Journal of Northern Studies

Vol. 11 • No. 2 • 2017

Journal of Northern Studies

Vol. 11 • No. 2 • 2017

Published by Umeå University & The Royal Skyttean Society

Umeå 2018

The *Journal of Northern Studies* is published with support from The Royal Skyttean Society and Umeå University

ISSN 1654-5915

Cover picture
Scandinavia Satellite and sensor: NOAA, AVHRR
Level above earth: 840 km
Image supplied by METRIA, a division of Lantmäteriet, Sweden. www.metria.se

Design and layout
Lotta Hortéll and Leena Hortéll, Ord & Co i Umeå AB
Fonts: Berling Nova and Futura
Paper: CT+ 300 gr and Pro Design 100 gr

Printed by
UmU-Tryckservice, Umeå University

Contents/Sommaire/Inhalt

Articles/Aufsätze

Reviews/Comptes rendus/Besprechungen

JOURNAL OF NORTHERN STUDIES Vol. 11 • No. 2 • 2017, pp. 7–30

SIRPA AALTO & VELI-PEKKA LEHTOLA

The Sami Representations Reflecting the Multi-Ethnic North of the Saga Literature

ABSTRACT This article focuses on contextualizing the Sami (*finnar*) representations in Old Norse saga literature. The purpose is to show that the Sami representations reflect multi-layered Old Norse textual and oral traditions, and complex interaction between the Sami and the Norwegians in the Middle Ages. The stereotypes of the Sami tell us more about the society that created them than about real, historical events. We can be sure that behind them lie very mundane phenomena such as trade and marriages.

The ultimate goal of the article is therefore to reveal the multi-ethnic North that provided the background for the saga sources, a North whose history is not as homogeneous as sources suggest and quite unlike the modified version which found its way into the histories of nation states. The literary conventions of sagas are not just imaginary tales—their use in various contexts can reveal something essential in otherwise schematic images or configurations. Even researchers of the sagas have certain personal conceptions of what the "real" lives of the Sami were like at the time, and how the sagas depict this. In fact, they participate in a continuum of saga literature that generates representations of the Sami in history.

KEYWORDS the Sami, migration, the Middle Ages, saga literature, Iceland, multi-ethnicity

Among the manifold Nordic literary materials of the Middle Ages, from legal texts to fictional works, the saga literature includes a multitude of mentions and descriptions of the Sami (*finnar*) (see in particular Mundal 1996; Pálsson 1997; Pálsson, 1998; Aalto 2010; DeAngelo 2010; Kusmenko 2013). These representations have produced a wealth of literary, archaeological and historical research. The Sami lived at least as far south as the Dovre region, neighbouring the Norwegians from Trøndelag to Tromsø (Bergsland 1971; Bergsland 1996; Bergstøl 2008; Fjellheim 2007; Odner 1983; Skogheim 2014; Zachrisson *et al.* [eds.] 1997; Zachrisson 2004).

Recently, the view of the status of the Sami in history has become more complex as it has been studied in frameworks other than merely the colonial one, or without casting them solely as victims of the ruling populations in Scandinavian kingdoms. For instance, the self-government of villages in Swedish Lapland, the *siida*s, has been shown to have been more of an equal to the Crown in the 1500s and 1600s than previously thought (see e.g. Korpijaakko 1989; Lehtola 2002).[1] Similarly, power relations in the Viking era have been considered more multi-level than previously assumed. Research has emphasised mutual interaction and thereby a more equal relationship, in addition to hierarchies and distinctions in certain sectors of society (e.g. Hansen & Olsen 2004: 107; Äikäs & Salmi 2015: 103).

We argue that the colonial relations, or the Sami as "others," for instance, are one perspective among others. In our article, we seek to contextualize the Sami representations in Old Norse saga literature in more diverse colours. We should consider Sami representations in the saga literature reflections of a multi-ethnic north in the Middle Ages. Instead of being satisfied with only one viewpoint, we should see the medieval Sami history—or generally the history of Fennoscandia—as being much more multi-layered and complex. There is no one history of Fennoscandia, nor is there only one people living there but several, and this history is polyphonic.

In recent decades, the research has shifted away from using the saga literature to produce clear historical evidence about the cultural forms of the Sami people in medieval times. The value of the sagas as sources of historical evidence is heavily debated, since they do not depict historical events or persons objectively (Jakobsson 2015: 21–22; Orning 2017: 32). Rather, they are narrative interpretations of past events; imageries which have their own traditions and which reflect more the general ideas of the authors than actual reality. What the sagas reveal or do not reveal often relates more to the

background and literary conventions of the people who wrote them than the actual reality of the Sami. Nevertheless, they may provide clues as to the mentality or social practices at the time of writing, which, in turn, may reveal something essential about issues such as the historical relations between the Scandinavians and the Sami. This is how archaeologists, for instance, have used the sagas, as an inspiration to find new traits or new ideas to expand their views on early medieval histories.

In addition to considering saga descriptions as reflections of the reality, there is also a temptation to examine the saga literature as representations of Sami "otherness," a very different element in ancient Nordic society. This can, however, lead researchers to evaluate the past on the basis of their own preconceptions about how the representations of the Sami should be presented "in the right manner," how the Sami "must have been" in the Middle Ages, or what their role was in the eyes of their Scandinavian neighbours. These assumptions can easily stem from later colonial history which may result in us looking for the medieval Sami to have the same kind of relations to the majority as later in history, with their neighbours oppressing or "othering" them in multiple ways.

At first, we will discuss briefly the use of different Sami ethnonyms in the sagas which reflect, as well as construct, the Sami representations of the multi-ethnic north. We will then examine with some examples chosen from the Kings' sagas, the various stereotypes that they produce. In particular, we will concentrate on the connection between the Sami and magic. Our purpose is to shed light on the multiple nature of Sami representations, partly leaning on earlier research, and how the Sami are created as "others" in the saga literature. Thus, our aim to point out the diverse colours of Sami representations means that we need to see how the stereotypes are constructed, strengthened and renewed. We will exemplify how the Sami stereotypes sometimes resemble those of mythical creatures such as *tröll*, and how Sami agency may be hidden in the history of settlers in Iceland or mythical stories about marriages between Norse kings and Sami women. Finally, we will briefly compare the Sami representations of the sagas with those of the Celts, which are a close counterpart.

The sources in this article comprise Old Norse Kings' Sagas *Ágrip af Noregs konungasǫgum* (c. 1190), *Morkinskinna* (c. 1220), *Fagrskinna* (c. 1220) and *Heimskringla* (c. 1230).[2] It is not our intention to cover all the passages dealing with the *finnar* in the saga literature, since they have been covered quite thoroughly earlier (see for instance Mundal 1996; Pálsson 1997; Sterling 2008; Aalto 2010; DeAngelo 2010). Because of our thematical and straitened examination, the passages from the Kings' sagas are especially used in this context. In addition, we will highlight some cases with examples from *Landnámabók*.

Researchers have differing views as to whether the above mentioned Kings' sagas can be seen to reflect either Norse or Icelandic view to the past (Jakobsson 1997; see also Aalto 2017). Our starting point is that it is unnecessary to reconstruct the Norse or Icelandic view of the Sami in the sagas; we prefer to see them as Norse-Icelandic. This can be reasoned with the following points. Of all the four Kings' sagas used here as sources, only Ágrip seems to have been written in Norway and possibly by a Norwegian. *Fagrskinna* was possibly written by an Icelander in Norway, and perhaps also *Morkinskinna*. Snorri Sturluson, the author of *Heimskringla* is the only author known by name and he was Icelander (Einarsson 1993: 5–6; Andersson & Gade 2000: 77; Finlay 2004: 15).

The four sagas also have a connection to each other because of interpolations—being the youngest saga, *Heimskringla* in particular, leans on the earlier Kings' sagas. Last but not least, as there are not many passages where the Sami are mentioned, there is not much material for comparisons between these four sagas in order to establish whether something is "Icelandic" or "Norwegian"—after all, they often contain the same passages.

Methodologically, we approach the sources by using close reading of the sagas. This approach is suitable when looking at descriptions that are remarkably similar in the different saga sources, which is often due to intertextuality. The method is admittedly subjective because we rely on our own perceptions: we choose the examples, analyse them based on our previous knowledge, and interpret them. As researchers, we acknowledge that our own subjectivity and possible bias may affect the ways we think that the Sami "should be presented." Thus, the role of the research on Sami representations is also discussed in our conclusions.

Ethnonyms as Representations

Saga literature contains stories based on oral traditions, which were mostly recorded in Iceland, and some in Norway, from c. 1100 to the 1400s. Researchers have divided sagas into different genres, depending on the choice of theme and attitude to the past. However, the sagas rarely represent only one genre, but are a mix of various traits. For instance, the so-called legendary sagas are considered to be fictional, even mythical, while the Kings' sagas and Icelandic family sagas, are regarded as somewhat more reliable historical records of the time (Clover & Lindow [eds.] 1985; Clunies Ross [ed.] [2000] 2009; Mundal 2013: 31–54; Jakobsson 2015). As Orning points out, discussions about genre have often overshadowed more interesting themes in the sagas (Orning 2017: 25).

According to Ármann Jakobsson (2015: 21–22), the sagas are difficult to

categorise as either fiction or fact. Due to the multi-layered nature of the sagas, their historical and ethnographic traits always consist of a "selected reality" which is filtered through traditional knowledge and mythical narrative. For instance, the characters in the sagas transformed into textual representations—types representing different things in different contexts in accordance with the authors' aspirations—as the sagas were written. This is very much true of the descriptions of the Sami in saga literature.

The Sami in the sagas are generally referred to by the ancient Germanic term *finn*, in its Norse form *finni*, *finnr*, or *finnar* in the plural. All in all, we can say that the ethnonym *finnr* is an exonym, meaning that it was given by outsiders: it is an ethnonym that cannot be found among the Sami or Finnic peoples. The etymology of the word remains uncertain, but in fact it is not relevant for the purposes of this article. It is sufficient to say that *finnar* denoted first and foremost people who were neighbours of Scandinavians and who seem to have differed markedly from them. A clear linguistic and cultural boundary between speakers of Scandinavian languages and those whom they called *finnar* must have been the reason why Scandinavians did not adopt an ethnonym that these groups used of themselves (Koivulehto 1995; Grünthal 1997; Aalto 2015: 204–205).

Sources such as the Latin *Historia Norwegiæ* (c. 1170–1190), *Ágrip af Noregs konungasǫgum* and Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla* refer to Sami settlements in the Viking Age and the early Middle Ages reaching all the way down to southern Norway, including Hadeland (*Historia Norwegiæ* 2006: 80; *Ágrip af Nóregs konungasǫgum* 1985: 5; *Heimskringla* I 1941: 91–92). Bergsland (1971: 18–27; 1996: 43) states that there were several "Sami wilderness woods" or *finnmǫrk* (i.e. 'finnmarks' in the plural) in Norway.[3] For example, in the 1270 border agreement between Norway and Sweden, there was a *lappmǫrk* in Ångermanland, in the region of the subsequent Åsele Lappmark. The concept of *finnmark* as the Sami residential area was therefore not limited to the distant north alone.

According to the most ancient provincial laws of eastern Norway (*Borgartingsloven* and *Eidsivatingsloven*; see *Norges Gamle Love* I [1846]), Norwegians were forbidden from travelling to *finnmǫrk*, "to ask for predictions." These laws are dated to the 1100s, but the provisions of the laws most likely stem from early Christian times. Mundal believes that the *finnmǫrk* had to be located in the vicinity of the lawmakers, since it is hard to imagine people making months-long excursions to northern Finnmark. She also draws attention to the fact that in western Norway, which was not inhabited by the Sami, no similar provisions were included in the Gulating law; however, such provisions existed in south-east Norway, where by all accounts the Sami lived (Mundal 1996: 102–103; DuBois 1999: 129; *Norges Gamle Love*

I 1846: 350, 389–390). Archaeological research has been able to verify this conjecture with some certainty (Mundal 1996: 101–102; Zachrisson *et al.* [eds.] 1997: 158–174; Bergstøl 2008).

The Sami and the Norwegians thus lived side by side in a long zone from the Tromsø region to the Oppland area in central Norway. Oppland was the home area of a man called *Fiðr litli* ['little'] in *Óláfs saga hins helga* in *Heimskringla*. This devoted King's man was also known as *Finnr*, which even the saga assumes indicated his ethnic background. According to the saga, Fiðr is so fast on his feet that not even a horse can beat him. Of course, you may ask whether this referred to summer or winter conditions, because he is also said to have been a well-practised skier (*Heimskringla* II 1945: 120).

As the ethnonyms indicate, the image of the Sami in the saga literature is almost entirely the creation of outsiders. Although the number of references is relatively high, the Sami mainly feature in minor roles, which is typical: foreign minor characters are often literary constructions in the sagas (Sterling 2008: 5). Therefore, the sagas have an established way of referring to the Sami, using specific Sami imagery. The accumulation of "information" about them in the saga literature was already following the model typical of later descriptions of the Sami: each author read previous sources and took advantage of the descriptions in them. For instance, in *Heimskringla*, Snorri Sturluson tells the legend of King Harald Fairhair and Snæfríðr, a Sami chieftain's daughter, in almost the same words as those found in *Ágrip af Noregs konungasǫgum*, written around 1200 by an unknown author (*Heimskringla* I 1941: 125–127; *Ágrip af Nóregs konungasǫgum* 1985: 5–6; Mundal 1997; Kusmenko 2013: 173).

Sami Sorcerers

Authors of saga literature viewed the Sami through the framework of their own culture and ideals. According to Knut Odner (1983: 22–31), the peasant Ottar's description of the land of the *finnar* in the late 800s as a "wilderness" and those of the "Northmen" and Bjarmians as "inhabited," reflects this. There are many stereotypes of winter and cold associated with the Sami. Similarly, the Sami are always thought to go on skis: *finnr skríðr*. An Old Norse oath assured that peace would last "as long as the falcon flies, the pine grows, the rivers run into the sea, the children cry for their mothers and the Lapps go on their skis" (*Tryggðamál/Griðamál*).[4] Also the personal names of the Sami often refer to coldness, snow or skiing (Aalto 2010: 169).

In the saga literature, interest in the Sami is divided into three main elements: economic relations, that is, taxation and trade; paganism and

witchcraft; and marriages (Aalto 2010). Taxation and trade were controlled to some extent as early as the Viking Age and the Middle Ages, because they were a source of wealth for Norwegian chieftains and kings. The Norwegians protected their exclusive right by the force of arms, for example against the *kylfings*, i.e. Karelians and Kvens, who came from the east to trade with the Sami and to loot (Hansen & Olsen 2014: 152–155; Tjelmeland, Lähteenmäki & Golubev [eds.] 2015: 30).

Witchcraft is the predominant feature associated with the Sami in the saga literature (Orning 2017: 114). The Sami were known as skilled sorcerers, clairvoyants and teachers of witchcraft skills as far afield as in the Shetland Islands and Iceland. In general, the Scandinavian kingdoms were Christianised by the 1100s, but the old faith persisted among the Sami throughout the Middle Ages. There are still differing views as to how quickly the Sami were actually converted (Steen 1954; Bergsland 1971; Rydving 1993; Mundal 1996: 97; Mundal 2007; Broadbent 2010: 161). Although witchcraft was forbidden, ordinary Norwegians—and their chieftains—were attracted to it. According to Mundal, since Sami witchcraft had much in common with Old Norse paganism, it was familiar to the Norwegians. As the sagas were written during the Christian era, the fact that the Sami practised a pagan faith was emphasised (Mundal 1996; Mundal 2004; Kusmenko 2008: 112–113).

Sami sorcerers were sometimes described with admiration in the sagas: they are described as being able to "track footsteps as readily as dogs, both in snow and in thaw," and their skills in skiing and shooting with a bow are often mentioned. In the sagas, a Sami sorcerer is able to influence the weather and raise a storm at sea. Likewise, he is able to help women conceive "immaculately" with the help of a spirit conjured into them (Pálsson 1999: 41; *Heimskringla* I 1941: 323). Shamanism is also connected to Sami witchcraft. A description of a spiritual journey is included in *Historia Norwegiæ*. The story concerns a group of merchants who visit the Sami to witness a spiritual journey, apparently made by a shaman in order to cure a sick woman (*Historia Norwegiæ* 2006: 62). In Olaf Tryggvason's saga in *Heimskringla*, the Danish King Harald Bluetooth, when angered by the Icelanders, sends a wizard (*kunnigr maðr*, a 'knowing man') to find out whether he should attack Iceland. The man travels to Iceland in the shape of a whale (*Heimskringla* I 1941: 271). It is not directly stated in the saga that the man was a Sami, but he is often interpreted as one—particularly since spiritual journeys and transformation into an animal have been associated with the shamanistic faith of the Sami at a later date (Clunies Ross 1998: 34; see also Jackson & Podossinov 2003).

The sorcerers typically have magical spears and arrows, but they are also able to protect themselves from such weapons (Heide 2006). In *Ólafs saga*

hins helga, the Sami made twelve magical reindeer skin hauberks for Þórir (Tore Hund) which spears could not penetrate and which were therefore superior to the Vikings' iron (*Heimskringla* II 1945: 345). The Sami are sometimes also associated with blacksmiths: in the Edda poem *Völundarkviða*, the father of the wonderful blacksmith Vǫlundr was a *finnakonungr*, whose brother's name was *Slagfiðr*. In fact, the description of the brothers in the poem follow the stereotypical description of *finnar*, because they "skied and hunted animals" (*Edda* 1927: 112; Kusmenko 2013: 175). In the sagas, some Norwegians travelled to the Sami to learn about sorcery. Snorri tells about Gunnhildr from Hálogaland, who studied sorcery alongside the most skilled sorcerers in Finnmark. Since Gunnhildr's character represents evil of all kinds, she could also be associated with sorcery (*Heimskringla* I 1941: 135–136; Pálsson 1999: 41).

Dwarfs, Giants, and *finnar*

In addition to witchcraft, the mixing of the Sami with other legendary characters is a noteworthy element of the image of the Sami in the sagas. The term *tröll*, which in the sagas means a supernatural phenomenon, or a person who deals with the supernatural, can be connected with the Sami. The term is used as a metaphor for anything beyond the limits of normality, to indicate the strength or size of a character, for example. The word can also refer to malicious spirits or ghosts. It is even associated with the Berserks, who metamorphose in battle, turning from a human into a bear or wolf. A metamorphosis naturally involves magic. *Tröll* is often translated into English as 'troll,' but it does not mean a troll as such, but rather a sorcerer (Jakobsson 2013: 118).

Jötunn literally means a giant, but in Scandinavian mythology giants are not only large in size, but form a diverse group and are ambivalent characters. Giants are often presented as the enemies of the Æsir gods, but on the other hand they also had highly valued qualities, such as wisdom. The fact that the Æsir gods could marry giants' womenfolk, while a giant could not have an Æsir goddess as a wife, is indicative of the ambivalent role they played in Scandinavian mythology. Giants were seen as Übergangscharacteren, as they were human-like characters who lived in a zone between the human world and that of the monstrous races. This connotation suited well the image of the *finnar* in the sagas, who lived somewhere between the known civilized world and the unknown periphery (Steinsland 1991; see also Vestergaard 1991: 21–34; Schulz 2004: 231, 235).

The Sami are comparable to giants in Scandinavian mythology, since similar characteristics are associated with them: they live outside the "cen-

tre," on the edge of the world and often in the north; snow is their element (as it is for the northern giants) and they know how to ski, shoot with a bow, predict the future and perform magic. Although Christianity and its negative attitude towards pagan magic are clearly visible in the sagas, magic and its use are not always depicted as negative. According to Gro Steinsland, the Scandinavian kings' marriages with the women of the *finnar*, as described in the sagas, repeat the literary *topos* found in mythology: Æsir kings marry the womenfolk of giants. Although these unions often ended unhappily, they resulted in a hero: the union of opposing forces created something new and unprecedented (Steinsland 1991: 311).

Kusmenko has analysed the relationships between the giants and the *finnar*, that is, Sami characters in saga literature. According to him, many common characteristics are associated with these figures: both are able to control natural phenomena, raise storms and bad weather, they may have magical powers to transform themselves into birds, and they have the skill to heal by magic. They may be the forefathers of kings and heroes, both the giants and the Sami live in the mountains, and some of the giants even have the same professions as the Sami. The features of giants and the Sami may be mixed, for instance in the mythological character of Skaði the giant, who moves around on skis and shoots accurately with a bow. Skaði's brothers live by skiing and hunting—activities that are associated with the *finnar* (Kusmenko 2013: 174–184; Hirvonen 2000).

Þurs is another name for a seemingly supernatural character. It is a slightly problematic term: it seems to mean a *tröll*, some sort of a witch or sorcerer. This creature takes human form, but is still a negative being, a kind of sub-human. The Prose Edda,[5] which describes Scandinavian mythology, mentions giants and *þursar*, more specifically *hrímþursar*, which can be translated as 'frost giants,' for example. In general, the word *tröll* and its synonyms *jötunn* and *þurs* have negative connotations. The term *tröll* can be considered pejorative, even hostile. As Ármann Jakobsson has stated, regardless of what the equivocal term *tröll* actually referred to, it at least meant strange (Jakobsson 2008*b*: 111). In this sense, it is understandable that all these names are from time to time associated with the *finnar* in the sagas.

Tröll, *þurs* and *jötunn* strongly suggest otherness: they are never "here," but somewhere "out there" (Jakobsson 2013: 96–106). However, it would be simplistic to claim that all designations of *tröll*, *þurs* or *jötunn* were associated with the Sami only. Although the sagas refer to the Sami as giants, there are examples to the contrary: the appellation dwarf (*dvergr*) or simply little (*litli*) was sometimes also used.[6] Various types of dwarves feature in the saga literature. The so-called Poetic Edda[7] mentions dwarves both by name and anonymously. Dwarves also feature in ancient sagas and folk tales (Horn

2010). According to Ármann Jakobsson (2008*a*: 183–206), dwarves in the sagas are usually small men who may be good or evil, have magical powers and often covet women who are above them in status. The reason for these various connotations is to define the nature of the Sami—their otherness—in relation to the Scandinavians. In addition to sorcery, divination and the interpretation of dreams are strongly linked to the Sami in the sagas.

Multiple Roles of the Sami

When speaking of the mixing of characters, a prominent motive is repeated in saga literature: the marriages of kings or chieftains with Sami women or giants. In many cases, these are associated with witchcraft. For instance, the wife of King Haraldr Fairhair is Snæfriðr, daughter of the Sami chieftain Svási. The number of royal marriages with Sami witches or their daughters is so high in the saga literature that, according to Kusmenko's ironic comment, one might conclude that the Sami are the ancestors of the royal families of Norway, Sweden and Denmark. He suggests that when *Heimskringla* and *Gesta Danorum* were written in the 1200s, it was still possible to imagine that a Scandinavian king had a Sami wife (Kusmenko 2013: 173–178).

However, as Kusmenko also proves, similar marriages are common between royals and giants in mythology. Mundal notes that the mixing of giants and the Sami is typical evidence of the unreliability of the sagas as an historical source. Yet, she notes that, among the ancient Norse people, the kinship of the Sami with Norwegian kings reflects a certain sense of unity with the Sami, or even appreciation of them. A common family background bound the king of Norway to the Sami and gave him the legitimacy to rule over them (Mundal 1996: 110–111).

This could be viewed as the construction of the legend of a state formed by two peoples. Gro Steinsland assumes that, according to the ancient Norse perspective, a king had to be a descendant of giants or gods, the result of a marriage between two opposite sides, a Norwegian chieftain and a mythical character. When the sagas moved from the mythical to the historical level, people in the real world, such as the Sami, could stand in for the giants. The key point was that the marriage was between high-ranking individuals, which is why the wives of kings were almost without exception daughters of "Sami kings," *Finnakonungar* (Steinsland 1991).

Sami kings may appear also as forefathers among Norwegian immigrants whose lineage is described in *Landnámabók* (discussed further in the next section). For instance, a man called *Hrosskell* married a woman named *Jóreið*, of whose family background it is said that she was the daughter of Ǫlvir, who, in turn, was the son of Mǫttull *Finnakonungr* (*Landnámabók* 1968:

82; see also *Fagrskinna* 1985: 79). The name *Mǫttull* also appears elsewhere in the saga literature in connection with the Sami. The name cannot be regarded as historical but rather mythical; it literally means a cloak (Zoëga [1910] 2004: 307). The moniker *Finnakonungr* indicates that Mǫttull would have been the "king" of the Sami, that is, their leader. It is possible to consider this as the tendency of the Scandinavian cultural elite to interpret other cultures from its own perspective, thus being inclined to call any leader *king*. Other "kings of the *finnar*" also feature in written sources. For instance, an entry in an Icelandic annal dating back to 1313 describes how the "king" of the Sami, Marteinn, came to meet the king of Norway (*Flatøbogen annaler* 1888: 393; Bratrein 2001). This means that the use of the name *Finnakonungr* was not limited to sagas only.

The sagas may not describe single, historical events, but how to combine and interpret information from two sources (a saga from around 1235 and an annal from the beginning of the fourteenth century), which both mention a Sami king? The sources do not reveal what kind of hierarchies there lay behind the scenes—whether the Sami king was summoned to the Norwegian king or whether he arrived of his own will (Mundal 2006: 99). The point is that we do not know this background, but our assumptions lead us to make conclusions. If the Sami were later oppressed, surely the Sami kings were not independent actors? The latest suggestions that the Sami—or at least part of them—were active in northern trading networks would pose the Sami as actors and not bystanders (Hansen & Olsen 2014).

All this emphasizes that the picture of the medieval social structure in Norway, as well as the relations of the Sami to it, has proved to be much more complex than previously believed. Some scholars have referred to a symbiotic relationship between the Sami and the Norwegians, even a cultural creolisation between two different cultures (Zachrisson *et al.* [eds.] 1997: 218; Hansen & Olsen 2004: 107; Hansen & Olsen 2014; Tjelmeland, Lähteenmäki & Golubev [eds.] 2015: 43). Such a symbiosis is a reference to interaction that produces mutual benefit. Both parties have an economic specialism and cooperate in order to benefit from this. Creolisation, in turn, refers to a borderland culture where cultural influences and bloodlines are exchanged through mutual interaction.

Cultural borrowings, including the high number of Scandinavian loan words in Sami languages, as well as certain grammatical and phonological features borrowed by Old Norse, are an indication of close relations of this kind (Svonni 2010). Kusmenko also refers to close relations in aspects of religion and folklore (Kusmenko 2013: 171). Cultural influences probably transferred from the Sami to Norwegians, but it is still debated to what extent this took place (Simonsen 1967; Price 2002).

On the other hand, a certain hierarchy based on asymmetric power relations is obvious. Some researchers of the sagas have regarded the viewpoint they represent as colonial, purveying the exclusive medieval Christian view of the world, where lines were drawn between Christians and non-Christians as groups. *Landnámabók* (and *Íslendingabók*), as well as *Íslendingasǫgur*, only described the settlement of the island from the viewpoint of the men who conquered the land (Sterling 2008). On the other hand, the sagas are not considered "purely colonial" since they do not, for example, create a clear myth of legitimation in favour of Scandinavians. It is thought that neither group had the mission of converting the other, or judged the other on a religious basis (Fríðriksdóttir 2015).

It is difficult to obtain an accurate picture of the (social) status of the Sami in medieval Norway. Mundal thinks that they did not occupy the lowest rung in the social hierarchy, but were not particularly elevated either, except perhaps the *búfinnar*, who had settled in one place, for example as fishermen who lived as freeholders (Mundal 1996: 99–100; see also Bergsland 1971; Odner 1983: 26–27; Pálsson 1999: 30–31).[8] The status of the Sami as subjects was problematic because they were heathens, which, by all accounts, meant that they were not entitled to full "subjectship." However, the Sami were valuable as taxpayers, whose interests were emphasised both in certain legal texts and by special measures taken by the king and local chiefs (Mundal 1996: 106–109).

Sami Immigrants in Iceland?

In 1990s, Hermann Pálsson, an Icelandic professor, made an intriguing suggestion that interestingly exposes the borderland between mythological and historical interpretations of the saga literature, as well as the role of the Sami in Nordic history. Pálsson proposed that the Sami could also have emigrated to Iceland along with Vikings leaving northern Norway. He focused on *Landnámabók*, written in Iceland in the first half of the 1100s, which mentions a total of 430 people who emigrated to Iceland, and even their countries of origin or residences are mentioned (Pálsson 1997: 62–84; see also Benediktsson 1993: 373–374).

Pálsson noted that *Landnámabók* does not contain many direct references to *finnar*, but he suggested that the immigrants originating in the north of Norway were connected to the Sami in one way or another. He also assumed that everyone whose appellation was *þurs*, *jötunn* or *tröll* had a Sami background (Pálsson 1997: 62–84). He did not, however, specify the purpose of these appellations in the saga literature in general, despite the fact that they are highly ambiguous. That is the reason why Ármann Jakobsson, for

example, has criticised Hermann Pálsson for being too ready to connect all giants and trolls to the Sami, despite the fact that there may be other explanations for them in the source texts (Jakobsson 2013: 147).

It is true that the names *jötunn* and *þurs* are often associated with immigrants, especially from northern Norway or Trøndelag. For instance, one of the ancestors of an immigrant named Ketill is said to be Jǫtun-Bjǫrn, a native of northern Norway (*Landnámabók* 1968: 217: "Jǫtun-Bjarnarsonar norðan ór Nóregi"). Another immigrant, Þorsteinn, who was from Namdalen, married a woman named Hild, whose father was Þráinn *svartaþurs* ['black-troll'] (*Landnámabók* 1968: 252). Both examples suggest that the mere fact of originating in northern Norway was enough to be associated with magic. This is reflected in the monikers used.

The most famous Icelanders whose origins the sagas connect to northern Norway and possibly the Sami were Egill Skalla-Grímsson's father Skalla-Grímr and his father Kveld-Úlfr. The latter is mentioned at the very beginning of *Egils saga*, stating that his parents were Bjálfi and Hallbera, sister of Hallbjǫrn *hálftröll* (*Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar* 1933: 3). Again, *hálftröll* refers to Hallbera's brother being half *tröll*, i.e. possibly Sami, but as Ármann Jakobsson has pointed out, the saga does not reveal the extent to which Hallbjǫrn was a *tröll* or his nature in general.[9] This feature is probably connected generally to the connotations of the north. In the north, both magic and bestiality tended to be associated with the Sami (Jakobsson 2013: 144).

Another example of a possible Sami background in *Landnámabók* is the case of Finni the Dream Interpreter. A Norwegian called *Þorgeir* moved to Iceland and had illegitimate sons called *Þorgrímr* and *Finni the Dream Interpreter* (*draumspaki*). Finni's mother was said to be a foreigner called *Lekny*. It is impossible to deduce the woman's ethnic or linguistic background solely from her name. However, the facts that Finni had been given the name *Finni* and that his appellation was *Dream Interpreter*, are a strong indication of his Sami family background (*Landnámabók* 1968: 275; Finni is also mentioned in *Finnboga saga ramma* and in *Ljósvetninga saga*).

Landnámabók also mentions other people originating in Hálogaland or northern Norway, and the ability to perform magic is associated with many of them. Numerous references to "otherness" especially in the designations *jötunn*, *tröll* and *þurs* do not, as such, prove the individuals' links to the Sami in the way that the word *finnar* would. It is noteworthy, however, that Pálsson could identify even a small concentration of place-names in Iceland possibly referring to the Sami, including a region called *finnmǫrk*. Moreover, Pálsson mentioned local traditions involving wizards and sorcerers (Pálsson 1997: 61; Pálsson 1998: 41–43).

Pálsson's suggestion about the Sami in Iceland has not been considered much in research. Ísaksson (2013: 50–52) has made a preliminary attempt to outline the "Sami cultural landscape" in Iceland by means of environmental archaeology, and has proposed a more in-depth study of names. Based on Pálsson's notions on place-names and on studies on Celtic influences in Iceland (discussed in the following section), it would be interesting to know whether the Sami language is in some way reflected in Iceland and the Icelandic language (Willson 2011: 267–281; Willson 2014: 322).

Comparison. Sami and Celtic Forefathers of Icelanders

Hermann Pálsson's notions are especially interesting when suggesting that certain immigrants from Norway had a "non-Nordic" or non-Germanic background or were of "mixed origin," although this is only hinted at by vague references and pieces of information in the *Landnámabók*. It is good to remember that the author/s of *Landnámabók* were members of the Icelandic-Norwegian elite, whose interpretations of Icelandic history reflected the need of the aristocracy to legitimise its claims on the land and privileges. Hence, in their works, literate men belonging to the social elite modified ideals related to the backgrounds of Icelanders—particularly the upper class. The "better side" was emphasised, while the background of the Sami, associated with witchcraft, was not necessarily a subject of pride (Aalto 2012: 12).

As Sterling has pointed out, being seen as equivalent to the Sami was not genealogically or nationally prudent for Icelanders, and it may well be one reason for writing the Sami out of Icelandic history (Sterling 2008: 128–129). According to Willson, with respect to language and, to some extent, even history, the ideal of historical "purity" has been cherished in Iceland. This has meant that Icelanders, in their own opinion, have preserved the ancient Norse culture in a purer form than other Scandinavians (Willson 2011: 278; Kristinsson 2003; Sigurðsson [1988] 2000). Acknowledging that there could be other ethnicities among the forefathers would mean questioning the sources.

The role of the Celts in forming the Icelandic conception of history offers an interesting point of comparison in the study of how the sagas shaped the Icelandic past. The Celtic background and heritage are barely visible in the Icelandic sagas. However, scientists have estimated that up to 14–40 per cent of Iceland's first immigrants would have been of Celtic background, but only around two per cent of the names mentioned in *Landnámabók* are of Celtic origin. The Celts have left their mark on the Icelandic language in the form of a few borrowings and proper names, and have possibly

influenced the Icelandic saga literature, for example through motifs borrowed from traditional Celtic legends (Sigurðsson [1988] 2000: 19–22, 27, 118; Humphrey 2009: 99–101; Ísaksson 2013: 25–26; Brady 2016: 61).

William Sayers, who has studied the Celtic background of Icelanders in *Landnámabók*, has pointed out that: "Foreign cultural goods are rejected although a residue is recognized, just as non-Norse names are incorporated in toponyms" (Sayers 1994:136). This is in coherence with the assumptions that Hermann Pálsson made about Icelandic toponyms and the *finnar*. Celtic names in toponyms are, however, more obvious than Sami ones in Icelandic. As Sayers and Sterling say, the Celtic background of the immigrants was worth mentioning when they were of noble or royal birth, but unsuitable forefathers such as slaves are not mentioned. This could be applied to the Sami as well—Mǫttull *Finnakonungr* is worth mentioning as forefather. If slaves are mentioned, they do not possess patronymics and they bear names, "often imposed nicknames, connotive of their social or physical condition." All in all, we should recognize the bias of the thirteenth-century Icelandic saga writers and that they wrote out any unwelcome foreign taint from the Icelandic past (Sayers 1994: 136; Friðriksson & Vésteinsson 2003; Sterling 2008: 237; Humprey 2009).

Strong, repetitive stereotypes about the *finnar* in the sagas show, according to Thomas DuBois, that they are part of Old Norse social memory (DuBois 2013). The Sami stereotypes of the thirteenth-century Kings' sagas were not history anymore, but they had become, in DuBois' words, "epitomizing events." We may speculate that perhaps those "epitomizing events" such as marriages between two groups reflect some of the interaction that existed in the pre-Christian era. The saga authors had to compromise with this tradition and with their knowledge that interaction with heathens was bad. Therefore, the image of the *finnar* in the sagas is anything but simple—it contains different levels and the final level is labelled by the saga authors' own world view.

The purpose of the stereotypes in the sagas was to show what the proper Scandinavian was not: heathen. This raises the question whose views we are talking about. John Lindow has stated that emblems that were assigned to outsiders—Scandinavian folklore in general—can tell us something about the views of those who tell the stories (Lindow 1995). In the case of the Kings' sagas, the stereotypes of the Sami reveal that they are shaped by the Christian authors of the sagas.

It could be added that the viewpoint in the sagas seems to be also that of the elite. Although it is not possible to cover the matter in detail in this article, several archaeological studies suggest that still in the thirteenth century and even later, the Norwegians who lived close to the Sami people had everyday contacts with them, which means that it was hardly possible

to exclude the Sami in any way. Archaeological studies show that interaction between the Sami and Norwegians took place on many mundane levels (Hansen & Olsen 2014; Zachrisson 2004). This is in no way showing in the sagas, in which the "[s]tereotyped foreigners on the one hand suit the formal narrative purpose of the sagas" (Sterling 2008: 112).

According to Knut Odner, stereotypes were prerequisite for interaction between the Sami and the Norwegians (Odner 1983: 31). This may be true to certain extent, as group identities and group boundaries are maintained through stereotypes. However, the negative stereotypes of the Sami reflect perhaps the view of the elite and especially the Church, which considered it harmful that Christian Norwegians were in contact with the heathen Sami. Therefore, the provincial Norwegian laws that forbade any contacts with the Sami seem to be in line with this view (Aalto 2010).

John Lindow has pointed out that supernatural abilities were very often ascribed to those who were somehow different, "others," in the saga literature (Lindow 1995: 22). This certainly holds true with the Sami who are associated with *tröll* or *jötnar*, shape-changing and the use of magic. As researchers, we tend to take this for granted because this is the way the Sami were depicted also in later historical accounts: very peculiar, different, "others." The true activity of the Sami is hidden between the lines, and not even archaeological studies can reveal it as it was, because the cultural traits of the Sami are not discussed as Sami activity but merely as "representations" of the Sami culture (Schanche 2000: 93).

Conclusion

A lot of references to the *finnar* or Sami people are to be found in the saga literature, but their role is "sieved" through saga authors. We do not know for certain whether the authors had first-hand experience of the Sami. Therefore, it is understandable that the role of the *finnar* remains on the half-mythical level. As repeatedly stated, the saga literature does not constitute historically reliable material on the pre-medieval period because it was not recorded until later, in the strongly Christian period. Instead, as emphasised in this article, the sagas reflect the Norse-Icelandic elite's way of thinking and values in the 1200s and 1300s.

Based on our analysis, the varied image of the Sami in the sagas seems to reflect the complex interaction between the Sami and the Norwegians in the Middle Ages. Their depictions reflect the different textual levels that the sagas contain, and there is no one "right" depiction, stereotype or story about the *finnar*. On the one hand, the equal relationship is conveyed through *topos* concerning the marriage between a Norse king and a Sami

woman, which may stem from earlier, oral tradition. On the other hand, we see reflections of medieval Christian prejudice in passages in which the Sami way of life, sorcery and paganism are described. Instead of one-lined interpretations, the Sami representations in sagas reveal many kinds of relations and attitudes which emphasize the polyphonic nature of both the saga literature and the Middle Age society. Even if the stereotypes tell us more about the society that created them, we can be sure that behind them lie very mundane phenomena: marriage, trade, seeking specialists for healing etc. On the ground of this, the image of the Sami history is not as grim and colonial as previously assumed.

For its part, the saga literature continued and renewed documentary descriptions of the Sami, which go back to the ancient period and with which the sagas share numerous themes and motifs (cf. Fjellheim 2007: 28–29). These themes of Sami representations have been continuously elaborated even after that. Ironically, we could even say that researchers of the sagas have their own tradition on Sami representations when conceptualizing what the "real" life of the Sami was in the relation to how the sagas depict it.

This was also reflected in Pálsson's suggestion that there may have been Sami people among the Norwegian settlers in Iceland: it did not receive wide acceptance among scholars. In our opinion, it is only by widening our understanding of the multi-ethnic nature of Middle Age societies that we can consider these kinds of assumptions more seriously. It would mean reconsidering our own ideas about the Sami agency or their activities in Nordic history, as well as their role in a multi-level medieval society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank Dr Sami Lakomäki (Cultural Anthropology, University of Oulu) as well as two anonymous referees for their valuable comments in the process of writing this article.

NOTES

[1] For instance, Kaisa Korpijaakko's study (1989) on the land rights of the Sami people in the 1600s and 1700s proved that the way in which Sami *siidas* used their lands corresponded to Nordic peasant concepts of land ownership. The fact that even the *siidas* can be considered "permanent settlements" in the same way as peasant settlements, places the early history of the Sami in a new light, but no definitive conclusions have been drawn in this regard. Korpijaakko's results have also been disputed (see e.g. Lehtola 2015).

[2] Original sources are used and translations are given, when necessary.

[3] *Mark*, pl. *mǫrk*, meaning 'boundary mark' or 'forest' (Zoëga [1910] 2004).

[4] "En sá ykkar er gengur á gervar sáttir eða vegur á veittar tryggðir, þá skal hann svo víða vargur rækur og rekinn sem menn víðast varga reka, kristir menn kirkjur sækja, heiðnir menn hof blóta, eldur upp brennur, jörð grær, mögur móður kallar og móðir mög fæðir, aldir elda kynda, skip skríður, skildir blíkja, sól skín, snæ leggur, Finnur skríður, fura vex, valur flýgur vorlangan dag, stendum honum byr beinn undir báða vængi, himinn hverfur, heimur er byggður ..." (*Grágás* 1992: 457).

[5] The Prose Edda, or Snorri's Edda, a work written by Snorri Sturluson around the 1220s, was named so by later generations to distinguish it from the Poetic Edda, a collection of ancient poems about gods and heroes. Many of the expressions used in the poems, and their background, are explained in the Prose Edda.

[6] A Sami known as Svási is referred to as a *dvergr* in *Flateyjarbók* I (1860: 582); and *Finnr litli* in *Heimskringla* II (1945: 120).

[7] The Poetic Edda is a collection of poems about the gods of Scandinavian mythology and the mythical heroes of Germanic culture. *Codex Regius*, the manuscript of the Edda poems, originates in the late 1200s. The poems were composed over the course of several centuries, perhaps beginning in the 800s, with the latest not being written until the 1200s (see Hallberg 1993: 149–152; on Eddic poetry, see Larrington, Quinn & Schorn [eds.] 2016).

[8] According to Bergsland, in the early 1100s, *búfinn* Sami lived in Hinnøy in Vesterålen, and were even referred to as *þegnar*, 'free men.' The mention they are given in the *Flateyjarbók*—"... vær hnuskum Bufinna edr fiskimenn"—is the only reference made in saga literature to the group of *búfinnar*. At least one legal text from the era states that the Sámi had settled permanently (Mundal 1996: 99–100, 109; *Flateyjarbók* III 1868: 422).

[9] *Ketils saga hængs*, on the other hand, suggests that Hallbjǫrn and his family are a different breed, perhaps more beast than human. Still, in the same saga, Hallbjǫrn himself refers contemptuously to the "giant woman" that his son Ketill brought from Finnmark, calling her "that troll" (*tröll þat*) (*Ketils saga hængs* 1950: 123).

REFERENCES

Sources

Ágrip af Nóregs konungasǫgum (1985). (Íslenzk fornrit 29), ed. B. Einarsson, Reykjavik: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag.

Fagrskinna (1985). (Íslenzk fornrit 29), ed. B. Einarsson, Reykjavik: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag.

Finnboga saga ramma (1959). (Íslenzk fornrit 14) ed. J. Halldórsson, Reykjavik: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag.

*Flateyjarbó*k I (1860). Christiania: P.T. Mallings forlagsboghandel.

Flateyjarbók III (1868). Christiania: P.T. Mallings forlagsboghandel.

Flatøbogen annaler. Islandske annaler indtil 1578 (1888). Ed. G. Storm, Christiania: Grøndahl & Søns Bogtrykkeri.

Grágás. Lagasafn íslenska þjóðveldisins (1992). Eds. G. Karlsson, K. Sveinsson & M. Árnason, Reykjavik: Mál og menning.

Edda. Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern (1927). Ed. G. Neckel, Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung.

Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar (1933). (Íslenzk fornrit 2), ed. E.S. Nordal, Reykjavik: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag

Heimskringla I–III (1941–1951). (Íslenzk fornrit 26–28), ed. B. Aðalbjarnarson, Reykjavik: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag.

Historia Norwegiæ (2006). Eds. I. Ekrem & L.B. Mortensen, Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press [e-book].

Ketils saga hængs (1950). In *Fornaldarsögur norðrlanda* 2, ed. G. Jónsson, Reykjavik: Prentsmiðjan Edda h.f., pp. 149–181.

Landnámabók (1968). (Íslenzk fornrit 1), ed. J. Benediktsson, Reykjavik: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag.

Ljósvetninga saga (1940). (Íslenzk fornrit 5), ed. B. Sigfússon, Reykjavik: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag.

Morkinskinna I–II (2011). (Íslenzk fornrit 24), eds. Á. Jakobsson & Þ.I. Guðjónsson, Reykjavik: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag.

Norges Gamle Love I (1846). Eds. R. Keyser & P.A. Munch, Christiania: Chr. Gröndahl.

Literature

Aalto, S. (2010). *Categorizing Otherness in the Kings' Sagas*, Joensuu: University of Eastern Finland.

Aalto, S. (2012). "Kulttuurien törmääminen vai kohtaaminen? -skandinaavit ja saagojen *finnit*" ['Cultural collision or encounter? Scandinavians and the *Finnar* in the sagas'], in *Vieraan rajalla* (Studia Historica Septentrionalia 64), eds. K. Alenius & O.K. Fält, Rovaniemi: Pohjois-Suomen Historiallinen Yhdistys, pp. 9–18.

Aalto, S. (2015). "Finnar in Old Norse sources," in *Viking Age in Åland. Insights into Identity and Remnants of Culture*, eds. J. Ahola, Frog & J. Lucenius, Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, pp. 199–226.

Aalto, S. (2017). "Hyväksikäyttöä vai kumppanuutta? Saamelaisten ja skandinaavien kohtaamiset islantilaisissa saagoissa" ['Exploitation or companionship? Encounters between the Sami and the Scandinavians in the Icelandic sagas'], in *The Barents and the Baltic Sea Region. Contacts, Influences and Social Change* (Studia Historica Septentrionalia 77), eds. K. Alenius & M. Enbuske, Rovaniemi: Pohjois-Suomen Historiallinen Yhdistys, pp. 17–37.

Äikäs, T. & Salmi, A.-K. (2015). "North/South encounters at Sámi sacred sites in Northern Finland," *Historical Archaeology*, 49:3, pp. 90–109.

Andersson, T.M. & Gade, K.E. (2000). *Morkinskinna. The Earliest Chronicle of the Norwegian Kings (1030–1157)* (Islandica 51), Itahaca & London: Cornell University Press.

Benediktsson, J. (1993). "Landnámabók," in *Medieval Scandinavia. An Encyclopedia*, ed. P. Pulsiano, New York & London: Garland Publishing inc., pp. 373–374.

Bergsland, K. (1971). "Saamelaisten suhteet keskiaikaiseen Norjaan" ['The relations of the Sami in Medieval Norway'] (Summary of the articles "Om middelalderens finnmarker" and "Jemtlands grense mot Herjedalen i samisk lys"), in *The Yearbook of the Kalevala Society*, 51, eds. S. Heitsonen, M. Kuusi, P. Virtaranta & H. Sihvo, Porvoo: WSOY, pp. 18–27.

Bergsland, K. (1996). *Bidrag til sydsamenes historie* ['Contribution to the history of the South Sami'], Tromsø: Senter for Samiske studier.

Bergstøl, J. (2008). "Samer på Dovrefjell i vikingtiden. Et bidrag til debatten omkring samenes sørgrense i forhistorisk tid" ['Sami people in Dovrefjell in the Viking Age. A contribution to the debate on the southern border of the Sami people in prehistorical time'], *Historisk tidsskrift*, 87:1, pp. 9–27.

Brady, L. (2016). "An Irish sovereignty motif in Laxdœla saga," *Scandinavian Studies*, 1:88, pp. 60–76.

Bratrein, H.D. (2001). "Finnekongen Martin og rikskongen Håkon den femte" [Sami King Martin and King Håkon V'], *Håløygminne*, 82:1, pp. 1–10.

Broadbent, N. (2010). *Lapps and Labyrinths. Saami Prehistory, Colonization and Cultural Resilience*, with contribution by J. Storå, Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press.

Clover, C. & Lindow, J. (eds.) (1985). *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature. A Critical Guide* (Islandica 45), Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.

Clunies Ross, M. (1998). *Prolonged Echoes. Old Norse Myths in Northern Society* 2. *The Reception of Norse Myths in Medieval Iceland*, Odense: Odense University Press.

Clunies Ross, M. (ed.) [2000] (2009). *Old Norse Literature and Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DeAngelo, J. (2010). "The North and the depiction of the Finnar in the Icelandic sagas," *Scandinavian Studies*, 3:82, pp. 257–286.

DuBois, T. (1999). *Nordic Religions in the Viking Age*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

DuBois, T. (2013). "Ethnomemory. Ethnographic and culture-centered approaches to the study of memory," *Scandinavian Studies*, 85:3, pp. 306–331.

Einarsson, B. (1993). "Ágrip af Nóregs konunga sǫgum," in *Medieval Scandinavia. An Encyclopedia*, ed. P. Pulsiano, New York & London: Garland Publishing inc., pp. 5–6.

Finlay, A. (2004). *Fagrskinna. A Catalogue of the Kings of Norway* (The Northern World 7), Leiden & Boston: Brill.

Fjellheim, S. (2007). "Samisk historie i Hedmark, Sør-Trøndelag og Nord-Trøndelag" ['Sami history in Hedmark, South Trøndelag and North Trøndelag'], in *Samisk naturbruk og retts-situasjon fra Hedmark til Troms* (Bakgrunnsmateriale for Samerettsutvalget, NOU 14), pp. 27–68.

Fríðriksdóttir, J.K. (2015). "Literature, identity and the outside world in late Medieval Iceland," in *The Sixteenth International Saga Conference Sagas and Space 9th–15th August 2015, University of Zürich and University of Basel. Preprints of Abstracts*, eds. J. Glauser, K. Müller-Wille, A.K. Richter & L. Rösli; p. 150; https://sagaconference.unibas.ch/fileadmin/saga/redaktion/home/Circulars/The_Sixteenth_International_Saga_Conference_2015_-_Preprints.pdf; access date 9 November 2017.

Friðriksson, A. & Vésteinsson, O. (2003). "Creating a past. A historiography of the settlement of Iceland," in *Contact, Continuity, and Collapse. The Norse Colonization of the North Atlantic* (Studies in the Early Middle Ages 5), ed. J. Barrett, Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 139–161.

Grünthal, R. (1997). *Livvistä liiviin. Itämerensuomalaiset etnonyymit* ['From Liv to Livonian. Baltic-Finnish ethnonyms'], Helsinki: Societé finno-ougrienne.

Hansen, L.I. & Olsen, B. (2004). *Samenes historie fram til 1750* ['History of the Sami until 1750'], Oslo: J.W. Cappelen.

Hansen, L.I. & Olsen, B. (2014). *Hunters in Transition. An Outline of Early Sámi History*, Leiden & Boston: Brill.

Hallberg, P. (1993). "Eddic poetry," in *Medieval Scandinavia. An Encyclopedia*, ed. P. Pulsiano, New York: Garland Publishing, pp. 149–152.

Heide, E. (2006). "Gand, seid og åndevind" ['Gand, seid and wind of spirit'], diss., University of Bergen.

Hirvonen, V. (2000). "How to make the daughter of a giant a Sami. A myth of the Sami

people's origin," in *Sami Folkloristics*, ed. J. Pentikäinen, Turku: Nordic Institute of Folklore, pp. 215–231.

Horn, M. (2010). "Möndull Pattason. A Sami identity in a dwarfish guise?" in *Samer som "de andra," samer om "de andra." Identitet och etnicitet i nordiska kulturmöten* (Samiska studier/Sámi dutkan 6), eds. E. Mundal & H. Rydving, Umeå: Umeå University, pp. 146–160.

Humphrey, A.C. (2009). *"They Accuse Us of Being Descended from Slaves." Settlement History, Cultural Syncretism, and the Foundation of Medieval Icelandic Identity*, New Jersey: Rutgers University.

Ísaksson, E. (2013). "To Die Into the Mountains. A Study of a Northwestern Icelandic Burial Mound and the Sámi Cultural Influences in Viking Age Iceland," MA thesis, Stockholm: Stockholm University.

Jackson, T. & Podossinov, A. (2003). "The famous landvættir episode (Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar 33). A paradox of Icelandic religious consciousness?" in *Scandinavia and Christian Europe in the Middle Ages. Papers of the International Saga Conference Bonn/Germany 28th July–2nd August 2003*, eds. R. Simek & J. Meurer, Bonn: Hausdruckerei der Universität Bonn, pp. 244–249.

Jakobsson, Á. (1997). *Í leit að konungi. Konungsmynd íslenskra konungasagna* ['Searching for the king. The image of a king in the Icelandic Kings' Sagas'], Reykjavik: Háskólaútgáfan.

Jakobsson, Á. (2008*a*). "Enabling love. Dwarfs in Old Norse-Icelandic romances," in *Romance and Love in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iceland. Essays in Honor of Marianne Kalinke*, eds. J. Denzin & K. Wolf, Ithaca: Cornell University Library, pp. 183–206.

Jakobsson, Á. (2008*b*). "Vad är ett troll? Betydelsen av ett isländskt medeltidsbegrepp" ['What is a troll? The meaning of a medieval Icelandic concept'], in *Saga och sed*, 2008, pp. 101–117.

Jakobsson, Á. (2013). *Nine Saga Studies. The Critical Interpretation of the Icelandic Sagas*. Reykjavik: University of Iceland Press.

Jakobsson, Á. (2015). "King Arthur and the Kennedy assassination. The allure and absence of truth in the Icelandic sagas," *Scandinavian-Canadian Studies*, 22, pp. 12–22.

Koivulehto, J. (1995). "Finnland. I Sprachliches," in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 9, Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 77–89.

Korpijaakko, K. (1989). *Saamelaisten oikeusasemasta Ruotsi-Suomessa. Oikeushistoriallinen tutkimus Länsi-Pohjan Lapin maankäyttöoloista ja -oikeuksista ennen 1700-luvun puoliväliä* ['On the judicial position of the Sami in Sweden-Finland. Legal historical research on land use and rights before the mid-1700s in Länsi-Pohja, Lapland'], Helsinki: Lakimiesliiton kustannus.

Kristinsson, A. (2003). "Lords and literature. The Icelandic sagas as political and social instruments," *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 28:1, pp. 1–17.

Kusmenko, J. (2008). *Der Samische Einfluß auf die skandinavischen Sprachen*, Berlin: Nordeuropa-Institut der Humboldt-Universität.

Kusmenko, J. (2013). "Sámi as giants and dwarves in Old Scandinavian literature," in *L'image du Sápmi* 3. *Études compares*, ed. K. Andersson, Örebro: Örebro University, pp. 169–201.

Larrington, C., Quinn, J. & Schorn, B. (eds.) (2016). *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry. Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lehtola, V.-P. (2002). "The Saami siida and the Nordic states from the Middle Ages to the beginning of the 1900s," in *Conflict and Cooperation in the North*, eds. K. Karppi & J. Eriksson, Umeå: Kulturgräns norr, pp. 183–202.

Lehtola, V.-P. (2015). "Sámi histories, colonialism, and Finland," *Arctic Anthropology*, 52:2, pp. 22–36.

Lindow, J. (1995). "Supernatural others and ethnic others. A millenium of world view," *Scandinavian Studies*, 67:1, pp. 8–31.

Mundal, E. (1996). "The perception of the Saamis and their religion in Old Norse sources," in *Shamanism and Northern Ecology*, ed. J. Pentikäinen, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 97–116.

Mundal, E. (1997). "Kong Harald Hårfagre og samejenta Snøfrid. Samefolket sin plass i den norske rikssamlingsmyten" ['King Harald Fairhair and the Sami girl Snøfrid. The Sami people and its place in the Norwegian myth of making the Norwegian Kingdom'], *Nordica Bergensiana*, 14, pp. 39–53.

Mundal, E. (2004). "The Sámi and the Scandinavians. Aspects of 2000 years of contact," in *The Sámi and the Scandinavians. Aspects of 2000 years of contact*, ed. J. Kusmenko, Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, pp. 41–53.

Mundal, E. (2006). "Kong Håkon Magnussons rettarbot for Hålogaland av 1313 og andre kjelder til kristninga av samene i mellomalderen" ['King Håkon Magnusson's *rettarbot* for Hålogaland 1313 and other sources to the Christianization of the Sami in the Middle Ages'], in *Sápmi Y1K. Livet i samernas bosättningsområden för ett tusen år sedan* (Samiska studier/Sámi dutkan 3), eds. A. Amft & M. Svonni, Umeå: Samiska studier, pp. 97–114.

Mundal, E. (2007). "Kristninga av samane i lærebøker og faglitteratur – og kva kledene frå mellomalderen seier" ['Christianization of the Sami in textbooks and in professional literature—and what the medieval sources tell'], in O*m sørsamisk historie. Foredrag fra seminar på Røros 2006 og Trondheim 2007*, ed. S. Lyngman, Snåsa: Stiftelsen Saemie Sijte, pp. 110–125.

Mundal, E. (2013). "The dating of the oldest sagas about early Icelanders," in *Dating the Sagas. Reviews and Revisions*, ed. E. Mundal, Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, pp. 31–54.

Odner, K. (1983). *Finner og terfinner. Etniske prosesser i det nordlige Fenno-Skandia* ['Finns and Terfinns. Ethnic processes in northern Fennoscandia'], Oslo: University of Oslo.

Orning, H.J. (2017). *The Reality of the Fantastic. The Magical, Political and Social Universe of Late Medieval Saga Manuscripts* (The Viking Collection 23), Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark.

Pálsson, H. (1997). *Ur landnorðri. Samar og ystu rætur íslenskrar menningar* ['From the northern land. Sami and the outmost roots of Icelandic literature'], Reykjavik: Bókmenntafræðistofnun Háskóla Íslands.

Pálsson, H. (1998). "Searching for the Sámi in early Icelandic sources," *Revision*, 21:1, pp. 40–46.

Pálsson, H. (1999). "The Sámi people in Old Norse literature," *Nordlit. Arbeidstidskrift i litteratur och kultur*, 5, pp. 29–53; DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.7557/13.2143; access date 9 November 2017.

Price, N. (2002). *The Viking Way. Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia* (Aun 31), Uppsala: Uppsala University.

Rydving, H. (1993). *The End of Drum-time. Religious Change among the Lule Saami, 1670s-1740s* (Historia religionum 12), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Sayers, W. (1994). "Management of the Celtic fact in Landnámabók," *Scandinavian Studies*, 66:2, pp. 129–153.

Schanche, A. (2000). *Graver i ur og berg. Samisk gravskikk og religion fra forhistorisk til nyere*

tid ['Graves in crag and mountain. Sami graves and religion from prehistoric times to modern time'], Karasjok: Davvi Girji.

Schulz, K. (2004). *Riesen. Von Wissenshütern und Wildnisbewohnern in Edda und Saga*, Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.

Sigurðsson, G. [1988] (2000). *Gaelic Influence in Iceland*, Reykjavik: University of Iceland Press.

Simonsen, P. (1967). "Relations between the Lapps and the Scandinavians in early times. An archaeological survey," in *Lapps and Norsemen in Olden Times*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, pp. 65–77.

Skogheim, V. (2014). "Samer og nordmenn. Etnisk interaksjon i vikingtid og tidlig middelalder" ['The Sami people and Northmen. Ethnic interaction in the Viking Age and the early Middle Ages'], MA thesis, Oslo: University of Oslo.

Steen, A. (1954). *Samenes kristning og finnemisjonen til 1888* ['Christianisation of the Sami and the mission to Sami lands until 1888'], Oslo: Egede instituttet.

Steinsland, G. (1991). *Det hellige bryllup og norrøn kongeideologi. En undersøkelse av hierogamimyten i Skírnismal*, *Ynglingatal*, *Háleygjatal og Hyndluljóð* ['The holy matrimony. Research on the myth of hieros gamos in *Skírnismal*, *Ynglingatal*, *Háleygjatal* and *Hyndluljóð*'], Oslo: Solum forlag.

Sterling, N. (2008). "The Other Inside. Icelandic Identity and Foreigners in the Íslendingasögur," diss., Berkeley: University of California.

Svonni, M. (2010). "Samiska termer för ingifta personer. Ett historiskt perspektiv," ['Sami terminology for married individuals. An historical perspective'], in *Samer som "de andra," samer om "de andra." Identitet och etnicitet i nordiska kulturmöten* (Samiska studier/Sámi dutkan 6), eds. E. Mundal & H. Rydving, Umeå: Umeå University, pp. 11–30.

Tjelmeland, H., Lähteenmäki, M. & Golubev, A. (eds.) (2015). *The Barents Region. A Transnational History of Subarctic Northern Europe*, Oslo: Pax Forlag.

Vestergaard. T.A. (1991). "Marriage exchange and social structure in Old Norse mythology," in *Social Approaches to Viking Studies*, ed. R. Samson, Glasgow: Cruithne, pp. 21–34.

Willson, K. (2011). "A putative Sámi charm on a 12th c. Icelandic spade. Runic reception, magic and contacts," in *Finno-Ugric Folklore, Myth and Cultural Identity. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium on Finno-Ugric Languages, June 7–9, 2011*, eds. C. Hasselblatt & A. van der Hoeven, Groningen: University of Groningen, pp. 267–281.

Willson, K. (2014). "Review essay. *Language, society and identity in early Iceland* [by] Stephen Pax Leonard (2012)," *Sociolinguistic Studies*, 8:2, pp. 315–326.

Zachrisson, I. (2004). "Samisk-nordiska kulturkontakter i Mellanskandinavien under 6–700-talen e.Kr. (Vendeltid) – utifrån det arkeologiska materialet," ['Sami-Scandinavian contacts in Central Scandinavia in the seventh and eighth centuries AD'], in *The Sámi and the Scandinavians. Aspects of 2000 years of contact*, ed. J. Kusmenko, Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, pp. 9–16.

Zachrisson, I. *et al.* (eds.) (1997). *Möten i gränsland. Samer och germaner i Mellanskandinavien.* ['Encounters in the borderland. The Sami and Germanic people in Central Scandinavia'], Stockholm: Statens Historiska Museum.

Zoëga, G.T. [1910] (2004). *A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic*, Mineola & New York: Dover Publications.

AUTHORS

Sirpa Aalto, PhD, is adjunct professor and research coordinator at the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Oulu. She specialises in the use of Old Norse-Icelandic sagas in historical research and the study of encounters with otherness and of intercultural encounters in the Middle Ages in northern Europe. Aalto participated in the "Viking Age in Finland project," which resulted in the publications *Fibula*, *Fabula*, *Fact. Viking Age in Finland* (eds. J. Ahola & Frog, with C. Tolley, 2014) and *The Viking Age in Åland* (eds. J. Ahola, Frog & J. Lucenius 2015).

sirpa.aalto@oulu.fi

Veli-Pekka Lehtola is Professor of Sami Culture at the Giellagas Institute of the University of Oulu, Finland. He is a specialist in the history of the Sami in Finland and representations related to the Sami, including Sami literature and art. Lehtola has published thirteen books and almost a hundred scientific articles, e.g. *The Sámi People. Traditions in Transition* (2004) and *Saamelaiset suomalaiset – kohtaamisia 1896–1953* ['Sami Finns. Encounters in 1896–1953'] (2012).

veli-pekka.lehtola@oulu.fi

JOURNAL OF NORTHERN STUDIES Vol. 11 • No. 2 • 2017, pp. 31–47

ANETTE EDIN-LILJEGREN, LAILA DAERGA,
KLAS-GÖRAN SAHLÉN & LARS JACOBSSON

Psychosocial Perspectives on Working Conditions among Men and Women in Reindeer Breeding in Sweden

ABSTRACT O*bjective*: The aim of this project was to describe the work organisation in the Sami communities and in reindeer-herding work and to explore the range of female duties and compare how men and women experience their psychosocial working conditions.
Design: A kind of intervention study was performed by means of a questionnaire sent out to 200 individuals from seven Sami communities. Questions were asked about work organisation, communication, personal relations, solitary work, support, participation and appreciation from colleagues and women's tasks. Meetings and discussions were held about what was perceived as being important in the life of the Sami communities. Notes from 16 group discussions were written down and analysed according to themes of topics relating to how men and women in the Sami communities experience their lives.

Results: Communication and relations were described as being inadequate and some respondents experienced a heavy workload. The women reported more troubled relations, less participation in decision-making and less appreciation from colleagues. Positive issues reported were the Sami identity and a strong connection to the reindeer and to nature.

Conclusions: This study indicates a need for a more systematic study of the psychosocial work conditions in the Sami communities in Sweden. Measures should be taken to develop the organisation of work, e.g. through developing communication strategies and conflict management, which has been requested by several Sami communities.

KEYWORDS reindeer-herding Sami, work organisation, gender, social support, work demand

Introduction

Swedish reindeer-herding Sami live and work under special conditions as a minority group governed by special legislation, Rennäringslag (1971:437) ['Reindeer husbandry act']. Under this Act, reindeer breeding is only permitted for persons of Sami origin belonging to a Sami community (*sameby* in Swedish). There are a total of 51 Sami communities in Sweden, from the very north to more than 1,000 kilometers further south in Idre, north-west of Dalarna County. The grazing land covers approximately half the area of Sweden. The number of persons belonging to reindeer-herding families in Sweden was 1,988 individuals, 1980 (recorded as reindeer breeders or husbands/wives and children of reindeer breeders; Hassler *et al.* 2004*a*). Working conditions in these communities are also regulated by traditional rights and duties (*Svensk rennäring* 1999; Nordin 2007).

A Sami community, *sameby*, is an administrative body for reindeer husbandry with its own governing board. It is an economic association for private entrepreneurs who have the right to use a geographically defined area of grazing land (Nordin 2007). There is a maximum limit to the number of reindeer a Sami community may herd, which is based on the size of the grazing land each community is allocated. Herders move their reindeer between grazing areas depending on season and access to pastures. In some areas, they can move their flock up to 400 km between winter and summer grazing lands. Sami communities are usually organized into small working groups (*siida*s in Sami) composed of households from one family, e.g. the father, his household and his grown-up children and their households, or other close relatives or friends (Amft 2002; Nordin 2007). A *sameby* is thus made up of several reindeer-herding enterprises, which are often family businesses, each involving an extended family as described above.

The Reindeer Husbandry Act (Rennäringslag [1971:437]) makes a distinction between males and females, giving the male partner in the family a special position as head of the unit (Amft 2002). Today, it is mainly males

who perform the work directly involving the reindeer, but historically men and women did the same kind of work. Since the motorisation of reindeer breeding, the work has become more technical and occasionally physically burdensome and stressful. While women have duties in the reindeer husbandry, they often also have other jobs in the majority society (Amft 2002; Nordin 2007). Since earlier studies have reported differences between men and women in variables connected to health, it is important to make the women's tasks visible also in the reindeer-breeding business (Edin-Liljegren *et al.* 2004; Sjölander *et al.* 2008*a*; Sjölander *et al*. 2008*b*).

The limited number of reindeer allowed to a Sami community and the restricted area where grazing is allowed may sometimes cause disagreement among the herders. This is also an obstacle for young Sami wanting to establish reindeer-herding enterprises, as this requires that other herders reduce or liquidate their businesses. While the different private herding businesses sometimes compete over available land, they also need to cooperate to optimize their reindeer-breeding activities. These factors, together with an uncertain economy due to a variety of factors such as weather conditions, competition for land access with forestry, mining, water and wind power companies, as well as tourism, sometimes cause disagreement between herders, working groups and Sami communities. In recent times, climate change has also contributed to increasing stress on the reindeer-herding communities (Furberg *et al.* 2011).

Earlier studies of the occupational conditions of reindeer herders have indicated a high prevalence of musculoskeletal disorders among men and women and a high frequency of accidents among reindeer-herding men (Pekkarinen *et al.* 1988; Pekkarinen *et al.* 1992; Näyhä *et al.* 1991; Daerga *et al.* 2004; Hassler *et al.* 2004*b*; Hassler *et al.* 2005; Sjölander *et al.* 2008*a*). High job demands, low job control, job strain, low social support and high effort and low reward are factors that increase the risk of musculoskeletal and cardiovascular diseases (Menzel 2007; Peter *et al.* 1998; Theorell 1997). Reindeer-herding women have reported experiencing lower demand, lower intellectual discretion, lower decision latitude and lower social support than reindeer-herding men (Edin-Liljegren *et al.* 2004; Sjölander *et al.* 2008*a*). These symptoms and experiences could be related to external factors such as those mentioned above and maybe also to unhealthy circumstances within the Sami communities. The differences in conditions for reindeer-herding men and women may have implications for health and especially for mental health. One thesis, *Challenging Adaptability. Analysing the Governance of Reindeer Husbandry in Sweden*, describes and discusses experiences of reindeer-herding Sami and the impact of state regulations on the conditions for reindeer herding (Löf 2014). There is an extensive literature on the histo-

ry of reindeer breeding in Sweden and the influence of external structural conditions. However, few studies focused on the psychosocial conditions among the reindeer herders in the Sami communities have been performed. To the best of our knowledge, the special work organisation in reindeer husbandry in Sweden has not previously been described from a psychosocial perspective. Furthermore, since men and women show different sensitivity to psychosocial factors and are exposed to different risk factors also in the Sami reindeer-herding context, it is necessary to highlight the psychosocial experience from a gender perspective (Hallman *et al.* 2001). The aim of this project was to describe the work organisation in the Sami communities and in reindeer-herding work and to explore the range of female duties and compare how men and women experience their psychosocial conditions in a work-related context.

Methods

This study was not originally planned as a research project, but as a kind of intervention. Data was collected between 2006 and 2008. Two of the authors were engaged for an initiative aimed at contributing to the development of working conditions in a number of Sami communities in Sweden (Jämtland, Härjedalen, Västerbotten and southern Norrbotten counties). The chairman and several members of the Sami communities involved had orally expressed an interest to participate together with the Sami community members in discussions about their internal life with a focus on internal relations and working conditions, which are sensitive subjects in this cultural context. To this end, a questionnaire concerning work organisation was sent to members of seven Sami communities and a series of meetings were held with five of these communities. These five Sami communities were chosen because they had asked for consultations and were thus more motivated for a change. An important aspect of this initiative was also to highlight the reindeer herders' experiences of psychosocial relations in reindeer-herding work. For this reason, a qualitative approach was added, and thus an element of "mixed method" was introduced into the study (Creswell & Plano Clark 2010).

The results from the questionnaires formed the basis for the thematic discussion guide.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire, which included questions on psychosocial work-related factors, was developed by the National Institute of Working Life in Sweden (Wikman 1999). In order to adapt the questionnaire to the cultural context, a pre-test involving two men and two women from two Sami communities

was performed. Some modifications were made to the wording of the questions following suggestions from these herders.

The questionnaire was sent by post to all members in five of the Sami communities, and in two communities, the members who attended the first meeting answered the questionnaires individually at the beginning of the meeting.

Out of a total of 200 individuals approached, 127 completed the questionnaire, 64 men and 63 women (64% response rate). The questionnaire contained six questions about job organisation (foremen, official functions in the community, work load and solitary work). Three questions concerned the communication within the working groups, nine questions dealt with participation and influence in decision-making and three with the possibility to be relieved and get support. Personal work relations were asked about in two questions and another two focused on appreciation from colleagues. Two questions addressed whether women are perceived as a threat or as a resource in the Sami community and whether their contributions were seen as indispensable. Additionally, two questions specifically addressed to the female respondents concerned their tasks in the Sami community and whether they felt that their views were respected by male herders. In total there were 29 questions. Twelve had dichotomous response alternatives and the remaining questions had three to six response alternatives each.

The Discussion Groups

All members in five of the Sami communities were invited to attend at meetings with discussion and between two and four meetings were held in each community. At least 80 individuals participated in the 16 discussion meetings. Both men and women participated in all the groups, which consisted of between 5 and 20 participants.

Meetings began with a presentation of the results from the questionnaire round and subsequent discussions were guided by open-ended questions. The ultimate purpose of the discussion groups was to create an open atmosphere conducive to reflection and giving participants an opportunity to talk about what they thought was essential in their lives. Notes from these meetings were written down and an attempt to summarize the texts according to themes, which could be seen as collective meanings, was made (Braun & Clarke 2006). Such collective statements and opinions were presented at subsequent meetings and re-discussed. The process continued during the 16 discussion meetings and the understanding deepened and in some cases the result could be described as collective opinions, relating, for example, to the extended family and the experience of many years of discrimination. An attempt was made to divide the topics or themes taken up

into negative and positive issues based on how they were perceived by the participants and their effect on the individuals in the Sami communities.

Ethical Issues

There has been an intense internal discussion about research involving indigenous populations including the Sami. Basic topics have been respect, trust in the researcher and the research, and mutual benefits. In our case, the study was initiated following requests for support from the participating Sami communities and we believe our study met these criteria. The questionnaire used was approved by the regional research ethics committee for another study (Daerga *et al.* 2008).

Statistics

The mean age and standard deviation among men and women was compared by t-test. The questions with three to six response alternatives were dichotomized to simplify testing in comparisons between men and women. The different alternatives can be seen in Table 1 and 2. All questions were compared by gender using Chi-square test. A p-value of <0.05 was considered significant. The statistical calculations were made using SPSS (PASW Statistics 18, 2009, Inc., USA).

Results

The Questionnaire

There were no significant differences in mean age or standard deviation between men (46±17 years) and women (42±15 years). The range among men was 20–77 years and among women 27–74 years. 53% of the male herders reported that they had an official function in the Sami community, as compared to 16% of the women. A large variety of such functions were reported, e.g. chairman, secretary, treasurer, accountant, community representative for hunting and forestry issues, for jointly-owned equipment or for constructions, buildings and vehicles. 71% of the herders reported that they had foremen responsible for organising the work in the Sami community. A large majority (79%) of the responders reported that some workers had a higher workload than others, and 36% of the males and 17% of the women indicated that one of the reasons for this was that those who took on more responsibility than others had a greater interest in reindeer work. Reindeer herders reported working together and being able to help and to speak to each other a considerable part of the time. However, 25–50% of their working time was spent on solitary tasks, even in rough terrain or in bad weather conditions.

Table 1 presents responses to questions about personal relations within

the Sami community. Even though 56% of the males reported that members of the community "get on well with each other," only one third reported that they "listen to each other" and "respect each other." Among the women, 35% stated that they "get on well with each other," while only one tenth reported that they "listen to each other" and "respect each other." The differences between men and women were significant.

Table 1. Yes-responses of aspects of personal relations, cooperation and organisation within Sami communities and in the reindeer-herding work among men and women.

Characterisation of personal relations	Men n=64		Women n=63		
	%	95% CI	%	95% CI	p
Listen to each other	30	18–41	11	3–20	<0.05
Respect each other	28	17–39	10	2–18	<0.05
Get on well with each other	56	44–69	35	23–47	<0.05
Are together during leisure hours	33	21–45	13	4–22	<0.01

Approximately half of the respondents (41% and 50% of the men and women, respectively) indicated that the communication between the foreman and the other herders could be improved. A larger proportion of the men reported frequent constructive discussions about developing the work, doing things faster, better and in a more clever way (Table 2). A majority of both men and women reported a low frequency of "constructive discussions" in the Sami community; 57% versus 80% reported that such discussions only occurred once a year or not at all. As regards the decision process, there were apparent differences between males and females. Men reported more often than women that everybody, or almost everybody, was invited to discussions and that decisions were taken jointly. The same pattern emerges as regards the amount of appreciation expressed. On the whole, the majority of both males and females reported getting limited appreciation from others for the work they do. Finally, a great majority of the males (89%) stated that they see the women as an asset, while the women to a large extent (45%) indicated that they were seen by the males as a threat rather than an asset in the work with the reindeer.

In Table 3 are listed the women's functions and duties in the Sami communities. A large proportion of the women performed basic or service jobs

Table 2. Aspects of communication, decision processes and appreciation within the reindeer-breeding businesses and in the Sami communities.

Questions	Men n (%)	Women n (%)	p-value
Communication			
How often do you have constructive discussions in your Sami community?			
1. Not at all/once a year	34 (57)	43 (80)	<0.01
2. A few days a month/every day	26 (43)	11 (20)	
Decision processes			
How many persons are invited to discussions on important decisions?			
1. Everybody/almost everyone	47 (78)	25 (48)	<0.001
2. Half of the persons/only one person	13 (22)	27 (52)	
How are the main decisions reached within the Sami community?			
1. Without attention to disagreement	4 (7)	19 (37)	<0.001
2. Taken together	51 (93)	32 (63)	
Appreciation			
How much do your colleagues appreciate your effort at work?			
1. Low/middle	45 (74)	50 (93)	<0.01
2. Very much	16 (26)	4 (7)	
How often do your colleagues appreciate your efforts at work?			
1. Not at all/once a year	42 (74)	45 (94)	<0.01
2. A few days a month/every day	15 (26)	3 (6)	
Are the women a threat or an asset in the reindeer-herding work or in the Sami community?			
1. Threat or neither	7 (11)	24 (45)	<0.001
2. Asset	57 (89)	29 (55)	

(Drop out, men between 0–14%, women 14–24%.)

in the reindeer-herding society. However, more than 80% of the women reported participating in the marking of calves and in the separation, feeding and slaughter of the reindeer. Apparently, while women are engaged in the reindeer-herding work, their opinions are not respected among the men in the Sami communities. The women often have jobs in the majority community and contribute a stable income to the household. They generally have a kind of service function, as is evident from the list.

Table 3. Women's functions in the Sami community in reindeer-breeding businesses, percentage of women doing specific jobs.

Women's functions/jobs in the reindeer-breeding businesses	%
Joining the work in the enclosure (marking reindeer calves, separating reindeer, participating in slaughter)	95
Daily housework	92
Feeding the reindeer	80
Picking berries	80
Fishing	79
Keeping record when counting reindeer	77
Marking reindeer during counting	75
Vaccinating reindeer (against parasites)	72
Different facilities (e.g. order fodder, call in workers, guarding roads)	70
Slaughtering and butchery	64
Domestic handicraft	64
Loading/unloading reindeer for transportation	61
Transporting reindeer	57
Making and repairing enclosures, fencing	56
Gathering reindeer moss, cutting branches, making hay	56
Managing finance and accounts of the company	48
Hunting	41
Preparing hay for shoes	31
Representing the community in meetings with other Sami communities	21
Make handicraft for sale	21
Other	18

The Discussion Groups

The issues discussed in the groups are listed in Table 4. The poor economy of the reindeer-herding business was usually the first issue taken up. The lack of communication was often discussed spontaneously, as was the work organisation. The high occurrence of predatory animals and, more generally, various threats from the majority society were also common themes. Gender issues were regularly raised as well as generational issues, such as the fact that older members of the community often own many reindeer but are only to a limited extent personally involved in the actual herding. This results in a higher work load on young reindeer herders who have a considerably lower income, as they own fewer reindeer. The problems of building a reindeer herd for young Sami people were also often raised as an issue.

Table 4. Experiences of issues discussed at meetings in the Sami communities.

Negative issues	*Positive issues*
Bad organisation of labour	A strong Sami identity
Poor interpersonal relationships	Strong connection (love) to the reindeers
Poor economy	To feel connected to nature (place of birth)
Competition between reindeer herders inside the Sami community and between other Sami communities	The family and the relatives
Bad communication	Good personal relationship
Inequalities, gender issues	Belief in the future
Inequalities, generational issues	
The majority society	
A high occurrence of predators	

Usually such negative aspects were taken up in the early stages of the discussions. As discussions went on, more positive aspects would emerge, such as the strong feeling of Sami identity. Reindeer herding contribute to a feeling of belonging to the place and its nature and above all to a strong connection to the reindeer. "The reindeer is like a jewel" as one old herder said. In spite of recurring discussions about the lack of communication within the Sami

community, family, the extended family and personal relations were seen as positive issues. Paradoxically, the participants often also expressed a belief in the future of reindeer herding. Even though there are conflicts within and between Sami communities, they stick together against the majority society, which is very often experienced as threatening. The participants indicated that there were good relations among the young people and among full-time herders, and that the close relationships among the members of the Sami community provided a sense of security.

Discussion

General Discussion

Men and women from reindeer-herding households are exposed to psychosocial risk factors in their work, such as unequal workloads, insufficient communication and poor gender relations. The exposure of the Sami communities to psychosocial risk factors may contribute to an increased risk of mental health problems, which is also reported by Kaiser (2011), and maybe also to the increased suicide risk among reindeer-herding males reported by Hassler *et al.* (2004*b*). Due to physical and technical demands, reindeer-herding males mainly work in close physical contact with the reindeer, a job that also has the highest status in the Sami community. Women experience less appreciation, help and reward in their efforts in the reindeer-herding work compared to the males. They also report having less influence in decisions concerning the daily work in the community. Several of the differences between men and women reported in this study can probably be explained by their very different work situation and duties in the reindeer-herding businesses.

Women are to a lesser extent part of the "core" reindeer-herding activities in the grassing land. Instead, they are occupied with a number of activities that are important for the family household as a whole, but which are not easily perceived as such and thus not appreciated. This has been confirmed in other studies (Edin-Liljegren *et al.* 2004; Daerga *et al.* 2008). The reindeer-herding men usually use motor vehicles such as snowmobiles and motor cycles in their daily work with the reindeer (Daerga *et al.* 2004). It is interesting that the males almost unanimously stated that women are an asset to the Sami community, while only half of the women reported this experience. We cannot tell from the results of this study why women perceive that their contribution to the reindeer husbandry is not valued. Reindeer husbandry is and has always been a team work but the duties have changed over the years (Amft 2002). The major changes came with motorisation which led to increased operating costs, as a result of which the wom-

en had to work outside the Sami community to ensure a steady income to their own business. The women might be frustrated about having to work outside the reindeer husbandry and being unable to be as involved in the reindeer-breeding work as they would like to be. Further, being a member of a hierarchical family has been reported to contribute to a lack of well-being among both Sami and Roma women (Alex & Lehti 2013).

The fact that herd sizes differ so much among herders can cause problems. Herders that own only few reindeer have to earn their living from jobs outside the Sami community and are less able to participate in the work with the reindeer, as business operations are very costly due to the need for motor vehicles in the herding work. This makes them dependent on the full-time herders. Elderly persons who have many reindeer but are unable to be as active in the work as they used to be, are also dependent on full-time herders, which leads to a high work demand on active reindeer herders.

Reindeer husbandry is not just an occupation, it can also be regarded as a lifestyle. In the Sami culture, there is great respect for the elderly's traditional knowledge of reindeer and reindeer husbandry. Phasing out a reindeer husbandry company often takes a long time and involves several social, psychosocial and economic consequences for the individual. The individual loses their natural contacts with the reindeer herders and it is difficult to dispose of the reindeer that you love and have lived for. Moreover, the economic effects in terms of taxation are not beneficial. The reindeer industry wants to introduce a purge account, like a forest account, in order to allocate income. This would contribute to a smoother winding up of elderly people's businesses, thus making it easier for younger reindeer breeders to establish their own businesses. This proposal might contribute to reversing this negative issue.

In earlier studies, reindeer-herding men reported higher demands and a higher decision latitude than reindeer-herding women and Swedish blue collar workers. A significant association between high demands and a high prevalence of symptoms involving the neck and lower back has been demonstrated by Sjölander *et al.* (2008*a*). Reindeer-herding men also have an increased risk of dying from injuries, such as those caused by vehicle accidents, especially snowmobiles (Hassler *et al.* 2004*b*). This might partly be related to high demands and stress.

The internal communication was reported to be inadequate, both in the questionnaire responses and in the discussions, especially by the women. This might be explained by the fact that women have fewer functions/jobs in the core reindeer-herding work, being more often employed in the majority community and thus having less time for reindeer-herding work. This, together with their experience of being marginalised in the reindeer breeding, might result in psychosocial stress. One way to achieve better

communication might be to elect a coordinator at the annual meeting in the Sami community responsible for calling, planning meetings and communicating news to all the members in the community.

Limitations

This study was not originally planned as a research project, but as a kind of intervention. This meant that we had to make some kind of initial assessment, and that is why the questionnaire used was one that had been used in an earlier study on the quality of life among reindeer herders (Daerga *et al.* 2008).

The questionnaire was distributed before or during the first meeting and the fact that recruited participants had an interest in the topic might bias the results. The discussions held were conducted with a very open topic guide, based on the results from the questionnaire. The participants were free to express whatever they thought was of importance for them and for their understanding of their situation. The authors took notes of what was said. These notes were then organized according to topics raised and were used to report back together with the responses to the questionnaire at the following meeting.

This means that the qualitative data should not be seen as being systematic in the sense usually attached to this term when it comes to data obtained in qualitative studies, and it could be criticized for low reliability. However, in combination with the questionnaire responses and the way we collected them, we believe that this kind of data is interesting. The discussion groups supported the findings derived from the questionnaire and thought that they deepened their understanding. There are very few studies focusing on the internal relations and working conditions in the reindeer-herding communities. In Norway, a major study entitled "The daily life of reindeer herding" is under way in which reindeer-breeding Sami have responded to a large number of questions about internal and external factors influencing reindeer-herding life (Møllersen *et al.* 2016).

The questionnaire used was developed for ordinary Swedish workplaces and some of the questions had to be reformulated to fit reindeer-herding activities. A few questions were also added, such as one about female functions/jobs. A very limited pilot test involving two females and two male herders was performed which resulted in some modifications. However, no further validity tests were made. As the questionnaire targeted individuals involved in reindeer herding, they were not altogether relevant for those Sami women who also had jobs in the majority society. Their work outside reindeer herding is thus not included in this study.

There are some missing values in the responses to the questionnaire, especially in the female group—up to 24% compared to 14% in the male group.

This probably reflects the problems some women had with answering the questions, which might be due to the sensitivity of some of the questions or the fact that the women are not so involved in some aspects of the reindeer husbandry.

The lack of a validity test of the questionnaire, together with the non-existence of questions to the women about their work in the majority society, and also the way in which the participants were recruited, may reduce the possibility to generalise our results to all Sami communities. However, the aim was to use the data for further research and to increase the understanding of Sami communities.

Conclusion

The study indicates that distribution of workload, decision-making and internal relations and communication are experienced as problematic among reindeer herders. There are gender differences. The women in the Sami communities (*samebyar*) describe themselves as being less valued and less included in reindeer-herding activities, in spite of the fact that their contribution is important and decisive for the survival of the reindeer-herding culture.

This indicates a need for a more systematic study of the psychosocial work conditions in the Sami communities in the Swedish part of Sápmi (the land of the Sami) and a subsequent program to deal with problems identified. Working with issues such as work organisation, communication, work efforts, gender equality and generational issues within the Sami communities can result in positive changes. Discussions about norms and values aimed at highlighting the contributions of different kinds of work efforts to the reindeer husbandry are also important. Ideally, this should be organised as a joint project including the whole of Sweden; single Sami communities do not have the resources needed to do this, even though some communities have made attempts in this direction. The problems are complex because of the many external factors that interfere with reindeer herding, such as legislation and influences from majority communities. The different Sami communities are so burdened financially as well as psychologically that it is difficult for them to raise their heads above the daily grind. Since it is difficult to change external conditions, it might be easier to start with the internal conditions in the Sami communities. Some good initiatives have already been taken and the National Union of the Swedish Sami People, Sámiid Riikkasearvi (in Swedish: Svenska Samernas Riksförbund, SSR) has arranged seminars and set up working groups dealing with gender and generational issues. We conclude that more favourable conditions, external as well as internal, are essential if reindeer herders are to remain healthy.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We want to thank all the reindeer herders and their family members for participating in this study, and Professor Per Sjölander at the Southern Lapland Research Department for his support to this study. This study was supported by the Västerbotten County Council and the EU Mål 1, Sápmi, Norra Norrland (dnr. SN 1.43-4/03).

REFERENCES

Alex, L. & Lehti, A. (2013). "Experiences of well-being among Sami and Roma women in a Swedish context," *Health Care for Women International*, 34:8, pp. 707–726; doi: 10.1080/07399332.2012.740110; access date 27 December 2017.

Amft, A. (2002). *Sápmi i förändringens tid. En studie av svenska samers levnadsvillkor under 1900-talet ur ett genus- och etnicitetsperspektiv* ['Sápmi in a time of change. A study of living conditions of Swedish Sami during the twentieth century from a gender and ethnicity perspective"] (Kulturens frontlinjer 20), Umeå: Kulturgräns norr.

Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). "Using thematic analysis in psychology," *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3:2, pp. 77–101; doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa; access date 27 December 2017.

Creswell, J.W. & Plano Clark, V.L. (2010). *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*, 2nd edition, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Daerga, L., Edin-Liljegren, A. & Sjölander, P. (2004). "Work-related musculoskeletal pain among reindeer herding Sami in Sweden. A pilot study on causes and prevention," *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, 63, pp. 343–348.

Daerga, L., Edin-Liljegren, A. & Sjölander, P. (2008). "Quality of life in relation to physical, psychosocial and socioeconomic conditions among reindeer herding Sami," *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, 67, pp. 8–26.

Edin-Liljegren, A., Hassler, S., Sjölander, P. & Daerga, L. (2004). "Risk factors for cardiovascular diseases among Swedish Sami. A controlled cohort study," *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, 63, pp. 292–297.

Furberg, M., Evengård, B. & Nilsson, M. (2011). "Facing the limit of resilience. Perceptions of climate change among reindeer herding Sami in Sweden," *Global Health Action*, 4:1, 8417; https://doi.org/10.3402/gha.v4i0.8417; access date 27 December 2017.

Hallman, T., Burell, G., Setterlind, S., Odén, A. & Lisspers, J. (2001). "Psychosocial risk factors for coronary heart disease, their importance compared with other risk factors and gender differences in sensitivity," *Journal of Cardiovascular Risk*, 8, pp. 39–49.

Hassler, S., Sjölander, P. & Ericsson, A.J. (2004*a*). "Construction of a database on health and living conditions of the Swedish Saami population," in *Befolkning och bosättning i norr. Etnicitet, identitet och gränser i historiens sken*, eds. P. Lantto & P. Sköld, Umeå: Centre for Sami Research, pp. 107–124.

Hassler, S., Sjölander, P., Johansson, R., Grönberg, H. & Damber, L. (2004*b*). "Fatal accidents and suicide among reindeer-herding Sami in Sweden," *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, 63, pp. 384–388.

Hassler, S., Sjölander, P., Johansson, R., Grönberg, H. & Damber, L. (2005). "Causes of death in the Sami population of Sweden, 1961–2000," *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 34, pp. 623–629.

Kaiser, N. (2011). *Mental Health Problems among the Swedish Reindeer-Herding Sami Population. In Perspective of Intersectionality, Organisational Culture and Acculturation*, Umeå: Umeå University.

Löf, A. (2014). *Challenging Adaptability. Analysing the Governance of Reindeer Husbandry in Sweden*, Umeå: Department of Political Science, Umeå University.

Menzel, N.N. (2007). "Psychosocial factors in musculoskeletal disorders," *Critical Care Nursing Clinics of North America*, 19, pp. 145–153.

Møllersen, S., Stordahl, V., Tørres, T. & Eira-Åhrén, I.M. (2016). "Developing an adequate questionnaire addressing psychosocial distress in a reindeer herding population. Some lessons learned," in *Ethics in Indigenous Research. Past Experiences—Future Challenges*, ed. A.-L. Drugge, Umeå: Vaartoe—Centre for Sami Research.

Näyhä, S., Videman, T., Laakso, M. & Hassi, J. (1991). "Prevalence of low back pain and other musculoskeletal symptoms and their association with work in Finnish reindeer herders," *Scandinavian Journal of Rheumatology*, 20:6, pp. 406–413.

Nordin, Å. (2007). *Renskötseln är mitt liv. Analys av den samiska renskötselns ekonomiska anpassning* ['Reindeer herding is my life. Analysis of the economical adaptation of Sami reindeer herding'], Umeå: Centre for Sami Research.

Pekkarinen, A., Kisko, K. & Anttonen, H. (1988). "Accidents in reindeer herding work," *Arctic Medical Research*, 47:1, pp. 403–405.

Pekkarinen, A., Anttonen, H. & Hassi, J. (1992). "Prevention of accidents in reindeer herding work," *Arctic Medical Research*, 51:7, pp. 59–63.

Peter, R., Alfredsson, L., Hammar, N., Siegrist, J., Theorell, T. & Westerholm, P. (1998). "High effort, low reward, and cardiovascular risk factors in employed Swedish men and women. Baseline results from the WOLF study," *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 52, pp. 540–547.

Rennäringslag (1971:437), Svensk författningssamling ['Reindeer husbandry act. Swedish statute book']; www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/svensk-forfattningssamling/rennaringslag-1971437_sfs-1971-437; access date 27 December 2017.

Sjölander, P., Daerga, L., Edin-Liljegren, A. & Jacobsson, L. (2008*a*). "Musculoskeletal symptoms and perceived work strain among reindeer herders in Sweden," *Occupational Medicine*, 58, pp. 572–579; https://doi.org/10.1093/occmed/kqn153; access date 27 December 2017.

Sjölander, P., Hassler, S. & Janlert, U. (2008*b*). "Stroke and acute myocardial infarction in the Swedish Sami population. Incidence and mortality in relation to income and level of education," *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, 36, pp. 84–91; https://doi.org/10.1177/1403494807085305; access date 27 December 2017.

Svensk rennäring (1999). ['Swedish reindeer breeding'], Umeå: Svenska Samernas Riksförbund.

Theorell, T. (1997). "Fighting for and losing or gaining control in life," *Acta Physiologica Scandinavica*, 640, pp. 107–111.

Wikman A. (1999). *Mätmetoder för lokala kartläggningar. Metoddatabas med frågor om psykosocial miljö och arbetsorganisation* ['Methods for measurement of local mappings. Database with methods about psychosocial environment and work organisation'] (Arbetslivsrapport 1999:1), Solna: The National Institute for Working Life.

AUTHORS

Anette Edin-Liljegren has a PhD in Medicine and is a biomedical laboratory scientist at the Centre for Rural Medicine, Primary Health Care, County Council of Västerbotten, Storuman, Department of Nursing, Umeå University, Sweden.

anette.liljegren@vll.se

Laila Daerga has a PhD in Medicine and is a registered nurse at the Centre for Rural Medicine, Primary Health Care, County Council of Västerbotten, Storuman, Department of Public Health and Clinical Medicine and Department of Nursing, Umeå University, Sweden.

laila.daerga@vll.se

Klas-Göran Sahlén, PhD, is a registered nurse at the Department of Public Health and Clinical Medicine and Department of Nursing, Umeå University, Sweden.

klasse.sahlen@.umu.se

Lars Jacobsson is professor at the Department of Clinical Science, Division of Psychiatry, Umeå University, Sweden.

lars.jacobsson@umu.se

JOURNAL OF NORTHERN STUDIES Vol. 11 • No. 2 • 2017, pp. 49–65

ATINA NIHTINEN

Åland as a Special Case
From Monolith to Diverse?

ABSTRACT The present article discusses two sets of issues. On the one hand, I consider the different factors and circumstances which have influenced relations between Swedish and Finnish on Åland and the implications of political change. On the other hand, I discuss the ways in which these are understood and presented in history writing. By considering continuity and change in history writing and language discussions I argue that history writing has changed from a rather monolithic interpretation rooted in nationalism and the early decades of autonomy towards a more versatile interpretation (such as considering Åland as being connected to both east and west and ideas such as many Ålands). At the same time the role of Swedish remains important, both as a matter of continuity (history) and as a matter of its instrumental function.

KEYWORDS Åland, Finnish, Swedish, Finland, Sweden, history writing, language relations

In a book titled *Life in Two Languages* Susanne Eriksson has argued that while most Finno-Swedes on the Finnish mainland interact daily with Finnish-speakers to some degree, many Ålanders live their lives exclusively in Swedish (Beijar *et al.* 1997: 74). In this argument, Åland's monolingual language policy was equated with individual language skills, which was not a truthful presentation. The present article discusses some of the recent reconsiderations of history writing and language

divisions on Åland. It argues that while language has remained a central question in sections of political opinion, scholarly narratives have paid attention to the multiplicity of understandings of Åland.

Background

At the beginning of the twentieth century most Ålanders differed in language from most of the Finnish population. In the context of Finland's independence, ideas of separation existed in several regions of the country. For Ostrobothnia, for example, the change of borders after the Russo-Swedish war was equally significant (Hårdstedt 2006; Kuvaja, Hårdstedt & Hakala 2008: 344). Ostrobothnia was orientated towards the west part of the unitary state. Because of the growth of Finnish nationalism, the importance of the region's Swedish language and connections to the former west part of the Swedish kingdom diminished. Sweden had lost territories. Helsinki had taken over the role of Åbo as the capital city in the Grand Duchy and symbolised the new times. The consequences of the Finnish war and subsequent nationalist developments were significant for various parts of the old state. However, it was on Åland that nationalism became political and led in the end to the establishment of Åland as an autonomous region. In history writing, it is possible to observe connections between developments in the isles and the mainland. In Finland, history writing and nation-building were closely intertwined and the matter of language was central in the process of nation-building. In a recent reassessment of history writing on Åland, historian Janne Holmén has shown how, in the mid-nineteenth century, Åland was on the way to becoming a well-integrated part of the Finnish nation. Ålandic history was written by Svecoman mainlanders and they tended to emphasize Åland's role in Finland's history. Counterfactually, it can be argued that if the process had continued, Åland could have acquired a different role in Finland's historical consciousness (Edquist & Holmén 2015: 402).

Karl August Bomansson (1827–1906), as the first Ålander to write on the islands' history, wrote a dissertation on a topic which was typical of nineteenth century Finnish national writing: during the time of Johan Vasa, Duke of Finland in the sixteenth century, large parts of Finland were governed as an autonomous region. His work preceded the language conflict, which became characteristic of the Finnish national movement. Another writer was Reinhold Hausen (1850–1942), who published historical documents on Finland's history and the cultural history of the isles in wider contexts. His historical articles were published by the association *Ålands vänner* ['Friends of Åland'], founded in 1895. Unlike most Ålandic writers who published after him and emphasized the egalitarianism of Åland's peasant society, he concentrated on Åland's elite (see Edquist & Holmén 2015). The

early writers of Åland's history, Bomansson, Hausen, and Fagerlund (1852–1939) belonged to the Finnish establishment and regarded Åland's history as part of Finland's history. Although connected to Åland, they expressed views similar to those of the Svecoman strand of Finnish nationalism. The late emergence of a political expression of difference, the Åland movement, can be considered significant. The movement did not emerge until December 1917, only a few months before Finland's declaration of independence. The leader of the movement, Julius Sundblom, listed the following reasons for why Åland was better off with Sweden: Åland's central position in the Baltic (the argument here was that the new Finnish state was less capable of protecting Åland from military actions in the region), the issue of language, and finally, that being part of Sweden was more likely to guarantee better times for Åland in the future (Högman 1986: 124; Nihtinen 2011). Gyrid Högman has questioned whether reasons other than the dominant political concerns of the time influenced Ålandic opinion before 1918 (Högman 1986: 126). Sweden had become popular both because of stabilising Swedish actions in the region and favourable treatment of reunification demands by politicians such as the navy minister Erik Palmstierna. Finland's mistakes had also led to diminishing popularity. Many Ålanders adopted a favourable attitude towards Sweden, because Sweden was Swedish-speaking (Högman 1986: 136). But the isles had also been part of the Grand Duchy of Finland for more than a century. Janne Holmén (Edquist & Holmén 2015: 213) has considered the question of why the Åland movement initially received scarce attention in regional history writing. One of the reasons was the movement's own rhetoric: Ålanders' willingness to join Sweden was not regarded as something new but as a continuation of the region's historical links with Sweden.

One of the much-debated questions concerns timing: when did most Ålanders begin to see themselves as different from the mainland speakers of Swedish? The thought of a reunion with Sweden, followed by events leading to Åland's autonomy, was by no means a widely-supported idea (Kuvaja, Hårdstedt & Hakala 2008: 551–552). Examination of newspapers published in the newspaper *Åland* revealed the existence of conflicting views. The idea developed among the regional elite and only reached the island population at the end of 1917. An article titled "Sanningen" ['The truth'], attributed to Carl Björkman and published on 5 December, and an article by Julius Sundblom "Finland fritt, Åland svenskt" ['Finland free, Åland Swedish'] were supportive of the idea for a reunion. In Sundblom's descriptions, the Ålanders had always called themselves Ålanders, never Finns, hardly ever Finnish citizens, or Finno-Swedes. Moreover, they had never had the right to call themselves Swedes although the longing for the old motherland had

always been present in the soul of the Ålander. Whether longing for Sweden was present during the whole period from 1809 to 1917 is a question which both Nils Erik Villstrand and Christer Kuvaja have commented upon. Not only it is difficult, based on existing sources, to know what most Ålanders felt, but there are also indications of the opposite.

That such perceptions are questionable became apparent also from another article published around the same time in the *Åland* newspaper (Kuvaja, Hårdstedt & Hakala 2008: 552). In the views of an anonymous writer, Ålanders had not felt any particularly strong feelings for Sweden, but instead had felt sameness and community with the Swedish-speakers on the mainland. The Swedishness in Finland was something to fight for also on Åland. Prior to the period of 1917–1921 it was common for Swedish-speakers to celebrate the same events and to share similar concerns and ideas. Kuvaja has referred to a gathering in February 1899 concerning the strengthening of Russia's control over Finland which aroused sympathies for Finland among the Ålanders. Another meeting of youth organisations in the summer of 1900 was accompanied by expressions of concerns over Finland's future and the later anthem of Finland *Vårt Land* ['Our country'] was sung at the event.

The political situation in Finland was unstable, in contrast to that in Sweden, and the issue of language was initially of a secondary importance (see Nihtinen 2011: 272–309). Several important figures on Åland (including the leaders of the Åland movement) had their background in Finland. Carl Björkman was from the mainland and Julius Sundblom was in his early writings patriotic in his views concerning Finland. The aim of the association *Ålands vänner* ['Friends of Åland'] was to preserve Swedishness on Åland. The celebration of J. L. Runeberg on 5 February was initiated and celebrated on Åland as early as the 1890s. After 1896 the association Friends of Åland took over the organisation of the celebrations. Writings in the *Åland* newspaper accompanied the celebrations, a sign that these had become an important expression of patriotism. From a writing in 1910, as demonstrated by Christer Kuvaja, it can be noticed that existing views on Runeberg and Finland were hardly different from those of the Svecoman strand of Finnish nationalism. Starting in 1908, the celebration of *Svenska dagen* ('The Swedish Day') was organized on Åland as an event when feelings of belonging to the fatherland and mother tongue were strengthened (Kuvaja, Hårdstedt & Hakala 2008: 562). All these descriptions are connected to the changing import of the Swedish language—starting in the late nineteenth century, it was first intertwined with patriotism towards Finland and Finland-Swedishness. Later, however, it became an argument for a reunion.

During the period 1917–1921, history writing was different in Finland and Sweden and divided along national lines (Nordman 1986). In Sweden,

two competing interpretations of history co-existed: an old state-idealising viewpoint on history, represented by Harald Hjärne and his followers, and a new critical viewpoint supported by Lauritz Weibull (see Nordman 1986; Edquist & Holmén 2015). Hjärne supported the idea that historians should serve national interests and support the Swedish cause. The second group, Lauritz Weibull and his followers, based at the University of Lund, did not participate in the debate as they objected to the use of history for political ends. In the politicized atmosphere of the 1920s, history was used as a weapon to support opposite claims. Swedish historians focused on showing why Åland had to be allowed to join Sweden. In Finland, leading historians and lawyers signed a document titled *Ålandsfrågan och Finlands rätt* ['The Åland question and Finland's rights'] which claimed that Finland had a right to the islands. They provided arguments for why Åland should remain with Finland. The differing opinions of Swedish and Finnish nationalists were based on their different views as to whether or not Finland constituted a separate entity within the old Swedish kingdom. Furthermore, the extent to which Åland could have claimed a relatively autonomous position within the kingdom was debated as the isles had been part of the east part of the kingdom in an administrative sense. In the early medieval period Åland belonged to the Linköping diocese, but was transferred to that of Åbo in 1309. In 1634 Åland's administrative position had changed and Åland had become part of the County of Åbo and Björneborg, to which the isles belonged until 1809.

Whereas the Finnish nationalists paid more attention to the border conflict with Russia in Karelia, the Finno-Swedes' main concern was the battle for Åland. It was not only an important Swedish-speaking area in a country with a Finnish-speaking majority; much of the early Finno-Swedish archaeological and historical interest had also been focused on Åland. The Finnish ethnologists and language researchers, on the other hand, had been paying more attention to Karelia, seeing it as essential for the development of the Finnish nation. For most of the twentieth century, regional Ålandic history writing was reproducing the Swedish historians' argumentation from the years 1917–1921. Those Ålanders who had desired a reunification with Sweden had used in their arguments the threat of Fennification (in the sense of expansion of the Finnish language) and the need to protect the Swedish language. In all subsequent extensions of political autonomy, the same argument was used with the original agreement of 1921 in mind. A Swedish-Finnish dichotomy became central for Ålandic history writing and descriptions of languages and their speakers, except for maritime history (Edquist & Holmén 2015: 235), which, as noted by Holmén, being business-funded history writing, was not concerned with ethnicity, not even in the 1940s.

Schoolbooks, however, have been divided in their descriptions of the Åland question. The research of Matti Similä (Similä 2011) compared descriptions of central historical events and individuals such as Snellman and Freudenthal in Finnish and Finland-Swedish books. In addition, Similä examined differences and similarities in schoolbooks, used in teaching in Finland and Sweden. The Åland question was viewed differently in all three categories (Similä 2011: 102). In the Finnish books, the actors were two nation-states, the Swedish state, and the new Finnish nation-state. In this conception, the relations between the two countries became more complex after the emergence of the Åland movement in the isles. Finland offered autonomy to Åland, the argument goes, but Sweden's reaction led to disagreement between the two countries. Sweden's support for the separatists, the occupation of Åland, the attempt to have the question included at a peace conference in Paris and the demand for a referendum concerning the status of Åland were presented as parts of a game to win Åland. The new Finnish state was in turn protective of its territory. The Finland-Swedish books included a more detailed description and an insider perspective as the Ålandic perspective (Similä 2011: 104). Events such as the meeting in Finström, the number of persons who signed the petition and the leaders Sundblom and Björkman were included. Sundblom and Björkman were Ålanders. Sweden was described as siding with what the Ålanders wanted. The goal was a reunion with Sweden and the Finnish state was of another opinion. The Union of Nations both assigned Åland to Finland and guaranteed autonomy as a compromise solution. Relations between Finland and Sweden continued to be tense, the argument goes, then saw a change for the better and worsened again during the period of language conflicts in Finland of the 1930s. The Autonomy Act was presented in Finland-Swedish books, whereas Finnish books seldom mentioned it. The contrast between viewpoints is striking, regardless of whether the writing was a result of a conscious decision or implicit assumptions about the importance of specific events, documents or persons.

The Swedish books, as stated in Similä's argument, emphasized an agreement between two countries as the solution. The actors were two nation-states, Sweden and Finland, which resolved the Åland question together in a peaceful and civilized way (Similä 2011: 105). In the books used in Finland, descriptions were more conflict-oriented than those in Sweden. Furthermore, the Åland question was given much more attention in the books in Finland as Åland was part of Finland.

Change in Writing

Until the early 1980s, history writing on Åland had been dominated by the views of very few writers from the islands, who were creating a rather monolithic representation of the history of the isles. Party politics did not emerge until the 1960s and was not established in its current form until the 1970s. History writing had started to reflect and construct a new political situation after the 1980s. Pertti Hakala, for example, has demonstrated how it was only after the establishment of Åland as an autonomous region, that images and perceptions on Åland had changed. This was visible in the book *Sångfesten på Åland 1922* ['Song celebration on Åland 1922'], built on history presentations of Swedish authors (Hakala 2006: 43). In the 1980s, the ethnologist De Geer-Hancock discussed nation-building on Åland and demonstrated how autonomy was conceived as a nation-building project (De Geer-Hancock 1986: 118–126). In the 1960s a variety of books were produced which were aimed at both Ålanders and a wider readership.

The then new Åland symbols, such as the flag and regional citizenship, signified that Åland resembled a nation-state. In 1984 Åland was granted the right to issue its own post stamps. In 1993 the name *Åland* appeared also on passports issued in the islands. The introduction of a new concept, *Åland hembygdsrätt* ['regional citizenship'] was a result of the revised Åland Self-Government Act of 1951. An examination of Åland as a tourist destination by Mikael Korhonen (Korhonen 2008: 43) has demonstrated that there is a clear line of continuity in images of Åland created during the period of autonomy. The first history book for school children written from a regional perspective *Åland och ålänningarna* ['Åland and the Ålanders'] appeared in 1943 (Dreijer 1943). The book was written by Åland historian and archaeologist Matts Dreijer (1901–1998), who was employed as a county archaeologist by the regional government in 1933. He became a dominant voice in the interpretation of Åland's history for several decades and is sometimes described as *the* national historian of Åland (see e.g. Sjöstrand 1996: 113). He was also the editor of the magazine *Åländsk Odling* ['Ålandic culture'] from its beginning in 1938 until 1972.

In a book celebrating the 100th anniversary of an Ålandic insurance company, Matts Dreijer considered the history of the isles from a long historical perspective, including Åland's greatness in the medieval period. In his presentation of Åland's autonomy and the events that led to its emergence, Dreijer saw Sweden as the old motherland (Dreijer 1966: 78). The existence of earlier links eastwards was downplayed. An example of this approach was a claim that there was a sharp border between place-names: in Dreijer's argument the water's edge between Åland and mainland Finland formed one

of the sharpest borders between place-names in this part of the world with, in Dreijer's words, only names of Scandinavian origin on the west side and only Finnish place-names east of the border, layered with newer Swedish ones (Dreijer 1966: 52). Dreijer's etymology of the name *Åland* was connected to the meaning of 'island.' This etymology proved to be useful in interpretations of historical evidence. As noted by Janne Holmén, this made it possible for Dreijer to treat all possible medieval sources with references to "island" as sources with references to Åland (Edquist & Holmén 2015: 187).

In the presentation of Ålands history in the 1960s, Dreijer claimed that from the type of graves, place-names and other findings it can be concluded that the first migration to the isles was Scandinavian. Åland was influenced by "Christian civilisation at a very early date because of its commercial connections with Christian Western Europe" (Nyman, Dreijer & Eriksson 1965: 40). The oldest churches on Åland were "utterly different" from the churches in Finland and there were "many unexpected indications of southern Scandinavian influence on buildings" from the Middle Ages. Furthermore, from the fourteenth century Åland had its own law and constitution. Dreijer's search for distinctiveness culminated in a theory relocating the Viking-age port of Birka to Åland. The Åland Dreijer depicted had been the kingdom of Birka and center of German mission in the Baltic, later a sovereign earldom and the base for Danish hegemony in the northern Baltic. In his view, Sweden did not have a presence in the isles until the mid-thirteenth century and the isles had been a jurisdictional province with a written lawcode of their own. Dreijer also found references to Åland in a variety of old sources to support his controversial claims.

Christianity had first reached Åland, which he believed was Ansgar's Birka, in apparent contrast to earlier evidence. In his *Vita Anskarii*, Rimbert, Ansgar's successor to the archiepiscopal seat of Hamburg-Bremen, mentions Birka as one of the ports Ansgar visited as early as the ninth century. In the 1970s and 1980s Dreijer marketed extensively his theory in various books and presentations on Åland history. Because the theory was based on interpretation of scarce evidence (a limestone-cross found in Sund) and related to distant times it was a hypothesis hard to prove. The theory was criticised by both Finnish (see e.g. Villstrand 1984: 338–339) and Swedish scholars (e.g. Ringbom 1986: 11–45; Sjöstrand 1998: 45). Matts Dreijer's view of Åland's Viking Age and early medieval history were depicted by Sjöstrand as constructions, entirely motivated by a political agenda (Sjöstrand 1996: 91–94, 113). In a book about minorities in the Baltic Sea region the Swedish historian Runblom also criticized Dreijer's campaign to place Birka on Åland (Runblom 1995). In the conception of Åland history, created by Matts Dreijer historical arguments were needed for the defence of the new autonomy.

It was difficult to find convincing arguments in recent history as this was shared. For this reason, Dreijer considered it necessary to build distinctiveness on ancient times.

In *Alla tiders Åland. Från istid till EU-inträde* ['Åland of all times. From the Ice Age to EU acceptance'] Benita Mattson-Eklund has devoted a page to the Birka-controversy (Mattson-Eklund 2000). Mattson-Eklund has agreed with the criticism towards part of Dreijer's theories but she has also expressed the view that Åland is often absent from national presentations of history. In Swedish presentations, Åland is not taken into consideration, because it is not part of contemporary Sweden while in Finnish presentations Åland is simply one of many places on the periphery (Mattson-Eklund 2000: 80). In the 1990s there was an extensive debate on Ålandic identity in the local press and on the pages of the *Radar* magazine: what could be called Ålandic identity or Ålandic culture and what was the relation between the Swedish language and Ålandic culture? For example, an article by politician Olof Erland, published in the magazine, emphasised the difference between the original situation, which was meant to preserve the Swedish language and culture of the region, and the situation which had developed after political change. The establishment of political autonomy had enabled the development of a separate culture, and not a Swedish culture, but with Swedish as the language of education and communication (Erland 1997: 50).

One of the myths reassessed at the beginning of the new millennium concerned the peasant uprising against Russian troops in 1808, which has been widely used as a proof that the Ålanders wanted to belong to Sweden. The research of Pertti Hakala has demonstrated a considerable shift in opinion on Åland after the mid-1980s with more recent writers distancing themselves from the rhetoric of the Åland movement. The uprising was no longer seen as a struggle to remain Swedish (Hakala 2006: 40–55). History writing on Åland has experienced a shift in paradigm in recent decades, which Hakala has attributed to the change in generation of writers. The notion of many Ålands, suggested by Christer Kuvaja in *Det åländ-ska folkets historia* ['The history of the Ålandic people'], can be seen to reflect a wider change in interpretations. Historically, Åland was a heterogeneous region with only minor differences in societal, social, and cultural structures (Kuvaja, Hårdstedt & Hakala 2008: 69). Civic aspects of Ålandness are also emphasized in *Islands of Identity* by Samuel Edquist and Janne Holmén (Edquist & Holmén 2015). Holmén analyzed identity-formation on Åland through an empirical investigation of how different themes on Åland history have been portrayed in regional history writing. Until 1917 the political elite on Åland remained faithful to Finnish nationalism, but in the autumn of the same year they initiated the Åland movement, which was seeking

reunification with Sweden. From the Åland movement until the Second World War, Åland was characterized by ethnic nationalism, emphasizing the Swedishness of Åland. The initiation of a campaign to promote autonomy consciousness in the 1950s and the development of autonomy gradually transformed Ålandic nationalism from ethnic to civic. The civic aspect was enhanced through the introduction of regional citizenship. The essence of Ålandness, in Holmén's conception of Åland, is defined not by heritage, but by acceptance of autonomy and monolingual language policies.

Finnish on Åland

From the very beginning, Åland's autonomy was defined as a tool for the preservation of the Swedish language and Swedish culture and language laws were an important component of the autonomy laws. The working language of regional and municipal authorities has been Swedish. The same legal principle has applied to the authorities of the national government of Åland and the national church. Citizens of Finland have nevertheless been entitled to use Finnish in dealings with the courts and other national institutions. The Language Act has also prescribed that the language of instruction in education on Åland is Swedish (Beijar *et al.* 1997: 75).

The question of Finnish, however, has been relevant for the examination of language divisions, visible in recent presentations of Åland's history in the nineteenth century. During the first half of the nineteenth century it was still common to employ a speaker of Finnish in religious services but during the period between 1860 and 1890 there was no longer a need to hire labour from the mainland (Kuvaja, Hårdstedt & Hakala 2008: 100). The rising number of Finnish speakers at the end of the century was connected to a demand for labour and an emigration wave to North America. Finnish-speakers had spread throughout the isles but the number of speakers in places such as Saltvik, Hammarland, Finström, Sund and Mariehamn was particularly high. Their employments were diverse, with two-thirds of all Finnish-speakers being either workers or civil servants (Kuvaja, Hårdstedt & Hakala 2008: 100).

Until the end of the nineteenth century, Åland was not involved in the ongoing language conflict on the mainland. The Fennoman movement was of little significance to an almost completely Swedish-speaking Ålandic society. Nevertheless, during the last decade of the nineteenth century elements of Fennoman ideology began to appear in Åland when the number of Finnish-speakers was growing. The first lecture in Finnish was presented in the autumn of 1891 in Mariehamn and 50 people participated in the event. Writings in the newspaper *Åland* which followed the event pointed out that the language conflict does not concern the isles. The threat of

the Fennomans seemed unlikely. However, the mid-1890 saw the founding of a Fennoman party and some Fennomans were chosen as candidates in the town council elections. Some were members until the beginning of the twentieth century. Around 1895 a Fennoman society was also formed and named *Ahvenanmaan Suomalainen Sivistysseura* ['The Ålandic Finnish education society']. An initiative of *Finska folkskolans vänner* ['The friends of Finnish grammar schools'] led to the opening of a private Finnish school in Mariehamn in 1902, but this was short-lived. Similarly, a Finnish school that opened in Haraldsby in Saltvik did not last long. In Haraldsby a bilingual celebration also took place in 1899 (Kuvaja, Hårdstedt & Hakala 2008: 101).

Conceptions of Finnish-speakers on Åland gradually started to reflect nationalist discourses and became negative, which became visible from writings in the press. Kuvaja (Kuvaja, Hårdstedt & Hakala 2008: 102) has elaborated how differences in individual characteristics were increasingly described as differences between Swedish-speakers and Finnish-speakers as groups. The press became negative towards Finnish-speakers based on individual cases. Furthermore, in the early twentieth century, Finland-Swedish nationalism often took on racial overtones among the most radical Swedes, who saw themselves as Germanic. The Finns were depicted as degenerate and as people who would attach themselves to ideas of socialism. Swedish, the preservation of Swedish culture and Swedishness became central arguments in press debates and, in the 1920s, in the foundation of Åland autonomy.

The situation of Swedish in relation to Finnish has been discussed in the doctoral dissertation of Barbro Allardt Ljunggren, *Åland som språksamhälle* ['Åland as a language environment'] published by Stockholm University in 2008. The notion of language environment refers to language relations in a specific society. The empirical part of her research was based on questionnaire surveys conducted among pupils in grade 9 of primary school and the second grade of the secondary school Ålands Lyceum. In the first case, 257 students participated in the survey and ninety in the case of Ålands Lyceum (Allardt Ljunggren 2008: 57).

Central questions on which responses were gathered included choice of language, media habits, a subjective examination of the respondents' own language competence and language attitudes in a broad sense. Allardt Ljunggren's theory was that the Ålanders constituted a secure minority in Finland with a high ethnic profile and an insecure majority on Åland. The results of the study revealed strong feelings of affinity towards Åland. Attitudes towards English and English-speakers were in general positive while attitudes towards Finnish and Finland were ambivalent. Several variables showed a tendency among adolescents to favour Sweden rather than

Finland and to express negative attitudes towards Finnish. Nevertheless, if parents had spoken Finnish at home, respondents had more positive attitudes towards Finnish and at the same time displayed the strongest feelings of affinity with Åland. Åland government and representatives of regional parliament had often expressed concerns that Finnish is needed on Åland (Allardt Ljunggren 2008: 230).

An additional factor affecting the relations between the two languages was the influence of European agreements such as the "Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages." Whereas the results of the study are revealing in terms of language attitudes, notions of Finland and Finnish often appear in similar arguments, which reinforces the image of Finland as a particularly language-based nation-state. There were similarities in depictions of Finnish and Finnish-speakers as *the other* and registered observations of feelings of anxiety about the intrusion of Finnish into Åland society. On the one hand, there were practical concerns regarding language skills. On the other hand, opinions have tended to reproduce existing images of language-based divisions. Some of the conclusions seemed to confirm expectations: reported positive attitudes to Finnish were expressed by those who had Finnish in the family and simultaneously favoured integration and local patriotism. Divergence was regarded as potentially problematic if it was combined with perceptions of exclusion (Allardt Ljunggren 2008: 224). Allardt Ljunggren's research is a comment on the relation between the two languages, or, alternatively, the speakers of these languages, bearing in mind that there is no direct correspondence between languages and their speakers. On the other hand, these descriptions could reinforce language-based divisions by describing, for example, the students from Finnish-speaking homes as a somewhat separate group.

Language relations on Åland have been reported as being influenced by emigration and immigration (Hannikainen 1992: 14). In the case of Åland, emigration to Finland and Sweden is common, as is the process of immigration to Åland from Finland and Sweden. The fact that Finland and Sweden are presented in a report about linguistic rights as equal places of emigration and immigration reveals the extent to which Åland and the rest of Finland are perceived as different entities. In estimations from the 1990s the numbers of emigrants from, and to Åland, were roughly the same, as were the shares of Finland and Sweden in both emigration and immigration, in addition to immigration from other countries (Hannikainen 1992: 15). In 2011 half of the migrants were from Sweden, one third from (mainland) Finland and one sixth from elsewhere, including individuals from 87 countries. Around two thirds of the islands' inhabitants were born on Åland

(18,800) and one third were migrants to Åland based on statistics of place of birth (9,500 born elsewhere).

History writers have described Åland as being oriented towards the Anglo-Saxon world and the use of loanwords from English in the islands has been widespread. Many Russian words had entered the Ålandic dialect in the nineteenth century in conjunction with the placing of Russian troops in the isles, but history writing did not report or comment on any negative attitudes towards Russian influences (Edquist & Holmén 2015: 207). Extensive migration from other countries has also added to the use of English and several other languages in the isles. Attitudes to Finnish have thus differed because of the continuation of existing societal discourses.

Swedish in Politics

On the grounds of Swedish, the Ålanders could belong to the Finno-Swedish minority (Runblom 1995: 115). However, based on constitutional position and relative isolation from the Swedish-speakers on the mainland they were defined as a separate category. Several studies have argued that Ålanders feel themselves to be primarily Ålanders. Arguments of different surveys and questionnaires have been used to build a case for independence (e.g. Häggblom, Kinnunen & Lindström 1999: 9–27; Anckar & Bartman 2000: 76–78). The centrality of Swedish has been visible in the political agenda of *Ålands Framtid* ['The future of Åland'], a political party the aim of which is an independent microstate (Anckar & Bartman 2000). From the very beginning, one of the central arguments of the party were the practical concerns arising from Åland's official language policy and the diminishing use of Swedish within Finnish contexts since most of the inhabitants of Finland have Finnish as their mother tongue. For the authorities of Åland, the argument goes, it was becoming more problematic to communicate with Finnish authorities in Swedish, and this, as the party pointed out, was a right that the isles were once guaranteed.

The political parties on Åland are the Ålandic Centre, the Liberals in Åland, the Moderates, the Ålandic Social Democrats, the Independent Congress, and the Future of Åland. The current government is in power during the period 2015–2019. The parties represented in the regional government are the Liberals (*Liberalerna på Åland*), the Ålandic Social Democrats (*Ålands socialdemokrater*) and the Moderates (*Moderat samling för Åland*). The greatest change in relation to language and politics among the Social Democrats on Åland occurred between 1905 and 1920. This is visible from the history of Åland's Social-Democratic party, published in 2006. A Finnish-Swedish workers' society was initiated through an advertisement in the newspaper *Åland* on 31 December 1905 in Mariehamn (Forsgård 2006: 9).

In 1907 the society had 207 names on its membership lists during a time when Mariehamn had around 1,100 inhabitants. Because of internal disputes over language the societies in Mariehamn and Haraldsby split into separate Swedish and Finnish societies (Forsgård 2006: 13–14). Social-democratic groupings were formed also in Bertby, Tengsöda and Kastelholm. During demonstrations on 1 May 1917 that rallied around 1,000 participants in Haraldsby speeches were held in three languages—Swedish, Finnish and Russian. The view of Åland's Social-Democrats of the Åland Movement was critical—they sought to distance themselves from the strongly anti-Finnish ideology of the Åland movement. Firstly, its ideology was not compatible with internationalism. Secondly, the Åland Question was regarded as connected to conservative social ideas (Forsgård 2006: 18).

Nevertheless, as Swedish and Finland-Swedish rhetoric intensified, things changed. The leaders of the party on Åland were K.H. Week and Hjalmar Eklund, representing Finland-Swedish views. Party differences were now seen as marginal in comparison to the perceived need to unite Ålanders around the idea to keep Åland separate and Swedish-speaking (Forsgård 2006: 19). In the 1920s most supporters had signed up for the Swedish newspaper *Svenska Socialdemokraten* ['The Swedish Social Democrat']. In the elections for the regional parliament in 1999, the party's slogan was "We are all Ålanders," which emphasized images of equality and social inclusion. During the period of autonomy, the use of language for political aims experienced a role reversal: whereas originally preservation of the Swedish language was achieved through autonomy, later political autonomy was preserved and enhanced through Swedish. All political parties on Åland have considered the Swedish language important but to different extents. Differences exist in relation to the question whether the Åland model has been successful in maintaining the Swedish language on Åland or whether the language is continuously under threat. The latter claim was emphasized by the Ålandic politician Thorvald Eriksson.

Thorvald Eriksson was, among other things, the Speaker of the Parliament of Åland during the period 1955–1971 and leader of the Bank of Åland during the period 1954–1986. He has written accounts of Åland's constitutional status and debated language as part of an argumentation in favor of greater autonomy and independence. A feature which was particularly prominent in his books was the image of a threatened Swedish language, not for internal but for external reasons (Eriksson 2006; Eriksson 2007: 35–38). Eriksson argued that the Finnish language was becoming increasingly pervasive in Ålandic society and self-government, and that radical measures were needed to change the situation. In his view, what caused the Fennification of Åland was the region's connection to an increasingly Finnish-speak-

ing Finland and not the migration to Åland of a few Finnish-speakers (Eriksson 2007: 38). The Swedish language as a cultural question was losing ground. The only solution was thus Åland's independence. In an independent Åland, Finnish would have been a more neutral language, comparable to any other language spoken in the isles (Eriksson 2007: 40).

The pro-independence party the Future of Åland has changed their aim in the Swedish text on their website to include Ålandic rather than Swedish.[1] This could mean a change in a tradition of referencing to Swedish on Åland rather than to the Åland dialect. This change is only symbolic in this case, however. The website in English meant for, presumably, an international audience retains the arguments concerning the diminishing use of Swedish in Finnish contexts, communication problems between Åland and Finnish authorities and the matter of preservation of Swedish as a right that the isles were once guaranteed.

Conclusions

The extension of Åland autonomy and change of writers weakened the perceived need to construct separateness in history writing. During the first few decades of autonomy, the rhetoric of the Åland movement was often reproduced in historical presentations. Ålandic history writing and changes in the roles of the Finnish and Swedish languages originated in the same period. The early writers of Åland's history belonged to the Finnish establishment and described the history of the islands as part of Finland's history. Autonomy was intended to guarantee the preservation of the Swedish language and culture of the region. However, Åland's role as a peace ambassador has increasingly been functioning as an alternative, widespread image. Janne Holmén has argued that the political left used the concept of Åland as islands of peace as a "means to reshape Ålandic identity away from the old language of nationalism" used by the political right (Edquist & Holmén 2015: 166). Recent developments have suggested a turn away from the language of nationalism in sections of political opinion while at the same time language divisions are also being reconsidered. Whereas narratives of separateness and belonging can be rewritten, the issue of language is a complex matter also because of its instrumental function. Whereas historical divisions as constructions are disappearing, the importance of Swedish is likely to continue to be used as an argument for self-government, while at the same time Ålandness can be expressed in various ways.

NOTE

[1] See homepage of *Ålands framtid*: www.alandsframtid.ax; access date 23 March 2017.

REFERENCES

Allardt Ljunggren, B. (2008). *Åland som språksamhälle. Språk och språkliga attityder på Åland ur ett ungdomsperspektiv* ['Åland as a language environment. Language and language attitudes on Åland from a youth-perspective'], Stockholm: Stockholm University.

Anckar, D. & Bartman, B. (2000). *Ett ramverk för ett självständigt Åland* ['A framework for an independent Åland'], Mariehamn: Sällskapet Ålands Framtid.

Beijar, K., Ekberg, H., Eriksson, S. & Tandefelt, M. (1997). *Life in Two Languages. The Finnish Experience*, Espoo: Schildts.

De Geer-Hancock, Y. (1986). *Åländskhet. Nationsbygget på Fredens Öar* ['Ålandness. Nation-building on the Isles of Peace'], Mariehamn: Ålands Tidnings Tryckeri.

Dreijer, M. (1943). *Åland och ålänningarna* ['Åland and the Ålanders'], Helsingfors: Söderström.

Dreijer, M. (1966). *Ålands Ömsesidiga Försäkringsbolag 1866–1966. Festskrift till 100-års jubiléet och Glimtar ur Ålands historia* ['Åland's bilateral insurance company 1866–1966. Festschrift to the company's 100 years' jubilee and moments from Åland's history'], Mariehamn: Ålands Tidnings Tryckeri.

Edquist, S. & Holmén, J. (2015). *Islands of Identity. History Writing and Identity Formation in Five Island Regions in the Baltic Sea*, Stockholm: Södertörn University.

Eriksson, T. (2006). *Överkörd självstyrelse* ['Ruined self-government'], Mariehamn: Ålands Tryckeriet.

Eriksson, T. (2007). *Yliajettu itsehallinto* ['Ruined self-government'], Mariehamn: Ålands Tryckeriet.

Erland, O. (1997). "Den svåra närhistorien" ['The difficult recent history'], *Radar*, 1, pp. 50–55.

Forsgård, H. (2006). *Rättvisare och bättre. Socialdemokratin på Åland 100 år* ['Just and better. Social democracy on Åland 100 years'], Mariehamn: Ålands socialdemokrater.

Häggblom, K., Kinnunen, J. & Lindström, B. (1999). "Ålänningarna och deras identitet" ['The Ålanders and their identity'], *Radar*, 1, pp. 9–27.

Hakala, P. (2006). "Trohet mot det svenska fäderneslandet. Folkresningen 1808 i åländsk historieskrivning" ['Loyalty to the Swedish fatherland. The insurrection of 1808 in Ålandic history writing'], in *Åländska identiteter*, eds. S. Holm, T. Petterson, H. Holm, R. Palmgren & H. Silén, Helsingfors: Historicus, pp. 40–55.

Hannikainen, L. (1992). *Cultural, Linguistic and Educational Rights in the Åland Islands* (Publications of the Advisory Board for International Human Rights 5), Helsinki: Tabloid.

Hårdstedt, M. (2006). *Finska kriget 1808–1809* ['The Finnish War 1808–1809'], Stockholm: Prisma.

Högman, G. (1986). "Ålänningarna och Ålandsfrågan" ['The Ålanders and the Åland question'], in *Väster om Skiftet. Uppsatser ur Ålands historia*, eds. S. Jungar & N.E. Villstrand, Åbo: Åbo Akademi, pp. 117–137.

Korhonen, M. (2008). "Åland som turistmål" ['Åland as a tourist destination'], in *Tradition och turism på Åland. Att använda kulturarvet*, ed. Y. Lindquist, Helsingfors: SLS, pp. 23–44.

Kuvaja, C., Hårdstedt, M. & Hakala, P. (2008). *Det åländska folkets historia 4. Från finska kriget till Ålandsrörelsen 1808–1920* ['The history of the Ålandic people 4. From the Finnish War to the Åland movement 1808–1920'], Mariehamn: Ålands kulturstiftelse.

Mattsson-Eklund, B. (2000). *Alla tiders Åland. Från istid till EU-inträde* ['Åland of all times. From the Ice Age to EU acceptance'], Mariehamn: Åland landskapsstyrelse.

Nihtinen, A. (2011). *Ambivalent Self-Understanding? Change, Language and Boundaries in the Shetland Islands (1970–present)*, Åbo: Åbo UP.

Nordman, D. (1986). "Historiker kämpar om Åland. Om de svenska och finländska historikernas argumentering i Ålandsfrågan 1917–21," in *Väster om Skiftet. Uppsatser ur Ålands historia*, eds. S. Jungar & N.E. Villstrand, Åbo: Åbo Akademi, pp. 139–158.

Nyman, V., Dreijer, M. & Eriksson, T. (1965). *Åland – Ahvenanmaa* ['Åland—Ahvenanmaa (Åland)'], Helsingfors: Söderström.

Ringbom, Å. (1986). "Sundkorset – ett medeltida minneskors?" ['The Sund-cross—a medieval memorial cross?'], in *Väster om Skiftet. Uppsatser ur Ålands historia*, eds. S. Jungar & N.E. Villstrand, Åbo: Åbo Akademi, pp. 11–45.

Runblom, H. (1995). *Majoritet och minoritet i Östersjöområdet. Ett historiskt perspektiv*, ['Majority and minority in the Baltic Sea region. An historical perspective'], Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Similä, M. (2011). "Svenska och finska, en asymmetrisk relation" ['Swedish and Finnish, an asymetrical relation'], in *Svenskfinska relationer. Språk, identitet och nationalitet efter 1809*, eds. M. Sjöberg & B. Svensson, Stockholm: Nordiska Museets förlag, pp. 95–106.

Sjöstrand, P.O. (1996). *Hur Finland vanns för Sverige. En historia för nationalstater* ['How Finland was won for Sweden. A history of nation-states'] (Historica Upsaliensia 16), Uppsala: Historiska institutionen.

Sjöstrand, P.O. (1998). "Det användbara förflutna. Ålands självstyrelse och historien" ['The useful past. Åland's self-government and history'], *Radar*, 3, pp. 38–49.

Villstrand, N.E. (1984). "Åland – mellan Finland och Sverige. En kommentar till aktuell åländsk litteratur och debatt" ['Åland—between Finland and Sweden. A commentary on contemporary Ålandic literature and debate'], *Finsk Tidskrift*, 6–7, pp. 328–343.

AUTHOR

Atina Laura K. Nihtinen, PhD, Researcher for Åbo Akademi Jubileumsfond and the Department of History, Åbo Akademi University, Turku, Finland. Apart from articles on several themes, Nihtinen has published a monograph on political and cultural change in the Shetland Islands (from 1970 to the present) and has one ongoing project: "Merry, New London. Reconsidering the Past."

atinalaura@outlook.com

Reviews/Comptes rendus/Besprechungen

Alessia Bauer, *Laienastrologie im nachreformatorischen Island. Studien zu Gelehrsamkeit und Aberglauben* (Münchner Nordistische Studien 21), Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag 2015, ISBN 978-3-8316-4480-3 [5], 644 pp.

The volume under review is a *Habilitationsschrift* for Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich. It is an edition of texts from Icelandic manuscripts to which little attention has been paid, preceded by a scholarly introduction. As the title implies, the book is about learned writings and folk beliefs after the Reformation. The emphasis of Icelandic literary studies has for the most part been on the preceding period. However, although these texts were written after the Reformation, manuscripts dating from the sixteenth century and later often contain older texts, preserving them from destruction. The conservatism of the Icelandic language means that such texts could still be understood. Research such as the present study increases our knowledge of literary production of earlier ages, especially in areas that have been ignored in the past.

The subject-matter of the book is astronomy in the old, wide and popular meaning of the word: "astronomy" today refers to scientific study, "astrology" is generally considered superstition or entertainment. In the seventeenth century no such distinction between the two was made; Bauer uses the term *Laienastrologie*, 'lay-astrology,' to refer to this subject.

The introduction discusses the situation in Iceland after the Reformation, which was somewhat different than elsewhere in Scandinavia and mainland Europe. For example, the ability to read and write was more common in Iceland than elsewhere. On the other hand, there were no universities, and therefore there was no influential learned class. The population was scattered, there were no towns. There was little class difference between priests and farmers, and that made its mark on the life of the people. The author is well aware of the special position of literacy in Iceland.

The study is based on about 200 Icelandic manuscripts in the National Library of Iceland, very few of which have been published before. It is the first step in research on this topic, introducing it to the scholarly world. In this it resembles *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*, published in five volumes by the Arnamagnæanske Institut in Copenhagen in the 1960s (Loth [ed.] 1962–1965). There, young *riddarasögur* were

printed from the oldest manuscripts to make the texts more accessible for research, but detailed research on the manuscripts themselves was not undertaken. The texts edited here are of various age, having been passed down in copies from the Reformation until the nineteenth century; for this reason, no attempt was made to identify sources or scribes. The edition is intended to be a basis for further research.

The first chapter, "Die Frühneuzeit auf Island," discusses the situation in Iceland after the Reformation until c. 1800, but also makes reference to earlier times. First comes a general introduction to humanism and the beginnings of the Reformation, which marked changes in Iceland. Shortly after the arrival of Lutheranism came the Danish trade monopoly. The authorities were not interested in teaching the Icelanders anything other than Christianity. Printing was used almost exclusively in the service of the church, while other works were transmitted in hand-written manuscripts, which were produced even though there was no formal schooling. It was even said that it was inappropriate to print ancient sagas in the same style of print as religious writings. On the other hand, texts could be widely distributed in manuscripts. As one example out of a great many, the present author published "Um sögur af Álfa-Árna," which appeared revised in the collection of essays *Hulin pláss* (Einar G. Pétursson 2011). The large number of preserved manuscripts show how well-known the story was.

The Reformation had a great influence on political, as well as religious, life in Iceland, as it had elsewhere. In 1536, Lutheranism became the official religion in Denmark, but Iceland stood out against it until 1550. Changes in government are described. The king decided who would be appointed bishops. From 1579 on, Icelandic students received financial grants for study at the University of Copenhagen, and this continued to be the case until the twentieth century. Foreign influences from Germany reached Iceland through Denmark. However, the Danes did not attempt to force the Icelanders to learn Danish. The reason may have been that Icelandic had long been the written language, and knowledge of reading and writing was widespread, as noted above. The language may also have enjoyed more respect than it would otherwise have had, as sources about the history of the Northern countries were written in it. A single printing press in Iceland had its effect in normalizing the language—though there was little dialectical difference in Iceland compared with other places.

In the Middle Ages, Icelanders had kept up with European learning, such as the adoption of Arabic numerals; after the Reformation there was a delay of about two centuries until the new world-view (see be-

low) established itself. The last section of the chapter deals with the language, Icelandic, which at this time was significantly influenced by Low German and Danish. In the nineteenth century, a concerted effort was made to purify the language of Danish influence. The language of the material on chronology and astronomy/astrology edited here has been virtually unchanged since the Middle Ages. It is an excellent example of the conservatism of the Icelandic language.

The second chapter of the book is about *Laienastrologie*. There is a survey of this topic ranging from the Babylonians to the Romans. In the Middle Ages, western Europeans obtained a great deal of knowledge from the Arabs about Greek astronomy.

It was long believed that eclipses and comets presaged evil, and were signs of the wrath of God. In the seventeenth century, the understanding of these phenomena began to change, and astronomy and astrology became separate fields—though not in Iceland. Around the time of the Reformation, Copernicus taught that the sun, not the earth, was the center of the universe. After much argument, his beliefs had been accepted in Northern Europe by the mid-eighteenth century.

The third chapter deals with the theoretical basis of *Laienastrologie*. According to these teachings, the micro-cosmos is a miniature version of the universe. The idea appears in the prologue of Snorri's Edda and elsewhere, in old translated writings which had their influence on Icelandic literature. The same can be said of the four elements: earth, water, air, and fire. A chart (p. 82) shows the basic elements and humours, their qualities and their influence on people's moods, and finally what seasons of the year they represent. Finally, *Rímbegla* is discussed, a medieval Icelandic chronological treatise which may have made use of Arabic sources.

There is no fourth chapter, but the fifth, "Das isländische Fachskrifttum," is the longest and most important one in the book. It describes the world view of medieval Icelanders and its development. The terminology and ideas of the old astronomy/astrology change little; this vocabulary and terminology would in itself be a fruitful subject of research.

There follows a description of the editorial principles. The text has been printed letter for letter, with abbreviations expanded in italics. Punctuation has not been changed. This is a good idea, but it is difficult for those whose native language is not Icelandic to read such spelling. The few errors of transcription are more than balanced by the importance of making this material available.

The first texts are "Planetenkinder-traktate," according to which the position of the planets at birth influenced the nature of a child. Lbs 1709 8vo, from the end of the seventeenth century, is used as a basis, and

much is printed from it and in different versions from five other manuscripts. Parallel to "Planetenmenschen" are "zodiac people" which were supposed to illustrate characteristics and influences on health according to the twelve signs of the zodiac. These texts are printed from seven manuscripts. Then there is a section on months and the names of the months; it was thought important for doctors to know in what month people were born. There are texts in four manuscripts, one of which describes the Sami ("Lapps") in northern Scandinavia.

The last two sections are "Texte zu den Komplexionen," translated (on p. 359) as 'About the four kinds of nature that rule the human being.' This is not a long text and it is printed from three manuscripts. The section describes how the four humours (choleric, sanguine, phlegmatic, melancholic) influence a person's mood. Immediately afterwards is a section about the four basic elements, and the connection between them and the above-mentioned four *Náttúrutegundir* that influence a person. This concludes what may be called *Laienastrologie*.

Next is material from manuscripts in the National Library on more modern astronomy, which educated Icelanders appear to have used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many of these manuscripts are school copies of lecture notes in Danish. The chapter then discusses what was taught in schools about these sciences, in particular by Björn Gunnlaugsson (1788–1876), who taught mathematics and astronomy at the Latin School.

Following the fifth chapter is a summary in German and one in English. There is a long bibliography and a list of the 116 manuscripts that were used in the book. Appendix I is a detailed description of the manuscripts and their contexts, which however does not mention the scribes, not even when they are known. Appendix II is a German translation of the Icelandic texts in the fifth chapter, which concludes the work. There is a detailed table of contents, but no index. As a whole, the volume publishes and makes available many hitherto unknown texts which will increase scientific knowledge.

REFERENCES

Einar G. Pétursson (2011). *Hulin pláss. Ritgerðasafn gefið út í tilefni sjötugsafmælis höfundar 25. júlí 2011* ['Hidden Places. A collection of essays published on the occasion of the seventieth birthday of the author, 25. July 2011'], Reykjavik: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum.

Loth, A. (ed.) (1962–1965). *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances* 1–5, Copenhagen: Munksgaard.

Einar G. Pétursson
The Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies
Iceland
egp@hi.is

Matthias Egeler (ed.), *Germanische Kultorte. Vergleichende, historische und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Zugänge* (Münchener Nordistische Studien 24), Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag 2016, ISBN 978-3-8316-4529-9, 376 pp.

This anthology about comparative historical and archaeological approaches towards and the reception of Germanic cult places is based upon the lectures during an interdisciplinary symposium at the Institute for Nordic Philology, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, in October 2015 and comprises eight articles in German and English. The anthology aims at fostering a multidisciplinary discourse about the concept of sacred spaces and cult places based on case studies of sacred spaces in Germanic religion, supplemented by perspectives on this topic from other disciplines such as the history of religions, or social studies.

Although the concepts of sacred space and cult place have been firmly established within a broad range of different disciplines such as archaeology, history of religions, and cultural as well as social studies, a standardized nomenclature for different conceptions of room and space and a clear-cut definition for important terms as *cult place*, *sacred landscape*/*space* remains a desideratum—even within single disciplines—, so that an interdisciplinary communication about this topic is frequently impeded. The present volume attempts to close this gap—at least within the study of Germanic pre-Christian religion—by presenting consistent definitions of essential terms and a broad overview about the current theoretical discussion as well as potential approaches to the study of the concept of sacred spaces.

The anthology is divided into four subject areas: terminology and theoretical concepts, comparing perspectives from historical and modern analogies, case studies on Germanic cult places and their modern reception in neo-pagan religion. These four main parts are framed by an extensive introduction and an epilogue in both German and English.

The first section comprises an extensive overview of the current theoretical debate and different approaches towards the essential nomenclature for the concept of cult places. Based on the terminology of cult, ritual and sacred space, chiefly stemming from the field of religious studies, and the approaches to spatial understanding and conceptions of room in ritual theory and cultural studies (especially the spatial turn), Jens Kugele presents a range of promising spacial-sociological options and illustrates their potential to analyze the interdependence of space and cult, which he demonstrates on the case study of a modern mosque, which was established in the rooms of a former goods station.

The second section presents possibilities and problems relative to

the analysis of cult places and religious spatial perspectives from both an historical and a contemporary sociological point of view, containing contributions by Christopher Metcalf about the entanglement of cult and architecture in Sumeric literature and by Isabel Laack about the contemporary neo-pagan adoption of the site of Glastonbury as ritual landscape. While Metcalf's short article focuses on the multidimensional spatial conception of architecture in the Sumeric cult and thereby relates to the problem of a consistent definition of use and function of cult rooms as addressed by Kugele, the elaborate contribution by Laack about her sociological field studies concerning neo-pagan ritual practices offers unique insights into and new perspectives on the (re-)construction of cult places and sacred spaces and provides new analogies and starting points for historical and archaeological research.

The third section contains the main part of the present volume with contributions by Lydia Carstens, Leszek Gardeła, Sigmund Oehrl and Matthias Egeler about the research on cult places in Germanic culture.

In her article, Carstens critically evaluates the traditional interpretation of Iron Age hall buildings as central places of cult and ritual by a detailed analysis of the archaeological findings inside these buildings. Her results emphasize the importance of a multidimensional spatial conception for the understanding of cult and ritual as already postulated by Kugele in his theoretical approach, which showed that the Iron Age hall has to be regarded primarily as a place of power and an element within a larger ritual landscape.

The concept of ritual landscapes as significant element for the Germanic understanding of cult places is also the focus of Gardeła's article, who chooses an interdisciplinary approach towards the interspaces between the graves in Viking Age cemeteries in Scandinavia. Based on archaeological features as well as accounts in Old Norse literature he highlights the holistic importance of pagan cemeteries as sacred space and cult place beyond their function as mere burial grounds.

With the example of the Gotlandic church of Bro, dating to the thirteenth century with a preceding building from the second half of the twelfth century, Oehrl critically investigates the often-neglected question of the importance of the continuous use of pagan cult places even after the Christianization of Scandinavia. Through a contrasting juxtaposition of the archaeological features and oral traditions, he emphasizes the ambiguities in the interpretation of an intended cult place continuity from pagan to Christian times.

Egeler's contribution shifts the focus from an archaeological perspective towards an analysis of cult places based on literary studies and

the history of religions, with an examination of three sacred places mentioned in *Landnámabók*, a medieval literary record of the settlement of Iceland. He provides strong evidence that these allegedly pagan conceptions of room and holiness are mostly younger narrative constructions within the cultural memory of a medieval Christian society.

The only contribution in the fourth section picks up on the reception of (actual or alleged) pagan cult places as approached from an historical-archaeological point of view by Oehrl and Egeler. Julia Dippel puts these within a contemporary context and thereby relates to Laack's article in the second section. Starting with an overview of the different developments of present day Germanic neo-paganism, Dippel presents some examples of how the identification and legitimation of a specific religious self-image and the establishment of a distinct identity in opposition to the modern world are based on and connected to the (re-) construction and conception of (alleged) prehistorical cult places.

Albeit not a complete overview of the current state of research due to the limited range, the present volume gives a good survey of potential approaches, problems and concepts for the analysis of the entanglement of place and cult against the background of the spatial turn. The book's initial theoretical debate which presents different models for the approach of spatial perspectives as well as a substantiated nomenclature for important termini, can be regarded as an especially valuable help for further investigations of the sacred space.

The two contributions about the current (re-)use of cult places against the background of the often scarce and ambivalent sources in archaeological investigations are also of special value and interest, as they present the multidimensional and rarely dogmatic modern approaches towards cult places from a sociological perspective. Moreover, they provide impressive demonstrations of how scarce and disparate traces the cultic use of sacred spaces might leave in the soil. Thus, both investigations help us broadening our understanding of archaeological features in a cultic context.

With this combination of theoretical, historical and sociological perspectives, the volume provides an excellent basis for the analysis of the conception of the sacred space in Germanic culture as well as several case studies with new and relevant results from archaeological research on this special topic.

Matthias Toplak
Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte und Archäologie des Mittelalters
Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen
Germany
matthias-simon.toplak@uni-tuebingen.de

Anatoly Liberman, *In Prayer and Laughter. Essays on Medieval Scandinavian and Germanic Mythology, Literature, and Culture*, Moscow: Paleographic Press 2016, ISBN 978-5-89526-027-2, 588 pp.

Anatoly Liberman is a well-known scholar working on various aspects of medieval Scandinavia: mythology, linguistics and literature. The present work includes a number of articles previously published but all of them have been reworked and expanded. Some sections appear for the first time, i.e. the chapters on Viðarr, the god Lytir and the cow Auðhumla. The main chapters address the myths associated with Óðinn, Loki and Baldr.

The present review does not claim to do justice to every aspect of the book's rich contents. I shall concentrate on Liberman's contributions to mythology and history of religions; they occupy after all the main part of his book. My discussion will hopefully give the reader an idea of Liberman's approach and interpretative methods. Some general remarks will conclude the review.

A comprehensive study of the god Óðinn opens the book (Ch. 1, "Óðinn's path to greatness"). With respect to the origins of Woden/Óðinn the author deserves credit for clarifying his opinion right from the outset. The god's name is derived from an early Germanic **woðu* which under the form *Wode* denoted either the leader of the wild hunt or the demon who chased it. The problem is that Wode and the idea of the wild hunt is only attested in relatively late folklore. Instead, we have to base our interpretation on the earliest sources mentioning *Woden/Óðinn*. The Old Saxon baptismal creed from the late eighth century is one of these. It is followed by an abrogation formula where the catechumen is enjoined to reject the main "pagan" gods: Thunær, Wōden and Saxnote. Together with the attestations from the ninth and tenth centuries including theoforic place-names we get reliable evidence for the worship of the god among Germanic peoples at an early period. Adding the information of Tacitus in *Germania* Chapter 9 that "among the gods they worship most eagerly Mercurius" we reach the first century C.E. There is general agreement among scholars that Mercurius is the *interpretatio romana* of Woden/Óðinn. From a methodological viewpoint, this material carries the weight of evidence against recent folklore traditions. In the early sources Woden/Óðinn appears already as an elevated deity and the idea of his origin as an obscure demon of death is in my opinion built on shaky ground.

Liberman's treatment of Loki (Ch. 6) provides a good example of his emphasis on etymological questions. He devotes an entire section

(pp. 175–194) to discussing the name of Loki and its bearing on the interpretation of the myths in which this figure appears. Among the different explanations of the name, Liberman opts for the connection of Loki with the verb *lúka* 'close, bolt' and the beginning of "Loki's career" was as a chtonian deity and he may have been a personified enclosure or lock. Subsequently, Loki developed into the ruler of the underworld, into Útgarðaloki. The next step was his elevation to Ásgarðr and brotherhood with Óðinn but Liberman points out that the circumstances for this promotion are obscure. In the end, Loki found himself enclosed in a cave awaiting the Ragnarök. Etymology and mythic performance thus come together again.

The myth of Baldr's death has attracted much scholarly interest and a wide range of diverging interpretations is at our disposal. The meaning of the myth is not obvious and Liberman seeks to follow up the loose ends that are left in the account of Snorri in *Gylfaginning* 22 and 49 (Ch. 7, "Darkness engulfs Baldr"). For that purpose, Liberman's historical perspective seems to be the best approach. Details in the myth point to earlier more consistent versions. The reconstruction offered by Liberman is worthwhile to repeat here, because—like the one of Loki—it represents the way he analyses Old Norse myths in general. Baldr, 'the shining one,' was originally a sky god with various functions and his counterpart Hǫðr, a deity of the dark underworld, which explains his blindness. A plant—possibly the reed—was sacred to Baldr. The two deities wooed the same woman, Nanna. She preferred Baldr and Hǫðr, seeking revenge, wanted to injure Baldr. Since the sky god was invulnerable to all weapons and objects except the sacred reed, Hǫðr visited Frigg, the mother of Baldr, who was the only one to know where the reed grew. By cunning and deceit, he made her reveal the location of the plant. Hǫðr travelled all the world over and managed to find the reed and pierced Baldr with it. Frigg lamented her son and made an attempt to get him back from the realm of the dead. She failed and Baldr was stuck in the underworld "where he continued to protect crops and other plants." According to Liberman the story of Baldr represents a version of a widespread myth of a dying god.

What, then, was the role of the famous mistletoe? Here Liberman has a clear answer. The Old Norse *mistilteinn* is a calque on Old English *misteltān*. Legends about this plant reached Scandinavia from England and the word's connotation with the element *-mistr*, '-fog' (in *þokumistr*), made it appear as a suitable weapon in the hands of Hǫðr. The reed (or the thistle) of the original story was replaced by a plant which neither the poet of Vǫluspá nor Snorri had ever seen. The alleged ignorance of the mistletoe in Iceland and Norway seems less probable in view of the

fact that the plant is not uncommon around the central part of the Oslo fjord, in the Viking Age a culturally important area; it is also found in the Mälar region (see map 612 in Hultén 1950).

In treating the Germanic verb **sendan* as a ritual term (Ch. 10), Liberman suggests that it acquired the special meaning 'to make a (human) sacrifice,' attested in Hávamál 144 and in Beowulf 600. Admittedly, the occurrence in Hávamál is a link in a string of terms that point to a sacrificial context but it is not at all evident that human victims are the object of *senda*. In support of his interpretation the author refers to a stanza in Atlakviða (36/38) and to the above-mentioned line in Beowulf where *senda/sendan* is assumed to be used in the sense of 'to feast on corpses.' Both passages are much discussed, however, and many attempts have been made to explain the meaning of *senda/sendan* in the lines referred to. Liberman's explanation is well argued and appears equally possible as the one that sticks to the meaning 'dispatch' (in different ways).

Returning to Hávamál, I agree with Liberman on the ritual meaning of *senda* but the verb can still be interpreted within the semantic field of its early attestations. In the Gothic Bible, *sandjan* and its prefixed forms translate different Greek verbs signifying 'send, dispatch.' This is no doubt the original meaning, which Liberman also is aware of. Transposed to the ritual sphere *senda* in Hávamál 144 refers, in my opinion, to a moment in the ritual process when the sacrificial material is "sent" to the deity; that is, being transferred into the divine sphere by means of a particular gesture or formula.

The god Lytir has attracted considerable scholarly interest despite the fact that he is mentioned only once in the entire Old Norse literature. A late, short story, the Hauks þáttr hábrókar, reports that Eiríkr, king of the Svear, worshipped "that god who is called Lytir." The deity used to manifest himself from a wagon, which should be brought to the cult place and stand there during night. In the morning the god would appear and be ready for consultation. In 1910, Läffler drew attention to some place-names in eastern Sweden which he connected with the god Lytir and this enhanced further discussion. Liberman's solution of the problem takes up the interpretation line from Strömbäck (1928), Schröder (1938) and de Vries (1956–1957) who consider Lytir to be another name of the god Freyr. The identification with Freyr gives the clue for understanding what is meant by Lytir or Litir; the latter was the god's real name according to Liberman. In rejecting Elmevik's proposal that *Lytir* (or *lytir*) derives from a **Hlytir* where *hlyt-* refers to *hlaut*, 'lot,' Liberman turns instead to the account of the creation of humankind found in Vǫluspá stanzas 17–18. Here we learn that Ask and

Embla were without *litir góðir* but that the god Lóðurr gave them precisely that. The expression *litir góðir* is usually interpreted as 'good colours,' i.e. a good appearance. Liberman finds the mention of 'a good appearance' somewhat odd in the context. What the newly created man and woman better needed was the ability for procreation and Liberman consequently suggests that *litir góðir* means 'good genitals.' The reference to Hárbarsljóð 50 where the word *litir* also occurs is intricate since the expression *fara litum* is open to different interpretations and none appears immediately convincing. According to Liberman, the word *litir* seems to designate 'oars' but the step he takes from oar(s) to penis is not self-evident. The allusion to stanza 48 where Sif is said to have a lover at home when Þórr is absent gives the background for interpreting the latter part of stanza 50; in Liberman's version:"you would have been right in it if you had worked with your oar(s), (as Sif's lover is now doing)." Liberman concludes that his interpretation of Lytir or Litir as the god "having a penis" would have been a perfect cognomen for Freyr: "The phallic statue in Uppsala made it clear to anyone who cared to look at it which part of the god's anatomy was supposed to be worshiped" (p. 268).

Liberman's essay on the god Lytir and the expression *litir góðir* in Vǫluspá 18 conveys innovative thought but the parallel passages he builds his argument upon are themselves subject to widely divergent interpretations. This detracts from the value of his conclusions. In discussing Elmevik's contribution on Lytir Liberman refers to an article of 1966 but he should have used Elmevik's revised version from 1990.

Interesting, though not primarily concerned with mythology, are Liberman's contributions to the study of the runes (Ch. 17, "The emergence of the runes") and the term *edda* (Ch. 19, "The origin of the name Edda"). In the former case, Liberman points to the origin of the Latin term *elementum* as a parallel to the semantic history of the word for 'rune.' The plural *rúnar* was applied to the runic alphabet and meant 'an ordered sequence of letters' and stands at the end of the semantic development from **runo*, 'consultation,' to *rūnō*, 'letter' (p. 364). As to Edda denoting the compilation of Snorri Sturluson, Liberman suggests that *edda* is a "pet name" of "æðr, pronounced æ:ðr, f., eider duck" that follows a fashion of giving bird names to Icelandic manuscripts. The most famous example is the law codex *Grágás*, 'grey goose' (p. 405). In my view Liberman's proposal is the best so far presented.

In modern research a tendency appears to disregard what was written by the nineteenth century scholars on Germanic religion. Liberman is an exception, however, and this adds to the book's merits.

Liberman puts much emphasis on etymology and historical recon-

struction throughout his book. His interpretations of Scandinavian mythology usually have their starting point in etymological analyses that often lead to new and surprising results. He is much preoccupied with origins and tries to follow the evolution of the myths from distant times up to the point when they were written down in the manuscripts of the Poetic Edda and the Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson. Liberman's interpretations are sometimes provocative but in general consistently argued. Reading his texts is always stimulating and we meet with an independent thinker well versed in the Germanic and Old Norse sources.

REFERENCES

Elmevik, L. (1990). "Aschw. *Lytis* in Ortsnamen. Ein kultisches Element oder ein profanes? " in *Old Norse and Finnish Religions and Cultic Place Names*, ed. T. Ahlbäck, Turku: Almqvist & Wiksell, pp. 490–507.

Hultén, E. (1950). *Atlas* över *växternas utbredning i Norden* ['Atlas of the distribution of vascular plants in north-western Europe'], Stockholm: Esselte AB.

Läffler, L.Fr. (1910). "En hittills förbisedd fornsvensk gud" ['A hitherto unnoticed Old Swedish god'], *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, 26, p. 96.

Schröder, F.R. (1938). "Der Ursprung der Hamletsage," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, 26, pp. 81–108.

Strömbäck, D. (1928). "Lytir – en fornsvensk gud?" ['Lytir—an Old Swedish god?'], *Festskrift til Finnur Jónsson*, Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, pp. 283–293.

de Vries, J. (1956–1957). *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* 1–2, Berlin: W. de Gruyter.

Anders Hultgård
anders.hultgard@teol.uu.se

Bertil Marklund, *Det milsvida skogsfolket. Skogssamernas samhälle i omvandling 1650–1800* (Skrifter från Centrum för samiska studier 23; Kulturens frontlinjer 58), Umeå: Umeå University 2015, ISBN 978-91-7601-235-2, 448 pp.

If we had been able to visit the northern part of Fennoscandia in 1650, we would have met Forest Sami in a vast area from the Kemi region in the east, in present-day Finland, to the forest area that surrounds the Ångermanland River and its tributaries in the south. In Sweden, their land stretched from the mountains in the west to the cultivated coastal area in the east. The Forest Sami were the only inhabitants of this boundless forest, which was seasonally also used by the peasants by the Bothnian Gulf for lake fishing and by the Mountain Sami for winter pasture. This map, however, changed in the twentieth century as a result of state politics; the Forest Sami were supposed to become assimilated peasants. Simultaneously, the culture of the nomads in the mountains was supported. The core area of the Forest Sami of today is the Malå and Arvidsjaur municipalities.

The Forest Sami culture in Arvidsjaur, Pite *lappmark* (the Sami region "around" the Pite River) in present-day Sweden stands out as a unique research object. Current knowledge about the Forest Sami culture of Arvidsjaur is primarily the result of research done by Israel Ruong (1944 and 1945), Ernst Manker (1968) and (indirectly) by Erik Bylund (1956) who investigated the settler colonization in this Sami area. Having been a field of human geographical (Ruong, Bylund), ethnographical (Manker) or archaeological scholarship (Aronsson 1991; Hedman 2003; Karlsson 2006), the Forest Sami of Arvidsjaur are now being investigated by a historian.

Bertil Marklund has formulated four main problems: a) How to describe the Forest Sami transition from an economy of hunting and fishing and the herding of a few reindeer into Forest Sami nomadism?; b) What was the significance of the economic pressure from the Mountain Sami in the west and settlers from the coast in the east?; c) What was the significance of the pressure from the Swedish state in this Forest Sami area?; d) What was the significance of the Forest Sami's own ability to achieve a sustainable economy? Marklund has tried to understand and describe individuals faced with different potential choices, thereby illuminating a classical topic in North Scandinavian culture history: the rise of the Sami reindeer herding culture.

The area of investigation is primarily the historic Arvidsjaur *siida* and adjacent Forest Sami areas in the Ume and Lule *lappmark*s (i.e.

Sami areas); secondly the adjacent Mountain Sami and peasants of the coastal areas to the east; thirdly the region as a whole with a focus on trade, colonization, moving patterns and the state's exercise of power. Marklund compares Arvidsjaur with the neighboring Forest Sami areas to the south and to the north. He took his point of departure in a body of comparatively well preserved written records and followed individual life histories, crosschecked whenever possible.

The book is in Swedish. The title in English is 'The boundless forest´s people. The Forest Sami society in transformation 1650–1800.' It is composed of five previously published articles and a synthesis—altogether 448 pages. The titles of the different articles, translated into English, are: 1. 'From poor Sami to Sami pauper. Poverty and emigration from the Sami areas of Pite and Ume from 1650–1760 in the light of the Sami Ordinance of 1748;' 2. 'The Sami taxation area Vourbejaur 1650–1800. A pilot study;' 3. 'Some theoretical aspects in the study of Forest Sami tax lands;' 4. 'Some economic and social topics related to the Forest Sami 1650–1800;' 5. 'The Forest Sami's economic space.' Articles 1–3 have separate abstracts or summaries in English. The book provides a very short summary and abstract in English and one in the Ume Sami language spoken in Arvidsjaur.

Marklund faced three challenges: 1) Establishing the significance of the (neo-)evolutionistic theory of stages, i.e. that nomadic reindeer breeding "emerged" from "semi-nomadism" with few reindeer, in its turn a "development" of catching and hunting economies; 2) Getting a grip on the "intrinsic life" of the Forest Sami societies. How did the social and economic strategies, on their own, result in Forest Sami reindeer nomadism? Why have the Arvidsjaur Sami escaped assimilation and cultural dissolution?; 3) Combining the results of challenges 1 and 2 with the partial studies, i.e. the articles.

Ever since the middle of the sixteenth century, the Arvidsjaur Sami paid tax to the Swedish king in a system based on tax rolls, introduced at the coast of the Bothnian Gulf in the fourteenth century (Wallerström 1995: 47–51; Tegengren 2015: 230–232). At the very beginning of the 1600s, the state's presence expanded. A church- and marketplace was founded in Arvidsjaur close to a chapel of unknown age. The king took initiatives in 1673 and 1695 aimed at a colonization of Lapland which resulted in 31 settlements in 1800 (in Arvidsjaur) as compared to only one in 1757. These figures are interesting when compared to the nearby Uhmeåbyn in the south, already void of Forest Sami due to colonization, partly by Sami settler families.

This book is an analysis of a Forest Sami area interacting with "the outside." The Sami were not passive "recipients" or "victims" of a de-

velopment. Some thirty tax lands, about 15 times 15 kilometers in size sustaining one or two families, was a basic unit of analysis in Marklund's study, as well as individual life stories deriving from written sources.

The thread goes from the written records elucidating the economic change from 1650–1800. With Article I, which deals with the officials' repression against poor Arvidsjaur Sami coming to the coastal settlement to look for jobs or just to beg, and the internal differences regarding the economic potency of tax lands appear. In this way, Marklund demonstrates the significance of the tax land as an analytic unit. In Article II, Marklund shows that the Mountain Sami hardly contested access to reindeer pasture. Rather, they served as models for a reindeer-based economy. In Article III, some theoretical aspects are discussed for the subsequent analysis of the sources: issues regarding different forms of subsistence among the Forest Sami, social complexity and economic structures among settlers and Mountain Sami. Consequently, in Article IV he discusses demographic development, patterns of marriage and conflicts involving resources. In Article V, the variables are put together based on Elinor Ostrom's (1990) generalizing theories about commons, a tool for identification of Sami forms of collective action.

What, then, are the answers to questions a), b) and c)? And how about d)?

Question a): In the period 1650–1800, the Forest Sami of Arvidsjaur went from a subsistence economy with hunting and fishing to an economy where tending to their reindeer flock was the most important thing. However, they did not walk in step in this process. The young Forest Sami took the lead in the development and the transition can be dated to the latter half of the eighteenth century, that is, somewhat later than that of their Mountain Sami neighbours. The nature-given opportunities of the tax lands were a supporting factor but did not determine economic change. Tax lands with forest reindeer breeding tended to have larger human populations, indicating that one driving force was a desire for subsistence. The possibilities of reindeer pasture closer to the coast became more and more important as the tax land pastures vanished.

As for question b) regarding the pressure from Mountain Sami and settlers in the Forest Sami areas, Marklund concludes that the presence of Mountain Sami was insignificant. While the colonists that settled in the tax lands could certainly be regarded a serious threat to their subsistence, they posed no such threat in the period of investigation, as they were quite few.

How about the outside pressure from the state, i.e. question c)? The role of the state could, *a priori*, be regarded as insignificant as the Sami

lived on the tax lands. However, the state had the right to impose taxes and lay down guiding principles, rules and duties. In that way, the state had an impact on the Forest Sami economic development from 1650–1800. But, unknown up to now, is that their customers in their turn had orders from manufacturers of chamois leather used to produce underwear for the Swedish Army.

How did Marklund answer question d)? Were the Sami victims of a system imposed by the authorities or were they independent actors in an era of change, able to create economically sustainable strategies of their own? The state made the Arvidsjaur Sami an organizational, geographical unit at the beginning of the 1600s. A tax reform in 1695 required a geographical definition. In 1748, the state tried to limit the presence of poor Sami begging in the coastal settlements. In 1749, the livelihood of Sami and settlers was defined by an ordinance. In 1752, the so-called *lappmark* border was set, excluding peasants from fishing in the lakes, a resource far away from their settlements. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, legal disputes over land and water were handled by the County Governor, after having been brought before the Sami dominated local district court—an administrative reform paving the way for a state dominance (ownership) over these resources.

Marklund describes how the Forest Sami living on their tax lands cooperated in developing a sustainable economy of their own. They had the instruments needed to be able to control matters about re-allocation of the tax lands, a prerequisite for the emerging nomadic livelihood. Although the individual families had different, unique modes of earning their living, they acted collectively. After 1800, when responsibility for matters relating to land use was transferred to the county administrative board, their possibilities for independent collective action faded.

At this point, the reviewer's task is nearing the end. Two topics remain to be considered: the quality of Marklund's thesis and the development of the emerging reindeer nomadism.

Stadium theories are associated with (neo-)evolutionary points of departure. They tend to depict humans as tragic victims of "development." The stages from "the simple" to "the complex" are difficult to connect with empirical data. Stadium theories also tend to view "turn overs" of indigenous peoples as being coherent in time and space, irreversible, forceful, deterministic and rapid. Stadium theories have their merits, Marklund says, but they do not *explain* what happened.

Marklund's data has been combined with Ostrom's (1990) general theory about commons, "common pool resources," and with social anthropologist Tim Ingold's (1980) version of stadium theory based on uses

of the reindeer, a scheme consisting of three stages: hunting—pastoralism—ranching, each with specific modes of production and (re)distribution of the animal. The final stage is capitalistic, a production for the market, but the hunters share the proceeds. In the pastoralist stage, the animals have individual owners. Ingold's theory is preferred to the traditional evolutionary scheme. According to Marklund,

> the concept of semi-nomadism is ambiguous: a time period, a stadium, a rapid subsistence displacement from a hunting society to a nomadic one—a not really distinct perspective of research. (p. 28)

Marklund made use of his investigation of individuals. He found that it was possible to combine Ostrom's theory about commons with Ingold's theory on stages in the uses of one and the same animal, the reindeer, and was able to demonstrate how the Forest Sami society functioned in economic and social respects and how people interacted strategically.

Marklund notes that the period 1650–1700 hardly saw any change in the use of the reindeer of the kind that occurred in the 1700s, especially after 1750. He identifies some nomadic specialists in the 1720s. The tax land structure was re-allocated to fit the pastoral patterns of movement. The so-called *ungsprintar*, young people without tax lands were the "effective modernists," and the semi-nomads, with just a few reindeer and making their living on hunting, fishing and handicraft, were the "traditionalists." Following a crisis in the early half of the eighteenth century, some pastoralists "returned" to semi-nomadism and fishing as their dominant livelihood. Some individuals built up small herds in periods when there was a demand for reindeer hides.

It should be noted that the scale of Forest Sami nomadism was different from that of the Mountain Sami. Heard sizes were different. Marklund quotes two sources from 1770–1799 indicating that the individuals in question had 40 and 100 reindeer, respectively. These numbers are far below the subsistence level for Mountain Sami reindeer nomads, which was 200 animals (Lundmark 1982: 155). Forest Sami nomadism was one component in a combination of economies, including handicraft.

The thesis' main strength is its focus on that topic, by necessity excluding outlooks on similar research themes. The book is complex—four different threads woven together in the syntheses which are not always easy to follow. The summaries are much too short. As for style, it is sometimes a bit too colloquial. These comments, however, are merely an elderly man's somewhat unfair grumblings about a thesis with sparkling highlights: the history of a Sami culture overlooked in North Scandi-

navian scholarship, more or less hidden in the shadow of the "exotic" Mountain Sami and the history of the Lapland settler colonization. Details are given about economic change and Marklund provides answers to the question "Who did what?" in the emergence of local level Forest Sami nomadism, giving substance to speculations about evolutionary stages. By the proposed connection between army uniforms and the market for reindeer hides, he has identified a very interesting issue for future research.

This book is the fruit of decades of research on a hobby basis, speeded up after the author's retirement. At the beginning of the book, Bertil Marklund tells his readers that he wanted to write about the Arvidsjaur Forest Sami because they had been oversimplified or overlooked in previous research. He kept his promise—it's done!

REFERENCES

Aronsson, K.-Å. (1991). *Forest Reindeer Herding, AD 0–1800* (Archeology and Environment 10), Umeå: Department of Archaeology, Umeå University.

Bylund, E. (1956). *Koloniseringen av Pite lappmark t.o.m år 1867* ['The colonization of the Pite Sami area up to AD 1867'] (Geographica 30), Uppsala: Uppsala University.

Hedman, S.-D. (2003). *Boplatser och offerplatser. Ekonomisk strategi och boplatsmönster bland skogssamer 700–1600 AD* ['Settlements and Sacrificial Sites. Economic strategy and settlement pattern among The Forest Sami 700–1600 AD'] (Studia Archaeologica Universitatis Umensis 17), Umeå: Department of Archaeology & Sami Studies, Umeå University.

Ingold, T. (1980). *Hunters, Pastoralists and Ranchers* (Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 28), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Karlsson, N. (2006). *Bosättning och resursutnyttjande. Miljöarkeologiska studier av boplatser med härdar från perioden 600–1900 e.Kr. inom skogssamiskt område* ['Settlement and subsistance. Environmental archaeological studies of dwelling sites and hearths from the period 600–1900 in Forest Sami Areas'] (Studia Archaeologica Universitatis Umensis 21), Umeå: Department of Archaeology & Sami Studies, Umeå University.

Lundmark, L. (1982). *Uppbörd, utarmning, utveckling. Det samiska fångstsamhällets övergång till rennomadism i Lule lappmark* ['Levy, impoverishing, development. The transition of the Sami hunting society into nomadism in the Lule lappmark'] (Arkiv avhandlingsserie 14), Lund: Arkiv för studier i arbetarrörelsens historia.

Manker, E. (1968). *Skogslapparna i Sverige. Fältanteckningar* ['The Forest Lapps in Sweden. Fieldnotes'] (Acta Lapponica 18), Stockholm: The Nordic Museum.

Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the Commons*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ruong, I. (1944). "Något om den gamla skogsrenskötseln i Arvidsjaur socken" ['Notes on the old forest reindeer management in the parish of Arvidsjaur'], in *Geografiska studier tillägnade John Frödin den 16 april 1944* (Geographica 15), eds. G. Eneqvist & F. Hjulström, Uppsala: Uppsala University, pp. 92–101.

Ruong, I. (1945). "Studier i lapsk kultur i Pite lappmark" ['Studies concerning Lapp culture in Pite lapmark'], *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv*, 1943–1944, pp. 124–194.

Tegengren, G. (2015). *Sverige och Nordlanden. Förvaltning och nordlig expansion 1250–1550* ['Sweden and the Northern Provinces. Central and provincial governance, administration and territorial expansion in the north 1250–1550'] (Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundets handlingar 72), Umeå: The Royal Skyttean Society.

Wallerström, T. (1995). *Norrbotten, Sverige och medeltiden. Problem kring makt och bosättning i en europeisk periferi* ['Norrbotten, Sweden and the Middle Ages. Studies concerning power and settlement on a European periphery'] (Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 15:1), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Thomas Wallerström
Department of Historical Studies
Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Trondheim, Norway
thomas.wallerstrom@ntnu.no

Mats-Olov Olsson (editor-in-chief), Fredrick Backman, Alexey Golubev, Björn Nilsson & Lars Ohlsson (co-editors), Lars Elenius (assistant and graphics editor), *Encyclopedia of the Barents Region*, Oslo: Pax Forlag 2016, ISBN 978-82-530-387-5, Vol. 1 (A–M), 559 pp.; Vol 2 (N–Y), 593 pp.

The Barents Region is the name given to a large geographical area along the western Arctic coastal region comprising the north-eastern territories of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the European parts of the Russian Federation. Politically it is a region of collaboration that transcends national borders; this development follows from the so-called Kirkenes Declaration signed in 1993 by the Foreign Ministers of the above-named countries. It is a tangible product of the end of the Cold War Era.

A major figure who helped to lay the conceptual groundwork for the new turn of events that made possible the creation of the Barents Region as a region of collaborative activities in the domains of economic, scientific, social and cultural endeavours was the former President of the Soviet Union, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, who together with onetime Minister of Foreign Affairs in Norway, Thorvald Stoltenberg, has written and signed the foreword to this immense encyclopedia packed with facts, analyses, comprehensive overviews and extensive reference materials, as well as many illustrations and tables relating to the region's diverse past history and its more recent post-Cold War development.

The encyclopedia in itself is also a fine example of what has been accomplished in the collaborative spirit engendered in the just-cited intergovernmental agreement made twenty-four years ago. From its inception to final publication, the compilation of the valuable reference-work—divided into two volumes comprising some 1,150 pages—took ten years of work, involving 315 specialists, who, individually or jointly, produced 417 articles in all. Both volumes begin with a thematic overview list of entries that cluster articles under altogether thirteen broad topic categories. Specific topics appear in alphabetical order but are interconnected through a nice network of cross-references; after the text of each topic there is a short list of keywords pointing to related topics, and additionally a list of references to specialist literature under the rubric "Suggested Reading." Depending on the subject, the suggested reading will take the reader to relevant articles and books in English and/or Norwegian, Russian, Sami, Swedish.

The encyclopedia project began in December 2006, conceived as organizing the task of writing a scientifically based work in parallel to a then already ongoing production of a comprehensive history text enti-

tled *The Barents Region. A Transnational History of Subarctic Northern Europe* (Elenius *et al*. [eds.] 2015). This latter book yielded a research-based history of the Barents Region from 800–2010, a project started already in 2001 when collaboration with colleagues in Russia in a research network across four countries was something quite new. The *Transnational History* is thus an earlier companion volume that the interested reader may also want to consult. The leader of both projects has been Professor Lars Elenius who has a double academic affiliation, on the one hand the Department of Business Administration, Technology and Social Sciences, Luleå University of Technology, and on the other the Department of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies, Umeå University, Sweden.

In a preface to the encyclopedia, Elenius situates and provides an interesting explanation of the background and organization of the vast collaborative academic encyclopedia project and reminds us that there has until now been a lack of common written history across national borders in the northern parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia, and that there has been a general deficit of knowledge regarding research and higher education that is actually being pursued in the humanities and social sciences in the northern region of each country. In the wake of the groundwork laid by the *Transnational History* volume and the research network set up and extended in connection with that project, the new encyclopedia's list of contributors reads like a "Who's Who?" in its particular branch of the humanities and social sciences within the compass of "Northern Studies."

To give a feel of the general scope and thrust of the contents of the two volumes of the encyclopedia, here is a small selection of the thematic categories. They range from a minimum of a handful to a dozen topic areas in the categories architecture, language, legal issues and religion, up to maximum of some 120 items in the case of the category "Places" (including cities, sub-regions, major islands, bays, seas and more). Entries taking up historical personages like northern and polar explorers and their major expeditions, scientists, politicians, indigenous leaders and activists, cultural personalities etc. amount to about 60. Other thematic categories are culture, art, media, demography and ethnography, economy, education and science, environment, history, politics. This then, is the framework that has guided the overall compilation within which individual entries run alphabetically. An index (38 pages) functions as a handy guide for finding information on a particular historical or political event, a given issue, topic, person, region or ethnic group; one can furthermore read up on indigenous activists, some feminists in the past,

NGOs (like the environmentalist organization Bellona, or the lesser known Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East—RAIPON) and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) like the Arctic Council, or the International Arctic Science Committee (IASC); there is also plenty of demographic information about major regions, as well as a detailing of important concepts like cultural heritage, Common Heritage of Mankind (as a set of ethically based principles for the exploration and sharing of the world's natural resources), Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and UNCLOS (Law of the Sea), etc.

In the index, the paging of topical entries is highlighted in bold letters to distinguish these from the maze of other information. So if you, for example, want to know something about Russian Arctic explorers, you can readily find an entry on this, and likewise for Russian-Norwegian economic relations 1905–1940, or Russian submarines, or the Pomor Museum. While "the Red Army" does not have an entry in its own right, the index will take you to many sections in which this topic is mentioned in one way or another, for example its role in the "Russian Civil War of 1918–1922."

One can also easily learn about research and educational activities with a northern or polar slant (pertinent to the Barents region) connected with one or another of the more than fifty universities or specialist centers/institutes covered. Anyone interested in various aspects of energy-use, including coal-driven, hydro-electric, nuclear and alternative energy, as well as natural resources more generally, will quickly gain a good picture of the past and present by tracing a chain of index words under these rubrics. In the same way, if you follow pages cited in multiple sub-references under, for example, the words environmentalism, fishing, forestry, hunting, infrastructures, language(s), migration, military history, mineral resources, mining, railway(s), tourism, trade, transportation, tundra, World War I and World War II, this will open a mine of facts, figures and brief overviews. In some cases a key word like "Saami" leads to a trail of successively linked topics, from the "Saami and religion" over "Saami education," "Saami film," "Saami languages," "Saami media," "Saami migration," "Saami musical cultures and political history," "Saami research," "Saami rights," to shamanism, tourism and traditional ways of life.

The foregoing are only a few examples of how one can use the encyclopedia in order to quickly find well-researched information on a given topic or a set of mutually related topics. A brief but substantial entry on the "Barents Euro Arctic Region" with an organogram and a map, furthermore provides some insight into the context wherein the encyclopedia project itself was hatched. Interesting perspectives that may be

entirely new to the inquisitive reader also emerge. After a general perspective on "Colonialism," we find an entry by a Russian scholar on the little known history of colonization of the Russian North-West. Some readers might fasten on to articles like the one on traditional "cuisine" or "food and drink" specific to the Barents region, others might go directly to the one on oil and gas extraction in the Barents region, or the fascinating one on "Place names." Furthermore, the entry entitled "Maps of the Barents Region" provides a valuable overview of the history of different cartographic traditions.

An entry on "Mineral Resources and Mining" discusses the geology of the Barents Region and has a long list of mines currently operating in the four countries involved. A text on "Monasteries in the Russian North" takes us over to religious geographies, providing a map, discussion and images of significant Christian Orthodox monasteries and their roles over historical time. Under "Minorities and Minority-Related Issues," we are introduced to the demographics of aboriginal minority peoples (e.g., Komi, Nenets, Sami), as well as linguistic minorities like Finns in Sweden, Kvens in Norway or Swedes in Finland. A series of three comprehensive entries related to musical traditions, their social contexts, and various types of musical festivals in the Barents Region conclude the first volume of the encyclopedia. The second volume concludes with two long retrospective articles on World War I and World War II in the Barents Region. The very last entry is brief, dealing with the post-war achievements of an eminent Russian geologist long associated with the Komi Science Centre.

Traditionally, the study of geographical regions has entailed comparisons between areas in different national domains. The Barents Region defined as a co-operative framework entails a mix of three different development approaches (decentralisation, regionalism and so-called new regionalism) involving both top-down strategies and action plans from a center on the one hand, and bottom up initiatives among local stakeholders on the other. The complex dynamics of these processes have prompted geographers and other analysts to introduce new concepts, as for example explained in an entry under the rubric "Regionalization, Regionalism, and New Regionalism," where such concepts are applied and found to fit the Barents Region. In the *Encyclopedia* as a whole, it is natural that the primary focus is descriptive, but since the general take on the Barents Region is intended to be multi- and interdisciplinary as well as integrative, I would have liked to have seen more entries like the one just cited that go well beyond description to an incisive discussion of several conceptual challenges implicated in the encyclopedia project as a whole.

The concepts of sustainability and sustainable development are touched upon in a number of entries but are not analytically elaborated as contested terms in any of them. This is a pity, as they seem to be central to the vision of the Barents Region as a prospering entity. In some of the literature, one can find critical voices that point out how the same contradiction between ideas of sustainability and neoliberal governance found in other contexts is also inherent here. In fact, some authors speak of a paradox.

Addressing the question of the strengths and weaknesses of subregional institutions on Arctic affairs, Tennberg *et al*. (2014: 68), for example, discuss what happens when ideas of sustainability and neoliberal governance meet in community development:

> The situation in the Barents Region from the perspective of local communities is paradoxical in many ways. While the popular image of the region is one of rich resources, with many opportunities for wealth and development, the local perspective is dominated by views emphasising a lack of resources and services and people and livelihoods that are struggling to benefit from regional development (see Duhaime and Caron 2008; Glomsrød *et al.* 2008). From the local perspective, the Barents Region seems poorer rather than richer: there are not enough resources to cover expenses related to housing, environmental protection, social services and innovation and culture, among many other things. There is constant competition between peoples, livelihoods and resources, manifested in local conflicts between cultures, groups and various related needs. One explanation for the "poverty" of the Barents Region lies in neoliberal policies, with their national variations, which make natural resources accessible to international actors, add local responsibilities and extend competition to all social relations.

While the two governmentalities often conflict, they sometimes also complement one another, posing a paradox that raises concerns over the social aspect of sustainable development in particular.

Finally, the military dimension also deserves more attention, since it permeates life conditions and often also policy considerations. I note that immediately after the entries in each volume there is a specific "list of maps with sources" directly related to major topics included in that particular volume. One such map illustrates the topic "Militarization of the Russian Arctic." The discerning reader will note that unfortunately there is no comparable map of current militarization of northern countries under the auspices of the NATO command. Surprisingly, NATO does not even appear as an entry in the encyclopedia's index. Nevertheless, a discussion in a brief entry entitled "Geopolitics, Security, and

Globalization" does touch on the issue and notes how NATO-financed radar stations were–and still are–situated in northern Norway as far east as Vardø, and how the entire circumpolar North still continues to host important military structures, including nuclear weapons systems, air forces with (nuclear) bombers and Command, Control, Communication and Intelligence (C3I) systems with radar, and Norway still allows testing of new weapons, arms systems and military applications, and military training and exercises and intelligence work. Mention is also made of how both strategic and so-called attack nuclear submarines of the US Navy patrol the Barents Sea close to Russian naval bases. The encyclopedia would have benefited greatly by inclusion of further entries relating to what bearing the present day geopolitical scene (and NATO's role in it) has on the Barents Region and its governance.

In this connection, two analysts (Bailes & Ólafsson 2017: 62) writing a chapter in another recent book remind us:

> the Russian side is currently more sensitive than ever to European/Western "ganging up," and it remains to be seen whether the Northern Dimension in particular can avoid lasting damage from some EU members' insistence on extending sanctions to the financing of its collectively sponsored projects. The de-politicization and humble profile that allow sub-regional cooperation to make its most characteristic contributions may, it seems, be among the hardest characteristics for EU politicians to absorb and emulate. That could raise questions in some minds about how the EU would use any stronger status it may eventually gain in the Arctic Council. The answer matters, because a peaceful Arctic is ultimately in the interest of all Europeans.

In conclusion, the encyclopedia is strong on historical, social, cultural and educational dimensions of developments, as well as aspects related to ethnicity, demographics and humanities in the Barents Region. A number of scientific aspects of historical interest are taken up. Economic, military and political dimensions connected to the past are well covered, but as I have indicated, the focus on deep-running trends in the current dynamics behind these same dimensions tends to be weaker. This, however, does not detract from the fact that the two volumes under review here constitute a remarkable achievement and a great source for both students and scholars, and broader publics interested in an important region of a rapidly changing world in the High North. Academic and better-stocked public libraries are recommended to obtain copies of these two finely illustrated and readable volumes; they definitely help fill a sizable gap in our ability to orient ourselves in that world.

REFERENCES

Bailes, J.K. & Ólafsson, K. Þ. (2017). "The EU crossing Arctic frontiers. The Barents Euro Arctic Council, northern dimension, and EU-West nordic relations," in *The European Union and the Arctic*, eds. N. Liu, E.A. Kirk & T. Henriksen, Leiden & Boston: Brill Nijhoff, pp. 40–62.

Duhaime, G. & Caron, A. (2008). "Economic and social conditions in the Arctic," in *The Economy of the North* 2008 (Statistics Norway 2008), eds. S. Glomsrød & I. Aslaksen, pp. 11–23; www.ssb.no/a/english/publikasjoner/pdf/sa112_en/kap2.pdf; access date 27 December 2017.

Elenius, L., Tjelmeland, H., Lähteenmäki, M. & Golubev, A. (eds.) (2015). *The Barents Region. A Transnational History of Subarctic Northern Europe*, Oslo: Pax Forlag.

Glomsrød, S., Mäenpää, I., Lindholt, L., McDonald, H. & Goldsmith, S. (2008). "Arctic economies within Arctic nations," in *The Economy of the North* 2008 (Statistic Norway 2008), eds. S. Glomsrød & I. Aslaksen, pp. 37–68; www.ssb.no/a/english/publikasjoner/pdf/sa112_en/kap4.pdf; access date 27 December 2017.

Tennberg, M. *et al*. (2014). "Neoliberal governance, sustainable development and local communities in the Barents Region," *BARENTS STUDIES. Peoples, Economies and Politics*, 1:1, pp. 41–73.

Aant Elzinga
Department of Philosophy, Linguistics and Theory of Science
University of Gothenburg
Sweden
aant.elzinga@theorysc.gu.se

Harald Thuen, *Den norske skolen. Utdanningssystemets historie*, Oslo: Abstrakt forlag 2017, ISBN 978-82-7935-389-8, 283 p.

All Nordic educational systems have undergone great changes with regard to their governance. Major changes in education have always been controversial and Norway is no exception. In light of these changes, it is of utmost interest to look back and see how organised education started and how it has developed until today. The book under review, *Den norske skolen. Utdanningssystemets historie* ['The Norwegian school. The history of the educational system'], fits into and contributes to Norwegian education history.

The author of the book is Harald Thuen, who is well known for contributing monographs to Norwegian education history. Thuen is professor of Education at Høgskolen i Innlandet, Norway.

Den norske skolen consists of 283 pages divided into five chapters. Each chapter deals with a specific epoch in Norwegian education history. I will summarise the chapters separately and then discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the book, as well as the potential readership.

Chapter 1. En skole for kirken 1739–1832 ['A school for the church 1739–1832']

Organised education in Norway dates back to medieval times when cathedral schools were instituted for the training of priests in Trondheim, Oslo, Bergen and Hamar. Most Norwegians were illiterate at this time. However, through the Reformation the literacy rate began to increase. In 1536, Lutheranism became the official creed in all of Denmark-Norway, and the following year, a new church law was adopted in Denmark-Norway.[1] This law stated that Latin schools should be introduced for the training of future priests. The law also stated that schooling should be provided for children in cities, and that the parish clerks were responsible for their education. The schooling usually took place on Sundays in connection with mass. Children in the countryside had to wait until 1739 when Norway passed its first education act and the *Allmueskolen* was introduced with a view to providing them with an education.

Central to the education given in Allmueskolen was reading and learning about Christianity and Lutheran virtues, such as obedience, diligence and veracity. Unlike today, all children used the same textbook, *Sandhed til Gudfryktighed. Udi en eenfoldig og efter Muelighed kort, dog tilstrekkelig Forklaring over Sal. Doct. Mort. Luthers Liden Cathechismo* ['Truthfulness to the fear of God. A simple and possibly short, but sufficient explanation of doctor Martin Luther's Small Catechism'], written by Pontoppidan (1737). The teaching was done by parish clerks, who had

no formal teaching qualifications. Children were not allowed to be confirmed unless they had attended school.

It was not until 1848 that the municipalities were obliged to take financial responsibilities for Allmueskolen in the cities. In the cities, it was mostly poor people, such as workers, servants, beggars and soldiers who sent their children to Allmueskolen. The middle class, e.g. merchants, skippers and craftsmen, sent their children to *borgarskolor* or vocationally-oriented schools. In contrast to children in the cities, those in the countryside attended Allmueskolen regardless of their socioeconomic background.

Little by little, the dominance of the Church in education diminished as a result of various reforms and new textbooks.

Chapter 2. En skole for det norske 1832–1884 ['A school for the Norwegian 1832–1884']

The first school statistics were published in 1837. At that time, there were 2,000 teachers in the *allmueskoler* in the countryside and about 100 in the cities. 176,000 children (92%) attended *allmueskoler* in the countryside and about 1% attended private schools. The rest, 7%, did not attend school at all due to either poverty or illness. The proportion was different in the cities, where only 60% of the children attended *allmueskoler*. Children in the cities who did attend school went to school two or three days a week and were thus given more education than children in the countryside (p. 61). Besides learning to read, children also learnt to write and calculate in this period.

In 1848, Allmueskolen took a step towards equality and the foundation was laid for a school for all children regardless of social background. The school was also to be tuition-free and children who were truant from school had to pay a fine.

Only 12 years later, in 1860, there was a new reform that resulted in a further step towards diminishing the influence of the Church. A central element in this reform was that the selection of the curriculum content should be made according to encyclopaedic principles. Previously, there had been a focus on learning the Bible by heart. Now, a greater focus was placed on children gaining "greater clarity of religious concepts" (p. 66). The reform was influenced by neo-humanism, realism and folk enlightenment ideals. A prominent leader was Ole Vig (p. 68).

Vig wanted to develop Allmueskolen. First, he wanted to create a living and popular content so that the pupils would recognise and understand the content and benefit from attending school. Second, Vig had democratic ideals and wanted to develop a school for all Norwegians

where they would feel like brothers and sisters and experience political freedom, freedom of thought, freedom of belief, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of enterprise.

A main challenge for Allmueskolen was the development of a common national identity among children. It was stated explicitly that history education should include not only past but also contemporary history, such as the Constitution (which was adopted in 1814), citizens' duties and law and order. The textbooks were to be the teachers' tools in developing a national identity. A major concern, however, was how to determine what content the textbook should have. There was a significant amount of disagreement on this issue. The point of departure was P.A Jensen's textbook, *Læsebog for Folkeskolen og Folkehjemmet* ['Reader for the elementary school and the welfare state'] (1868).

The Church protested and was furious about the fact that the textbook would not be dominated by a religious content. Moreover, they criticised the fact that the nation, *Fædrelandet* ['The Fatherland'], and the profane, *Verden* ['the World'], were given precedence over the Church in the textbook. Furthermore, they disagreed with and questioned the presence of folk poems and fiction in the book, such as Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson's story "En glad gutt" ['A happy boy']. Bjørnson was one of the leading figures in the national movement that was beginning to emerge. Despite the protests, Jensen's book became popular and within a few years, 250,000 copies had been sold.

It is worth noticing that at this time, there was still only one textbook in use for all children. No consideration was given to the children's varying reading skills or to their interests. Moreover, the children had to pay for the book themselves (p. 71).

During this period, many believed that Norwegians should have a written language of their own which was not based on Danish. For this reason, linguist Ivar Aasen (1813–1896) travelled around the country gathering examples from the various dialects. He used these examples to create a new written language called *Nynorsk* ['New Norwegian'].

People in the countryside spoke New Norwegian on a daily basis. Venstre (the Social Liberal Party) demanded that textbooks in all subjects should be in New Norwegian and that resources should be allocated for the purchase of textbooks. The use of New Norwegian in schools had a symbolic value; it was about solidarity and the development of a school system where pupils could identify themselves as Norwegians (p. 95). Another important symbol was the school building.

During this period, school architecture developed. The "regime" stated that a school building should be as easily recognizable as a church.

Uniform building plans were produced with standardised measurements based on the number of pupils in the school.

Chapter 3. En skole for demokrati 1884–1940 ['A school for democracy 1884–1940']

Education continued to engage the political parties. Democracy and independence from the Church were cornerstones in Venstre's education policy, and through its influence, the *folkeskole* became compulsory in 1889. A decade later, in 1902, a new teacher education act was introduced, which stated that future teachers should have three years of teacher education. This was a turning point in Norwegian education history, as it made teaching more of a profession.

Children started school when they were seven years old, finished when they were about fourteen and were then confirmed in the Church of Norway. However, schooling was not the same for everyone. For example, boys were taught more mathematics than girls, and girls learnt about house cleaning and cooking in order to become good homemakers. However, both boys and girls participated in the subjects of physics and singing, which were introduced during this period.

During this period, too, the nationalist movement continued to influence the school system. Venstre also introduced New Norwegian as the language of instruction, as it was believed that this would make it easier for the countryside to accept *folkeskolen*, which would otherwise stand out as an institution from a foreign town culture. In addition, had New Norwegian not been introduced, the development of a Norwegian countryside culture would have been hampered.

The textbook *Læsebog for folkeskolen* ['Reader for the elementary school'] by Nordahl Rolfsen (1892) was influenced by the nationalist movement. Rolfsen wanted to portray Norway as a cohesive country and, at the same time, demonstrate the diversity of Norwegian culture. Most of this textbook's content was idyllic and illustrated with beautiful scenery but omitted the hard industrial work, urbanisation and emigration. Sweden had the same debate with Anna Maria Roos's (1913) idyllic textbook *Sörgården* ['The south homestead'], illustrating life in the countryside (Kullberg 1992). An important aspect of *Læsebog for folkeskolen* and *Sörgården* was that the child was focus.

During the 1920s, progressive education reached Norway. This resulted in workbooks and more use of teaching materials, such as films and slides. Advocates of this progressive education were opposed to homework as they thought that it hampered the children´s motivation to learn, and for the same reason grades were not given until Year 4.

Although *folkeskolen* was said to be a school for all, this was not entirely true. Thuen draws attention to the fact that there was one exception: children with intellectual disabilities. Schools could refuse to receive children with such disabilities. These children were sent to special schools, as were children with infectious diseases or bad behaviour. Children who were blind, deaf, deaf-mute and intellectually disabled were considered abnormal. According to the Binet-Simon test used in Norway, children with an IQ between 0 and 35 were categorised as "idiots" and those whose IQ was between 35 and 55 as "imbeciles." It was not until 1975 that the special schools were integrated into the regular school system.

Norwegian teachers oppose Quisling and Nasjonal Samling

The 1940s was a hard period for the Norwegian people. As a reader, I really appreciate that Thuen points out how united Norwegian teachers were in their resistance to Vidkun Quisling, founder of the fascist party Nasjonal Samling and Prime Minister of Norway 1942–1945. The teachers' resistance was organised in *Skolefronten*, ['the Educational Front'] and was based on the following four principles:

1. Rejection of compulsory membership of Nasjonal Samling (The Norwegian Nazi Party)
2. Rejection of Nasjonal samling propaganda in schools
3. Rejection of orders from Nazis
4. Rejection of demands for participation in NSUF (Nasjonal samling's youth organisation)

About 1,300 Norwegian teachers were arrested in 1942, about 700 of whom were sent to German *Arbeitsdienst* in Kirkenes. The arrests resulted in a shortage of teachers and an illegal resistance organization was set up. During these dark years, the teachers managed to keep Nazi influence out of the textbooks, and textbooks were only to a limited extent withdrawn or replaced with others (p. 131).

Chapter 4. En skole for likeverd 1945–1982 ['A school for equality 1945–1982']

After 1945, the population grew. There were many discussions about how the educational system should cater for the new generation of Norwegians. Einar Gerhardsson was prime minister and represented the Social Democrats. The 1946 Swedish school commission was a source of inspiration for Norway, and the building of a comprehensive education system began. Thuen repeatedly focusses on the similarities between Norway and Sweden.

Central to the comprehensive school system was the concept of equality, meaning that all children should be provided with an education of equal quality, that is, there should not be any differences between the children of rich parents and those whose parents were poor. Both boys and girls were to be given the same education, no matter where in the country they lived. The educational system had a responsibility to provide financial resources in order to meet the needs of all children in a way ensuring equal opportunities. There was also a focus on equality at the individual level through individualised teaching adapted to pupils' different learning abilities and needs (p. 139).

A key element in the school reform was that the teaching should be based on research (p. 152). The upper secondary school system and teacher education were also reformed. Historically, a main principle in Norwegian education had been that all teachers should be generally competent to teach at all levels of basic schooling. The idea of a unified school meant that there should be no differentiation beyond the middle years, and in the new system, the education comprised a core of mandatory school subjects with extensive depth.

Another important issue was private schools. The right-wing parties were in favour of such schools, while the Social Democrats were opposed to them. Social Democrat Tryggve Bratteli was of the opinion that any exceptions to the regulations governing the comprehensive school system would be a step in the wrong direction. At this time, about one per cent of schools were private. In 1969, compulsory schooling was extended to nine years.[2] In the final version of the act, it was stated that it was only possible to get financial support for a private school if it was an experimental school founded on religious or ethical grounds and meeting a quantitative demand for education. These were clear limitations.

Chapter 5. En skole for prestasjon 1982– ['A school for achievements 1982–']

Chapter 5 will be given some extra attention, as it is the most extensive of the five chapters, consisting of almost 100 pages. While central regulation was important when the comprehensive school system was introduced, decentralisation became important during the 1980s. Decentralisation is often associated with neoliberalist policies. These ideas advocate the deregulation of the state with the exception of the police and the army.[3] An offspring of neoliberalism, New Public Management (NPM), entered into school politics and administration as a new way to govern schools. Put briefly, NPM implies that schools and other public organisations should

be governed like companies. These ideas advocated the deregulation of the state institutions, with the exception of the police and the army.

One municipality in Norway, Sandefjord, engaged one of the biggest consultant firms in the world, PricewaterhouseCoopers, to develop a new structure. Governance by numbers was a key concept, and the goal was to make Sandefjord the best school municipality in Norway before 2015. Teachers were ordered to fill in a form with the students' study results in the most important school subjects. 70 questions asked about each pupil were to be used to decide whether they had low, middle or high goal achievement. 500 teachers in Sandefjord protested, but the municipality did not listen. Two teachers who refused to answer the 70 questions were told that they could be fired. They wrote an article that was published in a newspaper and then the case went to court. In 2014, the municipality withdrew their threats of dismissal and declared that the two teachers could keep their jobs. Moreover, the municipality abandoned the scheme. In 2015, the two teachers received the Zola prize for their fight for freedom of speech and accountability.

The OECD report

In a report published in 1989, OECD (the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) examined Norwegian education (OECD 1989). While the report was quite critical, it also stated that Norwegian education had many qualities compared to many other European countries. However, the upper secondary school did not receive a positive assessment. A major problem identified was that Norway lagged behind the top nations in the number of students attending higher education institutions. According to OECD, the problem lay in the fact that young people in Norway could get a well-paying job without a higher education. OECD indicated that if the universities continued to lose students, the number of highly qualified workers and academics would continue to decrease.

Also, higher education in Norway was criticised for not having the same quality as that of other countries. The message this conveyed to Prime Minister Harlem Brundtland (Social Democrat) could not be more explicit, according to Thuen. Harlem Brundtland gave the minister of education, Gudmund Hernes, responsibility for higher education. His work resulted in the Upper Secondary School Reform, *R94* (Reform 94), one of the goals of which was that all students should have a certain amount of "general studies," enough to make them eligible for higher education later. This meant that more theory had to be introduced into vocational studies. Moreover, the reform made it possible for students

to switch from one education path to another without losing too much of the credit earned. In the old system, two years of carpentry would be wasted if you wanted to switch to general education, but in the new system students could keep at least half of the credit earned. Reform 94 was a rights-based reform, a structure reform and a content-based reform. It laid down that all young people between 16 and 19 years of age were entitled to higher education (p. 192). Vocational education was to be coordinated with the labor market, general education was preferred to specialization and basic competence became a key concept. Moreover, the pupils should develop their ability to cooperate and communicate, as well as their creativity and social skills. This content-based reform resulted in a new curriculum.

The Knowledge Promotion Reform

Poor Norwegian results in PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) and PIRLS (Progress in International Reading Literacy Study) caused a great deal of debate in Norway (Lie *et al.* 2001; Solheim & Tønnesen 2003) during the first decade of the twenty-first century.

The politicians' response to the poor results was The Knowledge Promotion Reform for the compulsory school and upper secondary education. The reform was based on NPM (Kunnskapsdepartementet 2006). Central elements of this reform were a strengthening of basic skills, a focus on reading and writing from Year 1, new subject syllabuses in all subjects clearly indicating what pupils were expected to learn, a new distribution of teaching hours per subject, a new structure of available choices within education programmes and freedom at the local level with respect to work methods, teaching materials and the organization of classroom instruction. The reform was initiated by a conservative-led coalition government, but was implemented by a red-green coalition government.

Revisions in 2017 were partly based on criticism from teachers and headmasters and a need for additional content development in order to support teachers' and students' learning and understanding. The core elements in the subjects became clearer and three prioritised cross-disciplinary themes emerged, viz. sustainable development, democracy and citizenship, and public health and lifestyle (p. 210).

According to Thuen, the Knowledge Promotion Reform exemplifies consensus-seeking politics in Norwegian education. Both right and left-wing parties have sought compromise and agreement on education reform. However, on one issue there was no consensus, namely, the degree

of privatisation of schools. The Conservatives wanted to make it easier to establish private schools, while the Social Democrats were against it. When the Social Democrats came to power, the law was changed and the approval procedures for private schools were strictly regulated.

During this period, teacher education changed from being provided by teacher training colleges to being integrated into to the universities, just as in Sweden. Teacher education has also been made more research-based and is now divided into three domains: content area knowledge, professional knowledge and scientific knowledge.

Conclusions

Den norske skolen is an interesting work, but like all books it has its limitations and strengths. I will start with the limitations. One limitation is that there is no discussion concerning methods and data collection. Another is that, although it is a well-written book, it is sometimes difficult to keep track of all the events in the historic development of Allmueskolen in cities and the countryside. Moreover, I wonder how relevant this book is for people in the other Nordic countries. While Thuen every now and then makes comparisons between Norway and Sweden, the book would have benefited from a wider Nordic perspective. Reading the book, I found myself constantly comparing the Norwegian case with the Swedish case. However, one cannot expect all readers to be well-informed about the political history of the other Nordic countries' educational systems.

Moreover, I cannot help wondering how the Norwegian school system has dealt with a) the ethnic minorities (Sami people), and immigrant children and youths and b) the development of Norwegian as a second language in education and the development of mother-tongue language in education (Dewilde & Kulbrandstad 2016). Furthermore, I also wonder how the Norwegian educational system has responded to the recent waves of refugees.

Given my research interests, I would also have wanted to know whether there was a debate about the textbook deregulation. In particular, I would have liked to read about the growth of the textbook market in Norway, NPM, and the teaching profession. Did the teachers give in to the market forces or not?

In spite of these minor limitations the book has several strengths. One is the focus on teachers' professional identity. It is important for teacher students to develop a professional identity. A sense of professional identity comes from a common history, education and experience.

Another strength is that Thuen shows how important professional

ethics has been for teachers. Norwegian teachers showed courage and put up resistance against Quisling and his party Nasjonal samling, as a result of which teachers, as a profession, became a moral force in Norwegian politics during the Nazi occupation. This is an historical heritage that today's Norwegian teachers can take pride in.

A second example is the protests in Sandefjord, where Norwegian teachers took action against the market forces in education. Consequently, Norwegian teachers as a profession have stood their ground against both the state and the market when called for (Freidson 2001).

Many teacher education students question the necessity of studying specific textbooks and other materials, and sometimes even the goals in the curriculum. In such circumstances, students and instructors might benefit from a book like *Den norske skolen*, which offers a way to make sense of the current curriculum content by placing it in an historical context. My hope is that this monograph will be spread and read, not only by teacher educators and teacher students but also by politicians. In addition, I also believe that the book will find a readership among Nordic educational researchers, political scientists and sociologists interested in the political history of the Norwegian educational system.

NOTES

[1] Norway entered into a personal union with Denmark in 1536.

[2] In 1997, compulsory schooling was extended to 10 years.

[3] Although not mentioned by Thuen, it is worth pointing out that in line with NPM, the deregulation of textbooks occurred in 2000 in Norway and in 1991 in Sweden (Reichenberg 2014; Reichenberg 2016).

REFERENCES

Dewilde, J. & Kulbrandstad, L.A. (2016). "Nyankomne barn og unge i den norske utdanningskonteksten" ['Newly arrived immigrant children and adolescents in the Norwegian education context'], *Nordand. Nordisk tidsskrift for andrespråksforskning*, 11:2, pp. 13–33.

Freidson, E. (2001). *Professionalism, the Third Logic. On the Practice of Knowledge*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jensen, P.A. (1868). *Læsebog for Folkeskolen og Folkehjemmet* ['Reader for the elementary school and the welfare state'], 3rd ed., Kristiania: Cappelen.

Kullberg, B. (1992). *Vi lyssnar till barnen som lär sig läsa och skriva* ['We listen to the children learning to read and write'], Göteborg: Förlagshuset Gothia.

Kunnskapsdepartementet (2006). *Læreplanverket for Kunnskapsløftet* ['Government agency of curricula for the raising of the level of knowledge']; http://www.udir.no/Lareplaner/Kunnskapsloftet/; access date 7 November 2017.

Lie, S., Roe, A., Kjærnsli, M.. & Turmo, A. (2001). *Godt rustet for framtida? Norske 15-åringers kompetanse i lesing og realfag i et internasjonalt perspektiv* ['Well-equipped for the future. Norwegian 15-year-olds proficiency in reading and scientific subjects in an international perspective'], Oslo: University of Oslo.

OECD (1989). *OECD-vurdering av norsk utdanningspolitikk. Norsk rapport til OECD. Ekspertvurdering fra OECD* ['OECD-assessment of Norwegian education policy. Norwegian report to OECD. Expert assessment from OECD'], Oslo: Aschehoug.

Pontoppidan, E. (1737). *Sandhed til Gudfryktighed. Udi en eenfoldig og efter Muelighed kort, dog tilstrekkelig Forklaring over Sal. Doct. Mort. Luthers Liden Cathechismo* ['Truthfulness to the fear of God. A simple and possibly short, but sufficient explanation of doctor Martin Luther's Small Catechism'], Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Waysenhus.

Rolfsen, N. (1892). *Læsebog for folkeskolen* ['Reader for the elementary school'], Kristiania: Jacob Dybwad.

Reichenberg, M. (2014). "Predicting teachers' choice of teaching and learning materials. A survey study with Swedish teachers," *IARTEM e-Journal*, 6:2, pp. 71–93.

Reichenberg, M. (2016). "Explaining teachers' use of textbooks," *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society*, 8:2, pp. 145–159.

Roos, A.-M. (1913). *Sörgården* ['The south homestead'], Stockholm: Albert Bonniers.

Solheim, R. & Tønnesen, F.E. (2003). *Hvorfor leser klasser så forskjellig? En sammenligning av de 20 klassene med de beste og de 20 klassene med de svakeste leseresultatene i PIRLS 2001* ['Why do classes read so differently? A comparison of the 20 classes with the strongest and the 20 classes with the weakest reading results in PIRLS 2001'], Stavanger: Senter for leseforskning.

Monica Reichenberg
Department of Education and Special Education
University of Gothenburg
Sweden
monica.reichenberg@ped.gu.se

Instructions to Authors

1. General Instructions

The languages of publication are English, German or French.

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@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 number and an abstract of no more than 200 words plus 10 or fewer keywords.

2. The Manuscript

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 etc. should be placed inside the closing quotation mark.

Quotations in other languages than English, French and German are permitted but must always be translated. Translations should be given within square brackets and should be surrounded by single quotation marks. Titles in other languages than English, French or German should likewise be translated in the reference list (see examples below, under 3. References).

References should be given immediately after the quotation, stating author, date and page as follows (Paasi 1996: 23). In reviews of a single work, only the page number needs to be given as follows (p. 14). Place the reference before the end of the sentence when integrated in the text but after the end of a block quotation. Separate the references with a semicolon when two or more works are referred to in the same parenthesis: (Paasi 1996: 23; Roesdahl 1998: 15). Avoid abbreviations such as *ibid.* and *op. cit.*

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

Notes should be numbered consecutively through the text and collected at the end of the article as endnotes.

3. References

Book

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

Edited book

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

Journal

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

Chapter in edited book

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

Conference proceedings

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

Newspaper

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

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

Electronic media

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

Unpublished dissertation

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

References to several works by the same author, published the same year, should be numbered 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.

4. Illustrations, Maps and Tables

Illustrations, maps and tables accompanying the article should be listed separately.

4.1. Illustrations and Maps

Illustrations and maps should be numbered consecutively in Arabic numerals and presented with brief captions. The approximate placement of the illustration or map in the text should be stated in the article manuscript, and there should be a clear reference to the illustration or map in the text itself.

Illustrations and maps must be submitted electronically, as separate files either in jpg or TIF format, with resolution 300 dpi for color pictures and 175 dpi for black and white in the proposed size for publication. Note that illustrations and maps should *not* be inserted into the text manuscript.

Whether illustrations and maps are printed in color or in black and white is decided by the editors from case to case.

Unless the author has produced the illustration or map, the original source must be given. The article contributor is responsible for obtaining the right to reproduce the material. A written permission should accompany the submitted article.

4.2. Tables

Tables should be numbered consecutively in Arabic numerals and provided with explanatory captions.

5. Proofs

Proofs will be sent electronically to the contributor and must be returned within ten days. Only minimal changes should be made and contributors will be required to pay for major alterations from the original manuscript.

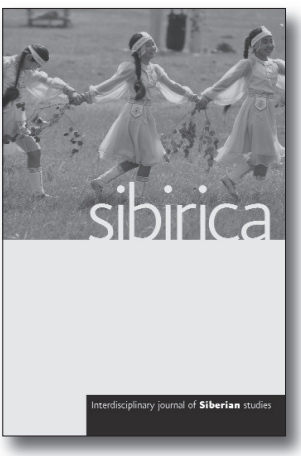
6. Off-prints

The author or authors will receive altogether two copies of the journal containing the article and off-prints in the form of a PDF-document. Contributors to the sections *Miscellanea* and *Reviews* will receive one copy of the journal. Authors may order further copies of the journal at a reduced price.

SIBIRICA

Interdisciplinary Journal of Siberian Studies

Editor: **John P. Ziker**, *Boise State University*



Sibirica is a peer-reviewed interdisciplinary journal covering all aspects of the region and relations to neighboring areas, such as Central Asia, China, Japan, Korea, and North America.

The journal publishes articles, research reports, conference and book reviews on history, politics, economics, geography, cultural studies, anthropology, and environmental studies. It provides a forum for scholars representing a wide variety of disciplines from around the world to present findings and discuss topics of relevance to human activities in the region or directly relevant to Siberian studies.

The editors aim to foster a scholarly discussion among people with the most varied backgrounds and points of view. Thus, submissions are welcomed from scholars ranging from the humanities to the natural sciences, as well as from politicians and activists. Articles focused on places such as Alaska, Mongolia, Karelia, or anywhere else where direct contacts or even direct comparisons with Siberians is obvious and useful in the advancement of Siberian studies will be considered.

RECENT ARTICLES

berghahnjournals.com/sibirica

berghahn journals

ISSN 1361-7362 (Print) • ISSN 1476-6787 (Online)
Volume 16/2017, 3 issues p.a.

Journal of Northern Studies

The *Journal of Northern Studies* is a peer-reviewed academic publication issued twice a year. The journal has a specific focus on human activities in northern spaces, and articles concentrate on people as cultural beings, people in society and the interaction between people and the northern environment. In many cases, the contributions represent exciting interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches. Apart from scholarly articles, the journal contains a review section, and a section with reports and information on issues relevant for Northern Studies.

The journal is published by Umeå University and Sweden's northernmost Royal Academy, the Royal Skyttean Society.

UMEÅ UNIVERSITY

ISSN 1654–5915