its member rose an hour before sunrise and hiked to a predetermined observation point as a group. Here they divided up the terrain between them and systematically tracked their respective areas with binoculars. If they failed to spot a bear, they gathered at a new position some three kilometres ahead and repeated the procedure, camera always in tow.

Success finally came. By 15 September 1938 they had spotted a bear on the other side of the Vindel River, just above the tree line on Mt. Nuolpa. Three days later, after resting a while in Ammarnäs, they headed back to the mountains. According to Wesslén’s diary, they spotted four bears after only an hour of tracking, a female and her litter, one of whom was white, which was a sensation in itself. The film team persevered all the rest of the day until Wesslén accidentally tripped and scared away the mother and her cubs when he hit the ground with a thud. The expedition continued for several weeks after this roaring success and returned for one more season, in 1939, when they captured a lone bear feasting on a reindeer cadaver in a late-winter snowstorm. The time was also used to record the expedition itself and the technology and methods employed in making the film.

At the premiere of *I Lapplandsbjörnens rike*, on Boxing Day, 1940 at the famous Grand Cinema in Stockholm, the Prime Minister and the Queen were both in the audience, indicating the national importance of his achievement. And this time, there were no dissenting voices raising the issue of the negative effect of the documentarian on wildlife.

Camera Hunt as Research

The quest for authenticity had, after the accusations of staging in 1933, become of the utmost importance to Stig Wesslén in his documentation of



Fig. 2. One of the posters that were produced by the artist Eric Rohman for the movie *I Lapplandsbjörnens rike* (1940). The text says: "The first major depiction of wilderness from our country." It captures several significant images associated with Stig Wesslén and his career: the brown bear, a bird of prey, the Sami culture, the giant camera and Wesslén's own mountain expedition together with his assistants Haldor Johansson and Edor Burman.

animals and their environment. Therefore it is only logical that the opening credits to *I Laplandsbjörnens rike* consist of a typewritten sheet of paper, which unfolds to reveal the following:

This is the authentic record of the work and experience of a zoological expedition in the wild kingdom of the mountains and valleys of Lapland. It has taken six years to complete and for the first time ever, the Swedish brown bear and Sweden's most elusive mammal, the Arctic fox, have been captured on film. The animals are unafraid and so we may follow them as they roam free and wild through our land, unaware of the presence of man.

After this, the narrator (that is, Wesslén himself) states that this is “no scripted drama with well-trained creatures displaying human characteristics, but an unadulterated portrayal of the Swedish countryside up in the north.” The purpose of the film is to show seldom-seen wildlife in its natural environment in close up, moving pictures, with the brown bear in the lead role—an experience few Swedes would otherwise ever be offered. However, the movie not only depicts nature and animal life but also the pains the expedition took to capture that unadulterated portrait. The main characters are Wesslén himself and two of his assistants, hunter Edor Burman and Sami guide Haldor Johansson. A large portion of the narrative consists of skiing over white, virgin snow, friendly moments around the campfire, and demonstrations of the mechanics behind the filming of the animals. At times, it feels like an instructional guide to the art of making nature and wildlife documentaries.

Wesslén used the contemporary term “camera hunt” to describe his methodological idea. Camera hunting was a practice that developed in the US at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth (Mitman 1999). Outdoor photographers began to use the term to emphasize that capturing pictures of birds and animals in the wild required the same skills as hunting them with a rifle. For the camera hunters, photographs had more or less the same meaning as hunting trophies (Brower 2010). This did not imply, however, that they were against the hunting and killing birds and animals; shooting with guns and shooting with cameras were just different sides of the same coin, a sign of white male dominance and control later explored by many scholars and cultural critics, including Susan Sontag and Donna Haraway, and conceptualized as the “camera/gun trope” (Lindahl Elliot 2006).

Wesslén, who was clearly against hunting for leisure and pleasure, used the term in a slightly different way. Instead of bloodshed, rifle reports and teamwork, the camera hunt according to Wesslén was benign, silent and pursued “alone” over several consecutive days. In order to succeed, one needed

to come as close to the animals in their natural habitat as possible without being noticed. This mode of hunting offered plenty of excitement but excitement was not the goal. Nor was the aim to control or dominate nature. Rather, the intention of the camera in studying and documenting nature in the wild was, as he writes in a lecture manuscript, to “unveil its essence,” which could never be achieved in a laboratory or by studying animals in captivity. Film-making unnoticed in the wild was thus, according to Wesslén, a valid branch of *research*, and each picture was a “study of animal psychology in black and white.” As Gregg Mitman has shown, the camera was used in contemporary natural history as a tool to put more distance between subject and object and in that guarantee scientific reliability and control (Mitman 1996).

Swedish professional scientists were not much impressed by this method, but neither was it embraced as an ideal by the entire nature documentary industry. Back in Sweden, the filmmaker Arne Sucksdorff grew to be a name of international repute being the first Academy Award-winning Swedish filmmaker (Furhammar 1982; Qvist 1986; Barnouw 1993). In many ways Wesslén and Sucksdorff are each other’s polar opposite: Wesslén strove to document nature in the wild, while Sucksdorff took artistic license in dramatizing and visualizing it. In order to achieve the desired results, Sucksdorff did not hesitate to use domesticated animals or even artfully arrange stuffed animals in a studio (Furhammar 1982). Chronologically, Wesslén came a few years before Sucksdorff, who debuted in 1941, by which time Wesslén already had two features and six short films under his belt, earning him bragging rights as the nature film pioneer in the country. Neither genre style nor working method had any precedents when Wesslén set out to make his first productions.

In *Det stora äventyret* [‘The great adventure’] (1954), written a few years after completing the movie of the same name, Arne Sucksdorff criticizes the camera hunt with acid in his pen, clearly addressing Wesslén. According to Sucksdorff no one can “camera hunt” himself to an artistic or scientifically accurate film. To achieve “optimal results” nature needs to be posed, where wild, half-domesticated and tame animals are blended into the film in order to approach the truth stylistically. “With the so-called ‘camera hunt,’” Sucksdorff continues,

you can only cover a small part of forest life; the overriding whole is not only artistically but also documentarily awkward and one-dimensional. For indeed, no one would maintain that a movie that truly does the animals justice can be made out of a compilation of moving, “at the nest photographs,” some scenes of the courting grounds and one or two pictures of grazing, harkening or fleeing animals. (Sucksdorff 1954: 106.)

Sucksdorff's attitude was utterly foreign to Wesslén, who viewed arranged scenes as nothing but a great hoax. Wesslén saw himself as a *scientific* documentarian. As a filmmaker and author, he slots into a tradition of nature romanticism, where the empathetic experience of nature is seen as the only way of achieving real, advanced understanding. As he said in his lecture "Kamerajakten" ["The camera hunt"]:

The photographic study of animal psychology, if I may call it that, should be conducted in such a manner that the animal cannot be aware of the presence of the cameraman. The desirability of this is due to the fact that all game animals are affected by the presence of man in one way or another.

The camera hunter should disappear into the landscape and become part of it, but remain a distant observer.

Conclusion

The academic literature on the history of documentaries referred to above conceptualizes the kind of work Wesslén conducted in many different ways. There is for example "outdoor photography" or "nature photography," where the photographer seeks to capture unique features of natural landscapes and animals for pleasure, aesthetic enjoyment or in a nostalgic and romantic mood. There is "wildlife photography" that focuses more on nature in action, conducted in order to expand public awareness of the values associated with a pristine Nature, untouched by man or culture. There is "conservation photography," driven by the goal of empowering nature conservation. And there is "environmental photography," which aims to explore ruined landscapes and highlight environmental problems, such as pollution or loss of biodiversity. Where does Stig Wesslén fit into this spectrum of photographic and film-making genres? Our conclusion is that Wesslén's artwork overlaps several of them and that he moved along with their evolution over time. By introducing new technologies and methods, such as his version of the "camera hunt," he also participated in this evolution.

Whether presenting a brief article, an essay in the daily press, an illustrated book with literary flourishes or a motion picture, Wesslén remained a documentarian who, with camera, paper and pen, recorded the infinite variety of nature in the North. He recorded and brought to life its complexity, but also expressed ideas about the intricacy of its character. The romantic view of nature was a sustained, recurring theme in his work, nature as a huge, beautiful and irrepressible oneness, whose power and balance should be revered. In describing creatures, great and small, Wesslén conveys a wide-eyed fascination, if not downright admiration, for the ingenious, coherent

way nature is arranged—forest, field and mountain, the competitive realm of its inhabitants.

Another element running through Wesslén's entire portfolio is that this very balance is being threatened by industrial society and its creeping exploitation of the wilderness. The notion itself is not unique. Decline is central to modern ecological thought—the story of how pristine, harmonic and balanced nature is slowly but surely being exploited, disturbed and destroyed, eventually leading to our current global environmental crisis (Frängsmyr 1980; Merchant 1980). What distinguishes Wesslén from others of his time is the dramatic language he employed and the intractability with which he hammered his point home. Interest in protecting and preserving endangered species and their surroundings can be noted innumerable times, from the very outset of his career to his last great work, *Den levande skogen* (1966), which opens with the following manifesto:

In the very near future, there may not be a single unsullied spot left on our planet for wild animals to roam. They are threatened with total obliteration as the world's steadily increasing population growth lays claim to its natural resources. Perhaps this film will then serve as a memorial to that which once was, just as it now wishes to serve as a reminder of all the pristine, unaffected beauty we are on the brink of losing.

The “pristine wildness” Wesslén dwelt on comprised the woods and mountain ranges of northern Sweden, described as a sanctuary besieged on every side by encroaching civilization. For him, authenticity, aesthetics and ethics are interconnected. Untouched nature was beauty itself and needed to be protected from civilization's corrupting infiltration. With his recurring newspaper reportage, illustrated books, movies and tireless lecture tours across Sweden and abroad, he resonated with an audience that was responsive to his ideas and image of the northern wilds.

Yet, as far as we know, Wesslén never took any interest in “environmental photography.” He never mediated images of ruined ecosystems or even landscapes that were obviously shaped by humans (just like many academic ecologists of his time, one could add). The distinction between mankind and nature and between civilization and wildness is reflected in Wesslén's documentary methods. Since mankind did not belong to nature it was essential that it was observed at a remove in order not to disturb the natural order of things. At the same time, he takes a parallel path taken in his documentary work, which stands in bold contrast to this attitude. In many works, Wesslén stands as the adventurer who, for the sake of his layman audience, dramatizes nature and anthropomorphizes animals.

From our historical perspective, it can be concluded that many of these ploys say more about the culture and society of his own day than they do about the natural world he sought to document. However, it is essential to understand the tension between the scientific, documentary ambition of the “camera hunt” and the entertainment value of the news articles and movies. Wesslén financed his activities and paid his bills by earning money selling his personality and his work. Without the showmanship, Wesslén would probably never have had the means to document nature and get his message across.

Ultimately, Wesslén’s image of untamed but endangered wilderness was both well before and lagging after its time. Much of his intellectual inspiration reaches back to ideas broached at the turn of the twentieth century by the pioneers of conservation, but there are also ecological ideas, criticism of industrialization, and demands for preservation that point toward the environmental awakening of the sixties and seventies. One difference is that later environmental ideas do not distinguish so categorically between mankind and nature. By definition, the environmentalist worldview includes both mankind and nature and is not only concerned with protecting wild, untamed nature but also tending less-breathtaking environments in close proximity to mankind (Mårald 2007: 47). The thirties and forties are an interesting period to study from the perspective of environmental history, because that was when a discussion about the social dimension of nature and the opportunity to open up the landscape for tourist recreation began (Sörlin & Sandell (eds.) 2000). Another innovation central to this article is that the genre of the nature film was established and reached a mass audience during this era, an important prerequisite for increasing knowledge and stimulating the activism needed to preserve and improve the environment.

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“Masculinities” in Sami studies

ABSTRACT Sami masculinities must be understood as plural. This is the starting point for this article. There is little research done on gender and/in Sami society, especially concerning men and masculinity. The article deals with Sami masculinities as a field of research, and has two main goals. Firstly, the main trends in relevant research on gender in Sápmi in general and on Sami men in particular are presented and discussed. Secondly, a number of challenges related to doing research on Sami masculinities are explored. The theoretical perspectives are mainly drawn from the fields of gender studies and indigenous studies. The article will hopefully serve as a platform and a starting point for further research on Sami masculinities.

KEYWORDS Sami, gender, masculinity, intersectionality, Sami men, indigenous

Masculinity has become a common research topic and an integrated area within gender research (Lorentzen 2006). If you add “Sami,” the picture changes. There is little research either on Sami masculinities or the situation of Sami men. Other topics have dominated the research on Sami issues. Regarding gender, interest has mainly focused on women and the situation of Sami women. There is a lack of both empirical research and of more principal and theoretical examination.

It is important to distinguish between the term masculinity and that which relates to men. They are connected, but not synonymous. In this article, I discuss various aspects of researching masculinities in

a Sami context. The article has two main goals: firstly, I present trends in relevant research, that is research on Sami men and on gender in Sami contexts. Secondly, I will discuss challenges and issues related to masculinities in Sami settings. Perspectives on this come from gender research and research into indigenous issues. Hence, the article aims to serve as a platform and a basis for further research into Sami masculinities. The article is based on research literature from different kinds of Sami and indigenous studies. The empirical studies referred to in this initial work originate mainly from Norway. Further work will add cases and research literature from Finland, Sweden and Russia, and will also include empirical studies.

The article reflects a combination of indigenous perspectives and gender perspectives. Both of which are, of course, diverse. A central trend within research into Sami issues is to situate Sami society in the context of the international movement of indigenous peoples. Within research this can be seen in the spread and increasing use of the term "indigenous peoples," as well as in the presence of a particular methodology for research related to indigenous peoples. I raise the issue of whether gender and queer perspectives actually might challenge these methodologies.

Baseline and Background. Sápmi and the Gender Situation

Sami society is diverse, existing as it does in four different countries. Norway has the largest population (more than 50,000), Sweden has approximately 15,000, Finland 10,000 and Russia 5,000. These numbers are, however, difficult to confirm. A census in which ethnic identity is a factor has not been made since the first half of the twentieth century. EU legislation even restricts the registration of people based on ethnic identity. It is difficult to measure and define a person as Sami and today self-identification is a defining factor. Many people, especially in the northernmost areas, are also of mixed heritage. In Norway, somewhat fewer than 14 000 people are registered in the elections to the Sami Parliament. This gives some idea of the number, but it does not include children, young people and the many who do not define themselves as part of the Sami *political* society. In research, this means that some assumptions have to be made from the geographical context. This is a particular challenge in the areas that were struck hardest by the Norwegianization policy (Hansen 2012: 8).

Sami societies have undergone major changes. Policy regarding the Sami in all four countries has put pressure on the Sami throughout changing historical times. In Norway, the Norwegianization policy was quite successful in several areas, leading many Sami, especially along the coast, to give up their ethnic identity and become Norwegians. This policy end-

ed after the end of the Second World War. The new policy in Norway can be characterized as a state politics of ignorance, made obvious for instance in school textbooks and curricula, areas in which the Sami had almost no place until the 1970s (Folkenborg 2008). The Alta conflict around 1980, where the local protest against the building of a hydro-power dam developed into a national conflict concerning indigenous politics, became the main expression of the turning tide. From then on, the Sami revitalization process, which had already lasted more than a decade, gained momentum. In the 1980s, the Norwegian state started to recognize the Sami as an indigenous people, which also implied recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples. The Sami Parliament opened in 1989 and Norway ratified ILO Convention 169 on the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples in 1990. At the same time many Sami, despite greater public and official recognition, continued to experience both marginalization and discrimination (Hansen 2012).

Gender is a factor in marginalization and social inequality, also in Sápmi/Sabme/Saepmie. Social anthropologist Ketil Lenert Hansen confirms this in his report on equity in Sami societies (Hansen 2012). In the geographical areas where villages are supported by the Sami Parliament, the population has decreased while the average age has increased. There is now a surplus of older men and the number of younger women is lower in these areas than in the rest of Norway (Hansen 2012: 11). When it comes to school and education, more boys than girls drop out of school in the aforementioned areas than in the rest of the country. When it comes to occupation there are not many differences between the areas, except that urban and town-like have a slightly higher employment rate. There are few women within the reindeer herding industry, and the number has only decreased since 2000 (Hansen 2012; more in the following).

Hansen points to the issue of marginalization amongst the Sami, stating that the experience of being marginalized is also expressed through class and gender. In addition, there are other relevant factors: few resources, small communities, and very limited choices. One interesting finding is that, with regard to working life, Sami men score highest when it comes to marginalization. Hansen argues that Sami men are less flexible in the job market and higher education than Sami women. This is not something that is limited to the Sami areas (Hansen 2012: 21–23). Nevertheless, an assumption can be made that the general social development in Sápmi/Sabme/Saepmie also includes what is termed an expanded room for action, both for men and women (to a greater degree), than has been seen in the rest of Norway (Lorentzen 2012: 168).

Læstadianism has played a major part in some areas of Sápmi/Sabme/

Saepmie. Læstadianism is a Christian conservative revivalist movement that started in the mid-nineteenth century in Northern Sweden. The movement arrived in Norway in 1848, and became an important religious and social movement in large parts of the Sami society, with the exception of the Southern Sami, from Finnmark and Troms to the northern parts of the Nordland counties. It is not as such a particularly Sami kind of Christianity, but it contributed to a set of conservative, Christian ideals related to gender, and a similar set of values and a language—or even lack of knowledge—related to sexuality and sexual identity (Olsen 2008).

Until recently, there has not been much talk in Sami society of same-sex sexuality or other kinds of sexual orientations and gender identities that break with the existing and established heteronormativity. The established practices and ideals of what men should do, be and desire have included a heavily felt silence. With the publication of *Queering Sápmi* (Bergman & Lindqvist (eds.) 2013) being queer in Sápmi/Sabme/Saepmie became a topic of conversation and debate. Through an exhibition and a book, the stories are told of Sami that in one way or another break out of the limits of heteronormativity and consequently find themselves on the margins of the Sami majority. This is what queer perspectives are all about—questioning and contesting gender identity and sexual orientation. In addition, *Queering Sápmi* shows how neither masculinity nor femininity is limited to men or women respectively.

The issues of gender equity and the situation for men and women in Sápmi are not related solely to the ideals and stereotypes of masculinity. However, they work as a backdrop and baseline for any discussion of masculinities. The claim that a macho culture exists is quite often mentioned in the public sphere. Despite this, it is barely given any emphasis in research. Historian Andrea Amft (2000) writes partly about this in her analysis of the changing way of life for Swedish Sami through the twentieth century.

The Research Status

This is not a complete literature review as the focus is primarily on the Norwegian aspect with a few side-views of Sweden. Generally there is space and need for more research in several areas. Both case studies and more principal, thematic studies are called for. Regarding the research on Sami masculinities and Sami men, the majority of the empirical studies come from contexts that are in part very different from one another making generalizations problematic. The situation in Inner Finnmark, for example, is not necessarily the situation in Sápmi/Sabme/Saepmie.

Women and Men in Sápmi

Early research on gender in Sápmi/Sabme/Saepmie covered first and foremost the place of women in Sami society. The work of Máret Sára (1990) and Vigdis Stordahl (2003) presents women as activists, women's organizations and women in working life. Other scholars have since contributed, also writing about more structural gender issues. What this research reveals is a complex discourse on gender. Firstly, social anthropologist Jorunn Eikjok (2004) describes an original male dominance, seen as an expression of men presented as the norm and normality in Sami society. An expression of this can be found in the Reindeer Act from 1978, in which only male owners of reindeer were defined and recognized as owners, whereas their wives were defined as subordinate in the business context. This had consequences both for the gender discourse and for the social organization of gender as men were given stronger legal protection than women. At the same time this contributed to the initial struggle for women's issues in Sami society, according to political scientist Beatrice Halsaa (2013). Even though this struggle had some success, the women's movement did not become a major part of society.

Jorun Eikjok (2004: 57) argues that men have excluded themselves from the gender debate in modern Sami society. She emphasizes that in the Sami political debate there has been more room for ethno-politics than for gender politics. Indigenous scholar Rauna Kuokkanen (2007: 73–74) follows the same lines, and points to what she terms “the myth of the strong Sami woman,” claiming that this myth actually contributed to downplaying a real debate on gender. Hence, the various aspects and forms of social identity can be said to complicate each other, leading gender to be de-emphasized by ethnicity. This is still not a given situation; in other social contexts it can be the other way around.

Gender scholars Britt Kramvig and Anne-Britt Flemmen (2010: 191) argue that both ideals and practices related to masculinities should be understood as relational. They look at social changes, and how these have an impact on the gender situation in Sápmi/Sabme/Saepmie. They show that marital relations in different constellations—Norwegian/Sami, Norwegian/Russian, and Sami-speaking/non-Sami-speaking—in the same region lead to a series of challenges and negotiations related to identity. Gender is one of several aspects of this.

The Sami parliament is another interesting starting point for a discussion on gender in Sápmi/Sabme/Saepmie. In 2005, equal gender representation was achieved regarding the number of those elected to the Sami parliament. This was a major change from 2001, when only 18 percent of the representatives were women. Social scientist Eva Josefsen (2004) has

written on the Sami parliament as an arena for debate on gender inequality in Sami society. She argues that the efforts that were needed in order to achieve the gender balance also absorbed most of the focus and interest related to gender. Peace scholar Linn-Marie Lillehaug Pedersen (2014) argues that on the one hand gender has become an integral part of Sami politics since 2005, and on the other hand that different actors within Sami politics strongly disagree about how to deal with gender issues.

Literature scholar Vuokko Hirvonen (2007) compares Norway and Sweden, showing that the situation in these two countries is more or less the same. Hirvonen sees a tendency for Sami women to live with the tension of dealing with traditions on the one hand, and of having the ability to adapt to social changes on the other but argues that the development is still in the direction of more equity and equality (Hirvonen 2007: 17; see also Amft 2000). Also focusing on Sweden, historian Anna-Lill Ledman (2009) analyzes the representation of Sami women in the media. She finds that gender equality as an idea and phenomenon is primarily related to Swedishness and has therefore been difficult to put into a Sami context (Ledman 2009: 23).

Research on Sami Men. Managing Tradition and Marginalized Men

A majority of the research done on Sami men or Sami masculinities is related to reindeer herding and to inner Finnmark in Norway. At the same time, some trends can be discerned. The research can mainly be divided into the more empirically based, looking at the managing of tradition and socialization, and the more overarching, focusing on greater tendencies. In both cases, the starting point has been the transition from a traditional society with predominantly primary ways of living, such as reindeer herding, fishing and agriculture, to a modern society with more complex ways of living, urbanization and an increased use of technology.

Health scholar Else Boine (2007) writes on Sami fathers and sons in a particular area of reindeer husbandry. She shows that it is counted as valuable to be able to pass on and manage both traditional and modern cultural ways. Hence, Sami boys are supposed to manage both in their own worlds and in their fathers' worlds. This leads Sami fathers to consider the transition of values difficult in a more modern time than the one in which they themselves grew up.

In line with this are the findings of education scholars Kristine Nystad (2007) and Kirsten Stien (2007). Nystad (2007: 142) sees a tendency for Sami boys in Finnmark in Norway to drop out of education. Nystad's context is reindeer husbandry in inner Finnmark, and in particular the gender roles found there. Boys are expected to be the ones who follow the family traditions while the girls are encouraged to get an education. Hence, Nystad

(2007: 141–142) concludes that the boys are being given the responsibility for tradition, whilst the girls are given the modern responsibilities. This diverges from Boine's findings but the works of Nystad, Stien and Boine are important in the sense that they are based on empirical analysis, show gender differences and articulate a certain kind of preferred masculinity. Stien explores what she terms male modes of articulation in Sápmi/Sabme/Saepmie referring to the discussion of gender and masculinity connected with education. Part of this entails seeing the situation of the Sami in a bigger indigenous context. Stien shows that there are differences between men and women with regard to the choices they make in education and work-life. Men tend to be less interested in gaining an education than women. At the same time, however, some Sami men see themselves as teachers later on in life. Hence, the situation is complex (Stien 2007: 156). The male modes of articulation mentioned by Stien concern how Sami men have ways of expressing and knowing that are related both to traditional activities and are redefined so as to be useful also in a contemporary setting. For example tourism gives Sami men new forms of expression (Stien 2007: 155–156).

Moving on from the above-mentioned scholars, I would like to point out the need for a comparative study, which could also show trends in other similar places. What are the situations of Sami boys and men in other parts of Sápmi/Sabme/Saepmie? Furthermore, a concept of intersectionality, or something along the same lines, would reveal how several aspects and issues have an impact on ethnic and masculine identity (more on this below).

There are some findings—tendencies rather than unanimous conclusions—which claim that it is difficult to be a Sami boy/young man in small communities. Kristine Nystad mentioned the school dropout rate among Sami boys. However, it might be that this is more a characteristic of small, below average size, communities in the periphery than of Sami places as such, but a potential correlation remains interesting. The philosopher Arnt-Ove Eikeland (2003: 95) writes on the high suicide rate in some, but not other, indigenous villages in so-called Arctic regions (Canada, Greenland, Russia and Norway). There are more suicides in indigenous groups than in non-indigenous groups. For Eikeland, the issue of indigeneity is more important than that of gender, although he shows that more men than women commit suicide, a finding supported by Swedish studies that show there are more suicides amongst reindeer herders than amongst the general population (Ahlm *et al.* 2010). In a study of young Sami in Sweden, scholars Omma, Holmgren and Jacobsson (2011) have found that over half of those asked reported ill treatment because of their ethnicity, with reindeer herders reporting the highest incidence. Nonetheless, it is important to stress that this cannot be generalized to all Sami men.

Queerness and Heteronormativity

Queer identity in Sami contexts has been almost absent as a topic for research and before 2013 it was in fact a topic that was hardly discussed at all. "Queer" indicates gender identities and sexual orientations that break with heteronormativity in one way or another. Queer studies are critical of the way gender and sexual categories tend to be static and taken for granted (Eng 2006: 140–142).

Ketil Lenert Hansen (2012) briefly touches on the issue of gays in Sami societies. Statistics show that there is a tendency for gay Sami to experience more discrimination than straight Sami. Sociologist Merethe Giertsen (2002/2003) argues that gay Samis have a tendency to experience and live a kind of double sense of minority identity; they are minorities as gays in a Sami context, and minorities as Sami in a gay context. Giertsen (2002/2003: 16–18) also discusses whether or not the problems of gay people in Sami groups can be related to the small rural communities. Here too, Læstadianism seems to have an impact, with its negation of any kind of same-sex relationships and its lack of language on sexuality as such. Within Læstadianism homosexuality is described using the term "sodomy" and is seen as a major sin and deviation (Olsen 2008: 160).

A masculinity ideal often mentioned as being typically Sami is related to machoism. Several of the stories told in *Queering Sápmi* mention machoism as a characteristic of—and a problem with—ideal manhood in a Sami context. Nonetheless, not much research exists to support this and, in my view, this talked-of machoism is a gender stereotype that has a big impact. People talk and tell about it, but how representative is it, actually? If it does exist—where is it valid? It seems in part to be related to the reindeer-husbandry culture. This part of Sami society has been seen as a kind of preferred Saminess, partly seeming to be related to a shared preindustrial gender structure. With its popular position, Sami machoism can be seen as existing in the shared space of a preferred Saminess and a preferred masculinity.

The stories from *Queering Sápmi* state that all kinds of breaks with heteronormativity seem to be defined as outside hegemonic Sami masculinity. There is perhaps nothing special about Sami society in this. In many cultural contexts—especially in male-dominated groups—there is a lack of acceptance of being gay which seems to be valid across ethnic boundaries. This article does not go into the issues of queer and gay identities or of so-called "two-spirited" people in other indigenous contexts. However, with the growth of indigenism it is perhaps likely that the idea/context of the two-spirited also will reach Sápmi/Sabme/Saepmie.

There is a great need for further research on these and similar issues. Both Hansen and Giertsen have shown that breaking the ideals of hetero-

normativity has potentially negative consequences for people's health and social identities. However, there are hardly any qualitative studies comparing how gay or LHBTQ people in a Sami and a Norwegian or Swedish context experience their situations. In a master's thesis Ane Løvold (2014) follows the lines of *Queering Sápmi*, telling stories of Samis that go against heteronormativity, and arguing for the need to break the silence over issues of queerness. *Queering Sápmi* repeatedly states that the experience of heteronormativity is part of a normative and preferred Sami identity. In fact, the book may prove itself wrong, as it pulls Sami society in a more tolerant direction (Bergman & Lindqvist (eds.) 2013).

Sami Masculinities in a Wider Context

The encounter between indigenous research and gender research is an interesting one in that within it lies the possibility of discovering and highlighting new sets of relations and causalities. The main challenge, I argue, is that scholars of gender studies ought to be more open to indigenous perspectives and that scholars of indigenous studies ought to be more willing to acknowledge gender as a category.

George L. Mosse, a scholar who examines masculinity and nationalism, works on masculinity as an ideal (Mosse 1996: 4). He discusses how stereotypes of men have entered into and have become a part of the normative ideas of society. The ideals have become a part of and have contributed to shaping societies. This is especially true of the body, and strongly normative ideas about what the male body should look like are related to ideals for all human kind (Mosse 1996: 4). Ideas like these might be termed stereotypes.

Within gender research the concept of intersectionality has been well integrated, even becoming the object of a massive critique as an approach to describing and analyzing how *different*—or different kinds of—social identities can both coincide and contest one another. Intersectionality is used in particular within women's and gender studies related to postcolonial perspectives. As a scholarly approach it opens the way for the recognition of differences between women and between men, not only between women and men (Berg, Flemmen & Gullikstad 2010: 14–15). Thus, the relation between Sami men and other men is as relevant as the relation between Sami men and Sami women. An intersectional perspective attempts to look at people in a variety of contexts simultaneously.

Gender scholar Harriet Bjerrum Nielsen highlights the crossroad dimension of intersectionality as a concept, and also refers to masculinity scholar Robert/Raewyn Connell: social categories like gender and social class, for example, can de-emphasize, emphasize, strengthen, twist, soften and complicate one another (Nielsen 2006: 156). It is not difficult to add ethnic identity

to this mix. With regard to Sami issues, one could ask: how can a Sami identity emphasize, de-emphasize, soften or complicate a masculine identity?

Despite its common usage, intersectionality is not necessarily the concept that needs to be used. I do not discuss the concept further as the important here is the need to look at identity broadly. Gender scholar Øystein Gullvåg Holter (2009: 139) discusses various perspectives on the study of masculinity and gender differences. Holter points to how gender and the discourse of gender similarities has to be seen in the context of other forms of and discourses on equality, for example of class and race.

Gender scholar John Beynon follows the same argument when he states that masculinity has to be understood alongside other social factors. Beynon's model for the study of masculinity describes how different factors all shape masculinity; historical and geographical location, culture and subculture, class and profession, sexual orientation, education, age and physique, religion, and ethnicity all contribute to the formation and shape(s) of masculinity. This makes masculinity a *contingent* social formation (Beynon 2002: 10). In Sami contexts this means that the ethnic identity in itself is a social factor with a potential impact on masculinity. Conversely, different ideals of masculinity can have an impact on the ethnic identity. As contingent social formations Sami ideals of masculinity are bound to vary, due to other factors such as geography, class, and sexual orientation. Hence, it makes it difficult (impossible?) to talk about A Sami Masculinity or The Sami Man in the singular. The contingency implies variation in time, place and social context.

Several scholars discuss masculinities in the plural rather than the singular form (e.g. Connell 1995; Lorentzen 2006: 126; Beynon 2002: 1). Connell (1995) presents four types of masculinity—hegemonic, subordinate, complicit and marginalized. Hegemonic and complicit masculinities both work for the status quo having more or less dominant functions in society, primarily through their appearing as "normal." Subordinate and marginalized masculinities are, on the other hand, situated lower in—or even outside of—the hierarchy.

A concept that might be equally good or relevant is preferred masculinity (Olsen 2008: 111). This relates to Connell's terminology, but downplays to some extent the power dimension. Connell (1987: 171) uses another term in an earlier work, the concept emphasized femininity, which can easily be transferred to the issues of masculinity and relates to the term "preferred masculinity." An interesting aspect of this is its intersectionality. Preferred masculinity can also be transferred to other kinds of identity. Not only gender ideals and identity can be preferred, one ethnic identity can be preferred over others.

This can be related to one of gender studies' most famous and well-written one-liners, Judith Butler's description of how gender is not only about ideas, but about practice: "We regularly punish those who fail to do their gender right" (Butler 2007: 190). The Sami people who tell their stories in *Queering Sápmi* can surely attest to this; they have in different ways been punished for not doing their ascribed gender identity right. Gender is what you are, what you are socialized into, and what you do—your practice. You appear, perform or act in a certain way as a "man," a "woman," or as another kind of category, and there are sanctions—or punishment—related to doing it right.

The theoretical discussion on gender is to some extent transferrable to ethnicity as with the gender dimension, there are several ways of being Sami. Your Sami identity is who you are, what you are socialized into, and something that you do. Sami people can, of course, experience their Sami identity in different ways and there are also most definitely sanctions related to Sami identity. There are preferred ways of being Sami, of how you do your Sami identity.

Sami masculinities are played out and expressed in a set of tensions between ideals and practices. Referring to the aforementioned George Mosse, it is important to remember that stereotypes and ideals regarding men contribute to the formation of society. Stereotypes are, however, simpler and more univocal than practices. Hence, the ideals can present pictures of Sami men that are clearer than the actual situation for these men.

The traditional picture painted of the Sami man involved in reindeer husbandry shows a man who copes with his way of living, who is at home in nature and is flexible in the face of a demanding environment. However, the modernization of society brings with it both an increasing range of opportunities and a potentially bigger set of problems than other men face. Some Sami men experience the tension between tradition and modernization.

Gender in itself is not an isolated set of structures. No person can be only a man or only a woman—or only a queer. Adding ethnicity is important to understanding people and, of course, it is possible also to add in class, education, religion, center/periphery, age and sexual identity (Beynon 2002: 10). Men in Sami society, like all men, will have the experience that their social identities exist at the crossroads between different kinds of identities. As Sami men they can also be villagers, fishermen, Læstadians, gays and youth. All at the same time.

The issue of class is often examined in connection with race and/or ethnicity. Class is important to social identity as societal resources are not shared equally. Writer and gender scholar bell hooks emphasizes the importance of using class as an analytical category taking as her starting point the

way in which unequal social conditions characterize the situation of black people in USA, in addition to the racial aspect. In such a context, race and gender can be used in order to draw attention away from the harsh reality shown by class as a category (hooks 2000: 7). Hence, it is of huge importance to be able to accept more than one category in an analysis. With regard to Sami society ethno-politics have held such a central position that it may have overshadowed, for instance, gender issues. This is shown and argued by Rauna Kuokkanen (2007), Jorun Eikjok (2007) and Linn-Marie Lillehaug Pedersen (2014). Ethno-politics may even have overshadowed class issues, which brings me to the next issue.

Challenges from Indigenous Methodology

During recent decades the Sami political struggle has gained momentum, partly arising from the revitalization of Sami identity. The inscription of the Sami in a global indigenous identity and movement has been an important factor in this process. This international development has also become part of the research in indigenous issues.

A belief within indigenous research is that research is to be carried out for the benefit of indigenous peoples and through the use of a set of methodological principles. Even though there are multiple approaches, the term *indigenous methodology* is used to describe a particular part of this research. *Methodology* as such supplies a bridge between practical methods and theoretical perspectives, providing reflections on the use and choice of methods and—most often—building on a set of theoretical premises. Included in the methodological reflection is also—and this is particularly true for indigenous methodologies—ideas concerning epistemology.

Indigenous methodologies share the decolonizing and power critical approach. This means that there is an emphasis on showing that research tends to be biased by colonization and on exploring how indigenous communities are in part governed by colonial power and an asymmetry of power (Chilisa 2012: 13–14; Smith 2010; more on indigenous methodology in Olsen 2016).

Transferred to gender studies, the book *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism* (Green (ed.) 2007) is relevant. This book includes several contributions to the discussion of the situation of indigenous women worldwide. Editor Joyce Green describes the purpose of the book as being the need to show that feminism is relevant both theoretically and politically to indigenous women (Green (ed.) 2007: 15). The aforementioned Rauna Kuokkanen and Jorun Eikjok contributed articles to the book on gender and women in Sami contexts. However, even though the book is an important asset in the study of gender and indigenous issues, men and masculinity issues are

absent. Hence, room is still available for research that believes that “gender” does not necessarily mean the same as “women.”

Different fields of research have different tendencies and directions. Within Sami and indigenous research the focus has mainly been on ethnopolitics and rights. Such research can to some extent be labeled gender-blind. More recently, the Sami research on gender that actually exists has generally overlooked men and masculinity as outspoken topics. Hence, you can talk of blindness when it comes to men. This shows the difficulty of looking at several aspects of identity at the same time. The same tendency is seen in Nordic gender research, which seems to neglect indigenous and minority issues unrelated to Muslim immigrants. Two examples are presented below. In *Complying with Colonialism* (Keskinen (ed.) 2009) which covers gender and conflict with regard to the Nordic welfare states, there are no references to indigenous issues. The same goes for *Forskjeller i klassen* [‘Differences in class’] (Nielsen 2014), which covers issues of gender, class and even ethnicity in the Norwegian school. There are no references to or mentions of indigenous issues. Hence, there are two tendencies that are worth correcting: Sami research needs to include gender issues in general and masculinity issues in particular, and explicitly intersectional gender research needs to include Sami issues.

Indigenous methodology sets important challenges for the research into Sami masculinities. Firstly, it raises the issue of including a power-critical perspective. Secondly, it can shed light on which parts of Sami society are explored. Thirdly, the experiences and situations of Sami men need to be addressed.

This perspective can also be turned around. A gender perspective can challenge indigenous methodology. A simple aspect concerns the role of gender issues within indigenous methodology. In important books on indigenous methodologies (Kovach 2009; Wilson 2008; Kuokkanen 2007), gender is hardly treated at all, masculinity even less so. Furthermore, you can ask to whom you listen amongst indigenous people—whose interests, concepts and voices are to be highlighted. So far I have argued that the Sami voices on these matters can disagree or be diverge. Neither “indigenous peoples” nor “Sami” is a uniform group. Hence it is—through the concepts of indigenous methodology—necessary to have a closer definition.

Based on the idea of intersectionality—or at least on the idea of looking at several aspects of identity simultaneously—geography, social class, age, religion, and language can function both together with or in contrast to gender and ethnic identity. This makes it more difficult to state the “premises, interests and wishes of indigenous people” as if they were non-negotiable issues. A young, educated resourceful man who speaks Sami and can cope well with urban and rural life, may not be representative of all Sami

men. His wishes, premises, and interests may not be the same as those of an elderly, disadvantaged man who does not speak Sami and is living in a small village in a geographical periphery. And what if one of them is gay and the other is not? There is not one single Sami perspective or epistemology. Instead it is most probably more correct to pursue research based on plural Sami perspectives—or even based on the perspectives of a plurality of Sami men, queer, women or whatever category you wish to use. And several aspects need to be addressed at the same time.

Concluding Remarks

This final statement is the core of this article. If you are to carry out research on masculinities in Sami settings you have to be able to include different kinds of contexts and social structures. There is not one single Sami masculinity, as there is not one single Sami perspective or way of thinking or acting. However, there might be a number of Sami masculinities that are given content and meaning through their relation to other social formations. Of course, this means that my curiosity is aroused concerning the existence of something that makes some kinds of masculinities “more Sami” than others.

“The Sami Man” as such does not exist—or he only exists as a stereotype. In further research I would, for instance, look critically at the different stereotypes of Sami men that are reproduced today. The indigenous perspective herein lies in the importance of raising and listening to a plurality of voices. In another kind of empirical research I would, for instance, look into the ways Sami fathers and fathers with crossover ethnic identities talk about being men.

This article is an exploration of research literature and of theoretical discourses. Here masculinities are mainly treated as constructs and on a conceptual level. The advantage is that it is not far removed from other fields of research. Hence gender and masculinity studies surely have something to contribute just as indigenous studies can give something back.

NOTES

¹ Læstadianism is a topic that touches on the boundaries of what is counted as part of Sami society and Sami identity. Within the contemporary Sami public sphere the—to some extent—Norwegianized Saminess seems to be considered a less preferred Saminess. Along the coast of Troms and Finnmark, that is in the same areas in which the Norwegianization policy struck the hardest, Læstadianism has had its core areas, regardless of ethnic identity. By the end of the Norwegianization period, many Læstadians had lost their Sami language—some had even lost their Sami identity. Læstadianism today can be described as de-emphasizing and toning down ethnic identity rather than emphasizing and strengthening it.

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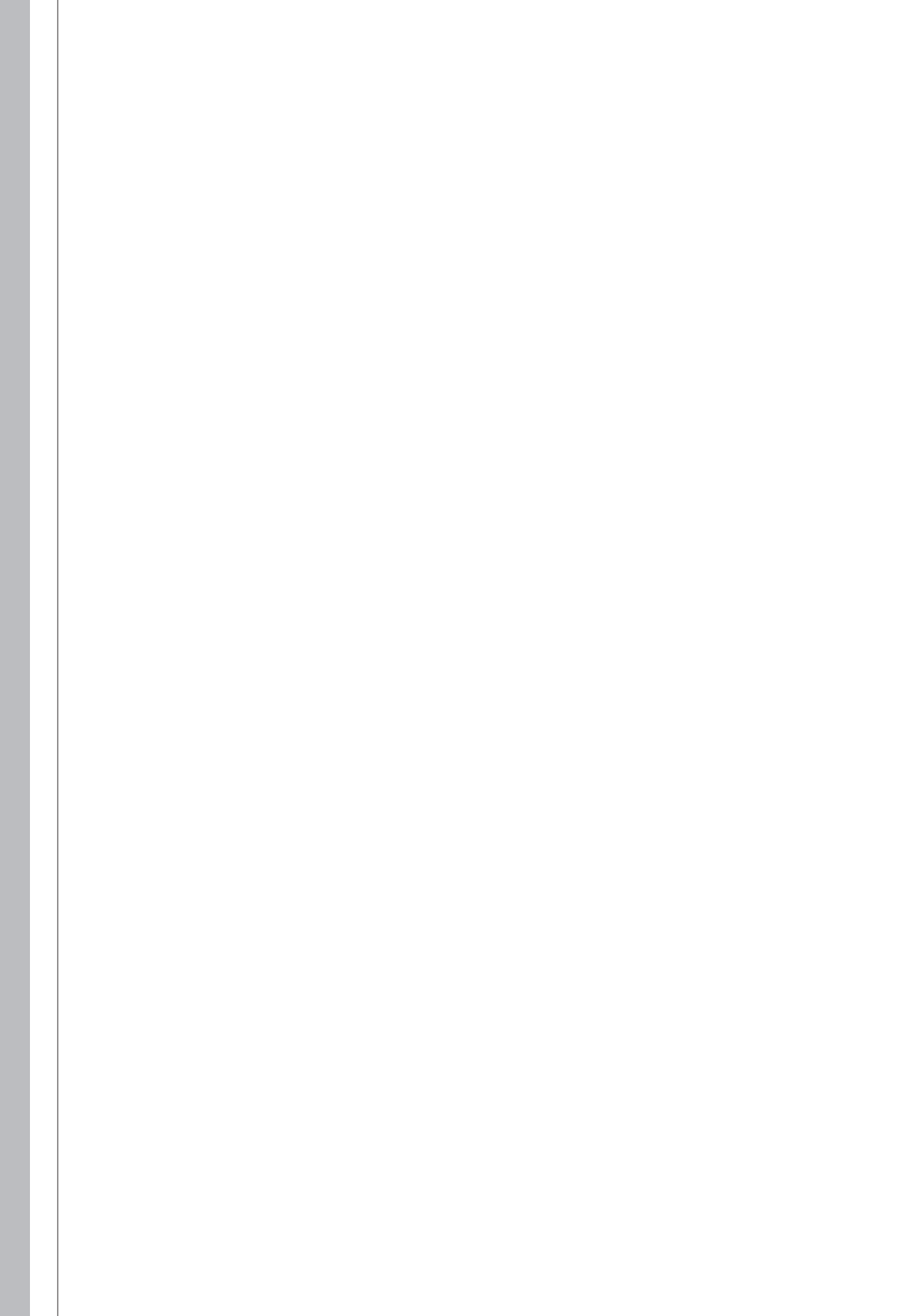
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Experiences of Being a Young Female Sami Reindeer Herder

A Qualitative Study from the
Perspective of Mental Health and
Intersectionality

ABSTRACT *Objectives:* To explore experiences of what it means to be a young, female Sami reindeer herder in Sweden, a group occupying a unique position in Swedish Sami life, with special focus on intersectionality and exposure to risk factors regarding mental (ill) health.

Methods: A qualitative content analysis of semi-structured interviews with 13 strategically selected female reindeer herders (18–35 years old).

Results: The participants described a reindeer-herding lifestyle that they find joyful and vital, but is also conflictual and harsh. Gender-specific issues were raised, for example that they unfortunately and unnecessarily have a place other than the heart of reindeer herding reserved for them.

Conclusions: The results of this study suggest that the position of women reindeer herders is paradoxical. This position implies not only a

pride in Sami culture but also a risk of developing mental health problems which should be addressed in relation to gender, the reindeer-herding lifestyle and ethnicity.

KEYWORDS Sami, mental health, reindeer herder; female, gender, experiences, qualitative content analysis, social construction, social categories, intersectionality

Introduction

Since 1977, the Sami have been recognized as an indigenous people in Sweden. This means that they are recognized as an ethnic group with their own language and traditions who inhabited Sweden before the state was established. Sami land, known as Sápmi, extends across the north of Sweden, Norway, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia. That portion of the Sami population who still herd reindeer in Sweden does so within 51 Sami villages (Swedish *samebyar*), extending from Idre in the south to Karesuando in the north. The number of Sami has not been conclusively established, but the most common figures suggest a total of 80,000, of whom 20,000 reside in Sweden (Sami Information Centre 2014). In the late nineteenth century, Sami culture was thought to be dying out and the Swedish state made provisions for the organization of reindeer-herding in order to preserve the culture (Ruong 1982). The Sami were viewed as a nomadic people who did not formally own any land or territory; however, the government decided that Sami people would have the right to fish, hunt and cultivate land for reindeer. This decision was based on what the Swedish state considered as culture-bearing in Sami culture. In this period, the Swedish state's knowledge and insight into Sami life was inadequate. One consequence of the decision was that reindeer husbandry was seen as mainly a nomadic, mountain Sami lifestyle (Lantto 2000). This did not reflect reality, as the Sami did not all live as nomadic mountain reindeer herders—many groups were forest, fishing and hunting Sami who pursued only small-scale reindeer herding. The legislation meant that only those Sami who could support themselves solely by reindeer herding could claim those rights. As a consequence, Sami were, and remain, divided into reindeer-herding and non-reindeer-herding groups. Those Sami for whom herding was not their main occupation did not receive minority rights, which affected their assimilation into the Swedish population (Sami Information Centre 2014). This legislation from the late nineteenth century, which clearly related “being Sami” to herding, has led to the present situation where reindeer husbandry is the most important symbol of Sami cultural heritage and indigenous ethnicity (Kjellström

2003). Recent legislation has reinforced the reindeer-herding-Sami lifestyle (Åhrén 2008), despite the fact that non-reindeer-herding Sami constitute 90–95 per cent of the current Sami population (Sami Information Centre 2014). The number of people for whom reindeer herding is a partial or main source of income is difficult to estimate, but figures mentioned suggest about 2,000 people over the age of 18, or 5–10 per cent of the Swedish Sami population. These reindeer herders have experienced difficulties and powerlessness as a result of governmental legislation, for example regarding predators dispersing and killing the herd, the exploitation of grazing lands and constant economic pressure (Kaiser, Ruong & Salander Renberg 2013).

Historically the Sami have experienced racism and lived under guardianship. Being Sami has been stigmatised and perceived as something from which to de-identify. It has been proposed that this process is part of the Sami's assimilation into the Swedish population. Today, ethnic discrimination of Sami in Sweden is reported to be widespread (Omma, Jacobsson & Petersen 2012), with many young Sami feeling that they have to affirm their identity and justify their right to exist (Omma, Holmgren & Jacobsson 2011). Reindeer herders describe not being understood by a Swedish society which has very limited knowledge of what their herding life means. Even their experience of treatment in the Swedish healthcare system testifies to a misapprehension and lack of understanding of their situation (Stoor 2012; Kaiser, Ruong & Salander Renberg 2013).

Women in reindeer herding was legally subordinated to men until 1971 (Amft 2000), where a woman who married a man with no reindeer husbandry right was deprived of her own individual reindeer-herding right. Men retained herding rights whether or not their partner had such rights. The loss of the right to herd reindeer for women meant that they often left the herding life (Ledman 2012). The 1950s and 1960s saw rationalization and motorization. Before this period, reindeer herding was an intense and nomadic occupation with small herds, and families taking care of their own reindeer. This changed to extensive herding, where families cooperated and managed reindeer in larger herds. In this period, the herders moved into permanent housing, which meant that many women remained in the home. Because of the increased financial difficulties of reindeer herding, women sought waged employment and higher formal education to secure their family's income. This rationalization and the introduction of motor vehicles into herding also increased the need for capital. Motorization could have helped women become more involved in herding; but instead it has had the opposite effect and separated women even more from it (Ledman 2005).

Reindeer-herding men and women often have different roles and re-

sponsibilities in the work with reindeer, and these roles and responsibilities dictate different levels of influence and opportunity. Although herding is viewed as a family affair, the men (in heterosexual relationships) usually perform tasks closer to the reindeer, while the women perform tasks that support and are closer to the family. To greater extent than men, women in reindeer herding constitute a kind of reserve labour force, moving outside their area of expected responsibilities and performing masculine-coded chores as necessary (Amft 2000).

Today, as a group, reindeer-herding women are better educated than the general rural and urban population in the same region (Kaiser 2011). While women are described as having one foot in each culture—Swedish and Sami reindeer-herding—men are mainly involved in the latter society (Kaiser, Ruong & Salander Renberg 2013).

Women are generally at higher risk of contracting mental health problems, particularly anxiety and depression, and the numbers suffering from mental illness in Sweden are increasing most amongst young women (*Folkhälsan i Sverige* 2013). Indigenous/circumpolar populations have a high risk of mental illness (Silviken & Kvernmo 2008; Bjerregaard *et al.* 2004; Gracey & King 2009; Marrone 2007), with suicide (considered and attempted) as one of the most significant characteristics and indicators of psychosocial health. Reindeer-herding women show a significantly higher incidence of suicidal thoughts and plans than other rural and urban women in Sweden (Kaiser & Salander Renberg 2012). Young reindeer-herding women therefore appear to be in a situation where the risk of suffering from mental illness is particularly significant.

The history and unique position of Sami reindeer herders in Sami culture and mainstream Swedish society is characterized by external threats and internal conflicts, both of which have been experienced as affecting mental health. External threats exist in the sense of public contestations against the existence of reindeer herders and reindeer herding, and legal processes against mining and energy companies claiming the land. Internal conflicts in the sense of conflicts regarding land-rights between Sami villages and the rights to manage reindeer herding and to what extent (decided within the Sami village) (Kaiser, Ruong & Salander Renberg 2013). At the same time, reindeer herders have a heritage with unique privileges and pride, indispensable to their identity. The aims of this study are to provide a deeper understanding of the situation of young, female reindeer herders, based on their own experiences from the perspective of (1) mental health and (2) intersectionality.

Methods

The study is explorative, using a semi-inductive design with a qualitative content analysis approach inspired by Graneheim and Lundman (2004). The aim of the selection of the study participants was to achieve a varied picture of the area in order to enhance credibility. There is no fixed definition of what constitutes a reindeer herder: reindeer herding can be full-time work outside with the reindeer or shorter periods of activity in herding work alongside paid work. The study's broad selection is intended to include more experiences and give a more accurate picture than could be achieved by concentrating on only one type of herding work. The main inclusion criterion was the informants' own identification of themselves as reindeer herders. Thirteen interviews were conducted with women aged 18 to 36 years who participated in reindeer-herding work in various forms and to differing extents. The women were from various Sami villages in the Swedish part of Sápmi. The geographic spread meant that people from both mountain and forest Sami villages were included, as were informants from northern, central and southern Sápmi. The informants had different types of education, ranging from secondary to higher education. Interviews were conducted in an environment where informants could feel it was safe to talk without being overheard, such as in the home. A Sami psychologist consultant conducted the interviews and sought informants for the study through various contact networks. All interviews were held in Swedish. No interpreter was needed as all interviewees maintained that they would not express themselves more nuanced or richer in Sami. A stringent approach was taken regarding the interview guide, with follow-up questions reappearing in a consistent manner in all the interviews.

Data Analysis

In the process of condensing and coding, the authors have striven to maintain a broad approach and include all meaningful text. This method can be described as semi-inductive. The analysis procedure was inspired by Graneheim and Lundmans' (2010) six steps in a qualitative approach to qualitative content analysis. The interviews comprised a total of 91,783 words. In the initial stage, the texts of all the interviews were read in order to gain a clear picture of the material. Open Code 4.0 was used to process the text. The first step was to condense the raw text into smaller units. To achieve equivalence between researchers, interviews were condensed by each researcher separately and the results were then compared. The text units comprised short sentences and keywords that were as close as possible to the raw text; interpretation was avoided as far as possible according to method practice. After condensation followed coding, based on text units and comparison

with the original draft. In order to maintain an understanding of the informants' context, all condensed text units were encoded. This created 1,435 codes. Codes that were not relevant within the framework of this study were excluded. The included codes were stratified into either general experiences of what it means to be a reindeer herder or content that seemed to be related to gender. The codes in the two parts were then abstracted and categorized. Subthemes were subsequently derived from the categories based on commonalities and differences. The analytical work was characterized by a circular process in which the codes were sorted according to the substantive (inductive) and theoretical (deductive) framework. The names of the themes and subthemes were formulated in close collaboration in the research group. The analytical process, with raw text, meaning unit, condensed meaning unit, code, category, subtheme and theme, is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1 Examples of raw text, meaning units, condensed meaning units, codes, categories and themes

Raw text	Condensed text unit	Code
A good woman is one who [...] to have time to take care of the kids in the field, then I'll come to the fence and have time to help out any time and throw a few calves and be on the midriff. And then she'll go home and cook and hang out the laundry and that's all. So it's not just, she'll have enough time to take care of the baby and everything and not complain (...) if you find someone like that, then it's, like, the best.	A good woman can be anywhere in the reindeer corral and around. Cook the food, do the laundry, take care of children and not complain.	A good RH-W can do anything A RH-W should not complain.
People get offended if you violate the myth that you can't be a woman in reindeer herding because it's too heavy. I can see why you can't do the same as men, it's all about the need for support. You have to think it's OK to join and teach the younger generation. It must be OK to make mistakes sometimes.	Others offended when you challenge the myth that RH is too heavy for women. Support training required and making mistakes is part of RH.	Provocative W, complicit RH. Myth RH too heavy for W. Support required for participation in the RH. Making mistakes part of the RH.

Ethical Considerations

As the women in the interviews belong to a minority group, there is a high risk that they will be recognized from the interviews, despite these being anonymous. It is therefore important to pay particular attention to ethics in descriptions of their lives and their statements, meaning that we should not disclose more personal information than is absolutely necessary. Considerable care was exercised regarding the material communicated to the research group, and this material has been handled according to the Swedish Science Council regarding confidentiality and the Helsinki Declaration (WMA Declaration of Helsinki). The Sami population has a history of suffering under colonial and imperial power structures hence research often has negative associations (Ledman 2012), and there is a risk that the authors of this article may represent previously negative research. The authors therefore tried to reproduce the informants' statements in a respectful way.

Category	Subtheme	Theme
What a RH-W should be like.	Many terms, conditions and expectations are different for men and women.	Women might also like to be at the heart of reindeer herding, but unfortunately another place is reserved for us.
Women can certainly work in RH. Solution is women's participation.	There are solutions; it does not have to be this way.	

Results

The main themes and subthemes are presented in Table 2. Each subtheme is described below. The categories are integrated into the text and illustrated with quotations.

Table 2 (Main themes and subthemes)

Theme 1. Reindeer herding is my life, but it is also conflicting and hard/difficult/harsh.
Subtheme 1.1. External and internal threats and conflicts that affect mental health.
Subtheme 1.2. Reindeer-herding culture is so important that I live it in spite of sexism and racism.
Subtheme: 1.3. Mainstream society and the healthcare system do not understand my situation.
Theme 2. Women may also like to be at the heart of reindeer herding, but unfortunately another place is reserved for us.
Subtheme 2.1. Many terms, conditions and expectations are different for men and women.
Subtheme 2.2. As a child I learned to be a reindeer herder just like the guys, so I think I love being at the reindeer 'core' just like them.
Subtheme 2.3. There are solutions; it does not have to be this way.

Theme 1. "Reindeer herding is my life, but it is conflicting and harsh"

The women interviewed described a situation in which several variables combine to produce a seemingly difficult life. The women tell of joy and things that make life good, but it is a remarkably difficult life situation where many have experience of mental illness. At the same time, Sami culture is vital to them, and giving up this lifestyle is not an option.

Subtheme 1.1. External and internal threats and conflicts that affect mental health

Certain aspects of being a reindeer herder are described by informants as very burdensome and contributing to mental illness. These include conflicts with the mining industry, wind power projects, land law, racism and problems with natural predators. These aspects are perceived as a threat to the future of reindeer herding, resulting in a fragile economy. This affects the reindeer herding industry every day and to such an extent that it is experienced as affecting the interviewees' mental health. Informants talk about how these conflicts together lead to a situation that causes depression, stress and psychological burnout. The factors mentioned above were voiced by informants as a major concern, both in everyday life and for the future.

I 6: when you're out in the woods and it's as hard as that, and you just feel that everything is completely black and that there are so many

problems ... You think like, that you'd welcome an accident. You don't want to do anything yourself, but it wouldn't matter if an accident occurred.

Further difficulties for the reindeer-herders' work situation concern conflicts in or between Sami villages. The informants describe situations where cooperation can be strained and there are conflicts. Ancestral and family ties are sometimes a further complicating factor in such disputes. The informants also describe conflicts between herding and non-reindeer-herding Sami regarding the rights the Swedish government designated uniquely to reindeer herders.

Subtheme 1.2. "The reindeer-herding culture is so important that I live it in spite of the sexism and racism"

Informants talk of experiences of racial abuse and how it has shaped them as people. They talk about their youth, when some of them felt ashamed of their heritage and identity as Sami, including descriptions of how a single individual had to answer for other Sami reindeer-herders' actions simply because they belonged to the same minority group. The informants describe how conceptions of Sami reindeer herders affect how they are viewed as individuals by others. A recurring concept is "Sami hater," which can easily be explained as Sami racism. This appears as a concern in the women's stories and is perceived as stressful and leading to poorer mental health. The informants' statements also testify to how this racism can be passed on down the generations.

I 4: I had a friend [...], she and I were really good friends, we hung out all the time and she was a Sami hater; she told me, "I hate all Sami, all of them except you and [name]." I asked how many Sami she knew. She didn't know anyone other than the two of us. Just because her parents and her grandfather and everyone further back had a lot of brawls in the past. It's a bit sad, I think, because I mean we're just people, we ... I cannot answer for what everyone else is doing, even if we belong to the same ethnic group.

Although the women experience many setbacks and difficulties, including racism, sexism and conflict, they state that they want to spend more time herding.

I 1: There're a lot of men who express their anger using sexual words and shout at women, for example, [...] Once I told a man off and then it was like ... I do not know. I have not talked to him since. I thought, that's enough! ... I just left the job I was doing branding calves and thought that's enough!

The same woman still longs to be closer to the reindeer-herding life and still identifies strongly with it. The informants' descriptions make it clear that no matter how much time is spent with the reindeer and what level of activity they have, herding remains a high priority and is something they must devote and adapt their lives to. They express a strong responsibility to pass on different aspects of the Sami cultural heritage, such as reindeer-herding work, their language, crafts, jojk, and meat-processing skills, to the next generation.

I 6: Cultural heritage is really important. It's a curse, you are born into it, you cannot choose it and you are in it, too; I definitely commit a lot of responsibility to it, I do. It's really important, it is, yes, it is really, really important. You can't escape from it.

There is pride in being a reindeer herder and this is seen as a unique position. At the same time, informants express a lack of freedom because they are always expected to represent their culture. The women state that sometimes they do not want to be noticed. Since being a reindeer herder and a Sami is often linked with conflict, the women perceived their responsibility to protect Sami culture as burdensome.

Subtheme: 1.3. "Mainstream society and the healthcare system do not understand my situation"

Informants describe experiences of relatives committing suicide and how they do not feel alienated by suicidal thoughts: they themselves had experiences of having to seek treatment for mental health problems, described as partly caused by factors related to reindeer herding. Contact with healthcare services was described negatively, as the life of a Sami reindeer herder was not understood by healthcare workers. The interviewees testify that knowledge about the reindeer-herding life is so limited among healthcare providers that Sami are reluctant to seek help. Ignorance means others see reindeer herding simply as a job, not grasping that it encompasses one's whole life and is essential to identity.

Theme 2. "Women might like to be at the heart of reindeer herding, but unfortunately another place is reserved for us"

Reindeer herding comprises many different tasks and the women interviewed talked about certain information being associated with the image of what is considered to be *real* reindeer-herding work. The *real* work is considered to be out with the reindeer in the mountains or forest, often on vehicles. This is understood as "the heart" of reindeer herding. The women described how there is a notion that this core is populated by men, and that a woman's place

is elsewhere. The informants described how there can be resistance to women who want to enter and be accepted at the core of reindeer herding. They explained how, as women, they are expected to take a more peripheral role, to support and perform chores for the reindeer-herding men.

Subtheme 2.1. Many terms, conditions and expectations are different for men and women

The informants described in their statements how they bear most of the responsibility for the household, finances and children. They stated that there is an expectation that they will assume this responsibility because they are women. The conditions surrounding family formation are different for women and men in reindeer herding. One woman described how she sees it as being taken for granted that she will take parental leave, as “[i]t is virtually impossible for a reindeer herder to take paternity leave.” This impedes participation in reindeer herding for those women who wish to participate more. Informants told how women are sometimes actively excluded from herding by obstructing their ownership of reindeer, being a member of the Sami community or participating in reindeer-herding work. The status of women is perceived to be different to that of men.

I 1: Women have always had a different position; I know many people my age who talk about women being useless at reindeer work and how women are such and such ...

Being a woman in reindeer herding is also described as being regarded by the men as “just a girl who can’t really do anything” rather than an individual. Some women expressed the idea that the more peripheral role *is* in fact the core of reindeer herding, as it is perceived as a culturally traditional position. Being at the heart of reindeer herding is described as having a high-status position of compared to those with more peripheral roles. Status is also described as being linked to a sense of one’s self-worth.

I 13: You don’t have quite the same status if you’re not sitting out in the mountains on a snowmobile or motorbike, so you’re not, well again maybe not so, valued so highly. The job you do is not valued as highly. You’re not involved. [...] it’s simply ignorance, they don’t value the work women do.

The women described how the more peripheral roles in reindeer herding, carried out by women who help and support, have lower status than the roles at the core. A number of informants repeatedly affirmed the importance of this peripheral work for the reindeer-herding way of life, and explained how women are the obvious providers of this work. This emphasizes indirectly

that the place of women in reindeer herding is not central. Informants further described how the peripheral work, where one is responsible for the finances and/or logistics, is mentally very exhausting. The situation often involves anxiety about the reindeer even if you yourself are at home, separated from the physical work with the animals. The women also described how they would instead occasionally prefer to be outdoors and very tired physically. The informants stated that no matter how they choose to participate, they think about the expectations of how reindeer-herding women should be and what they should do.

I 8: A good woman is one who [...] to have time to take care of the kids in the field; then she'll come to the fence and catch a few calves and participate in the reindeer work. Afterwards she'll cook and hang out the washing, and that's not enough—she has to take care of the baby and everything and not complain [...] if you find someone like that, then that's the best.

The stories describe these roles as natural and as something to be prepared for and learned from one's parents—this is how the labour is divided within a family. Being prepared to be alone at home when one's partner has to be away for long periods is felt to be good preparation for the psychological burden of living in a reindeer-herding family.

Another variable that the women talked about as different between men and women is partner choice and partnership. It is customary to move one's reindeer to the man's Sami village. Informants stated that once you have moved your reindeer to someone else's Sami village, you cannot expect to return the reindeer to the Sami village you grew up in. This is described as one of the thoughts that influence starting a relationship, because of what would happen if the relationship ended. It is described as a stress factor, being deprived of the opportunity to return to the life one grew up with.

Statements also show that partner choice can influence women's participation in herding, based on the acceptance of female participation in her partner's Sami village. One informant stated that in her own village, her participation was very active and supported in most aspects of the herding process. In contrast, her boyfriend's Sami village did not accept her activity, and this affected her daily life and mental health.

I 2: Umm yeah, I've actually felt very depressed for a while [...] I was living in such a relationship with a guy who worked in reindeer herding, but in a completely different place. And he was unable to see me as active as I actually am.

Subtheme 2.2. "As a child I learned to be a reindeer herder just like the guys, so I think I love being in the reindeer 'core' just like them"

The informants described experiences from childhood of being treated the same way as other reindeer-herding children regardless of gender. However, it seems that girls are perceived to reach a point where, even in such a neutral upbringing, they encounter resistance to their participation in reindeer herding under the same conditions as their male peers. The informants described how they encountered many comments and actions demonstrating that girls are not meant to be involved in all the tasks in herding.

I 8: I knew I could recognize the mark. It was my first time branding a live calf. I had been practising at home on orange peel and bark, and god knows what. I remember, he came over and he was a great man, like ... When he spoke everyone was quiet, because there was such respect for his voice. And then he screamed to my dad in Sami: "Have you given the knife to a girl? A girl cannot hold the knife, only guys are allowed to brand calves, what are you going on about? It's not right to let a girl hold a knife." That's how it was. And I remember, I was not so old then, and I remember that I was so sad because I had always been taught like that by my dad, no one had told me that there's a difference between me and the guys. [...] I didn't see anything because I was crying so much. So there, I was told for the first time that it wasn't, I wasn't doing what I was meant to do.

The interviews contain different kinds of stories about how the women experience the central and peripheral spheres. What these stories have in common is that regardless of whether or not the women long to be at the core, they still perceive the dividing line between the spheres and where they are expected to be placed, on the basis of gender.

Subtheme 2.3. "It doesn't have to be this way"

A recurring reason given in the interviews for why men and women in reindeer herding are not perceived to have the same opportunities seems to be rooted in physical strength. The stories tell us that there are many tasks that men are better able to perform than their female colleagues, because of muscle mass. One such task is rounding up the reindeer, usually performed on a snowmobile or motorbike. The motorisation of reindeer husbandry is considered by many informants to have segregated women from parts of the work. Several women stated that they want to carry out such tasks on the same terms as men. The study's informants who are engaged in rounding up argue that it is possible to participate in the work and that solutions are available, such as acquiring good equipment that is easier to manoeuvre. Others stated that it is all about dividing up the work differently, by

working intelligently and by anticipating situations that could be physically demanding.

Other informants believed that in reindeer-herding work it is not physical strength that determines women's participation but collaboration. One cannot be a reindeer herder alone—it depends on good partnerships with other herders. Others stated that the reason the division of labour is made on the basis of gender is because there are few female role models: you simply does what has always been done.

Discussion

Limitations

The psychologist consultant who conducted the interviews sought informants for the study through their network of contacts, which possibly meant that the stories were richer in personal information. On the other hand, there is a potential risk that informants may have been inhibited by personal ties to the interviewer. It is apparent that the participants spoke mainly about problems and difficulties, and little about the positive experiences, leading to a discussion mainly about experiences of problems. This was not expected, but might be a bias either in the participants' assumptions about the purpose of the study, or in the production of the interview guide. The interview guide was semi-structured, so it is reasonable to assume that the choice of words in the questions influenced the words in which the informants chose to describe their experiences. The interview guide questions were fairly specific and targeted the informants' own experiences. This may have meant that informants gave deeper and more direct answers than if the questions had been of a more general nature. Further, more open questions might have provided more varied responses and captured a wider range of aspects. It is also important to mention that it is not within the scope of this study to detect causal patterns or the prevalence of specific mental illnesses, but expressions of experiences and how they are understood by the Sami female reindeer herders.

Discussion of Results

The interviews have given us the opportunity to understand in greater depth the situation of young female reindeer herders. It is a position that is unique in the way it dissects several social categories. The results of our study suggest that the position of women living in this unique situation is paradoxical, in the sense not only having pride in Sami culture but also the risk of experiencing mental health problems. Previous studies have shown that women in similar situations to our respondents have a higher tendency to suicide than other rural and urban women in Sweden (Kaiser & Salander Renberg 2012).

The women in this study report living under stress, affected by various kinds of conflicts, expressed as leading to psychological burnout, depression and stress, a process studied in many contexts (Seidler *et al.* 2014), but not specifically among reindeer herders. These experiences have also been described by reindeer-herding men (Kaiser, Ruong & Salander Renberg 2013). The conflicts experienced by the women may be understood as a threat to their existence when their rights as reindeer-herding Sami are constantly questioned. The legacy of reindeer herding and the associated cultural heritage seems to be of such magnitude and so fundamental to them that abandoning herding to ease their psychological burden is not an option. The only option for the women is therefore to endure and cope. This position means that women endure, despite sexist taunts from within their own culture and racist attacks from mainstream Swedish society. Their cultural heritage is threatened from so many directions that women must simply learn to live with it, despite the negative effect on their health.

The informants also referred to a negative future in which the prospects for their own culture appear dim. This needs to be understood in the light of history, colonialism and the guardianship imposed on Sápmi by Swedish society (Kaiser 2011). As things stand today, the reindeer-herding existence is threatened because of the limited opportunities those involved in it have to influence their own situation in Swedish society. The situation is often perceived to be impossible. Suicidal ideation may therefore be understood as standing at an unbearable crossroads.

The above-mentioned problems can be added to gender-specific stress and frustration, which may also affect mental health. The informants described a gender-specific norm in which women are not expected to perform tasks that are coded as too masculine. Behaving according to expectations is socially rewarded. Challenging the construction of what is appropriate behaviour based on gender is, however, problematic. Informants who challenge the norm may have to endure punishment, verbal, social or structural. Thus, women strongly identify themselves as reindeer herders, but are not allowed to perform the same tasks as their male colleagues. This is another aspect that will affect perceived mental health. The heart of reindeer herding, those tasks that seem to be understood as the “real” work, appears to be constructed for men. Women play a peripheral role that seems to have less status and power. Meanwhile, there is apparently a norm that women should manage everything. Unlike men, women must be able to manage both the home and being out in the field with the reindeer.

The young reindeer-herding women tolerate a situation that is almost impossible to bear. This position can be understood as prioritizing those conflicts that are worth taking on. They cherish the reindeer-herding cul-

ture and this takes precedence over their desire for greater participation in herding work.

This unique position of reindeer-herding women has many intersects. One of these is age, which is a variable that the women interviewed did not see as significant and did not cite as a negative factor. Among reindeer-herding men, age is a factor in a competitive situation where younger men sometimes feel disadvantaged by older men (Kaiser 2011). However, one can imagine that the women recount situations where competitive positions in their case rather involve gender as a factor. For mental illness, age is also a factor in that young women are a particularly vulnerable target group.

Conclusion and Implications

The untenable situation in which reindeer-herding Sami women find themselves cannot continue. The suicidal feelings and experiences of anxiety and depression in the group that are revealed here are clear signs that the situation of reindeer-herding women should be reviewed to ensure that both community and mental health services are informed and adapted. We also recommend that future studies include gender-theory-informed methods and Action research in order to produce both knowledge and change.

Questioning the gender norms and discussing the prevailing status within reindeer-herding culture can lead to more freedom of action. The women repeatedly described their lives as hopeless, where they are bound to a specific role and situation. Discussion and questioning may lead to an understanding of the women and give them access to all areas of reindeer-herding work. Perhaps the view of what constitutes “real” reindeer-herding tasks will be challenged, which may in turn allow the physical and psychological burdens of the work to be shared. A reflection on gender-neutral socialization in the reindeer-herding culture could increase women’s interest and give them the confidence to allow herding work a chance and to show other women that all areas are open to them.

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ANNA WESTMAN KUHMUNEN

A Female Perspective on Sami Bear Ceremonies

ABSTRACT Researchers have often seen Sami bear ceremonies as exclusive male activities since the hunting was performed by men. This asymmetrical outlook on men's and women's participation in rituals is partly due to the old source material, which generally has a male point of departure. This view has also been reinforced by later researchers. By introducing Anna Tomasdotter and her account of the Sami bear ritual, a source not frequently used, the author of the article brings to the fore a female perspective on the ceremony. The complementary gender roles in Sami religion are thus put in focus.

KEYWORDS Bear ceremonies, Sami religion, female perspectives, Pehr Fjellström, Jonas A. Nensén, Anna Tomasdotter

The Swedish clergyman Pehr Fjellström's *Kort Berättelse om Lapparnas Björna-fänge, Samt Deras der wid brukade widskeppelser* ['A short account of the bear hunt among the Lapps, and their superstitions connected with it'] from 1755 serves as valuable source material for historians of religions and many other academic disciplines, since it includes a myth and a description of a ceremony connected with

the ritual bear hunt. Historians of religions have analysed the ceremony within the framework of a male hunting culture (Karsten 1955; Bäckman 1981; Holmberg [1915] 1987; Edsman 1994). Gestures and postures have been analyzed (Norlander-Unsgaard 1985) as well as the meaning of separate rituals. Different ritual entities within a ceremony have been interpreted, among other things, as rituals of atonement and purification (Bäckman 1981: 49 f.; Edsman 1994: 50), apotropaic rituals (Paproth 1964), vegetation rituals (Reuterskiöld 1912: 24–26), and rituals for the resurrection of the bear (Edsman 1994: 88). Together with the highlighting of the erotic elements (Bäckman 2013: 174 f.; Pentikäinen 2007: 48) these studies show that the bear ceremony contains many dimensions that have already been addressed by historians of religions. Alternative approaches have also been employed. The myth of the bear and the woman, for example, has been the focus for studies from the current perspectives of eco-feminism and indigenous scholars, where the aim has been to move the ceremony from a hunting to a life-giving context (Kailo 2008: 243 f.; Helander-Renvall 2008: 315 ff.). A characteristic—but also problematic—feature is that personal experiences can become a part of the source material.

The ritual hunting of bear connects Sami beliefs and practices with customs among other Circumpolar hunting cultures. A comparative method has therefore most frequently been applied in the above-mentioned works. Sometimes this has meant the anticipation of a historically common bear ceremony among the different peoples, but other times the comparative approach has simply been used to strengthen an argument by adding examples from other cultures. Although, a critical approach to the use of some of the more general comparisons has been put forward in favor of a limitative approach (Rydving 2011).

The hunting of bear has a geographical spread as well as chronological depth, and each period and place has its own conceptions and rituals linked to the bear. This is one of the reasons why it is preferable to speak about bear ceremonies in the plural rather than in the singular. The bear ceremonies have been seen as one of the very oldest parts of Sami religion, belonging to a hunting society that preceded the reindeer-herding culture, and depicted on rock-carving fields in northern Fennoscandia. The written source material from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which mostly reflects a reindeer-herding culture, does however show that bear ceremonies were vivid parts of Sami religion, even during that period. In archives we can find nineteenth- and twentieth-century accounts of reindeer-herding and settled Sami and their relation to the bear and in the present day we can follow discussions on human relations to the bear in the mass media and in the vast literature on hunting. Altogether this shows that relations between humans

and bears have been long established but they have naturally changed over time (Sarmela 2009: 79–106).

This article starts from the accounts of two people about how bears were hunted ritually. Between 1820 and 1825 Anna Tomasdotter told the Swedish clergyman Jonas A. Nensén her life story and about Sami traditional knowledge. One of the sources for this article is her account of the bear ceremony and the other is Pehr Fjellström's previously mentioned description. The aim of the article is to highlight Tomasdotter as a producer of ritual knowledge, whose life story until now has been little known and seldom referred to in works on the bear ceremony. She tells of personal experiences from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This is unique in a Sami context, since women's narratives are virtually absent in earlier sources and are relatively uncommon in later ones. The present article in a sense uses a limited comparative approach since it starts from two descriptions of Sami bear ceremonies that are drawn from a geographically and chronologically limited area and focuses on particularity and conceptuality. Based on a comparison between the two descriptions, one can raise questions concerning gender, age, ethnicity, insider/outsider perspective and the influence of the cultural background on the source material. Another important question raised is what ritual knowledge women possessed and how it was expressed in the bear ceremonies.

A detailed analysis of the existing source material has been undertaken by Carl-Martin Edsman (1994). Using Fjellström's description, among others, he examines the ceremony from a perspective that is strictly that of male hunters. Women are only marginally present in his discussions and if present they are not actors; instead they are shown to be hedged about with taboos and their participation in the ceremony involved performing apotropaic rituals (Edsman 1994: 50, 58, 65). Similar views are expressed in much of the early research (Holmberg [1915] 1987: 41–48; Karsten 1955: 113–122). The asymmetrical outlook on women and men has been taken up for discussion by feminist researchers, and shown to be constructed on several levels. Many of the authors of the source material took a male point of departure in viewing Sami religion, which is reflected in their work, where women's participation is largely absent. To put it somewhat crudely, male clergymen talked with Sami men about their religious practices. Their accounts are thereafter seen as valid for the whole of the Sami community. These views can easily be filtered through the researchers' eye, which reinforces the image of women as marginal and tabooed during ceremonies (Gross 1987; Keinänen 1999: 148). Researchers have to some extent tried to qualify this picture (Bäckman 2013: 117–136; Rydving 1993: 144–151). Inspired by Rita M. Gross some methodological considerations, which expose the

bias, can be used. One approach is to investigate how a male focus affects source material and interpretations; another is to reveal the ways in which women are allowed to speak in the material, instead of merely applying stereotyped ideas about women (Gross 1987: 38 f.). At the same time a complementary view on gender roles that existed in Sami culture must be considered. A comparison between Fjellström's and Tomasdötter's accounts make such an approach possible.

Two Knowledge Producers in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Pehr Fjellström (1697–1764) was the son of the clergyman Per Noreaus Fjellström and came to Likssjuo (Swedish Lycksele)¹ to teach at the Skyttean school (Swedish *Skytteanska skolan*) and later he also became rector of Likssjuo (Rydving 2010: 63). Fjellström's daughter later married another prominent missionary and vicar, Pehr Högström. Fjellström was in that way part of a network, on both a professional and kin level, which produced and redistributed knowledge on Sami religion. The Skyttean school was a boarding school for Sami children founded in 1632. The education of young Sami was at that time part of the mission strategy and all education was bound up with Christian philosophy and religiosity. The children were sometimes taken by force from their education and care in the family. After completing their studies they were meant to return home to their Sami families and work for the abandonment of the traditional religion. The education system together with the Christian mission, taxation and trade were different aspects of Sweden's colonial interaction with the Sami during that period (Fur 2006; Lindmark 2013). The pupils at the school were probably participants in Fjellström's effort to learn more about the bear ceremony.

We know nothing about whom Fjellström spoke to concerning the bear ritual or how the information for the book, from 1755, was collected. Fjellström's manuscript contains no Sami names or place-names that could hint in any direction, which is typical of much of the early source material on Sami culture. The fact that he was well read regarding contemporary literature about the Sami is clear from the way he carefully distinguishes between what he recorded himself and what, for example, Johannes Schefferus had published previously in *Lapponia* (1673). His information comes from the more southerly Sami area, whereas Samuel Rheen's material, which was Schefferus most frequently used source, comes from the Lule Sami area further north (Fjellström [1755] 1981: 9).² It is evident that Fjellström used both previously published sources and oral material, since in some sections he presents several alternative rituals and different interpretations of their meaning. He also writes about people being reluctant to tell him anything

at all about rituals. It is uncertain, however, whether he talked to women, although he does describe rituals in which women took part.

It is not improbable that he used the same method for writing about bear ceremonies as when he wrote his books on the Sami language. Fjellström wrote primers and a grammar of Sami, and made translations between Swedish and Sami. He worked to establish a written Sami language, based on the dialects spoken in the northern parts of Ume Lappmark and perhaps the southern fringe of Pite Lappmark (Sköld 1986: 17 ff.; Bäckman 1981: 38 ff.). His book about bear feasts reflects the same desire to systematize and standardize different Sami traditions from south of Lule Lappmark. It has been pointed out, however, that the Sami words in Fjellström's text are not actually South Sami but instead from the more northern Pite and Lule Sami dialects (Bäckman 1981: 58 f.). This ambiguity as to provenance can also be explained by the fact that Likssjuo was a hub where Sami from a relatively wide geographical area converged. The yearly market for trade and the Sami school brought together in Likssjuo Sami with different traditions who spoke divergent dialects. As a teacher at the school, Fjellström was also in close contact with young Sami and men through whom he most probably learned about the bear ceremony.

A different method was used by Jonas Andreas Nensén (1791–1881), who interviewed and talked to Anna Tomasdotter. Nensén served as a clergyman and curate in Västerbotten. The detailed notes he left behind were written on his travels and during stays in Västerbotten and Norrbotten but the majority of the material was collected from interviews conducted in his home in Kraapohke³ (Swedish Dorotea) and Likssjuo between 1818 and 1841.⁴ His main interests were ethnography, language, and the cultures of northern Sweden, as well as topography and zoology. The material comprises his own observations and records of conversations with Sami, Swedes, and Finns. Phebe Fjellström has held up Nensén as an example of a modern field researcher who collected unique material, and the ethnologist Sigrid Drake has used parts of the Sami material in her dissertation (Fjellström 1986: 37–54; Drake [1918] 1979: XII ff.). His notes are well-balanced and lack the pejorative judgments that can be seen in earlier writings by clergymen on Sami culture and religion. The Sami he spoke to and questioned were both women and men of various ages and social status. Nensén also made careful notes about their background; the maid Maria Johanna Pätas—a former nomad, settled on crown land—, Anders Pålsson, the boy Anders Andersson, the girl Grete Sjulsson, the catechist Lars Persson, and Kristoffer Sjulsson, to name just a few examples (Drake [1918] 1979: XIII f.).

The habit of carefully noting personal data and place-names, and the form he gave to the topics and questions, display the influence of the aca-

demic milieu in which Nensén received his education (Fjellström 1986: 42–51).⁵ We may assume that Nensén had also read Fjellström's book. Nensén belonged to an age when missionary work to convert the Sami was no longer the central activity it had been for earlier clergymen. At this point the Church considered the Sami to be Christians. Thus, the interest of clergymen could focus instead on recording the past. As a result, the later material differs from material written earlier.

Anna Tomasdotter was in her seventies when she told the young clergyman, Nensén, about her life. She was born in 1751 and was only a child when Fjellström's book on the bear ceremony was published, and she had probably not read the book. The conversations between Tomasdotter and Nensén are dated 1820–1825 in Likssjuo. Quite a lot is known about Tomasdotter's biographical accounts. She grew up in a relatively well-off reindeer-herding family whose migration route lay between Norway and Sweden. The family had their winter grazing area for the reindeer in the parish of Hemnes on Ranfjord in Norway and summer grazing area in Dearnä (Swedish Tärna) on the Swedish side of the border. It is clear that she had been strong and healthy as a child. She recounts how her father praised her when, as a young girl, she understood the importance of keeping hold of the dog when herders came with migrating reindeer. There was also the time when she managed to keep up with her father during the hard migration with the reindeer while their two older maids had to stop to rest for the night. She had only two months of schooling. When she was 20 she married Lars Johansson, a widowed reindeer herder from Ranbyn⁶ on the Swedish side. In contrast to Anna's mother, neither Anna herself nor her father was keen on the marriage. Her father thought that Johansson was not well enough off and that he already had too large a family—three sons and a maid. Anna's mother had her way, however. She argued that it was good to have a son-in-law who lived at Stoerevaerie, in the middle of the migration route between Norway and Sweden. She also thought it was a good thing that there were already plenty of reindeer herders in his family, and pointed out that he owned a little bit of everything. Johansson proposed for three years before the marriage came about. The first year he spent the summer with Annas's family working with reindeer in Agkelevuemie, in the second summer Anna's father was with him in Stoerevaerie and finally in the third summer he moved to Agkelevuemie, and it was only then that the betrothal and wedding took place. Anna Tomasdotter had three sons and four daughters, two of whom died very young. She described the birth of the fourth child, Anna Maria, to Nensén. Just as her husband put on a pot of reindeer meat to cook over the fire in the tent, she started feeling labour pains. She sent her son off to cut sedge grass that she could lie down on. Shortly after his return she gave

birth. It took her as long as it took Lars Johansson to cook the meal (Nensén R 649: 249–254).

One evening when she came home after having tried to track a lost reindeer, a *wilks råntjo*⁷ [‘white female reindeer that neither has a calf nor is carrying one’], her husband was taken sick and he died later that same night. At the same time, a wolverine took a black reindeer bull and a calf.⁸ This was the start of a new and difficult time. For several years she lived on the Norwegian side with her son and his wife, but when the son died, Anna Tomasdotter lost both money and reindeer in the distribution of the inheritance. She stayed on for three more years, and in subsequent years she lived and moved with her children’s families and with relatives. Periodically she was in Likssjuo, which is where she met and spoke with Nensén. She died in Grannäs at Suorssá (Swedish Sorsele) in 1833 (Nensén R 649: 252 ff.).

How has the knowledge produced by Fjellström and Tomasdotter been evaluated? Fjellström’s description of the bear ceremony has been categorised as a missionary account and a secondary source for Sami religion. Primary sources—Sami who write about the indigenous religion that they are part of—are lacking from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In their absence these written missionary accounts have rightfully been treated as a valuable source since they are closest in time to the lived Sami indigenous religion. Nensén has a similar status as a Swedish collector and clergyman, and the material and the people he talked to are referred to as Nensén’s collection. His material was never published and it has not had the same effect on academic writings as Fjellström’s, for example. Jelena Porsanger has taken another position and argues that the Sami knowledge producers in different collections have not been made visible and these people should be highlighted and their information categorised as a primary sources. This is also a point of departure in this article. Material from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has undergone more solid source criticism. The authors and their works have been assessed in terms of criteria such as cultural competence, their knowledge of Sami language, how much independent data the work contains and what has been copied from other authors. It has also been pointed out that the writers of the source material all come from the ecclesiastical sphere, with the mission of converting the Sami while simultaneously describing their religion. Their accounts were influenced by their religious confession and their personal attitude to Sami religion and they primarily describe men’s religious ideas and practices (Bäckman 1975: 25–49; Mebius 1968: 9–31; Rydving 2010: 57–71; Rydving 1993: 29–41; Porsanger 2007: 80). The resulting bias in the source material, with men’s religious activities being highlighted, often allowed the whole religion to be represented by male practices (Rydving 1993: 146; Keinänen 2000: 123 ff.).

Tomasdotter's narrative and position enables this perspective to be changed somewhat. Through her we also obtain a picture of Sami religiosity around 1800. Tomasdotter perceived herself as a Christian and states that the Bible had helped her during difficult periods in her life, but the indigenous Sami religion is simultaneously present, as exemplified by her description of the bear ceremony.

Bear Ceremonies

The bear hunt and the ceremony that was intended to ensure successful hunting can be divided into three phases: (1) the hunting of the bear; (2) the bear feast; (3) the restoration of the bear. Each phase contains several more or less complex rituals open to different interpretations, but the meaning of the rituals is not the main focus of this article. The first phase involved preparations for the hunt as well as the tracking ("encircling") and killing of the bear. The hunt was followed by various rituals, and the phase ended with the bear being brought to the camp. The second phase consisted of preparations in the camp for the reception of the bear and the hunters. This was followed by the butchering, the cooking of the meat and the feast that was held. In the third phase the bones left from the meal were assembled and buried, and the participants in the ceremony purified themselves before returning to their everyday lives.

Fjellström's description gives the impression that women and men acted within separate ritual spheres during the bear ceremony. Women did not take part in the hunt and the rituals that were performed in connection with the hunt, but later both segregated and shared rituals took place in the camp. The text states that there were sexual restrictions during the whole ceremony that were not lifted until the men had performed several acts of purification (Fjellström [1755] 1981: 29 f.). There are further descriptions of the men's rituals during the cooking. They prepared different parts of the bear meat in separate vessels, one for women and one for the meat that the men were to eat. Women and men then ate in different places in the camp (Fjellström [1755] 1981: 26). Fjellström describes how women were restricted in their movements and were not allowed to walk the same path as the hunters, for as long as the ceremony lasted, and in the coming year women were not permitted to use the reindeer that had pulled the bear. The men for their part were not allowed to use the paths that women were known to have travelled (Fjellström [1755] 1981: 21). Fjellström's, in some aspects, limited view of the different ritual actors, as previously noted, has sometimes led to the interpretation in earlier research that women were hedged about with taboos and excluded from rituals. The bear ceremony as described by Tomasdotter, emphasised in the following paragraphs, shows that women

were actors in the ritual as well as men but mostly just not in the same way and in the same place as men.

The Hunt

Tomasdotter mentions very little about how the actual hunt was carried out but that does not mean that she lacked knowledge about how the men could find bears. Old, experienced bear hunters searched for where the bear had been in the summer, she said. If they saw rowan or sallow twigs which had been broken off, they could start looking more closely for the animal. After the hunters had killed the bear, the men sang a *vuellie* ['chant'], rejoiced, and prepared a meal, she continues (Nensén R 649: 376). Tomasdotter does not use the word "kill" however, she says that the men had "gotten" the bear. The word she used expresses the idea that the killing was a gift from the bear. The hunting method that was used meant that the bear gave itself to the hunter. The men who had tracked the bear and finally killed it were called *borrtots älmah*; *borrtot* is a euphemism for the tabooed word 'bear,' while *älmah* means 'men.'

Through being an active reindeer herder, Tomasdotter knew about the places where the bear lived, moved and hibernated in the winter and how the bear could be tracked. She herself, however, had probably never taken part in the hunt, which explains why she talks so briefly about it. At the same time, a comparison of the two accounts shows that Fjellström, on his part, perhaps overemphasizes the hunt and the killing of the bear. Phase I in Fjellström's book fills 16 out of 32 pages, of which nine pages describe the bear as an animal and the hunt.

The Feast

Tomasdotter's account becomes more detailed when she gets to describing the rituals when the bear arrived in the camp, where the women were prepared. Dressed in fine clothes and with linen cloths on their heads, they waited for the stranger or guest, chewing alder bark (Nensén R 649: 376). As the men advanced the women could hear them chanting a *vuellie*. The men identified themselves with the bear, chanting:

Tie monne patab luotoist,
t. m. (tie monne) patab suovekâtan

So I come from the wilderness
So I come to the smoke-gâetie
['dwelling']

The women responded illustrating the ritual:

Mijeh lepeh vuordemen leipatji, linikum We are waiting with alder bark
and linen cloth.

Returning home marked a new phase in the ceremony, as reflected in the fact that the men were no longer called *borrtots älmah* but were transformed into *suije-pardneh*, the last element of which means ‘boys.’ They kept this name throughout the ceremony, until they returned to everyday life. *Suije-neit*—in which the last element means ‘girl’—or *suije-pardnen akka*, ‘the *suije*-boy’s woman,’ was the name given to the wife of the man who “owned” the bear. The owner in this case was the man who had encircled the animal in its hide, or killed it. Ownership did not mean exclusive right to the prey, since the animal was later shared among all the members of the group. The male hunters were known by a collective name, but special attention and honour was given to one woman, through the name *suije-neit*. *Suije*, which appears in all titles, is presumably identical to Fjellström’s *söive*, in *söive neit*; the different spelling can be explained by Fjellström’s endeavor to standardize Sami. The word is derived from Finnish *suvi*-, ‘summer, thaw,’ and in a Sami context it is connected with the day when the bear wakes from hibernation (Korhonen 2007: 33 ff.). In this ritual context the word was used as a euphemism for the bear.

The link between the name and a person’s skills are evident in Sami naming rituals. People wanted desirable characteristics in an ancestor to be passed on through the name. The name in that sense shaped a person’s future while simultaneously linking them to the past (Rydving 1993: 115–133). In the same way, we may expect different characteristics to have been linked to the names given to the participants in the bear ceremony, which tied them to a mythical time as well as to ancestors.

While waiting for the bear and the hunters the women loosened a brass ring that was usually attached to a purse at their belt. They looked at the bear through the ring. The *suije-neit* was then the first one to spit chewed alder bark juice through the ring. Then the other women had to hit the men with the juice. This had to be done, if you wanted to look at the bear, Tomasdotter says (Nensén R 649: 376). Fjellström describes the rituals in a similar way, telling how the women looked through the ring, spat chewed alder bark juice on the men and dogs that had participated in the hunt, and finally attached brass rings to the men’s clothes (Fjellström [1755] 1981: 20).

The significance of the gesture, of the red juice from the alder bark and the meaning of the ritual spitting has interested scholars of religions. Does the red juice symbolize blood? Should the meaning of the ritual be interpreted as a form of atonement or as a way to ward off the bear’s revenge (Paproth 1964: 69; Mebius 2003: 112 f.)? Was it a way to relate to the great sanctity and power of the bear? The meaning of the juice and the ritual is complex and difficult to interpret and may also vary within one and

the same ceremony among the different participants (Norlander-Unsgaard 1985: 197; Bertell 2010: 172).

The South Sami *sjieleddidh* ['to adorn'], or *sjiele* ['an ornament'], are used by both Tomasdotter and Fjellström when referring to the above-mentioned rituals. In an addendum to the myth, Tomasdotter also describes *sjiele* as a silver leaf. This was tied to the bear, as yet another way of honouring him (Nensén R 649: 375). In South Sami *sjiele* even occurs with other meanings (Mebius 1972) which reflect local variations as well as individual use. Tomasdotter used the word for several rituals like spitting alder-bark juice or giving the bear something, and for a silver object.

We should, however, pay attention to the gap that exists between the interpretative models formulated by researchers and the source material, that is the etic and the emic perspectives. Tomasdotter's explanation of why the woman was not allowed to see the bear until she had spat alder-bark juice, giving a *sjiele* or to *sjieleddidh* as she called it, does not follow any of the interpretations mentioned above. According to her, spitting the bark juice through the brass ring was instead a way for the women to honour the bear and according to the myth the bear himself gave the woman instructions about how to perform this ritual (Nensén R 649: 376). In other words, it is the woman's relation to the bear that is seen as central, by Tomasdotter, and the relation between women and men is less accentuated by her.

After the bear had been received by the women the animal was taken to a temporarily raised *gåetie* ['dwelling'] for the bear. There the men made up a fire and prepared the bear meat. The dwelling was made of spruce and birch twigs, and women were not allowed to enter it. The men, in turn, were not allowed to use the door when they were to enter the family's *gåetie*; instead they had to crawl in through the sacred opening. It was through the same opening they brought the meal to the women. The bear meat had to be cut into small pieces before being served, and then the women began to eat it with a knife and fork, in the elegant and ceremonial manner of the Swedes, as Tomasdotter described it. It all had to be eaten and no leftovers saved. It was not just how to eat but also what to eat that was regulated. Women were not to taste the bear's blood, heart, or bones. Future bears could turn against the men in rage if the women had tasted the wrong food, and that could cause problems for them next time they were to hunt (Nensén R 649: 376 f.).

Tomasdotter does not describe how the bear was treated, nor does she say anything about the cooking and the rituals performed by the men in connection with the preparation of the meal. Instead she describes rituals in which women were actors, for example, when decorating the bear (and the men) with alder-bark juice. Talking about these rituals she describes a relationship between the women and the bear. Fjellström, on his side, also

describes how women spat alder bark, but he devotes much more space to a description of the rituals performed by the men while cooking the meat. In his account, phase 2 fills 11 out of 32 pages, seven of which concern rituals to do with the men's cooking (Fjellström [1755] 1981: 19–30). Perhaps this is not surprising since food preparation and cooking is an area where the difference between Sami and Swedish gender roles was obvious and attracted the attention of visitors such as Fjellström.

The Restoration of the Bear

After the feast when the bear meat had been eaten, the bear's bones were collected. A little stand of boards and some trees was raised, high enough to prevent dogs from getting at the bones. It is unclear what Tomasdotter refers to when she says they placed the bones, in anatomical order, on the stand, and chanted (Nensén R 649: 376 f.):

<i>Tie monne vuolgab;</i>	Now I go, now he goes
<i>tie sodn tsevvel värit.</i>	to the mountain.

Tomasdotter explained that, if the bones were not handled in this ritual manner, the bear would travel far away and be difficult to find and catch in the future. The necessity of preserving the bones is stressed by both Fjellström and Tomasdotter. Her description, where the platform on which the bones were laid resembles a sacrificial *daektie raevie*, is unique. Fjellström presents several other alternatives which are often referred to among scholars (Zackrisson & Iregren 1974). The men could, according to him, dig a pit, either long or deep, where the bones were placed which was then covered. The burial ritual could vary depending on who was taking part in the ceremony. If Swedes had participated in the hunt, certain rituals were omitted, and the bones would perhaps not be buried in the way the custom dictated (Fjellström [1755] 1981: 30 ff.). After the bones had been placed in the pit, the bear was honoured so that it would not become an enemy of people but instead let itself be captured again, Tomasdotter says.

This third phase of the ceremony, like the first one, is not described in detail by Tomasdotter, nor does it contain any eschatological ideas. Fjellström does not pay much attention to it either devoting only four pages to this phase (Fjellström [1755] 1981: 30–33). Among historians of religions and archeologists this phase has been of great interest because it deals with some of the fundamental ideas in our fields.

Hunters' Language or a Ritual Language

There is evident agreement between Tomasdotter's and Fjellström's descriptions of what rituals were performed during the ceremonies, the differences lie rather in the perspectives they adopt and the meanings they ascribe to rituals. The differences become even more apparent when it comes to their use of terminology. Partly this is related to geographical differences but partly also to differences in knowledge.

One reason why linguistic codes were developed and used in hunting and rituals is that the *bïerne* ['bear'] was assumed to understand the Sami language and human's thoughts. Words for the bear itself and certain parts of its body could, therefore, not be used by humans without risk. In breaking the linguistic rules one risked causing danger to oneself or bringing bad luck on the hunt. The taboo words were therefore replaced by another terminology (Drake [1918] 1979: 329; Edsman 1994: 93–101). There were, however, other ordinary or everyday occasions when the word *bïerne* was to be avoided, for example when the purpose was to keep away from the bear or when you aimed to please it (Pentikäinen 2007: 97).⁹ Fjellström's list of forbidden words (taboo) and the alternative names includes seven items used for the bear itself, twelve for different parts of the bear's body, and four other words which were used during the ceremonies (Fjellström [1755] 1981: 10–12). The terminology used by Tomasdotter differs considerably (Nensén R 649: 343, 344).¹⁰ *Aija* is the euphemism for *bïerne* that she employed most frequently, a name also known by Fjellström (Nensén R 649: 343; Fjellström [1755] 1981: 10 f.), but who mostly used *Söive*. *Aija* means 'grandfather, old man,' a kinship term indicating the human kinship with the bear, but the term also signals respect.

But it was not just the use of the word *bïerne* that was taboo and demanded circumlocutions. Personal names were not used during the ceremony, and the alternative terminology changed depending on the context of the ritual. Place-names was yet another category where this occurred. Even though Tomasdotter did not hunt, as an experienced reindeer herder she knew what vocabulary was used, and what was avoided, by hunters. Accordingly a group of words, mentioned by her, are connected to the landscape. *Aijan-kâte* ['grandfather's/old man's dwelling'] meaning the bear's winter lair is one example of a word not found in a dictionary but used as special terminology during the hunt. Other examples are *gaumo* a euphemism for 'door,' and *ukkse-njalme*, 'door-mouth,' used when speaking about the opening in the den. *Aijan kaddsos* is the euphemism for the bear's blood and obviously a word used in rituals after the killing of the bear. The last element is derived from *kaddset*, 'to sup with a spoon' (Nensén R 649: 344; Drake [1918] 1979: 328). This word was probably used in connection with the ritual

where men drank a little of the bear's blood. Even though these words are all associated with the hunt, none of them are recorded by Fjellström.

The handling of the animal in rituals during the second phase also required a special vocabulary. *Aijan tores/teures* was used for the bear's head and *heves raddest* for the breast. *Fuetteh*, 'the forefeet,' is the only one of Tomasdotter's words that has an equivalent among those recorded by Fjellström. *Ruops aijan lähda* ['red grandfather's fur'] was probably a way of speaking about the bear skin or even the bear itself (Nensén R 649: 343; Drake [1918] 1979: 328). The reference to red alludes to the red alder bark juice.

Words of this type have been described as belonging to a language that only experienced bear hunters could understand. The words are supposed to have been relics of an old taboo language in which the bear was considered so holy that its name could not be used for fear of bringing misfortune or loss of luck (Edsman 1994: 95, 97; Pentikäinen 2007: 45). Tomasdotter's list of words shows, on the contrary, that the "hunting language" was not an esoteric, exclusive language understood solely by male hunters. Tomasdotter demonstrates that women understood at least parts of the hunting language. In this respect the focus on male ritual actors has been misleading. Despite the profundity of Edsman's analysis of the bear ceremony, it does not suffice to draw the conclusion that women were surrounded by taboos and played a peripheral role in the ceremony, as he has suggested (Edsman 1994: 50, 58). As has been pointed out, to be able to understand complex ceremonies it is also necessary to study the pattern of ritual exclusion and participation and how it is affected by gender, age, and also social status. Instead of claiming a strict division between a male and female religion, expressed in rituals and language, where women were excluded from ritual activities, a more nuanced categorization is to be preferred allowing recognition of the complementary aspects in men and women's rituals in bear ceremonies (Gross 1987; Keinänen 2000; Rydving 1993: 149).

Tomasdotter moreover points out that some euphemisms were used especially by female ritual actors. Only the *suije-neit*-women referred to the bear as *Sjele-Kallo*, 'silver (leaf)-forehead,' alluding to the piece of silver that, in the ritual, she placed on the bear's forehead, and *Puold-aija* ['old man/grandfather of the hill']. Generally, *Römsek* was used by women for the bear and *söks muodda* ['thick fur'] for its skin, the latter could also be used as a euphemism for the bear. Other words for the bear and the parts of its body could in turn be used by both women and men alike but with the example *Päretak* for the bear skin, she points out that certain words were spoken only by men. Rather than an over-simplistic male hunting language, Tomasdotter shows that there is difference in the ways that men and women

use ritual language. Language, however, is more subtle than merely being governed by gender; the role a person had during the ceremony also affected the terminology used. Fjellström, despite his linguistic and cultural knowledge, could not perceive this from his male, Swedish clergyman, outsider position. *Römsek* and *Puold-aija* are words that he too lists (Nensén R 649: 343; Drake [1918] 1979: 327; Fjellström [1755] 1981: 11), but his focus on men's religious lives was presumably a contributory factor in his failure to recognise women's ritual language.

While the kinship and closeness to the bear are revealed in language, the bear's presence in the ceremonies is clearly expressed through a series of *vuelieh* (plural). Fjellström writes, without reproducing any lyrics, that the *vuellie* was used throughout the ceremony and says that it varied from one occasion to another and that it was a personal mode of expression which was not fixed or static. He describes the *vuellie* as tone, voice, and sound rather than words. If there were words they are so obscure, that only a few could understand the meaning (Fjellström [1755] 1981: 21–23). The narrative dimension of the *vuellie* is made somewhat visible by Tomasdotter. One could hear from a far distance that the bear was on its way, because of the chanting men. They identified themselves as the bear and the women answered. Tomasdotter does not give an account of all the *vuelieh* in the ceremony, but earlier in 1775, 48 *vuelieh* had been written down. They were from Åsele lappmark, the area just south of where Tomasdotter lived (Wiklund 1912). The lyrics of the *vuellie* agrees, with Tomasdotter's. The honoured guest left the living world, which was expressed by the men chanting "Now I go, now he goes to the mountain." The men could then return to their everyday life. The fact that the last *vuelieh* are the same could indicate that there was a ritual yoik tradition and that not all *vuelieh* were solemnly individual expressions.

Myths about a Woman and the Bear

Tomasdotter's illustration of the language used in the bear ceremony and the gender differences in ritual terminology, means that the previous picture of women's roles in bear ceremonies, presented in earlier research, needs to be slightly more nuanced. This is further illustrated when the myths, retold by Tomasdotter and Fjellström, are discussed. Both considered the myth explains how people are supposed to behave towards the bear, since the bear in the narrative gave the woman instructions on how to perform the ceremony. Fjellström's version has been widely circulated, and it is the one that scholars proceed from. According to this myth, a young woman was forced out into the forest because of her brothers' hostility. She sought refuge in the winter lair of a male bear. He let her into his life, and after a time she bore a son. All three lived together, but when the bear grew old he

told the woman that his time was at an end. In the next part of the myth the bear gives the woman instructions about how he is to be killed and by whom. The bear's instructions are reflected in the rituals. When the brothers were busy slaughtering, the bear's son came along and recognized his father from a brass ring on his brow. The son therefore demanded his share of the prey. When he was refused this, he turned to the meat in the cauldron and asked his father to rise again. The violently boiling cauldron frightened the brothers, so they immediately gave him his share (Fjellström [1755] 1981: 14 ff.). In Fjellström's text the myth is set in a Sami context but the motif was probably widely, and well, known since the last Catholic archbishop in Sweden-Finland, Olaus Magnus, had already written down a similar myth in 1555, in which he connected the Danish royal house to the bear's offspring (Olaus Magnus [1555] 1982: 844 f.).

The myth is given yet another twist when it is related by Tomasdotter. Karl Bernard Wiklund's summary into Swedish—which is included in Drake [1918] 1979—is used here. A bear had captured a woman and she had been with him for some time. When he let her go he ordered her to bind a *sjeäle* [= *sjiele*, 'ornament'] on him. If she should hear that a bear with a *sjeäle* had been shot, she was to go there to demand her share. If this was refused she was to stir the pot so that the bear would rise again. This took place. She stirred the pot while chanting slowly and quietly, "Stand up, *sjeäle*-ear, they will not give me anything." Then there was movement in the pot and the hunters became afraid. She was given her share and the pot calmed down (Nensén R 649: 375; Drake [1918] 1979: 309). In a comment on the myth she explains that a *sjeäle* is a little leaf of silver (Nensén R 649: 375).

According to Edsman, the first version is the key to understanding the bear ceremony as a divinely established order through the mixed marriage of the bear and the woman. The bear let himself be shot after he had taught the woman the rituals that were to be performed in future hunts (Edsman 1994: 82). He also refers to the myth as retold by Tomasdotter, stating that it explains the human relatives' right to a share of the meat. It is basically the same myth, which shows how vigorous it was. The differences are, according to Edsman, due to the hundred years that passed between the recordings of the two versions (Edsman 1994: 83).¹¹ The time dimension is not the only variable however when discussing variations in myths.

Even if the myths agree in explaining the origin of the ceremonies and the purpose of single rituals, the main motif according to Edsman is missing in Tomasdotter's version, since she speaks neither of a sexual relation, nor a man-wife-son relationship with the bear, emphasized by some (Pentikäinen 2007: 47 f.). It is instead the woman demanding her rightful share of the prey which is the central theme in Tomasdotter's

telling. The fact that the two myths were recorded in different geographical areas, and at different times, may only partly explain the differences. There could be other reasons. Distribution of food according to food rules, often based on age and gender, is central among hunter societies and expressed at religious ceremonies. Tomasdötter puts this aspect of the bear ceremony to the forefront through the myth. The theme also shows the relatively strong position Sami reindeer-herding women held in the Sami community at that time (Bäckman 2013: 117–136; Rydving 1993: 144–154). The violation of women's rights is something that Tomasdötter also brings up in her life story. It should be noticed that Tomasdötter lived in a time when Sami life was affected by the growing number of Swedish settlers, and rights may therefore have been accentuated. The context when the knowledge was being shared is another factor to be taken into account. Bell has shown how gender and age affect fieldwork and noticed that love and sex in particular were topics that indigenous women did not talk to male ethnographers about. This in turn has colored the descriptions of women's religion (Bell [1983] 2002).

Age, especially for women, was at least as important a factor as gender in the exercise of religion. Before puberty, girls could move freely between men's and women's rituals. Fjellström describes how children ran between the bear's dwelling and the place where the women gathered during the ceremony. During a later period in their lives, women occupied a special position. Menstruation and pregnancy affected their ability to take part in ceremonies. This was probably the period that Fjellström proceeded from and also the younger men at school whom he interviewed. After the menopause there was another change which again meant increased participation in ceremonies for women. This was Tomasdötter's position when her story was recorded. For her the difference between women and men was presumably not as relevant as for Fjellström and the men he spoke to. Even though she spoke freely about the birth of her daughter, a question remains as to what Tomasdötter, in her seventies, could or could not say to the male Swedish clergyman Nensén who was thirty years younger than her.

A contextualization of the myths shows the possibility of individuals like Tomasdötter to highlight certain aspects of life through the myth. It also shows that a focus on just one myth can be too limited. Tomasdötter's version of the myth is quoted relatively seldom, which may partly be because it was written down later, but also because it was characterized as a folktale and separated from myths in the ethnographic dissertation where Nensén's material was presented (Drake [1918] 1979: 308).

A Different Perspective

Even though Tomasdotter went into much less detail than Fjellström when she talked about the bear ceremony, she succeeded in making women more visible as ritual actors. It is obvious that there was a division between men's and women's practices in the different phases but both men and women were performing rituals, not always together, not always at the same place or time, but through their ritual actions they affected future hunts. It is worth noting that she did not speak of women as being excluded, but we must bear in mind that this could reflect that prevailing social and religious gender roles were so natural to her that she did not notice the exclusion. However, ritual distinction need not necessarily imply ideological or hierarchical distinction.

Tomasdotter expressed how women's rituals were a way of interacting relationally with the bear, rather than with the male hunters, and both rituals and myth stressed, among other things, the respectful attitude that people must display in order to have a successful hunt. This was of interest for both men and women. Or as Anna Tomasdotter explained, the bear received this special treatment so that it would not become angry at the men or refuse to greet them. Tomasdotter also revealed attitudes necessary when hunting. The hunters were not supposed to brag. They should not say "I shall hunt on skis and shoot" but travel humbly and meekly, because the bear can sense the hunter's thoughts, and when they are not good he becomes angry and can turn against people, as she put it (Nensén R 649: 376). It is perfectly clear that the bear was considered to be an animal with special qualities; Fjellström wrote that it was a sacred animal. Tomasdotter, in her narrative also touches on the concept of "luck". To have reindeer or hunting luck is to have a good life. It was not sufficient to be skilled to have a successful bear hunt. The right attitudes, language and rituals and luck were also needed. Nils Oskal has discussed the concept of reindeer luck as a Sami moral system. With good fortune, which has nothing to do with chance, a herder can have a large herd (although not necessarily), but more importantly a beautiful (well-balanced) herd, that survives even if there are harsh periods. Luck can be inherited and last for generations, but it can also disappear. It requires that the reindeer are treated as having an intrinsic value, and one should not talk or think negatively about the animal. It demanded a conciliatory attitude and an ability to comply with the landscape and the pasture areas for the reindeer, with the surrounding world and all its inhabitants, both humans and immaterial forces. Luck is influenced through actions, words, and thoughts (Oskal 1995: 128 ff.). Tomasdotter touches on all these subjects in her narrative, and how women as well as men, through rituals, language and thoughts were responsible for luck; something which makes her a valuable primary source for Sami religion.

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NOTES

- ¹ Place-names are spelled according to the official Sami spelling of today, unless otherwise stated.
- ² *Lappmark* was a term set by the colonial power and denoted an administrative district, within the Sami areas of Sweden-Finland. In the seventeenth century the lappmarks were Åsele, Ume/Lycksele, Pite, Lule, Torne and Kemi lappmark.
- ³ This is the South Sami spelling, but the orthography is under discussion.
- ⁴ According to Drake ([1918] 1979: XII) most of the material was collected between 1818–1841, but Fjellström (1984: 38) is of the opinion that the collecting took place from 1813 up to his death in 1881.
- ⁵ This also applies to some earlier clergymen. Thomas von Westen's so-called "books of confession" from 1720s had detailed notes about where and from whom different information came. Although his books have been lost they are referred to by other clergymen.
- ⁶ Ranbyn was a *lappby*, a term used by the colonial power denoting a group of Sami with their lands. The indigenous system was rooted in the Sami *siida* organization.
- ⁷ The Sami orthography in the article is consistent with Nensén's and is not transcribed into modern spelling. South Sami is used when the word does not refer to Tomasdotter in Nensén's material.
- ⁸ A *wilks rântjo* is a significant reindeer in the herd. She is easily detected because she is larger than other female reindeer and with antlers more like a male animal. A *rântjo* was considered to be very close to its owner. To have one or several such reindeer was considered a way to get reindeer "luck." In her narrative, Tomasdotter creates a parallel development in the human and reindeer world, to illustrate how "luck" can change.
- ⁹ Citing an MA thesis in Finnish by Auli Oksanen 2007.
- ¹⁰ There are more words by Tomasdotter in Nensén's collection but they have not been possible to decipher.
- ¹¹ There is a difference of 65–70 years between the accounts, not 100 years.

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Miscellanea: Notes/Notizen

Conference report Indigenous Resources. Decolonization and Development

Nuuk, Greenland 2015

The multidisciplinary conference Indigenous Resources: Decolonization and Development was held at Ilisimatusarfik/University of Greenland in Nuuk, Greenland, 30 September–4 October 2015. It was organized by the research institute Island Dynamics, led by Adam Grydehøj, which promotes island studies through conferences and publications. The conference focused on decolonization processes in Greenland and in indigenous communities around the world and attracted about 45 participants in total, including 30 visiting delegates from Australia, Anguilla, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, India, Italy, Japan, Malaysia, Mauritius, Netherlands, Sweden, Taiwan and the USA.

Following the core values of Island Dynamics, the conference included knowledge exchange “between universities, governments, businesses, and NGOs” (see www.islanddynamics.org). Over two days the participants visited and talked to representatives from the Inatsisartut/Parliament of Greenland, Naalakkarsuisut/Government of Greenland, NAPA—Nordic Institute of Greenland, Semersooq municipality and various local businesses and organizations. A particularly rewarding meeting was the visit to the high school Qeqqani Ilinniarnertuunngor-niarfik where the conference participants were able to sit down with students and exchange experiences and information.

The scientific deliberations included presentations on indigenous communities around the world, and a wide range of analytical perspectives. The fact that the conference theme attracted researchers from many different subject fields—Anthropology, Applied Linguistics, Geography, History, Indigenous Studies, Political Science to name just a few—illuminated the complexity of processes of decolonisation, and the need for, and advantages of, multidisciplinary approaches.

The conference ended with a screening and discussion of the documentary *Sumé. The Sound of a Revolution* directed by Inuk Silis Høegh. This is the fascinating story of the Greenlandic rock band Sumé in the

early 1970s which, by using Greenlandic lyrics with political messages, revitalized Greenlandic culture and identity. It is also a story of the Danish colonization of Greenland, and the long and complicated processes of decolonisation and increased independence.

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Making Cultural Heritage Online

Lars Levi Læstadius' Work and its Relevance in the Arctic Region

Making Cultural Heritage Online (MCHO) is a project digitalizing the work of Lars Levi Læstadius. The project is centred at UiT The Arctic University of Norway in Tromsø, with a network of researchers from the universities of Eastern Finland, Nordland (Norway) and Umeå (Sweden), as well as from the Botanical Garden in Kirovsk (Russia). The project is multidisciplinary.

This project covers both historical studies and a study of the relevance of Læstadius' ideas historically and to present-day thought. MCHO aims to develop two digital platforms, a researcher platform and an educational platform for use in schools. The basic hypothesis of this project is that Lars Levi Læstadius' ideas are still useful to modern researchers, not only in religious-historical and theological contexts, but also in fields as diverse as the botanical, linguistic and ethnographic sciences, as well as in understanding the cultural context in the European North. We also believe that the project contributes significantly to technological and conceptual advances in these fields, and to a broader understanding of the origin and history of some of the central ideas that have formed the contemporary North.

Each of the following research aspects will be pursued from both historical and contemporary perspectives with regard to Læstadius' *Nachlass* texts:

1. Annotated transcripts of original publications/letters in their original language.
2. Translations into Finnish, Swedish/Norwegian, Sami and English, as available.

3. Texts existing only in Finnish and/or Sami to be translated into English.
4. Oral presentation of some of the material in selected northern dialects.
5. Development of pedagogical resources.
6. Developing disciplinary and multidisciplinary research projects based on the material.

Lars Levi Læstadius

Lars Levi Læstadius was born in 1800 in the municipality of Jäkkvik in Swedish Lapland and died in 1861 in Pajala on the Swedish side of the border with Finland, which was a Russian Grand Duchy during the nineteenth century. Læstadius was educated as a theologian and worked as a vicar in Swedish Lapland. He is best remembered as a revivalist preacher and the revivalist movement, “Læstadianism,” has become a central influence in the cultural heritage of Northern Norway, Northern Sweden and Finland.

Much of the expertise on Læstadius’ work is located in the Arctic region. This research has mostly been carried out in the national contexts of Finland, Norway and Sweden.

There have been many scientific studies of the Læstadian revival, but a broad scientific presentation of the whole range of Læstadius’ work has never before been undertaken. The aim of this project is to make available all the works of Læstadius and to raise their profile, thereby opening up a significant field of cultural heritage in the North Calotte.

The Study of Læstadius’ Nachlass

Læstadius work makes a contribution to a wide range of scientific fields, not only theology. He mastered and used several languages in his writings: Latin, Swedish, Sami and Finnish. Most interesting are his contributions in the latter two languages. In 1839, he anonymously published the booklet *Hållaittem ristagasa ja sattu almatja kaskan* [‘Conversation between a Christian and a non-believer’] which, with two other publications dating from the 1840s, were the first texts ever to be published in Lule Sami. Læstadius thus played a major role in establishing a written standard for Lule Sami. During the years 1839–1845, Læstadius worked on a monograph on Sami mythology. This was meant to form part of the publication series of the *La Recherche* expedition, but the manuscript disappeared. One part was traced in 1933 to Pontarlier in France, another was discovered in 1946 at the University of Yale in the USA, and in 2001 the final part of the manuscript was found in Pontarlier. In the text, Læstadius declares the mythology of the Sami people to be the equal of any other.

Læstadius was also an internationally recognized botanist, a member of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh. Whilst attending to his pastoral duties, Læstadius pursued his interest in botany, authoring a number of articles on plant life in Lapland. Because of the wide recognition of his knowledge of botany, Læstadius was invited to participate in the French *La Recherche* expedition of 1838–1840. As an expedition member, Læstadius served as a field guide for the interior of Northern Norway and Sweden, studying both plant life and the culture of the Sami inhabitants. Following his participation in the *La Recherche* expedition, Læstadius became a Chevalier of the French *Légion d'honneur*, the first Scandinavian to receive this honour. Læstadius' herbarium, his drawings and his observations are of great value within the fields of both natural history and botany, contributing floristic, taxonomic and ecological information regarding vascular plants in northern Scandinavia. For many years he made meteorological notes and recorded the time of arrival of various migrating birds in Karesuando.

At the age of 43 Læstadius wrote his pastoral thesis *Crapula mundi*, in which he argued against the theological rationalism of the Swedish Enlightenment, and the moral decay of modern culture. The theology of Læstadius has had a great impact on the people of the North Calotte. His sermons were circulated throughout the region. At least 466 of them have been preserved and some are still in use today. Læstadius also wrote a thesis in philosophy of religion entitled *Dårhushjonet. En blick i nådens ordning* ['The lunatic. An insight into the order of grace']. This text provides a critique of philosophical and religious changes in society.

Læstadius wrote extensively, and several of his letters and papers have still not been published. Most of his *Nachlass* (unpublished writings) are now spread over various archives and private collections. An overview of his main publications is listed in Håkan Rydving's "Bibliographia laestadiana selecta" (Rydving 2000). In both Sweden and Finland there are several documents in libraries and archives; some of them already digitized. The search for further documents relating to Læstadius is ongoing, as is the process of digitizing and publishing as much of his unpublished work as possible. Making these texts available (transcribed and annotated) will ensure a broader and more accurate picture of Læstadius' thoughts, which is essential if their contemporaneous and present-day relevance is to be properly assessed.

Focusing on Læstadius's *Nachlass* should make it possible to obtain a far more detailed understanding of the author's role in the development of the history of the high north, and to study the genesis and development of the many ideas on which Læstadius worked—as attested by the content of these unpublished texts.

Three private agencies in Sweden have published Læstadian texts: Bib-

lioteca Laestadiana, laestadiustexter.se, and the Læstadius Museum in Pajala (see www.bibliotecalaestadiana.se; www.laestadiusfriends.se). Co-operation with these agencies will be of the highest priority for our project.

Project Organization

The project is organized in three national research groups: a Norwegian group located in Tromsø (Chair: Rolf Inge Larsen, Associate Professor), a Swedish group located in Umeå (Chair: Olle Sundström, Associate Professor), and a Finnish group located in Joensuu (Chair: Hannu Mustakallio, Professor). The three groups will work closely together. Rolf Inge Larsen co-operates closely with the other national Chairs to organize the work in such a manner as to ensure a high degree of synergy between the sub-projects. Hopefully, PhD candidates and masters students from all the participating universities will also be associated with the project. Regular joint seminars will be held and there will be an emphasis on joint publications. Researchers from all groups are already involved in preparations for the first workshop.

Publication Plan

A crucial preliminary step will be to clarify the scope of the technical platform which will be used to host the collected works of Læstadius. One of the university libraries will be responsible for this task, in co-operation with the other libraries and archives involved, taking charge of building and maintaining the platform. The University Library in Tromsø has a strong commitment to digital publishing and editing services and can ensure that the technical solution chosen for the Læstadius project is sustainable and complies with international standards for digital editing, text annotation and search facilities. The technical platform has not yet been chosen, but we are aiming to have a specialized Open-Source text database engine for the storage and retrieval of analyzed or annotated text. Application domains include linguistics, publishing, text processing, and any other fields dealing with annotated text.

Work on the various sub-projects (including the publication of Læstadius' *Nachlass*) will take place throughout the duration of the project. Seven Nordic workshops and one international conference will be organized during this period. All the activities will be documented on the project website (<http://site.uit.no/lll>). The project was launched at a workshop in Tromsø, 29–30 October 2015, where the disciplinary research project was discussed and presented on our website. Forthcoming workshops within the project will mainly be held at host universities, or in the municipalities of

Karesuando and Pajala where Læstadius lived and worked; they will be organized as open, international events with internationally recognized keynote speakers.

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Online resources

Biblioteca Laestadiana; www.bibliotecalaestadiana.se

Laestadiusarkivet; www.laestadiusarkivet.se

Læstadius Museum, Pajala; www.laestadiusfriends.se

Laestadiustexter.se; www.laestadiustexter.se

Making Cultural History Online; <http://site.uit.no/III>

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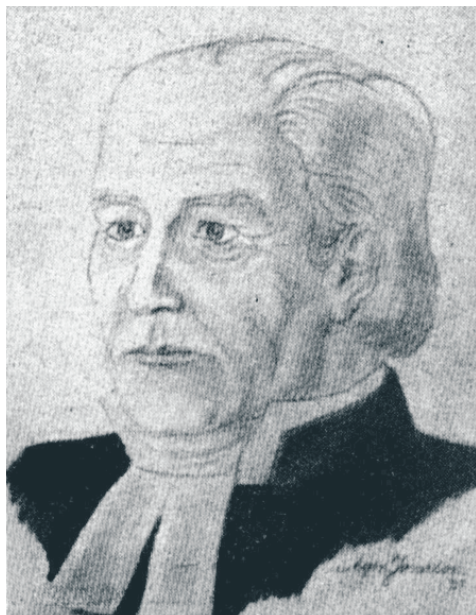
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“The Inquisitive Vicar”

Bringing Jonas A. Nensén’s Nineteenth Century Records of Northern People’s Life and Culture to a Wider Audience

“The inquisitive vicar” is a two-year transdisciplinary infrastructure project financed by Stiftelsen Riksbankens Jubileumsfond that began on January 2015 at Umeå University (IN14-0194:1). The project’s aim is to make the nineteenth century records of the northern people’s life and culture, as they were noted by the vicar Jonas A. Nensén (1791–1881), more widely known and available for researchers and the public alike. These records offer unique insights into a wide diversity of topics with importance for several disciplines as well as for our general understanding of the area’s cultural history and development.



JONAS NENSÉN

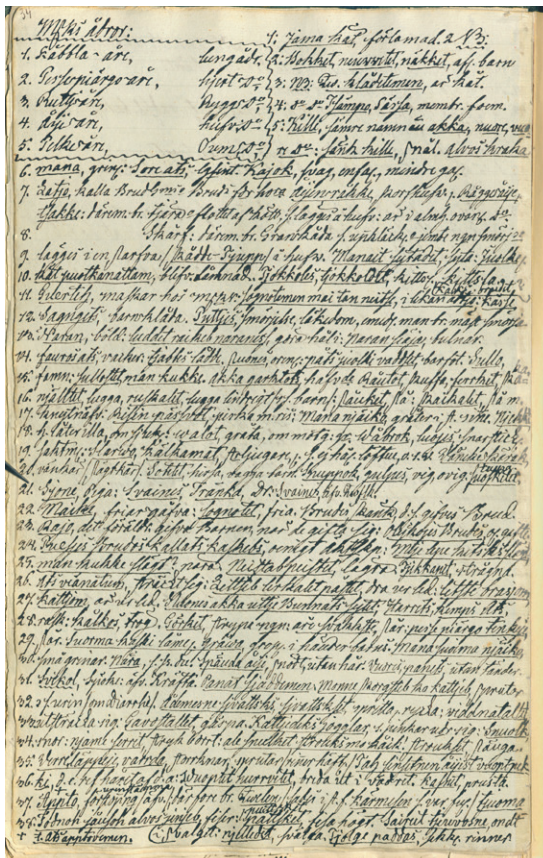
An illustration said to be a portrait of the vicar Jonas A. Nensén (1791–1881) is found in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* [‘The dictionary of Swedish national biography’] (see Fjellström 1987–1989).

Jonas A. Nensén was born 1791 in Själevad, located in the northern part of Sweden, as the son of the rural dean Anders Nensén and his wife Helena Salin who herself stemmed from a family of vicars. He was brought up in the vicinity of Frösöskolan, Östersund, where his grandfather Andreas Nensén worked as an inspector. He enlisted as a student in Uppsala in 1810 and was ordained in Härnösand 1817. In 1830, Jonas A. Nensén was appointed vicar of Dorotea and he remained there until his death 1881.

As Phebe Fjellström has pointed out (Fjellström 1987–1989; 1992) it is very likely that Jonas Nensén was highly influenced by his upbringing in Östersund. Several enlightened and learned men surrounded Frösöskolan during these years, and Nensén’s later records of the northern people’s life and culture are clearly inspired by the Linnaean tradition, as well as the expositions used by Jacob Faggot (Faggot 1741) and by Sven Baelter in the classic *Delsboa illustrata* (Lenæus 1764) written by Andreas Nensén’s friend Knut Lenæus. Nonetheless, Nensén’s records are also a part of an older tradition, tracing back to the writings of Johannes Bureus ([1600–1601] 1886) and his “Memorial” (*Memorial* ... 1630), which stated the importance of gathering information on both the material and immaterial culture. Archbishop Eric Benzeliu’s appeal to the clergy to record local dialects and language variations in the early 1700s, and Carl Linnæus’ writings during his journey into

the north in 1732 are later contributions to this endeavor, to which Nensén adhered in his documentation during the nineteenth century.

It is noteworthy, and of interest for researchers, that Nensén not only had a broad understanding of what was of interest to record for the future. He also recorded who had said it, when they said it, and where they said it along with notes of the informant's background as well as the social and geographical context of what was said. In doing so, Nensén was being quite innovative with respect to his contemporaries, and his method was not commonly used until the late nineteenth century when these kinds of records became a more widespread phenomenon. Later examples of such methodology, covering the same area as Nensén, include O.P. Pettersson ([1941–1960] 1982), Lisa Johansson (1972), and the records of Nils Eriksson that have formed the basis of Rolf Kjellström's "Nybyggargliv i Lappmarken" (Kjellström 2012a; 2012b; 2013; 2014; 2015).



J.A. Nensén's sources cover a wide range of areas, both geographically and in terms of topics. The picture shows one of many pages that illustrate how Nensén recorded Sami language variations and the words' factual meanings as well as cultural connotations. (Uppsala University Library, R 649, p. 34.)

The records upon which this infrastructure project focuses originate from Jonas A. Nensén's extensive journeys in the Swedish part of Sápmi and the northern sphere during the nineteenth century. During these journeys, the vicar sat down with the area's inhabitants and eagerly recorded in their own words their lives and experiences such as they knew them, as well as how older traditions and experiences had been orally recounted to them. Among the informants were servants and people of the lower social strata as well as more influential individuals such as merchants and vicars' wives; young and old individuals; women and men; and Sami, Swedes, Norwegians, Finns, as well as other ethnicities. As a result, the records give voice to often neglected groups side by side with more widely known perspectives. Thus, the records provide new insights into the highlighted themes and are of interest for international research into topics such as indigenous people, "the new history from below," and gender studies as well as insights into more traditional subjects such as historical, ethnological, and linguistic research where the latter not least benefits from the Sami language variants noted by Nensén. The wide diversity of topics includes—but is no way limited to—folklore, different languages and their dialects, history, zoology, biology, trade, traditions, and cultural encounters between the Sami people and the settlers of the northern sphere.

In addition to the information provided by the informants' testimonies, the records also include transcripts and other forms of information that Nensén felt were important to preserve for the future. Among these sources are excerpts of Johannes Schefferus' *Lapponia, id est, regionis Laponum* ... (Schefferus 1673), Pehr Högström's *Beskrifning öfwer de til Sweriges krona lydande lapmarker* (Högström 1747), Abraham A:son Hülphers' *Samlingar til en beskrifning öfver Norrland* (Hülphers 1789), and Johan Wilhelm Zetterstedt's *Resa genom Umeå Lappmarker i Vesterbottens Län, förrättad år 1832* (Zetterstedt 1833). There are also excerpts that cover ancient mythology, Old Norse literature (such as *Hávamál*), and transcripts of learned works like Jesper Svedberg's *Schibboleth. Svenska språkets rycht och richtighet* (Svedberg 1716) and Andreas Olavi Rhyzelius' *Monasteriologia sviogothica, eller Kloster-beskrifning* ... (Rhyzelius 1740). These sources are also covered by the infrastructure project and have been made available in the digitalized corpus, even though these records will not be transcribed within this project.

Some researchers have already discovered how rich and rewarding Nensén's records are. Among these are Sigrid Drake ([1918] 1979), K.B. Wiklund (1921; 1922), Phebe Fjellström (1965; 1982*a*; 1982*b*; 1983; 1985; 1986; 1987; 1987–1989; 1988; 1991; 1992; 1998; 2001), Christer Westerdahl (2008), and most recently Anna Westman Kuhmunen and Lena Kappfjell, who

are both using Nensén's records in their respective thesis projects (see also Westman Kuhmunen 2016, in this issue). There has also been some attention directed towards Nensén's records of the widowed Sami Anna Tomasdotter's accounts—which cover about 150 handwritten pages—in the project “Dokumentation av ursprungssamiskan i Storumans kommun” [‘Documentation of the indigenous Sami language in the Storuman area’] carried out by Vadejten Saemiej Sijte (VSS) in Tärnaby. Despite all of this research, there is still a large amount of information remaining to be uncovered and analyzed in Nensén's notes because each previous project has had its own narrow focus and almost all attention has been directed towards the records kept in the Uppsala University Library (R 649, R 650, and the newly created R 649a, which until this project started were part of NC 1545). This corpus represent the majority of Nensén's remaining records, but by adding scarcely used sources that are currently in Nensén's living relative's possession and records kept at The Popular Movement Archive in Västerbotten (Familjen Nensén, Dorotea, F:I–II), the infrastructure project has expanded the corpus and given rise to an even wider perspective and has provided a more nuanced view of the northern people's lives and cultures in the past. The project also makes all of this information more readily available and thus easier to use for researchers and more accessible for the interested public. By doing so, the infrastructure project hopes to be able to help facilitate the understanding of our own society from a historical context and to increase our knowledge of older cultures.

Creating an Infrastructure for the Future

As already stated, the project aims to bring together the records of the northern people's life and culture, as they were noted during the nineteenth century by the vicar Jonas A. Nensén, and to make them more widely known and available for researchers and the public alike. In order to manage this task, the infrastructure project has brought together language scholars and historians and put to use the expertise of system scientists to make the final product as user friendly as possible. There is also a reference group that includes both academics and researchers outside of academia as well as representatives of different institutions and other users to test and discuss the final project.

Seen as a set of four distinct phases, “The inquisitive vicar” began its first phase as soon as it was financed by Stiftelsen Riksbankens Jubileumsfond. Its first priority was, of course, to gather and scan all the known documents. By the time this phase drew to an end during the spring of 2015, the project had succeeded in digitally bringing together over 2,000 pages

of hand-written source material, which in its physical form and ownership remains split between Uppsala University Library, The Popular Movement Archive in Västerbotten, and private holders. These digitalized documents were then organized into a new corpus, which will be available to the public no later than the beginning of 2017 through the cultural heritage platform ALVIN (Archives and Libraries Virtual Image Network) hosted by Uppsala University Library.

With this first phase completed, the project is now working on transcribing the content of the Swedish, Sami, and Norwegian sources with a focus on the statements that Nensén took part of. The transcription of other languages used in the records (such as Finnish, Russian, and Livonian) needs to be concluded in a separate project with its own expertise. These records are nonetheless digitalized and presented in the corpus, as mentioned above, which will facilitate the future transcription and translation process. The transcription that is carried out within the infrastructure project meets three criteria: First of all, it is a diplomatic transcription that is true to the originals. Secondly, it follows a philological standard that use dissolved abbreviations and facilitates the reading process for future users. Finally, a substantial editorial manual has been set up, and a revised version will be presented for readers to use side by side with the transcriptions.

Because the Sami sources give insights into their life, culture, and not least language variations existent in the nineteenth century that are not usually documented in writing, it has been deemed important to translate these sources to make them available for a broader audience. This constitutes a third phase for the project, which runs parallel to further transcribing of the other documents. Once this is done, all transcribed sources will be contextualized in a fourth phase, although some of this work will run parallel to the transcription and translation due to the nature of the work that is being performed.

The end result of the project will, therefore, not just cover the scanned documents presented in ALVIN, but it will also be a digitalized database available at Uppsala University Library, The Research Archives at Umeå University Library, Gaaltije – South Sami Cultural Center (Östersund), Ájtte, Swedish Mountain and Sami Museum (Jokkmokk), and The Silver Museum (Arjeplog) in 2017. Thus, “The inquisitive vicar” is not only available for a wider audience through the transcribed texts and digitalized corpus, but will also be brought back to the northern people and the cultural sphere where it all started.

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Reviews / Comptes rendus / Besprechungen

Review essay

Coming to Grips with the Greenland Ice Historical Flashbacks

Cornelia Lüdecke (hsg.), *Verborgene Eiswelten. Erich von Drygalskis Bericht über seine Grönlandexpeditionen 1891, 1892–1893*, München: August Dreesback Verlag 2015, ISBN 9783944334387, 476 pp.; Janet Martin-Nielsen, *Eismitte in the Scientific Imagination. Knowledge and Politics at the Center of Greenland*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2013, ISBN 9781137380791, 214 pp.

Greenland (*Kalaallit Nunaat*, literally, ‘The Land of the People’), originally a province of Denmark, may now be described as a neo-colony under the Danish Crown. After its inhabitants gained self-government in 2009 and began to stake out a trajectory partially their own, the island has received considerable attention in the media regarding its economic future as part of the Arctic. That is a story I touched on in an earlier review article in this journal, “Changes in the attribution of values to northern and Arctic spaces” (Elzinga 2015: 99–122).

In the present review the focus shifts to *The Ice*, the elemental force that has geophysically shaped this vast northern ice-covered island, influenced climatic conditions there and far beyond, and has in the course of human history left an indelible imprint on the lifestyle, character and livelihood of the indigenous population (*Kalaallit*), the Greenlanders. The first book *Verborgene Eiswelten* [‘Hidden iceworlds’] is an anniversary volume that, for the first time, presents to a modern audience a collection of Erich von Drygalski’s and his fellow researchers’ hitherto scattered letters and narratives from two scientific expeditions to Greenland in the early 1890s. The volume offers a fascinating insight into *Fin-de-Siècle* Greenland viewed through a multifaceted lens of the science of that time. The second book *Eismitte in the Scientific Imagination*, on the other hand takes us into the twentieth century, in this case probing the history of knowledge and politics on the Inland Ice.

Born on 9 February 1865 (150 years ago, hence the anniversary)

Drygalski († 1949) was a German explorer, geographer and geophysicist who was fascinated by and reflected much upon the interplay between Greenlanders and their polar environment. In contrast to many of his contemporaries he did not see these people as wild, exotic and unpredictable beings but rather as knowledgeable and resourceful, wholly adapted to the land of the ice. He also found them to be dependable as workers when engaged in helping him accomplish his scientific goals—indeed, he says that without their help his projects would have floundered; he hired several Greenlanders as local guides and assistants.

His reports contain interesting ethnographic observations supplemented with pictures of indigenous families. They live, he says, in a state of Communism and are ready to embrace strangers as part of their collective once they see that they respect their way of life. Like Nansen, however, he was worried by how the effects of colonisation on indigenous communities in various parts of Greenland made the inhabitants less self-reliant. Manufactured products and household goods imported from Denmark created growing dependency on an outside world and members of the younger generations were no longer routinely trained in the traditional skills of hunting and survival. Greenland's main exports at the time were still fur (of polar bears, seals, Arctic foxes), duck feathers, and some minerals. In return civilization had brought schools, churches and medical doctors, and allowed handicrafts to reach European markets and bring in some income. In addition, the Royal Greenland Trading Company (*Den Kongelige Grønlandske Handel*, KGH, dating back to 1774), a Danish state enterprise with a monopoly on trade and the purchase of native products, introduced a system of credit accounts that native families could draw on when hunting was poor. Drygalski believed such developments were positive and outweighed the negative aspects of colonisation. In this his views harmonized with the social liberal beliefs of the times, and he found it unrealistic to wish for a withdrawal of Europeans. He argued that instead one had to hope the paternalistic hand of the colonizer would, in the long-term, benefit the overall welfare of Greenland's aboriginal population.

Drygalski is mostly remembered for his expedition aboard the *Gauss* to Antarctica 1901–1903. This is thanks to the fact that only a year after his return from the distant southern continent he published a semi-popular account in which he chronicled his discovery and exploration of a small part of the Antarctic mainland that was almost entirely unknown. *Zum Kontinent des eisigen Südens. Deutsche Südpolarexpedition fahrten und forschung des 'Gauss' 1901–1903*, was a volume that was widely read and captured the popular imagination, at least in Europe (the first English

translation came only in 1989). In contrast to this his earlier Greenland expeditions were mostly written up in reports back to his patrons and in accounts addressed to fellow scientists in the form of proceedings of the Geographical Society of Berlin, plus some articles in a specialist journal. The scientific outcome of his two Greenland expeditions, worked up over the course of four years, were published in two volumes (1897, in Berlin) but ultimately his Greenland exploits and findings fell into obscurity. Today they are known only by a small group of scientists and a few scholars who specialize in the history of polar exploration and research.

This is confirmed when one reads Janet Martin-Nielsen's book that takes the story of research on the Greenland ice into the first two thirds of the twentieth century. She focuses on Alfred Wegener's expedition 1930–1931 and several subsequent traverses across the vast inland ice sheet during the period when Greenland served as a Cold War laboratory in which the USA and NATO assumed commanding positions. In leading up to that story she refers to well-known events such as A.E. Nordenskiöld's and Robert E. Peary's efforts to cross Greenland on skis and Fridtjof Nansen's later successful attempt to do so in 1888. She also notes how German explorers of that era

do not conjure up the same heroic, triumphant image as those Britons, Americans and Scandinavians who accomplished 'polar firsts', still they were part of a national polar agenda driven by geopolitical design, scientific ambition, and geographical curiosity (p. 21).

Curiously, when exemplifying this point Drygalski is mentioned only for his famous Antarctic expedition but there is nothing about the man's earlier work on Greenland's coastal ice nor his feat of establishing the first scientific overwintering station there. It is not inappropriate therefore to bring the two books together in the present review. Cornelia Lüdecke's Drygalski volume with its first-hand reports from Greenland in the early 1890s serves as a prelude to the period covered in Martin-Nielsen's book which, moreover, features an intriguing cover image depicting members of a Danish expedition on Greenland's ice sheet in 1878, carefully man-hauling sledges over treacherous crevices.

Drygalski did not have an expedition vessel of his own. Instead he rented space on the Danish Greenland Trading Company's seasonal supply ship that sailed from Copenhagen to Disko Bay on the west coast of Greenland. There he and two scientific companions were deposited the first year for a preliminary stay over the summer. The following year there was a repeat performance with large stores of provisions, building

materials and scientific instruments transported, which would allow the group to spend a full fourteen months there, over the winter. During the second expedition a research station was established and dog sledges were used to travel about 3,375 kilometres along the fjord-ridden stretch of coast mid-way up the west side of Greenland. The travel reports are full of descriptive detail and evoke in the reader an appreciation of the difficulties involved both in reaching Greenland in the first place, 57 days by ship through storms, sometimes remaining still and *maneuvering* through icebergs, and then upon arrival unloading everything from the supply ship onto smaller boats for transport to a small kayak harbour where the station house was built.

During the winter months February–June 1893, relying on dog-sledges with local Greenlanders as expert drivers and guides proved more efficient than summer outings by boat. It was possible to visit several fjords and study the character and movement of glaciers. The basic rationale for the expeditions was, in fact, to gain a better understanding of the ice, glaciers, icebergs and how they calved, the Greenland inland ice (as the interior ice sheet was called), and the influence of the ice on climatic conditions and the lifestyle of the Greenlanders. Drygalski's passion for the ice flowed from his conviction that, in Greenland, it was a good analogue of geophysical conditions during the Ice Age in Scandinavia and northern Europe. Thus he devoted most of his own efforts to grasping something of the dynamics of glacial ice-streams as well as the character of the inland ice. One of his companions (Hermann Stade, 1867–1932) was a meteorologist and studied varying weather patterns and climatic conditions and the other was a biologist (Ernst Vanhöffen, 1858–1918) who investigated the fauna and flora around the edges of the fjords as well as the marine life at sea. The study of the earth's magnetism, some geology and collecting fossilized flora also formed part of the scientific program. One of the scientific volumes published in 1897 included a section entitled "Hunting and Trade in Greenland" which contains observations concerning methods of hunting seals, indigenous whaling and the capture of a particular species of bird. Here one also finds some economic history and details of the numbers of seal furs and pound-weight bales of eiderdown plucked from birds for annual export from the colony 1891/92–1893/94.

Cornelia Lüdecke has done a good job of putting together the various travel reports, some of Drygalski's letters home and excerpts from the two scientific volumes that emanated from the two Greenland expeditions. She has modernized the language of the original texts, without altering meaning or content, and has systematically inserted footnotes

that refer back to passages in the original texts or other relevant literature. In a foreword the expeditions are briefly situated in their historical context and Lüdecke explains the combined celebratory and scholarly motives for publishing this compilation of travel reports and scientific results in 2015. Two chronologies relating key events during each of the two successive expeditions appear in appendices. There is also a two-page historical *exposé* on the measurement of glacial movement plus a note on the retreat of a glacier that flows into Jakobshavn Isfjord, with a timeline into the past illustrated in two small maps. One of these marks the changing glacier front over the years from 1870–1953 as estimated by the German cartographer and glaciologist Johannes Georgi in 1959; the other comes from a recent publication (2014) that covers a longer period, namely 1851–2006. This brings Drygalski into present-day efforts to track glacial change in the Arctic.

The main body of *Verborgene Eiswelten* is divided into three parts. In Part I Cornelia Lüdecke recalls the earliest documented scientific observations of Greenland's icescape and moves on to give the reader an overview of German and Scandinavian research in the high latitudes and Greenland prior to the time of Drygalski's investigations. This is followed by a section on ethnological studies of aboriginal peoples (Sami and Eskimos) in polar-regions made from the 1870s onward into the 1890s. We learn how several members of Inuit families, including shamans, were taken to Europe where they were paraded before large audiences in major cities before they died of smallpox. Laplanders, Inuit and Patagonian aboriginals were also taken to the famous physician and anti-racist anthropologist Rudolph Virchow's laboratory in Berlin for craniological studies—Virchow (1821–1902), it should be noted, was an opponent of social Darwinism.

Part I also contains a brief section on the state of the art *c.* 1890 within those areas of science that were relevant and the newest instruments that were available to Drygalski. One area of research that had just emerged strikes the present day reader as rather unusual. It concerns a colour scale developed to classify different kinds of seawater; it was used and critically commented on based on observations made during Drygalski and his companions' passage from Copenhagen to Greenland. Finally this part of the book ends with a section in which the editor describes Drygalski's university studies and what drove his interest in the polar region. A significant intellectual point of departure was the Swedish geologist Otto Torell's theory of the inland ice and its role during the Ice Age. In Germany, as elsewhere, the theory generated many questions regarding the Greenland ice, its structure, massiveness, movement

and effect on the underlying surface; in Drygalski's mind the questions translated into a novel research program that combined theoretical and empirical studies.

Part II makes up the bulk (242 pages) of the book. It contains the original accounts of the two expeditions to Greenland. The first section is the shorter one since it covers the pilot study expedition in the summer season of 1891; here one finds Drygalski's reflections on climatic conditions, colonisation, the Greenlanders and their society, plus a preliminary discussion of the inland ice and the character of local glaciers. The second section consists of a variety of accounts, first regarding preparation for the main expedition (1892–1893) and its scientific agenda, then travel reports to various people back home in Berlin, and detailed descriptions of various aspects of work in the field. There is also a detailed account by Vanhöffen of the coming of spring, and how a whole new world sprang into life, for fauna and flora, affording ample opportunities for observations of animal behaviour and collecting botanical materials.

Finally we are given two different perspectives on the one and a half-month long homeward journey in the brig that brought the expedition from Umanak, Greenland back to the Danish capital, Copenhagen. Drygalski comments on winds and weather, logistical aspects and the changing colours of the seas. Vanhöffen describes marine life, birds of various kinds and plankton counts and other results obtained from sampling seawater.

In a final section Cornelia Lüdecke has added a commentary by Drygalski published in 1895 in connection with the exhibition in Berlin of a small selection of photos (from an entire collection of 535) taken during the Greenland expeditions. He explains how these photographs represent different facets of the expedition, illustrating the scientists' own living conditions, the life of Greenlanders, scenes from excursions by boat and dog-sledge, different formations in the landscape and various types of vegetation. And he adds: one should not be surprised that such a large part of the exhibition is devoted to pictures of the ice, this is not a matter of taste but reflects the force of the Arctic Nature. It is the Ice that gives the Polar Regions their character. For the scientist, he says, recognition of this fact holds the key to a better understanding of these regions.

Part III, comprises just over 150 pages. Here we find a systematic presentation of scientific results classified under various headings. It is not possible here to go into detail. A summary has to suffice: Glaciology (some aspects already noted above); Geophysics (measurements of the

earth's magnetism and gravitational force at the Karajak research station and on Umanak Island); Meteorology (around Karajak station where periodic readings of several parameters were made, supplemented by observations regarding phenomena associated with seasonal Föhn winds on Greenland's west coast); Sea colour determinations (see above); Biology (polar animals, particularly bears, Eskimo dogs, seals, whales of various sorts, small terrestrial fur animals, a long list of bird species, plankton, shrimps, discussion of plankton production in icy fjords, various kinds of flowers and other vegetation, fossils and typical locations where these were found). The sections on biology contain many attractive small aquarelle images by Vanhöffen; these are reproduced from a sketchbook made available by a grand-niece-in-law and are probably here revealed for the first time to a broader audience.

The gist of the presentation under the heading "Hunting and Trade in Greenland" has already been discussed (above). Cornelia Lüdecke has also added a very brief comment on how Vanhöffen's biological fieldwork inspired the Danish botanist Morten Pedersen Porsild (1872–1956) to establish a biological research station in Godhavn (Qeqertarsuaq) facing Disko Bay; it started up in 1906 and was led by Porsild until 1946. Today it is part of an environmental research facility called Arctic Station owned by the University of Copenhagen Science Faculty.

Part III is rounded off with a short article (in German) "Greenland and the North Pole" written by Drygalski in 1896. It gives a general characterization of the island and its different regions as an Arctic territory. This is followed by the final section in which Cornelia Lüdecke discusses the reception of Drygalski's publications after his return from Greenland and how the "polar fever" that had taken hold of him spurred him to negotiate funding for the German South Pole Expedition 1901–1903. The latter was to be one of four coordinated ventures to Antarctica—the other (parallel) expeditions were those led by Robert Falcon Scott, William Spiers Bruce and Otto Nordenskjöld, respectively.

With the issue of the book *Verborgene Eiswelten* Cornelia Lüdecke has rehabilitated Drygalski as an important actor in the realm of Arctic exploration and research. One interesting feature is the illustrations included in the text. Apart from the aquarelles already mentioned, the book contains many reproductions of original photographs taken by Drygalski. Some of these come from the archive of the *Leibniz-Institute für Landerkunde* in Leipzig, others from a family photo album made available by a grandchild of Drygalski.

No doubt this anniversary volume will find many readers in Germany. In other countries the readership will probably be limited to polar

buffs and historians who will value it as an important reference work. Its function as such is facilitated by a useful index of names which is complemented by a list of brief biographical sketches of some 150 people (including native Greenlanders) whose names appear in the various narratives or in the editor's comments. Finally for the scholar concerned with polar matters the extensive bibliography is also useful.

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Janet Martin-Nielsen's *Eismitte in the Scientific Imagination* is the result of the author's work in one of nine sub-projects within a major research program at the Center for Science Studies, Aarhus University in Denmark. In the review that follows I first situate the author's project and give a general indication of what the book is about. Thereafter comes a brief overview of the complex episodes in the history of science in Greenland plus some remarks characterizing the author's approach to her subject. Only then do I go into detail regarding the structure and content of the different chapters. This leads to some repetition but this is necessary to do justice to shifts in the historical context, the activities on the ground and the scientific passions of the leading personalities involved.

Funded by the Carlsberg Foundation 2010–2013, the program entitled *Exploring Greenland: Science and Technology in Cold War Settings* has been carried out as a joint venture among seven researchers from Aarhus University and three from Florida State University. An anthology with the same title, edited by Matthias Heymann and Kristine C. Harper is scheduled to appear in 2016. The program has already produced many publications that have put Greenland on the map within the history of postwar science and technology. It shows that Greenland became an area of high scientific interest and activity for the USA, Denmark and other countries; and also how the USA's military interests, geopolitical concerns and Denmark's claims to sovereignty have influenced research efforts in Greenland.

The sub-project with which Janet Martin-Nielsen is associated deals with glaciological research in Greenland during the first decades of the Cold War. The storyline really begins with Alfred Wegener's expedition in 1930 that established a research station at the Greenland ice sheet's geometric center point. It was an achievement that cost Wegener his life. At the same time Wegener's German Greenland Expedition 1930–1931 signified Eismitte's transition from a coveted, inaccessible place in Nature to a material and symbolic space in human history

and culture, a site of scientific knowledge production. Martin-Nielsen writes in her book:

The research stations transported to and built at Eismitte over the decades—from the German snow cave to prefabricated French laboratories to giant US mobile living units—represent physical expressions of the expeditions' various *raison d'être* and claims to modernity (p. 4).

Over the years, as snow covered and compacted each year under its own cumulative weight, it pressed down one station after another leaving remnants of human occupation encapsulated in the ice sheet. The book's graphic description of the now invisible polar archaeological layers enveloped by seasonal strata of snow conjures up a further image of "hidden iceworlds," this time associated with twentieth century socio-political and technological change.

To stand at Eismitte today is to stand atop layers of old camps buried progressively deeper in the snow: 40 meters down are the bones of a US Air Force station, built to link Greenland to the outside world; just below lie traces of Project Jello's mobile scientific camp; another five meters down are the remnants of the French *Station Centrale* (Central Station), its prefabricated walls and laboratories buckled under the weight of accumulated snow; and nearly 60 meters below the surface is the snow cave from which Wegener set out on his last, fateful traverse, crushed almost to nothing. Through all these layers snake ice core drilling channels, now twisted and fractured but still reaching deep into the ice and into the past. Thanks to an average annual snowfall of 400 kilograms per square meter—layers of snow that never melt entirely, becoming denser as new snow falls, eventually turning into ice and moving ever downwards, feeding the great glacier—Greenland's ice sheet acts as a time capsule: to travel down in ice is to travel back in time (p. 2).

By around 1966 the image of Eismitte was no longer that of a humanly occupied space on the ice sheet. It had been re-configured into one coordinate among many others, an important node in a global US military geodetic network in the Cold War era for guiding ballistic missiles and bombers. Eismitte's earlier allure as a mystical place in nature and then as a series of special kinds of space in the culture of science and technology, had all faded. There is also a parallel history concerning the first deep ice-core drilling operation in Greenland at Camp Century, which marked the beginning of another trajectory. Part of the task in Martin-Nielsen's project has been to tease out some significant strands in the history of science in Greenland during the first two-thirds of the

twentieth century. The following two paragraphs taken from a project description available via the above-mentioned website provide a brief summary (see note 4).

Glaciology was still in its infancy around the time of the Second World War, but the shift of military-strategic interests towards the Arctic as a potential battlefield of the Cold War led to an extensive build-up of research activities in this field. Glaciological activities took off, facilitated by new transportation technologies and sophisticated life-support systems that made it possible to live in relative comfort in an extreme climate. In 1949 the Snow, Ice and Permafrost Research Establishment (SIPRE) was founded under the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to conduct basic and applied research in glaciology and permafrost science. SIPRE's research activities in Greenland were primarily located around the Thule Air Base and at stations on the ice cap. The primary focus of these studies was the physics and dynamics of the ice; ice as a building material, how to build runways on land- and sea-ice and the construction and maintenance of military-scale installations: from traverses across the ice cap to map snow accumulation and flow, to laboratory studies of crystal formation and plastic deformation of ice. Several European expeditions went concurrently to Greenland: the French EPF (*Expédition Polaires Françaises*) from 1948–1953 and the French, German, Austrian, Swiss and Danish collaborative EGIG (*Expédition Glaciologique Internationale au Groenlande*), which traversed the ice sheet during the International Geophysical Year measuring the accumulation and flow of ice and recovering short ice cores for physical and chemical analysis.

Environmental information in the ice such as nuclear fallout, volcanic dust and, from the 1960s, the temperature record which can be reconstructed many thousand years back in time through isotope analysis of the annual snow layers, was another focal point. This information was extracted from ice cores drilled both by EGIG and SIPRE, and in 1966, SIPRE's successor institution CRREL (the Cold Regions Research and Engineering Laboratory) was the first to successfully penetrate the ice sheet at the military Camp Century in northern Greenland. In the 1970s ice core studies took over as the primary field for glaciological research in Greenland when an American-Danish-Swiss collaboration drilled through the ice sheet to gain knowledge of past climate changes. Activities at CRREL peaked in the mid-1960s, with the establishment of Camp Century, a camp dug into the ice sheet, housing 200 men and supplied with energy from a portable nuclear reactor. In the late 1960s the U.S. military gave up plans to establish a wider network of tunnels under the ice to hide nuclear missiles, the so-called Project Iceworm, for political

and practical reasons. As a result glaciological research at CRREL waned. Instead growing environmental concerns motivated support for an international ice-drilling and -analysis project to reconstruct past climate.

The book *Eismitte in the Scientific Imagination. Knowledge and Politics at the Center of Greenland* deals with the above-cited developments from a broad historical and political perspective and addresses such questions as: To what extent were individual research projects at scientific institutions shaped by specific military interests? Did scientists seize the opportunity to further their own research interest? How did the Danish sovereignty influence these collaborative efforts? In pursuit of answers the author has consulted many major archival collections in several countries, among them at NATO headquarters in Brussels, the National Archives in Copenhagen, and the French Polar Expeditions archive at Fontainebleau in France. In the USA she visited the National Snow and Ice Data Center at the University of Colorado, Boulder Co., viewed military records held by the national archives in College Park, Maryland as well as letters, documents and reports deposited at CRREL in Hannover, New Hampshire, and consulted some oral history recordings housed at the Byrd Polar Research Center Oral History Program (Ohio State University) in Columbus Ohio. Her detective work has turned up much interesting material (some of it originally classified as confidential, secret or top secret) that is now being cited for the first time in the process of piecing together the complex history of many significant events that occurred in the inter-related realms of science, strategic military developments and geopolitics. Based on this and the reading of many primary scientific articles and books as well as historical and other studies in secondary literatures there emerges an exciting new picture of science in the context of post-Second World War Greenland.

Eismitte is depicted as a site once shrouded in myth and speculation that became a tangible and symbolic space. Its function as a technoscientific stimulus of the imagination grew and varied during the course of the series of expeditions that began with the one led by Alfred Wegener, followed by the French, North American and European expeditions and projects.

Wegener died in his ice cave in the early winter of 1930 but his companions Ernst Sorge and Johannes Georgi continued the glaciological and meteorological research programs under difficult conditions at Eismitte in 1931. Later, new technologies, some of them developed during the Second World War, made Eismitte more easily accessible and habitable as a space for research. In the late 1950s C-130 Hercules planes came onto the icy scene as did research facilities associated with two

semi-permanent radar stations (6 stories high and weighing 2,400 tons each) on the ice sheet, known as DYE-2 and DYE-3. The latter were part of the 6,000 kilometres chain of radar stations called the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line set up to detect Soviet bombers approaching North America across the pole. 1956 saw the introduction of six High frequency Ranging and Navigation (HIRAN) stations on Greenland, one of them located at Eismitte. With their electronic distance-measuring equipment these stations were part of a global US system of high precision tracking to guide bombers and ballistic missiles. A team of photo-mappers plus a medic and survival specialist worked at each HIRAN site. Meteorology and snow accumulation studies were also on the agenda. By the early 1970s when environmental issues came to the fore, DYE-3 served as a convenient location for testing new glaciological techniques for the Greenland Ice Sheet Project (GISP) that ran from 1971–1981. The latter is associated with later developments that fall outside the scope of the book.

In its four chapters the book details the intricacies of a hitherto under-researched story of Greenland ice as an evolving space of (sometimes conflict-filled) multinational scientific collaborations underpinned by political and military agendas. Flanked by a brief Introduction and a concluding Epilogue the four chapters take up only about 100 tightly crafted and informative pages; these comprise the core of the book. Below are some of the highlights in the storyline that unfolds between the covers.

The Introduction gives a preliminary overview of the scientific history of Eismitte and discusses the approach the author uses to depict the changing trends and images she associates with individual and institutional actors' pursuit of "power through knowledge." The approach is bifocal—meaning it focuses on *both* scientific practices in the field *and* what happened in the "boardroom sites." The latter were the places in the capitals of countries where the expeditions were planned, financed, and, at times, fought over.

Chapter 1, entitled "A Land Apart," traces the first pioneering attempts to penetrate the great ice sheet to reach Eismitte—perceived as a holy grail in polar exploration—and goes on to portray the success of Alfred Wegener's fateful expedition which laid to rest the earlier mystique and speculation. The scientific and other motives behind exploration in Greenland during various episodes are explained; in the case of Wegener we are also given a well-documented account of the science carried out. The background to the expedition, its goals, the main personalities involved, and logistic and scientific aspects are described at length togeth-

er with their limitations. Contemporary acclaim by other scientists and explorers is cited and it is shown how, with the compilation and publication of the many findings in seven volumes that appeared in Germany between 1933 and 1940, Alfred Wegener's legacy relating to Greenland was firmly established.

Chapter 2, entitled "Taming the Ice Sheet," is devoted to the next episode. This concerns how after the Second World War the French expedition led by the entrepreneurial and media conscious anthropologist and explorer Paul-Emile Victor (1907–1995) was the first to build on that legacy. We learn how Victor was tutored by the famous anthropologist Marcel Mauss and, like him, rejected theories of geographical determinism. He went to Greenland to do ethnographic work (1934–1935) among the Angmagssalik Inuit community on a small island off Greenland's east coast. In 1936 Victor and some companions succeeded in crossing the Greenland ice sheet from west to east after which he continued his ethnographic studies at Angmagssalik. These were experiences that sparked an illustrious, lifetime, polar career and the authorship of many popular books. One early article bears the telling title "Je suis un Esquimau" (published in *Paris Soir* 1937).

Wartime and the collapse of democratic France eventually took Victor to the USA where he enlisted in the Army Air Force. He was soon commissioned to write technical manuals for polar survival and travel, and he learned practical skills ranging from parachuting into cold regions, flying, and driving the mechanized overland track vehicles called weasels. Such hands-on knowledge was later put to good use when he returned to France after the war and in 1947 founded Les Expéditions Polaires Françaises. This is the organization that institutionalized scientifically oriented polar expeditions under the French flag to both Greenland and Terre Adélie, France's territorial claim in Antarctica. The chapter discusses Victor's vision of a new age of polar exploration, his arguments as to why France should play a leading role in it and his successful lobbying for state funding to conduct a series of expeditions to Greenland. This in turn was meant as a testing ground for technologies and logistics and a stepping stone to consolidating his country's foothold in Antarctica. Reportedly, by 1967 over 1,000 scientific and technical personnel had taken part in EPF expeditions to Greenland, Antarctica, and an ice dome in Iceland (p. 59). Operations in Greenland included two scientific winters at Eismitte 1949–1951 with teams of first eight and then nine men. Their work in estimating the thickness of the ice sheet there and along several long traverses crisscrossing the ice sheet, it is noted, helped elevate polar glaciology to the level of a modern quantitative,

data-driven endeavour applauded by leading international figures such as the Swedish science-diplomat Hans W:son Ahlmann.

Two other aspects are focused on in the story. The first concerns some complicated diplomatic footwork and manoeuvring on Victor's part to overcome scepticism in Copenhagen at a time when the Danish government was determined to reassert sovereignty in the wake of a virtual US takeover of Greenland during the war. The second aspect discussed concerns Victor's ability to orchestrate what today we would call outreach activities to construct a powerful narrative for public consumption—lectures, radio talks, films, photograph exhibitions, including one at the Danish Embassy titled *Groënland—Le Danemark Arctique*, as well as promotion of his expeditions in popular magazines and via an illustrated children's book. The image he cultivated was one of scientific priority, technical conquest of the polar environment, and the French as a nation in the vanguard of polar exploration and research.

The title of Chapter 3, "The Longest Trek," refers to a very long traverse (1,800 km) that in 1955 went under the name Project Jello. It was the culmination of four years of intense US glaciological work dictated by that country's military needs: snow stratigraphy, ice-core research, and meteorological observations. The expedition leader was the geologist and geophysicist Carl S. Benson (b. 1927 in Minnesota to immigrant parents from Sweden), now a well-known name in the annals of polar science. As a young man he was responsible for four traverses of the Greenland ice sheet, 1952–1956. The chapter reviews Benson's scientific biography and the novel character of Jello as a mobile operation that crossed Greenland in a train of specially modified giant weasels pulling cargo sleds and sleeping quarters; food, fuel and equipment along the way were parachuted in by regular drops from airplanes (the latter a system pioneered by the French EPF). Martin-Nielsen also analyses how the US glaciological teams' efforts and their results helped advance the field's international research front in the 1950s and early 60s. It is also shown how the expeditions were simultaneously part of a broader picture—a geopolitical one of US military control of the Greenland ice cap as part of a strategy to develop retaliatory capacity against Soviet dominance in the polar North.

On the basis of concrete archival evidence the book thus revises the earlier commonly accepted view of science as a disembodied rationalistic enterprise; research practices, it is argued, ultimately reflected a fusion of curiosity-driven interests with a Cold War US and NATO military-strategic agenda that helped facilitate the pursuit of both knowledge and power. The author also pays belated attention to the impor-

tance in polar settings of new food technologies and dietary expertise developed over many years on the basis of R&D in military laboratories. In one section the operation qua Big Science is characterized as a part of the scientific Cold War in Greenland, in another the accent is on how it involved a delicate balance of Danish and US interests in Greenland. We also learn about the intricacies of “ice sheet logistics” that depended on radio communication between scientists in the field and the pilots who navigated aircraft with no trustworthy landmarks in sight and under unpredictable and often ferocious weather conditions.

Chapter 4, “It has Completely Changed,” brings in new dimensions that were important in shaping research agendas in the late 1950s and into the 60s. Here begin stories of European cooperation involving five nations (France, Switzerland, Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany and Denmark), the advent of the International Geophysical Year (1957–1958), and thereafter a new form of US-Danish scientific partnerships centered around the HIRAN stations and then extended to Greenland’s Dew Line stations, particularly DYE-3 (see above). The advent in 1959, of the ski-model C-130’s (Hercules) planes was a boon to airlifts carrying cargoes of construction material and personnel to Dye 2 and 3 and invaluable logistical support for glaciologists, readily flying them in to ice-core drilling sites and then out again (with their valuable cache of ice cores) at the end of the drilling season. With this emerged the scientific networks that became instrumental in the development of ice-core research. International partnerships were established between CRREL and other US teams and teams from the University of Copenhagen and Bern led respectively by Willi Dansgaard (1922–2011) and Hans Oeschger (1927–1998). Dansgaard was a pioneer in the establishment of the close link between variations in the isotopic composition of polar snow (^{18}O and D) and the temperature record over time at the precipitation site. With his Copenhagen team, he became the first to model, interpret and graphically plot continuous isotopic profiles along deep ice cores (Jouzel 2013).

The chapter takes up the context and the little known background history of these developments. We find here for the first time a coherent account in English of European research cooperation under the auspices of the *Expédition Glaciologique Internationale au Groënland* (EGIG) an effort that continued for four years (1956–1960). French military forces supplied air support during the first three years until the Algerian War of Independence entered a critical phase that brought this practice to a halt and the IGIG turned to the US for help in evacuating men and equipment after completion of the expedition’s last season on the ice. Paradoxically, the Danes contributed nothing to scientific work on

the ice sheet since they followed a long established tradition of concentrating only on the coastal zones. Danish authorities jealously guarded these areas for their own scientists while at the same time they were very anxious about not having full control over all the activities that were unfolding across the vast ice sheet. They also demanded that all scientific results stemming from the EGIG had to be published in the Danish periodical *Meddelelser om Grønland*. It was a situation requiring a delicate balance between different interests and entailed a lot of bureaucratic red tape and continual irritations and tensions between the host country and the other countries and their scientists as well as embarrassment on the part of some leading Danish researchers like Dansgaard. After tracing these developments and the science using her bifocal lens Martin-Nielsen goes on in this chapter to apply the same approach to the historical background: Cold War decision-making, logistics and other activities surrounding the establishment of the six HIRAN stations and the further technical experience and scientific spinoff that came out of this.

The two cases studied (EGIG and HIRAN) overlap in time and partly also in some of the scientific questions addressed. For example measurement of rates of snow accumulation across the ice sheet and detecting its overall movement, for example at Eismitte where various measurements using conventional instruments produced mutually contradictory data sets, were important. Confusion and uncertainty attending single-location determinations were only cleared up in the 1970s when the expansion of radar and satellite technologies transformed ice-sheet movement measurements in ways that introduced a bird's eye perspective whereby data from many local stations were synthesized across large zones. Using the two cases the author is able to demonstrate in concrete terms the intricate interdependence of research practices, new technologies and politics at play in the emergence of new scientific achievements in several fields—glaciology, geophysics, seismology, meteorology and geodesy. Further, it is noted how some of the results opened the way for climate and environment-related science that tied in with a general shift at the time from the classical concept of climate as basically stable to one of regimes of natural variability.

The book's Epilogue discusses what the author calls "the scientific nationalism" that swept over Greenland after the Second World War. It is shown how this was a Danish protectionist trend that had roots going back to the previous century when cartography and other scientific knowledge were cultivated as activities demonstrating sovereignty, and establishing a tradition of focusing on the coastal zones. Over the years Danish glaciologists amassed an encyclopaedic knowledge of

Greenland's coastal glaciers. During the International Geophysical Year (1957–1958) Denmark's glaciological contribution still centered on studies of four glaciers outside the ice sheet proper. It was only in the 1960s, after the bitter experience of being bypassed by the scientists of other countries who became experts on the ice sheet, that the Danish political and scientific authorities decided to develop the competence and techniques needed to contribute to ice sheet science. This helped bring about a paradigm shift in Danish science and politics, from scientific nationalism to internationalism, and from a former absence to a strong scientific Danish presence on Greenland's ice sheet.

Although still reliant for a long time on the need to piggyback on logistic and infrastructural arrangements put in place by the US under the NATO umbrella, Danish investments in the academic sector at the University of Copenhagen boosted a new generation of researchers who in the 1970s succeeded in developing several new aids and methods for glaciological research. These tools made them attractive partners for foreign colleagues and supported a close integration with other European capabilities in paleoclimatology. At the center of all this stood Willy Dansgaard and his method for oxygen isotope measurements of the annual layers in the ice cores using a mass spectrometer to find past temperatures. Others on his team were instrumental in designing and constructing a new ice-core drilling technology tested at DYE-3 and, in later versions, used at a large number of deep ice-core drilling sites on the Greenland ice sheet but also in Antarctica. Today Dansgaard's old department at the University of Copenhagen has evolved into the Centre for Ice and Climate at the Niels Bohr Institute, which is one of the world's leading institutes in the field. Presently the group consists of 45 scientists, post-doctorate and PhD students led by Professor Dorthe Dahl-Jensen.

As Sverker Sörlin expresses it on the back-cover of Janet Martin-Nielsen's slim monograph, it is the book we have been lacking. It is a thoroughly researched scholarly work. Perhaps more might have been made of the apparent exclusion of indigenous Greenlanders from the expeditions and military installations that benefited science. Otherwise the only criticism I have is the obvious lack of photographic images that would serve well as illustrations in the four chapters. I imagine that this limitation is contingent on budgetary restrictions and the policy of the publisher. Preceding the Introduction there are however five simple maps of Greenland showing the trajectories of expeditions on the Greenland ice sheet from 1878 to the EGIG 1956–1960, and the location of the six HIRAN stations. These make it easier to follow the episodes dealt with in the text.

The Epilogue is followed by a 58-page note apparatus containing altogether 530 endnotes, many of them extensive with multiple references and sometimes further discussion. With its citations of letters, documents and reports found in the various archives visited plus a broad range of primary and secondary published sources the endnote section is a kind of historiographical digest, a sub-text that the reader may also enjoy browsing for its wealth of novel information. Other worthy assets are the book's 21-page bibliography and its comprehensive person and subject index.

Together the two books reviewed here provide interesting insights into how glaciologists and other actors have come to grips with the Greenland Ice in both intellectual and material terms.

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NOTES

- ¹ In 1986 the Greenland home government took over KGH as an independent association and seven years later it was transformed into a corporation named *Kalaallit Nuiuerfiat* (KNI) which owns, among other things, Royal Arctic Line A/S and two chains of stores.
- ² www.eu-interact.org/field-sites/greenland-4/arctic-station/; access date 9 April 2015.
- ³ A survey of the main subprojects and their outcomes, including several papers by the author of the book under review here may be found at www.carlsbergfondet.dk/~media/Images/Forskerartikler/Exploring%20Greenland/Exploring%20Greenland%20Brochure.ashx; access date 7 April 2015.
- ⁴ <http://css.au.dk/en/research/projects/greenland/studyingtheice/>; access date 9 April 2015.
- ⁵ To give an indication there is a huge note apparatus with 530 endnotes in which about 15 per cent of the information cited stems from the various archival collections.
- ⁶ J. Jouzel, "A brief history of ice core science over the last 50 yr;" <http://www.clim-past.net/9/2525/2013/cp-9-2525-2013.pdf>; access date 7 April 2015.
- ⁷ www.nbi.ku.dk/english/www/willi/dansgaard/arven-fra-dansgaard/; access date 8 April 2015.

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Roger Andersson (ed.), *Tre politiska pamfletter från 1460-talets Sverige. Med ett bidrag om Danske kong Christierns handel av Carl Claeson, Ebba Edberg & Peter Isotalo*, Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia; Centrum för medeltidsstudier, Stockholm universitet 2011 (Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia. Editiones 3), ISBN 9789188568526, 50 pp.

This book contains new editions of three political pamphlets produced in the 1460s—the so-called *Kong Christierns handel* or *Danske kong Christierns handel*, an untitled “broadsheet” from 1466, and a letter from Karl Knutsson from 1464 addressed to the cathedral chapter in Uppsala. *Kong Christierns handel* has the form of a letter issued by the commonalty “offuer alla Dalar” (Dalecarlia) to, among others, bishops, clergymen, knights, and the council of the realm, and it is highly critical of political life during the period from 1455 to 1463. The target is King Kristian I. The broadsheet, which is also aimed at the king, was spread among the peasants in Dalecarlia. In the letter from Karl Knutsson, it is not the king but the archbishop Jöns Bengtsson who is the subject of the sender’s anger. These three documents are edited in an exemplary manner by Roger Andersson. Three students in a course in medieval research in the Department of History at Stockholm University—Carl Claeson, Ebba Edberg, and Peter Isotalo—then analyse the pamphlet *Kong Christierns handel* in a short essay. They place this political lampoon of the struggle between Karl Knutsson and King Kristian I in a contemporary perspective, and they emphasise the “nationalism” in the pamphlet and discuss the use of concepts such as “nation” and “nationalism” in research on pre-modern times. They deal with the concept of “Swedish men,” which in reality does not comprise “all men in the country of Sweden, but is limited to members of the nobility, the church and the burghers.” In the pamphlet, the peasants are described as the victims of Kristian’s cruelty, and it is made clear that the peasants might resort to violence in order to assert their rights. The analysis is certainly not very far-reaching in this short essay, but it has some undeniably important points and constitutes a good complement to the edition.

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Ivar Berg, Arnold Dalen & Karin Fjellhammer Seim (eds.),
Runestudier. Festschrift til Jan Ragnar Hagland, Trondheim:
 Akademika Forlag 2013, ISBN 9788232102150, 285 pp.

Twenty-three runological studies by Jan Ragnar Hagland have been collected by the three editors in honour of his seventieth birthday. Hagland has worked as a runological researcher for many decades, and naturally there was not room in this book for everything he has written in this area. However, this omnibus book still provides a good picture of Hagland's runological authorship, which ranges from a festschrift article in 1984 where Hagland writes about a "[r]uneinskript i verseform frå Esøya i Vevelstad" to a contribution from 2010. A selection of the articles in the volume will be dealt with here. Questions of how to date runes recur in several of Hagland's studies, for example, an article on Kulistenen from Nordmøre deals with such questions, but that analysis is also of importance for dating the Christianization of Norway. In connection with a study of the inscription at Eik in Sokndal, Rogaland, Hagland discusses the syntactic construction *Guðs þakka*, which is also found in Årby in Uppland (U1033). Perhaps the construction bears witness to Anglo-Saxon influence. An important article included in this book is the one that deals with runes on inscriptions from Trondheim, which have been meritoriously gathered and described by Hagland and that constitute the point of departure for thoughts on "the development towards a medieval set of runic symbols." The Trondheim material also appears in other contexts in the volume; among other things, Hagland tries in one contribution to see what the rune material can contribute to the elucidation of the merging of /a:/ and the *u*-mutated manifestation of the vowel in question. The material unfortunately does not yield very much concerning this question, but it is methodologically instructive to acquaint oneself with Hagland's reasoning. Richer and more concrete results are provided by the study of the rune sequence *ruhta* found on a small wooden object from Trondheim, which is interpreted as *rotta*, the designation of a medieval musical instrument. In Hagland's work, there are also some studies dealing with personal names in rune inscriptions. At a more fundamental level, practical literacy-related questions are brought to the fore in several places in the writings. Interesting is, for example, Hagland's ideas about an Icelandic rune tradition that constituted an alternative writing culture that was used for other purposes and in other areas than the writing culture that used Latin writing on parchment. "There are many indications that runic writing to a special degree might have been the writing of commercial life and trade on Ice-

land too” (p. 61), he says in one context, and he also points out that this runic tradition could have survived up until the fifteenth century on Iceland just as in the other Nordic areas. In an article by Hagland from 2010 under the heading “Two Scripts in an Evolving Urban Setting. The Case of Medieval Nidaros Once Again,” the author searches among other things for features in the manuscripts that might be “the result of contact or interplay with what Terje Spurkland likes to call ‘runacy’” (p. 256). Interestingly enough, features in the orthography that might be interpreted as “confusion caused by the scribe’s two-script competence” (p. 256) seem to be found in some manuscripts. According to Hagland, there seem to have been good reasons for the continuous use of runes. In a popular article, “Runor på tabloidformat,” the importance of the artefacts is touched on, in this case based on finds of medieval waxed tablets, a subject that is closely related to the literacy research. Some articles in the volume deal with the later use of runic writing script, such as runes utilised in manuscript material from the sixteenth century and the use of runes in Karmsund in Norway in the nineteenth century. A couple of articles in the volume deal with Irish rune inscriptions and some rune inscriptions on the Orkney Islands. Important literacy-related questions are presented in many places in Hagland’s work, and this makes his work of fundamental interest. It is good that Hagland’s studies have now been collected in one volume, which in addition to an introductory survey of the honoured person’s scholarly work also includes a bibliography.

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Ríta Duppler & Astrid van Nahl, *Isländisch. Ein Lehrbuch für Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene*, Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag 2013, ISBN 9783875486605, 261 pp. + cd.

The textbook in New Icelandic presented here by Ríta Duppler and Astrid van Nahl is built around 18 lessons. For every lesson there is a piece of text, a dialogue part, a grammar part, and a part that gives information about Icelandic life and institutions and that describes language use in connection with the text that has been read. At the conclusion of each lesson is an exercise for the reader to work through. Lesson 1 consists of a text where the children Elena and Lars, who live in Bonn, are on their way to Iceland. “Þau eru að fara með flugvél til Íslands að heimsækja afa sinn og ömmu sína.” A dialogue on the aeroplane takes place between

the flight attendant and the children. Having arrived in Iceland, they go to Reykjavik to their maternal grandmother and grandfather's house, they visit a café among other things, they are "á Þingvöllum," they go to Akureyri, they go "með rútu til Borgarness," they come back to Reykjavik, and then they return home. What I find especially praiseworthy in the textbook are the dialogues that recur systematically in the different lessons. It is also valuable to acquaint oneself with life and institutions and information about language use, and this is given in a special section for each lesson. In the first lesson, one is told, for example, how to go from Germany to Iceland and how first names and patronymics are used in Iceland, and one is taught ten "nützliche Wendungen." In later lessons, we are told what greetings are used, what special Icelandic holidays there are, and we learn a little about Icelandic places and get practical information about emergency numbers in case of illness, etcetera. It is obvious that the readers of the book will get a picture of modern Iceland and how it functions. A survey of Icelandic grammar is given at the end of the book as well as solutions to the exercises and a word list. The progression in the book seems to be well thought out, which is hardly surprising considering the authors' previous work. *Isländisch. Ein Lehrbuch für Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene* is actually based on earlier textbooks that the authors have compiled and tried out in practice.

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Sara E. Ellis Nilsson, *Creating Holy People and Places on the Periphery. A Study of the Emergence of Cults of Native Saints in the Ecclesiastical Provinces of Lund and Uppsala from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Centuries*, Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg 2015, ISBN 9789162892746, 372 pp.

In her dissertation Sara Ellis Nilsson studies how the cults of native saints affected the development of ecclesiastical administration and the creation of dioceses in the provinces of Lund and Uppsala in the early phases of Scandinavian Christianization. Her doctoral project is very ambitious, not least because the topic chosen by the author is anything but easy for several reasons.

Firstly, the period under investigation—the three centuries of Scandinavian Christianization—is demanding because the available sources

are so few, fragmentary and heterogeneous. Studying the period from the eleventh to the thirteen centuries is very much like putting together a puzzle, of which the majority of the pieces are missing. At the same time study of this topic requires not only knowledge of history, but also of the latest research in at least archaeology and theology in order to be able to form a full picture of what happened during these centuries.

Secondly, the geographical area chosen for investigation is very large including, as it does, the territories of present-day Denmark, Sweden and Finland. This means that full understanding of the topic would require knowledge of the latest research in three different countries. I personally greatly appreciated the inclusion of Finland in this study because, due to linguistic difficulties, Scandinavian scholars often tend to exclude Finland from Nordic comparisons even though the diocese of Turku was an integral part of the medieval Swedish Kingdom and the province of Uppsala.

In addition to the normal introduction discussing the topic, methods, terminology and sources, Sara Ellis Nilsson's dissertation comprises three large research chapters, each concentrating into one specific topic. The first discusses the native saints and the spread of their cults in the Lund and Uppsala provinces (pp. 67–101). The second presents the early history of all the Danish and Swedish dioceses and observes how the cult of native saints developed in each (pp. 103–205). The last chapter takes a comparative view and tries to answer the question of what the role of native saints and the respective *loca sanctorum* was in a possible competition between different ecclesiastical centres and finally in the development of these centres into official dioceses (pp. 207–255). There is no separate concluding section, the conclusions being drawn at the end of the third chapter (pp. 250–255). The book also includes a Swedish *Sammanfattning* ['Summary'] (pp. 257–266), large appendices (pp. 269–342) and a bibliography (pp. 343–371). The division of the book seems descriptive and perhaps even unsurprising, but is intentionally chosen to support the argumentation of the dissertation.

In general, the author has mastered her large and manifold topic well. Special mention must be made of her use of the large, medieval fragment material in Denmark, Sweden and Finland, which has not so far been much exploited by scholars and which makes Ellis Nilsson's dissertation a pioneering work in the field. The fragments form the work's main source material and the author shows that she masters this difficult material. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of how she uses her secondary source material. The work includes errors in interpretation of the Latin sources, either at the level of reading or of understanding the

phraseology in the sources. Similarly there are some minor mistakes in her text, such as dating the moving of the Finnish episcopal see from Nousis (not Röntämäki!) to Korois “in about 1220” (citation p. 197, same year given also on p. 16), when it is well-known from the sources that it took place a decade later. Obviously this and other similar mistakes are insignificant in the whole content of the book but they demonstrate that it is not easy to master the history of the whole of Scandinavia over three different centuries and with only a limited source material.

All in all, Sara Ellis Nilsson’s dissertation opens the way for new interpretations of the history of the Christianization period and the use of fragment material especially makes her book an important reference work for others interested of this important but still far too little studied field of research.

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Peter Fjågesund, *The Dream of the North. A Cultural History to 1920* (Studia Imagologica 23), Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi 2014, ISBN 9789042038370; e-ISBN 9789401210829, 573 pp.

This comprehensive book deals with the cultural history of the North, from Antiquity to the end of the First World War and is centered around three themes: *The Arctic*, as an essential part of northern identity; *The Northern Cultural Revival*, including the rediscovery of Nordic mythology and the Icelandic Sagas; and *The Changing View of Nature*, with an aesthetic of the sublime rather than of the cultivated landscape.

This “North,” a part of Western civilization, is defined as “northern or Protestant Europe, Russia and North America, together with the enormous, largely empty (that is, unpopulated) expanse to their north, i.e. the Arctic” (p. 17). Fjågesund treats this vast region as a unit and defines his approach as “macro-historical” and “macro-cultural” (p. 17).

An important assumption is a dialectical relationship between the cultural history of the North and “the South,” here defined broadly as the Mediterranean region (p. 17). A tension between north and south is found, for example, in a comparison between the Mediterranean Re-

naissance and the Northern Cultural Revival, where the latter is defined as a “rediscovery of a culture far closer to the common people” (p. 23), which he also connects to the development of modern democracy in the northern countries.

Fjågesund presents the idea that perceptions of the North, since the Reformation, have provided an important ideological basis and justification for a northern cultural and political supremacy (p. 17).

In the first of the six main chapters of the book, “Finding a Footing. The North Before 1700,” we start with the early Mediterranean view of the North as a mythical place, Thule or Hyperboria, sometimes a Utopia, sometimes filled with mythical monsters and harsh weather. Throughout the book the reader is given a view of the North drawn from an impressive array of sources, for example travel writing, historical accounts, scientific studies and literary sources. The exposé is chronologically ordered in the chapters “Preparing for Take-Off. The Early Eighteenth Century,” “The Great Watershed. 1750–1790,” “Fastening the Grip. 1790–1830,” “The Northern Heyday. 1830–1880,” “The Closing Circle. 1880–1920.”

Fjågesund’s survey provides a foundation for the exploration of the North from 1920 to the present—a comprehensive project indeed given the exponential growth of available sources. The book also serves as important background reading for an understanding of the present situation, for example, tensions between northern and southern Europe in the wake of recent economic crisis, and issues concerning nation states as foundations of identity in an era of globalization. These are just a few of the contemporary issues where “the North” could provide a rewarding object of study.

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Kristina Hagren, *Ordbok över folkmålen i övre Dalarna*, 40, SYTA–TILL [p. 2775–2854], Uppsala: Dialekt och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala 2013 (Skrifter utg. av Institutet för språk och folkminnen. Serie D:1), ISBN 9789186959111; ISSN 16511204, 80 p.

With this fortieth booklet, *Ordbok över folkmålen* takes yet another step closer to the final goal. Just as in the previous booklets, the quality is high. The booklet deal with the words SYTA through TILL, and a continuation of the last-mentioned word will start booklet 41. *Taga* ‘take’ is a very frequent word in the dialect and is dealt with on no fewer than nine pages with different semantic nuances and usages. It is easy to get caught up in the dictionary’s efforts when studying compound words using *syta* ‘look after’ (sometimes with the connotation ‘lull’) and learning that *sytdryg*, *sytsjuk*, and *sytsam* all refer to somebody requiring a lot of care, that *syttiden* is the period when people look after small children, and that a person who is pregnant is *på sytvägen*. Another group of compounds is based on *sälberg* ‘mountain pastures, mountain dairy farm’ where the dictionary lists, for example, *sälbergshull* ‘flesh that one puts on during the stay at a mountain dairy farm’ and *sälbergsdon* ‘tools that were still good enough to be used on the mountain dairy farms.’ Naturally some of these compound words might be of a more occasional nature, and because the language allows for an almost inexhaustible cavalcade of compounds, one might think that the number of included compounds could have been reduced. However, it is good that they have been so generously included because they show the extraordinary potential of the language. Many words naturally bear witness of bygone times; for example, the booklet lists words such as *såfjär* or *såränd* ‘the line that the sower draws up to divide the field into strips adapted for sowing,’ *sågakavle* ‘a piece of wood kept in a water-driven sawmill on which the number of sawn boards was marked,’ and *säckkorv* ‘a sausage mixture put into small, manufactured bags of tow that were used when intestines were not available.’ Standard Swedish coloured by dialect features are designated in the dialect with the words *bocksvenska*, *bortasvenska*, *dolksvenska*, *träsvenska*, and *tackåssvenska*—all of which are for the most part derogatory. The dialect’s interjections are also noted; in this booklet one finds *så*, which is used to intensify an exhortation, and *tataj*, which is recorded in Älvdalen where it is used in exclamations serving as warnings, chiefly to children. One looks forward to the publication of the remaining booklets.

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Odd Einar Haugen, *Norröne Grammatik im Überblick. Altisländisch und Altnorwegisch. Aus dem Norwegischen von Astrid van Nahl*, Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag 2013, ISBN 9783875486643, 208 pp.

Odd Einar Haugen's grammar of the Old Norse language is principally aimed at students of Scandinavian studies, and it is an abridged edition of the author's *Grunnbok i norrønt språk*, the first edition of which was published in 1993 and the fourth in 2001. Naturally, Haugen builds further on classical works such as Adolf Noreen's *Altnordische Grammatik* (1884, 1923), Marius Nygaard's *Norrøn syntax* (1905), and Ragnar Iversen's *Norrøn grammatikk* (1923, 1973). The author also pays regard to Jan Terje Faarlund's reference work *The Syntax of Old Norse* (2004). Haugen says that his ambition is "die traditionelle Darstellung, wo immer ich konnte, zu vereinfachen und zu erklären," and in the reviewer's opinion a reading of the grammar shows that he has been fairly successful. The grammar has a synchronic approach, and the language forms are explained from the perspective of the medieval language and not, as has been common, on the basis of older constructed forms. Among many other things, there is an easily comprehensible description of the phonology in the grammar. In Chapter 3 there are explanations of both phonological and morphological rules, which are pedagogically summarised in a table on page 58 f. As mentioned above, the grammar is synchronic, which implies that the author sees a *j* insertion in front of *a* and *u* in the genitive plural *stefja* and the dative plural *stefjum* (in relation to *stef* 'verse') and a *v* insertion in front of *i* and *a* in the dative singular *hoggvi* and the genitive plural *hoggva* (in relation to *hogg* 'cut'). Historically *-j* and *-v* in these examples are a part of the stem suffix in *all* forms of the word in the *ja* and *wa* stems in question, and also seen, for example, in **stafja* > *stef* and **haggwa* > *hogg*. The choice of a synchronic perspective is not unproblematic in all respects. It is obvious in the book that the author has been forced several times to rely on the background of the language history, which is fairly natural. For example, in the description of the noun inflection there are, in addition to the different inflections, references to constructed stems, and in a summarising table the forms are marked where *u* and *i* mutations have had an effect. However, it is nevertheless obvious that the chosen model has its advantages, and as a whole this is a grammar with great merits. A chapter I find particularly interesting is the one dealing with valence where the verb typology of the Old Norse language is presented. The syntax as well as the descriptions of ellipses, impersonal constructions, and accusatives with

infinitives are also mediated in a pedagogical way. An extensive survey of grammatical terms and a word index conclude the book. The grammar has been translated into German by Astrid van Nahl, who has done an outstanding job.

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Tina K. Jakobsen, Kristin Magnussen, Anfinnur Johansen & Eivind Weyhe (eds.), *Nøvn i strandamentanini. Navne i kystkulturen. Forelæsninger fra det 41. NORNA-symposium i Tórshavn 2.–4. juni 2011*, Uppsala: NORNA-förlaget 2013 (NORNA-rapporter 89), ISBN 9789172760882; ISSN 03466728, 374 pp.

In 1987 a symposium arranged by NORNA was held in Volda in Norway to discuss the topic of names in coastal areas, and twenty-five years later, in 2011, it was again time for a scholarly meeting on this theme, this time in Tórshavn. Because not quite all talks are included in the book, it is praiseworthy that Mats Wahlberg in the final voluminous summary briefly accounts for all the contributions that were made at the symposium. (Some of the headings mentioned in this summary do not tally, however, with those finally used in the volume.) Toponyms are naturally in focus, but there are also some articles on personal names. The naming pattern that is sometimes mentioned in connection with coastal names is brought to mind when reading Lennart Hagåsen's contribution on place-names in *-nor* and *-vik* along the Swedish coast of the Gulf of Bothnia. Some striking sound developments of these naming elements occur and are discussed in a well-informed way by Hagåsen, but how the dissemination of these pronunciations has actually taken place remains more obscure. Aleksandra Petrulevich deals with *Burstaborg* and *Steinborg* in the *Knytlinga saga*, which might be regarded as translations of the Slavic names *Stettin* and *Kammin*. How the two Nordic names mentioned should be understood is cautiously discussed by the author along several lines, and it is obvious that the problems have hardly been given a final solution with this contribution. The fjord name *Gullmarn* in Bohuslän is dealt with etymologically in Birgit Falck-Kjällquist's contribution. She decides in favour of the interpretation of the name as 'the sea that in one way or another is connected with or related to the gods.' She mentions in this connection that the animal life in Gullmarn might "have contributed to giving people who in ancient times moved about

in the area the conception that higher powers were closely connected to the fjord” (p. 58). She mentions different kinds of food fishes, but above all the basking shark and the stone crab. Falck-Kjällquist’s interpretation is highly noteworthy.

The stock of names in some Nordic coastal areas is elucidated from different aspects in the contributions by Tom Schmidt (“Skjærgårdsnavn fra ytre Østfold”), Inge Særheim (“Skjærgårdsnavn som kulturhistorisk kjeldetilfang”), Birgit Eggert (“Kulturhistoriske spor i Læsøs stednavne”), Marjun Arge Simonsen (“Vover og valking”), and Svavar Sigmundsson (“Navne på fiskebanker ved Island”), where names in *-mið* are explained from several different perspectives. Line Sandst’s focus is on Møn, and Berit Sandnes deals with place-names connected to eel fishing along a part of the Scanian Ålakusten.

In some of the studies mentioned above, aspects of cultural history are included—and it is obvious from these investigations what excellent sources toponyms can be in relation to coastal regions’ histories, although at the same time one can also see how general and frequent activities sometimes are not at all visible in the toponyms. The onomastic and other historical/geographical traces that have been left behind after the disappearance of coastal forests in northwestern Zealand are dealt with by Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen. The fact that there are differences between the names of farms on the coast and those farther inland is illustrated by Gunnstein Akselberg based on Norwegian data. Agneta Sundström deals with personal bynames reflecting the coastal culture and that were used in Arboga in the Middle Ages. Differences in personal naming customs on the coast and inland in Upper Norrland in the mid-seventeenth century are described in Kristina Neumüller’s contribution. That male names are more varied on the coast than inland in that period is said to have a possible connection with contact networks and influence patterns “in and around commercial town such as Torneå and Luleå” (p. 164)—the question, however, is whether this is precisely the explanation because these towns were still only newly established at this time. If the influences were external (which might be true), the roots of these naming traditions must probably be sought further back in time in the old contacts that existed between the Bothnian Bay area and areas further south along the coast. Guðrún Kvaran writes in her contribution about Icelandic personal names and street names that were given in connection to the sea. Gudlaug Nedrelid deals with the contacts between Holland and Agder and how these were expressed in personal names even though there was no great influx of Dutch names. As is proper in a volume such as this, there is also a discussion on names of

ships, more specifically of sailing barges in the archipelago of Finland 1865–1912, by Anita Schybergson. The exonyms in Emmerlev's parish register are described by Susanne Vogt. The perspectives are more general in Peder Gammeltoft's contribution "Stednavneforskning. Hvad fremtiden har i vente."

As a whole, this is a comprehensive volume in which most of the articles are highly worth reading, and different parts of the Nordic language are elucidated in a praiseworthy way. In his summary of the symposium, Mats Wahlberg points out that the onomatologists in this symposium, unlike those at the Volda symposium in 1987,

praiseworthy have dealt with younger stocks of names, while none has had as main theme, for example, prehistorical names of islands. [...] This is well in line with the general development of onomastics, but we must definitely not become so one-sidedly oriented towards the modern period that we forget what the really old names have to give us. (p. 373)

It is easy to agree with these concluding words.

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Carl-Erik Lundbladh & Ingrid Reiz, *Blekingska dialektord*, Lund: Institutet för språk och folkminnen, Dialekt- och ortnamnsarkivet i Lund 2013 (Skrifter utg. av Dialekt- och ortnamnsarkivet i Lund 13), ISBN 9789186959104; ISSN 14044676, 373 pp.

In 2012 the dictionary *Skånska dialektord* ('Scanian vocabulary') was published, and it has now gotten a natural continuation in the form of this dictionary of the Blekinge vocabulary. The editors are Carl-Erik Lundbladh och Ingrid Reiz. The layout of the book on the Blekinge dialect resembles the previous dictionary, and it has sections with normalised words and dialectal words and their meanings. The presented vocabulary is both rich and well described, and it is noticeable that the dictionary has been compiled with a view to lexicographic ambitions. Within the more emotive parts of the vocabulary, a very rich stock of words is presented. For 'slö' ['dull'], there is in the Blekinge dialects words like *mödadryg*, *dul*, *sickadejs*, *dall*, *odul*, *pjaskig*, *närmaklig*, and *trock*; for 'latmask' ['lazybones'] there is words like *bänkabredare*, *latstake*, *draghas*, and *ballsjätting*; for 'lymmel' ['scoundrel'] there is *kanobbel*, *snorhyvel*, and *survel*; and for 'pratmakare' ['chatterbox'] there is *ballerbytta*,

käkasläare, *slummerbom*, and *slurvetrut*. Many of these word formations are descriptive in the dialect and therefore easy to understand, but it would no doubt have been an advantage if further etymological explanations had been added in some places. However, this would naturally have considerably increased this already ambitious project, and as pointed out in the introduction, a dictionary with such information must be placed on the wish list (p. 11). In the dictionary, some jocular words are represented, for example *apsvett* ['monkey sweat'] for 'tea,' which was used in the navy, and *pinanit* 'karlskronit' ['person from Karlskrona'], which derives from Karlskrona being referred to as *Pinan* ['the Pain']. There are quite a few other somewhat surprising but still logically constructed word formations in the dictionary, for example, *havett* ['acquisitiveness'], *mntål* ['patience'], *omfärd* ['infectious disease, epidemic'], *seut/seuta* ['ugly man'/'ugly woman'], and *stuguroligt*, which when used as a noun is said to mean 'dance and play in the cottage.' For dialectal equivalents and synonyms, information is given in the semantic section in many cases; thus *sända* and *vättjesten* are listed for 'whetstone,' *frad* and *krag* for 'froth,' *akarnaskrika* and *våtarsa* for 'green woodpecker,' *kroppkaka* and *skrubbkaka* for 'potato dumpling,' *däka* and *gräbba* for 'girl,' and the quintet *påta*, *hutta*, *vräkta*, *ljusa*, and *skräda* for 'spear.' Here the dictionary gives no further information on how these words are, for example, geolinguistically distributed in Blekinge, something that would have been of interest to know and might have been given in a more concise form. In connection with *sjala* and *svala* 'pour' and the words *skirva* (*skirvan*, *skärva*, *skärvan*), which are designations for 'rickets,' 'rachitis,' it would also have been interesting to know the distribution of the words among different districts. Terminology related to fishing recurs quite often in the dictionary, and among other things there are some words for fishes, such as *blekingsdäkor* (that is: 'Blekinge girls') used for 'small herrings' and *buttika* for 'turbot.' In connection to this, the word *tvetummavante* is notable, and this refers to a knitted mitten with two thumbs, one on each side, that is good to have when fishing because it can be turned around when one side has become wet. The book starts with a short description of the elements in the traditional Blekinge dialect and a description concerning the dictionary's layout. For the dialectologist, there are many items of interest in the dictionary, but it is also easy to understand for dialect speakers from Blekinge. For the latter, the dialectal forms constitute a treasure of new words.

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Lasse Mårtensson, *Den fristående redaktionen av Karls þáttur vesæla. Undersökning, utgåva och översättning*, Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia 2013 (Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia. Editiones 5), ISBN 9789188568578, 97 pp.

The short Icelandic saga *Karls þáttur vesæla* is dealt with in this book, which is written by Lasse Mårtensson. The short saga about Karl exists in several editions. It is found as an introduction to a King's Saga, namely *Magnús saga ins góða*, and as an independent story in two medieval parchment manuscripts (AM 557 4:to and AM 533 4:to). In terms of content, the different editions agree with each other. Karl from Hálogaland is in Garðaríki together with his brother Björn to conduct trade, and he is taken prisoner there and threatened with execution but is saved by Magnús inn góði, who is also in Garðaríki. Karl is commissioned to go to Norway—where Sveinn Alfifuson and Alfifa have now come into power—with the aim of persuading the people to install Magnús as their king. Karl succeeds in his task, and after a number of dramatic events he finally gets back to Garðaríki and Magnús can now return to Norway. Mårtensson's study makes a rather brief comparison between the different versions of the story. This is a qualitative examination of a number of text pieces, and it ends in a not too assured assumption—similar to that of Finnur Jónsson—that the independent version might be a rendering from memory of the version found in the King's Saga. Above all, the study examines the relation between the two manuscripts where the independent versions are found. In this part of the study, the deviations between the editions are quantified and placed in context. It is obvious that *Karls þáttur vesæla* in AM 557 and AM 533 have a common origin, which a large number of identical formulations show. However, Mårtensson's analysis is an interesting investigation that accounts for lexical variations. Examples of semantic extension in AM 557 against intension in AM 533 are also described, and Mårtensson concludes that it is probable that AM 557 is an older text than AM 533. Finally, there is an edition where the texts from both AM 557 and 533 are rendered, followed by a translation. The post-medieval manuscripts of the short saga are touched on. Mårtensson also discusses the question of whether it is possible to determine on the basis of the length of a text if a certain version is primary in relation to another version. This monograph is valuable in that it places several versions of these ancient texts at the reader's disposal—together with a translation—but it also deals with important philological issues.

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Leila Mattfolk, Maria Vidberg & Pamela Gustavsson (eds.), *Namn i stadsmiljö. Handlingar från NORNA:s 42 symposium i Helsingfors den 10–12 november 2011*, Helsingfors & Uppsala: Institutet för de inhemska språken; NORNA-förlaget 2013 (Institutet för de inhemska språken. Skrifter 7; NORNA-rapporter 40), ISBN 9789525446821; ISSN 23234113; ISSN 03466728, 264 pp.

The title might lead one to believe that this symposium volume would contain only studies of names of streets, blocks, bridges, etcetera, in towns and cities, but *Namn i stadsmiljö* [‘Names in urban settings’] has a wider perspective than that. It provides a scope for all sorts of names in urban environments, including personal names and even names of cows—and it even goes so far as to provide a study of urban dialects. In a broad sense, most of the contributions to the volume are socio-onomastic in nature, but there are also contributions dealing with place-name planning. Helsinki is the geographic basis of several contributions. The volume thus starts with Lars Huldén’s personal memories under the heading “En främling kom till Helsingfors” [‘A stranger came to Helsinki’]. Swedish Helsinki slang in different periods from 1900 onwards is written about by Mona Forsskåhl, who describes distinguishing features from different time periods. She also accounts for some slang varieties of toponyms such as *Espis* for *Esplanaden* and *Bullan* for the girls’ school on *Bulevarden*. Staffan Nyström deals with the names of housing areas in Stockholm that were given to create a certain feeling or atmosphere, and here there are descriptions of such names as are found in housing advertisements and in names from the building companies. The spelling of *Saltsjöqvarn*, the addition of *Strand* in *Uthamra Strand*, and the use of *-terrassen* in *Hammarbyterrassen* are given as examples and provide a point of departure for an interesting study. There is a contradiction between on the one hand more “urban” names with elements such as *boulevard* and *esplanad*, and on the other hand rural naming elements such as *glänta*, *höjd*, and *strand*. Children and young people’s use of names is described in Maria Löfdahl’s and Sofia Tingsell’s contribution, where the authors attempt to elucidate how children in multilingual environments form their toponyms. The basic material was collected in Angered where many children have a foreign background, and children from monolingual families in Örgryte constitute the control group. Basic onomastic issues are elucidated concerning what places are given names, the names’ stability, etcetera. A couple of theoretical concepts are used in the analysis, but unfortunately the limited scope does not

give full justice to this part of the analysis. Maimu Berezkina investigates the attitudes toward toponyms in Oslo among some ethnic groups and gives concrete examples of the factors that affect the conception of different names. The article is based on the author's master's thesis from 2011. Tom Schmidt presents a study of the considerable variation in names ending in *-løkke* over time. Marianne Blomqvist elucidates the names of cows along the Finnish west and south coast, where it turns out that traditional names have been used for a long time but new patterns can gradually be observed. Livestock husbandry in the area still leaves its marks on street names and block names. Sophie Holm presents her work with the naming of fortifications in Finland, which Augustin Ehrensward was responsible for, and some innovative features in the naming patterns are noted. Present-day place-name planning is in focus in Johanna Lehtonen and Alisa Isokoski's article, where the challenges arising in the incorporation of new areas are concretely described. The creative thoughts that might arise when university students are given an opportunity to think about new names in an area are presented by Sami Suviranta. In a co-authored article, Katharina Leibring and Kristina Neumüller compare the first-name customs in Luleå and Borås in the late seventeenth century. Among other things, they point out that the stock of male names in Luleå appears "large, varied and modern" (p. 126) compared to the "limited and conservative" (p. 126) personal names in Borås. In contrast, the picture of the female names is different. The urban networks in which the tradesmen in Luleå were included were evidently tighter than the corresponding ones in Borås, and in this way external influences were brought in. Socio-onomastic perspectives on the use of personal names are presented in Minna Nakari's contribution on women's name phrases as expressions of power and identity in Helsinki in the period 1880–1908. In the material, one has access to the name phrases that the women themselves used. In her contribution, Emilia Aldrin describes the choice of first names in Gothenburg, more precisely what personal names parents chose in 2007. The author also discusses "to what extent some social features considered typical of urban environments are reflected in this name material" (p. 71). Features such as innovation, trend awareness, and language encounters are well described, but an important question remains unanswered after the reading: how certainly can typically urban naming patterns really be described if there is no non-urban comparative material? In the volume, there is also a study of name identity among young Finnish and Swedish-Finnish women written by Anna Masanti. The research area of *urban names* is discussed and problematized by Gunnstein Akselberg in his contri-

bution, but I think, just like Mats Wahlberg states in the introduction, that the phrase *namn i stadsmiljö* [‘names in urban settings’] covers what one wants to capture here, that is “all kinds of names occurring in urban-like environments” (p. 25). Wahlberg also points out the importance of historical aspects in this area of research. It is notable that only 5 of the symposium’s 22 contributions are based on historical material. This confirms a trend that has been noticeable in Nordic symposia, but is also seen in the international arena, a trend that naturally should be ended.

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Evert Melefors (ed.), *Senmedeltida kopparutvinning i Åtvidaberg speglad i räkenskaper från 1500-talets början*, Uppsala: Svenska fornskriftsällskapet 2013 (Samlingar utg. av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet. Serie I. Svenska skrifter 98), ISBN 9789197988124; ISSN 03475026, 138 pp.

In this book, Evert Melefors returns to his Östergötland home in the Åtvidaberg region. He understood early on that in these manuscripts from the early sixteenth century he could “acquaint himself with the everyday lives of the people who had long ago lived in the same places as myself.” An opportunity to publish and comment on the texts in question arose within the research project “Medeltidens ekonomiska texter” [‘The economic texts of the Middle Ages’], which was conducted at Uppsala University in the late 1990s. With this edition, the accounts connected to the nobleman and state councillor Johan Stensson Bese at Herrsäter can now be put forward. After presenting the biography of Johan Bese and his daughter Gunnhild Johansdotter Bese, the manuscripts that are relevant in this context are described, and these include the National Archives’ Codices Serie C: Secular land registers, accounts, judgement books, and lists of letters from the Middle Ages, C 45–C 48 and C 50: VIII and C 50: XVI. Sometimes these are notes on odd bits of paper, sometimes longer documents. The chief part of the material was written after Johan Bese’s death, thus after 1505. C 45 seems to be an account draft made as early as the 1480s for Johan Bese as a private person where several of his estates in Södermanland are listed, and here Johan Bese also appears as private person and creditor for persons of rank in his surroundings. The texts are rendered philologically with interpre-

tations in the column beside the text, and comments on persons and things (and on some words) are given. Because the text with the reference number C 46 is a text in which a large number of items have been transferred from the other lists, the comments and interpretations have been concentrated to just this manuscript in order to avoid repetitions. There is also a section with general comments on the content of the manuscripts (pp. 78 ff.), and this provides more information about the history of the copper industry in the area, about foundries and mining experts, etcetera. It is also interesting to read more about the goods trade and mining in Åtvid, where evidence can be seen of “a small-scale goods exchange in a special environment, where private and public matters are mixed” (p. 83), and to get to know more about the goods distribution of the period. In the concluding remarks, Melefors says that through this edition “people, chiefly peasants and miners, connected to estates and districts and to the copper industry, have been made visible in a context of local history” (p. 89). At the very end of the work, photographs of the manuscripts are provided. As a whole, this is a valuable edition of some of the economic texts of the Middle Ages.

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Robert Nedoma (ed.), *Erzählen im mittelalterlichen Skandinavien*, II, Wien: Praesens Verlag 2014 (Wiener Studien zur Skandinavistik [WSS] Band 22), ISBN 9783706907774; ISSN 18178952, 209 pp.

The volume *Erzählen im mittelalterlichen Skandinavien*—which is a sequel to a book that was published in 2000 by Robert Nedoma, Hermann Reichert, and Günter Zimmermann—contains eight articles. Several contributions are based on the Old Norse sagas. In a long article under the heading “Männer in Wort und Tat,” Andrea Rau and Markus Greulich investigate masculinity with a focus on five saga texts that constitute the latter part of *Mǫðruvallabók*. The detailed analysis in the article cannot be well described in this brief review, but among other things the authors summarise that the themes occurring in the texts “machen diesen letzten Abschnitt der Handschrift zu einem faszinierenden Zeugnis einer Gesellschaft im Umbruch und ihrer Reflektion der Bedingtheit von Kultur” (p. 131). Marina Mundt presents chapter 78 of the Egil

Saga, which is about Bǫðvar's death and the well-known death lament about a deceased young son. Mundt discusses the text in relation to a Persian work, Firdausis' *Shahnama*, which might have been known to the saga's presumed author Snorri Sturluson. We certainly do not know of any Nordic translation of *Shahnama*, but according to Mundt it is quite possible "dass das Gesamtwerk oder Teile davon in einem der Bildungszentren des mittelalterlichen Skandinavien vorhanden waren – egal in welcher Sprache" (p. 67). In any case, the work was known in medieval Europe, and we know that Snorri had had good opportunities "schöngeistige Ideen und Sujets seiner Zeit kennen zu lernen" (p. 67). On the basis of *Andra rimur*, Hans Kuhn reconstructs a fornaldarsaga **Andra saga* and elucidates some features typical of the genre. Susanne Kramarz-Bein presents interesting "familienhistorische Überlegungen" based on the *Karlamagnús saga*, more precisely on the first of these "books" (German *Branche*), and it is her methodological considerations that are of greatest interest in this article. Hendrik Lambertus's contribution focuses on *riddarasögur*, and he shows that the strange and magical elements in the sagas' narrative cosmos are closely connected to each other—"die Magie [kann] eine markante Chiffre des Fremden sein" (p. 154)—even though the relations between what is strange and what is magic also indicate the presence of other backgrounds. In his contribution, Matthias Teichert presents an array of incredible beings—living dead people, dragons, and sea monsters, and we also meet an artificial *trémaðr*—that are studied narratologically, and the links to Romanticism and to contemporary horror fiction are obvious. The editor of the volume, Robert Nedoma, deals with etymological studies concerning some words under the heading "Miscellanea Eddica." The adjective *bláhwitr*, which is found in a couple of places in the *Edda*, is interpreted as "sehr weiss, strahlend (leuchtend) weiß," and *Ysia* in *RigsÞula* is discussed and put in a possible etymological context. The much-debated word *ogur-ógurstund* in *Vǫlundarkviða* is also discussed, but as far as I can see no final solution is found. Norwegian runic inscriptions from the latter part of the Viking Age are finally dealt with by Michael Schulte in an article with the subheading "Von der Gedenkformel zur Fürbitte und historische Narration." The narrative functions in these texts are probably more seldom foregrounded, but they are in any case visible in some inscriptions. On the inscription from Senja, it is for example stated "Förum drengja || Frislands á vit / ok vígs fǫtum || vér skiptum" ("Wir fuhren zum Treffen mit Frieslands Burschen / Recken und tauschten die Kampfkleider aus"). Many different problems are thus highlighted in this volume. Masculinity, magic, fantasy, and horror are dealt with, and the perspectives placed

on the texts are multi-faceted through studies in the fields of literature anthropology, literature psychology, genre typology, and motif history. In addition, there are also a philological and a runological article. The theme of the book is not too narrowly limited, and the contributions are of highly varying lengths and there are some formal differences among the contributions. These differences among the article are not a drawback, and a smorgasbord is presented here where readers interested in Old Norse literature and philology always find something of interest.

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Andreas Nordberg, *Fornordisk religionsforskning mellan teori och empiri. Kulten av anfäder, solen och vegetationsandar i idéhistorisk belysning*, Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur 2013 (Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 126), ISBN 9789187403026; ISSN 00650897, 426 pp.

In 2003 Anders Nordberg defended his thesis *Krigarna i Odins sal. Dödsföreställningar och krigarkult i fornordisk religion* [‘The warriors in Othin’s hall. Conceptions of death and afterlife in Old Norse religion’], and since then he has presented several studies in the area, among others a book on calendars and calendar rites in the pre-Christian Nordic area that was published in 2006 as part of the same series as the present monograph. It feels somewhat logical that he has taken the step to publish this book, which is broadly organised and shows wide reading—the reference list alone covers about 40 pages. The book deals with the study of the Old Norse religion, and perspectives on the history of ideas and research are brought to the fore. Nordberg’s own development as a researcher in the area is briefly illuminated in the preface. Questions about an ancient ancestor cult, archaic sun worship, and a vegetation cult are linked with one another in the investigation, and an overall aim of the work is said to be “to study the relation among theory, source material and empirical data in a perspective of research and history of ideas and by means of selected examples” (p. 16). After some further scholarly positions and concepts have been established, Nordberg is ready to take the reader with him on a highly fascinating and very learned journey. In the first part, a survey is made of the Anglo-Saxon evolutionist study of religion in the late nineteenth century and its importance for studies of Indo-European, Germanic, and Nordic religions. We encounter names

such as Herbert Spencer and Edward B. Tylor and their studies of manistic and animistic theories respectively, as well as James G. Frazer's ideas of religion as emanating from magic and his studies of vegetation cults and nature animism. Robert R. Marett's studies are also described.

The second part of Nordberg's work has the main heading "Från komparativ mytologi till primitiv religion" and describes the development of German research on Indo-European and Germanic religion in the nineteenth century. The origins and subsequent developments of the philological study of religion are described as well as how the sun becomes a focus of interest in the research on Old Norse religion. The development towards the study of religion in terms of cultural history is pointed out, and besides the worship of the sun, different conceptions of the soul and cults of the dead are brought to the fore. A cavalcade of names of scholars marches past, including Jacob Grimm, Friedrich Max Müller, Wilhelm Schwartz, Wilhelm Mannhardt, Elard Hugo Meyer, Otto Schrader, and Eugen Mogk, and these have different disciplinary points of departure and were therefore accustomed to working with different empirical data, which gave them different perspectives.

The Scandinavian study of religion is dealt with in the third part of the book. The historical school is presented with names such as Sophus Bugge, Gustav Storm, Adolf Noreen, and others. The reader is informed about the discussions of the comparative study of solar mythology and gains an insight into the integration of the solar mythology in archaeological research of the Bronze Age. Ancestor cults are the theme of a chapter in this part of the monograph, and shows how manistic and animistic theories were gradually rejected in favour of nature animistic explanations. Evolutionist theories of belief in spirits of the dead and cults of the dead are examined, and the Norwegian historian of religion Emil Birkeli's works are exhaustively dealt with in connection with these theories.

Finally, the arguments for a pre-Christian ancestor cult are examined in the last chapter of the book, which is called "Sädesandar och fruktbarhetskult; religionshistorisk folkminnesforskning i Sverige." Nils Edward Hammarstedt's, Martin P:n Nilsson's, and Hilding Celander's scholarly works in the Mannhardt tradition are discussed, as is Carl Wilhelm von Sydow's work. The latter's criticism of Marin P:n Nilsson and Hilding Celander had the effect that from the middle of the 1940s there hardly existed "religion-historical folklore any longer within the subject that later on would be called ethnology" (p. 357). In this fight, it was not just purely intradisciplinary considerations that played a part. In a short section at the end of the last chapter, the question is posed as to

whether it is possible at all to study older history of religion by means of younger folklore material, and Nordberg discusses, among other things, the interesting and complex Nordic *Byggvir*, the Finnish *Pellon-Pekko*, and the Estonian *Peko*.

Nordberg's study shows quite clearly that the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first few decades of the twentieth century in many ways were "a formative period for the research of Old Norse religion" (p. 389). The study also indicates that some parts of the research on the Old Norse religion that is conducted today "constitute a form of disciplinary historical survivals" (p. 390), and they constitute traditions and conceptions "that have been passed on by force of habit to a new cultural environment other than that from which they originally came" (p. 390). I have already said that Nordberg takes us with him on a learned journey about research and the history of ideas in the monograph, but it must be admitted that sometimes the journey can be somewhat strenuous because of its considerable richness in details—the details sometimes obstruct the overall view to some extent. However, Nordberg always provides a helping hand to the reader through his good summaries and not least by means of his well thought out organisation and his informative headings. Thus one reaches the end of the book far better informed than before, of course, and above all with new perspectives on the study of Old Norse religion.

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Lena Peterson, *"En brisi vas lina sunn, en lini vas unar sunn ... En þa barlaf"*. *Etymologiska studier över fyra personnamn på Malsta- och Sunnåstenarna i Hälsingland*, Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia 2013 (Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia. Opuscula 15), ISBN 9789188568533; ISSN 11037970, 88 pp.

The Viking Age rune stones from Malsta and Sunnå in Hälsingland are among the best-known stones in Sweden, and they have primarily attracted attention because they make it possible to follow a genealogy comprising seven generations. The names on the stones have been discussed, and Lena Peterson is one of those who have thoroughly studied the inscriptions. This book gathers etymological studies of four personal names on the stones, and the work can be considered to be a follow-up of

a study made by Sven B. F. Jansson in 1985. The first personal name to be dealt with is **brisi** (nom.)/**brisa** (gen.), which after a thorough analysis is interpreted to be formed in connection with a group of words based on Germanic **brīs-/brīs-* with a postulated meaning of ‘the one who shines, the one who glitters,’ or perhaps rather, on the basis of word meanings in Norwegian dialects, ‘the one who shows off, the braggart.’ The second study connects the personal name **lini** (nom.)/**lina** (gen.) to the Old West Norse *linr* ‘smooth, soft, mild, meek,’ and perhaps there is a matching personal name that is included as the first element in Norwegian *-sta* names. The third study, the most comprehensive in the monograph, deals with **un** (nom. and ack.)/**unār** (gen.), where a number of problems are thoroughly investigated, including the quality of the stem syllable, the short or long /n/ in the stem, the distribution of the name **un** and names beginning with **un-** and *Un(n)-* in the Nordic countries, Swedish toponyms in *-sta(d)* and *-torp* that seem to contain Old Swedish *Uni*, *Unne*, and *Āne* and an investigation of *Uni* in the Norrland area, which is connected to an interpretation by Ivar Lundahl from 1934. In her etymological discussion, Peterson argues that the personal name *Unn*, **Unr*, gen. *Unār* is formed on an original *u*-stem adjective **wunuz* meaning one ‘who is happy, who feels satisfied, who has a good time.’ The last personal name to be dealt with is **barlaf** (nom.), which is identified as *Berglōf* (possibly *Berglæif*), containing an altered last element *-læif* ‘descendant, heir’ (or its variant form *-lōf*) and a first element formed on the present stem in the verb *bjarga* ‘save, help,’ alternatively later on associated with the Old Norse *berg/bjarg* ‘mountain.’ At the end of the concluding summary there is a family tree, but the relations among the mentioned persons are not clear in all their details, chiefly because Peterson does not deepen her discussion here. Peterson’s study discusses the mentioned personal names in a well-informed way. It is not only an eminent runologist and researcher of personal names who tackles these problems, it is also a researcher who competently includes toponyms and evidence of language history in her discussions and who masters phonological history and morphology. A researcher has to make many choices to be able to say something of importance concerning personal names such as those in question here. Lena Peterson’s choices are well motivated throughout, and this makes her work an important study.

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Lars P. Poulsen-Hansen (ed.), *Den Ryssiske Lov 1649. Oversat og kommenteret af Rasmus Æreboe 1721. Med forord af Peter Ulf Møller*, Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag 2013 (Beringiana, Bind 6), ISBN 9788771240702, 589 pp.

The publication series Beringiana derives its name from the seafarer Vitus Bering, and it focuses on monographs concerning, for example, Danish-Russian connections and Russian culture and history in the eighteenth century. As number six of the series, *Den Ryssiske Lov 1649*, which was translated from Russian into Danish by Rasmus Æreboe in 1721, is now available, and this publication fits extremely well into the theme of the series. Æreboe's translation constitutes a pioneering effort and provides a unique introduction to the history of Danish Slavistics. By way of introduction, the fascinating story of Rasmus Æreboe's life is depicted by Peter Ulf Møller. Æreboe came from simple circumstances in Svendborg, and as a young man he was employed by a Danish commodore in Russia and thus began to acquaint himself with the Russian conditions in an unusually thorough manner at the time. Æreboe's translation of the Russian law is impressive, and according to Møller

ikke blot ved sprogkyndigheden bag selve oversættelsen og den baggrundsviden, der ligger i Æreboes kommentarer, men også i kraft af selve det tekstvalg Æreboe har truffet. Han kunne umuligt have fundet et skrift, der bedre viste datidens russiske samfund fra top til bund (p. 15).

The translation is now published for the first time by Lars P. Poulsen-Hansen, who has also provided an extensive and informative introduction. The Russian law is from 1649, and its position in legal history is the subject of interest in this introduction. The law is extensive and consists of 25 chapters divided into 967 articles. Among other things, it accounts for the crimes of the period and their often brutal penalties. The basis of the present edition is Frederik IV's copy of the translation of the law found in the *Thottske Samling*, but a transcript has been provided to help with problems with reading. The Danish translation's orthography has been followed. The extensive edition consists of a foreword, the 25 chapters of the Russian laws, and "Anmerkninger over en deel af de fornemmeste ubekjendte eller uforstaaelige Poster i den Ryssiske lov" provided in the form of 92 notes. The edition accounts for different transgressions of the law, such as crimes against the Church or the State, counterfeiting, forgery of documents and seals, perjury, bribery, murder, fornication, defamation, and theft. In many places, one is struck by surprising

legislations. An example of such transgressions concerns a person who rides down a woman who falls and is wounded, perhaps so badly that she gives birth to a stillborn foetus. The person who is found guilty of this crime shall “slaaes med Knudpidsken uden skaansel,” pay “ærepenge og lægeløn dobbelt” to the woman, and “sættes udi hullet i trej Maaneder” (p. 386). It is then added: “Men dersom samme Qvinde af sliig hans slag selv døør, da skal hand for slig sin gierning selv straffes paa livet” (p. 386). If, on the other hand, this crime takes place

fordj hans Hest kand have revet sig løøs fra ham, eller hand har revet bidselet i støkker, og givet sig paa løb, og hand ei kand holde ham, Da skal det ham ikke regnes som Mord, ei heller nogen udj sliige tilfælde straffes, fordj slig gierning skeer imod hans Villie, uden argelist (p. 386).

The notes from the manuscript that are found at the end. The final parts of the edition further help the reader to better understand the text. There is thus a Danish glossary here, where words such as *hartkorn*, *rodemester*, and *siuvsbog* are explained; for example, a *siuvsbog* (that is, *synsbog*) is a book that describes a region's population and cultivated land. There follows a list of Russian words in the legal texts and in the notes with words for measures, coins, titles, etcetera. Finally, there is a subject index and an index of places and persons that are mentioned in the edition. Rasmus Æreboe's translation is a great achievement. When reading the editor's introduction, one understands what almost insurmountable problems the Danish translator must have faced in a period when there were no adequate dictionaries at all. At the same time, the text gives the reader insights into a world that feels very distant and foreign—and frightening.

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Catarina Røjder, *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län 19. Ortnamnen i Tanums härad. 1. Bebyggelsenamn*, Göteborg: Institutet för språk och folkminnen, Dialekt-, ortnamns- och folkminnesarkivet i Göteborg 2013, ISBN 9789186959012; ISSN 02841908, XLII+ 239 + map.

The first volume in the series *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohuslän*, on names in the district of Sävedal, was published in 1923, and volume after volume has since been added in the succeeding decades. The present volume is the fifth to be published since the turn of the millennium.

Catarina Røjder writes here about the settlement names in the district of Tanum. In addition to the name of the district, she writes about the names of the two parishes in question here—Lur and Tanum—and the names of villages, farms, and (where appropriate) parts of homesteads, crofts, and small settlement units. In the beginning of the book there is, among other things, a description of geological conditions and topography, and in connection with this names referring to soil, ground conditions, water conditions, mountains, and valleys are accounted for. There are also brief descriptions of the area's flora and fauna and how these relate to place-names. The introduction also briefly describes names referring to different types of human activity. Older types of settlement names are accounted for, and in this area this includes names in *-by/-bø, -hem, -land(a), -lösa, -röd, -sta(d), -torp, and -vin*. A number of other naming elements are also accounted for, such as the elements *bo(d), hed, hog, klåva, and mon*. A short section deals with the dialect spoken in the region, an other section contains some notes about the source material.

After the forty-page introduction, there follows a survey of the district's settlement names. Among notable name interpretations could be mentioned those of *Torbal* (pp. 43 f.), interpreted as a composition with a height designating element **þōr* as first element and a counterpart to the Old Norse *barð* 'edge, border' as last element, *Ejgde* (p. 81), which is discussed in light of the dative form *eiði*, here in the sense of 'a passage where one can or must walk, for example, between two stretches of water or along a rapid,' and *Hud* (older form *Huld*; pp. 114 f.), which is interpreted as 'the hidden' because the watercourse in question meanders along in strongly broken ground.

Naturally, it is sometimes difficult for the author to choose between alternatives, as in connection with *Gilleröd* (p. 7), *Skinnarn* (p. 67), *Skälle* (p. 106), and *Kuseröd (Kusseröd)* (pp. 130 f.), where clearer priorities might have been made among the alternatives. The author's own standpoint might also have been made clearer in some other cases, for example, with regard to *Häskje*, older *Hästskede* (pp. 118 f.). With regards to younger names, the reader has much to gain from Røjder's analysis. An interesting pair of names consists, for example, of *Hajum*, which has been associated with *haj* ['shark'], and *Järnhatt*, which is connected to the fish *järnhatt* 'thorny skate' (pp. 155 f.).

At the end of the book, there are a number of pictures shedding light on the topographic conditions that might be assumed to underlie some of these names. Some examples of these are photograph no. 4, which gives the reader a picture of the evenly rounded hill at Torum, photograph no. 6, which shows how Havsten "raises itself up from the

water,” and photograph no. 7, where one can see the crown-shaped hillock at Hertseröd. It would have been even more striking, however, if the pictures had been placed within the text of the respective name interpretations.

In the usual manner, the volume is concluded with various indexes of toponyms, first names, bynames, names of soldiers and boatswains, and important words. Finally there is a cultural history index, something that is always gratifying in these volumes. In this latter index there are references to places in the book where there are names connected, for example, to devotion and death crosses, to the horse as it appears in folklore, to ice extraction, to a whale oil boiler, and to stories about Olof Haraldsson Kyrre's death and the Scottish general Kusen. The volume is thoroughly organised and contains investigations of a number of old names that are dealt with in a careful and mostly convincing manner. I consider the book's numerous investigations of younger settlement names in the district of Tanum to be especially valuable.

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Tom Schmidt (ed.), *Målblomar til Margit. Veneskrift til Margit Harsson på 70-årsdagen den 9. juni 2013*, Oslo: Novus forlag 2013, ISBN 9788270997206, 181 pp.

When the Norwegian onomatologist Margit Harsson turned 70 years old, she was honoured with this book containing contributions by thirteen fellow scholars. There are contributions here from the area of onomastics as well as some dealing with other linguistic fields. Some contributions are etymological. Harald Bjorvand thus deals with the Norwegian place-name *Tom(b)* in Råde, Østfold, and he also presents investigations of five native words, one of which is the problematic *jul* 'Christmas.' In his contribution, Erik Simensen deals with the place-name *Oland* in Froland and *Åmli* in Aust-Agder. Kristin Bakken writes about a popular legend that mentions three names together (*Rolandssteinen*, *Sloehella*, and *Glomshaug*) and emphasises that a legend of this type is “an expression of a desire to place the close and often prosaic reality in a historical, literary or mythical context,” and in addition it gives evidence of “an early popular interest in the structure and analysis of names” (p. 17). The three personal names *Baste* (from *Sebastian*), *Fabian*, and *Crispinus* are discussed by Ole-Jørgen Johannessen in a contribution that whets the appetite. These names are connected to medieval hagiolatry in Europe

and are hardly noticed in the Old Norse oral transmission, “but have a certain place in early modern times [in Norway] and then with a clear local geographic distribution” (p. 75). Kristoffer Kruken writes about newly coined first names in the period 1750 to 1949 and states, among other things, that newly coined names are connected to older names in a family; it is obvious that creativity and tradition go hand in hand. A survey of terms for flowers used as personal names is given by Line Lysaker Heinesen. Under the heading “Margit – en perle med mange innfatninger,” Benedicta Windt-Val writes about the birthday celebrant’s first name (together with *Margareta*, *Margrete*, *Magret*, etcetera), which is dealt with from different angles of approach. The presentation compiled by Gunhild Birkeland and Botolv Helleland is useful and well worth reading. It deals with place-name studies collected in “Hovudoppgåveregistret” at the University of Oslo. This essay also takes a wider science-history perspective. Contributions outside onomastics are also represented in the volume. Gudlaug Nedrelid deals in her essay with problems in connection with Middle Norwegian, and she exemplifies her arguments in an interesting manner. Magne Myhren writes about the connection between M.B. Landstad’s *Norske Folkeviser* and Ivar Aasen’s *Norsk Ordbog* and accounts in detail for the empirical data. Åse Wetås writes about the plural conjugation of verbs in the Halling dialect, and she illustrates in connection with her study the often made observation that linguistic change takes a long time. Finally there is a contribution by Maimu Berezkina on language use in the linguistic landscape of Greenland, a multicultural neighbourhood in Oslo, that includes some thoughts on the inhabitants’ attitudes to place-names. The book is concluded with a bibliography, compiled by Terje Larsen, of Margit Harsson’s scholarly works, brief presentations of the authors, and a Tabula Gratulatoria.

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Wim Vandenbussche, Ernst Håkon Jahr & Peter Trudgill (eds.), *Language Ecology for the 21st Century. Linguistic Conflicts and Social Environments*, Oslo: Novus forlag 2013, ISBN 9788270997480, 342 pp.

This volume on “language ecology” gathers six articles based on talks at a conference in Kristiansand in 2008 together with five other contributions. The point of departure is Einar Haugen’s work on language ecology as it is presented in, for example, *The Ecology of Language* (1972).

To simplify the definition to some extent, language ecology is the study of the interaction between a given language and its environment, which makes it clear that this area is interdisciplinary. The first four articles in the volume assume more theoretical perspectives on language ecology, while the others consist of case studies in both European and non-European contexts. A highly readable introduction to Einar Haugen's language ecology work is provided by Stig Eliasson's contribution, which accounts for Haugen's central and enormously ambitious research questions. Eliasson's introduction also deals with Haugen's argumentation in an interesting way. Extensive language perspectives are also accounted for in another of the introductory articles—Kees Versteegh's "Your place or mine? Kinship, residence patterns, and language change"—which deals with a specific ecological factor, namely "the composition of the household in which children grow up and receive their primary socialisation" (p. 65). The analysis contains conceptual pairs such as *patrilocal/matrilocal systems* and *patrilineality/matrilineality*. Jeroen Darquennes discusses the development and deepening of the research on language ecology. In the article "On the fragility of language status," Peter Trudgill elucidates factors such as linguistic "Abstand," geographical distance, dialect continua, etcetera, and how these factors are important for "the speaking people" and for specific language varieties. The point of departure of Trudgill's discussion is a number of concrete cases, including, among others, the Csángós, a Hungarian-speaking group of people who are members of the Roman Catholic Church and who live in Moldavia.

The section following Trudgill's analysis contains three studies concerning European conditions. Gro-Renée Rambø deals with language use and language change in medieval Scandinavia as a result of the meeting between speakers of Low German and people speaking Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish. Ernst Håkon Jahr discusses what he calls "dialect ecology" with regard to the Norwegian situation. Norwegian language planning has created frameworks that make it possible to maintain local dialects, and in comparison with most countries Norway is a very "dialect tolerant" society. In addition Joan A. Argenter presents an article titled "Iberian language ecologies. Notes on history and the current situation."

After that there follows a section on "Language ecology beyond European perspectives." Ana Deumert's analysis of the language situation in South Africa is directly connected to Haugen's research questions, which makes the analysis particularly valuable for those who want to learn more about practical language ecology work. The Māori language has a special position in the research on threatened languages because it is one of the best described. In their article on the status of Māori

in the twenty-first century, Ray Harlow and Julie Barbour use Haugen's programme as a framework. Lars-Gunnar Andersson writes about conditions in Botswana, and Miriam Meyerhoff writes about conditions of language ecology concerning Bequia English (which is spoken on Saint Vincent and the Grenadines in the West Indies).

The volume *Language Ecology for the 21st Century. Linguistic Conflicts and Social Environments* contains eleven articles shedding light on language ecology problems and exhibiting different types of research problems. Interesting perspectives are presented, not least in the studies of the conditions of language ecology in South Africa and concerning Māori. It is regrettable, however, that interesting language ecology problems in the Nordic countries—concerning not only the Nordic languages—have not been analysed in greater detail in the book. Thus there is clearly a need for a sequel.

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Diana Whaley (ed.), *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages. Vol 1. Poetry from the Kings' Sagas 1, Part 1–2*, Turnhout: Brepols 2012, ISBN 9782503518961, CCXV pp. + 1206 pp.

This is a new double volume in this broadly organised publication project—*Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages* (SkP)—where Nordic skaldic poetry is in focus. The active scholars behind the project are Margaret Clunies Ross, Kari Ellen Gade, Guðrún Nordal, Edith Marold, Diana Whaley, and Tarrin Wills, and Hannah Burrows has written the bibliography. As can be seen, this is a well-reputed group of scholars that guarantees the quality of the work, and an even broader group of scholars has been involved in the work of publishing the series. The result of the publication project will be a comprehensive and critical edition of skaldic poetry in English and with a very broad and well-informed commentary. The completed work will consist of nine volumes. In 2007 volume VII was published, and in 2009 volume II, both as a double volume. The volume in question here is so far the longest one.

The volume—the first volume of the complete series—deals with poetry from the Kings' Sagas from mythical times to around the year 1035. Because this will ultimately be the initial volume of the series, it contains a General Introduction, edited by Margaret Clunies Ross, that introduces the various editors who have been responsible for different

parts as well as others who have been responsible for the distribution of the series. After this introduction to those involved in creating the series, there is a presentation of skaldic poetry and its development. The point of departure is chiefly Finnur Jónsson's *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, but E. A. Kock's *Den norsk-isländska skaldediktningen* is also mentioned. The introduction then provides a detailed description of, among other things, general publication and translation principles, and the section called "Questions of textual reconstruction" (pp. xxxix ff.) provides some insights into the difficult art of interpreting skaldic poems. The metre of the skaldic poems is broadly presented and exemplified, and different types of kennings—which in a table (pp. lxxviii ff.) are divided into *tropic kennings*, *typifying kennings*, and *antonomasia*—are presented in detail, as are heiti and metaphors. The last part of this general introduction is headlined "Poetry and society: The circumstances of skaldic production," and this section could have been even more detailed. On the whole, this initial material provides a good, albeit brief, introduction to skaldic poetry as such. There is also information on general abbreviations, *sigla* over skaldic poems, archives and library institutions, manuscripts, etcetera, that are found in the volume in question along with a survey of Old Norse technical terms that are brought to the fore in the reading (*erfidrápa*, *hálfhnept*, *stefjabálkr*, etcetera). There is also a list of collaborators. All in all, this material covers about 150 pages in the first half volume.

There then follows a more general introduction of about 70 pages that focuses specifically on the present volume. It deals with poems in the Kings' Sagas found in *Ágrip af Nóregs konunga sögum*, *Fagrskinna*, *Flateyjarbók*, *Háuksbók*, *Morkinskinna*, etcetera, which relate to the Norwegian kings; the *Knýtlinga Saga* and *Orkneyinga Saga*, which relate to Denmark and the Orkneys; and some other sources such as Snorre's *Edda*, The First, Third and Fourth Grammatical Treatises, etcetera. The different sovereigns' and some other persons' biographies are depicted in this volume's introduction.

After this introduction, the edition itself is presented. The first half volume starts with skaldic poems ascribed to Þjóðólfr ór Hvini, the first of which is his well-known *Ynglingatal* (edited by Edith Marold together with some colleagues). Eyvindr skáldaspillir Finnsson's well-known *Hákonarmál* (edited by R. D. Fulk) and *Háleygjatal* (edited by Russell Poole) are also represented as well as short verses such as that of Einarr Pambarskelfir Eindriðason, with the wording "Ofveykr, ofveykr//allvalds bogi!" (edited by Kari Ellen Gade). Of particular interest in this volume is also *Gunnhildr konungamóðirs lausavisa* (edited by R.D. Fulk). The sec-

ond half volume contains, among many other things, Sigvatr Þórðarson's *Nesjavisur* (edited by Russell Poole) and *Austrfararvisur* (edited by R.D. Fulk), Bjarni byskup Kolbeinsson's *Jömsvingadrápa* (edited by Emily Lethbridge), some anonymous skaldic pieces such as *Eiriksmál* (edited by R.D. Fulk), and some *lausavisur* from *Fagrskinna* and *Völsa þáttr* (edited by Matthew Townend and Wilhelm Heizmann respectively).

The skaldic poems are systematically presented, where the verse is rendered in normalised form and then in prose form. An English translation is given, kennings are interpreted, and heiti containing names are explained. In addition, the manuscripts where the verse is found are accounted for as are kennings from the different sources. It would be tempting to exemplify this rich commentary, but I refrain—let me just say that it is difficult to tear oneself away from the abundantly rich commentary part, which gives the lexicologist valuable insights into the Old Norse vocabulary. At the end of the volume, there is a comprehensive reference list, an index of first lines, and a register of different kinds of names and some words. The texts that are edited here are commented on in an interesting and highly competent manner, and the reader is thereby given good ideas for further research, whether it concerns the poems' contents or their individual words. Based on the quality of this volume, one looks forward to the continuation of this great publication project.

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Per-Axel Wiktorsson (ed.), *Texter och tecken från svensk medeltid*, Uppsala: Svenska fornskriftsällskapet 2012 (Samlingar utg. av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet. Serie 3. Smärre texter och undersökningar 6), ISBN 9789197611886; ISSN 11035692, 96 pp.

In the series *Smärre texter och undersökningar*, which was started in 1993, Svenska fornskriftsällskapet has now published its sixth booklet. It contains five essays written by both established Swedish researchers and some non-Nordic researchers. The research duo Hedda Gunneng and Börje Westlund discuss two texts written by St. Bridget herself, called *Autograph A* and *Autograph B*, which together cover three pages. Gunneng and Westlund describe the two autographs linguistically, stylistical-

ly, and rhetorically, and the two autographs are rendered (after Bertil Högman from 1951) with normalised orthography. A translation is added to the texts. Sign language as it was used in the Swedish Middle Ages is a fairly unexplored area, and this is elucidated in the essay by Per-Axel Wiktorsson. He first outlines briefly the general European background, and then describes the sign language in Vadstena as it is rendered in a couple of manuscripts from Vadstena Monastery (C 31 and C 74 at Uppsala University Library). The reader learns how words such as *calix* ‘communion chalice,’ *diuidere* ‘divide,’ and *scabiosus* ‘scabby’ should be signed, the latter being signed by touching one’s head with one’s thumb. About 80 per cent of the words in these lists are of an everyday nature, while the rest belong to the religious sphere. In the volume, Margit J. Smith—who works at the University of San Diego on a codicological description of medieval girdle books—describes the so-called Tallinn manuscript of the city rights of King Magnus Eriksson. The introduction of the article is undoubtedly somewhat remarkable, and in general the text might well have been tightened, but it is accompanied by a number of fine colour pictures that increase its value considerably. In his essay on King Alexander (in Cod. Holm. D4), Massimiliano Bampi, who works at the Ca’ Foscari University in Venice, attempts to show that the reception of the text in an aristocratic environment has affected the description of Alexander’s exploits. Bampi concludes that a text must always be read in its historical context. The last contributor, Fulvio Ferrari, works with Germanic philology at the University of Trento, and his contribution deals with the previously rather neglected text *Dikten om kung Albrekt*—written in Vadstena in the 1420s—and tries to answer the questions of where the scribes got the texts in the manuscript and why the poem seems to have kept its relevance long after its completion. The explanation for the prolonged relevance of the text is concluded to be the similar political situation present at different times, with the struggle of the nobles against the royal power as a fundamental feature. In these articles some previously fairly neglected texts are highlighted, which is of importance, and it is interesting to get acquainted with the perspectives that are taken, especially by the non-Nordic philologists represented in the volume.

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Instructions to Authors

1. General Instructions

The languages of publication are English, French or German.

Articles should normally not exceed 60,000 characters in size, including spaces (c. 10,000 words). This should not, however, include references. But shorter or longer texts may be accepted if the length is motivated by the content.

Manuscripts should be double-spaced with wide margins, all pages numbered consecutively. The manuscript should be submitted electronically to the editor-in-chief in the format of a major word processing program for Windows or Macintosh, RTF or plain text format, via e-mail to the address lars-erik.edlund@nord.umu.se. Illustrations should be submitted as separate files, either via e-mail or on CD (see further below under *4.1 Illustrations and Maps*).

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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Articles may be divided into sections if necessary. Each section should be numbered, using Arabic numerals with up to three decimals: 3.2.1. , 3.2.2 etc. or provided with section headings.

Short quotations should be incorporated in the text and surrounded with double quotation marks, and quotations within quotations should be surrounded with single quotation marks. Quotations of more than 30 words and quotations from plays or poetry should be indented on the left-hand margin and set off from the main text. Omitted text in quotations should be marked [...] and the author's interpolations should be enclosed by square brackets [xxx]. Emphasis should be marked by italics except in linguistic articles where bold type may be used instead. Words and names used meta-linguistically should be given in italics. Commas, full stops etcetera should be placed inside the closing quotation mark.

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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.

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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.

"Lärlarinna 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 2007*a*, 2007*b*, 2007*c* etc.:

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

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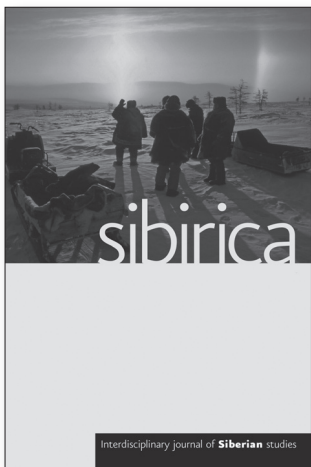
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