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DAG AVANGO & PETER SKÖLD

The Making of the European Arctic

Introduction

This is the first of two thematic issues of the *Journal of Northern Studies*, with publications from the research Mistra Arctic Sustainable Development Program. The articles were produced within a work package entitled “The making of the European Arctic—northern resource governance in comparative contexts,” which brought together humanities and social science scholars from north European universities, in research on the historical development of industries in the northernmost parts of Fennoscandinavia. The overarching objective of their research was to explore the relationship between changing ideological trends, changing institutional frameworks, and the development of natural resource utilization in this region, from a historical perspective of the last 150 years. The results, published in this and a following thematic issue of *Journal of Northern Studies*, bring forward new knowledge on how actors within forestry, mining, fisheries, energy, tourism and reindeer husbandry defined, controlled, and utilized natural resources in the region and why.

The theoretical thinking underpinning our work is an understanding of natural resources as social constructs. In line with the geographer Gavin Bridge, we argue that natural resources do not exist in and of themselves; they are constructed as such by actors who inscribe them with different values—in most cases economic values but in cases also political values. They do so by linking mineralizations, forests and animals to large actor networks or socio-technical systems, which often—if not always—transcend the boundaries of the north and of nations

(Bridge 2009). This constructivist approach allows us to see not only how different actor constellations construct resources, but also how different actors not only define resources differently, but also often disagree on what the consequences of extracting them are. The articles in this volume all deal with consequences of resource extraction, from different perspectives, and experts on the situation in Sápmi from Vaartoe—Centre of Sami Research at Umeå University make additional contributions to the results of the project.

The Arctic is frequently described as an ocean of great global interest. The main reason for this is warming temperatures and climate change that affects the whole world. This is also related to geopolitical security issues, new trade routes, and revision of financial and governance systems. The Mistra research program concludes in the final report that systems of governance have been shaped in these relatively sparsely populated areas (*New Governance* 2019). A certain focus of the program is on natural resource use, but also on the people that live in the region. To a great extent the situation in the European part of the Arctic is divergent from the Arctic regions in Alaska, northern Canada, and Greenland. But there are also striking similarities, and good reasons to maintain and encourage Arctic research collaboration over borders of nations and disciplines (*Integrating Arctic Research* 2016).

The research program promoted the human dimension of the Arctic. The region is considered a valuable treasure not only for the people who live there but also for the people who come there. It is necessary that the results of research are used in efforts to make this region one of the best places in the world to live in, meaning that we want to take careful treatment of the resources that we have, with the unique landscape and the treasures that are kept here while also trying to support economic development where innovation processes are vital, where demographic challenges are faced and where the health situation is of major concern. This relates, of course, also to the 10 to 15 per cent of the people living in the Arctic that are Indigenous and of multiple ethnicities, living in all different areas of the Arctic. We still have to repeat that Indigenous peoples face challenges and problems—yesterday and today—from their perspective, with a situation where culture, languages and religion is under-supported; where they find themselves in a marginalized position; where their legal rights are questioned; and where extractive industries are in a constant battle over the land and the resources that we have here. On top of that come infrastructure developments that can also be a problem. On the Scandinavian side it relates to the Sami and the reindeer herders.

The articles contained in this volume deal with the changing circumstances of the people living in the Swedish Arctic Region, from a Sami per-

spective Sápmi, the traditional land of the Indigenous people, in historical times and today. In an Australian setting Dean Carson, Jeanie Govan and Doris Carson propose a model of how Indigenous communities may engage with the mining sector to better manage local development impacts and influence governance processes. By making use of a resource lifecycle model the authors show how the *benefits* and *burdens* associated with mining, as well as the *bridges* between Indigenous and outsider approaches to development and governance, can change very quickly. They conclude that there is a need for more flexible agreements and more dynamic relationships between different actors, and that adaptation to changing circumstances is key for a successful outcome. The final discussion reflects on how the model may be applied in the context mining governance and Indigenous stakeholder engagement in the Fennoscandian north.

The complexity of cultures and peoples is also illustrated by Isabelle Brännlund's article. While looking at the situation 100–150 years ago she states that the traditional economy of the Sami was much more diverse than previously has been claimed. Diverse natural resources were exploited, trade patterns were extensive, and in Sami livelihoods reindeer husbandry was one of various Sami trades and means of subsistence, rather than the only Sami livelihood.

Many river beds were drained and large areas of pasturage flooded as a result of extensive water regulation between the 1940s and 1960s. Valuable riverside pasturage, natural pasturage boundaries and migration routes disappeared. The pasturage areas have been replaced with paddocks and the natural migration routes by road transport. Reindeer husbandry has received a measure of financial compensation for these impaired circumstances, but the far-reaching consequences are not easy to size up. Through clear-felling, soil scarification and the construction of new roads, forestry has broken up winter pasturage areas and reduced the supply of winter grazing for reindeer. In year-round areas, the legal act of Silviculture enjoins consultation of the Sami villages prior to clear felling. Peat-cutting and extraction activities also have an adverse impact on pasture lands. Åsa Össbo in her article scrutinizes the development of hydropower system in northern Sweden and she outlines the path that leads from the energy laws 75 years ago to the present situation of energy extraction. Excluding elements and limited recognition have on the other side been more persistent.

Studies with a focus on Indigenous peoples in the Arctic have an indisputable value for Indigenous peoples in other parts of the world, and the other way around. Sustainable development requires an understanding that is well informed and aware of the similarities globally, as well as the differences. Kristina Sehlin MacNeil presents an international comparison

between Indigenous groups in Sweden and Australia, and their experiences of conflicts and power relations with extractive industries and industrial proponents. Although expressions of cultural, structural and extractive violence experienced by the two Indigenous communities varied, the impacts were strikingly similar.

Thus, this volume of *Journal of Northern Studies* brings forward on an important dimension of resource making in the north—the extractive industries are dependent on and embedded in large socio-technological systems, with consequences extending far beyond hydro-power stations, mines or clear cuts. For some they mean economic growth and employment opportunities, while for others they can represent a destruction of other resources and associated perceptions of what is a good and desirable environment and life.

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DEAN B. CARSON, JEANIE GOVAN & DORIS A. CARSON

Indigenous Experiences of the Mining Resource Cycle in Australia's Northern Territory

Benefits, Burdens and Bridges?

ABSTRACT This paper proposes a model of how Indigenous communities may engage with the mining sector to better manage local development impacts and influence governance processes. The model uses a resource lifecycle perspective to identify the various development opportunities and challenges that remote Indigenous communities and stakeholders may face at different stages of the mining project. The model is applied to two case studies located in the Northern Territory of Australia (Gove Peninsula and Ngukurr) which involved different types and scales of mining and provided different opportunities for development and governance engagement for surrounding Indigenous communities. Both cases emphasise how the *benefits* and *burdens* associated with mining, as well as the *bridges* between Indigenous and outsider approaches to development and governance, can change very quickly due to the volatile nature of remote mining operations. There is thus a need for more flexible agreements and more dynamic relationships between

Indigenous, mining and other governance stakeholders that can be adjusted and renegotiated as the conditions for mining change. The final discussion reflects on how the model may be applied in the context mining governance and Indigenous stakeholder engagement in the Fennoscandian north.

KEYWORDS Indigenous communities, mining impacts, resource lifecycle, governance, remote

Introduction

It is common for the academic literature to depict the relationship between Indigenous people and mining projects in developed nations in Australasia, North America and northern Europe as constituted by a series of conflicts (Gilberthorpe & Hilson 2016). These conflicts are typically centred on access to, and use of, land and impacts on the environment. There are also conflicts over access to economic benefits from mining, and the mechanisms by which Indigenous people can be engaged in planning and governing mining projects (Howlett 2010). In recent times, there has been a more optimistic turn in the literature, with claims that new systems for project planning provide better opportunities for Indigenous people to experience reduced long term negative impacts and increased benefits (Langton & Longbottom 2012; O'Faircheallaigh 2013). These new systems include improved Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) regulation, land use agreements, mining company-Indigenous community agreements and the adoption of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) mandates by mining companies.

When compared to the Fennoscandian north, Australia has a long history of developing mechanisms for engaging Indigenous people in mining project planning and governance, at least in some parts of the country. In the mid-1960s, there was a strong push from Indigenous communities in the Northern Territory of Australia (see Fig. 1) to have more control over their traditional lands, and to be included in processes of regional development. By the mid-1970s, the Australian Government had developed a system of Indigenous Land Rights (again primarily in the Northern Territory) which returned large areas of land to traditional owners. Throughout the 1990s, Australian High Court decisions extended the concept of land rights throughout Australia, requiring provincial governments to reconsider their approaches to Indigenous territorial recognition and "Indigenous development." By the turn of the current century, legal agreements between Indigenous communities and mining companies had become commonplace, particularly in the more remote northern parts of Australia where Indigenous people comprise a large proportion of the resident population (Altman 2012).

Despite this history, and a growing body of literature produced during the latest “mining boom” in Australia in the early part of the twenty-first century, there is still no overarching framework or model of Indigenous engagement with the mining sector that could be used to critique and improve resource governance models. The purpose of this paper is to propose such a model, which might not only be useful in the Australian context but provide insights into potential governance strategies in other parts of the world. The model is based on two quite different case studies, although both located in the Northern Territory of Australia. The Gove Peninsula case study involves a long running (1971 to the present day) and large scale mining project which included (up until 2014) on-site refining, the construction of a “company town” on Indigenous land, a series of changes of ownership of the mine and refinery, and a lived experience of the changes in approaches to governance summarised above. The Ngukurr case study involves a very short (less than 10 years) and recent (2013–2014) period of small-scale mining development involving at least two different companies, a largely non-resident mining workforce and no on-site processing. Both cases involved a “crisis” point in 2014—the suspension of operation of the refinery in the Gove Peninsula and the shutting down of two mining operations near Ngukurr.

The paper argues that mining in both cases provided opportunities for benefits to Indigenous people, along with new burdens being placed on Indigenous communities, and “bridges” between Indigenous and outsider approaches to “development” and governance. These benefits, burdens, and bridges changed throughout the mining project cycle, suggesting a need to monitor and re-evaluate the impacts from mining on Indigenous communities on an ongoing basis. What emerges from the analysis is a picture of dynamic relationships between Indigenous and other stakeholders, made so in part by the vagaries of mining in remote or sparsely populated areas, but in part by the cumulative impact of benefits, burdens and bridges. The key lesson to emerge from the model is that point-in-time processes, such as EIAs or Indigenous mining agreements, are unlikely to be sufficient governance tools as the wants and needs of different actors sometimes change very quickly and in unexpected ways (Owen & Kemp 2013). More responsibility needs to be given to all parties (particularly Indigenous communities, mining companies, and government) to adapt to changing circumstances if more benefits are to be realised. While the paper draws primarily on the experiences of two particular cases in northern Australia, the final discussion considers the implications of the identified key lessons for mining governance and Indigenous engagement in the Fennoscandian north.

Benefits, Burdens, Bridges and the Mining Resource Cycle

According to the literature, the potential benefits of mining for Indigenous people include access to jobs, provision of transport and other physical infrastructure, investment in education and training, support for cultural activities, the development of additional economic opportunities (tourism, art etc.), and direct financial gain arising from royalties or ownership agreements (Lawrence 2005; Brereton & Parmenter 2008; Buultjens *et al.* 2010). Benefits often accrue before mining commences, with investments in training centres and community infrastructure. As mining progresses, infrastructure and community support activities may continue, and employment and financial benefits begin to be realised. There has been very little discussion about what the residual benefits of mining may be once mining operations have ceased (White 2013), but presumably the legacy of physical infrastructure and a period of high income may provide a platform for continuing development in the community.

Empirical evidence of the extent to which benefits have actually been delivered in developed nations such as Australia, Canada, the United States, and the Fennoscandian north is somewhat limited (O’Faircheallaigh 2010). There are case study-type reports on employment schemes, and occasional acknowledgements of the role of mining company and government investment in related economic activities. A small number of studies have sought to compare overall economic status of Indigenous people in mining regions with non-mining regions, and the results of these have been mixed (Hajkowicz, Heyenga & Moffat 2011; Blackwell & Dollery 2014; Brereton & Parmenter 2008). Nevertheless, the search for benefits, and the potential for benefits arising from investments, be they short-term or long-term, is central to at least the public justification of policies relating to mining and Indigenous people in these countries.

The literature most commonly comments on “promised benefits”—those that are clearly articulated, either before mining commences, or when there is a renegotiation of mining-Indigenous relationships (O’Faircheallaigh 2010). Such renegotiation may be planned (aligning with terms of leases, for example), enforced (as a result of change in public policy, for example), or arise from some sort of crisis or substantial change in mining operations (an environmental incident, a change in ownership of the project). In addition, benefits that were not explicitly described in formal plans or agreements may be realised through informal arrangements often based on individual relationships, or through the discovery of unexpected ways of using infrastructure or resources. The responsibility for delivering benefits

rests not only with the mining company, but with government at various levels (who have their own commitments to support and govern the development), Indigenous communities themselves (responsible, for example, for identifying people for jobs or training places), and Indigenous organisations which may be headquartered within the community or distant to it. These latter are usually the recipients of royalties, the legal entities included in agreements, and the operators of companies which receive mining related benefits.

The most widely discussed burden of mining for Indigenous people is the forfeiture of access to, and use of, land. Even when mining occurs outside officially declared Indigenous land, environmental impacts are likely to be keenly felt by traditional owners (Coombes, Johnson & Howitt 2012). Changing the land use also interrupts traditional and culturally valued practices such as reindeer herding in the Fennoscandian north and bush food and other resource harvesting or ceremonial visits to country in Australia and other places (Koivurova *et al.* 2015; Herrmann *et al.* 2014). In the many cases where mining activities cease and there are insufficient arrangements for environmental rehabilitation, it can be local Indigenous people who take on the responsibility of agitating for rehabilitation to be done, or doing what they can themselves.

Indigenous communities living in close proximity to mining projects are, of course, not immune to the problems that arise from the presence of sometimes large numbers of new short and long-term residents with very different social and cultural backgrounds and demands. Mining workforces tend to be dominated by relatively young males, and this group may be particularly problematic when it comes to violence, substance abuse and interactions with local populations (Taylor & Carson 2014). On the other hand, while an enforced separation of “local” and “imported” populations might mitigate some of these burdens, it may also reduce the potential for particularly unplanned social and economic benefits that could arise from serendipitous contact between people.

A somewhat neglected burden for Indigenous people involved in mining project governance are the time and community costs associated with organising to participate in negotiations, to lobby outside of formal negotiation processes, and to manage the transfer of financial and other resources between stakeholders. Intra-community tensions may arise as different groups have different attitudes to the project, and different access to benefits and burdens. While it is tempting to ascribe to the view of Indigenous communities as homogenous and having clear internal power structures, this is often clearly not the case. Mining companies and governments have a history of “cherry picking” who they include as representatives of the In-

digenous community, creating local “haves and have nots” and damaging often fragile local social and cultural relations (Coronado & Fallon 2010). In this way, the royalty benefit of mining can be a burden, as is the case with employment benefits, where deciding who gets a job, how income from that job is used in the community, and how working environments might impact family and cultural relations, can be a cause of concern.

The concept of “bridges” is not as clearly identifiable in the literature as those of benefits and burdens. The concept is somewhat problematic because it could potentially be interpreted as a part of the continuing process of colonisation of Indigenous people, and the imposing of “mainstream” ways of “doing things” on Indigenous communities. What is meant by the concept, however, is the role that mining development might play in helping Indigenous communities, organisations, and individuals develop skills and secure access to resources that increase their capacity to engage in governance processes (Pickerill 2009; Howlett 2010). Ideally this would entail increased knowledge of the processes that are almost always developed external to the community, increased capacity to nonetheless influence these processes (influencing policy), and new strategies to align internal decision-making approaches with those demanded by the external processes. Engagement in mining governance, particularly if it occurs over a long period of time, can ideally promote cultural awareness (in multiple directions) and cultural safety. It should not be forgotten, however, that these bridges are unlikely to be provided uniformly, and their accessibility to some members of the community in preference to others can accentuate the intra-community burdens described above (Cleary 2014).

Broadly speaking, there may be benefits, burdens and bridges in three different phases of mining project development. During the pre-development phase, benefits and burdens are hypothesised by the various stakeholders, and processes of formal and informal negotiation are undertaken in an attempt to promote particular ways of managing benefits and burdens, to declare interests, and to document what various stakeholders intend to do to maximise benefits and minimise burdens. The second phase is the operational phase, where the realities of what can and cannot be delivered from formal processes of negotiation are realised, and where unanticipated benefits and burdens emerge. The final phase, which receives less attention in the literature, is the winding down and closure phase, where it is possible to conduct a stocktake of Indigenous experiences of the project, and imagine what continuing impacts there are likely to be.

Within this broad cycle are other periods of activity which may also be important. Pre-development includes exploration as well as project planning. The operational phase has periods of construction, process testing,

acceleration to maximum production, stabilisation and increased labour efficiencies. Winding down can be a short or long-term venture, with considerations of whether to abandon the project, suspend operations, or seek re-investment. Closure comes with a series of post-operational activities such as deconstruction of infrastructure, environmental rehabilitation, resource ownership arrangements, and compensations to local communities for loss of jobs and incomes. Each of these activities may be associated with changes in ownership of the project, the land, and the infrastructure, and changing relationships between companies, Indigenous organisations, communities and government. In examining benefits, burdens and bridges in the following two case studies from the remote Northern Territory of Australia, we will use the broad phases identified in the resource cycle literature (Clapp 1998; Bradbury & St-Martin 1983; Halseth 1999; Tonts 2010), as summarised by Carson *et al.* (2016) in their examination of demographic impacts of hydro-power development in northern Sweden. These phases include:

- Pre-development—including exploration and planning;
- Early period—including construction and initial extraction;
- Middle period—the main profitable period of operation;
- Decline—reduced profitability and re-planning; and
- Transition—various ways of suspending or ceasing operation and “constructive planning” for future use of the resource, the land, and community economic assets.

It should be noted that these phases do not need to be linear, and that individual projects do not need to include all phases. Nevertheless, a resource cycle perspective provides a useful framework for reviewing the benefits, burdens and bridges provided by mining to Indigenous communities at different stages of the mining projects, and one which allows for a more comprehensive, dynamic and long-term view than currently provided in the literature.

The two case studies are primarily based on secondary data, complemented by observations collected by the researchers during field visits between 2014 and 2016 and informal discussions held with local stakeholders at various community meetings. Secondary data sources involved historic and contemporary public documents containing information about the mining projects and Indigenous engagement in the case study areas, including academic publications, government reports and other grey literature, as well as articles and public debates published in the local media. These were sourced through Charles Darwin University’s library archives (and its Northern Territory special collection) and an online media database (Australian/New Zealand Reference Centre). Media and grey literature sources

are identified as MWx and referenced in the appendix. In addition, population data were drawn from the Australian census up to 2011 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017) to identify local demographic and socio-economic indicators. Data from the latest 2016 census were not available at the time of writing, meaning that local demographic and socio-economic impacts resulting from recent changes to the respective mining projects (for example, the closure of the alumina refinery in Nhulunbuy in 2014) could not be assessed in detail. The following case studies review the development of mining projects on Gove Peninsula and Ngukurr, with a focus on identifying the particular benefits, burdens or bridges for local Indigenous populations that have emerged at different stages of those projects.

Introduction to the Cases

Fig. 1 shows the locations of the two case sites of Gove Peninsula and Ngukurr. In Australian terms, these sites are quite proximate (a few hundred kilometres apart), although there are no direct transport links between them. The sites are also similar because they are on what is now largely Indigenous owned land and what were once Aboriginal Reserves. The cases themselves are quite different, however, with the Gove Peninsula case involving a bauxite mining and alumina refining project dating back to the 1960s, and Ngukurr experiencing more recent iron ore and ilmenite projects involving minimal on-site processing. The Gove Peninsula project included the building of a large company town to house workers and others, while the Ngukurr projects have been much smaller-scale with largely non-resident workforces. Both cases have progressed through the various stages of the mining resource cycle, over a period of nearly 50 years for the Gove Peninsula and over a much shorter period of time for Ngukurr (starting in the 2010s). Comparison of the cases therefore provides some insights into how various characteristics of the project might impact on experiences of the resource cycle, even for Indigenous communities which are geographically proximate.

The Gove Peninsula Experience

The Gove Peninsula (within the East Arnhem municipal area, see Fig. 1) is the traditional home of the Yolŋu people, and is now home to about 5,000 Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, over half of whom live in the mining town of Nhulunbuy. The Gove Peninsula is relatively isolated, with a commercial airport at Nhulunbuy, but otherwise no all-year transport access. The nearest major population centre is Darwin, the capital city of the Northern Territory, some 1,000 km to the west by (seasonal) road. Air transport links the region to Darwin and to Cairns (the regional centre of Far

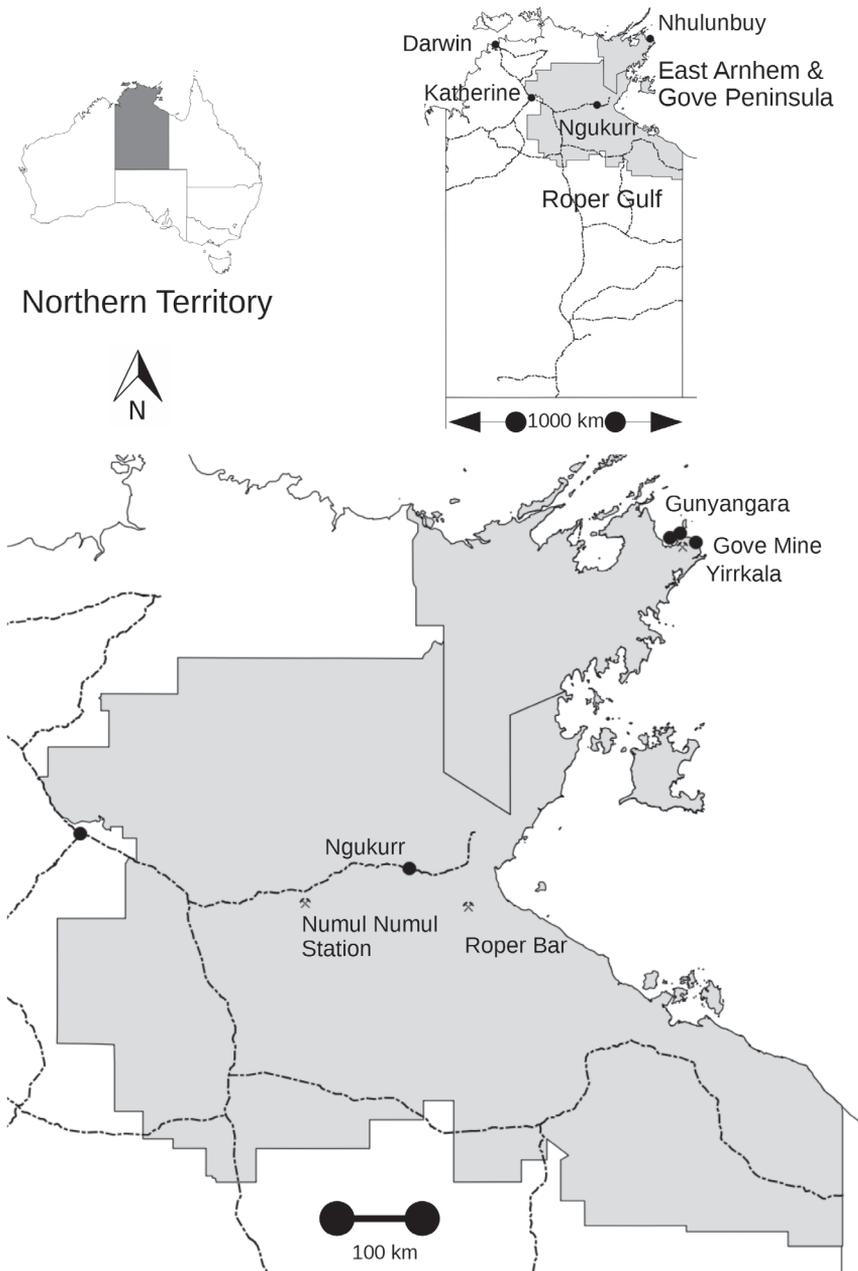


Fig. 1. Case study sites: Gove Peninsula and Ngukurr, Northern Territory (Australia).
Source: created by authors.

North Queensland to the east). There is also a seaport at Nhulunbuy which is used all year.

In 1934, the Yirrkala Methodist mission was established about 15 km south of what would later become Nhulunbuy, and Indigenous people from the Gove Peninsula were encouraged to settle at the mission. In the mid-1970s, the mission was closed and the town was handed over to the local Indigenous community association (Morphy 2005). A short time later, one family from Yirrkala established the Gunyangara community some 30 km by road to the northwest. Yirrkala and Gunyangara remain the largest Indigenous communities on the Gove Peninsula, with Yirrkala home to about 850 people and Gunyangara home to about 150 people according to the 2011 Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017).

The Gove Peninsula was a staging point for airforce activity during World War II, with a large airstrip serving as the focus of military activity. Mining exploration began shortly after the war, and in the mid-1960s, NABALCO (the North Australian Bauxite and Alumina Company) was formed by a consortium of Swiss and Australian companies to hold a mining lease for large parts of the Peninsula (Keen 2004; Pearson 2012). The lease conditions included the building of the town of Nhulunbuy near the airstrip, and a commitment to refine at least part of the bauxite on site. The town was built in the late 1960s, and mining and refining started in 1971, by which time the town had a population of about 4,000 residents (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017).

The arrival of mining on the Gove Peninsula saw the Australian Government excise some 300 km² from the Aboriginal Reserve. In response, leaders of twelve Indigenous clans living in and around the Yirrkala Mission wrote a petition to the Australian Government, known as “the bark petitions,” protesting against the loss of land and the lack of consultation with the local people over the decisions to allow mining and to excise the land (Pearson 2012). The petitions argued that the loss of land was a threat to local livelihoods, and that the mining company would destroy the independence of the Yirrkala people (Casey 2011). The petitions did attract attention from an Australian Parliamentary Inquiry into the arrangements for mining on the Gove Peninsula, and preceded an Australian Supreme Court challenge to the right of the Government to excise the land (Pearson 2012). While the parliamentary inquiry recommended that Yolŋu people be compensated for the loss of land, no compensation was delivered. Nevertheless, this episode was a significant milestone in the journey to the original Aboriginal Land Rights Act that was passed in 1976 (Watson 2016).

The original Nhulunbuy mining lease made no allowance for royalties or other compensation to be made directly to Yolŋu people. After the Supreme Court action, however, it was decided that 10 per cent of the royalties

paid to the Australian Government should be given to the Yirrkala Dhanbul Association (Altman 1983). In addition, conditions in the lease relating to the building of Nhulunbuy as a “special purpose town”—which was not part of the system of local government used elsewhere in Australia (Pearson 2012)—included the requirement to build a hospital that would service the broader region, to provide access to the airstrip for commercial flights, and to provide housing and office accommodation for government employees who would largely be in the region for duties relating to governance of Indigenous people (Toon 1970; Lee 2014). The town also included a school which did not explicitly exclude Indigenous students but which, as indicated by a photograph of the student body in 1984, at least initially had few Indigenous students (MW1).

In 1976, the passing of the Australian Land Rights Act substantially changed the relationships between mining companies and Indigenous people in the Northern Territory (O’Faircheallaigh 2008; Altman 1983). The act formalised the paying of mining royalties to Indigenous land owners, to the newly formed Land Councils, and to the Northern Territory community more broadly. Exactly how royalties were to be distributed, and to whom, was not clear, and it could be argued that it has never been made clear. In the Gove Peninsula case, this lack of clarity meant that some Indigenous groups, which were better advised or more skilled in negotiating with government, were able to receive large shares of royalties, while other groups did not. The result has been long-term and ongoing conflicts between different Indigenous groups in the area (MW2).

An early prospectus about Nhulunbuy and the mining and refinery operations produced by NABALCO had a small section outlining intended relationships with local Indigenous people. No mention was made of jobs for Indigenous people, with the focus instead on the potential benefits of royalties (which, according to NABALCO, were being paid at twice the normal rate because of the positioning of the project within an Aboriginal Reserve) and the benefits that would accrue from Indigenous peoples’ increased engagement with industry and government. The report states:

The Gove Project [...] has speeded the emergence of men who are assuming the responsibilities of leadership through the Yirrkala Council [...]. In this way, as in many others, the Gove Project is helping in the development of Australia (NABALCO 1972: 23)

Indeed, certain families from the Gove Peninsula are today among the more prominent in Indigenous politics and social movements across Australia (Trudgen 2016).

While the passing of the Land Rights Act did not result in a renegotiation of the Nhulunbuy lease, the Act did provide a mechanism for Indigenous land owners to restrict access to land outside the lease area. In Nhulunbuy, this means that a permit is required even to access the beach located near the centre of town, and popular fishing, camping and other recreational sites further away (MW3).

Determining who can access what land or facilities has consequently long been a feature of the relationship between the mining company and Indigenous people on the Gove Peninsula. Periodically, attempts have been made to exclude Indigenous people (or at least to control access) from local recreational facilities such as “The Arnhem Club” social club and the Walkabout Hotel. These places are problematic in Indigenous politics, as they run counter to measures adopted by the Yirrkala and Gunyangara communities to prohibit alcohol in their towns. Relatively few Indigenous people, however, have moved to Nhulunbuy to live permanently (Carson & Carson 2014), and it is much more common to be taken to and from the Club by its “courtesy bus” or the Yirrkala “night patrol” (MW4, MW5).

The population of Nhulunbuy has varied over time according to demands for labour for construction and refurbishment projects at both the mine and the refinery. Peak population was over 5,000 people in 2006, while there were about 3,500 residents in 1986. In 2011, the population was about 4,000 people, and about 700 people directly employed at the mine or refinery, with perhaps as many as 300 more working as contractors to those operations. Government and social services (run by both government and independent agencies) employed around 300 people. There were about 250 residents identifying as Indigenous, which is a much lower proportion of the population than for the region as a whole (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017).

At the same Census, 650 of the 850 people enumerated at Yirrkala, and 140 out of the 160 enumerated at Gunyangara were Indigenous. Virtually all employment was in the government and social services sectors. Historical population data for the two communities is not readily available, however, there were 650 people enumerated at Yirrkala at the 1976 Census, 550 in 1986, 500 in 1996 (with 380 at Gunyangara), and 700 in 2006 (with 230 at Gunyangara). Periodically, Census data suggest a handful of residents of Yirrkala or Gunyangara have been working in mining operations. The bulk of the mining workforce, however, operates on a fly-in/fly-out basis (MW6). Local residents were, until its closure in 2014, much more likely to be working in the refinery. The refinery also provided some jobs for Indigenous people, particularly as contractors. Indigenous people have also contracted for other services to Nhulunbuy town and its residents. At least some lo-

cal employment has therefore been stimulated by mining, and provides an alternative source of revenue for what would otherwise be an extremely economically isolated community (Carson & Carson 2014; Pearson & Daff 2013). Nevertheless, according to the 2011 Census, Yirrkala and Gunyangara had low workforce participation rates (and no people working in the mining sector), even when compared to other remote Indigenous communities.

The original Nhulunbuy lease expired in 2011, by which time Rio Tinto had taken ownership of Alcan, the company which had bought the mine and refinery from NABALCO in 2001. A new 42-year lease was negotiated between the company and the Northern Land Council, a statutory authority of the Australian Government charged with helping Indigenous communities acquire and manage land. The new lease had a more direct focus on company responsibilities relating to Indigenous people. Direct royalty payments in the order of AUD 15 million per year were included in the lease agreement, along with a commitment to continue the refinery operation (under certain conditions that were not disclosed). Increasing royalty payments over time have allowed the Gumatj Corporation (representing one of the Yolŋu clans) to invest in community development projects and local businesses both related to mining/refining, and in sectors such as arts, hospitality, forestry, farming, fishing and meat processing (Pearson & Helms 2013). The royalty agreement was not, however, without controversy, as another clan, represented by the Rirratjingu Aboriginal Corporation sued the Northern Land Council over what it felt was mistreatment in the distribution of royalties (MW2, MW7). The role of Land Councils as mediators of negotiations between mining companies and local Indigenous people is a challenging one given the complexity of Indigenous land ownership structures and intra- and inter-nation relationships (Blackwell 2012). Land Councils, like mining companies, are often accused of favouritism in selecting who they represent in these negotiations (MW8).

Less than three years after signing the new agreement, Rio Tinto announced the indefinite suspension of works at the refinery (despite the apparent conditions of the lease) (Carson & Carson 2014). Among the many direct and indirect jobs lost within the space of just a few months at the start of 2014 were those held by Indigenous contractors not just to the refinery, but to the town of Nhulunbuy more generally. It is estimated that half of the town's population had left by the middle of 2015, with more departures expected as local businesses struggled with a reduced customer base (MW9). Commercial air services were reduced dramatically almost immediately, and concerns continue to be raised about the future of the hospital, school and other public services. The Northern Territory Government initially committed to retaining its local workforce, but has since reneged

on that commitment. The future of royalty payments to Indigenous people remains unclear, even though the mine itself continues to operate (MW10). Rio Tinto made a one-off AUD 2 million payment (intended to be matched by both provincial and Australian governments, but ultimately not matched by the latter) to assist in transition of the local economy (MW11).

The abrupt decline in Rio Tinto's local activities was accompanied by some new developments particularly for the Gumatj Corporation. Rio Tinto agreed to support the establishment of a mining training centre, and to help the Corporation set up and operate a small mining company of its own. That company, Gulkula Mining, has been awarded exploration licenses for the region, and has begun exploration work. The intent is to decrease dependence on external companies for mining development, and enable Indigenous people to be involved in a wider range of jobs and governance responsibilities (MW12). Gumatj Corporation has also increased its investment in retail businesses in the town, taking over from departing previous owners (MW13).

At the same time, provincial and Australian government attention focused on the future of the town of Nhulunbuy. The Gove Taskforce did not include formal representation from Indigenous organisations, reflecting the long established role that Nhulunbuy has played in separating Indigenous from other residents in some ways. Initially, the Taskforce examined strategies such as developing tourism (although getting access to Rio Tinto's port facility for cruise ships and recreational boating was a problem), encouraging retirement migration, and increased agricultural and fishing activity. Rio Tinto promised to at least try to convert some of its fly-in/fly-out mining workforce to a residential workforce, to facilitate local residents flying in and out of operations elsewhere, and also handed over several hundred Nhulunbuy houses to the Northern Territory Government and "the local community" (Carson & Carson 2014). How these houses should be allocated and used is still a matter of debate (MW14, MW15). Ultimately, the Government did invest in a boarding school in Nhulunbuy which will allow remote dwelling Indigenous children to attend the high school. This investment perhaps flags some thinking about exploiting the infrastructure of Nhulunbuy to provide services to Indigenous communities throughout the broader region, but, of course, the idea of taking Indigenous children away from their home communities for "mainstream" education is not without controversy. By the time the Taskforce released its report in late 2014, the idea of Nhulunbuy as a regional service centre had become the first recommendation (MW16). The final report of the Taskforce is no longer available on the Northern Territory Government website.

In terms of the asset which has been at the centre of Indigenous-mining company relations since the late 1960s—the land—Rio Tinto continues

to hold the lease until 2053, and need not take any but the essential safety and “mothballing” action to rehabilitate the site or facilitate alternative land uses until that time (MW17).

The Ngukurr Experience

Ngukurr community is located in the Roper River region at the bottom of southeast Arnhem Land in the Northern Territory (Fig. 1), approximately 320 km southeast from the major township of Katherine situated on the Stuart Highway. Access to Ngukurr is by (seasonal) road, chartered air services, and by boat following the Roper River. The region is the traditional home of about 21 different Indigenous clan groups (McRae-Williams 2008; Sandefur 1985), but Ngukurr itself is on the traditional land of the Ngalakan people.

The Roper River Mission was established in 1908 in response to concerns that hostility of the local Indigenous people was impeding attempts to establish a pastoral industry in the region (Costello 1930; Durack 1959), and that the safety of the Indigenous residents was at risk as a result. There may have been as many as 200 people spending at least part of their time at the Mission by 1910, although some people were seasonally absent, including for work on pastoral stations (McRae-Williams 2008; Harris 1990; Cole 1985). Flooding resulted in the mission being relocated to the current site of the Ngukurr community in the 1940s. Ngukurr was home to about 1,000 people according to the 2011 Census, and over 90 per cent of these people identified as Indigenous (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017).

The Roper River Mission was handed over to the Northern Territory Welfare Branch (a division of government) in 1968, and thence to the local Indigenous community in the mid-1970s. The township was managed by the Yugul Mangi Aboriginal Corporation (as the Yugul Mangi Community Government Council) until 2003, and is now the major population centre within the Roper Gulf Regional Council. The Council is responsible for about a dozen towns inhabited mostly by Indigenous people, and a number of small settlements called “outstations” which are linked to these towns. Ngukurr has 11 outstations. The total population of the Roper Gulf Council area was about 6,000 in 2011. The Yugul Mangi Aboriginal Corporation was established in 2008 to play a central role in local business and enterprise development in Ngukurr and representing Ngukurr’s interests within the larger Council administration (MW18).

According to the 1976 Census, there were 250 people living in Ngukurr. This rose to 650 people in 1986, 900 people in 1996, and 1,000 people in 2006. At the 2011 Census, three residents of Ngukurr were identified as working in mining, out of a mining workforce of 50 (including 21 Indigenous people) in

the total Roper Gulf Region. The main industries of employment in Ngukurr were government and social services (about two thirds of the workforce), and retail trade (about 8 per cent of the workforce) (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017).

Mining for gold was first attempted in the region in the 1860s, with varied results (MW19, MW20). Exploration around the turn of the twentieth century resulted in the Roper River Concession Syndicate Limited purchasing about 1,600 hectares of pastoral lease for its associated mining rights (MW21). There are no records about mineral production in this region during this period, but further exploration activities occurred in the 1920s (for oil) and in the 1950s and 1960s. No substantial mining activity arose from these ventures (Jones 1987).

Ilmenite (used as a pigment in paints and plastics) mining commenced on Numul Numul station (about 80 km from Ngukurr) in 2010, with Australian Ilmenite Resources (AIR) leasing mining land from the pastoral station which in turn is leased from the Namul Namul Aboriginal Corporation representing the traditional owners. Ilmenite mining continues, and AIR has made a series of proposals for expanding existing operations and constructing two new mines in the region. The mine is expected to operate for at least 20 years (MW23).

In 2012, two iron ore mining projects were announced in the region. The Sherwin Creek Iron Ore project and the Roper Bar Iron Ore project were each located about 50 km from Ngukurr, with the former also on a sub-leased cattle station. The projects were managed by Western Desert Resources (WDR). Both projects ceased operations within a year of commencing (MW24).

The historical attitudes and responses of Indigenous people to mining are less well documented for Ngukurr than for the Gove Peninsula. There are records of Indigenous protest against European exploration of the region dating back to the late nineteenth century (Cole 1969; Cole 1985; Harris 1990), but whether there were specific protests against mining or mineral exploration is unknown. In more recent times, there are no recorded protests against either the ilmenite or iron ore projects. Local commentary when the mines were proposed was largely optimistic, and focused on the benefits that might come in the form of local employment (MW25).

Unlike on the Gove Peninsula, there was no plan to construct a residential facility in the Ngukurr region for any of the recent mining projects. Rather, workers have commuted from Katherine or further afield, and have stayed in temporary accommodation while at the mine site. The Ngukurr region mines have also made few specific commitments to the local Indigenous communities. The AIR *Social and Cultural Aspects Report* refers only

in broad terms to intentions to help train local people for work on the mine, and to use local contractors when it is possible to do so (VDM Consulting 2012). Other commitments were to maintain roads used by mining vehicles, and to assist in the identification and management of areas of historical and cultural interest. In the documentary series *Mining the Roper*, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (national public media) identified four major impact themes arising from their interviews with local Indigenous leaders, mining company representatives and pastoral station managers (MW26). They were: jobs for local people, maintenance of roads (also MW27), preservation of sacred sites, and co-existence with the small but important tourism sector in the region.

The establishment of the mines in the Roper River region provided opportunities outlined by the Chief Executive Officer of the Yugul Mangi Development Aboriginal Corporation: “the project will bring jobs, it’ll bring wealth and it’ll bring opportunity” (Northern Territory Environment Protection Authority 2012: 36) and enthusiastic support from a traditional owner and a member of the Roper Gulf Shire Council that “they [community] know about the project and they want to know when it’s going to start” (Northern Territory Environment Protection Authority 2012: 36).

Consultations on the mine with neighbouring communities of Numbulwar, Borroloola, Minyerri and the Ngukurr community overall were positive about development of the mine and associated opportunity: “groups were commercially oriented and it was indicated throughout engagements that they were preparing for the benefits that WDR could provide” (Northern Territory Environment Protection Authority 2012: 36).

The Sherwin Iron Ore project in particular was praised for providing jobs to local people during its construction phase. There were claims of over 500 jobs associated with the project in total, but it is not known how many of these jobs were filled by local people (MW28). The collapse of the iron ore projects was nonetheless associated with numbers of local people losing their jobs, and being unable to complete training courses that the companies had been providing (MW29).

Likewise, mining activity was seen as a justification for fast-tracking plans to upgrade the road from Katherine to Ngukurr. Mining trucks were blamed for causing substantial damage to the road, and making it difficult to use for other purposes. With the collapse of the iron ore projects, local people fear that the road will no longer be a priority for the Northern Territory Government. Road use conflicts were one of the perceived threats to the local tourism sector, along with the visual impact of mining activity. On the other hand, the presence of mine workers in the region was seen as pro-

viding opportunities for tourism, hospitality and retail businesses to expand their markets (MW26).

Negotiating mining leases in the Ngukurr case has been quite complex, with a variety of pre-existing lease and sub-lease arrangements including Indigenous land under the Land Rights Act, pastoral leases either private or sub-leased from Indigenous owners, and other freehold land (MW26). As with the 2011 lease renewal for Gove, the Northern Land Council had the responsibility for negotiating arrangements where Indigenous land was involved. Lease negotiations included royalties for local Indigenous groups. The arrangements for the ilmenite project are not known, but the Northern Land Council claims that local Indigenous groups have not received any royalties owed from the iron ore projects (MW30).

While the ilmenite project continues (albeit still in very early stages of development), the sense from commentary emanating from the Ngukurr community is that future mining proposals will be met with greater scepticism (MW31). There may also be broader implications for approaches to community and economic development. The loss of royalties and jobs certainly impacts the resources that are available to explore other economic activities and to invest in community oriented projects. From a land management point of view, local people are worried about rehabilitation of mined country and who will be funding for cleaning up the environment since the company has gone into administration.

The anger, frustration and disappointment felt by Aboriginal traditional owners with the closing of the iron ore projects was expressed at the Northern Land Council full council meeting in June 2015 (MW32). One of the areas of concern was the lack of consultation surrounding the end of the project, despite what was perceived to be good consultation at the start of the project. With the mining companies in liquidation, Indigenous stakeholders have to deal with new people and organisations (the administrators, for example) who are not part of the shared history. Like with the Gove experience, the formal outcomes of negotiations (leases, EIAs and community impact statements) have turned out to be ill-suited to assisting in managing decline and transition.

Implications for Resource Governance in the Fennoscandian North

In the remote Australian contexts considered here, economic development opportunities are scarce, and the costs of maintaining even the most basic of infrastructure are often beyond local communities, and even provincial and national governments. Indigenous people are a majority of the popu-

lation, and their primary assets are the land and their deep knowledge of, and long association with it. Mining is one potential mechanism for development, with (at least temporary) economic benefits from royalties, employment, and investment in transport and other infrastructure. Providing mining ventures with land, however, essentially locks it off from other potential uses, and brings risks that long-term damage may be done to environmentally and culturally sensitive sites. Even detailed and considered negotiations may not be able to prevent this, as the vagaries of the mining resource cycle and the approaches to governing decline and transition stages in particular mean that, as demonstrated in our cases, the lived reality is likely to be different from what was initially negotiated. In this context, a “bridge” to stronger Indigenous capacity to engage in negotiations and governance may not always emerge.

Table 1 summarises some of the key observations from the two case examples, showing how benefits, burdens and bridges can emerge at different stages of the mining resource cycle. Even as projects decline and close, it is possible to derive benefits, such as the multi-million dollar transition fund provided by Rio Tinto in the Gove Peninsula case. The table shows how Indigenous experiences of the resource cycle can be complex and even contradictory, as well as dynamic. It is unlikely that any static planning mechanisms drawn up at single points in time (often at the pre-development stage), such as environmental impacts statements or Indigenous-mining agreements, could effectively foresee or cater for this dynamism and complexity.

Table 1. Potential benefits, burdens and bridges arising at different stages of the mining resource cycle.

	Benefit	Burden	Bridge
Pre-development	Improvements to roads and other infrastructure	Ceding land	Developing skills for complex negotiations and knowledge of legal and regulatory processes
Early period	Construction jobs	Increased traffic and disruptions to daily life	Developing local (often contracting) businesses
Middle period	Royalties	Restrictions on access to sacred sites	Maturation of community leadership organisations
Decline	Company-community partnerships for and economic development projects	Uncertainty about economic future	Opportunity for constructive planning
Transition	Hand-over of (some) infrastructure	Loss of jobs and royalties	Establishing desired conditions for future projects

Before considering how these cases might relate to conditions in the Fennoscandian north, there needs to be consideration of how likely they are to be repeated even in Australia. The Gove Peninsula case comes from an era when mining projects were mostly large-scale, and remote mining meant building new residential towns. Many such towns exist in Australia, and some, like Nhulunbuy, are facing periods of transition made perhaps more difficult by their normalised place in the landscape. In more contemporary large-scale remote mining, it is much more common to build only temporary settlements which are principally for the purpose of temporary housing of fly-in/fly-out workers (Storey 2016). While these settlements provide less infrastructure (and probably employment) benefits for regional inhabitants, they also create less dependency on the mining company and fewer long-term transition challenges. Nevertheless, some of the fundamentals of the Gove experience of a large mining project are likely to be repeated. These include the centrality of royalties, provision of training and jobs, and support for alternative economic and social activities (like art centres, for example) as key mining company commitments. They also include, however, the probability of changes in ownership and mining project governance, over-estimates of economic benefit and under-estimates of the costs of rehabilitation.

The Ngukurr case provides an alternative in the form of smaller-scale development that involves much more direct local relationships. Relationship building through direct negotiation and consultation might result in a more positive view of mining from local communities. It might also result in better, or at least broader, economic connections between the mining project and the community as reflected in the apparently large number of “real jobs” provided to Ngukurr residents. However, the case also emphasises the inherent fragility of small-scale development, particularly early in the mining resource cycle. Whether it would better suit Indigenous interests to promote smaller-scale over larger-scale projects remains a debatable question.

In the Fennoscandian north, Indigenous (Sami) people are rarely the majority, and their rights are not as clearly defined as for Indigenous people in remote Australia. There is far less of a separation of Sami from other communities, and the systems which enable Sami reindeer herders to access land are not as definitive as those which allow fishing, hunting and cultural access to land in Australia (Ween & Lien 2012). There is also perhaps greater tension within the Sami community as a result of competition between reindeer herders and other Sami for rights and recognition (Kuokkanen 2011). These tensions are also apparent in Australia, as was seen with the conflicts over rights to access royalty payments in the Gove Peninsula case. Nevertheless, the legal opportunities for Sami people to make their claims

and state their cases are perhaps more reflective of the “bark petitions” era in remote Australia than the contemporary era of land rights and mandated negotiation processes.

A key learning from this Australian history are that negotiated agreements may have limited currency when circumstances change (for the mining company) and serve more to commit Indigenous communities than mining companies. There needs to be attention paid to how Indigenous-mining agreements may be made both more flexible (such that they can be altered more easily over time) and more binding on companies. The current debate about bonds and levies and other mechanisms for ensuring that costs of environmental rehabilitation are borne by the mining company is one example of this sort of thinking. Another learning is that the decline and transition phase is as significant as the early phase as a milestone in Indigenous-mining company relations, despite receiving very little attention in plans and agreements. Very rarely is there an opportunity to plan for the end (or suspension or major downgrade) of a project much before “D-Day” arrives. Much relies, of course, on open and transparent communication between those “in the know” in the mining company and the various levels of government (who are often not on-site) and local communities. Mechanisms to encourage such open communication need to be developed.

The temptation in examining Indigenous experience of mining in any context is to over-emphasise the negative aspects. It could be argued that the Gove Peninsula and Ngukurr experiences have both finished poorly for the local communities, but the legacies of benefits and even bridges also need to be recognised. Even in Ngukurr, the community and the Northern Land Council could use the disappointment and frustration to become better prepared to manage future negotiations. Mining is almost certain to continue to be promoted by government as a positive economic development opportunity for remote communities, and preventing new projects is unlikely to be a feasible ambition in more than a few isolated cases. Indigenous communities can, however, be more proactive in making internal policy decisions about their approaches to mining governance—do they want close or distant relationships with the company? Do they prefer smaller or larger-scale development? What do they expect to be done (and by whom) if the project ends or stalls unexpectedly? What are the plans and ambitions when it comes ultimately to having to transition from mining to something else? The Gove Peninsula and Ngukurr cases have presented some insights into these issues. The cases have further demonstrated that a longitudinal resource cycle perspective Indigenous-mining relationships can provide a useful lens to identify the various benefits, burdens and bridges arising at different stages of mining development. Applying the proposed model to

other remote environments and Indigenous community case studies in the future will help in refining the model and developing a better understanding of how local experiences may vary across different countries, institutional settings and Indigenous contexts.

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APPENDIX: MEDIA AND WEB SOURCES

- MW1: <https://web.ntschoools.net/w/nhs/Alumni/Home.aspx>
- MW2: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-04-21/rirratjingu-gumatj-clans-battle-for-arnhem-mine-royalties/6410584>
- MW3: <http://www.ncl.net.au/welcome-to-nhulunbuy/leases-and-permits/>
- MW4: <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/06/04/1054700277287.html>
- MW5: <http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2003/10/30/1067233235852.html>
- MW6: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-02-17/should-the-top-end-revive-traditional-mining-towns/8209294>
- MW7: <http://nit.com.au/rirratjingu-vow-fight-nlc-royalties-claim/>
- MW8: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-03-07/land-dispute-sends-nt-qld-gas-pipeline-back-to-negotiating-table/8331776>
- MW9: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-01-28/last-of-nhulunbuy-refinery-workers-leaving-town/6050702>
- MW10: <https://www.crikey.com.au/2014/02/13/rio-tintos-gove-plant-never-delivered-on-indigenous-hopes/>
- MW11: <http://www.ntnews.com.au/news/northern-territory/rio-moves-to-offer-another-50-million-to-support-community/news-story/b859d3134dc57cc9ff-297c2f19d46f3e>
- MW12: <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/17/indigenous-owned-company-approved-to-open-bauxite-mine-in-arnhem-land>
- MW13: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-07-31/indigenous-businesses-filling-void-after-rio-tinto-exit-in-nt/6661930>
- MW14: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-11-21/rio-tinto-and-nt-government-nhulunbuy-initiative-announced/5909778>
- MW15: <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2014/nov/21/empty-homes-in-nhulunbuy-reserved-for-business-despite-housing-crisis>
- MW16: <http://newsroom.nt.gov.au/mediaRelease/9737>
- MW17: <http://www.landmanager.org.au/mining-and-wildlife-conservation>
- MW18: <https://yugulmangi.com/>
- MW19: *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser and Miners' News* 1872
- MW20: *Hamilton Spectator* 1872
- MW21: *The Australasian* 1905
- MW22: *The Register* 1921
- MW23: https://ntepa.nt.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0006/290508/Appendix-G-Water-Management-Plan.pdf
- MW24: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-07-11/nt-iron-ore-industry-suffers/5590672>
- MW25: <http://www.abc.net.au/site-archive/rural/content/2012/s3514360.htm>
- MW26: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-09-16/mining-the-roper-region/4950464>

- MW27: <http://www.katherinetimes.com.au/story/1139129/better-roads-key-to-ngukurrs-advancement/>
- MW28: https://parliament.nt.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/355379/answer2044520-2012.04.2016.pdf
- MW29: <http://www.nlc.org.au/media-releases/article/to-aspirations-ruined-after-mine-closures>
- MW30: <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/business/mining-energy/roper-bar-mine-windup-native-titleholders-seek-royalty-payments/news-story/0c-78282fe4388c328db28fea98539072>
- MW31: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-06-18/mine-failures-take-shine-off-northern-development-roper-river/6557232>
- MW32: <https://www.australianmining.com.au/news/traditional-owners-bitter-about-failed-nt-mines/>

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ISABELLE BRÄNNLUND

Diverse Sami Livelihoods

A Comparative Study of Livelihoods in Mountain-Reindeer Husbandry Communities in Swedish Sápmi 1860–1920

ABSTRACT Swedish state policy regarding the Sami from the late nineteenth century onward and studies on Sami history have tended to treat reindeer husbandry as much more important than other livelihoods practiced by Sami communities and families. By comparing livelihood diversity in southern and northern mountain-reindeer husbandry communities in Swedish Sápmi (the traditional land of the Sami people) during the period 1860–1920, this study challenges the notions of Sami *as* reindeer herders and mountain reindeer husbandry as a nomadic monoculture. The results shows that Sami communities and families exploited diverse natural resources, trades and means of subsistence. The study supports an understanding of historical Sami livelihoods, where reindeer husbandry as recognized as one of various Sami trades and means of subsistence, rather than as *the* Sami livelihood.

KEYWORDS livelihood diversity, reindeer husbandry, Sami history

Introduction

Indigenous land rights in current Swedish Sápmi (the traditional land of the Sami people) are tied to the practice of reindeer husbandry, in stark contrast to the situation in most other countries where indigenous land

rights are not restricted to a specific industry and livelihood. This is officially justified because reindeer husbandry is a traditional Sami livelihood that has important economic, cultural and social functions throughout Sápmi. Since 2011 the Swedish constitution has acknowledged the Sami as a people in their own right, and their right to practice reindeer husbandry (SFS 1974: 152). The reindeer herding right also includes rights to hunt and fish, to take firewood and timber for construction. However, to exercise their rights individuals require membership of a reindeer husbandry community (also named reindeer herding district in the literature), called a *sameby*.¹ In practice, this arrangement excludes most Sami in Swedish Sápmi from exercising indigenous land rights. Sameby unions, on the other hand, are not legally eligible to engage in businesses other than those connected to reindeer husbandry (Allard 2006; Lantto & Mörkenstam 2008).

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries state policy on *Sami issues* was formed, and the first reindeer grazing acts were passed (in 1886 and 1898). According to previous research, actions during this formative period were influenced by governmental intentions to *protect and save* the Sami, in combination with a state notion of Sami as a *reindeer herding people*. Mörkenstam (1999) and Lantto (2012) concluded that the Swedish authorities perceived mountain reindeer husbandry as a nomadic monoculture and the *ideal* Sami livelihood, which was incompatible with the agricultural farming of Swedish settlers. Mörkenstam and Lantto further suggest that this dichotomic notion became deeply embedded in the formulation of Sami policies, reindeer grazing laws and regulations (Mörkenstam 1999; Lantto 2012). There is an embedded critique in the cited literature of the state's notions, although the authors do not empirically challenge the idea of Sami *as* reindeer herders or the mountain reindeer husbandry ideal. However, other scholars have shown that Sami communities had diverse livelihoods and reindeer husbandry was far from a monoculture. In both contemporary and historical times, Sami communities engaged in various activities, such as fishing, hunting, trapping and farming, as parts of their livelihood (Manker 1947; Arell 1977; Beach 1981; Lundmark 1982; Kvist 1989; Korpijaakko-Labba 1994; Nordin 2002; Nordin 2007; Päiviö 2011). Nevertheless, there is confusion in these previous studies between *Sami* livelihood and *reindeer husbandry* livelihood, a confusion that I believe clouds our understanding of Sami history. This body of research also primarily focuses on conditions in the mid-nineteenth century history and northern areas of current Swedish Sápmi. Thus, most studies largely consider situations before the state policy on *Sami issues* was formed and draw conclusions largely from material concerning communities in the north, which were more reliant on reindeer products and

practiced more extensive and nomadic reindeer husbandry than communities in southern Sápmi.

Aim

In this study, I address the tendency of Swedish state policy regarding the Sami from the late nineteenth century onward and studies on Sami history, to treat reindeer husbandry as much more important than other livelihoods practiced by Sami communities and families. By comparing livelihood diversity in southern and northern mountain-reindeer husbandry communities in Swedish Sápmi during the period 1860–1920, I aim to challenge the notions of Sami as reindeer herders and mountain reindeer husbandry as a nomadic monoculture. The study is structured around the following questions: a) What were the characteristics of livelihoods in these communities? b) How did members of the communities consider livelihood diversity? c) How did notions of Sami livelihoods that prevailed in national level politics and administration resonate with livelihoods that local Sami communities practiced during the focal period?

In the concluding discussion I scrutinize the role of “subsidiary trades,” such as hunting, fishing and farming, in reindeer husbandry and discuss problems and political dimensions of either subordinating these trades to reindeer husbandry or integrating them with it.

Study Areas

The compared areas (Fig. 1) have been selected because in both historical sources and previous literature they are described as Sami ‘mountain-reindeer husbandry communities’ (in terms that could be applied to both communities *per se* and territories used by the communities). Thus, they represent communities where reindeer husbandry was a vital part of the livelihood and they had a high degree of nomadism. From a Swedish state perspective, they represent the ideal Sami communities that Sami policies, reindeer grazing laws and regulations concerned (Mörkenstam 1999; Lantto 2012). Thus, livelihood diversity within these communities would certainly challenge the notions of Sami as reindeer herders and mountain reindeer husbandry as a nomadic monoculture. The southern study area include the reindeer grazing districts Ran, Gran, Ubmeje tjeälddie, Vapsten, Vilhelmina norra and Vilhelmina södra. The northern study area includes the reindeer grazing districts Könkämä, Lainiovuoma, Saarivuoma, Talma, Gabna, Laevas, Girjas, Báste, and Unna tjerusj.²

Central Analytical Concepts

A key analytical concept applied in the study is livelihood diversity, based on an understanding built on previous research on reindeer husbandry,

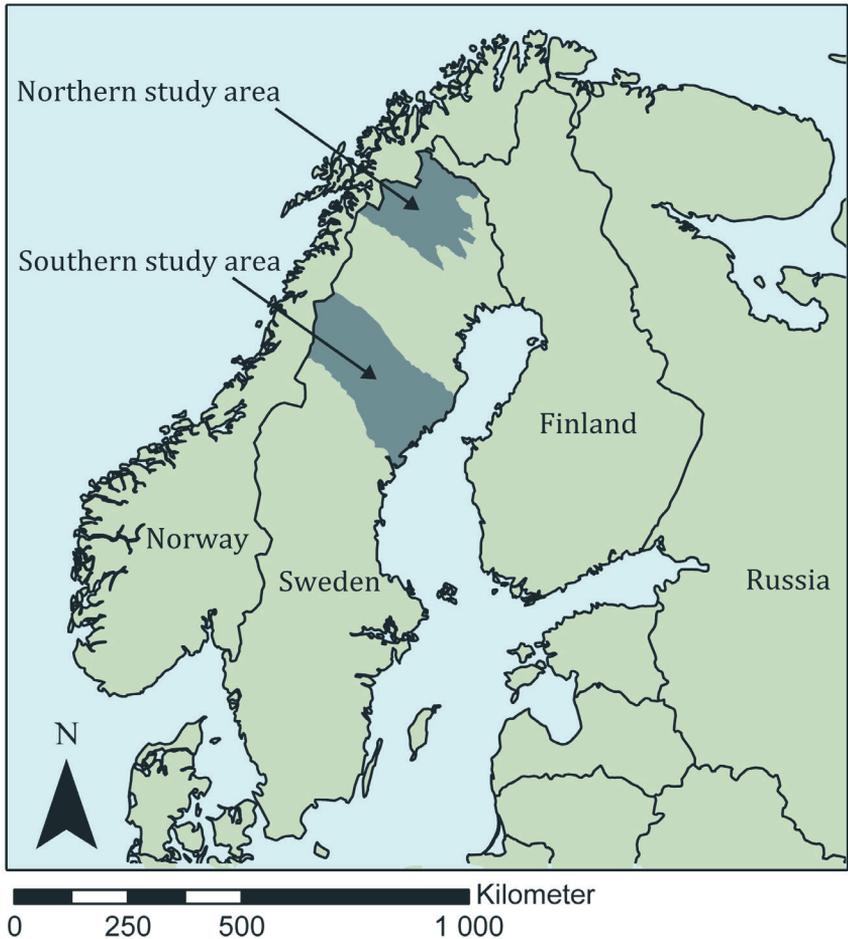


Fig. 1. Study areas. Map by the author.

especially studies by Nordin (2007) and Beach (1981).³ Nordin (2007) advocates an understanding of reindeer husbandry as a diverse and complex way of life, not a job or business. She shows that reindeer herders' understanding of their livelihood today encompasses far more than the reindeer and the spectrum of practices connected to the reindeer. She therefore suggests that subsidiary trades should be included in the economic structure of reindeer husbandry, as an integrated part of reindeer husbandry rather than as mere ancillary trades (Nordin 2007: 102–104). Using historical material, participating observations and conversations with herders from Tuorpon sameby, Beach (1981) demonstrates that hunting and fishing were significant economic aspects of reindeer husbandry during the 1970s (Beach 1981: 354). In addition, historical studies have shown that hunting,

fishing and farming were vital parts of reindeer herders' livelihoods during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Arell 1977: 144–180; Stoor 1991; Brännlund & Axelsson 2011). Here, I use the cited studies as points of departure and explore livelihood diversity period by examining fishing, hunting, trapping, herding and farming in the reindeer husbandry communities in the focal areas and time.

Methods and Sources

During the comparative analysis the paper is based upon I primarily focused on differences between the two study areas, although similarities were also considered (for a discussion of different comparative methods see: Van den Braembussche 1989). Semi-conventional and directed content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon 2005) were applied to examine aspects of livelihood diversity in the two areas. The combination of methods allowed distinct levels of liberty in readings and interpretations. Semi-conventional content analysis was first applied in examinations of reports regarding livelihoods, particularly in consideration of their socio-political contexts. The sources were subsequently reviewed again using directed content analysis, focusing on the preconception of livelihood diversity as including fishing, hunting, trapping, herding and farming. In this phase, particular attention was paid to discrepancies between notions of reindeer husbandry as a monoculture and reports of combined, multiple or complex land use and livelihoods. All the quotations and examples obtained from sources cited in the article illustrate general findings rather than isolated cases.

Source Materials and Their Historical Setting

This section summarizes all the materials subjected to the analytical procedure described above. From 1805 until the beginning of the twentieth century, the county governors in Sweden were obliged to present reports to the Crown every five years. These reports included information on their respective counties' characteristics, general condition, inhabitants and their livelihoods (BISOS H 1860-1905). The reports are brief, but contain useable, comparable information. All of the reports between 1860 and 1905 were examined.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Swedish government appointed Sami Bailiffs (*Lappfogdar*) in the three northernmost counties in Sweden. The positions soon became institutionalized as parts of the Swedish Sami administration, arranged under the County administration. The Sami bailiffs' archives include reports, protocols and correspondence dating back to the mid-nineteenth century. The bailiffs' yearly reports were thoroughly studied.

In the early twentieth century, Norway and Sweden negotiated terms

for transboundary reindeer husbandry. In this context, a committee was established in 1912 to investigate the conditions for reindeer husbandry on the Swedish side of the border.⁴ The committee report concerning the southern area was included in the study.⁵ The report is vast and contains information on reindeer husbandry, grazing lands, farming and combinations of livelihoods.

In 1919 a committee was appointed by the Swedish government to investigate *the Sami question* as a whole. The Committee's task was to examine the school system, the situation of non-reindeer herding Sami, poverty relief systems and reindeer husbandry (the committee's central concern). The committee conducted interviews throughout Swedish Sápmi with herders, settlers and supervisors within the Sami Bailiff administration. For the first time in Sweden, Sami representatives were included in the investigative work leading to the report. They were not appointed as members of the committee, but participated in working groups.⁶ However, their possibilities to direct and influence the work of the committee and the final report were limited (Lantto 2012: 145–146). The committee's archive includes details of hearings conducted with reindeer herders throughout Swedish Sápmi. The committee's list of questions clearly reveals an implicit notion that reindeer husbandry and settledness were incompatible.⁷

The leading questions, the implicit aim of the hearing and brevity of records from the northern districts have rendered analysis of the material derived from this area difficult.

As with most historical sources produced during the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the material underlying the current study was not produced by local communities, but by people and institutions in positions of *power*. The sources depict Swedish state officials' and county administrators' understanding of Sami culture, livelihoods and practices. The sources have been read with these restrictions and implications in mind, situating the sources in the historical context and paying attention to discrepancies between ideals of mountain reindeer husbandry and reported examples of the practices.

The sources were created in an environment where Sami livelihoods and reindeer husbandry was understood as being more or less the same. The reports that do aim to describe activities besides herding or caring for reindeer are riddled with inconsistencies and difficult to summarize. This has encouraged a largely qualitative approach, focusing on inconsistencies in reports of reindeer husbandry livelihoods to highlight a diversity that is not discernible in official representations of reindeer husbandry. During the early nineteenth century, when there were no firm discourses of race or ethnicity, reindeer husbandry could surely signify a difference. Since reindeer herders were almost

exclusively Sami, the connection of Saminess to reindeer husbandry was not farfetched—at least not for people outside the local community. Without this in mind, there is a high risk of analysis of historical material emphasizing reindeer husbandry at the expense of other trades and livelihoods leading to reproduction of the notion of Sami as reindeer herders.

Background and Previous Research

At the turn of the twentieth century, Sami land rights became more prominent issues in policy and legislation in Sweden. The political process at this time had profound significance for the future development of Indigenous land rights in Sweden (Allard 2006; Lundmark 2006). The political discussions, formulated policies and the Sami issue, as it was framed, all centered on reindeer husbandry. Further narrowing the frames, reindeer husbandry was also understood as best practiced by full-time nomadic reindeer herders (Mörkenstam 1999; Lantto 2012).

Previous researchers have identified several factors that contributed to the increased focus on Sami rights during this period, and why they became intimately linked to reindeer husbandry. Mörkenstam proposed that notions of Sami people as a vanishing race, under pressure of a dominant civilization, became rooted in popular and political debate. In this framework, reindeer husbandry was seen as the most traditional and suitable livelihood for the Sami race, thus protection of reindeer husbandry was, by analogy, protection of the Sami people (Mörkenstam 1999). Lantto and Beach also found evidence of growing conflicts between settlers and herders, especially in the southern areas of Swedish Sápmi. Both herders and settlers had called for legislation that could help resolve these conflicts (Beach 1981: 78–79; Lantto 2012: 16). Finally, relations with Norway strongly influenced the development of acts governing reindeer grazing in Swedish Sápmi. This is because there were growing conflicts between settlers in northern Norway and reindeer herders from northern Sweden, who used traditional grazing areas on the Norwegian side of the border in summer. Tensions between the two states, and the following Swedish-Norwegian Act of 1883 concerning movement of reindeer between the two countries, prompted legislation regulating reindeer grazing on the Swedish side of the border (Cramér & Prawitz 1970; Lantto & Mörkenstam 2008). It was in this context that the Acts concerning reindeer husbandry and Sami land rights were formulated at the turn of the twentieth century.

The Reindeer Grazing Acts of 1886 and 1898 addressed the rights of reindeer herders, *not* Sami rights to traditional lands. Protection of the nomadic culture was the driver in the legislative process. Counter images of diverse

and dynamic Sami livelihoods were presented in political discussions, but they were not heeded in the resulting policy or legislation (Mörkenstam 1999: 79–114). The Reindeer Grazing Act of 1886 constituted a new legal, cultural and practical structure for reindeer husbandry in Swedish Sápmi. The act converted existing *tjiellde* areas (large tracts of land traditionally used by Sami communities) into administrative units, *reindeer grazing districts*, to be overseen by the state. In areas lacking traditional *tjiellde* areas, reindeer grazing districts were designated by the county administration. From then on reindeer husbandry was to be practiced, administered and economically handled jointly within each reindeer grazing district. The act limited people's rights to move between the districts. The county board was assigned authority to handle reindeer husbandry affairs and move people between districts, if the number of active herders in a district was deemed too high (Lantto 2000: 39–40).

The Reindeer Grazing Act of 1898 clarified the terms of the previous act. Every reindeer grazing district was obliged to establish regulations for conduct (Swedish *byaordningar*), specifying how the legislation was applied in the specific district.⁸ The Reindeer Grazing Act of 1898 prohibited resident non-Sami people in the counties of Västerbotten and Jämtland from owning reindeer and in 1917 a limitation was also introduced in the northern area of Norrbotten county (Nordin 2002: 87–88). The restriction was enforced despite protests from both Sami reindeer herders and Swedish settlers (Nordin 2002: 91–93). Nordin suggests that the probation was intended to “prevent the Sami from getting into contact with other residents, to avoid them being tempted to abandon the Sami way of life in favor of the Swedish” (Nordin 2002: 88).

Previous research on Sami livelihoods in the Swedish part of Sápmi has focused primarily on reindeer husbandry. Several studies have revealed a history of high flexibility, adaptability and diversity in the practices involved (Forbes *et al.* 2006; Lundmark 2007: 155; Oskal 2009; Brännlund & Axelsson 2011; Brännlund 2015). In addition, several variants have been commonly described, including “mountain,” “forest,” “intensive” and “extensive” husbandry and herding (Hultblad 1968; Arell 1977; Ingold 1980; Beach 1981; Lundmark 1982). Moreover, most reindeer husbandry studies have focused on practices in the northern part of Swedish Sápmi (see, for example, Drake 1918; Göthe 1929; Bylund 1956; Hultblad 1968; Arell 1977; Beach 1981; Lundmark 1982; Kvist 1989). Reindeer husbandry and Sami history in southern areas of Swedish Sápmi have received much less attention.⁹ In previous studies there was also a tendency to use terms such as *Sami*, *nomads* and *reindeer herders* interchangeably, making the texts difficult to interpret.

Diversity of Reindeer Husbandry Livelihoods, 1860–1920

Historical studies on reindeer husbandry suggest that the importance of fishing, hunting and other means of subsistence continually decreased from the eighteenth century onwards in the Swedish part of the Sami area (Manker 1947; Hultblad 1968; Arell 1977; Lundmark 1982). Without questioning the conclusions drawn in previous research, the results of this study show that Sami livelihoods in mountain reindeer husbandry communities were still diverse during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In both the northern and southern study areas, families practiced various combined livelihoods, had supplementary incomes, and there were systems for trading goods and services within the community. In both areas a proportion of the herders reportedly did not live solely on income from reindeer, but rather made their living through a combination of reindeer husbandry, fishing, hunting and trapping, farming and trade.¹⁰

Livelihood Diversity in the Southern Area. Farming and Settlements

Previous research has revealed that reindeer husbandry in the southern area (Fig. 2) was characterized by an intensive form of husbandry, with long migrations between pastures, but close guarding and caring for smaller herds during summer (Manker 1947: 78–88; Ruong 1982: 64–70). Combining reindeer husbandry with agriculture and farming was an established practice in the southern area.¹¹ The extent of this combined livelihood is illustrated in a report from 1909–1910 showing that 35 families in the area lived on a combination of farming and reindeer herding, and 66 relied solely on products of their herd.¹² The farms and agricultural properties in the area ranged from small-scale farms with potato fields and a few goats to agricultural settlements with cows, horses and barns.¹³

The propriety of the combined livelihood was defended by herders in hearings of the Sami committee of 1919. Anders Wilks from Vilhelmina north reindeer grazing district explained to the committee that the combination of reindeer husbandry and farming was important as: “reindeer herders who combined the two were better off than others.”¹⁴ He also stated that a farm was a suitable capital investment and place to reside when “one gets too old” for herding activities.¹⁵ Wilks’ notions were supported by several other herders who attended the meeting with the committee.¹⁶ The idea that an agricultural farm was a good place to reside in later life is a recurrent theme in reports from the southern area.¹⁷

However, there seem to have been different opinions about the suitability of farms or agricultural settlements, depending on their size and location. The herders seemed to favor small-scale farms, owned by reindeer

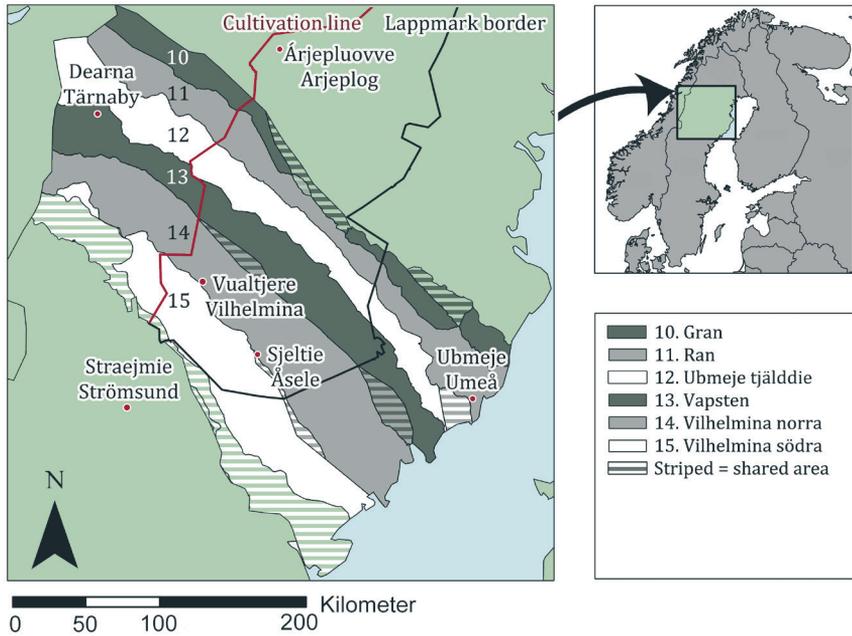


Fig. 2. Reindeer husbandry districts in the southern study area. Map by the author.

herding- or Sami families in the mountain region. Larger-scale settlements were seen as more suitable in the forest regions.¹⁸ Besides establishing a new settlement and farm, or building houses themselves, reindeer herders sometimes bought established settlements that were interfering with reindeer husbandry or at times when settlers were harassing the reindeer.¹⁹

As well as farming, fishing reportedly made important contributions to households' incomes. Indeed, despite the many accounts of combined reindeer husbandry and farming, in 1903 the Bailiff of the southern area stated that:

[F]ishing is as good as the only supplementary trade that the county's mountain Sami practice. And this they do, as soon as the opportunity arises, and it is in most cases their only means of subsistence when they have lost their reindeer and fallen into poverty.²⁰

The importance of fishing and hunting was also raised by local herders from Ran and Gran districts, in a written statement to the County governor of Västerbotten in 1901: "The settled people are mostly poor and have to intrude on our hunting and fishing grounds in order to make a living for themselves."²¹

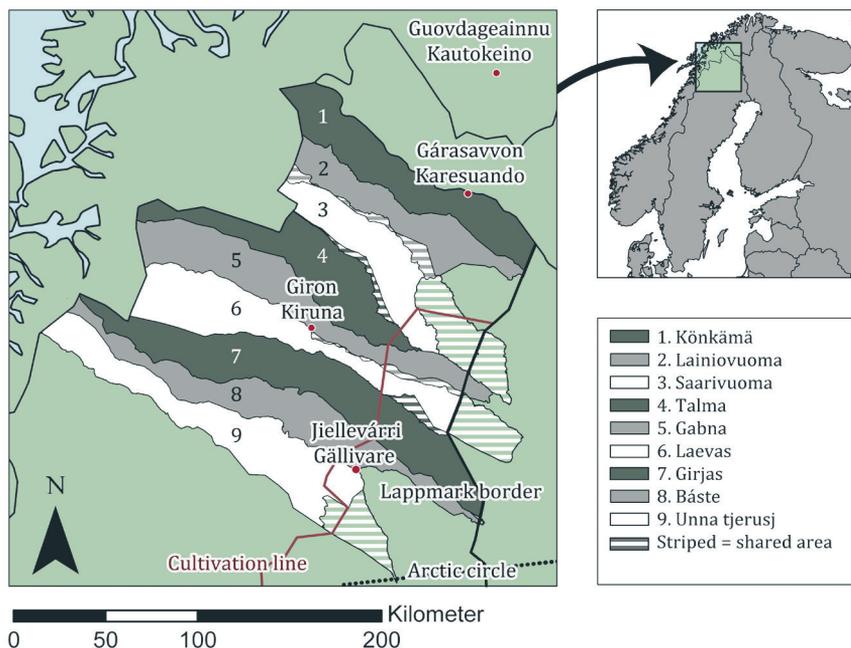


Fig. 3. Reindeer husbandry districts in the northern study area. Map by the author.

Livelihood Diversity in the Northern Area. Fishing and Hunting

In contrast to the conditions in the southern area (see Fig. 3), Sami language and culture still dominated in the northern area. Spanning the Tornedalen area, the northern part of Swedish Sápmi had also long been influenced by Finnic Meänkieli and Kven language and culture (Elenius 2001). However, following colonization by settlers and migration of workers to mining communities in the areas of Girjas, Báste and Unna tjerusj in Gällivare parish, the conditions steadily changed and Swedish gradually became a more dominant language in the region (Warg 2002: 88–91).²² During the period reindeer husbandry practices also changed, as new forms that were initially adopted in the north spread to the south. This involved more extensive herding with big herds, long migrations between pasture areas and, especially in summer, less close guarding of the animals.

The importance of agriculture and farming within the frames of a reindeer husbandry livelihood seems to have differed between the northern and southern areas. In 1908, the bailiff in the northern area wrote in his yearly report that the herders in this area did not want to settle and that “own houses and new settlements will inevitably lead to loss of grazing lands they require, leading in a short time to their extinction as nomads.”²³ In a hearing of the 1919 committee, herders from the northern area simply stated that they did

not combine farming with reindeer husbandry. Herders who owned agricultural properties had leased them out to a farmer. Furthermore, it was stated that “year-round settlement in reindeer grazing lands was not occurring”; apparently only two people from the reindeer grazing districts in question had summer settlements in the mountain area, in order to fish during spring, summer or autumn. It is not clear how the committee or informants conceptualized and understood farm or farming. How the question was formulated in front of the audience is not clear either, since the protocol from the hearing is very brief.²⁴ In contrast with the 1919 committee’s protocols, other reports tell of summer settlements with both cows and goats in the northern area.²⁵ In 1916, the Bailiff of the northern districts expressed concern about the way reindeer husbandry was practiced in some of the reindeer grazing districts during summer. He tells that herders in the districts Talma, Gabna, Laevas, Girjas and Bäste had the custom of settling down by a fishing lake during summer and only occasionally engaging with herding of the reindeer:

In some of the districts, for example Laevas, this has already gotten to the point where no Sami go up to the reindeer [during summer] but instead stay in the lodge, harvest hay, build gohti [turf cots] and goat houses, milk goats etc. etc.²⁶

This practice reflects the extensive reindeer herding method, in which several families or even a whole community kept their reindeers together in one big herd during summer. As caring for the reindeer did not require the attention of everyone in the community, some members could engage in fishing and small-scale farming during the summer months.

In the northern area, reindeer grazing lands were also reportedly valued in terms of fishing opportunities and quality.²⁷ The Bailiff in the north also judged fishing to be the most appropriate practice to combine with reindeer husbandry, as it could be done “on the road” without competing with the husbandry.²⁸ Hunting and trapping were also practiced by herders in these communities. The Bailiff in the northern area was concerned in 1920 because:

a significant group of Sami in the districts cannot support themselves solely on products from reindeer herding, [and] they must seek supplementary income from other activities, the most common being fishing, trapping white grouse and hunting.²⁹

Competing Land Uses and Prerequisites for Farming

The previous two sections show that the trend to settle and engage in farming was stronger in the southern than in the northern area. There are several factors that could help explain this difference. During the focal period, Swedish-speaking settlers had changed the cultural and physical landscape in the southern area (Göthe 1929; Pettersson 1982*a*; Pettersson 1982*b*). Colonization created competition for natural resources, but also opportunities for acculturation between the groups, with exchange of knowledge, trades and customs. During the nineteenth century the state transformed the land-use structure in Swedish Sápmi by dismantling the taxation land system (in which land was held and used by Sami families, and taxed). The system played a major role in Sami communities' land use in the southern area (Korpijaakko-Labba 1994; Lundmark 2006; Päiviö 2011). Thus, I suggest that the combination of settlers and dismantling of the taxation land system created competition for natural resources in the area and left Sami families with farming as the only officially recognized pathway to individual title over land.³⁰

The northern area is located in inner parts of Swedish Sápmi, above the Arctic Circle, it thus provided less suitable conditions for agricultural farming than the southern area, and colonization by settlers had been less intense in these parts than in the southern region. Furthermore, as shown by Korpijaakko-Labba and Päiviö, reindeer husbandry communities in the northern area had a strong tradition of *siida*-³¹ and *tjiellde*-based land-use structures, which fitted the extensive form of reindeer husbandry practiced in the region. Thus, Sami families did not have the same tradition of individual- or family-based land use or ownership (Korpijaakko-Labba 1994; Päiviö 2011). These factors might explain why families in the northern area sought individual ownership of farmlands less frequently than families in the southern area.

The Reindeer Tending System. Livelihood Diversity

Communities in both the northern and southern areas commonly engaged in complex reindeer tending arrangements. Frequently, reindeer herders looked after reindeer owned by others in exchange for goods or other services. The owner could be anyone that the herding family sought good relationships with, regardless of ethnic affiliation. The arrangement could be of mutual benefit for both the herder and owner, and created a structure enabling diversity of livelihoods within the extended families, Sami communities and local communities (Nordin 2002). In the following text, tended reindeer refer to reindeer owned by someone other than the herder (who cared for and tended them).

The sources include several accounts of reindeer tending systems, in both the southern and northern areas. However, inconsistencies in the sources prohibit a longitudinal study of proportions of reindeers that were not tended by their owners. Some administrators' constant uncertainty about (and fixation with) ethnicity, together with their perception of Sami ethnicity's rigid link with nomadism, prevents determination of exact trends in proportions of such reindeer over time, or differences in proportions of tending arrangements between the two areas. The sources do provide some numerical indications of the practice and differences in its extent between districts, as shown in Table 1. However, due to the complex spectrum of reindeer husbandry systems, as discussed above, the presented numbers should be solely viewed as rough, illustrative indications.

The data, derived from an official report on the conditions for reindeer husbandry in Västerbotten between 1912 and 1916, are riddled with uncertainties and complications, as discussed in the following text. However, they display interesting variations. As shown in the table, the report stated that reindeer herding families in the districts tended 75,091 reindeer³², of which 12,364 belonged to non-reindeer herding families and Norwegian citizens. This suggests that 17 per cent of the reindeers they tended were owned by someone else. In addition, the report states that 609 reindeer (included in Table 1) owned by "Sami people in the districts" (it is unclear whether or not these people were reindeer herders) were tended in Jämtland or Norrbotten.³³

District	No. reindeer herders own reindeer*	No. reindeer belonging to others**	Total number of reindeer in district	Percentage of reindeer owned by other than the herder
Vilhelmina södra	10,152	1,040	11,192	9%
Vilhelmina norra	16,076	1,629	17,705	9%
Vapsten	4,966	1,111	6,077	18%
Ubmeje tjeälddie	14,335	1,361	15,696	9%
Ran	7,650	5,281	12,931	41%
Gran	8,308	1,799	10,107	18%
The whole area	61,487	12,221	73,708	17%

N: 75,091. Percentage is rounded to nearest whole percent.

1,240 reindeer in the districts was 'unmarked' or had 'unknown owners.' These are not included in the table.

Source: Utredningar ang. lappförhållanden p. 43 table II.

*: Explicitly including herders, herders with farms and/or settlements and 'feeble' former herders.

**: Explicitly including Sami, Non-Sami and Norwegian citizens.

Table 1. Example of proportions of reindeer tended by their owners and other people in the southern area, year 1909–1910.

The table also shows substantial differences in proportions of tended reindeer among the districts, ranging from 9 to over 40 per cent.³⁴ The proportion was highest in Ran, where the report stated that 5,270 reindeer belonged to people who were not active herders. The report, other data sources and previous studies I have examined provide no comments on or explanations for the high proportion in Ran.

As already mentioned, the information in the report is riddled with complications. For example, scattered comments indicate that the reindeer numbers presented in the table were drawn from official reindeer counts and information about occupation and ethnicity from official population registers, together with information from Sami people themselves. However, details of the methodology used to acquire the data, and the numbers themselves, are poorly described. A further complication is that the Reindeer Grazing Act of 1898 prohibited resident people of Swedish nationality from owning reindeer in the southern reindeer grazing districts. This clause of the law was opposed by the herders, as noted by the Bailiff: “In spite of the clear prohibition by §27 in the Reindeer grazing law, some Sami still tend for reindeer belonging to residents of Swedish nationality,” a tendency that he said was not reflected in the official reindeer statistics.³⁵ In addition, terms related to identity and occupation used in the report (such as herder, Sami and farmer) are used inconsistently. This greatly hinders attempts to analyze reindeer husbandry in isolation from Sami livelihoods in general, or study Sami livelihood in isolation from the livelihoods of other settled people. Furthermore, the report presents inaccurate information, for example about traditional reindeer grazing lands, raising questions about the general quality of information it contains. However, the complexities in the report are interesting in their own right, showing the difficulties that administrators faced with comprehending and representing a dynamic and complex livelihood.

Information from the archives of the Sami Bailiff in the northernmost district of Norrbotten from 1907 to 1908 provided comparative data for the information in the report from the southern area. Ideally, I would have compared two reports derived from the same source, covering the same time, but no such source was found. Reports from the northern area suggest that proportions of tended reindeer were lower than in the southern districts (Table 2).

The Bailiff in the northern area reported reindeer numbers and proportions of tended reindeer on a parish level, hindering more detailed analysis of reported numbers. The report states that the herders of these districts tended 84,376 reindeer, of which 5,209 belonged to non-herders and 1,452 to Norwegian citizens, suggesting that herders of the area were acting as care-takers for 8 per cent of the total reindeer (Table 2). However, this per-

Parish	Districts	No. reindeer herders own reindeer*	No. reindeer belonging to others**	Total number of reindeer in district	Percentage of reindeer owned by other than the herder
Karesuando	Karesuando Lainivuoma	29,531	973	30,504	3%
Juckasjärvi	Saarivuoma Talma Gabna Laevas	25,826	1,642	27,468	6%
Gellivare	Girjas Bäste Unna tjerusj	22,358	4,046	26,404	15%
The whole area		77,715	6,661	84,376	8%

N: 84,367. Percentage is rounded to nearest whole per cent.
Source: Årsberättelsen Lappfogden Norrbottens län 1907–1908 (p. 487).
*: In the source it says “Normadic and forest reindees.” Intertext analysis suggests that these numbers are equivalent to ‘Reindees herders own reindeer.’
**: In the source it says “Reindeer belonging to non reindeer herders and Norwegian citizens.” Intertext analysis suggests that these numbers are equivalent to “Reindeer belonging to others.”

Table 2. Example of proportions of reindeer tended by their owners and other people in the northern area, year 1908.

centage varied substantially among parishes within the area, and the most northerly had smaller percentages than the most southerly parishes.³⁶ The same tendencies were also evident in the later part of the period. Although the Bailiff in the north did not express general concern about the reindeer tending system, he did not seem to like too much variation among the districts. In 1916 he complained about the high proportion of these reindeer in Unna tjerusj.³⁷ He regarded it as a sign of the herders lacking the drive to prosper and develop their livelihood. In contemplations about the reason for this he suggested that it was: “their custom of trusting the resident people’s reindeer that has made them passive.”³⁸

In conclusion, the reports show substantial variation among districts, indicating that in this case a south-north comparison might be less relevant than a detailed comparison of the districts. However, in accordance with the confusing reports of the administrators, the study shows that the distinction between active reindeer herder and passive reindeer owner was loose and dynamic in the historic reindeer husbandry context.³⁹ Owners’ engagement in looking after the reindeer and associated activities ranged from part-time to none at all. In addition, the personal connections between the herders and owners ranged from close family relationships to links through the Sami bailiff.⁴⁰ This suggests that the reindeer tending system both bonded people in the area more closely and bridged ethnic and social boundaries.

The Nomadic Reindeer Husbandry Ideal

Previous research has shown that in national politics, governmental reports and within the developing Sami administration, reindeer husbandry was singled out as *the* Sami livelihood during the focal period. Other forms of subsistence, trades and ways of life were not regarded *as* Sami, nor appropriate *for* Sami (Mörkenstam 1999; Lantto 2012). These notions are reflected in the material this study is based upon, primarily in discussions about settledness among Sami.

The sources reveal that within Swedish administrative bodies, farming and settledness were closely connected concepts, sometimes used interchangeably and connected to “Swedish” culture and ethnicity. Nomadism, in contrast, was used synonymously with reindeer herding and connected to Sami culture and ethnicity. This issue is most clear in matters concerning official registers. As ethnicity was not self-reported and administrative officials connected Sami ethnicity to reindeer husbandry, people who transferred to other ways of life were ethnically registered as Swedes in official records, see for example the Västerbotten Governor’s own discussion of this (BISOS H Västerbotten 1901–1905).

The reports of both Västerbotten and Norrbotten county governors reveal that they had adopted the ethnic settler-nomad distinction, but not without difficulty. Confusion about the terms settled and nomad was strong, and there are inconsistencies in their use throughout the records (BISOS H 1860–1905). The governor of the southern county was especially concerned about the declining number of nomadic Sami (BISOS H Västerbotten 1860–1905).

In the southern area the degrees of settledness were also especially dynamic. This caused problems for Swedish administrators in upholding an imaginary boundary between reindeer herder and settler. In some reports this is clearly expressed, but in most cases it is only discernible through inconsistencies in concepts and enumerations.

The notion that the true Sami was a reindeer herder and the true reindeer herder was a nomad were constant themes in the sources.⁴¹ However, it clearly conflicts with the complexity, diversity and dynamics of Sami livelihoods shown in this study.

Policy, legislation and administration of Sami issues during the focal period were strongly oriented towards reindeer husbandry, making it more uniform and Sami families more dependent on reindeer products. On the county administration level, strong voices opposed combining livelihoods within the family. The diversity was viewed as a token of the diminishment of traditional nomadic reindeer husbandry culture, a culture that the admin-

istrators set out to protect. Farming was especially seen as a potential hindrance to the continuation of reindeer husbandry (BISOS H Västerbotten 1860-1905).⁴² For example, at a hearing of the 1919 committee, the Assistant Bailiff in Västerbotten, Petrus Holmgren, and Sami supervisors, opposed the herders' notions of the appropriate combination of husbandry and farming. In stark contradiction, they stated that "there are no advantages" of combining farming and husbandry, that "it will have disappointing consequences," and that the reindeer herders will end up in "relief systems for the poor."⁴³ Similarly, in a report concerning the situation for Sami in Västerbotten County, conducted by prospective Bailiffs, the investigators concluded that:

Experience has shown that someone who tries to be both active reindeer herder and farmer cannot fully engage in either of the professions. Instead they are both usually done half-heartedly [...] such half-heartedness cannot be tolerated. A primary condition for practicing autonomous, active herding has therefore been set: that the prospective herder confines himself solely to reindeer herding, and if he previously owned a farm or practiced agriculture he completely stops any participation in the activity, and either sells his farm or leases it out to another person. Only those who accept these regulations can be considered as nomads. If they violate them their status will be changed, without further ado, and they will be counted as residents.⁴⁴

The reluctance to allow agriculture in reindeer husbandry contexts, as portrayed in the report, was not applied universally to all forms of farming activities. The administrators seemed happy to allow herders to have some goats, in mountain summer camps. They mentioned that goat keeping, in contrast to other forms of farming, "is something that is conducted very generally, for example by nomads as *pure* as the Jokkmokk Sami."⁴⁵ Here we see how the practices are valued in relation to their perception of *genuine* or *true* reindeer husbandry (and Sami culture), for which the herders in Jokkmokk apparently served as an ideal in this case.

Livelihood Diversity and Politics of Confinement. Concluding Discussion

The presented comparison of Sami livelihoods in southern and northern parts of Swedish Sápmi in the period 1860–1920 clearly challenges the notions of Sami *as* reindeer herders and mountain reindeer husbandry as a nomadic monoculture. The results reveal clear evidence of diversity in terms of livelihood means and degrees of nomadism and settlement within the communities defined as being *nomadic reindeer herders*. In both areas, livelihood

diversity was manifested in various combinations of herding, fishing, hunting and farming (although the farming tended to be small-scale and restricted to summer in the north). There are also several other aspects of livelihood diversity, relevant to the study, which were not documented in the archived material. For example, part-time jobs, forestry, handicrafts and trading, that certainly engaged various members of the communities at times.

The ideal of nomadism, eluded to in the study, was a notion that strongly guided the legislative and political processes leading to the first Reindeer Grazing Acts of 1886 and 1898. As Mörkenstam states:

The nomadic culture as a fundament for legislation has major effects on individual Samis' rights. The state does not recognize individual rights to land. [...] The rights that are recognized are founded on an interpretation of a traditional nomadic lifestyle where the livelihood is collective in nature. (Mörkenstam 1999: 94)

The legislation of 1886 and the acts that followed confined Sami land use to reindeer husbandry (with associated fishing and hunting rights), and hindered diversification of livelihoods (Cramér & Prawitz 1970; Mörkenstam 1999; Lantto 2012). The reindeer tending system that provided possibilities for farmers and settlers, regardless of ethnicity, to engage in reindeer husbandry and build interdependent relationships was successively restricted during the period. The policies promoted further segregation of farming and herding, the settled and the nomad, not livelihood diversity (Nordin 2002). As the results of this study show, reindeer herding families divided tasks and responsibilities in various ways. However, for Sami people who did not live mainly off reindeer husbandry, the laws and regulations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries strongly hindered the exercise of land rights, including fishing, hunting, trapping and farming on their traditional lands. The Sami who were not reindeer herders came to be viewed in legislation as any other Swedish citizen (Mörkenstam 1999: 79–114).

The identified trends relate to two parallel state policies regarding the Sami people during this time period. One tried to assimilate non-reindeer herding Sami into Swedish society and the other strove to segregate reindeer herding Sami. These parallel processes have been discussed by previous researchers in relation to the schooling of Sami children, a prominent issue in Sami politics during this time (Mörkenstam 1999; Sjögren 2010). I understand the parallel processes of assimilation *and* segregation as politics of confinement, conflicting with the diversity of settlement, livelihood and social structures in Sami communities that this study has identified.

The results of the study show that the notion of Sami as reindeer herd-

ers and the idealization of nomadic reindeer husbandry, held and reinforced by policy-makers and legislators during this time, was not anchored in the practice or ideal of local Sami communities. The study shows that although the notion may have been more consistent with practices in the northern area, there was also substantial diversity of Sami livelihoods across the northern area, which conflicted considerably with policy aims and the beliefs that engendered them. The importance of hunting, fishing and small-scale farming for Sami families has been expressed in previous studies (Arell 1977; Beach 1981; Nordin 2007; Brännlund 2015). However, in contrast to these previous studies, the current study has not focused on livelihood diversity of *reindeer husbandry*, but the livelihood diversity of Sami communities labelled as *mountain reindeer husbandry communities*: an important distinction.

If we place all trades and livelihoods practiced by people with some connection to reindeer husbandry (listed as part of a reindeer grazing district or *tjiellde* community, for example) *within* the frames of reindeer husbandry, or as Nordin (2007: 101–104) advocates, as an *integrated* part of reindeer husbandry—what Sami livelihoods are not then reindeer husbandry? This construct risks expunging non-reindeer herding Sami experiences and livelihoods from history, and reinforcing the notion of Sami as reindeer herders. Regarding reindeer husbandry as much more important than other livelihoods practiced by Sami communities and families (and more distinctly *Sami*) may also have political effects, especially for non-reindeer herding Sami striving for indigenous land rights.

NOTES

- ¹ An administrative and financial union tied to an extensive area of land along an annual reindeer migration route.
- ² The reindeer husbandry communities were under the authority of different county administrations and “Sami administrations.” The northern area was under the jurisdiction of Norrbotten County and the Norrbotten’s Sami Bailiff’s office (from 1916 Norrbotten’s north Sami bailiff’s office). In the historical records the reindeer husbandry communities are named as follows: Gabna: Rautasvuoma, Laevas: Kaalasvuoma, Girjas: Norrkaitum, Bäste: Mellanbyn and Unna tjerusj: Sörkaitum. The southern area was under the jurisdiction of Västerbotten’s County and Västerbotten’s Sami Bailiff’s office. Ubmeje tjeiddie is named Umbyn in the historical records.
- ³ It might be objected that the reference points for the work of Nordin (and to some extent Beach) are contemporary reindeer husbandry practices, thus the conceptions of livelihood diversity and social networks derived from their work might not be suitable for analysis of historical reindeer husbandry. However, as discussed above, the framing of the concepts applied here resonates with more historical studies on reindeer husbandry. Furthermore, as guiding concepts they have been open for reticulations and paired by semi-conventional content analysis, while the methodology as a whole has retained possibilities to detect and acknowledge possible divergence between contemporary and historical practices.
- ⁴ See also Lantto 2012: 141–142, on this matter.
- ⁵ Utredningar angående lappförhållanden inom Västerbottens län av C. Österberg, H. Jonasson och E. Bergström. Del II. [‘Inquiry of Sami issues in Västerbotten County’]/ HLA/ Lappfogdens i Västerbottens län arkiv/ Vol: Ö Utredningar ang. Lappförhållanden
- ⁶ Lappkommittén 1919 [‘Sami committee of 1919’]. RA/(YK 193) Vol: I.
- ⁷ The questions addressed included: Whether it is suitable “for a reindeer herding Sami to also have a farm” and whether a nomadic Sami should have the right “to build a cabin in a reindeer grazing area.” Examples of follow-up questions that the committee raised were: “could building a cottage tempt the herder to stay in that place, then start to cultivate the land more extensively and pull him from his true livelihood towards a settled life?”
- ⁸ They included regulations regarding migration routes, numbers of guards and (in the southern areas) taxation lands.
- ⁹ Gustav Göthe compiled a vast thesis on the colonization of Umeå lappmark, but the focus was on the settler perspective and it concerned the period from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century (Göthe 1929). Sigrid Drake contributed an ethnographic study on southern Sami livelihoods during the first part of the nineteenth century. However, her thesis (published in 1918) is in the form of a lexicon on customs and tools used in daily work, and it does not relate to the questions posed in this paper (Drake 1918). Christer Westerdahl, an archeologist by schooling, recorded the diversity of Sami land use in the southern area of Swedish Sápmi. The work briefly describes conditions at the turn of the twentieth century, but naturally the study focused on older times, particularly archeological aspects and folklore (Westerdahl 2008).
- ¹⁰ Utredningar angående lappförhållanden inom Västerbottens län av C. Österberg, H. Jonasson och E. Bergström. Del II; Lappfogdens i Norrbottens norra distrikt årsberättelser 1890–1924 [Sami Bailiff in Norrbottens Northern District]. HLA/ Lappfogdens i Norr-

- bottens norra district/ Vol: BIII:1; Handlingar angående renskötsel 1908–1917 [‘Records of Reindeer Husbandry 1908–1917’]. HLA/ Lappfogdens i Västerbottens län arkiv/ Vol: F XIV:1.; Lappkommittén 1919 Vol: I.
- ¹¹ Utredningar angående lappförhållanden inom Västerbottens län av C. Österberg, H. Jonasson och E. Bergström. Del II; Lappfogden i Västerbottens län. Årsberättelse 1898. 1899. 17/2, nr 30. [‘Sami bailiff in Västerbotten yearly report of 1898’]. RA/Civildepartementet I/Vol: EI. Konseljakter.
 - ¹² Utredningar angående lappförhållanden inom Västerbottens län av C. Österberg, H. Jonasson och E. Bergström. Del II: 15, 39. No comparative reports for the northern area have been found, but there are also indications of multiple and diverse means of livelihoods among reindeer herding families in this area.
 - ¹³ Lappkommittén 1919 Vol: I: 1–4 [book spread 17–20], 2–3 [book spread 4–5].
 - ¹⁴ Lappkommittén 1919 Vol: I: 2 [book spread 4].
 - ¹⁵ Lappkommittén 1919 Vol: I: 2 [book spread 4].
 - ¹⁶ Lappkommittén 1919 Vol: I: 2 [book spread 4].
 - ¹⁷ Utredningar angående lappförhållanden inom Västerbottens län av C. Österberg, H. Jonasson och E. Bergström. Del II: 75.
 - ¹⁸ Lappkommittén 1919 Vol: I: 1–4 [book spread 17–20], 2–3 [book spread 4–5].
 - ¹⁹ Utredningar angående lappförhållanden inom Västerbottens län av C. Österberg, H. Jonasson och E. Bergström. Del II: 66–67.
 - ²⁰ Lappfogden i Västerbottens län. Årsberättelse 1902. 1903. 30/1. [Sami Bailiff in Västerbotten Yearly Report of 1902]. RA/Civildepartementet I/Vol: EI. Konseljakter.
 - ²¹ Handlingar angående renskötsel 1908–1917: 190.
 - ²² Colonisation in this area had, however, a long history predating migration to mining communities. See, for example, Bylund 1956: 64–66.
 - ²³ Lappfogdens i Norrbottens norra distrikt årsberättelse 1908: 493
 - ²⁴ Lappkommittén 1919 Vol: I
 - ²⁵ Lappfogdens i Norrbottens norra distrikt årsberättelser 1890–1924; See also: Hultblad 1968: 129–130; Beach 1981: 45
 - ²⁶ Lappfogdens i Norrbottens norra distrikt årsberättelse 1916: 565
 - ²⁷ Lappfogdens i Norrbottens norra distrikt årsberättelse 1896: 161
 - ²⁸ Lappfogdens i Norrbottens norra distrikt årsberättelse 1916: 601.
 - ²⁹ Lappfogdens i Norrbottens norra distrikt årsberättelse 1920: 707
 - ³⁰ Furthermore, previous research has shown that herders often chose their former taxation lands as sites for establishing a new farm (Bylund 1956: 210–211; Lantto 2000: 79). I believe these factors acted synergistically with herders’ desire to establish or take over farms as capital investments and as a means to spread risks.
 - ³¹ Geographical area and social community, smaller unit than a tjiellde.
 - ³² Reindeer belonging to elderly people who had settled down were also included in this category.
 - ³³ Utredningar angående lappförhållanden inom Västerbottens län av C. Österberg, H. Jonasson och E. Bergström. Del II: 43.
 - ³⁴ Utredningar angående lappförhållanden inom Västerbottens län av C. Österberg, H. Jonasson och E. Bergström. Del II: 43.
 - ³⁵ Lappfogden i Västerbottens län. Årsberättelse 1916 [‘Sami bailiff in Västerbotten yearly report of 1916’]. RA/Renbetesdelegerade 1913 (YK 1766)/ Vol: 20 Handlingar rörande lappfogdeberättelser och lappfogdens verksamhet i Västerbotten: 28–29.
 - ³⁶ Lappfogdens i Norrbottens norra distrikt årsberättelse 1908: 487. Following the bailiff’s

writings the distinction he made was between the reindeer herders themselves (who he calls *the Sami*), non-reindeer herders (who he called *the residents*) and Norwegian citizens.

³⁷ Former name: Sörkaitum

³⁸ Lappfogdens i Norrbottens norra distrikt årsberättelse 1916: 561. The Bailiff's statement is obviously questionable and has patronizing, derogatory undertones. However, previous researchers have suggested that high proportions of reindeer being tended for other people may have raised problems. Nordin, for example suggests that it could have resituated herders as "attendants rather independent herders" (Nordin 2002: 103).

³⁹ Lappkommittén 1919 Vol: I.

⁴⁰ Utredningar angående lappförhållanden inom Västerbottens län av C. Österberg, H. Jonasson och E. Bergström. Del II; Lappfogdens i Norrbottens norra distrikt årsberättelser 1890–1924; Lappkommittén 1919 Vol I; Nordin 2002, p. 157.

⁴¹ Utredningar angående lappförhållanden inom Västerbottens län av C. Österberg, H. Jonasson och E. Bergström. Del II; Lappfogdens i Norrbottens norra distrikt årsberättelser 1890–1924; Lappkommittén 1919 Vol: I.

⁴² See also: Lappkommittén 1919 Vol: I.

⁴³ Lappkommittén 1919 Vol: I

⁴⁴ Utredningar angående lappförhållanden inom Västerbottens län av C. Österberg, H. Jonasson och E. Bergström. Del II: 411.

⁴⁵ Utredningar angående lappförhållanden inom Västerbottens län av C. Österberg, H. Jonasson och E. Bergström. Del II: 71.

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Recurring Colonial Ignorance

A Genealogy of the Swedish Energy System

ABSTRACT This chapter sketches a genealogy of the backbone of the Swedish energy system—hydroelectricity, starting with the recent state investigation on Water Activities and its version of history that stands in contrast to research showing the historical as well as present-day colonialism manifested in Swedish policy on hydropower development in Sápmi and the apparent exclusionary practice of only inviting certain stakeholders to participate in the investigation, none of whom represented Sami organisations or institutions. In order to trace the formation of this practice, a lineage is established through a study of the uncharted judicial and political impacts of an exemption act facilitating hydroelectric power extraction during the Second World War, an act that eventually became conventional law. After the war, Swedish hydropower expansion was mainly pursued in the northern parts of the country, which coincide with Sápmi—the traditional land of the Indigenous Sami people. Sweden's environmental policies of today are focused on what is perceived as renewable and sustainable energy sources. While leaning heavily on hydropower, these policies rarely acknowledge the consequences of hydropower extraction in Sápmi. Nor are the traces of water rights left in the terrain recognised, traces that make possible a recurring colonial practice of ignorance among present-day Swedish decision makers.

KEYWORDS Sami History, Indigenous People, Swedish Hydropower, Industrial Colonialism, Genealogy

Introduction

Ever since 1910, Sweden has established power plants and reservoirs for hydroelectric power production in Sápmi—the traditional land of the Indigenous Sami people. Hydroelectric power is the backbone of the Swedish energy system, contributing 40,5 per cent of the total electricity production (Energimyndigheten 2016a). Adding to hydropower's importance, with a rising awareness of anthropogenic environmental impact and changing climate in the recent decades, it is also considered to be an environmentally friendly, sustainable and renewable energy source.

Beginning with the establishment of a State Board for Hydropower Issues in 1909 and a large-scale power plant and dam at Bårjås (SaL)¹ (Swedish: Porjus), established between 1910 and 1915 in the Julevsáme (SaL) [‘Lule Sami’] area, Sweden engaged in a modernist project to secure energy for the emerging industries in the face of world wars and trade embargos. The extraction of this so-called domestic energy source increased during the Second World War, enjoyed a golden age in the late 1950s and dried up at the end of 1960s. A few projects were conducted during the 1970s and only a handful during the 1980s, which were actually extensions of existing facilities or pursued as employment measures for the sparsely populated areas of Northern Sweden (Riksdagstryck NU 1971: 26, 8; Prop. 1980/81:19; Prop. 1983/84:160, 9; Forsgren 1992: 138–141).

Nevertheless, these dams and plants are still present in the landscape, extracting electricity from hydropower and exploiting both the aquatic ecosystem and the animal and human-related environment. Today, the Swedish energy system is based on the increased hydropower expansion that was accomplished during the 1950s and 1960s. The expansion took place mainly in Sápmi and by way of an exemption law which was to a large degree based on the hydropower companies' interests. The consequences, such as the drowning of ancestral land, homesteads and reindeer pastures (Össbo 2014), are rarely acknowledged and still less understood as present-day problems in Swedish policy documents or political practice. They are rather perceived as history while the continuous wounds in the landscape, as well as in the people, remain unattended. Nor are the traces of water rights left in the terrain recognised. All of this makes it possible for present-day Swedish decision makers to obscure legitimate participation and ignore the voices of Sami societies and the rights of an Indigenous people.

This article will illuminate the launching and evolvment of the Swedish Hydropower Crisis Act of 1939 and connect the arguments and aspects to the discourse and practice of the present-day investigation on aquatic environment and hydropower, in order to contribute to a genealogy of the Swedish energy system, wherein hydropower is regarded as sustainable, unproblematic and clean energy.

Genealogical Method

In order to elucidate diverging perspectives on history or histories, the philosophical legacy of French scholar Michel Foucault is often used. This analysis will draw on scholars using Foucault's and Friedrich Nietzsche's genealogical writings and method (Beronius 1991; Edenheim 2005) and will also highlight this method as beneficial when it comes to Indigenous histories.

Instead of asking what really happened in the past, a genealogist will rather ask "what aspects from the past still exist in our present?" In that way, "genealogy is the history of the current" (Beronius 1991: 50). Sociologist Mats Beronius (1991) and historian Sara Edenheim (2005: 15) emphasise that using a genealogical definition of history involves, among other things, a point of departure in the present. A present-day phenomenon sparks an urge in a genealogist to trace its lineage in order to be able to understand it. In this case, it is the present-day perception among decision makers that hydropower constitutes the most sustainable energy source and, except for the destructive impact on aquatic environments, an almost unproblematic one. The source material for this study is primarily based on state-produced texts, such as proceedings of Water Courts and the legislative process found in the archives of the Justice Department and the Environmental and Energy Department. At the end of the time period, Sami-produced texts on hydropower expansion became accessible.

The purpose of a genealogical study is to describe how certain aspects of an element emanate from, and still are structured by, components from the past. Instead of asking or answering the question "why?", the genealogist tells present-day people about something they are not directly aware of or have narrow perspectives on (Beronius 1991: 50f.). The genealogist will not trace the origin of a phenomenon. In fact, causality and truth claim are precisely the kind of scientific religion criticised by genealogists (see Edenheim 2005: 16). Instead, genealogy involves tracing ascendancy lines—not the origins—in order to "identify the involved components and follow the thread that these components are weaved of" (Beronius 1991: 52–53). Based on the assumption that temporary and incalculable aspects have more to do with our social being in the world, a genealogical analysis includes more temporary or chancy and incalculable aspects than the causal pattern commonly

found in many theories and analyses (Beronius 1991: 45). Instead of melting every episode into cause-effect chains, the genealogist creates analytical space for perceiving incidents as a “flow of formations.” Historical events are neither the product of historical teleology, progress or social imperative, nor of an underlying structure, but rather a result of haphazard conflicts, chances, mistakes and power unbalances and their often unintended consequences (Beronius 1991: 46–47).

In this article, the task is to trace the lineage of the present-day view among hydropower decision makers reflected in the Water Activities Investigation. A view on hydropower as an unproblematic and also a domestic and rather inexpensive (that is, if you misappropriate someone’s property and then refuse to pay compensation for the drowning of it) energy source is found in the Hydropower Crisis Act of 1939 and the practice regarding hydropower expansion under that law and subsequent legislation. Relating and tracing a present-day phenomenon to a practice or ideas which are no longer acceptable is the first step in a genealogical mission, the parodic part (see Edenheim 2005: 14–15).

Ongoing Colonial Past

Today, few people can accept the colonial practices they associate with earlier centuries and other places. In Sweden, the concept of colonialism was rarely used in research on Swedish-Sami relations until a few years ago (see Fur 2013). From the Swedish state’s perspective, the conquering of other peoples’ territories had to involve crossing an ocean (Johansson 2008: 84). Seeing the Swedish hydropower expansion through a lens of a colonial condemnation of Sami land and water is part of this first step. With settlement policies aimed at Sami lands, prohibition of Sami religious practices, division of the Sami into groups with different rights and special authorities administrating Sami livelihoods on its agenda, the Swedish state is no different from any other age-old colonial actor (Össbo 2014; Lantto 2012; Rydving 1993). By using the colonial backdrop, Sweden’s right to extract hydropower in the rivers of Sápmi can be questioned which will shed light upon the present-day debate on a perceived legitimate energy production. The historical and present relations between the Sami and the Swedish state resulting from state policies and practices are an intricate ongoing colonial past that needs to be recognised in order to avoid recurrence and achieve change and decolonisation.

Starting in the Present

In 2014, the third and last official report from the *Water Activities Investigation* was submitted for comments to various consultative bodies. The series of reports (Riksdagstryck SOU 2012:89, SOU 2013:69; SOU 2014:35) was the

result of a longstanding criticism Sweden has gained from the European Commission for not having implemented the European Water Framework Directive in the management of aquatic environment and water activities such as hydroelectric power production. The implementation of this directive requires so-called modern environmentally updated permits involving thoroughgoing environmental measures in old dams and power plants.

In March 2018, the Swedish government entered into an agreement with several other parties to secure hydropower as the backbone of the energy system as they see hydropower as crucial to sustainable development in energy politics. Nuclear energy is to be abandoned and renewable energy production such as wind power is regarded as the best solution. However, wind power can be unreliable due to windless idle times, making hydroelectric power reserves a necessity. This kind of energy system balancing act involves more environmentally destructive short-term regulations of water systems that are already exploited (Energimyndigheten 2016b). Although hydropower is defined as “green energy” it obviously requires environmental adaptation. For fear of having to retrench production and lose profit, the power companies’ solutions, which involve using the waters even more “flexibly” through destructive short-term regulation, pose serious threats to the already brutally regulated water systems of Swedish Sápmi.

The findings of the Water Activities Investigation show that over 7 000 water activity facilities exist, of which only 78 is supported by a permit according to the Environmental Code (Miljö- och energidepartementet 2017). Reviewing permits that are over 100 years old or facilities that have no permit at all will of course be an immense and expensive task. In a recent proposition, the Government proposes several changes to Swedish water management that risk continuing the destruction of aquatic environments in highly hydropower productive rivers and devaluing the legal security of individual stakeholders. Furthermore, it is stated that the funding of the review will be the operators’ responsibility, but in return, the government and its allied parties will reduce the property taxes on hydropower facilities (Regeringskansliet 2017), which in turn will hamper the work of NGOs such as *Föreningen Sveriges Vattenkraftkommuner* [‘Swedish Hydropower Municipalities’], an organisation that works towards the gains from hydropower production being returned to the local economies. Ultimately, the reduction of taxes on hydropower facilities will be funded by a corresponding increase in energy taxes paid by the consumers (Regeringskansliet 2017).

Reviewing and upgrading the environmental conditions for permits on hydropower production will be conducted on the companies’ initiative. Certain designated authorities will create a national plan, grade the facilities and assign an order of priority to them in the reviewing process. Most

likely, environmental measures involving the highly productive rivers in Sápmi will be put on hold, since they would interfere with energy production. Neither the Sami Parliament, Sami organisations or reindeer herding communities were invited as experts in the drafting of the reports from 2012–2014 (Riksdagstryck SOU 2012:89, SOU 2013:69; SOU 2014:35) and the *Pro Memoria* in 2017, despite the fact that they concerned land and waters in their ancestral territories and even though the Sami Parliament was invited to submit a statement of opinion on SOU 2013:69 and SOU 2014:35. Instead, representatives of energy companies, fishing organisations and farmers' associations were involved as experts and invited to submit statements of opinion at all stages of the five-year investigation process.

There are several threads from the past in this fabric of present-day ignorance and exclusionary practices when it comes to taking Sami issues into consideration in the work of the Energy Department, and thus these practices risk leading to a perpetuation the position of Sami society as having no real influence on land use politics in the north on a national level. This is a devaluation of the legal security as well as for the Indigenous rights of the Sami people in Sweden. The second feature of a genealogy according to Foucault is the dissolvent part which impacts the view on identities and subjects as being produced with the same lacuna of correlation and reconnaissance as in the past (Edenheim 2005: 15). For this analysis, the dissolvent part merely lends the focus on Sami rights an unchallenged position.

Setting the Stage

In 1908, the predecessor of the Swedish state-owned energy company Vattenfall ['Waterfall'], the State Power Board, was established by a Royal Committee that investigated the whole country in search of watersheds suitable for industrial projects, ignoring Sami rights and fostering a colonial and extractive discourse concerning potential power producing rivers in Sápmi. (*Vattenfallskommittén* 1903; Prop 1908:159, 45; Össbo & Lantto 2011: 74–75). Vattenfall became a special board tasked with safeguarding and producing hydroelectric power (Vedung & Brandel 2001: 30–31). The first large-scale power plant at Bårjås was legally processed and built without any recognition of the area as an important grazing land during the reindeer migrations of the two reindeer herding communities on the land, Sirges and Unna tjerusj. Compensation for the lost pastures was investigated three decades later after two additional potentiation developments of the plant (HLA, NLLA D I b:36, 2).

Although the codification of what the state considered to be Sami rights, i.e. reindeer herding rights, was implemented during the same time period, the Swedish parliament lacked a holistic perspective on important

policy fields for the northern parts of the country. A colonial authority, the Lapp Administration, emerged during the preparation for and implementation of the first Reindeer Grazing Act in 1886 (Lantto 2012: 77, 85 ff.; Riksdagstryck SFS 1886:38). The term *Lapp* was the dominant society's derogatory denomination for Sami people. The new legislation imposed a system of reindeer herding communities called *Lappby* ['Lapp village'] upon local Sami communities.² In some areas, these units had historical counterparts in taxed-based units like *tjälte/tjeälddie/tjiellde* (SaS/SaU/SaL), *tjerusj/čearru* (SaL/SaN) or *vuobme* (SaL) but in other areas the existing structure was the family-based organisation of reindeer herding and Sami rights, the so-called *sijte/sijdda/siida*-system (SaS/SaL/SaN) (Brännlund 2015: 22–23; Silversparf, Lundström & Össbo 2016: 76).

Reindeer herders became invisibilised and treated collectively as the Lapp Administration, and its Swedish officials, so-called *Lapp Bailiffs*, assumed control of information and infiltrated decision-making in the local Sami society (Lantto 2012; Össbo & Lantto 2011). At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Swedish policy towards the Sami people and Sami issues was characterised by a patronising practice which was often built on racist assumptions and racist ideology (Persson 2013; Lantto 2012; Lundmark 2002). In the case of the first Suorvvá-dam, this tutelage is apparent. While the opinions of the Sami reindeer herding experts in the area, E.E. Kuoljok, P. Ástot, P.P. Skano and A.P. Kitok, gave the Lapp Bailiff more insights, they did not overturn his view that the economic loss suffered by the reindeer herders due to the damming was a minor problem (Össbo 2014: 91).

In 1918, the Swedish parliament passed legislation regarding the building of dams and extraction of hydropower known as *The Water Act*. A new institutional setting was launched with specialised Water Courts consisting of a water judge, two water engineers and two water jurymen from the local society (Össbo & Lantto 2011). The members of the Court were incapable of judging the impact and intrusion on reindeer herding and Sami society. In addition to the prevailing colonial discourse on Indigenous rights and societies, the court also possessed an ethnic blindness towards Sami livelihoods, society and culture. Instead, their knowledge was based in the judicial, technological and farming society elite they represented (Össbo 2014: 10, 235).

Several problems and discriminatory aspects were associated with the legislation and the courts' interpretation of it with respect to reindeer herding Sami rights and issues. To begin with, the Water Act targeted exploitation and defined several industries and interests to be considered. However, reindeer herding was not one of these industries. Although it was an important livelihood in the areas of the potential power producing rivers, it was not included as an industry worth protecting in the Water Act, which

contained provisions regarding compensation for damage to farming, fishing and timber-rafting (Högstedt 1923: 177; Riksdagstryck, SFS 1918:523, ch. 2 & 4). Reindeer herders were refused compensation for their lost reindeer grazing lands and ancestral lands. If any compensation was given, it accrued to a special state-controlled fund for Sami issues that could disperse the money over the entire reindeer grazing area. Herders were not even considered to be tenants since ordinary tenants, that is *farming* tenants, received compensation for their lost land according to the Water Act (Högstedt 1923: 177; Riksdagstryck, SFS 1918:523, ch. 9 para 52).

Furthermore, the precepts for safeguarding common interest did not protect Sami reindeer herding due to the authorities' notion of herders being nomads who, by the authorities' definition of a true nomad, did not own a homestead that could be drowned in a reservoir. Due to ethnic blindness and colonial discourse, the stipulation that protected inhabited areas from damming was not applied in cases involving reindeer herders (Riksdagstryck, SFS 1918:523, ch. 2, para. 3 & 12; Össbo 2014: 66). As a result of the subsequent three elevations of the Suorvvá reservoir, the same families experienced forced relocation several times (Hanes 2001: 91).

Networks of Power

In cooperation with an organisation consisting of private and municipal power companies, the board of Vattenfall appealed to Parliament in September 1939 requesting changes to the Water Act. In the face of war, they found it important to plan and promote the extraction and utilisation of domestic energy. The purpose of the appeal was to enable more expeditious and cheaper concession processes, including the building of new power plants and regulation of dams. However, Parliament restricted the changes to apply only temporarily to already existing facilities and not to completely new dams (RA, JuA 1939 no 142). A few weeks later, Parliament passed the "Hydropower Crisis Act of 1939," a temporary act on temporary water regulations for the purpose of electric power production during the war period. Compared with the older Water Act, this exemption law was even more exploitation-friendly. The requirements regarding the economic gain of projects were lowered and information to and communication with local communities and organisations were not required. Furthermore, the new legislation overturned the legal security of the companies' opponent stakeholders, since compensation for damage was not assessed prior to giving concession and the special fees aimed at promoting fishing and local development were abolished (Riksdagstryck, SFS 1939:732).

A study of applications to the North and Mid-North Water Courts from October 1939 to the end of 1953 shows that applications under the

Hydropower Crisis Act constituted almost half of the total number of applications. The State Hydropower Board, being the largest operator in the area, was the most eager user of the Hydropower Crisis Act. Out of 93 applications for temporary regulations, only nine concerned regulations outside the reindeer grazing area and since almost the entire geographical area served by these courts was herding areas, most of the nine applications involved the centre of towns or villages. Nineteen of the applications concerned twenty-five water courses with no previous damming, twenty of which were located inside the reindeer grazing area. Twenty-four water-courses designated as temporary projects became permanent dams in the reindeer grazing area (Össbo 2014: 129). This points to the degree of impact this legislative procedure and court practice had on Sami societies.

In the mid-1930s, the national grid had been extended to almost the entire country, except sparsely populated rural areas. By the time of the outbreak of the Second World War, it was possible to build a power plant with reservoirs in alpine areas and distribute the electricity southwards to energy-consuming industries, cities or coastal regions without major power losses (Upmark 1945: 3–4, 20; Fridlund 1999: 160). The North of Sweden and Sápmi became severely impacted by the expansion enabled by the Hydropower Crisis Act since the region up until then had only had a few large-scale dams and plants (RA, JuA 1952 no 21, Bergsten PM, 20–22). All essential hydropower resources in the southern parts of the country were considered utilised (RA, JuA 1943, no. 262, Letter from Water Courts).

In the new, easier process under the Hydropower Crisis Act, indemnification to stakeholders was postponed because the projects were defined as being temporary. Due to the demand for an expeditious process, the courts often approved the damming of a lake just by reading the application and without any on-site investigation (RA, JuA 1943, no. 262). In many cases, a single water judge would grant a company permission. In 1942, the inland county of Jämtland protested and demanded compensation to stakeholders and communities. In the following law review process, the power companies protested against this aspect of the authorisation process, arguing that if the cost of electricity production increased, this would jeopardise the sustentation of energy and Sweden would risk energy rationing (Riksdagstryck, 2LagU 1942: 35, 17–20; Össbo 2014: 118–119). Power had to be cheap.

Nevertheless, the Hydropower Crisis Act was amended in 1943, safeguarding regulation-fees for collective compensation to local communities, fishing-fees and indemnity to landowners and tenants (Riksdagstryck, SFS 1943: 392) in line with the regulations in the Water Act. However, the decision to indemnify stakeholders seems rather to have legitimised increased exploitation on the part of companies and courts (Riksdagstryck, Prop.

1943:253, 42–43, 48; RA, JuA 1946 no 277–283). But even though the authorities regarded reindeer herders as tenants on state-owned land, herders were still refused compensation for lost grazing grounds.

The power companies exerted a kind of axiomatic voice in the investigations of the law review process. Directors of power companies could hold expert positions (Össbo 2014: 126) while reindeer herders had no influence in the discussions. Their opinion was never invited. However, in 1942, the County Administrative Board approached the colonial official, the Lapp Bailiff, concerning a specific case that included several lakes that had not been previously dammed, the Buvriejaevrie (SaS) (Swedish: Burvattnet) group of lakes in Jämtland. The bailiff expressed on the one hand support for the herders affected, but on the other he assumed a resigned but ambivalent position, describing compensation as being more or less impossible because the matter concerned specific land use in a certain area where all land was already defined as reindeer grazing lands or designated for other forms of land use. Despite this dilemma, the Lapp Bailiff concluded that the more important aspect of energy sustenance could not be dismissed or delayed (RA, JuA 1943 no 262). There is no evidence of reindeer herders' having participated or being otherwise involved in the bailiff's report. Power companies often started building on land even before an application had been filed with the Water Court, which demonstrates the implicit power and knowledge they possessed to accomplish their goal. This wilful strategy was also adopted by Vattenfall and their fellow companies at Buvriejaevrie. Questions and investigations concerning indemnifications became long and laborious processes and stipulated measures were sometimes delayed. In 1945, an inspection by the Water Court resulted in power companies being obliged to remove dead trees and clear away forest vegetation rising up from the lake floor as they constituted a safety risk for boat traffic and an obstacle to fishing. Six years later, nothing had been done by the companies. The drowned trees were left in the same manner. The monitor of the reindeer herding community of Njaarke, Lorentz Fjällberg, emphasised the need for individual compensation to the Sami families instead of the Lapp Fund, and remedy for the loss of amenity value and comfort (Össbo 2014: 143–147).

From Temporary Ventures to Permanent Alterations

Although initiated as a temporary measure, the Hydropower Crisis Act and the possibility to employ its regulations remained even after the war. The legislation was applicable until the 1960s and the Buvriejaevrie and the third regulation of Suorvvá (NJA 1965, avd I 1965: 87, 496–499; ÖT, MVD Ans.D. 37/1942; UT, NVD, Ans.D. 17/1943).

In the law review process that lasted from the first protests in 1942 by the County Administrative Board of Jämtland until 1952, some of the regulations of the Hydropower Crisis Act were abolished while others were incorporated into the Water Act. The outspoken fear among energy producers of the consequences of abolishing ongoing temporary regulations was mitigated by the legislators who framed the law revision as a bridging statute, offering the companies a three year-long respite to apply for Water Act permits (Prop. 1946:154, 8, 25 f.). A committee consisting of eight persons including two managers of energy companies was set up to examine how to incorporate the regulations of the exemption law into regular water law.

In 1947, Parliament demanded that the Hydropower Crisis Act be repealed, as a result of which another investigation was launched, performed by an assistant director of law. However, the report was put on hold as the exemption law was considered necessary to sustain the power and energy supply even after the war (AK 1947:21, 2LagU 1947:29; JuA no 21 1952, PM 10 November 1950).

A study of documents in the Water Court archives regarding hydropower development matters handled under the Crisis Act shows that the court practice did not reflect the legislator's intent. Instead, the exploiters' intent to secure an easier and cheaper process for building new dams became predominant in Water Court rulings. On the one hand, this has close linkage to the chances these companies had taken in their initiative to propose a new legislation in the face of war, and on the other the relational strength the energy companies and industrial interests were given in the legislation review process. While several of the lakes in Sápmi had not been previously regulated or dammed, they were nevertheless dealt with under the temporary law (ÖT, MVD Ans.D. 65/1939; 78/1939; 16/1940; 37/1942; 49/1945). The Crisis Act processes also became long and laborious both for the courts and the stakeholders, which is shown in the cases of Buvriejaevrie, Suorvvá and Málmesjávrrre. Eventually, the Málmesjávrrre case resulted in a precedent whereby the reindeer herding community was designated a legal entity, which allowed them to be parties in court processes and to receive compensation for lost grazing land (NJA avd I 1961: 444–445). However, just a few years after the precedent, reindeer herding communities were rejected as complainants in the Water Court process involving Lake Lossen (Ösbo 2014: 228).

The third feature of a genealogy is the sacrificial part which concerns truth-claims made in science as well as in religions and ideologies, where they are often linked to moral values. Furthermore, the knowledge claim of truth becomes synonymous with “the Good” and all forms of criticism and challenge are dismissed as representing “the Evil.” Therefore the genealogist

sacrifices the (always constructed) truth and inquires utterances claiming to represent “the Good” or “the Uncontradicted” (see Edenheim 2005: 15). In many hydropower processes, the argument of “the Common Good” was frequently referred to (RA, JuA 1939 no 142; JuA 1946 no 277–283; Riksdagstryck, 2LagU 1942:35, 1–11, 32 & Prop. 1943:253, 31–48). However, the concept of “the Common Good” is seldom scrutinised and analysed from the angle of different concepts of nature, asymmetric power relations and historical structural injustice creating an uneven relational strength among the different actors. The argument of “the Common Good,” as this concept was defined by the majority elite in hydropower discourses, neglected and ignored the problems, needs and reparations of Sami reindeer herders. If compensation was given, this also points to the idea that monetary compensation or payment in kind was possible even in cases involving the drowning of homesteads and the loss of important places. At the same time the practice of invisibilising Sami actors was created in a “flow of formations” that was initiated and activated several decades earlier with the implementation of the colonial authority known as the Lapp Administration and the Reindeer Grazing Act.

Opposition in the 1950s and 1960s

During the post-war period of the 1950s and 1960s, several changes in the mind-sets of states who defined themselves as being democratic were about to impact the rights of Indigenous peoples. The UN Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 and the atrocities of war were important aspects in the ordering of the political landscape. In Swedish hydropower policy, the consequences of the exemption law had rather shown that energy companies adapted the legislation to their own needs and created a system founded on what they perceived as cheap energy from the North, while legitimate stakeholders remained judicially excluded and diminished.

The critique against the hydropower-imposed nature transformation grew and in 1951 nature protection organisations as well as tourist organisations requested an investigation into waterways worth preserving. Among other things, Sami ethnicity and reindeer herding were to be taken into account (Vedung & Brandel 2001: 61–67). In 1950, the *Sámiid Riikkasearvi*, the Sami Association in Sweden, was established, which enhanced the discussion and made Sami opinions more visible. The association eventually became a legitimate representative of the Sami people. In 1955, *Sámiid Riikkasearvi* appointed a committee to investigate and spread information on hydropower issues involving Sami areas. In *Samefolkets Egen Tidning* (SET) [‘The Sami People’s Own Journal’] the handling of hydropower cases was frequently criticised and scrutinised (SET 1953:2; SET 1953:3; SET 1953:4; SET 1955:3).

A collaboration was initiated between Sami associations and nature protection and tourist organisations, but following the so-called *Peace treaty of Sarek* in 1961, in which nature protection organisations entered into an agreement with proponents of hydropower, the collaboration ceased, at least with nature protection organisations at the national level (Sámiid Riikkasearvi 1962; Vedung & Brandel 2001: 84).

Swedish hydropower expansion in Sápmi brought Sami rights into the courtrooms and government investigations. Although some improvements or rather, codifications of immemorial rights of reindeer herding, were won in court (NJA 1961: 444; Ruong 1982: 209–212), the practice and handling of hydropower issues never diverged from the exclusionary routines, and although reindeer herding and Sami society were eventually considered legitimate players and stakeholders, a recompense for the impact was always possible in favour of the principle of “the Common Good” for the majority society. Rationalisation became the authorities’ recipe for dealing with the reduced reindeer pastures, making herding an industry to be compared economically with other industries with competitive land use in Sápmi (Rentredningen 1960; Riksdagstryck Prop. 1962:68; SOU 1966:12). Rationalisation mechanised herding and turned it into a modern but also a capital-intensive business. The new requirements of profitability made small-scale herding impossible. Reindeer herders had to enlarge their herds at the same time as the new Reindeer Farming Act of 1971 offered small businesses severance pay for leaving reindeer husbandry (Riksdagstryck SOU 1968:16, 86; SFS 1971:437). This resulted in fewer active herders and ultimately fewer Sami right holders. In a gigantic case concerning the fourth damming of Suorvvá, an ironic and colonial twist of the recent legal improvement was projected; since the reindeer herding communities had become legal entities, Vattenfall took the opportunity to negotiate only with the board of the reindeer herding community. The right to indemnification thus became a question for the herding community and those of its members who had voting rights (Hanes 2001: 99) leaving several individuals out of the decision-making process. Adding to the divide-and-conquer techniques seen in the formation of government politics towards the Sami in Sweden, strategies like those of Vattenfall in the Suorvvá case have probably contributed to create disunion in local Sami communities.

Epilogue

The most important renewable part of the energy system is textured of historical threads where Sami land rights were legally devalued and redefined as being inferior to Swedish ownership and tenancy. Hence, Sami rights

were not observed in the authorisation processes for hydroelectric development. Turning the gaze from the past to the present, in the recent state investigation on *Water Activities*, the ignorance is evidenced by the fact that there was no mention of the impact the hydropower-imposed landscape transformation had on Sami communities and reindeer husbandry. This version of history stands in contrast to research showing the historical as well as present-day colonialism resulting from Swedish government policies on hydropower development in Sápmi. This version of history also contributes to a devaluation of the individual as well as collective legal security of the Sami, as the government has proposed changes in the rules regarding trials and reviews of old hydropower concessions which will create a disadvantage for the hydropower producing companies' opponent stakeholders.

In the future, individual Sami as well as reindeer herding communities will have to pay a court fee if they want to secure or elucidate their rights in the proposed review of hydropower permits. In the agreement and proposition, the goal is to achieve as many exemptions as possible from the rules of the Water Framework Directive that prohibits degradation of the water quality.

In other parts of the world, removal of large dams has begun. Two such cases involve the Elwha Dam and The Glines Canyon Dam in the Elwha River in Washington. Although these dams were of limited economic importance, the symbolic importance of dam removal led some politicians to block the implementation of the removal act for nearly two decades (Crane 2011). In Aotearoa New Zealand, the river Whanganui has gained legal rights. The Māori people regard the river as an ancestor and a living being whose well-being is directly linked to the well-being of the people (Hutchinson 2014). However, the Swedish state seems prepared to carry on sacrificing Sami rights and lands, as well as local and aquatic environments, rather than scrutinising their perception of hydropower as a decent and sustainable energy production with an unproblematic history.

NOTES

¹ In this article I use South Sami (SaS), Ume Sami (SaU), Pite Sami (SaP) Lule Sami (SaL) and North Sami (SaN) for place-names and waterways as the Sami place names has been smudged, invisibilised and Swedecised during hundreds of years.

² After the passing of the Reindeer farming act 1971, the concept was changed to Sameby ['Sami village']. However, for this text I use the concept Reindeer herding community.

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 NLLA, Norrbottens läns landskansli ['Archives of the Norrbotten County
 secretariat']
 D I b. Ankomna brev i lappärenden ['Letters received on Lapp
 issues']
- UT, Umeå Tingsrätt ['Umeå district court']
 NVD, Norrbygdens Vattendomstols arkiv [Archive of the Northern Water
 Court]
 Ans. D. 17/1943 Suorva
- ÖT, Östersunds Tingsrätt ['Östersund district court']
 MVD, Mellanbygdens Vattendomstol ['Archive of the Mid Water Court']
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Let's Name It

Identifying Cultural, Structural and Extractive Violence in Indigenous and Extractive Industry Relations

ABSTRACT This article on conflict and power relations between extractive industries and Indigenous groups in Sweden and Australia draws on two case studies to compare situations for Laevas reindeer herding Sami community in Northern Sweden and Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners in South Australia. In this international comparison the analysis, based on the research participants' narratives, employs Johan Galtung's concepts of cultural and structural violence as analytical tools to further explore and contrast the participants' experiences of interactions with extractive industries and industrial proponents. In addition, this study introduces extractive violence—defined as a form of direct violence but relating specifically to extractivism and Indigenous peoples—as a complement to Galtung's model, known as the violence triangle. The results show that although the expressions of cultural, structural and extractive violence experienced by the two Indigenous communities varied, the impacts were strikingly similar. Both communities identified extractive violence, supported by structural and cultural violence, as threats to the continuation of their entire cultures. The study also shows that in order to address violence against Indigenous peoples, Indigenous and decolonising perspectives must be taken into account.

KEYWORDS Aboriginal, Adnyamathanha, conflict, cultural violence, extractive industries, extractive violence, Indigenous, Laevas, LKAB, nuclear waste repository, Sami, structural violence

Introduction

It is a sweltering 39 degrees outside and the low humming of air conditioners provide the background noise for our conversation. It is January in Port Augusta, South Australia, and the sun is scorching the ground outside, the dry gum trees providing little shade. One of the Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners, also research participant of this study, says:

We know how it goes [...] We do, we truly do. Because that's happened to us in the past, when people [mining companies] have reported something completely different to what's actually happened.

He speaks in response to me telling the group about a situation far away, in northern Sweden, the location for the other case study included in this comparative project. Where Laevas reindeer herding Sami community was steamrolled by the Swedish mining company, LKAB. The Adnyamathanha participants' words of support and understanding for a Sami community on the other side of the world brings focus to the striking similarities as well as stark differences between the two groups of research participants involved in this study. Two groups of Indigenous people on opposite sides of the world with different livelihoods, cultures, Countries,¹ climates and conditions but with shared aspects of history—their traditional lands being taken from them through colonisation. They also share the way that their lands have been treated by the dominant societies, with extractive industries taking their toll on both Laevas and Adnyamathanha Countries.

This article draws on two case studies to answer the question: How does Laevas and Adnyamathanha communities experience interactions with extractive industries and industrial proponents and what can be learnt by comparing and contrasting the experiences told by the research participants? The analysis was conducted using Galtung's model on cultural, structural and direct violence (Galtung 1969; 1990). However, in order to include Indigenous perspectives and the particular interface between Indigenous groups and extractivism, I introduced my concept of extractive violence in replacement of direct violence.

Methodology and Theoretical Concepts

The methodological framework for the present article, as well as the two case studies it compares, is founded on Indigenous methodologies. Indigenous theorists such as Karen Martin (2008), Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999; 2012), Margaret Kovach (2010) and Jelena Porsanger (2004) have all stressed that research involving Indigenous peoples should be conducted ethically in accordance with Indigenous perspectives and be of relevance for Indigenous

communities. The world's Indigenous peoples are many and diverse. To compare situations for different Indigenous groups might therefore seem precarious, as the mere fact that these groups share Indigeneity does not necessarily mean that they are alike. However, in the face of global extractivism affecting many Indigenous peoples in negative ways, I argue that this international comparison is valid and in line with the study's methodological framework, as it holds relevance for the participating Indigenous groups as well as others facing similar situations. Furthermore, qualitative case study research, yarning as a method for data collection and the use of direct quotes privileges the Indigenous voices involved. An ethnological study, this article should be read as a thorough analysis of the research participants' experiences.

Yarning is "an Indigenous cultural form of conversation" (Bessarab & Ng'andu 2010: 37). Used as a data-gathering tool it involves both researcher and research participants contributing to the conversation (interview) and enables relationship building as well as information exchange (Dean 2010; Michie 2013). The semi-structured interviews undertaken for this study were conducted as yarning sessions. Finally, as an Indigenous researcher I strive to conduct my work from a Decolonising Standpoint, so that my approach is "based on positionality, participation, mutual respect and partnership" (Sehlin MacNeil & Marsh 2015: 119).

International comparative research allows for new perspectives and deeper understandings of already known situations (Hantrais 2009). Case study research is also designed to "unearth new and deeper understanding of [...] phenomena" (Moore, Lapan & Quartaroli 2012: 243) and comparing transnational case studies is one form of international comparative research. Qualitative case study research in particular lends itself to rich descriptions and thus assists contextualisation (Stake 2005; Larsson 2005; Moore, Lapan & Quartaroli 2012). In this case, viewing the cases studied through Galtung's violence triangle with the addition of extractive violence enables new perspectives on situations commonly experienced by Indigenous groups. There are of course pitfalls and Stake (2005: 457) argues "A research design featuring comparison substitutes (a) the comparison for (b) the case as the focus of the study." Why then is the international comparative aspect important for this particular project? I argue that comparing and contrasting experiences held by members of Laevas and Adnyamathanha communities can help shed light from new angles on present situations with roots in the past. The new ways of illuminating situations should not detract from the lived experiences shared by the research participants, on the contrary, it should add perspectives and enable new ideas and questions to grow. Furthermore, this study compares two case studies (Sehlin MacNeil 2015; 2016) each published as the sole focus of respective study.

Both case studies involve Indigenous peoples' experiences of interactions with extractive industries as well as elements of conflict embedded in these interactions. To analyse these power relations that provide growing grounds for conflict, peace researcher Johan Galtung's model known as the violence triangle was chosen (Galtung 1990: 294). The triangle includes direct, structural and cultural violence expanding the concepts of both violence and peace, where peace is not just the absence of direct (physical) violence but also means the absence of discriminating structures and attitudes that justify the injustices (Galtung 1969; Galtung 1990). Galtung's perspectives are useful in Indigenous contexts (Walker 2004), where the violence often manifests as unjust societal structures, racism and discrimination that enable injustices to live on. These manifestations of structural and cultural violence are rarely labelled violence. On the contrary Indigenous peoples that do not experience direct violence at the hands of states or extractive industries are often seen to be fortunate compared to others that do. However, for many Indigenous peoples, closely connected to their traditional lands, extractivism is a form of violence that threatens entire cultures.

Extractivism, Environmental Violence and Slow Violence

Extractivism, as defined by Acosta (2013: 62), refers to

those activities which remove large quantities of natural resources that are not processed (or processed only to a limited degree), especially for export. Extractivism is not limited to minerals or oil. Extractivism is also present in farming, forestry and even fishing.

Burchardt and Dietz (2014: 481) define extractivism as “usually used to describe economic models and sectors such as mining that revolve around the extensive extraction of raw materials and their export.” Extractivism is commonly described in terms of economic models. For the sake of this study I would like to expand the definition and use a description of extractivism as an ideology where the driving force is profit driven, to extract and deliver, be it raw materials, resources, culture, knowledge or experiences. The concept of ideology rooted in Marx and Engel's philosophies and then reformulated by many, can mean a set of ideas and beliefs and how these are connected to power and dominance (Nilsson 2009; Eagleton 1991). Galtung (1977) connects ideology with worldview, politics and values and the present study follows his interpretations. Extractivism can be described as a belief or a worldview, where for instance locals have described the LKAB mine in Kiruna as mother, aunty or the hand that feeds (Nilsson 2009: 9).

The two Indigenous groups centred in this study experience extractivism not only through mining, forestry and farming. For many reindeer herd-

ing Sami communities, wind farms pose a great threat as the infrastructure supporting them and the windmills themselves cause a disturbance to the animals (Skarin *et al.* 2015; Lawrence 2014). Tourism can extract resources from nature, be destructive and disruptive to environments and sacred sites because it requires infrastructure, as well as extract culture and knowledge from for example Indigenous peoples (Dyer, Aberdeen & Schuler 2003). Some Indigenous peoples have become the focus of “human safaris” where tourists are brought out to view these groups as exotic artefacts (Hill 2012).

Extractivism is closely related to the concepts of environmental violence and slow violence. Starting with environmental violence, Narchi (2015: 9) states that it

occurs when development plans threaten the livelihoods of people and their possibilities of cultural reproduction by appropriating, transforming, and destroying natural resources and the environments in which these are embedded.

Zimmerer (2014: 268) points out that environmental violence is “a generic term” that “group together a multitude of factors, all of which have serious effects on the earth as a human habitat.” Both Narchi (2015) and Zimmerer (2014) describe environmental violence as both structural and direct and identify economic interests or neoliberal ideologies as common causes for its occurrence. Slow violence, coined by Nixon (2011: 2), is described as

violence that occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all.

Nixon mentions the release of toxins, climate change and radioactive waste among many others as the near invisible perpetrators of slow violence, caused of course, by humans. One of the core aspects of slow violence is time and Nixon (2011: 12) states that his concept “seeks to respond both to recent, radical changes in our geological perception and our changing technological experiences of time.”

While the concept of environmental violence as described by Narchi and Zimmerer can be useful for highlighting power relations that affect both nature and humans it is also very broad and therefore less useful in a specific context, such as conflict between Indigenous peoples and extractive industries. Slow violence on the other hand, also in part relevant for the present study, is too narrow and concerns a very specific type of near invisible violence. Not to say that environmental and slow violence do not affect Indigenous peoples, they certainly do. However, environmental and

slow violence do not specifically relate to Indigenous perspectives and the spiritual connections between people and Country are not necessarily accounted for. In situations involving Indigenous peoples, Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing must be included (see for example Arbon 2008; Marsh 2013; Sehlín MacNeil 2016). My solution to this problem was to introduce my concept of extractive violence, a complement to Galtung's model but specifically relating to peoples with deep spiritual connections to land.

Introducing Extractive Violence to Complement Galtung's Model

The term *extractive* combined with the term *violence* shows up in some literature concerning extractive industries, for instance regarding conflict minerals in Africa (see for example Moyroud & Katunga 2002; Muvingi 2007). Extractive violence then describes the direct physical violence inflicted on people by extractive industries wanting access to land.

Further expanding the concept of violence, I see extractive violence as building on Galtung's direct violence but focussing on a specific type of direct violence, one related to Nixon's (2011) slow violence as well as concepts of environmental violence (Narchi 2015; Zimmerer 2014). Galtung also discussed aspects of violence against nature, however not as a specific type of violence different to the other three (see for example Galtung 1990: 294; Galtung & Fischer 2013: 36). I define extractive violence as a form of direct violence against nature, and/or people and animals, caused by extractivism, which predominantly affects peoples closely connected to land (see Fig. 1). This requires a connection to Country in a deep spiritual sense. For Adnyamathanha this connection is called *Muda*, "the unique spiritual link between Adnyamathanha Yuras [people] and Yarta [land] and cultural resources" (Marsh 2010: 124). Marsh (2010: 123) explains that "this sense of belonging is so deep it forms an intrinsic part of Adnyamathanha identity." Similarly, the Laevas research participants often discussed how their connection to the land was difficult to express in other languages than North Sami, and that their perspectives on the value of the land was different to Swedish people's (see Stoor 2017, for a discussion related to this). These connections to Country are deep spiritual, emotional, physical and psychological bonds between peoples and nature that challenge western perspectives, they are not linear but stretch far back into the past as well as forward into the future in a cyclical and spatial fashion (Duran & Duran 2000; Henderson 2000; Walker 2001). When extractivism causes these bonds to be broken or destroyed the effects are devastating for the peoples that experience them. Thus, extractive violence against nature means violence against people. Reid (Reid & Taylor 2011) has described how his relatives suffered physical ailments such as renal disease, diabetes and hypertension after a mining

company in South Australia built a service road destroying their totem of the lizard man, visible in the topography. Reid (Reid & Taylor 2011: 20) states that in accordance with his peoples' worldview and spiritual connection to Country they will "suffer much sickness" if their sacred sites are interfered with as they are closely connected to the sites. Extractive violence should include all the forms of negative impacts extractivism can have on humans, animals, nature and environments, be it extraction of natural resources, culture or knowledge. Building on Galtung's model extractive violence replaces direct violence at the third tip of the triangle, as a complement to structural and cultural violence.

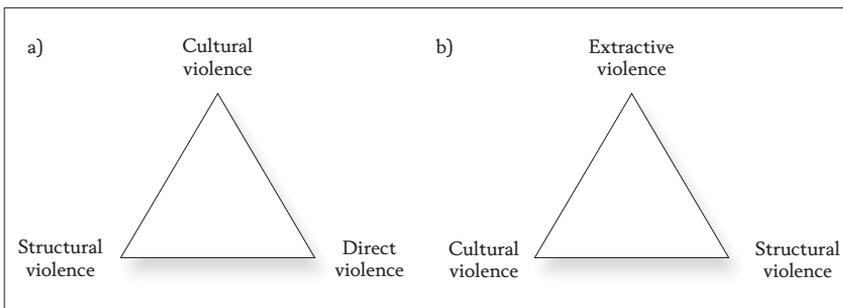


Fig. 1. Galtung's original triangle (a) and the extractive violence modification (b).

Two Cases of Indigenous and Extractive Industry Relations

This project includes two single case studies exploring experiences of conflict with extractive industries and industrial proponents shared by members of the Laevas reindeer herding Sami community in northern Sweden and the Adnyamathanha community in South Australia. The original group of Sami research participants consisted of four men and two women of varying ages. The Adnyamathanha group was seven, four women and three men, also of varying ages. The two groups of research participants were approached because of their extensive experiences of extractivism on their respective traditional lands.

Shafted. Power Relations between Laevas and LKAB

The first case study focuses on an interaction between members of Laevas reindeer herding Sami community and the Swedish state-owned mining company, LKAB, which took place in the Nordic summer of 2013 (Sehlin MacNeil

2015). A reindeer herding Sami community in Sweden is both an economic association and a specific geographical area. It has an annually elected board and its members can engage in reindeer husbandry within its borders (Löf 2014: 45). Laevas reindeer grazing land is located in the north of Sweden and includes some of the Kiruna area. Kiruna is a mining town, built around LKAB's mine. LKAB is a large company with 4,100 employees and revenue of more than 23 billion Swedish kronor in 2017 (LKAB 2018). LKAB also has a strong standing in the town of Kiruna, as the company is a large employer.

In the summer of 2013, a conflict erupted between mining protestors (some of them Sami) and a mining company in Gállok outside Jokkmokk in northern Sweden. Suddenly the devastating effects the Swedish Mineral Act and mining boom has had on Sami communities became visible to the general public. At the end of August 2013, the Sami Parliament in Sweden published a statement labelling the ongoing mining in Sápmi² as human rights offences and declaring that the Sami Parliament could accept no more exploitation of Sápmi (Sametinget 2013). Three days later an article was published in *Aftonbladet*, a Swedish national tabloid, headlined: "We have different interests but we can cooperate." The subheading stated: "Mines can grow without threatening reindeer herding or tourism" (Kuhmunen *et al.* 2013; author's own translation). The article was signed by the chairs of two reindeer herding Sami communities, one of them Laevas, as well as the CEO of LKAB and some tourism operators in Kiruna, making it seem like Laevas contradicted the Sami Parliament.

In reality, the situation was much more complicated. During 2012 and 2013, Laevas worked hard on achieving an agreement with LKAB in order to receive some compensation for destruction of land and loss of time due to consultations and meetings with the mining company. Even though LKAB's largest mine, also the world's largest underground iron ore mine, is located on Laevas grazing lands since over a hundred years back, the Sami community had never received such compensation before. After signing the agreement LKAB suggested publishing an article to inform the public about the project, LKAB's representatives also produced an article and asked the Laevas board members to sign it. The Laevas board member responsible decided not to sign the article as he saw too many problems with the message it conveyed. However, pressure was applied by LKAB and in the end, after making some changes to the article, the Laevas board agreed to sign it. They never saw the headlines and neither did they know that the chair of Laevas would be shown as one of the top signatures, indicating that he was responsible for writing the article.

This case study focuses on the Laevas research participants' experiences of the process around the creation and publication of the aforementioned

article. A total of five semi-structured interviews in the form of yarning sessions (see methodology section for description of yarning) were conducted in order to collect data and the analysis was undertaken using Galtung's concepts of structural and cultural violence as tools. A thematic approach was used to identify main themes (Ehn & Löfgren 1982). Three main themes were found: the power relations between Laevas and LKAB; the timing of the article; and divide and rule tactics used by the mining industry. The themes were explored using a number of the research participants' direct quotes.

Because of LKAB's strong standing in Kiruna, the research participants discussed how they often felt very uncomfortable criticising LKAB in their town. The power relations between LKAB and Laevas are unreasonably unbalanced in a David and Goliath like relationship, and as described by one of the research participants the punishment for challenging the giant could be far reaching: "you know, if we go against this, then we'll get the entire region, the whole municipality against us. What will the consequences for reindeer husbandry be then?"

This meant that the struggle to protect lands and livelihoods became a strategic battle, something that also stood out in the narratives.³ Small mistakes could have big consequences, not only for Laevas community but also for other reindeer herding communities, adding to the complexity of the situation for reindeer herders.

The second theme explored involved the timing of the article. One of the research participants described the pressure applied by LKAB as Laevas being "steamrolled." He explained how his only possibility of editing the final version was by having it read to him over the phone while he was in remote Norway on reindeer duty: "I did not see this article at all, I just had it read to me over the phone and you know how that is, you lose words."

The research participants also believed that the timing of the article was crucial, not only for LKAB but also for the Swedish state. The conflict in Gállok, between protestors and a mining company, had generated upsetting images of police forcibly removing elderly Sami peacefully protesting the destruction of their traditional lands. The research participants believed that there was a need to silence the mining debate that was gaining momentum: "I think that it was to calm down the Gállok fight, they wanted to kill off the debate a little and put a wedge between us."

The third theme explored, concerning divide and rule tactics used by the mining industry, ties in with the previous quote as the research participant was indicating that the article was designed to create an internal conflict among Sami communities, which it did. The research participants described how they were inundated by angry phone calls from fellow reindeer

herders. The incident was time consuming and stressful and also resulted in damaged relationships. Time that could have been spent protecting grazing lands and livelihoods from the increasing pressure of mining companies now had to be spent remedying a situation created by one of those companies. The research participants also stressed that they were not against publishing an article about the agreement that they had signed with LKAB, on the contrary, informing the public would further consolidate their right to compensation. However, they wanted the article to also convey their message and they worked on making changes to the article in order to highlight their concerns. But in the final version their message was lost: “[...] there was the use of some obscure words in it and those words, they muddled everything [...]”

According to Galtung “violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations” (Galtung 1969: 168). In the case of Laevas and LKAB, structural violence can be identified as the actual lack of time, insight and equal opportunities given to the Laevas board members by the mining company as well as the unbalanced power relations due to the state-owned mining company having resources that Laevas could not possibly match. In this specific case, it should be mentioned that LKAB has a communications department, Laevas does not. Furthering the power imbalance, Laevas, like all reindeer herding communities, must adhere to laws set by the Swedish state, the very power that colonised their lands. Cultural violence in this case can be identified as the discriminatory attitudes against Sami that enable the structural violence. Sami in Sweden are often consulted at the last possible moment and given little insight into processes that concern them. Several scholars (for example Lantto 2012; Mörkenstam 1999; Nordin 2002; Åhrén 2008) have pointed to colonial attitudes constructed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the colonisers believed Sami not fit to take care of their own matters, as the foundation for present day discrimination.

On Equal Terms? Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners' Fight against Nuclear Waste Dumps

The second case study focuses on Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners' experiences of interactions with the Australian and the South Australian Governments and government consultation processes in the wake of proposed nuclear waste repositories on Adnyamathanha Country (Sehlin MacNeil 2016). As one of Australia's Indigenous peoples, Adnyamathanha are descendants of a number of dialect groups whose traditional land is in and around the South Australian Flinders Ranges (Marsh 2013). Two par-

allel processes suggested South Australia as a possible location for nuclear waste dumps: the Nuclear Fuel Cycle Royal Commission (NFCRC 2016a), established by the South Australian government in March 2015, which included the idea that South Australia host a high level international nuclear waste repository; and the Australian Government's call for nominations for sites suitable for a low level national nuclear waste dump (Australian Government, Department of Industry, Innovation and Service 2016). These two processes, albeit different, were difficult to separate as they were carried out at the same time and both processes employed the same consultant.

Methodologically this case study mirrors the Laevas/LKAB case. A number of semi-structured interviews (yarning sessions) were conducted with seven Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners, several main themes were identified and analysed using the research participants' own words in the shape of direct quotes. In addition Galtung's concepts of structural and cultural violence were used as analytical tools.

The themes identified as most central, issues that consistently stood out in the narratives and that the research participants frequently returned to, were: consultation; culture, in particular the power of language; and the right to Country.

Community consultation was a major issue discussed in the interviews. Regarding the nuclear processes the research participants pointed out a number of FPIC⁴ (free, prior and informed consent) breaches such as the community not being given appropriate information about the consultation processes; community members not being given the full opportunity to participate in consultation due to conflicts of interest between the state and federal processes resulting in confusion; and lack of language services. Although the Traditional Owners voiced their concerns to the government representatives and provided recommendations for improving consultation, their suggestions were not heard: "They are totally ignoring what we're saying to them about why the community consultation isn't working."

The second theme explored was linked to language. The research participants described how their language, Yura Ngawarla, is central to the community's knowledge systems—systems that inform the meaning of for instance consultation and participation. The consultation conducted for the proposed nuclear waste dumps did not include interpretation services and thus Adnyamathanha people who wanted to have their say in their own language were excluded. This was even though the NFCRC Tentative Findings clearly stated that interpretive services should be provided when engaging Aboriginal communities (NFCRC 2016b: 22). One of the research participants described the power of language as:

[...] our language is so central to the way that we are connected to the land but it is also very central to how we are being disempowered, how we're being cut out of the consultation and decision making processes.

In addition the research participants pointed out that the level of English language used in the nuclear processes was very technical and not comprehensible to all. The lack of information in plain English also alienated community members.

The third and final main theme, the right to Country, involved concerns about native title and heritage protection. Although views on land management could vary between the research participants, all seven consistently stressed the importance of the land and their connection to it. Adnyamathanha hold Native Title over parts of their traditional lands according to the Australian Native Title Act.⁵ Several participants felt that the Native Title framework was prone to corruption. Even though Native Title had given the community some power it had also become a divide and rule strategy used by the Australian Government:

This is what's been happening ever since we've had this thing called Native Title. Native Title right from the very beginning was designed so that individual people could negotiate individual deals, in private, without any community consultation, as representatives of their community.

Other concerns about heritage protection included the Australian Government accepting a site as suitable for a nuclear waste dump next door to Yappala Station, an Adnyamathanha IPA (Indigenous Protected Area). When alerted to this fact the government representatives showed little understanding for Yappala Station being a site of great importance to the Adnyamathanha community.

In this case study structural violence was evidenced through lack of information to the community; lack of language services; conflict of interest between state and federal processes; and government representatives approaching individuals rather than the community. Cultural violence in this case was exemplified by Australian attitudes to Indigenous land rights manifested in the legal system (for example the Native Title Act) and visible in the state and federal nuclear processes. Colonial attitudes and racism are fundamental values of Australian society according to Dodson (2004: 119) and ensures that Aboriginal spiritual and other connections to Country continue to be ignored, trivialised or even ridiculed.

Comparing across Continents

How then does extractive, cultural and structural violence affect the Laevas and Adnyamathanha communities and what can be learnt by comparing and contrasting experiences shared by the research participants in our yarning sessions? Starting with extractive violence, Laevas has extensive experience of mining, forestry, windmills, tourism and infrastructure on their land. They are also presently facing the much-publicised relocation of the town Kiruna with everything that entails. The relocation is necessary because of the LKAB underground iron ore mine, which has grown to the extent where it is now a threat to Kiruna. Additionally the Laevas community has to contend with climate change. All things accumulated the pressure has become enormous for the reindeer herders in their struggle to sustain their livelihood of reindeer husbandry (Löf 2014). As spoken by one Laevas research participant:

It's a constant worry the whole time, about the wellbeing of the reindeer, because the reindeer is what everything is about. Everything. There are so many factors that cause that worry that we can't influence, we can't influence the climate, we can't change what forestry has done.

Similar to Laevas the Adnyamathanha community has experienced extractive violence in the shape of mining, infrastructure, farming and tourism. However, the Adnyamathanha and Laevas narratives differed where the Laevas participants' main concerns were for the reindeer. Rather than speaking about sacred sites, their focus was on reindeer grazing areas and the land sustaining the reindeer herds and reindeer husbandry. The Adnyamathanha participants, on the other hand, focused on the land and particular sites as sacred, bearers of culture, language and history. As described by one of the Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners:

I really give full credit to our people for sticking to their guns and really fighting for their rights as far as saving a lot of our sacred sites. Because Adnyamathanha is made up of our Muda, every time there is a new place to mine, the first thing that comes to mind with people like us is the Muda. What story line goes through there?

The Laevas participants described that the reindeer have significance in two ways, both as the legal reason for why they can use the land and also as the carriers of culture as the reindeer herders follow the reindeer. The former reason is of course a product of colonisation. The Laevas narratives also indicated that the land was important spiritually and emotionally as it held Sami history, however, this aspect came through much stronger in the Adnyamathanha narratives.

So, whereas both groups of research participants frequently returned to concerns about extractive violence on their lands, the types of concerns differed. Yet, the narratives about experiences of extractive violence as well as the effects of extractive violence on respective communities had striking similarities. The research participants on both continents shared fears for the future of their cultures. Furthermore, both groups consistently connected culture and language to the land. Both groups saw extractive violence as a threat not only to the land but also to culture and language.

Extractive violence does not occur in a vacuum. On the contrary, it is dependent on societal structures, laws, rules (written and unwritten) and policies. These structures in turn depend on societal attitudes. For instance, in order to put a political party, advocating the development of Indigenous lands, into power, the majority of voters must share the attitude that Indigenous peoples matter less than development. These structures and attitudes constitute structural and cultural violence and are the foundation for the extractive violence experienced by the Laevas and Adnyamathanha research participants.

Following Galtung (1990; Galtung & Fischer 2013), cultural violence is defined as aspects of culture demonstrated through religion, ideology, language, art, empirical science and formal science that are used to legitimise structural or direct violence. Both Laevas and Adnyamathanha communities have been subjected to cultural violence in several ways. Historically Sami and Aboriginal Australians were subjected to Christianity through forced conversion, and both Indigenous peoples experienced abuse at the hands of the respective churches in various ways (Lindmark & Sundström 2016; Mattingly & Hampton 1988). Regarding language, one of the Adnyamathanha participants succinctly described how language both empowered and disempowered the community—Yura Ngwarla (Adnyamathanha language) empowering the community through carrying culture and history but also being used to disempower the community when the government processes neglected to include translation services. The Laevas participants spoke about similar aspects of language, how they were being disempowered in consultation processes because there were no provisions for speaking North Sami. Instead they were expected to speak Swedish or worse, English, and they said that they could not accurately express their views of the land, culture, history and reindeer husbandry in other languages than their own. On the topic of art, there would be numerous examples of culturally violent art affecting Indigenous peoples, however, there would also be numerous examples of Indigenous resistance art, resisting violence, cultural, structural, extractive and direct (for example Gállók Protest Art).

Cultural violence through empirical and formal science has certainly been well described by a large number of distinguished Indigenous scholars (see for example Arbon 2008; Kovach 2010; Kuokkanen 2007; Nakata 2007; Smith 1999; Smith 2012) where Indigenous peoples have been poked and prodded, and Indigenous epistemologies, axiologies and ontologies have been ignored or repressed. All of the above are expressions of cultural violence that affect the Laevas and Adnyamathanha communities, however, in the two case studies analysed, ideology is the one driver of cultural violence that stands out in the narratives shared by both groups. It seems in many ways that ideology now causes cultural violence of the type that religion once did, so that ideology in a sense has replaced religion. This is also a point made by Galtung and Fischer (2013: 51), who states that: “Religion and God may be dead, but not the idea of sharp and value-loaded dichotomies.” Ideology, like religion, creates a divide between the chosen and un-chosen, the self and the other (Galtung & Fischer 2013: 51).

Howlett *et al.* (2011: 310) suggests that neoliberalism “has become so hegemonic and pervasive that it has been incorporated into the common-sense way many of us interpret, live in and understand the world.” According to neoliberal ideologies and the belief in progress through furthering development and technology and mining the Earth for resources to do so, the ones “resisting” this progress become the un-chosen ones. Of course, neither Laevas nor Adnyamathanha communities actually resist progress, they simply resent the destruction of their lands. In this relationship between the self and the other, the extractive industries are seen as the self, they support progress, and the Indigenous communities as the other, they are seen to resist progress. Progress is perceived as good and resisting progress as bad. This means that “A steep gradient is then constructed, inflating, even exalting the value of Self, deflating, even debasing the value of Other” (Galtung & Fischer 2013: 51). This way, the Indigenous communities are easily undermined and a growing ground for structural violence is created.

Structural violence is essentially power imbalance, labelled “exploitation” by Galtung and Fischer (2013: 38), where some have much and others have little. Galtung identified several components that reinforce the violent structures, namely penetration, segmentation, fragmentation and marginalisation. Where penetration meant “implanting the topdog mind inside the underdog;” segmentation meant “giving the underdog only a very partial view of reality;” fragmentation meant “keeping the underdogs away from each other;” and marginalisation meant “keeping the underdogs on the outside.”

For the sake of the present study these components could be seen as: neoliberal and extractivist ideologies being pushed on Indigenous commu-

nities by extractive industries making extractive industries seem like the chosen and Indigenous communities the unchosen; withholding of information and dysfunctional consultation processes conducted by extractive industries and governments; extractive industries engaging individuals rather than communities and promoting Indigenous internal conflicts; and extractive industries upholding power imbalances through maintaining status quo where Indigenous communities have less power.

The actual experiences of structural violence described by the research participants on both continents were case specific and thus varied. However, the expressions of structural violence stemmed from the same kind of seed—grossly imbalanced power relations. Where the Laevas participants talked about having lack of insight and participation in a process that highly affected them, the Adnyamathanha participants spoke about lack of information and language services in a process that highly affected them. The Laevas participants talked about divide and rule tactics and how they thought that the article was designed to create an internal conflict amongst Sami people and communities. Similarly, the Adnyamathanha participants spoke about divide and rule strategies as industrial proponents and the governments approaching individuals rather than engaging the community. Both groups also talked about laws, enforced upon them by the states that colonised their lands, as having negative impacts on their communities. One example would be the mineral acts of both Sweden and South Australia, the structures that dictate how extractive violence in the shape of mining is inflicted on Laevas and Adnyamathanha communities.

The Laevas and Adnyamathanha narratives about interactions with extractive industries shared many similarities. Extractive industries are global and both groups of research participants had very similar experiences of extractive violence caused by for example, mining companies. However, the Adnyamathanha participants spoke more about experiencing negative impacts of colonisation such as racism and discrimination. Thus, the experiences of cultural and structural violence came across stronger in the Adnyamathanha narratives, not to say that they were not evident in the Laevas narratives. However, the narratives on experiences and impacts of extractive violence on both communities were strikingly similar, indicating that although the Swedish cultural and structural violence against Sami could seem less overt, it is no less prevalent as the extractive violence experienced by Laevas was of the same magnitude as that experienced by the Adnyamathanha community. This difference between Sweden and Australia can also be detected in scholarly literature where Australia has been described as a country with racism as a core value (Dodson 2004; Dunn *et al.* 2004) but Sweden still seems to enjoy (at least to some degree) an in-

ternational reputation of being a country with human rights as a core value (Hällgren 2005). For Indigenous communities, in this case Laevas, this is an additional type of cultural violence inflicted on them (see Galtung & Fischer 2013: 51 for an argument related to this). It can be difficult for Sami communities to be heard in their struggles against extractive violence when the nation state and coloniser of their lands uphold an image of being a human rights oriented country. The narratives given by the Adnyamathanha participants showed that not being heard was a problem they shared, however, as shown in the case study on the nuclear processes the government blatantly failed to implement their own recommendations on how to engage with Aboriginal communities (see for example the NFCRC 2016b: 22). Furthermore, the many FPIC (free, prior and informed consent) breeches pointed out in the narratives indicated that the Australian and South Australian governments were less interested in hiding behind human rights façades.

Conclusion

At the heart of this article lies the aim to view the situations experienced by Laevas and Adnyamathanha communities from new angles. By viewing experiences shared by the research participants through Galtung's remodelled triangle, with the addition of extractive violence, the aim is not just to compare and contrast experiences of conflict but also to shine a stronger light—to see beyond development, progression and extractivist ideologies upheld in Sweden and Australia. By doing so, it becomes clear that what is actually occurring between extractive industries and the two Indigenous communities involved is violence and should be labelled as such.

The narratives given by the Laevas and Adnyamathanha research participants provide unmistakable evidence of cultural, structural and extractive violence inflicted on the communities by extractive industries, industrial proponents and governments. Some of the strategies used in interactions with Indigenous communities have been described as predatory behaviours (see for example Alfred & Corntassel 2005; Korten 2002; Marsh 2013). Several of these behaviours have been outlined in this study and identified as cultural or structural violence. However, when used against Indigenous people and communities these strategies or behaviours are rarely recognised or labelled as violence. This could be because the unequal power balance between extractive industries (industrial proponents and governments included) and Indigenous communities give extractive industries the prerogative to label themselves pro-progression (seen as positive) and Indigenous communities anti-progression (seen as negative) without being challenged by others than those already branded as negative and backwards—Indigenous communities and their allies. Galtung's model certainly supports this idea.

Another reason could be a reluctance to identify other forms than direct physical violence as violence. This reason would make it all the more important to illuminate and name the above outlined occurrences of cultural, structural and extractive violence. To understand the impact extractive violence or the destruction of Country has on Indigenous communities, Indigenous perspectives must be included. Furthermore, Indigenous world views must be acknowledged and taken into account in order to successfully transform conflicts between Indigenous groups and extractive industries (Marsh 2013; Walker 2004). This means acquiring a holistic view of the impacts extractive industries have. A mine is never just a hole in the ground. A mine can cause psychological, physical and spiritual destruction, it can threaten languages and cultures, social systems and livelihoods. A mine can wipe out a people.

Galtung set out to expand the concepts of both violence and peace in order to view peace as more than just the absence of direct violence. As such, Galtung's model enables a more rounded view of violence, its impacts as well as its growing grounds and reasons for those growing grounds. Additionally, it offers a more holistic view of what peace could be, not just the absence of direct violence but also the absence of exploitation, racism and discrimination. Coupled with Indigenous and decolonising methodologies a model where cultural, structural and extractive violence interplay, enables us to not only identify and name the violence but also identify the different areas where efforts could be made to address and end all kinds of violence against Indigenous peoples.

NOTES

- ¹ Country in Australian Indigenous contexts means much more than just land, the term involves the land as a “living, creative entity with a deep ongoing relationship with the humans responsible for it” (Kowal 2015: 194).
- ² Sápmi is “the land of the Sami,” it covers the north of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Russian Kola Peninsula. Sami are an Indigenous people as well as an ethnic minority in these countries (Lundmark 1998; Reimerson 2015: 21).
- ³ In this study the term narrative should be understood as a research participant’s account or story of an experience and not as the theoretical orientation of narrative analysis or inquiry.
- ⁴ The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was adopted by the General Assembly in 2007 (United Nations 2007). The principle of Free Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) is a key concept presented in the Declaration and has become an integral part of the Indigenous human rights agenda (Hales *et al.* 2013).
- ⁵ The Australian Native Title Act of 1993 followed the historic Mabo decision in 1992, which recognised Indigenous rights to land (Howlett *et al.* 2011). The Native Title Act was amended in 1997 and has been criticised by many as undermining rather than strengthening Indigenous land rights (for example Cleary 2014; Howitt 2006; Marsh 2010; Dodson 2004).

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Miscellanea: Notes



Barbro Klein (1938–2018)

Professor Barbro Klein, Stockholm, passed away on 15 January, 2018, two months before her eightieth birthday. Her closest relatives are her sons Adam, Fredrik, Jakob and Joel with families and her brothers Mats and Ulf.

Barbro Klein was Professor Emerita of Ethnology, Stockholm University, and Director and Deputy Principal Emerita at the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study (SCAS) in Uppsala. After having obtained her first academic degree in ethnology and history of religion at Stockholm University in 1961, Barbro Klein moved to the United States. In 1970 she received her PhD in folklore and anthropology at Indiana University, a pioneering institution in the field of folklore studies. During the following years, Barbro Klein was teaching at the University of California, Berkeley, and the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

At the beginning of the 1980s she moved back to her native Stockholm. In 1996 she became one of three directors at SCAS. Henceforth the Col-

legium became her academic base although she continued to advise PhD students at Stockholm University. She maintained close contact with colleagues in the United States and served on the board of the American Folklore Society and regularly attended its Annual Meetings. She also made new contacts with colleagues in other parts of the world, including Mali where she served on the board of Point Sud in Bamako.

During her time in the United States, Barbro Klein was active in the scholarly environments in which new forms of cultural research were elaborated, including conversation analysis as well as studies of narrativity and performance. In these areas, in particular when it came to the study of narrativity and oral folklore traditions, Barbro Klein became one of the pioneers in Sweden and Northern Europe.

Her scholarly attitude was always one of encouragement but also of critical engagement. She had a strong sense of the need to maintain high scholarly standards. Her doctoral dissertation analyzed Swedish American immigrants and their descendants in a small community in Maine and ways in which memories and imaginations of beliefs and customs in the old homeland were preserved and transformed in a new context. Not surprisingly, Barbro was delighted to accept an invitation to hold the Pearson Distinguished Professorship of Swedish Studies in 2012 at Bethany College in Lindsborg, Kansas.

She spoke with equal enthusiasm about Estonian Swedish folklore, contemporary music in Mali or global encounters among free-time cultivators of widely different cultural, linguistic and ethnic origins in the allotment garden areas of Greater Stockholm, a theme she also addressed in a speech at Skansen on 6 June, the Swedish National Day.

She was active as an ethnologist and a folklorist, but also took part in debates about the role of museums. Her research on story-telling and cultural heritage in complex multi-ethnic settings in Sweden and elsewhere has been widely acclaimed. She served on the editorial boards of several international journals in these fields, including having been co-editor of the *Journal of Northern Studies*.

When Barbro was at the Collegium her warm laughter immediately announced her presence. She radiated energy and joy of living. She made friends wherever she went. She had a crystal clear intellect and a curiosity for people and social interplay that led her to write about a range of themes. Thus, she wrote about celebrations of the Persian New Year in the Stockholm region as well as about the role of women in the early Swedish handicraft movement but also, in a book which she all but finished the manuscript for, about her own, story-telling father, the poor boy from Småland who went to sea and whose life and memories reflect the transformation of

Sweden in the course of the twentieth century. There will, hopefully, be yet another book by Barbro, namely a collection of her own essays in English.

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Reviews

Roger Andersson (ed.), *Heliga Birgittas texter på fornsvenska. Birgittas Uppenbarelser, bok 2*, Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia 2016 (Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia. Editiones 8), ISBN 978-91-88568-65-6, 143 pp.; Roger Andersson (ed.), *Heliga Birgittas texter på fornsvenska. Birgittas Uppenbarelser, bok 3*, Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia 2017 (Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia. Editiones 10), ISBN 978-91-88568-68-7, 151 pp.

In *Journal of Northern Studies* 10, 2, 2016, pp. 161–162, the first volume in this edition was dealt with, a visible result of the activities in the research project “Heliga Birgittas texter på fornsvenska” [‘St. Bridget’s texts in Old Swedish’]. The aim of the project is to publish all of St. Bridget’s writings in Old Swedish in an edition meeting a modern philological standard. In the first volume, it was reminded that according to tradition, St. Bridget dictated her revelations in Swedish, whereupon they were translated into Latin. However, St. Bridget was probably also able to work out drafts herself. When the Latin text had been edited, the revelations began to be translated into the vernaculars, including Old Swedish. Now volumes 2 and 3 in the series have been published. The introductions to the two volumes now published differ slightly; personally, I would have preferred it if volume 2 had had the more detailed introduction of volume 3, since that would have made both volumes stand on their own feet. Volume 2 contains 30 chapters in Latin in the so called Alfonsine edition, but in the Old Swedish main translation presented here there are only 22. The eight chapters left out are about knights and the chivalrous culture. All but one of these chapters are wholly or partially found in the Bridgettine Norse manuscript E 8902, and have been included as appendices to the current edition. The teachings in the revelations in this volume are usually given by Christ, but also by the Holy Virgin Mary and (once) by John the Baptist. There seem to be no uniform themes; the revelations are about true and false wisdom and about the relation between the body and the soul, and there are texts about Jews and heathens and different social groups. Just as in the first volume, one finds here an attractive and well-developed figurative language, for example in the bee allegory (Ch. 19) or in the descriptions

of the different houses with various vessels and tools found in a number of chapters (24–27). All the revelations in volume 2 had been recorded before St. Bridget went to Rome in 1349. The revelations in volume 3 were recorded both during her life in Sweden and soon after her arrival in Rome. The focus here is on moral education for the clergy, chiefly bishops—one might call it a bishops’ mirror. In many cases, it is possible to identify the church leaders mentioned by St. Bridget. In the first three chapters, we probably find Bishop Thomas in Växjö, and in Chs. 6–9, the Milanese Archbishop Giovanni Visconti is certainly mentioned. When St. Bridget complains about the poor spiritual condition in Rome by the time of her first speech there, she mentions two older popes, who for very good reasons are usually believed to be Celestinus V and Bonifatius VIII. In Ch. 3 she speaks vividly of a cowardly king, who is probably Magnus Eriksson. In the reading of the revelations, one finds a sharply observant person, and the description is sometimes drastic. The publication of these medieval texts is progressing rapidly and I look forward eagerly to forthcoming volumes.

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Gulbrand Alhaug & Aud-Kirsti Pedersen (eds.),
Namn i det fleirspråklege Noreg, Oslo: Novus Forlag
2015, ISBN 978-82-7099-775-6, 363 pp.

This volume consists of thirteen articles, about half of which deal with the conditions in Northern Norway, where, besides Norwegian, the Sami and Kvenian (Finnish) languages also exist. The other articles in the book are about conditions in the Norwegian Finnskogarna (‘Forests of the Finns’), naming among the Romany people, personal names and immigration, foreign influence on Christian (baptismal) names in Norway and name signs for deaf people. In the introductory chapter, Aud-Kirsti Pedersen describes the Norwegian place-names in multilin-

gual areas, showing that the Finnish and Sami names can be taken over in different forms: a Northern Sami *Ruohtovárri* is rendered in Norwegian as *Råttovarre*, a Northern Sami *Heastagurra* as Norwegian *Hesteskaret* (*heasta* ‘horse’; *gurra* ‘valley, cleft’) etcetera. The different patterns are exemplified and discussed. The Sami place-names in Norway are then comprehensively elucidated by Kaisa Rautio Helander in a many-sided article which shows how the perspectives in Sami and Norwegian names can differ. Irene Andreasson then describes the Kvenian place-names in the Norwegian area, the majority of which have come about in the last few centuries. The names in the Forests of the Finns in Norway are elucidated by Tuula Eskeland. We are reminded here that the Forest Finns in Norway now have the status of a national minority. In the section on personal names, Håkan Rydving gives an account of the personal names among the Sami, and says, among other things, that with a growing awareness of naming traditions, Sami name forms are now becoming increasingly common in writing, too. The trilingual variation of personal names in Nordreisa in the 1970s is dealt with by Anna-Riitta Lindgren, the family names in the Forests of the Finns by Jan Myhrvold and the encounter between the Finnish and the Norwegian naming systems in an article co-authored by Gulbrand Alhaug and Minna Saarelma. Rolf Theil’s article on the naming custom among the Romany people takes the shape of a presentation of the language in question and contains, for example, an interesting section on the mechanisms behind the name changes observed. On the back of the book there is a map of Southern Norway with some names in Romany: *Trøntusfåron* (= Trondheim), *Kakknifåron* (= Hønefoss), *Salsfåron* (= Halden) etcetera. In her article, Mary Barthelemy gives us an insight into a Romany family’s naming patterns. In an article on immigration and personal names, Guro Reisæter deals with a small part of the rich naming custom that is found in Norway today. Gulbrand Alhaug presents a useful overview of foreign influence on the Norwegian baptismal naming custom from the eighteenth century up to our times. Finally, Odd-Inge Schröder describes the signs for persons and places used in the Norwegian sign language. The latter contribution—which shows a rich variation—opened up an entirely new world to me. The comprehensive book is concluded with a subject index, a toponym index, an index of personal names and an index of terrain words.

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Madeleine Bonow, Magnus Gröntoft, Sofia Gustafsson & Markus Lindberg (eds.), *Biskop Brasks måltider. Svensk mat mellan medeltid och renässans*, Stockholm: Atlantis 2016, ISBN 978-91-7353-828-2, 352 pp.

Hans Brask, during the period of 1513–1527 bishop in the Linköping diocese, was highly educated and had studied at several of the most important contemporary universities. But at the same time he was a practically oriented person who wanted to keep a check on all the activities at the castle, the theological development in the diocese and the governing of the country. Matters concerning the economy of the diocese were recorded in a manuscript marked with Linköping's Diocese Library Kh54, called *Biskop Brasks ekonomibok*. In 2013, in connection with the five-hundredth anniversary of Brask's taking up his duties as a bishop, the initiative was taken to translate those parts of the economy book that deal with food and housekeeping. The translation was done by Hedda Gunneng. Some parts have been translated previously, but here we find a consistently produced, easily accessible text. Here we find the so-called *gårdspraktikan*, a list of dishes served at banquets and a list of different "officials" at the estate in Linköping. These texts give us good insights into late medieval housekeeping and thus they constitute an important source material. It may be added that the text is also valuable for researchers interested in word history. But the ambitions have been higher than merely making the texts available. In connection with a conference in Linköping in 2013, researchers from different disciplines tried to apply their respective subject perspectives on the source text. These lectures are now also included in the volume. Here, the reader gets a picture of the bishop as an employer and a practising Christian, we get insights into the late Middle Ages' trade and contact patterns, the period's technical innovations and other things. Among the contributions one can mention ethnologist Marja Hartola's essay on the Finnish pikes, agricultural historian Janken Myrdal's contribution on the period's cheeses and cheese making practices, and geographer Madeleine Bonow's and ethnobiologist Ingvar Svanberg's co-authored essay on fishponds in the late Middle Ages. One gets a bit closer to the complex person of Hans Brask in historian Per Stobaeus' article on the dietary—which is widened to a more elaborated picture of Brask's role in society—and in the former Linköping bishop Martin Lind's contribution on the theology at the dining table. That meals were part of the ritual life is shown in museum director Markus Lindberg's article. There is some new knowl-

edge to be gained from the manuscript, as shown by agricultural historian Alf Ericsson's article, which documents technical innovations in the nation of the period of which evidence has hitherto been lacking. This report clearly shows the disciplinary width of the authors, and there are also other interesting contributions in the volume. Each article has a detailed literature list and a cohesive name index concludes the book. The late medieval manuscript in question has been made available in an excellent way, and through the different studies, the text has also been placed in a larger context. The well-chosen illustrations may be noted as an extra advantage.

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Lennart Elmevik, *Ortnamnsstudier i urval*, Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs akademien för svensk folkkultur 2016 (Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 140), ISBN 978-91-87403-17-0; ISSN 0065-0897, 471 pp.

In this volume, more than fifty works on place-names by Lennart Elmevik have been gathered. They are essays of high quality produced over many decades and naturally, some of the same problems have been dealt with in various essays over the years. This is no disadvantage; on the contrary, it means that as a reader one finds oneself involved in an interesting discussion, where the positions are gradually made more precise. This is especially evident in the first part of the volume, which deals with the Nordic place-name elements *-lösa*, *-sta(d)*, *(-)tuna* and *-vin*. For a long time, a vivid discussion has been going on about these elements, and in the present volume, one finds that Elmevik is involved in a discussion with Gösta Holm and Per Vikstrand about the meaning of the element *-sta(d)*, and with Gun Widmark as regards *-lösa*, which appears in several places in Elmevik's production. However, since these other scholars' contributions are quite naturally *not* included in the present volume, an introductory text outlining the differences between the scholars' opinions would have been helpful for the reader. The same is true of the group of essays that are gathered under the heading "Till diskussionen av sakrala namn" ['On the discussion of sacral place-names'], where names

such as *Härnevi*, *Friggeråker*, *Disevid*, *Gödåker* and *Luggude härad* are dealt with. Elmevik is quite rightly sceptical about the assumption that these are sacral names and his studies show that in several cases there may be alternative explanations. In this section, too, a guiding introduction would have been of help to the reader, and in addition, Elmevik's scholarly position could have been related to a research tradition represented by names such as Magnus Olsen, Jöran Sahlgren, Elias Wessén and Lars Hellberg. There are numerous etymological studies in Elmevik's production, and they are of course found early on in the first parts. In the third part of the book, the purely etymological studies are brought even more to the fore with a number of interesting studies of names of lakes, rivers and islands. Here there are analyses of the names *Ocke*, *Kvädö*, *Dillö*, *Trosa* and *Rönne å*, Emån's old name **Æmb*, and many other names. The fourth part involves a large number of studies containing "interpretations of a number of different kinds of Nordic toponyms of obscure origin," according to the heading of the section. Here one notes the studies on the Norwegian name *Torghatten*, which has been dealt with in several studies by Elmevik and earlier also by Bengt Hesselman. In one of these essays, Elmevik, presenting valid arguments, criticises the interpretation of *Torghatten* found in Harald Bjorvand & Fredrik Otto Lindeman's etymological dictionary *Våre arveord* (2007). Other studies deal with toponyms such as *Vappa* and *Tierp*, where in the derivation work Elmevik interestingly finds support in appellative material found in *modern* Nordic dialects. In this final part, there are also studies of *Börstil*, *Rappestad*, *Räpplinge*, *Sya*, *Normlösa* and other place-names. This is an important collection of toponymic articles, where many good derivations are accounted for.

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Michael Engelhard, *Ice Bear. The Cultural History of an Arctic Icon*, Seattle: University of Washington Press 2016, ISBN 978-0295999-22-7, 304 pp.

For a long time, part of the international image of Sweden included not just the idea that women were tall and blond but also that wild polar bears roamed the streets of Stockholm. Of course, there were no polar bears in the streets of Stockholm, an odd cliché one might think, but it was taken seriously in countries like the USA. More than anything else, it is evidence of a stereotyped analysis of the world. On the other hand, there have been, and still are, polar bears in captivity even in Scandinavia. In AD 894 King Harald of Norway received two young polar bears as a gift from a Norse settler in Iceland. Haakon IV of Norway sent a polar bear to the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, who sent it on to Sultan El-Kamil of Damascus in 1234. In the 1250s King Haakon IV also sent a polar bear to Henry III of England. The first polar bears came to Sweden in the seventeenth century. The best-known of them is the polar bear that the young Tsar Peter gave in April 1685 to the likewise young Karl XI, and which was kept chained on Helgeandsholmen, where it was able to dive into the waters of Stockholm and catch its own fish. The polar bear came from Novaya Zemlya and was portrayed by David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl.

For much of the twentieth century the Skansen zoo had polar bears, which regularly had young. The cute polar bear cubs were one of the most popular postcard motifs from Skansen in their day. When changes were made to the way animals were kept a few decades ago, Skansen sold its polar bears, to the great dismay of many, but the bear park Orsa Grönklitt still has polar bears. The most famous polar bear in captivity in its day, however, was little Knut in Berlin Zoo, which became a public favourite and a commercial success in 2006. There were even songs written about it, such as “Knut is cute.”

In our time it is perhaps not primarily the polar bear as something to see in a zoo that makes it such a palpable part of our consciousness. Instead it is the worrying signs of climate change, with the polar ice cap rapidly shrinking, which has made the polar bear, more than any other species, into what we could call, with a typical modern cliché, an Arctic icon. We have seen film clips of polar bears sliding around on melting ice floes. At the same time, the modern tourist industry makes it possible for us to go on trips to Svalbard and Greenland in the hope of seeing polar bears. Interestingly, despite the fact that Greenland is a part of the Nordic community, *nanook*, the Greenlandic name for the polar bear, is

probably the only word from Greenlandic/Kalaallisut that can be expected to have spread to the other Nordic countries. There is no doubt, however, that the polar bear is a charismatic species with a powerful cultural charge for people, both in its own immediate environment and in the world as a whole.

The polar bear is a predator that leads a nomadic life in the Arctic Ocean and on the tundra. The species is actually the only predator that views humans primarily as prey. People in the Arctic have therefore viewed it both as a divine creature and an enemy, but also as a food resource, and in recent years as a strong symbol of the ecological crisis in which we find ourselves. For thousands of years mankind has interacted with the polar bear, as is manifested, for instance, in preserved artefacts. The author of this book, Michael Engelhard, has a degree in anthropology from the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, but he works as a wilderness guide and has taken an interest in the place of the polar bear in human cultural history. The result is a rich volume, illustrated with 170 pictures, 145 of them in colour.

In Engelhard's book we are given a broad survey of the polar bear, predominantly based on cultural zoology. The author traces human interaction with polar bears 10,000 years back in time on the basis of finds from the De Long Islands off the coast of Siberia which provide evidence of meetings with local hunters who killed females in particular. The famous Knut is treated in a separate chapter called "The Life and Death of a Superstar," which shows that the attention he attracted also led to conflicts with organizations like PETA. But the public won. They adored Knut (as I was able to see for myself on a visit to Berlin). People still leave flowers in memory of Knut at a bronze plaque erected as a memorial in the zoo. Like another Jim Morrison, Knut suffered a tragic and premature death, which nevertheless made him immortal. He was losing the cuteness factor the older he grew.

Through early data from Japan via Norse sources to early modern travel accounts and maps, the author illustrates dramatic and peaceful meetings with polar bears through the ages. One chapter is dedicated to the place of the polar bear in the history of zoological science. Interestingly, it was not Linnaeus who gave the polar bear its scientific name. Linnaeus knew of Friedrich Martin's description of it from 1675, but since he never saw a polar bear himself, he regarded it as a white variety of the ordinary brown bear. Instead it was the English explorer Constantine Phipps, 2nd Baron Mulgrave, who in his account in 1774 of an Arctic journey left us the first valid description of the polar bear and gave it its scientific name.

Polar bear hunting is given a chapter of its own. It reminds me of when I was in Nanortalik (a town with three polar bears in its coat of arms) over 15 years ago and interviewed an old east Greenland hunter who was legendary in his community for having shot a very large number of polar bears in his youth, but who now, in his autumn years, passed the time with something as peaceful as doing exquisite beadwork and knitting sweaters for his grandchildren! In Sweden too, the romance of polar bear hunting has left its mark in stories and songs. From my youth I remember Tor Bergner of the Klara Bohemians singing a song about polar bear hunters in Hammerfest. There is a particularly fascinating chapter about polar bears in zoos and circuses. Even Sweden had polar bears in circuses in the 1950s. In the nineteenth century there were polar bears in travelling menageries. The many polar bears around 1900 at the fairground Stockholm's Tivoli, present-day Solliden, were taken over in 1906 by Skansen and laid the foundation for large-scale breeding of the species. Skansen kept polar bears until 1984. Snövit (Snow White), born in 1938 at Skansen, was a polar bear cub that aroused almost the same interest among the public as Knut and was cherished by the press in the same way.

The role of the polar bear in cult and beliefs among the Inuit and other circumpolar peoples is the subject of a chapter. The author also considers the erotic charge of polar bear skins, not least in art. We may remind ourselves that the Swedish national poet Verner von Heidenstam is said to have seduced his much younger wife-to-be, Greta Sjöberg, on a polar bear rug when she was still a teenager. The illustrations in Engelhard's book are exquisite, full of exciting angles and almost all of interest as cultural history. Special praise should go to the cover picture of Adolf Nordholm's "At the North Pole—polka for violin and piano" from 1897, with a fantastic scene of dancing Inuit and polar bears playing instruments. There are plenty of photographs of wild polar bears elsewhere, so I appreciate the way the author has taken pains to find captivating illustrations. The result is an engrossing, wide-ranging presentation of the cultural zoology of what is, after all, an Arctic icon. To give an understanding of mankind's close relationship to other species, we need more books of this kind. Cultural zoology is a genre that advances our knowledge of mankind's complex relations to other species.

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Kåre Hoel, *Bustadnavn i Østfold*, 12. Rødenes og Romskog, Utgitt av Institutt for lingvistiske og nordiske studier, Universitetet i Oslo ved Margit Harsson, Oslo: Novus Forlag 2014, ISBN 978-82-7099-770-1, 267 pp.

The onomastic articles in this volume of *Bustadnavn i Østfold* are structured in the same way as in the previous volumes: the interpretations in *Norske Gaardnavne* (NG), Kåre Hoel's treatment of the area's toponyms and the editor's (Margit Harsson) name studies are accounted for separately without being lumped together. The book starts with the analysis of *Rødenes* (pp. 17 ff.), where the first element is not easy to interpret. Hoel focuses on two possible solutions, where an assumed Old West Norse **róða* with the senses 'stake, pole' and 'conversation' are suggested. Based on the latter sense, he imagines a hypothetical *Róðanes*, which might have been an old court place on the isthmus where deliberations were held. But a relation to the sense 'stake, pole' with reference to the shape of the isthmus is also kept open by Hoel. This interpretation is supported by Margit Harsson. *Romskog* seems to be related with the lake name *Rømmen*, which in its turn is connected to a *rime* 'long height (earth or mountain ridge),' *rim* 'pole' etcetera (pp. 137 ff.) with reference to a natural formation protruding into the lake. Many of the names seem to be relatively late formations, which often makes them easy to interpret even where the onomastic background may be obscure. Here one finds names taken from other toponyms such as *Meklenborg* (pp. 75 f.), *Slesvik* (pp. 84 f.), *Holstein* (p. 87), *Gottenborg* (p. 94) and *Pommern* (pp. 124 f.), the imperative name *Krypinn* (p. 147), the probably jocular *Slottet* (that is: 'the castle'; p. 39), the names *Bråka* and *Knåka* (pp. 44, 45), which are formed in relation to each other, and *Fragått* (s. 65 f.), which is probably connected to a place-name *Frågot* in the Swedish province Bohuslän. As usual, some terrain words are focused on in the onomastic articles, such as *klund* m. 'small heap' (pp. 60 f.), *glum* m. 'small, dark and narrow valley' etcetera (p. 72) and *slor* f. 'small moist fat grass ground [...] often covered with water' (p. 112). In some cases, it would have been advantageous to include other Nordic name and word material in the discussion of some of these terrain appellatives. But even relatively young toponyms can be problematic. *Vispa* (p. 31), for example, has previously been regarded as the name of a brook. The name has also been regarded as a reduced form of the German urban name *Wiesbaden*, in view of other places named after toponyms in this area. These two assump-

tions do not seem very plausible; the toponym is more likely to have been formed on a personal byname. An interesting investigation concerns *Oretapp* (pp. 88 ff.), from an *øltappr* 'bottling of beer, sale of beer for consumption on the premises.' The analysis of the name *Jåvall* (pp. 31–36) includes a thorough investigation of *vall* and the basis of *jå*, but the investigation of the latter does not result in a safe conclusion. A good thing is that Margit Harsson sometimes challenges previous interpretations, for example regarding the assumed *-vin* name *Hen*, where, after searching for an alternative interpretation (a development of Old West Norse *Hæðinne*), she still chooses to support the earlier interpretation of the name (pp. 42 ff.). However, the first elements in *Stensrud* (p. 67) and *Skislett* (pp. 129 ff.) might have been discussed in greater detail, as might the *bed* that is mentioned in connection with *Ba* (pp. 132 ff.), where other Nordic material could have been included. Special sections deal with lust names and old regional names and the basic topographic words are stated in an alphabetical list (pp. 181 ff.). Some sections also deal briefly with names taken from other toponyms and old plural names (pp. 211 ff.). Sources and literature are accounted for, and there are also various indexes. Many of the names here seem to be fairly young, but that does not make them less interesting in any way. One notes, with satisfaction, that a new volume in the series has been added to the previous ones, and that the editors are in a fair way to concluding this impressive Nordic research project on toponyms.

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Ernst Håkon Jahr, Gudlaug Nedrelied & Marit Aamodt Nielsen (eds.), *Språkhistorieskriving og språkidologi. Eit utval norske språkhistorikarar*, Oslo: Novus Forlag 2016, ISBN 978-82-7099-866-1, 156 pp.

As is clearly shown by the various articles in this book, it was not only the progress of philological research but also the language conflict in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that came to provide the framework for the discussion of language history in Norway. The authors of the different contributions are attached to the University of Agder, Kristiansand, in southern Norway, and have done a great deal of research on Norwegian language history and other Norwegian and Nordic philology.

They are thus reliable guides to the subject. The introductory chapter draws the picture of philology in the nineteenth century and the Norwegian writing on language history at the time. It is quite correctly pointed out that the seven scholars that are closely depicted here are not an entirely self-evident selection; there are other scholars that could equally well have been focused on, such as Ivar Aasen, Johan Storm, Trygve Knudsen and Vemund Skar, to mention just a few. The account of the research partners Hjalmar Falk and Alf Torp is interesting, and describes, for example, the book *Dansk-norskens lydhistorie* (1898) and the problems the two authors had to grapple with. Didrik Arup Seip and his work on language history are then discussed. For example, judgements he made in his *Norsk språkhistorie til omkring 1370* (with two editions 1931 and 1955) are related to Seip's position on language policy. In one chapter, we get to know Marius Hægstad and Gustav Indrebø, and, more briefly, Sigurd Kolsrud and Torleiv Hannaas. The elucidation of Indrebø's *Norsk Målsoga* (posthumously published in 1951) is fascinating. Several of the scholars mentioned hold strong views on matters involving language policy, which clearly distinguishes them from Per Nyquist Grøtvedt and Egil Pettersen, who are also portrayed in the book. Interesting perspectives on East Norwegian language are presented in Grøtvedt's *Skrift og tale i mellomnorske diplomer fra Folden-området 1350–1450*, and Pettersen's studies *Språkbrytning i Vest-Norge 1450–1550* (I–II) are important. But neither Grøtvedt nor Pettersen use their research to legitimise their language policy positions. With great merit, this book places a number of Norwegian works on language history in an ideological context.

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Martin Ježek, *Archaeology of Touchstones. An introduction based on finds from Birka, Sweden*, Leiden: Sidestone Press 2017, ISBN 978-90-8890-517-9, 220 pp.

With his work *Archaeology of Touchstones*, Martin Ježek presents an extensive and exemplary analysis of an often misinterpreted group of artifacts known as touchstones. His analysis is based on the findings from the Viking Age trading place of Birka, Sweden, and demonstrates by means of these touchstones the often far too naïve and unidimensional interpretation of grave goods, even in today's archaeology.

Touchstones denominate testing stones made from schist (silt), that were used to examine the composition and purity of (precious) metals through abrasion, which leaves specific traces on these touchstones. Despite its significant importance for the craft and trade of metals, this group of artifacts was almost absent in academic discourse, except for some case studies by the author of the present book. This was mainly due to the misinterpretation of touchstones as whetstones in a long row of publications, based on low knowledge of the archaeological material or missing detailed studies of the concrete artifacts. When correctly identified as touchstones, these artifacts are normally regarded within the context of metallurgy and—similar to Ježek’s extensively discussed example of blacksmithing tools (see Müller-Wille 1983)—are often seen as evidence for the deceased’s profession. However, the findings given by Ježek illustrate quite clearly, that touchstones—in most cultural contexts—can neither be ascribed only to a specific gender or age group nor coercively to the social elite, and even an association of the touchstones with metal-working tools as grave goods is often missing.

Martin Ježek presents a highly relevant but often misinterpreted or misidentified group of objects that serves as his starting point for an exemplary and partially even harsh criticism and deconstruction of the traditional interpretation of graves as “mirrors of life” (Härke 1997: 25), which still appears in modern archaeology.

His convincing—albeit partially hypercritical—argumentation against the often far too simplistic and naïve patterns of interpretation within traditional burial archaeology are only affected by the book’s central weakness, the slightly vague structuring of the single chapters. And even his skepticism appears to be partially exaggerated or at least not stringent. He postulates several times that grave goods were exclusively deposited because of their symbolic value for the relatives and definitely not because of their potential use by the dead in the afterlife:

Regardless of what Europeans in prehistoric times and the Early Middle Ages thought about the afterlife, it must have been clear to them that the deceased would not need tools, weapons, jewellery, horses, dogs or even other people. (p. 66)

While on the following page he gives an identical interpretation for Christian grave goods as “rosaries, prayer books and pilgrimage tokens” (p. 67), he still mentions the historical tradition to place coins in the graves so that the dead can purchase food in the afterlife only some lines below. By this, he foils his own hypercritical view on the function and meaning of grave goods.

The book is separated into 15 not further subdivided chapters, acknowledgements, an introduction as well as references and an index of places.

After a short introduction about the chosen material, function and meaning of touchstones as well as the differentiation between touchstones and whetstones, the book provides an overview of the appearance and occurrence of touchstones in prehistory with two more detailed case studies on touchstones in Mesopotamic burials and graves of La Tène culture. This is followed by several chapters dealing with an extensive discussion about the symbolism of grave goods and the interpretation of burials as “mirrors” and “hall of mirrors of life,” respectively—always with recourse to the artifact group of touchstones. A stringent structure of the single chapters in relation to each other as well as to the book’s overall structure of argumentation is sometimes difficult to identify. The particular chapters partly merge seamlessly into each other taking up aspects that already have been mentioned before and lacking a final conclusion at the end, which occasionally makes it difficult to follow the argumentation.

The actual topic of the book—the analysis of the touchstones from the burials in Birka—is not presented until the second half of the book. After a classical evaluation of the distribution of touchstones in the burials and their association with other artifacts, the analysis of the material by means of a scanning electron microscope (SEM) to search for signs of abrasion of (precious) metals represents the central aspect of Ježek’s research, with a short catalogue of the investigated material. A separate chapter is dedicated to the surprisingly scarce evidence of nickel on the touchstones from Birka, followed by a short discussion about problems and limits of SEM analysis. With a short account of investigations of touchstones from two spots from Polen, Ostrów Lednicki and Dziekanowice, Ježek presents on the one hand another interesting corpus of touchstones and allows on the other hand a better contextualization for the findings from Birka. Even if the final chapter is entitled *Conclusio*, it does not serve as the eagerly expected concrete summary of the overall results, but more or less as an enlarged discussion about the meaning of artifacts within the sphere of metallurgy and their symbolic value in burial contexts, referring to the argumentation from the book’s first chapters.

An investigation of the petrographic quality of the touchstones from Birka as well as tables with the results from SEM and chemical microanalysis, microscope photos and spectra of metal traces on some selected touchstones from Birka are attached as appendices.

The present study submitted by Martin Ježek convinces with its methodologically and interpretatively cogent analysis of the corpus of touchstones from Birka. His results provide proof for the significant importance of this artifact group for a silver-based bullion-economy as well as for craft and trade of (precious) metals. Furthermore, they cast new light upon metallurgy in Viking Age society in Scandinavia—e. g. by the astonishingly frequent proof of traces of base metals, especially lead.

In addition, by illustrating the symbolic meaning and function of touchstones in funerary contexts, used for the presentation or construction of social identities, which have to be seen entirely detached from the social status or profession of the deceased in reality (see Toplak 2017), his results are an excellent example of the problematic identification of professions in burials (see Staecker 2009: 479–482), as well as of the general discrepancy between this world and the afterlife and graves as “mirrors of life” (Härke 1994; 1997).

In this methodologically and theoretically convincing case study which provides further proof for the traditional simplicity in the interpretation of burials, as well as prehistoric features in general based on antiquated doctrines and insufficient classification of archaeological material, lies the central strength of Ježek’s work, which will be an interesting and inspiring tool for scholars of metallurgy and economy in Viking Age society as well as for more theoretical approaches towards death and burial. The only weak point—beside some minor errors such as the outdated interpretation of Gudingsåkrarna as a ritual hoard (p. 125, 128; see Carlsson 2011)—is the not entirely clearly arranged structure of the single chapters, the lack of concise summaries, and the partially digressive argumentation due to the constant reference to the material corpus of touchstones. A tightening of the first few chapters concerning the historic background of the touchstones and the constant criticism of a traditional and often far too naïve interpretation of burials, as well as a more articulated structure would have been advantageous and would have highlighted the central results and their importance for Viking Age materiality and the theory of burial archaeology.

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Ole-Jørgen Johannessen (ed.), *Bergens kalvskinn*, Oslo: Riksarkivet 2016 (Kildeutgivelser fra Riksarkivet 3), ISBN 978-82-548-0134-5; ISSN 1894-2601, xli + 456 pp.

In the National Archives in Oslo, there is a manuscript signed *AM 329 a fol.* The manuscript appears to consist of copies of copies and it is obvious that the scribe or scribes have not always been careful in their work (p. xxiv) and as a result, it can sometimes be difficult to interpret details in the text. This manuscript, popularly known as *Bergens kalvskinn* ('Bergen's calfskin'), is a land register or a register of church estates in the diocese of Bergen in the middle of the fourteenth century. Since *Bergens kalvskinn* contains more than 1,800 names of farms, it is a valuable source of toponyms in Western Norway. In the preface, the editor rightly characterises the text as a window to economic, legal and social conditions in the late Middle Ages. There is an earlier edition of the source text, compiled in 1843 by P. A Munch, but there is an obvious need for this modern edition. In the introduction, Ole-Jørgen Johannessen

presents a description of the manuscript and the text, which seems to be written in traditional Old Norse, with its lists on mensalgotset ('the priest's revenues'), fabrica ('the church's revenues') and information about the tithes. At the end of the manuscript there are also three dated documents, among others a list of books etcetera in Ølmeim's church in 1321. The editor's ambition is to render the manuscript's text as precisely as possible. The use of capital and small letters follows the source; the edition renders insular *f*, rounded *r* etcetera. In addition, the editor has added a translation of *Bergens kalvskinn*, in the same way as Jon Gunnar Jørgensen did in his edition of Aslak Bolts jordebok (1997). The translation contains some comments regarding identifications and locations of farms that are mentioned and which are either not found in the current volumes (XI and XII) of *Norske Gaardnavne* or are wrongly placed in them. It is extremely valuable that the editor, by including information from the local history literature, presents numerous important pieces of factual information preserved in oral tradition. This finds expression in many places in the volume, for example in the comments on pp. 231, 271 and 293. The book concludes with different kinds of indexes. At the very end, there are some word explanations which includes, for example, measurement terms such as *laupr*, *skettingr*, *spann* and *pveiti*. The edition gives us access to the West Norwegian stock of place-names in the middle of the fourteenth century, and one is grateful that this source now exists in a modern and reliable edition.

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Joanna Kafarowski, *The Polar Adventurs of a Rich American Dame. The Life of Louise Arner Boyd*, Toronto: Dundurn 2017, ISBN 978-1-4597-3970-3, 367 pp.

Louise Arner Boyd (1877–1972) was a remarkable woman who made a name as a self-styled patron of Arctic exploration and research. As a rich multimillionaire she chartered sturdy Norwegian ships and stocked them with scientists, researchers specializing in geomorphology and glacial studies, botanists and plant ecologists, plus the latest in equipment for photogrammetric surveying of landforms and eco-sounding of sea-floors. For her own part she participated as expedition leader and photographer. In biographical dictionaries she liked to be remembered as a

geographer, photographer and collector of botanic specimens. Her most important expeditions—the Louise A. Boyd Expeditions to East Greenland (1931, 1933, 1937 & 1938)—focused on the fjord regions of northeastern Greenland. The later four of these expeditions were officially conducted under the auspices of the American Geographical Society (AGS), which also published expedition reports. The reports from sorties in 1937 and 1938 were combined in a single volume finalized in 1940 but on the advice of the US government it did not see print until 1948; the reason was a fear that making public the contents with its 340 pages including many photographs and maps might advantage the German side in the Arctic sphere during World War II.

By 1941, having proven her mettle, Miss Boyd (as she liked to be called) was recruited by the US National Bureau of Standards to lead an expedition in waters up along the northwestern side of Greenland and then down again along the Canadian coast. The object was to obtain geomagnetic data to improve knowledge of changes affecting the ionosphere, thus investigations strategically valuable as World War II was approaching the US; reliability of radio transmission between North America and Europe was needed. She was also asked by the War Department to write a classified report on the feasibility of York Sound on Baffin Island as a military landing field. During the war years she put at her government's disposal several thousands of photographs taken around Greenland, the volcanic Arctic Ocean island Jan Mayen, and related regions, plus relevant hydrographical, geological, glaciological and other data, strategically useful for the US military at a time when Germany occupied Denmark and sought to control Greenland.

To cap her achievements as a polar explorer Miss Boyd in 1955 at the age of 67 hired a Douglas DC-4 with a Norwegian pilot and crew to fly her on a return trip from Bodø, Norway, to circle in the air over the North Pole, thus becoming the first woman to “see” that geographical pole. Her legacy remains inscribed on maps naming features like an area called Miss Boyd Land and Louise Glacier in northeastern Greenland and the Louise A. Boyd Bank, a submarine ridge along the sea bottom between Bear Island and Jan Mayen Island.

Of the eight trips she made in Arctic regions the final five were devoted to scientific pursuits whose outcomes won Miss Boyd due respect and recognition in the male world of polar research of her time—she was awarded many medals and certificates of appreciation from different governments and learned societies. In the late 1950s, except for in a small circle of polar experts, her achievements fell into relative oblivion as the International Geophysical Year 1957/58 opened a new era with a

new way of doing polar science (cf. Elzinga 2009). By comparison, Louise Boyd as a private patron who funded and fully equipped her own expeditions with the latest equipment—as well as providing all food and provisions—comes closer to some of the patrons and gentleman explorers of the late nineteenth century. Yet, even today some of the results that emanated from her expeditions are still relevant for historically tracing areas of past glacial advance and recession with an eye to reconstructing past climate variations and comparing the current climatic change in the Arctic.

The author of the present volume, Joanna Kafarowski, first came across Louise Boyd's name while conducting fieldwork in Arctic Canada for a doctorate (at the University of Northern British Columbia) on gender, decision-making and environmental contaminants (Kafarowski 2008); reading polar exploration literature in her spare time, she became curious about Miss Boyd. Trying to find out more, Kafarowski discovered there existed no biography about this unusual polar entrepreneur who had inherited a multimillion-dollar fortune in 1920 when her parents died. It became clear that here was an unusual story. Some of the storyline was documented in an exhibition at the San Rafael's Marine History Museum, and that is where Kafarowski for her part initially got an idea that gradually grew into a determination to write the first comprehensive biography of her heroine. It was of a woman left alone in a family mansion in San Rafael in northern California (neighbouring San Francisco), a woman in her early thirties groomed as an upper class socialite and philanthropist who had a dream that became a passion, wanting to penetrate the mysteries of the Arctic. It took the author all of ten years to piece together the story, combing through masses of documentary material, conducting extensive archival studies, and having discussions with persons in several countries, not least Norway. At the same time our author found several gaps in the archival record and therefore in her book and before audiences during speaking tours she makes a point of appealing to readers etc. to tip her off as to further sources like travel-diaries, letters and photographs that might be tucked away in some academic archive or family attic.¹

The book is well structured. It follows and contextualizes the chronology of Louise Boyd's lifeline. The first two chapters deal first with Miss Boyd's early life and the environment in which she grew up, and then her early travels, especially to Europe and a trip in 1924 on a tourist cruise to Spitsbergen on a Norwegian tourist steamer, which whetted the glamorous lady's appetite for Arctic adventure. Chapter 3 covers a big game hunting trip on a ship she chartered two years later to carry

herself and some specially invited wealthy friends to Franz Josef Land to shoot polar bear and bag furs; all the while she recorded numerous activities on film and made lots of photographs that also show amazing images of the sea-, ice- and landscapes through which she passed.

Chapter 4, entitled “Chasing Amundsen,” takes up plans for a similar trip in 1928 that ended up being much more serious. Once again Miss Boyd chartered a ship and paid for everything out of her own purse, but now the original plan was abruptly changed. Roald Amundsen and five companions had just disappeared on a flight northward out of Tromsø on a French-built seaplane en route to Spitsbergen to help in the rescue of survivors of the Nobile airship *Italia* that had crashed onto the Arctic ice. Now it was Amundsen who had become the object of a new search. Miss Boyd immediately pitched in with her chartered vessel, placed it with crew and all at the disposal of the Norwegian state, and loaded it with two seaplanes to help in the grand search and rescue effort involving altogether 15 ships to find Roald Amundsen and his companions. In the chapter, the reader is provided with a goodly amount of context and polar exploration history, for example concerning Andrée’s ill-fated balloon flight and its aftermath. Boyd’s role in the unsuccessful search for Amundsen is highlighted and we learn how she in the process broadened her connections with professionals who she could later consult when planning to launch further expeditions, figures like Hjalmar Riiser-Larsen, Bernt Balch, Lauge Koch, Adolf Hoel, Ejnar Mikkelsen. These and other characters are depicted in the chapter with a series of interesting thumbnail sketches. Furthermore it is shown how Miss Boyd was lifted into the media limelight and decided to deviate from her earlier path of privileged boredom in order to try and make a difference by steering her riches and business management skills towards promoting polar science. It was a decisive moment in the heroine’s life.

Chapters 5–9 give accounts of Boyd’s scientifically oriented polar escapades and their outcomes. Apart from a description of the logistics involved in each separate expedition, five to northeastern Greenland and then the one to western Greenland and the Canadian Arctic, we learn about the various scientists involved, their fieldwork, instruments used, dramatic situations on board and of course the multiple challenges Miss Boyd had to deal with.

July 1 to well into September 1931 (Ch. 5) went from Ålesund to Jan Mayen Is. and northeastern Greenland on the ship *Veslekari* (a sister ship to the *Maud*) captained by Paul Lillenes. On board as research staff was a Swedish surveyor and cartographer, a botanist from San Rafael, a sportsman/big game hunter from a wealthy American family, plus a young Nor-

wegian who assisted Miss Boyd everywhere she went with her heavy camera equipment. All of these men had been recruited via personal contacts. The timing of the expedition coincided with Norway's geopolitical battle with Denmark concerning sovereignty over a large chunk of northeast Greenland that had just been claimed by Norway. That event with all the fanfare around it, flag-waving in Ålesund and amongst exuberant Norwegian hunters encountered on the coast of Greenland is nicely described in this chapter as seen through the eyes of the expeditioners.

June 28–Sept 16, 1933 expedition (Ch. 6) went again from Ålesund with the same ship as before but with Johan Olsen as captain. Now it was a follow-up expedition, again via Jan Mayen to northeastern Greenland, this time more focused and with a research staff in part selected with help from the AGS. Geological surveys and glaciology combined with collecting botanical specimens, sonic depth mapping of features of the sea bottom and tidal gauge readings at various sites. June 4–Sept 24, 1937 expedition (Ch. 7) once more from Ålesund with the *Veslekari* and Olsen as captain was planned as the first of a unit of two expeditions, the second of which followed on June 8–Sept 12, 1938 (Ch. 8) as part of one and the same research plan covering topographical mapping, geology, plant life on glacial margins and extensive hydrographical studies. Apart from further reconnaissance in the regions previously surveyed, the work now also included sonar depth-sounding along the sea floor from Greenland towards and along the coast of Svalbard and northward (1938) up to the edge of the icepack. Additionally, in 1938 a mobile echo-sounder for use on a dory for shallow offshore hydrography in Greenland fjords was included and a radio expert was now also engaged to transmit wireless reports of weather events and ice conditions to meteorological stations. In the accounts of these scientifically focused expeditions Kafarowky again weaves in eye witness reports from diaries plus interesting facets and mention of personalities from earlier history of polar exploration in the regions the Boyd expeditions visited. Chapter 8 also describes how Miss Boyd gained increasing recognition in specialized scientific circles, accumulated awards, received invitations to lecture and was celebrated in media reports. Chapter 9 deals with the Louise A. Boyd 1941 Arctic Expedition, as it was called, on board the ship *Effie M. Morrissey* with the legendary Newfoundland-born captain Bob Bartlett who had once accompanied Peary on three separate attempts to reach the North Pole. Now passage went northward along the western Greenland coast and back along the Canadian coast from Ellesmere Island, Baffin Island and Labrador on the mission to gather data on the effect of polar magnetic fields on radio transmissions. An account is given of the main characters

involved, the geopolitical and scientific contexts, as well as tensions between Miss Boyd on the one hand and Bartlett and his crew on the other.

What strikes me as particularly valuable is how the author brings to life the various expeditions by citing excerpts from the personal diaries of researchers who participated, from letters between them, as well as from Miss Boyd's correspondence. In this way we not only get first hand reports on research conducted and dramatic moments in the polar ice-pack but also a sense of conflicts and tensions that emerged at times in the confined quarters of a ship. Conflicts emerged both from constraints put on scientists by the vagaries of nature and rivalry between them as one or another of them found a particular project received more field-work time than one's own. The situation was sometimes aggravated by Miss Boyd's commandeering leadership style and her unmistakable upper class breeding as a woman of privilege who used her authority and patronship as financier to keep the research staff in line by reminding them of stipulations in the formal contract they had signed with her. If they deviated and published results without clearing it with her as the expedition leader she called on her personal lawyer and legal action was taken. Here was a Lady you did not mess with. Even tough old "Captain Bob" found this out. Excerpts from diaries and correspondence show how coteries developed amongst some of the men who nevertheless were wont to silently suppress their frustrations while Miss Boyd always presented a friendly visage. The various elements of the social dynamics at play and the factors involved are nicely brought to life, providing a dramatic thread in several chapters that helps pull the reader along.

In this connection the author could have gone further to assess the systemic limitations of Boyd's expeditions when viewed in a historical perspective. It is therefore pertinent to recall some observations made by Lauge Koch who was the man who first inscribed the name Miss Boyd Land on the Greenland map. In his review (1949) of the delayed AGS publication under Boyd's name, *The Coast of Northeast Greenland, with hydrographic studies in the Greenland Sea* emanating from the 1937 and 1938 expeditions, Koch (1949: 195) notes:

Although Louis A. Boyd has worked out the scientific programs for her summer expeditions with great forethought, on reading the various chapters of the book one deplors that the scientists had not more time at their disposal. It may be asked whether summer expeditions to the fjords of central East Greenland are now not out of date. The working time of such expeditions is too short and too much depends on the ice conditions, which may vary considerably with the planned scientific work. A number of Danish expeditions

have already wintered in East Greenland, and since 1931 Danish expeditions have established winter stations for scientists, who thus obtained a much longer working period.

Tapering off, Chapter 10 (“The North Pole and Beyond”) first deals with the years 1942–1944 when Miss Boyd served as a special consultant to several branches of the US military and the appreciative recognition gained in this respect from the Department of the Army. Thereafter an account is given of the finalization of the Greenland-volume published 1948, and of the period that followed when she had many countrywide speaking engagements and fulfilled numerous philanthropic and social duties locally in San Rafael society. Travels to Germany and Austria in 1952 are mentioned, as well as three years of intensive lobbying persons in high places in Norway and the US to finally realize the bold plan to fly to the North Pole in 1952, an event accompanied by careful management from her side of information to the media in order to obtain the greatest possible news impact. Relations with the AGS and participation on its Council are also documented, including reference to an internal memo from a staff member of that organization who confirms her disposition as being “extraordinarily self-centered and rather dictatorial” (p. 179). A final section of the chapter rounds off the story of her life, describing how, when all her wealth had been exhausted and some bad investments had been made, the luxurious family mansion was sadly sold; Miss Boyd’s last years were spent in a rented apartment for seniors paid for by close friends.

In her Epilogue, Joanna Kafarowski summarizes the legacy, social history and gender significance in science and more broadly of Miss Boyd’s life and work.

Overall, the book reflects an impressive piece of detective work to craft an informative and readable biography on the basis of scattered archival sources. The author successfully reinstates a remarkable woman in the annals of exploration and research, one whose image had faded after the late 1950s. The biography is richly illustrated with 90 black and white images based on photographs. Further, there are ten informative maps, eight of which display expedition routes, one at the head of each relevant chapter, which is very helpful for the reader. An appendix gives a list of the names of participants in the expeditions carried out from 1926–1941. The battery of footnotes and an extensive bibliography covering archival material, books, articles, old newspaper reports as well as a couple of films and a video are useful for anyone that wants to delve deeper. Finally the book also has a handy index. Altogether the volume is a fine contribution to the literature on the history of Arctic exploration

and research and obviously also has a place in the literature pertaining to “gender on ice,” a more recent genre in which Miss Boyd has hitherto also been largely neglected.²

NOTES

¹ I wish to point out here—for example—that Carl-Gustaf Anrick’s diary was not consulted; it exists in the Uppsala University Library archive.

² Even in the portal book whose title gave the name to this new genre at an intersection between polar exploration history and gender studies (Bloom 1993), Louise Boyd is missing. For a chronological list (1982–2012) of some titles in this genre see the website - <http://www.phys.barnard.edu/~kay/polar/gender.php>

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Kristoffer Kruken (ed.), *Personnamnarbeid av P. A. Munch*, Oslo: Novus Forlag 2016, ISBN 978-82-7099-862-3, 284 pp.

In connection with the establishment of the Norwegian nation in the 1840s and 1850s, the idea was expressed “that the new nation should be built on the foundations of the old one” and that the national language and the personal names should be highlighted. Ivar Aasen and P. A. Munch were important actors in this process. In the volume presented here, Kristoffer Kruken has gathered three important articles by Munch in which the editor has corrected many details—the corrections are shown in a list on pp. 235 ff.—but above all provided with more than sixty pages of detailed and useful indexes. The latter are valuable, as they contain over 4,100 names and name variants. The first article by Munch, published in 1849, has the title “Nogle Ord til Overvejelse om vore brugelige Personnavne, og om at holde vore nationale Navne i Agt og Ære” (‘A few words in consideration of our common personal names and of honouring our national names’), and even its heading reveals that it is a manifesto. The second article, which was published five years later, is a systematic survey of different personal names from historical and cultural perspectives. The third article, from 1857, deals with the national names and their correct writing and pronunciation. This compilation, which is the volume’s most extensive one, contains a large number of names, about 2,500, which makes it a great collection. The names are treated from etymologic, semantic and sound history perspectives, not least parallel Germanic personal names. Some of the investigations are very detailed, such as those regarding *Gaut* and *Gisl*, and in some places place-names are included as well. The Old Norse status of the personal names is focused on by Munch with many references to the names’ use in, for example, the Icelandic sagas and the kings’ sagas. In some places in the volume, there are very clear standpoints *against* some neologisms among the personal names, and here Munch adopts a harsher attitude, chiefly concerning the custom “of adopting foreign names from another language without giving them the form they have in our language” (p. 29). As *Georg* and *Henrik* are common Norwegian names, he finds it “revolting to hear Norwegian children being called *George*, *Henri*, with a French pronunciation.” While Munch argues for the traditional names, he thinks that it would be an affectation to bring back names such as *Starkad*, *Aude*, *Unne*, *Freydis* (p. 40). As Kruken (p. 12) points out, Munch has quite a lot of personal names that he invented himself, among oth-

ers some containing *Bjarn-* and *-gest*. Even if the primary purpose of Munch's works on personal names was ideologically founded, had cultural ambitions and gave clear instructions regarding suitable choices of names, Munch also laid the foundation for a scholarly examination of personal names. For that reason, this edition is also of great interest to Nordic history of science scholars.

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Britta Olrik Frederiksen et al. (eds.), *Opuscula*, vol. XIV, København: Museum Tusulanums Press 2016 (Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana a Jón Helgason Conditæ, vol. XLVIII), ISBN 978-87-635-4362-0; ISSN 0067-7841, 421 pp.

This volume contains no less than three Icelandic texts that now are published for the first time. Of greatest interest is the text called *Gnýs ævintýr*, which is an Icelandic rendering of an exemplum included in the medieval collection *Gesta Romanorum* about a fraudulent trustee who is eventually punished. The Icelandic manuscripts containing this text are late, more precisely from the seventeenth century and later. The current edition is "semi-diplomatarian" and was carried out by Jeffrey S. Love, Beeke Stegmann and Tom Birkett; in addition there is a translation into English. The second text, about Lucian and Gedula, is a story ascribed to the poet and clergyman Jón Oddsson Hjaltalín (1749–1835). The text exists in two versions, and its originals are investigated by the editor, Matthew James Driscoll. The third of the volume's new editions is based on a text in AM 601 d 4^{to} written down by Árni Magnússon, and in the heading, the editor, Philip Lavender, wonders whether this text, *Skjaldar Þátr Danakonung's*, might be "a lost fornaldarsaga?" In the volume, we also find two hitherto unpublished text witnesses of the West Nordic translation of the Latin legend of Sancta Agatha; Kirsten Wolf produced this edition and comments. The editions now mentioned constitute half the volume. In the other half there are a number of articles relating to the West Nordic research area. Two articles deal with *Flateyjarbók*, first Kulbrún Haraldsdóttir's article "Die Flateyjarbók und der Anfang ihrer Óláfs saga Helga," and then Stefan Drechsler's "Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen der GKS 1005 fol. Flateyjarbók." The latter, a

beautifully illustrated article, is about the image–text and image–image relation in the manuscript and gives the reader insights into the cultural and historical background to manuscript production in Iceland. The wide West European context is obvious here. Alex Speed Kjeldsen makes several contributions to the volume: one about a pronoun in the oldest Icelandic original diplomas, in which a number of Norwegianisms in the material are also dealt with, another about some word forms in the original diplomas, and a number of so-called “Småstykker,” for example about Morkinskinna’s parchment. In addition, there are contributions by Knud Ottosen and the late Stefán Karlsson. A couple of indexes conclude the volume. Brita Olrik Frederiksen has successfully coordinated the publication. The other members of the editorial committee are Matthew James Driscoll, Gottskálk Jensson, Anne Mette Hansen, Silvia Hufnagel, Alex Speed Kjeldsen, Tereza Lansing and Annette Lassen. This guarantees editions and philological analyses of the highest standard.

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Christine Peel (ed.), *Guta Lag and Guta Saga. The Law and History of the Gotlanders*, London & New York: Routledge 2015 (Medieval Nordic Laws), ISBN 978-1-138-80421-0, xxii + 334 pp.

In a newly started series from Routledge, *Medieval Nordic Laws*, with Stefan Brink and Ditlev Tamm as series editors, translations into English of the oldest Nordic laws are published. This project provides an international audience with access to important sources of Nordic history. The first book published in the series was *Guta Lag and Guta Saga. The law and history of the Gotlanders*, with Christine Peel as editor. This seems like a suitable start in view of the *Guta Lag*’s age and independent position in a Nordic perspective. Nor could a more suitable editor have been found, since Peel has previously edited and translated *Gutasagan* (1999) and *Gutalagen* (2009) in the Viking Society for Northern Research Text series. The current edition starts with a presentation of Gotland’s medieval status and accounts for the historical preconditions. In the introduction to *Guta Lag*, she describes the codicological background and presents a stemma of the manuscripts. How the law was compiled in its written form is accounted for; there are different opinions about this among law

historians, but one thing is certain according to the editor: “the redactor (or redactors) was a Gotlander” (p. 24). Previous editions and translations of the law are described and the law is presented with information about how the legal system was organised, what is said about fines, oaths and inheritances, and quite a few other things. The translation follows (pp. 36–87), whereupon the editor presents an extensive critical apparatus (pp. 88–201) followed by tables listing penalties etcetera. In the section on Guta Saga—a kind of appendix to the law—the reader will initially find learned expositions on sinking islands, sanctifying land by means of fire, dreams of snakes, ancient religious beliefs, Saint Olaf’s visit, the building of churches and many other things. Information is also given about previous editions and translations (pp. 277–281) of the Guta Saga and commentaries follow (pp. 283–315). The concluding source and literature list comprising some twenty tightly printed pages bears the hallmark of a well-informed translator and commentator. The comments seem well made and there is only one single point, viz. the words *ed* and *eda (ida)* (pp. 288), that might need some complementary additions or corrections. This edition provides the reader with good opportunities to create a picture of conceptual worlds and everyday life in the medieval Gotland society. Guta Lag and Guta Saga is the beginning of an important international publication project. A second part of the series is an edition of Danish laws presented elsewhere in this issue of the journal. One can only hope that adequate energy and resources will be available for the completion of this gigantic project.

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Line Sandst, *Urbane stednavne – storbyens sproglige dimension. En stilistisk-retorisk analyse af urbane stednavne i det københavnske byrum*, København: Københavns Universitet 2015, 306 pp.; *Appendiks* [‘Appendix’], 1–3, 572 pp.

Line Sandst’s doctoral thesis on urbane place-names is a great research achievement. By way of introduction, the main questions of the thesis are presented; what rhetorical strategies are used in the current place-name formation in Copenhagen, what are the reasons behind the naming and what urban spaces do the place-name formations create, if they create

any urban spaces at all? After a short chapter on the “meaning premise”—which touches on the “eternal” question about the meaning of proper names and proper names in relation to homonymous appellatives—follows a research history that I find too short, and despite the ambitions, too superficial as regards both the Nordic and, in particular, the international perspective. The fourth chapter accounts for terms and introduces the stylistic-rhetorical analysis. Sandst believes that place-names are either a part of “the onomastic normal language mood” or else they conflict with it—this is a cardinal idea. In addition, interesting interpretative concepts are introduced in connection with commercial names and the concept of group named areas in cities. The empirical material of the thesis has been taken from *Indre By*, where Copenhagen’s oldest street names are found, from the so-called *Carlsberg-grunden*, where we find the city’s youngest street names and from *Nørrebo*, which in terms of age is somewhere in the middle between the two first-mentioned areas. The author has gathered all visible names on signs, and some “invisible” ones have also been included, for example unofficial names in the area of Carlsberg-grunden. Other sources used are also accounted for, for example the homepages of shops. It is an immense and multifaceted material that has been collected, as is clearly demonstrated by the three appendices of more than 550 pages that constitute the second part of the thesis. In chapter 6, the author presents a linguistic description of the urban place-names. Of undeniable interest is the section that deals with the commercial names’ morphology and semantics. In the following three chapters, the names in the three areas are gone through. There are numerous observations here, and different proper name strategies can be seen. The process of naming a new area like Carlberg-grunden is thoroughly dealt with, and it is clearly seen here how various different stakeholders try to influence the place-name formation. Not least interesting is the problem of preserving place-names that is thereby illustrated. Regarding Nørrebro Sandst tries to illustrate whether either of the two street name groups focused on—names formed on phenomena in Nordic mythology and names formed on Northern Zealand’s places—creates a unity and thus establishes a place. This is apparently the case with the mythologically motivated names, but hardly with the street names based on the Northern Zealand place-names. The author shows independence, handles a large material she carefully analyses and has both methodological and theoretical ambitions with her work. A number of fundamental onomastic issues are here given an exciting elucidation.

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Christof Seidler, *Das Edda-Projekt der Brüder Grimm. Hintergrund, Analyse und Einordnung*, München: Herbert Utz Verlag 2015 (Münster Nordistische Studien 9), 414 pp., ISBN 978-3-8316-4158-1.

The topic of Christof Seidler's book is the Grimm brothers' edition of heroic poems in the *Older Edda* from 1815, the two translations, one by each brother since they could not agree on the principle of translation, and all the unpublished materials, connected both to the published volume and to two more planned volumes that never saw the light of day.

The Grimm brothers, Jacob and Wilhelm, are now best known for their collection and editions of folktales, and they influenced many later collectors and editors of folktales in this field, such as Peter Christen Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe in Norway. In 2005, the Grimm brothers' folktales were added to UNESCO's List of World Heritage. The other field of research to which the name of the Grimm brothers has become connected for all eternity is *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, often called *der Grimm*. This impressive work consisting of 33 volumes was started by the Grimm brothers, and the first volume was published in 1854.

The Grimm brothers had, however, many interests and worked in many fields of research, as many learned men did in the early nineteenth century. Jacob Grimm was born in 1785, his brother Wilhelm in 1786. They both studied law at the University of Marburg. Their main interests were, however, Old German literature and language, in short: cultural heritage. The brothers started to collect folktales as early as 1806. The following year they started to publish articles on Old German *Minnesänger*. Jacob continued with a book on German *Mestersänger*, which is a late medieval genre that can be seen as an offshoot of the older *Minnesänger*. At the same time, Wilhelm wrote his first book on Old Danish heroic poems, ballads and folktales, and both books were published in 1811. Their first co-authored book was an edition of the Old High German poems *Hildebrandslied* and *Wessobrunner Gebet*, published in 1812. Later in the same year, the first volume of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* was published, and the year after the brothers started a journal, *Altdeutsche Wälder*, which covered Old German literature (the journal ceased publication after few years). In 1815, the second volume of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* appeared, and as if all this were not enough, during the year 1814 and parts of 1815 Jacob Grimm wrote his *Deutsche Grammatik*, which was published in parts as he wrote it. Later the Grimm brothers continued to publish German

legends (*Sagen*), and Jacob Grimm wrote on German mythology, and Wilhelm on runology.

It is in this wider context of general interest in medieval German literature and culture as well as in the context of the romantic idea of the *volksgeist* as the creator of a nation's intellectual fruits that the Grimm brothers' interest in Eddic poetry must be seen. Since all the Scandinavian speaking peoples belonged to a wider Germanic nation, Eddic poetry fell clearly within the Grimm brothers' field of interest and could fill out and complete the picture they wanted to draw up of Old German literature and culture. The heroic Eddic poems published in the 1815 edition told the same stories as the German *Nibelungenlied*, and were for this reason of special interest to the Grimm brothers. It was certainly not by chance that these poems were chosen for the first volume. Seidler could profitably have placed the Grimm brothers' Edda project more clearly in this wider context.

The present book by Christof Seidler offers a very thorough discussion of the Edda project of the Grimm brothers. He gives an exposition of the brothers' work with the edition of the poems, whom they contacted for help and support, earlier editions they could consult, and what aids they had at their disposal. His account is supported with many quotations from the sources he has used, for example letters both from and to the brothers. Seidler has perhaps chosen to use more and longer quotations than normally found in a book like this, and one objection could perhaps be that the presentation of the sources is given more space than a critical discussion of them. The extensive use of quotations is, however, a good choice. The many quotations from sources that take us close to the Grimm brothers and their time provide us with a very good, close, and detailed picture of their work and all the problems they had to face.

The Grimm brothers' first volume of Eddic poems with two German translations, one by each brother, was published in 1815 after many years of work. The two different translations, Jacob's in verse, Wilhelm's in prose, were due to the fact that the brothers could not agree on how a good translation should be carried out. The Edda project was planned as an edition in three volumes, but the remaining two volumes were never published. It has of course been a matter of discussion why this did not happen. It has even been suggested that the brothers themselves felt that they were not able to compete with other scholars in this field, which demanded competence in the Old Norse language.

Seidler has succeeded in showing that the answer to the question of why the second and third volume of the Grimm brothers' Eddic poems never saw the light of day is a complex one. It is true that the Grimm

brothers got some very negative criticism from other German scholars during their work with the Eddic poems (see Seidler for example pp. 134–155), but these scholars were also in competition with the Grimm brothers, and were perhaps not completely objective. The Grimm brothers had problems finding a publisher for their book on the Eddic poems, this process took many years, and in the meantime one of their competitors, Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, published his edition of Eddic poems in 1812. Three years after the Grimm brothers had published their edition of Eddic poems, the Arnamagnæanske Kommission in Copenhagen finally published their second volume of the poems (the first volume had been published in 1787, and the third and last appeared in 1828). In the same year (1818), Rasmus Kristian Rask and Arvid August Afzelius published their edition of Eddic poems in Stockholm, and a few editions of separate poems had also appeared. The Grimm brothers had certainly planned to fill a gap when they first started to work on their Edda project, but von der Hagen managed to get his book out first, and after the two editions of Eddic poems in 1818, the market was flooded. In addition, it turned out that there was next to no money to be made on publishing Eddic poetry, and the Grimm brothers had to take financial considerations in account. Jacob Grimm got his professorship as late as in 1830, Wilhelm five years later. The Grimm brothers may have been disappointed with the lack of interest in their Edda project, and as can be seen from several of Seidler's quotations, they realized that they had some problems with the Old Norse language (see for instance Seidler p. 279), but the reasons for not completing their Edda project were to be found in a series of unfortunate circumstances.

While the Grimm brothers received many critical comments on their edition of Edda poems during their work, the reception was mainly positive after the publication in 1815 (see Seidler pp. 273–278). Seidler finally discusses the impact of the Grimm brothers' Edda research on later scholars and editions of Eddic poems. It is of course not easy to measure impact, and it is especially not easy to measure the Grimm brothers' impact on later research on Eddic poetry, since they published only parts of the material. In connection with the discussion of impact on later scholarship, Seidler gives a survey of important editions in the time after 1815. There is more focus on German editions than on editions from other areas, which is fair enough, but there is reason to suspect that the author is not quite as familiar with editions from countries outside Germany as he is with those in German. One reason to suspect this can be found on p. 296, where we can read that Sophus Bugge's edition from 1867 was normalized (which it was not), and to support this piece of information

there is a reference to Bugge's own edition, but unfortunately to an empty page. All the same, Seidler is able to point out many instances where later scholars have followed the Grimm brothers' edition, for example concerning emendations, order of stanzas, and interpretations.

Seidler has succeeded in taking us back in time to the life and work of the Grimm brothers and their contemporaries. The many long and interesting quotations give the readers an illusion of being there looking over the brothers' shoulder, secretly reading the letters they wrote or received. At times the book is exciting, at least more exciting than scholarly literature normally is.

The book is of course of interest for scholars working with Eddic poetry, or with Old Norse philology in general. It should also be of great interest for scholars working on the history of research. It is worthwhile using a few minutes now and then to reflect on the easy access we have to sources and what aids we have at our disposal compared with scholars like the Grimm brothers who had to wait for months, if not years, for a copy of a manuscript sent from Copenhagen. Scholars interested in the theory of translation will also find titbits in this book. The brothers' quarrel over how Eddic poetry should be translated is still of interest.

It is to hope that this book on the Edda project of the Grimm brothers will lead to a renewed interest in these impressive scholars who belonged to the generations that laid the foundation for modern scholarship. The production of the brothers is really impressive. Jacob Grimm published some 500 titles, Wilhelm Grimm, whose health was not strong, "only" about 225. Around 20 were co-authored publications (Seidler pp. 255–256).

Seidler's book contains a rather detailed table of contents which is helpful for the readers when navigating through the book trying to find the discussion of a specific issue. There is also a useful index of names.

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Erika Sigurdson, *The Church in Fourteenth-Century Iceland. The Formation of an Elite Clerical Identity*, Leiden/Boston: Brill 2016 (The Northern World vol. 72), ISBN 978-90-04-30156-6, 207 pp.

In *The Church in Fourteenth-Century Iceland: The Formation of an Elite Clerical Identity*, Erika Sigurdson examines the formation of an elite clerical identity in fourteenth century Iceland in addition to providing a comprehensive introduction to the history of the Icelandic Church in the later Middle Ages. In contrast to the better part of research into Iceland's medieval past, Sigurdson examines developments after the submission of Iceland to the king of Norway in 1262–1264 by examining all available categories of sources. Furthermore, Sigurdson acknowledges that her objects of study belonged to and operated within the framework of a transnational organisation, the archdiocese of Nidaros, which comprised the dioceses of Norway and the other Norse overseas dioceses in addition to Iceland. As the history of the Nidaros church province remains relatively unexplored for the late medieval period, Sigurdson's research adds valuable information to our limited knowledge about its elite clerics and clerical networks within the province.

Sigurdson first addresses the challenges facing Icelandic historians working on the developments of the Icelandic Church after 1262–1264. She continues with a general account of Iceland in the fourteenth century and a presentation of the relevant source material and the intellectual milieu that produced the surviving chronicles, bishops' sagas and documents. A milieu dominated by the elite clerics. Sigurdson then presents the chief developments within the Icelandic Church after 1264, giving legitimacy to the designation "the long fourteenth century." Against this backdrop, Sigurdson examines the formation of an elite clerical identity following the introduction of benefices and the organisational changes of the late thirteenth century. Sigurdson identifies a group of elite priests whose social status was in part determined by their control and ownership of landed property, the principal indication of high social status in fourteenth-century Iceland. This group of clerics benefitted from the growth of local ecclesiastical bureaucracy, notably with the introduction and further development of the diocesan offices of *officialis* and *ráðsmaðr* (vicar-general) and *prófastr* (provost). Sigurdson demonstrates how the elite clerics developed a shared identity based on elements including the holding of diocesan offices and advisory positions, a sense of interdependence within the group, the existence of domestic as well as

regional clerical networks, in addition to universal ecclesiastical values.

Sigurdson offers an informed and balanced assessment of the Icelandic church's development after 1262–1264 and of the predominantly Icelandic field of research. Without doubt, Sigurdson's own contribution to the field, most notably the identification of elements that contributed to the formation of an elite clerical identity, will serve as an example to future analyses of cleric identity within the Nidaros province. However, the wider implications of Sigurdson's results would have been easier to assess if they had been viewed in light of similar developments on the sub-episcopal level elsewhere. A broader perspective would have enabled discussions concerning local versus universal formation of elite identities and the role of the reform movement as opposed to the move towards "national" churches in these processes. There is a potential for theoretical advancement in Sigurdson's work that could have been realised with a stronger focus on the role of the universal church in the formation of local clerical identity in two of its most remote dioceses. Moreover, the analysis would have benefitted from a comprehensive discussion concerning the application of "identity" and "identity formation" in medieval research and a clarification of their use within the context of ecclesiastical history.

Sigurdson's analysis underlines the importance of the Icelandic elite clerics' relations to the Norwegian ecclesiastical community. However, the result of this analysis would likely have been strengthened if she had made full use of the Norwegian context and available Norwegian research. For instance, the examination of the so-called archiepiscopal benefices in Iceland (p. 126) and other discussions about benefices would have benefitted significantly from a comparison with conditions in Norway, where control of profitable benefices was an important factor in the conflict between the archbishop and his chapter. Sigrun Høgetveit Berg's extensive study of the canonry of Trondenes would have provided relevant information about church finances in the late medieval Nidaros province (for example *Trondenes kannikgjeld – makt og rikdom gjennom seinmellomalder og reformasjon*, University of Tromsø 2013). Additionally, Solrun Hommedal's excellent master thesis, which compares the role of the officialis in Iceland and Norway from 1290 to 1458, is of direct relevance to Sigurdson's analysis of the importance of the diocesan offices (*Dom og dommere: En undersøkelse av officialembetet i Norge og på Island 1290—1458*, NTNU 2010; available online)

A more comprehensive reading of the Norwegian scholarship would likely have produced answers to questions about Norwegian clerics' motivation for becoming bishops in Iceland and allowed for greater elabo-

ration of the topic of connections between Iceland and Norway in the fourteenth century. It is hardly surprising that Icelanders held clerical positions in Norway, when an Icelander, Hauk Erlendsson, held the most prominent judicial office in Norway and served as royal advisor in the first decades of the fourteenth century. A more thorough examination of Norwegian clerics' careers before they became bishops in Iceland is necessary to draw conclusions about their motivation. For instance, Audun Torbergsson Raude was one of the most powerful clerics in Norway before he became bishop of Hólar in 1313. As a Nidaros canon, he was one of the leaders of the chapter in a conflict with Archbishop Jørund in the 1290s and early 1300s. He was King Hákon V's treasurer in Nidaros and one of the king's trusted men. In addition, Audun held Trondenes canonry, the most profitable benefice in northern Norway. According to *Lárentius saga biskups*, Audun's fellow canons conspired against him in order to limit his influence over the king by choosing him as bishop of Hólar (see for example *Norsk biografisk leksikon*; available online)

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Jón Viðar Sigurðsson & Sverrir Jakobsson (eds.),
Sturla Þórðarson. Skald, Chieftain and Lawman,
Leiden: Brill 2017, ISBN 978-90-04-34235-4, 291 pp.

Sturla Þórðarson (1214–1284) is known as the author of two kings' sagas, *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* and *Magnús saga Hákonarsonar*, the latter only extant in fragments, and the so-called *Íslendinga saga* which forms a part of the large *Sturlunga saga* compilation. He was also responsible for a redaction of *Landnámabók* usually referred to as *Sturlubók*. Sturla is further known as a poet and much of his poetry is found in *Sturlunga saga*. But Sturla is not only an author and poet, he was in his time perhaps primarily regarded as a leading chieftain in Iceland and a representative of the Norwegian king. Poetry and politics seem to have gone hand in hand in all his activities.

In 2014 it was 800 years since the birth of Sturla Þórðarson. This was marked with a conference in his memory in Reykjavík. Most of the

chapters in the book under review here were developed from papers presented at this conference. The book serves as a kind of sequel to a book published in 1988 by Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir and Jónas Kristjánsson based on a conference held in 1984 to commemorate Sturla's death in 1284. The relation between these two conferences is treated by Gunnar Harðarson in the final chapter of the book (see below).

The great interest in Sturla Þórðarson can also be seen in the rich scholarship concerning his various roles in thirteenth-century Iceland and Norway. Central works in recent decades are Guðrún Nordal's monograph *Ethics and action in thirteenth-century Iceland* (1998), which explores various ethical questions concerning e.g. family relations, sexuality and violence as they appear in the *Íslendinga saga* of Sturla Þórðarson, and Úlfar Bragason's *Ætt og saga* (2010) arguing for the close study of the literary aspects of the *Sturlunga saga* compilation which includes the *Íslendinga saga*.

The present book addresses a number of interesting aspects of Sturla Þórðarson, as a politician and chieftain and as a writer and poet, in twenty-two chapters. The subtitle *Skald, Chieftain and Lawman* indicates the themes that the editors regarded as central. These are, however, not the three themes that I see when I read the book. Rather, you could say that the two main aspects treated are poetics and politics in Sturla Þórðarson's life and work, perhaps with a stronger focus on his role as a poet and a user of the tools of literacy. The chieftain and lawspeaker are not really central objects of inquiry.

The work of editing chapters which are based on conference presentations is never easy. It is not always obvious how the chapters interrelate and sometimes the subjects of individual chapters may even be difficult to incorporate into the book. As I will return to below, I think the editors of the present volume have encountered both these problems when forming the book. There are three chapters that form a kind of introduction to the poet and politician Sturla Þórðarson and provide a natural starting point for the whole collection. It is hard, however, to discern any obvious plan in the order of the following chapters, except maybe that the key-note paper by R.I. Moore and the final chapter that forms a kind of summary and reflection on the themes of the conference together provide a conclusion. The intermediate chapters, I suggest, could have been ordered in a more coherent way that helped the readers in their quest for an understanding of Sturla Þórðarson and his works. In the following, therefore, I will treat the chapters, not in the order they appear in the volume, but rather in a way that indicates the interrelations between the different themes treated by the authors.

Of course my suggestions for an order of reading the chapters can be equally questioned; there are always choices and many possible ways of ordering chapters in an anthology.

As the published book appears, the three first chapters in the collection paint a background to Sturla Þórðarson's life and work and therefore form a natural starting point of departure; here I agree with the order. The first chapter provides an introduction of the politician Sturla Þórðarson written by the two editors, Jón Viðar Sigurðsson and Sverrir Jakobsson. This introduction with its focus on Sturla as a chieftain, however, relates in fact only to some of the chapters of the book. As an introductory chapter it could perhaps have given the reader a broader introduction also of the writer, poet and individual as we can discern him from our sources. It does, however, provide a useful introduction to the game of power in Iceland and in relation to Norway in Sturla Þórðarson's days, with detailed discussions of political moves as well as more belligerent ones.

The list of works attributed to Sturla Þórðarson is introduced and discussed in a chapter by Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir. She concentrates primarily on the four works that can be attributed to Sturla Þórðarson with certainty, that is *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, the fragmentary *Magnúss saga lagabætis*, a version of *Landnámabók* and the so-called *Íslendinga saga*. In her chapter, Guðrún Ása chooses to also treat one of the works where the attribution is less agreed on, that is on parts of the law code known as *Járnsíða*. I think it is a wise principal decision to limit this presentation to the works that are agreed on by most scholars today. A discussion of the more tentative attributions of other works to the Icelandic chieftain and the preservation of these texts in the extant source material would have made this chapter much longer and also rather more speculative.

Sturla Þórðarson appears as an educated and literate man, and the works attributed to him stretch over a number of literary genres. We know little in detail, however, about his education. Jón Viðar Sigurðsson presents a general introduction to the education of a man of Sturla's stature. This is a rather short chapter, the significance and width of the subject taken into consideration, and it only provides basic insights into what is known about the education of the elite in Iceland in the thirteenth century. It should be obvious, however, that a more thorough treatment could not be expected in this context and would have demanded an explicit focus on the education and learning of Sturla and his contemporaries.

Sturla Þórðarson's use of sources in *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* and *Íslendinga saga* is the subject of two chapters in the collection. Randi

Bjørshol Wærdal discusses the oral tradition on which Sturla would have based some of his narrative and its relevance for the historian, in this case in the descriptions found in *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*. After a general presentation of the debate about written and oral sources to Sturla Þórðarson's saga on King Hákon, Wærdal sets out to argue for the courtier Gautr from Mel as a possible oral source, first of all to the earlier years of the king's reign. The arguments are often formulated with caution and this is definitely a good mode, as the basis for suggesting oral sources generally for this work is rather thin. This does not, however, mean that it is not worth raising the question.

The use of references to charters and letters in the contemporary sagas with a focus on the works attributed to Sturla Þórðarson, *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* and *Íslendinga saga* is discussed by Lena Rohrbach. Rohrbach argues that these references should primarily be seen as part of the narrative strategies of the writers and not necessarily reflect historical documents. More important, she concludes, are the attitudes to the use of written documents of the saga writers. In her discussion of the various uses of documents in the sagas under scrutiny, she argues that Sturla Þórðarson exhibits a command of the narrative technique of including documents that is exceptional but also part in a common reflection among the Norse writers on the use of the written word. She states:

This suggests that these innovations in Old Norse historiography have to be placed within a broader European trend that exhibits reflections on literacy practices in literary as well as historiographic contexts from the twelfth century onwards. The same trend was also taken up in medieval Icelandic ecclesiastical historiography, discernable in *Árna saga* and other Bishops' sagas, but it needed a talented author to turn sober references into a well-balanced narrative (106).

Two chapters in the collection explicitly treat Sturla Þórðarson as a poet and his use of poetry as a source in his historical works. In her contribution, Guðrún Nordal discusses how Sturla Þórðarson uses his own verse in his prose narratives, with a focus on *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*. She presents a study of Sturla Þórðarson's use of his own poetry in relation to that of his older brother Óláfr. The latter composed his verses when Hákon Hákonarson was still alive and with the king as a more direct recipient, while Sturla composed his verses more or less at the time when he was writing the saga. The relation between the verses attributed to the two poets in the prose narrative therefore contributes to our general understanding of *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* and the work of its author. From this study Guðrún Nordal argues that Sturla Þórðarson

played an “important role as the creator of *prosimetrum* in the latter part of the thirteenth century” (120). This claim is highly plausible, but the arguments could perhaps have been more explicit.

Roberta Frank sets out to re-establish the honour of Sturla Þórðarson as a poet. In her study she presents close readings of verses from all four poems attributed to Sturla, in four different meters, *hrynhent*, *kviðu-hátr*, *haðarlag* and *dróttkvætt*. She argues that we must read Sturla’s poetry more carefully to understand the underlying ambiguity of his verses and how they work in the prose context. Frank’s discussion is important, not least because it points out the difference in poetic evaluation and appreciation in different times. While scholars of our time have often regarded Sturla as a rather dull poet, his contemporaries were obviously of another opinion, more positive to his artistic ability. Frank concludes:

Sturla’s contemporaries admired his verse: *Sturlunga saga* begins by naming him not chieftain, historian, or lawman but *skáld*; it ends with King Magnús entreated to listen to Sturla’s verse: “Let him recite, for I am told he is a very great poet and his poem will be exceptionally good.” The king gives Sturla a positive review. He deserved nothing less (p. 147)

This could indicate that the focus of the present collection maybe should have been more on Sturla Þórðarson as a poet, but that will have to be a theme for future studies.

I now turn to a number of studies that treat Sturla Þórðarson as a writer related to his life and the milieux where he lived and worked. In an interesting chapter Helgi Þorláksson treats the alleged impartiality of Sturla Þórðarson. The chapter argues well for Sturla as a conscious politician forming *Íslendinga saga* to suit his purposes. Helgi concludes:

Íslendinga saga is often biased, subjective, partial. This fact should hardly surprise us. We have to realize that this work is apologetic and has its limitations. Its author was sophisticated and could take on different roles. Sturla may at times perplex readers of *Íslendinga saga* and *Sturlubók*, but that is only as long as they don’t see him as a politician and the king’s official. We should not forget the politician when we enjoy the texts of the author (211).

The perspective on Sturla as a subjective and creative writer depending on his time and personal environment is further strengthened by Úlfar Bragason who focuses on the relation between Sturla and his uncle Snorri Sturluson. The central argument of this chapter is that Sturla’s work should first and foremost be understood as literature, based on the

literary conventions of its time. The description of Snorri Sturluson in *Íslendinga saga* must therefore be analysed with these conventions in mind. Úlfar stresses that “Íslendinga saga is a product of the saga-writer’s values and his time, his view on people and issues, his affect and empathy” (171). This important focus on *Íslendinga saga* as a literary work composed by a creative author is gaining ground in relation to the more traditional use of the text as a historical document, a significant change in perspective which is displayed in most of the contributions to the present collection.

Auður Magnúsdóttir also takes a literary approach to the work of Sturla Þórðarson in her study of how women are described in *Íslendinga saga*. Women are generally not central in medieval writing and this is also the case in the Icelandic literature of the period. Auður argues, however, that it is definitely worthwhile to scrutinise more closely the descriptions Sturla makes in his work of his own kinswomen. She acknowledges the methodological difficulties of this study and the need for close reading:

However, in order to visualise women and the feminine in *Íslendinga saga*, we cannot only rely solely on the literal word, but must read the text with all the narrative interpretative tools available to the modern literary scholar. (182)

Auður Magnúsdóttir provides an original reading of the description of Sturla’s female cousins, the daughters of Snorri Sturluson, in *Íslendinga saga*, making them visible and individual agents within the saga. She concludes:

A close reading of *Íslendinga saga* reveals an author who despite his illusory objective approach is in every way involved in his own narrative. Although cleverly hidden, his emotions, sympathies and antipathies occasionally become visible. (191)

We have thereby become more aware both of the lives of women in Sturla’s days as well as of Sturla himself as an individual.

From this approach to Sturla as an author and as an individual agent in his environment in Iceland, the perspective changes to that of the court of Magnús Hákonarson. There are three chapters in the collection that could form a unit discussing the relation between *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* and *Íslendinga saga* as two quite different descriptions of the rule of Hákon Hákonarson and his relation to Iceland and the Icelandic chieftains, and yet written by the same author. The three

authors agree that the two works are different, but to some extent they disagree about the conclusion. Hans Jakob Orning argues that when he wrote *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, Sturla Þórðarson was limited in his freedom as a writer by the proximity of the Norwegian king, Hákon's son Magnús. When he wrote *Íslendinga saga* later in life he was in Iceland, and could apply a more Icelandic perspective on the period when Icelandic chieftains struggled to find a way to live under the supremacy of the Norwegian king. Orning argues that Sturla did not "lie" outright (whatever *lie* would mean to a medieval writer) but rather that "[d]ifferent interpretations of the past created different pasts as well" (155).

Theodore M. Andersson comes to more or less the same conclusions in his discussion of the two works. He argues that there are two distinct lines of saga writing about the Norwegian kings, one with a clear Norwegian perspective and another with a more Icelandic bias. The two works by Sturla would from this point of view end up in different groups of sagas, with *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* as an example of the Norwegian focus and *Íslendinga saga* as a representative of an Icelandic view on the events. Andersson concludes:

Where Sturla was free from centralized control, he has often been admired for his relative neutrality, but where he was subject to royal constraint, it is more difficult to assume a neutral posture. Sturla wrote what King Magnús and his courtiers wanted him to write. (167)

Ármann Jakobsson presents a rather different view of Sturla Þórðarson as a writer of *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* and *Íslendinga saga*. He agrees that it "is tempting to juxtapose *Íslendinga saga*, his labour of love, with *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, a career move and a job like any other, undertaken to please the king" (194). Against this, he argues that Sturla is a servant of the Norwegian king throughout his life and that the two apparently different views are still representations of him as an author, someone who will always bring something of himself to any text he writes (195). Regarding our expectations of one or the other of the two works being more "true" than the other he concludes:

When it comes to the thirteenth century presented to us by Sturla Þórðarson, 'truth' is inevitably an opaque notion. His account is intimate and subjective and there is no way of avoiding the personal aspect. (199)

But Sturla Þórðarson was not only interested in his contemporary political and cultural life. He is also considered responsible for one of the re-

dactions of *Landnámabók*, the Icelandic book of the earliest settlement, the so-called *Sturlubók*. This redaction has received a clearly marked section of its own in the book, formed of four chapters.

In an introductory chapter Sveinbjörn Rafnsson presents the work *Landnámabók* (to the extent that it is meaningful to talk about a *work*). Sveinbjörn dates the origin of this work to c. 1100, arguing that this early version has been influential on Ari Þorgilsson's *Íslendingabók*, which dates to between 1122 and 1133. The main part of his discussion focuses on the three main extant versions of *Landnámabók*, the so-called *Melabók*, *Sturlubók* and *Hauksbók* redactions. In his discussion Sveinbjörn argues that much of what we find in the *Sturlubók* version should rather be related to the intentions of Sturla Þórðarson and his contemporaries in relation to their own needs of legitimisation for the kin and family of the elite in a changing world. His final comment on Sturla, that he “was born as a child of the Icelandic republic and died as a retired servant of the Norwegian king” sums up this argument concisely.

After this chapter I would have placed two studies that approach *Landnámabók* from the perspective of *memory studies*. Ann-Marie Long provides introductions to these theories and argues for the relevance they have for our understanding of Old Norse literature in general, as well as in the more limited context of Sturla Þórðarson's use of *Landnámabók* as it is extant in the *Sturlubók* version. She comes to a conclusion that echoes the quote above from Sveinbjörn Rafnsson:

Sturla, like Ari and Snorri, belonged to the native chieftain class. At a time when the legitimacy of the native aristocratic order was being questioned, he lionised and immortalised the past of his ancestors, a process which endowed the Sturlungar with intrinsic merit and privileged status, derived from genealogical links to prominent Norwegian ancestors. (68)

In the third chapter on *Landnámabók*, Verena Hoefig treats the tale of the first *landnámamenn* (‘settlers’), Ingólfr Arnason and his foster brother Hjörleifr. Hoefig argues that much of this tale as it is presented in *Sturlubók* relates to similar tales of what she refers to as *divine twins* who form the origin of a city (e.g. Romulus and Remus) or original settlers (e.g. Hengist and Horsa). Hoefig's approach to the material and to the use of theory is more orientated towards the material than Long's; together they represent well the relevance of studies of cultural memory in Old Norse scholarship. It is interesting, finally, to note that Hoefig, more than the first two authors, argues that Sturla Þórðarson writes in opposition to the Norwegian king rather than being the retired servant.

In a fourth, and last chapter focusing on *Landnámabók* Gísli Sigurðsson relates more closely to the main subject of the book, Sturla Þórðarson and his activities as a writer of poetry and prose narratives. In this study the idea of outlaws leaving Norway for Iceland in order to escape Haraldr hárfagri is challenged and seen as invented by the Sturlungar, primarily Snorri Sturluson in his *Heimskringla* and Sturla Þórðarson in *Landnámabók*. Gísli treats the relation between the narrative about Grettir Ásmundarson in *Grettis saga* and Snorri's narrative about the exodus to Iceland. He argues that these narratives relate to a larger *immanent saga* based both on oral traditions and more contemporary needs to legitimise the Sturlungar family and their relation to the Norwegian king, be it Haraldr hárfagri, Óláfr Haraldsson or the more contemporary Hákon Hákonarson (who instigated the killing of Snorri Sturluson).

One chapter in the collection treats Sturla Þórðarson as an encyclopaedic writer, responsible for the collection of encyclopaedic works, presumably in a now lost manuscript, the so-called *Codex Reseniani*, reconstructed with the help of various later copies that have survived. Sverrir Jakobsson takes this reconstructed collection as his starting point in exploring the encyclopaedic background of Sturla's other works. From his analysis of this rather uncertain material Sverrir Jakobsson concludes:

In the *Encyclopaedia*, we can see Sturla Þórðarson at work as a historian from the late 1240s to the time of his death in 1284. His erudition was such as one would expect from a secular official like the lawspeaker, but his interest in chronology, astronomy and mathematics might be evidence of a clerical education, wherever Sturla acquired it. (222)

The parallels to a later Icelandic collector, Haukr Erlendsson, who wrote large parts of what today is known as *Hauksbók*, are mentioned. The erudition demonstrated in the extant texts and manuscripts related to these members of the Icelandic and Norwegian elite provides an image of a group of men with interests in a wide range of topics that were central in European scholarship in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. It should be said, however, that there is still some uncertainty both concerning the attribution of *Codex Reseniani* to Sturla and the extent to which Haukr was responsible for the whole collection found in *Hauksbók*.

Finally Sturla Þórðarson's role as a lawman is touched on in one chapter. Patricia Pires Boulhosa points out the relevance of reading the sources closely in her study of the reception of the thirteenth century law *Járnsíða*. Her discussion of *Árna saga biskups* focuses on how we should

understand the narrative of the saga and is critical of earlier scholars' tendency to look for factual information rather than the underlying arguments of the narrative. Boulhosa presents a new understanding of the processes in which the introduction of *Járnsiða* in Iceland took place. Her attempt to connect her discussion to Sturla Þórðarson, however, is not convincing; this study has no real relevance for the main subject of the book, the chieftain and writer Sturla Þórðarson, but this does not make the chapter less interesting and relevant for those interested in the processes leading up to the introduction of the new law *Jónsbók*. And it does of course also contribute to our understanding of the time of Sturla Þórðarson.

One of the chapters based on papers from the conference is more difficult to incorporate in the collection, and I wonder if it should perhaps not have been included. Philadelphia Ricketts argues that

[d]etailed, labour-intensive research is necessary to reconstruct families in order to calculate dates of birth, marriage, and death, so vital for a study of marital demographics (33–34)

Her presentation of this work with a focus on women in relation to Sturla Þórðarson, however, does not provide many new insights as far as I can judge. She states as a conclusion concerning arranged marriages:

We should not assume that every relationship was made by parents for their own or their family's benefit, simply because we do not have evidence to the contrary. Þórdís Snorradóttir and her daughter Kolfinna Þorvaldsdóttir are proof that sometimes individuals acted on their own initiative and to further their own ends. (43)

The long discussion of demographics established from a narrative work rather than administrative data, however, is not convincing in itself, and the result concerning the two women mentioned is there to see for anyone who reads the narrative, even without any labour-intensive demographic analysis.

Two more chapters are included in the book. In what seems to be the printed version of a key-note paper, R.I. Moore discusses history and identity in twelfth-century Eurasia. This chapter provides interesting reading, based on Moore's earlier work, but it has little to do with either Sturla Þórðarson or his time. It is of course relevant to print this paper as a documentation of the conference, but perhaps it should have been introduced in a way that made it clearer that it did not relate very much to the topic of the book.

Finally there is a concluding chapter by Gunnar Harðarson discussing the content of the conference and how it differed from earlier scholarship and related to the above mentioned conference of 1984. His reflections on the changes in our views of both Sturla Þórðarson and the literate culture of which he was a part are interesting; and they are definitely to the point. He states:

Thus, at 1984's *Sturlustefna*, the issue of Sturla's subjectivity did make an appearance, despite the continued prevalence of previous conceptions of his objectivity. However, at the conference in 2014, there was a marked change, in that Sturla's subjectivity became a common thread in many of the papers, despite its not having been the main topic of the conference or the papers. (p. 248)

This observation also describes concisely many of the chapters in the present book, as should be clear from my discussion above. Sturla as the writer of narratives, reconstructions of memory rather than objective description is a central theme throughout the collection.

Above I mentioned the problems that editors of volumes based on conferences are confronted with. Should all papers from the conference be printed, do some of them not live up to the standards or are they perhaps not relevant for the theme(s) of the planned book? The editor can obviously choose not to include papers on these grounds, but it is always a difficult decision to take. From my presentation of the chapters it should be clear that I think the editors could perhaps have taken some more active decisions. It is, for example, not evident that the chapter on twelfth-century Eurasia has a place in this context, even if it is definitely an interesting chapter based on the author's earlier research.

Another problem that an editor encounters concerns the ordering of the chapters. The editors of the present volume have definitely made some choices here, and as soon as you make choices there are always other possible choices you could (and in the opinion of some should) have made. In my presentation I have ordered the chapters in what I think could have been a more logical way, where they in my opinion would have formed a more coherent unit.

The editors could perhaps have used the chosen undertitle of this volume, *Skald, Chieftain and Lawman*, to structure the collection. But this seems not to have been the case, and further, this title is not really representative of the chapters of the collection. The main focus seems rather to be on Sturla as the author of various kinds of literature, primarily *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, *Íslendinga saga* and *Landnámabók*, texts that are central to many of the contributions, but also *Magnús*

saga Hákonarsonar, the law *Járnsiða* and the lost encyclopaedic work attributed to Sturla. In the final chapter of the book Gunnar Harðarson points to the focus of many of the chapters on Sturla as an individual, his role as a subjective narrator and the status of his works as narratives rather than objective and descriptive works of history. Perhaps this focus should have guided the organisation of the papers in a similar way, as I suggest with my order of presentation?

There are in many cases obvious references between the chapters of the collection, but it is more or less only in Hans Jacob Orning's chapter that some of these internal references are made explicit (and Orning's references in themselves point to one obvious ordering of this chapter together with the ones by Theodore M. Andersson and Ármann Jakobsson as suggested above). Here the editors could have done some further work: a more explicit system of references between the chapters would definitely have been of great help for the reader of the book.

It is always the role of the reviewer to point to weak points in the work under review. When this is done, however, there should also be room for positive comments. The reading of this book has been highly rewarding to the present reviewer. The book as a whole provides many new insights into the work and life of Sturla Þórðarson and his time. It also presents new aspects of this work and introduces modern scholarship in the field of thirteenth-century textual culture.

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Dieter Strauch, *Mittelalterliches nordisches Recht bis ca. 1500. Eine Quellenkunde*, 2. völlig neu bearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage, Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter 2016 (Ergänzungsbande zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. Herausgegeben von Heinrich Beck, Sebastian Brather, Dieter Geuenich, Wilhelm Heizmann, Steffen Patzold & Heiko Steuer. Band 97), ISSN 978-3-11-046618-8; e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-046729-1; e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-046626-3; ISSN 1866-7678, XXXIX + 912 pp.

The first edition of this work, which was published in 2011, was dealt with in a review in *Journal of Northern Studies* [6], 2, 2012, pp. 115–117 where it was stated there that the volume constituted a great reference work. The book, both the first and now the second edition, provides a broad and well-informed description of the Nordic legal system from the Viking Age up to about 1500, and the different sources in which this system is found, not only in laws but also in other places. After a short description of the existing sources, the introduction gives an overview of the conditions in Norway, Iceland, Denmark and Sweden. It is followed by seven chapters where the conditions in different nations and areas are described in great detail. First of all, the Norwegian legal sources are accounted for, but also the conditions on the Faeroes (among others *Seyðabrævið* and *Hundabræv*), Orkney, Shetland (*Hjaltland*) and the Hebrides (*Sudreyar*), the Isle of Man and Ireland. The next chapter deals with Iceland and Greenland, among other things, the Allting and Grágás. The information available about Greenland conditions is also mediated. The third chapter deals with the Danish legal sources and covers the Zealand law, the Skåne law and the Jutland law, as well as the conditions in the Danelaw. The short Chapter 4 describes the traces that still exist of Normandy law, for example in terminology. The following chapter deals in detail with Sweden, and comprises more than 200 pages. Here one finds the Older and Younger Västgöta Law, the Östgöta Law and other Göta Laws, and furthermore the Uppland Law, the Södermanna Law, the Hälsinge Law, the Guta Law, the Bjärkö Law and the Visby Urban Law, among others. The Country Law and the Urban Law are also accounted for. A special section deals with *Um styrilse konunga ok höfðinga*. The conditions in Finland are treated in a special chapter, where fishing rights but also the Bjärkö Law are included. The

last chapter deals with Scandinavian law in Russia. The bulk of the second edition—although it is described on the title page as a “völlig neu bearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage”—naturally consists of the previous edition, but in some cases there are additions and new standpoints. As regards sources, one can see that Dieter Strauch has included special sections with material from runic inscriptions. One such section can be found early on in the introduction (p. 6). Throughout the book, there are sections about the testimony of runic sources, see pp. 172 f., 345 f., pp. 591 ff., but the runic material is also mentioned in other places where, as a legal source, it does not really contribute anything to the discussion. Research from recent years by Per-Axel Wiktorsson and Göran B. Nilsson is taken into consideration in the sections on the Västgöta Laws (pp. 379 ff.). The description of the Jutland law (pp. 307 ff.) in the previous edition has also been revised and in the preface to the second edition (p. IX) the most important revisions are stated. The book is concluded with an account of sources and literature that comprises almost 200 tightly printed pages. Throughout the book, its authors show good familiarity with quoted literature in different languages, but it is naturally difficult to cover everything that exists in this area. As regards for example the ethnic groups that lived in the medieval nations’ marginal areas, such as Birkarls and Kvenians/Kvens/Kainulaiset (pp. 604 ff.), the research situation might have been updated—among other things regarding the background to *kainulaiset* with reference to works by the Finnish etymologist Jorma Koivulehto, just to mention one single example—but it is naturally the case that what is marginal is more difficult to be familiar with. There are extensive person, place and subject indexes in the book, and of special interest here is the list in the subject index of important lexemes in the legal sources. The book has a considerable number of maps. Dieter Strauch’s *Mittelalterliches nordisches Recht bis ca. 1500* was an important work even in its first edition, and in this new edition it has been supplemented in some places and made up to date regarding the research situation. The work has a lasting value as a reference work on medieval Nordic history.

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Ditlev Tamm & Helle Vogt (eds.), *The Danish Medieval Laws. The Laws of Scania, Zealand and Jutland*, London & New York: Routledge 2016 (Medieval Nordic Laws), ISBN 978-1-138-95135-8, xiv + 349 pp.

As pointed out above in connection with the Guta law and the Guta saga, Routledge publishes translations into English of the oldest Nordic laws. The second volume in the series treats of the Danish laws, with Ditlev Tamm and Helle Vogt as translators and commentators. It contains translations of the Skåne law, Valdemar's Zealand law, Erik's Zealand law and the Jutland law, and the volume also contains the Skåne Church law and three short royal ordinances. In the introductory part of the volume, there is a broad description of Denmark around the year 1200 and of the role of the Church. The laws and the legal texts are described and the language of the laws and the translation of them are also dealt with. The last-mentioned section describes some of the problems connected with the translation work, not least the general problem of finding good English equivalents of Old Danish words. Among other things, it is mentioned that the translators have avoided translating *manbot* with 'wergeld,' which is used by law historians about *English* conditions, since it gives the wrong associations; instead they have chosen to translate it with 'man's compensation.' Various stylistic considerations are described by the editor, and among many other things it is pointed out that alliterations and pleonasm "may well be examples of a literary style, rather than a reflection of an oral tradition" (p. 17). Insightful accounts are given of what the laws can tell us about medieval life. This part of the introduction is extensive and highly worth reading. It is followed by the translations with introductions and commentaries. Regarding the Codex Runicus edition of the Skåne law, it is said that "[p]ossibly, the use of runes in the manuscript is merely a revivalist expression of a historical fascination" (p. 50), and this may well be the case. Of the Zealand laws, Valdemar's is older, while Erik's may be regarded as a kind of supplement. The latter caused special problems for the translator, since "[t]he law differs markedly from the other laws in its rugged language. Being full of long and tortuous sentences, it is quite a challenge to translate into readable English" (p. 153). In the last section of the book, there are word lists, both a commented word list based on English terms and one with Old Danish words translated into English. In the former list one finds, for example, the word *apple-children* (*Æplesbørn*), which is said to refer to "Children who are so young that they play with

apples” (p. 300), a word that is only found in the Skåne law (Ch. 50). The meaning is obvious—it is a matter of a minor child—but is it really related to playing with apples? Could not the word equally well refer to the child’s fresh complexion (which is compared to an apple)? Words like *belt-fine* (*Lindebot*), *food-ban* (*Matban*) and *Seizure* (*Nam*) also arouse interest. The comments given in connection with the translations are usually short, and one misses the broad commentary that is found in the edition of Guta law and Guta saga; see about this edition above. It is, however, fully understandable that the series editors have allowed individual editors to work in different ways. To tighten up the work too much would require far greater, perhaps insurmountable, efforts from the series editors, nor is it certain that all editors would tolerate very rigorous principles. I think that by allowing differences among the volumes, the series has chosen a practicable method.

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Per-Axel Wiktorsson (ed.), *Schacktavelslek med Äktenskapsvisan*, Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et mediævalia; Centrum för medeltidsstudier, Stockholms universitet 2016 (Runica et mediævalia. Editiones 9), ISBN 978-91-88568-67-0, 126 pp.

This is an edition of two medieval texts, *Schacktavelslek* [‘the Chess set’] and *Äktenskapsvisan* [‘the Marriage Song’]. *Schacktavelslek* is versified political pamphlet reflecting the discussions in Sweden in the 1460s, while *Äktenskapsvisan* is a burlesque text dealing with the hardships of marriage. The editor’s introduction describes the characters and the manuscripts in which the texts are found. We are also told what the different chess pieces in the text represent: the king, the queen, the bishops (the judges), the knights, the rooks (high officials) and the pawns in different positions (farmers, smiths, butchers, merchants, physicians, innkeepers, guardians, folk musicians etcetera). It is noteworthy that the bishops are not mentioned in this connection. That *Äktenskapsvisan* has been included in the text is somewhat surprising. Wiktorsson thinks that it might be regarded as an example “regarding the queen’s tolerance and may be said to be a way of depriving the royal pair of a certain measure of courteousness” (p. 29). However, one may wonder *why* the

author of *Äktenskapsvisan* chose to do so. Special sections account for the authors that *Schacktavelslek* refers to, as well as the proverbs and material taken from the Bible. The carefully transcribed texts from AM 191 fol. (Codex Askabyensis) and RA, D 3 (Fru Elins bok), respectively, are placed in parallel with each other. It is noticeable that the text in RA D 3 ends with strophe 1504, whereas in AM 191 fol., it does not end until strophe 3322; “it seems as if the client (or the scribe) of RA, D 3 was only interested in the beginning of the work, where the higher classes are dealt with: king, queen, judges (bishops) and knights,” according to Wiktorsson (p. 24). The edition is exemplary, but it would have been valuable if the language of the texts had also been commented on. These late medieval texts would have been worth it.

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Per-Axel Wiktorsson, *Skrivare i det medeltida Sverige, 1–4*, Skara: Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap 2015 (Skara stiftshistoriska sällskaps skriftserie 82), ISBN 978-91-86681-26-5, 577 + 512 + 486 + 444 pp.

This work, which comprises more than 2,000 pages, is basically the result of a lifelong research interest on the part of the author, but concretely also of a research project that was implemented with support from Stiftelsen Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (‘the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation’) in the early 1990s. A substudy of scribes in the medieval Skara diocese was presented by the author in 2006. In the present study, the author tries to find out who were active as scribes in medieval Sweden. In total, no less than 935 scribes are listed here. Of these, 765 are named in volumes 1–3, the others in volume 4. In this painstaking identification process, the author naturally relies on previous research, but the final conclusions are the author’s own. The study is based on a survey of a large material. The extensive register of sources contains different types of manuscript material listed according to place and archive. Thus, it records a large number of parchment and paper letters at the National Archives in Stockholm, a few letters in the Nordic Museum and the National Historical Museum and a large material from Uppsala University Library, as well as material from Gothenburg’s Provincial Archives, the Cathedral Library and the Rogge Library in Strängnäs, Linköping’s Diocese and Provincial Library and a large number of other Swedish archives. Archives in the

other Nordic countries and Europe are also listed. The monograph starts with a brief survey of medieval Swedish palaeography, the development of writing, different styles, writing schools etcetera. One might have expected that the subject would have motivated the author to include some European perspectives. We still do not know what the alphabet designed by Archbishop Birger Gregersson in the late fourteenth century represented. Wiktorsson summarises earlier views, but alternative interpretations may also exist. How the individual manuscripts can be attributed to individual scribes is accounted for in a section in the introduction. On this point, there is naturally a degree of uncertainty, but there is also scope for safer attributions. Some documents contain the phrase *med egen hand* 'in my own hand' (or corresponding expressions) or first person *jag* 'I', and in these cases the scribe can probably be regarded as having been identified. At other times, when a clergyman has issued a letter in his own parish, Wiktorsson assumes that the clergyman is probably the writer, and the same is likely to be true when a clergyman writes a letter about his own estate or about private matters, a receipt etcetera. All these assumptions sound plausible. As regards notes on ownership, the identified owner of a certain book is assumed to be the writer. These criteria, together with a few others, are accounted for (pp. 27 ff.) and form the basis of a methodological section of general interest. In the 935 "scribes' articles" one finds, where available, the name of the scribe, information about diocese and activities and a list of the manuscripts attributed to the scribe in question. Moreover, with reference to different criteria, attempts are made to state *why* these sources can reasonably be related precisely to the scribe in question. The style used is described, but here the author has had to confine himself to the design of *g, w-, æ, ø, y, -n, k* and *h*. Where available, language forms that characterise the scribes are accounted for, as is the way they write their name. One thing one observes is that the scribe's name is rendered in a normalised Swedish form. Thus *Hans* Brask is found (volume 2, pp. 42 f.) under *Johan Brask*, which is certainly a bit surprising. In volume 4, there are some indexes: first of different letter types, then of different word forms and finally of persons and places. The four volumes also render photographically letters produced by the scribes. In this work, we are given a valuable description of people in the Swedish Middle Ages, while at the same time we learn a great deal about how these persons wrote. The author, but also the editor, Skara Stiftshistoriska Sällskap, are to be congratulated on this scholarly work.

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Instructions to Authors

1. General Instructions

The language of publication is English.

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 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 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" ['Walrus ivory and the Norse colonies of Greenland'], *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" ['Naming traditions among the Bashkirs'], *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Onomastic Sciences. Uppsala 19–24 August 2002*, vol. 2, Uppsala: Språk- och folkminnesinstitutet, pp. 89–95.

Newspaper

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

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

Electronic media

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

Unpublished dissertation

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

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

Simmons, I. G. & Innes, J. B. (1996a). "An episode of prehistoric canopy manipulation at North Gill, North Yorkshire, England," *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 23, pp. 337–341.

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

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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.

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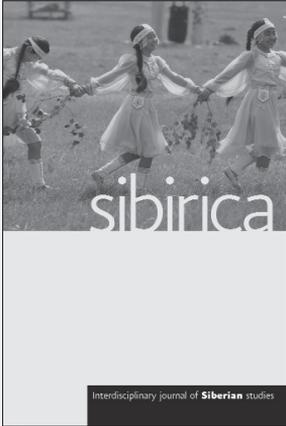
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