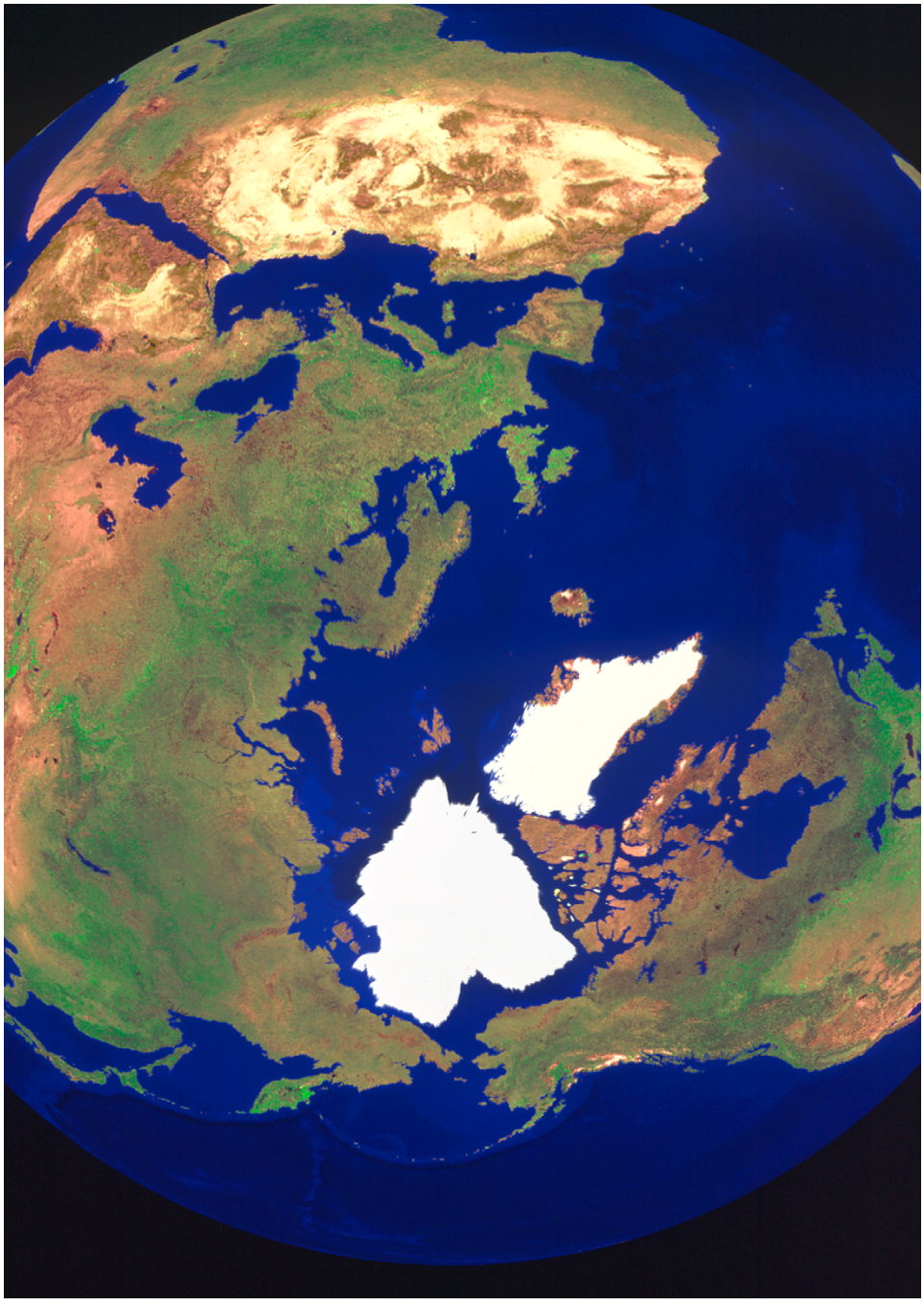
Journal of Northern Studies



Journal of Northern Studies

The *Journal of Northern Studies* is a peer-reviewed academic publication issued twice a year with a specific focus on human activities in northern environments—how people and human culture affect, and are affected by, the environment. We particularly invite interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary contributions. Apart from scholarly articles, the journal contains book reviews, and a section with reports and information on issues relevant for Northern Studies.

The journal is published by the Arctic Five—a partnership among five Nordic universities: Luleå University of Technology, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, Umeå University, the University of Lapland, and the University of Oulu—and the Royal Skyttean Society.

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Editors

Editorial

The latest issue of the *Journal of Northern Studies* was published in March 2022. The reason for the extended pause in publication is two-fold. First, we had to look for new funding for the journal. Since its foundation in 2007, the *Journal of Northern Studies* has been financed by Umeå University and the Royal Skyttean Society. In 2021, however, the funding from Umeå University was (temporarily) discontinued, while the support from the Society remained. At about the same time, the idea of a joint scientific journal arose within the Arctic Five, a collaboration and knowledge hub involving five Nordic universities—Luleå University of Technology and Umeå University in Sweden, the University of Lapland and the University of Oulu in Finland, and UiT The Arctic University of Norway. Eventually, in 2022, the Rectors' Council of the five universities decided to jointly co-finance the *Journal of Northern Studies* together with the Royal Skyttean Society. Within the Arctic Five, an editorial team was set up with the object of engaging in the journal and assisting in the editorial process. The new editorial team consists of representatives of all five universities: Professor Dag Avango of Luleå University of Technology, Professor Gunhild Hoogensen Gjørv and Professor Torjer Olsen of UiT The Arctic University of Norway, PhD Francis Joy of the University of Lapland, Professor Eva Pongracz and Professor Arja Rautio of the University of Oulu, Professor Peter Sköld of Umeå University, and the president of the Royal Skyttean Society, Professor Erland Mårald. Being a part of the Arctic Five community is a great asset to the journal, as it gives us access to the extensive competence on northern issues of all the universities involved. We are most grateful for the confidence shown in the journal, and we intend to live up to the expectations.

Second, we began to develop an entirely new website for the journal on Open Journal Systems (OJS), an open-source platform for online academic publications. This entailed more work than expected, but with the help of our excellent librarians Jan Eklöf and Marika Lundqvist at Umeå University Library, we have now reached the point when we are ready to continue our publication with two issues per year.

The present issue contains only one peer-reviewed article, but it is certainly a most topical one, dealing with grassroot level cross-border cooperation between Russia and Norway in the north during the years before Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, and how it was impacted by the changed geopolitical situation, particularly after 2014. In addition to this article, we also present eight ongoing PhD projects from the Arctic Graduate School with a Focus on Sustainable Development at Umeå University. They all represent future research, some of which will hopefully be published in forthcoming issues of the *Journal of Northern Studies*. As usual, we also have an extensive reviews section, this time comprising fifteen book reviews. We hope you will enjoy this issue.

Olle Sundström
Editor-in-chief
Journal of Northern Studies
Umeå University
Sweden
olle.sundstrom@umu.se

JØRN HOLM-HANSEN & AADNE AASLAND

Cross-Border Cooperation Against the Odds?

Russian and Norwegian Grassroots Organizations in a Changed Geopolitical Environment

ABSTRACT What impact did changes in the geopolitical environment have on grassroots cross-border cooperation within the Barents Euro-Arctic Region in the years before Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022? Drawing on interviews, surveys and document studies from two evaluations made in 2007 and 2020 of the Norwegian Barents Secretariat's grant programme, conducted by the authors of the present article, we analyse the development over time of cross-border cooperation in Russia's northwestern and Norway's northernmost regions. The context in which the programme was conducted in 2020 differed significantly from that in 2007. The period was one of increasingly strained relations between Russia and the West. In particular, the 2014 events in Ukraine resulted in a new geopolitical environment that posed a challenge to the ideals of cross-border trust and people-to-people cooperation. Moreover, internal political developments in Russia led to more centralized power structures and control, also regarding civil society. Although we had expected these developments to have had a negative impact on the programme's goal achievement, we find that the programme was closer to achieving several of its objectives in 2020 than in 2007. Competence transfer went both ways, both sides benefitted more equally and despite the geopolitical complications, the number of groups involved on both sides of the border did not decrease. The article identifies the main challenges between partners, and how they were overcome.

KEYWORDS: Barents Euro-Arctic Region, Arctic, cross-border, Russia, Norway

Introduction

Since 1993, a grant programme financed by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and managed by the Norwegian Barents Secretariat (NBS) has facilitated local cooperation between Russian and Norwegian actors. The overall aims are to build trust and to develop people-to-people cooperation in the Russian and Norwegian regions that form part of the Barents Euro-Arctic Region (BEAR). Most activities funded by the programme take place at the grassroots level. The programme's thematic fields are assumedly low-politics: culture and sports, education and competence-building, business and entrepreneurship, media and information, civil society, and environmental protection. Youth and indigenous peoples are prioritized target groups across these thematic fields (Barentssekretariatet 2022).

Since its inception in the 1990s, the Norwegian NBS's grant programme has worked in a setting of shifting Norwegian–Russian ties. Initially, Russia's central and regional authorities welcomed the initiative. This was a time marked by East–West détente, as well as the deep crisis economically and administratively in Russia in the aftermath of the fall of the Soviet Union. Russian authorities at the time saw the new cross-border arrangement as an opportunity to obtain much-needed financial and humanitarian assistance as well as investments from Nordic countries (Goldin 2015). Also, academic and cultural circles welcomed the opening up for foreign contacts. However, Russia's security apparatus and the military-industrial complex were reluctant, and there were concerns in Moscow that the competencies of central authorities versus regional ones might be affected (Goldin 2015). In the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs there were concerns about the wisdom of letting regions "do" foreign policy (Robertsen 2014).

In the early 2000s, the Russian economy recovered, and the country's self-assertiveness on the international scene grew. Since 2012, when Vladimir Putin was sworn in for a third presidential term, Russia has become increasingly authoritarian, centralized and culturally conservative (see e.g., Kortukov 2020; Laruelle 2020; Lewis 2020). Moreover, in 2014, in the middle of the period covered by this article (2007–2020), Russia annexed Crimea. This was followed by sanctions and counter-sanctions and a generally worsened geopolitical climate. We expected that these developments internationally, as well as those in Russia, would have a negative impact on the grant programme's goal attainment.

To check this assumption the article provides a systematic analysis of how the last decade's contextual changes have affected the grant scheme. In particular, it examines key aspects of cross-border cooperation, like mutual benefit, trust and equality between partners. What have been the challenges? Have some of them been overcome—and if so, how?

We begin with an overview of the Barents Euro-Arctic Region (the Barents Region), situating the grant scheme within that elaborate architecture. Then some core challenges to this type of cooperation are presented and an analytical framework outlined. The major part of the article offers a systematic comparison of the grant scheme as of 2007 and 2020.

After the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022, the Barents Secretariat no longer funds projects that involve local, regional or federal authorities on the Russian side. Ongoing projects of this kind are put on hold until further notice. Some projects in-

volving only independent actors, e.g., artists, may receive funding. The same applies to projects with Russian partners residing outside Russia (Barentssekretariatet 2022).

The Barents Euro-Arctic Region (BEAR) and the NBS Grant Programme

The Norwegian NBS grant programme forms part of wider cooperative endeavours within the Barents Euro-Arctic Region (BEAR). Whereas BEAR covers regions in Finland, Sweden, Russia and Norway, the grant programme is bilateral: Norway and Russia.

BEAR

Unlike the case with other cross-border regions in Europe, BEAR does not apply solely to areas close to the state borders. The region covers a full 1.75 million square kilometres and has five million inhabitants. Among the urban centres in the region, only Murmansk and Arkhangelsk have populations of more than 100,000. Natural resources are abundant, including oil, gas, minerals, fish and forest. On the negative side, the region struggles with huge geographical distances, sparse population, out-migration and a harsh climate.

The establishment of BEAR in 1993 took place amidst widespread worries that Russia would destabilize, with disastrous consequences for the highly militarized

Fig. 1. Map of the Euro-Arctic Barents Region. Source: The Arctic Centre, University of Lapland, Rovaniemi, Finland.

Norwegian–Russian border. Back in 1987, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev had held a speech in Murmansk in which he encouraged Russia's Northern regions to enter into cooperation with other regions of the North (Gorbachev 1987). In September 1988, a bilateral agreement on regional cooperation between Finnmark and Murmansk was signed, a harbinger of what was to become the much larger, multi-level, internationally anchored Barents Region (Regjeringen 2011).

BEAR was established to institutionalize cross-border cooperation on "low politics." In the classical definition by Hoffmann (1966) these are politics that do not directly affect the survival of the state. In line with this, BEAR focused on issues like health, economic development and environmental protection across what was seen as a former geopolitical fault-line requiring a "high politics" approach focusing on military security (Eriksson 1995; Hønneland 2010; Østhagen 2020). Attention was to be shifted from military issues to societal challenges (Zysk 2015). The dramatic differences in living conditions between the Nordic and Russian regions in the North were also considered a challenge (Dellenbrandt & Olsson 1994) and emphasised by the then Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs Johan Jørgen Holst (Holst 1994). As noted by Landriault, Payette and Roussel (2021) low politics issues fall within the competencies of local and regional authorities, and thus liberate space for the subnational levels of governments.

Regional cross-border cooperation was deemed conducive to bridging the gap and thus fostering stabilization. Three keywords characterized this approach to cross-border activities: normalization, civilization and regionalization (Hønneland 2017: 28). Bilateral people-to-people cooperation under the NBS grant programme fits into this approach.

Inspired by the then-popular idea of a "Europe of the regions" to downplay the role of the central states (Loughlin 2019), BEAR was set up with a complex, multi-level architecture consisting of two pillars: one involving the regions, the other involving the central states. The regional level of government on all sides of the borders is involved through the interregional Barents Regional Council (BRC). In all, 13 regions take part: five Russian and two Norwegian. The strong regional pillar distinguishes BEAR from other cross-border initiatives, like the Arctic Council, the Northern Dimension and the Council of the Baltic Sea States. In addition, representatives of the three indigenous peoples in the region are included: the Sami, the Veps and the Nenets. In parallel, co-operation between Sami organizations in Finland, Russia, Norway and Sweden takes place through the non-governmental Saami Council.

The four central states meet through the intergovernmental Barents Euro-Arctic Council (BEAC). The Barents cooperation covers industrial and commercial development, environmental protection and climate, rescue operations at sea, indigenous peoples, health, culture, youth and people-to-people cooperation. Most of the practical work within BEAR is carried out by thematic joint working groups and sub-groups set up for several of these policy areas (Holm-Hansen, Aasland & Dybstyna 2020).

BEAR is characterized by the use of soft-law instruments without binding force, and an emphasis on knowledge- and capacity-building through programme activities (Stokke 2015). Trust- and confidence-building are central here. As stated in the 2013 Declaration on the 20th Anniversary of the Barents Euro-Arctic Cooperation, with reference to the 2010 treaty on maritime delimitation between Russia and Norway:

> Mutual trust built through the Barents Cooperation can thus serve as a model for others on how neighbouring countries can resolve differences peacefully through dialogue and negotiations, and thus help release the huge potential of the regional and European integration (Barents Summit 2013)

There was no high-level cross-border contact during the years immediately following 2014 but soon the Barents framework was invoked for top-level meetings and occasions, as with the 75th anniversary of the Soviet liberation of Eastern Finnmark in 2019 (Holm-Hansen Aasland & Dybstyna 2020). Many of the events during that anniversary were organized as projects under the grants programme. According to an interview with one Norwegian government official:

> This gives the politicians talking points they would not have had if it were not for the programme […] For us the Barents cooperation is always a pleasant thing in the bilateral setting. (Quoted in Holm-Hansen, Aasland & Dybstyna 2020: 19)

The NBS Grant Programme

Ever since 1993, the NBS grants programme has facilitated regional international relations between the Norwegian and Russian regions within the Barents Euro-Arctic Region: Nordland fylke, Troms and Finnmark fylke on the Norwegian side, and Murmansk oblast, Arkhangelsk oblast, Nenets Autonomous District, the Komi Republic and the Republic of Karelia on the Russian side. In line with the overall approach of the BEAR region, the programme has addressed thematic fields conducive to joint social development in a wide sense. The thematic fields for cooperation have been selected among presumably "low" politics areas. Nonetheless, since its inception in the 1990s, the Norwegian NBS's grant program has worked in a setting of shifting Norwegian–Russian ties, where the ideal of developing mutual trust through building trust and people-to-people activities has been increasingly challenged by high-politics concerns, in particular after the Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014 (Holm-Hansen 2023). Even low-politics activities became controversial, and there were signs that project applicants internalized some of this caution and submitted project proposals that avoid potentially sensitive issues and concepts (Holm-Hansen, Aasland & Dybtsyna 2020).

Annual allocations from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) have been around 25 million NOK (appr. 2.5 million euro) earmarked for projects and 15 million for operational purposes. The programme has been funding numerous relatively small project activities, some 200 to 300 projects each year. Grants have been distributed according to a twofold set of criteria: Firstly, the project portfolio should involve a wide range of public and private as well civil society institutions on both sides of the border. Secondly, in total the projects should cover a wide range of issues and include all regions of Norway that form part of the Barents Region. Only Norwegian applicants may apply and they have had to have a Russian partner to receive funding. This latter requirement, however, was lifted in the new guidelines introduced after the Russian invasion of Ukraine (Barentssekretariatet 2022).

Project owners have included municipal agencies, private firms, sport clubs and

small charitable organizations. Projects in the immediate border regions (Kirkenes–Nikel/Zapolyarny) as well as those with actors based in regions further from the border, like Nordland and the Komi Republic, are included. Project activities range from joint football trainings and matches between neighbouring football clubs in Kirkenes and Pechenga, to exchange of handicraft skills and the large-scale Barents Games. Most projects have had a non-controversial profile, but the portfolio also includes potentially more provocative ones (e.g., on LGBT+ and indigenous peoples).

Initially, the NBS was established to serve as secretariat of Norway's two-year chairmanship of the Regional Council within the Barents Euro-Arctic Region (BEAR). After 1995 it continued as a project under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). Since 1998, the Secretariat has been an interregional company owned by the Norwegian regions that form part of BEAR but is funded by the MFA. Its Board (*Styret*) and Council (*Representantskapet*) are composed of representatives from these two regions. Until 2008, the MFA had one observer on the Board. The funding and letter of assignment come from the MFA. The dialogue between the Secretariat and the MFA takes place, *inter alia*, in bi-annual meetings. Two of the MFA's departments are involved: the Section for the High North, Polar Affairs and Marine Resources, and the Section for Eastern Europe, Central Asia and Regional Organizations. Under this structure, the Secretariat operates according to a letter of allocation from the national ministry implementing Norwegian foreign policies and under the supervision of regional authorities (Holm-Hansen, Aasland & Dybtsyna 2020). This reflects the fundamental, multilevel ideas of the Barents cooperation, but makes for complex manoeuvring.

The Secretariat's core function is to facilitate bilateral people-to-people cooperation between the Norwegian and Russian regions that form part of BEAR. In addition, the NBS is to serve as a competence centre for Norwegian–Russian relations in the North; and to take part in the public debate and draw attention to regional people-to-people cooperation. As of 2021, the NBS had 11 staff members in Norway and six in its offices in Russia (in Arkhangelsk, Murmansk and Naryan-Mar), the latter staffed by Russian citizens.

Challenges

Despite widespread initial optimism, obstacles to the people-to-people cooperation have existed from the start. Some of these difficulties sprang from lack of understanding of each other's realities and ways of thinking. These led to follow-up errors that have continued to challenge the cooperation.

Firstly, the emphasis on cross-border region-building proved easier said than done. BEAR has been underpinned by "region-building" endeavours aimed at constructing a regional identity for the region's inhabitants, based on the concept of the region as a natural unity with its population as "insiders" by virtue of being "Northerners." As pointed out by Hønneland (2017: 31, 39) the idea that "Northernness alone gave an intuitive feeling of how the others thought" was an over-simplification. For centuries, those living on either side of the border had inhabited different cultural spheres. Moreover, as pointed out by Mikhailova (2016) the cross-border region was divided by differences in legislation, administrative systems and policies.

The use of the term *Pomor* offers an illustrative example of misunderstanding of

each other's realities. The Norwegian side promoted historical narratives emphasizing the mutual contacts that had existed through the Pomor trade, referring to the exchange of Russian flour with Norwegian fish from around 1740 to around 1920, which even led to a simple pidgin language, *russenorsk*. On the Norwegian side, Pomor was evoked to build the cross-border region, whereas attempts at mobilizing the original Northerner population in Russia's north-western coastal areas as a Pomor sub-ethnos were met by accusations of separatism by the authorities (Shabaev et al. 2016).

Secondly, many Norwegian actors were slow to recognize the changes in Russia after the country recovered in the early 2000s. Thus, they continued to offer humanitarian aid that might have been relevant in the 1990s but was no longer needed, as living standards and public finances in Russia were improving. At times, Russian partners considered this approach to be condescending. This obstructed work towards a core ideal of the cooperation: building trust between peers through people-to-people cooperation.

Thirdly, in addition to the follow-up errors, the increasingly centralized Russian regime and geopolitical animosity have put the intended people-to-people cooperation under stress. Regardless of the significance of meeting places, Russia's 2012 "foreign agents law," the law on undesirable organizations (2015) and the media agent law (2017) reflect the growing centralization as well as the disciplining of civil society (Bogdanova 2017; Tulaeva, Tysiachniuk & Henry 2017).

The "de-securitized" approach applied in the Barents co-operation has taken place in an environment of increasing militarization in the North (Østhagen 2020; Åtland & Kabanenko 2020). The Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014 was followed by restrictive measures, or sanctions, imposed by the EU (and followed by Norway) on the one hand, and counter-sanctions by Russia on the other. However, none of these measures had a direct impact on the grant-funded collaboration. Russian counter-sanctions primarily affected Norwegian seafood exports, whereas the EU/Norwegian restrictions concerned technology and defence. Moreover, state-to-state cooperation between coastal guards, border guards, search-and-rescue agencies, as well as warning and handling of incidents at sea, remained unchanged. Bilateral cooperation in fisheries and the environment has been continued, reflecting the fact that this is a functional region, although mainly maritime.

Despite developments in Russia and on the international scene, the Norwegian government in its report to the *Storting* (the Norwegian parliament) for 2020/2021 stated: "to a large degree, the value of the Barents cooperation consists in its stable and relatively uncontroversial arrangements, with predictability and good relations in several policy areas" (Regjeringen 2020).

Analytical Approach

BEAR came about as a result of *region-building*. As Neumann (1994: 58) points out, the existence of regions is preceded by the existence of region-builders, who "imagine a certain spatial and chronological identity for a region, and disseminate this imagined identity to others." Transborder regions are talked and written into existence but unlike in the case of nation-building, region-building implies transcending state borders. Following Browning (2003), initiatives like the Northern Dimension, the Council of Baltic Sea States and BEAR aim to build regional networks outside the

framework and independent of sovereign entities. As outlined in the section Challenges above, the post-modernist and post-sovereignist optimism of the 1990s, however, proved only partly to survive the developments that were to follow.

Cross-border people-to-people cooperation has been applied in a range of settings by civic activists as well as governments—for instance, for peacekeeping and reconciliation between adversaries (Herzog & Hai 2005) or to prepare for geopolitical advances, e.g., along the Belt and Road Initiative (Shrestha 2019). In Europe, people-to-people cooperation is primarily used in order to facilitate day-to-day interaction among relatively likeminded populations on both sides of a shared border, as with the Nordic countries (Strang 2016) and the EU member states (Klatt & Wassenberg 2017).

BEAR is a "hybrid" variety in this respect. First, by including both Russian and Nordic territories, the region is diverse—indeed, that is why the region was "created" in the first place. As such it has similarities with the EU Neighbourhood Policy, which covers most of the EU's external borders except those with Russia (Schumacher & Bouris 2016). Second, by including areas far from the border, especially as measured in travel time, BEAR is not solely a cross-border arrangement. However, for settlements close to the borders, like Kirkenes and Nikel, it certainly is one. The Norwegian–Russian border is peripheral and crosses a sparsely populated area. However, the area is of high military importance for both sides, and a visa is required to cross the border. The intensity of people-to-people interaction suffered from this also before the COVID-19 pandemic and the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022.

In his much-cited article, van Houtum (2000) distinguishes three strands of debate concerning borders and border regions, centred on flow, cross-border cooperation and people, respectively. The first sees borders as an obstacle to the natural flows of (mostly economic) activity. The cross-border approach is mainly concerned with the structures and processes needed to overcome the hindrances created by borders. The former could be said to be mainly descriptive, with the latter more activist and focused on creating potential dynamics in the border area.

Van Houtum's third perspective—the people approach—emphasizes mental creation as well as the shaping and reshaping of the meaning of borders by human beings, including ordinary citizens, politicians and firms. As noted by Brunet-Jailly (2011: 3), borders are "institutions that result from bordering policies—they are thus about people." Rather than being seen solely as barriers, borders are viewed in light of how people's behaviours, actions and mindsets make them relevant.

Both cross-border and people-oriented approaches have been applied in the borderlands between Russia and Norway. For instance, cross-border measures were taken to increase flow as early as the 1990s, when the Norwegian government funded snow clearance of a border road. In 2012, local border traffic permits were introduced, allowing people residing up to 30 kilometres from the Russian–Norwegian border to visit this area without a visa (Jonassen 2022). However, such measures affect only a very small part of the vast Barents Region.

People-to-people projects go one step further in bringing people together, with measures varying according to the context. Prior conflict or isolation, wealth gaps and a shared language are relevant here. Bar Tal and Teichman (2005: 391–393) draw on the Israel–Palestine conflict in noting some psychological steps that should be made, although that case is not directly transferable to the Barents setting.

Three of these steps are of particular relevance for the Barents Region. Firstly, there is a need for *personalization*, for recognizing that those living on the other side of the border are "like us." This has been emphasized in speeches and documents ever since the establishment of the Barents Region, to such an extent that the differences in people's frames of reference may have been under-communicated. Secondly, *equalization* entails viewing the other group "at eye level." Overcoming the Norwegian "aid mentality" in relations to most of the world has been a challenge in the Barents Cooperation. Russians have been portrayed as being "needy" and the Norwegians "good helpers" (Hønneland 1998). The third challenge is being able to recognize the other side as just as *diverse and heterogeneous* as one's own side.

Data and Methods

Data for this article were collected via two evaluations of cross-border collaboration between Norway and Russia made possible by a grants programme administered by the NBS and funded by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), conducted in 2007 and 2020, respectively (Holm-Hansen, Aasland & Dybtsyna 2008; Holm-Hansen, Aasland & Dybtsyna 2020). In both evaluations, triangulation of data collection methods was applied: Besides scrutiny of project reports and relevant policy documents, the evaluations involved individual and group interviews with programme stakeholders (e.g. NBS representatives in Kirkenes and local offices in Russia, board members and advisers), key policy-makers at national (e.g. the Norwegian MFA) and regional levels, interviews with project leaders and participants in Norway and Russia, and web-based surveys sent to project leaders and their partners in both countries.

Our cases for in-depth studies in 2007 and 2020 were chosen in cooperation with the NBS to cover as many aspects of the Secretariat's activities as possible, and to be representative of the grant programme. They were selected to provide insights into factors that enable or inhibit productive cross-border collaboration under the current rather strained geopolitical conditions.

Detailed information about data collection in both evaluations, including interview guides and questionnaires, can be found in two openly accessible project reports (Holm-Hansen, Aasland & Dybtsyna 2008; Holm-Hansen, Aasland & Dybtsyna 2020). The criteria for the selection of case studies for more in-depth analyses are also described in these reports.

Table 1 gives an overview of interviews and survey respondents. Interviewees were selected to cover all thematic fields and regions involved. The lower number of survey respondents in 2020 compared to 2007 is due mainly to differences in the project portfolio characterized by a smaller number of (comparatively larger) projects in the most recent programme period. To enable comparison between the two surveys, most of the questions asked were identical. Several open-ended questions were included, to allow the respondents to elaborate further on some of the key survey themes.

	2007	2020
Total number of interviewees (including participants in group interviews)	65	57
Interviews with project leaders/participants	32	31
in Norway	14	16
in Russia	18	15
Number of web-based survey respondents	140	60
in Norway	69	35
in Russia	67	25
in other countries	4	-
Project case studies	14	20

Table 1. Interviewees and survey respondents in 2007 and 2020 evaluations.

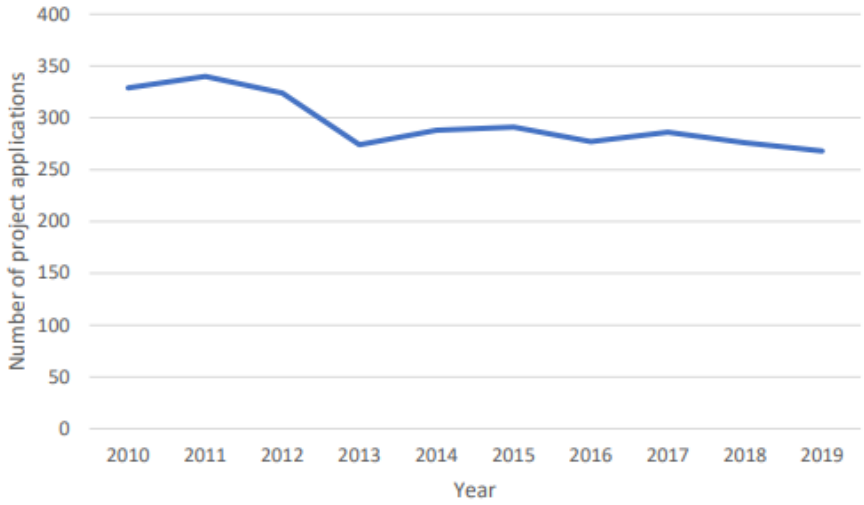
Limitations

Even though for the most part questionnaire items were equal in the two surveys, some challenges when comparing the two survey years should be mentioned. Firstly, the project portfolio in the two years was somewhat different, e.g., in terms of size of projects and distribution of projects on thematic areas. We compare the portfolio in the two years without controlling for such differences. Secondly, with the rather small number of respondents in each survey year, only relatively large differences in results can be considered statistically significant. Since we have only aggregate data for the 2007 survey, we are not able to run proper significance tests. Typical margins of error for the 2020 survey are around ± 8 per cent and ± 4 per cent in 2007. Given that we have surveyed a substantial proportion of grant recipients and not a random sample of a larger population, we would still argue that the results are meaningful and likely to reflect the respondents' experiences and attitudes in the two survey years reasonably well.

The Project Co-Operation

The number of project applications has been kept quite stable in the 2010–2019 period, as shown in Figure 2. Thus, changes in the geopolitical environment, as well as changes in Russian legislation and regulations, generally appear to have had little effect on the number of project applications.

The funds are Norwegian, the programme is administered from Norway and only Norwegian actors can apply. This means a risk of projects being driven more by Norwegian supply than Russian demand. For example, Norwegian actors have been keen to share their experiences and practices with Russian counterparts, without taking demand sufficiently into consideration. Memories of the aid-oriented approach



(Figures provided by the Barents Secretariat on the basis of projekt portal.)

Fig. 2. Number of project applications received per year, 2010–2019.

from the 1990s may have lingered on. Therefore, the 2007 evaluation recommended emphasizing mutual gains on both sides (Holm-Hansen, Aasland & Dybtsyna 2008: 121). Consequently, the NBS made mutual benefits of projects an explicit prerequisite for funding. This seems to have had the intended impact.

In the 2007 survey, the direction of competence transfer was more frequently reported as going from Norway to Russia. By 2020 this had evened out: indeed, transfer of competence from Russia to Norway was now noted slightly more often than the converse. In its most basic manifestation—material support, e.g., buying equipment—this approach had shifted in most projects already in 2007 and was reduced even further by 2020 (see Fig. 3).

Interviews with participants show that projects based on skills and specialized interests in, e.g., music, handicrafts, vocational subjects or sports have provided mutual inspiration, often leading to the wish for further specialization. Young Norwegian musicians got a wakeup call when they realized how advanced their Russian counterparts were, according to a project leader, who added that this inspired the Norwegian children to work harder. Instructors learned didactic skills from their Russian counterparts.

The Arctic Skills vocational competition project offers another illustrative example of mutual learning. In the project, Russian and Norwegian students of health work were found to differ as to what tasks they excelled in. The Russian students were better at technical skills whereas the Norwegians were better at communicating with patients. After having realized these competitive disadvantages, in the following year's competition, both teams had improved their skills where they had been weak.

However, a few signs hint at possible negative developments. These could pos-

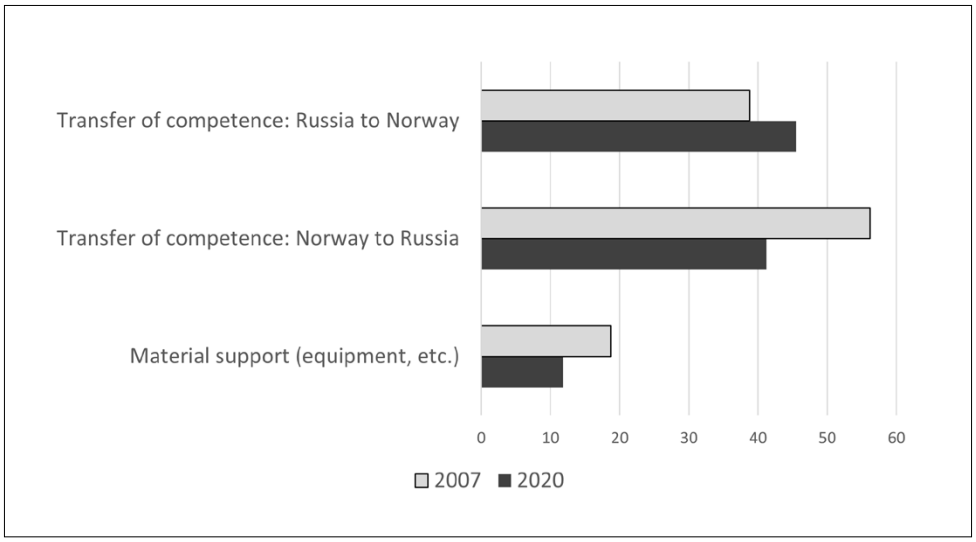


Fig. 3. Profile of projects in 2020 compared to 2007: percentage of projects involving various components "to a large extent."
Questionnaire item: "To what extent has your project involved the following components?" Answer categories: "To a large extent," "To some extent," "To a minor extent," "Not at all," "Do not know/not relevant." The latter responses were removed.

sibly be explained by strained political relations (see below). These concern lower involvement of the authorities, at the local and, especially, national and federal levels (see Figure 4). These findings might indicate somewhat less political commitment to collaboration across the Russian–Norwegian border.

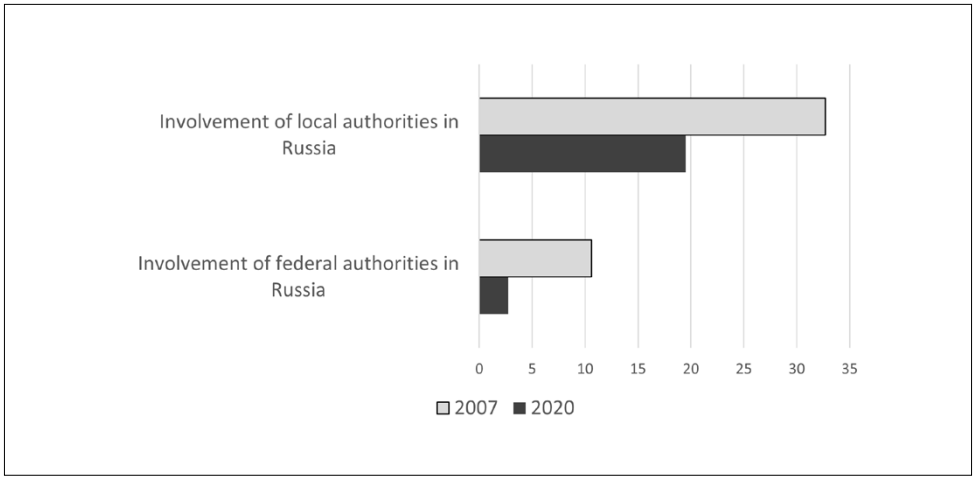


Fig. 4. Involvement of local and national/federal authorities in project implementation. Percentage reporting "to a large extent."
Questionnaire item: "To what extent has your project involved the following components?" Answer categories: "To a large extent," "To some extent," "To a minor extent," "Not at all," "Do not know/not relevant." The latter responses were removed.

Project Features—Positive and Negative

Given recent developments in high-level politics, an increased risk of distrust might have been expected, also in people-to-people settings. Or mistrust might have been triggered as a result of the project cooperation itself, due to misunderstandings or poor adaptation to context. However, a large percentage of respondents on both sides of the border in 2020 reported that their project was characterized by high levels of mutual trust: 91 per cent of Russian and 85 per cent of Norwegian respondents (this question was not included in the 2007 survey). Since the overall aim of the grant programme is to "promote trust and people-to-people cooperation" (Holm-Hansen, Aasland & Dybstyna 2020: 12) the high score on trust is an indication of success.

On the other hand, nowhere in the documents underlying the grant programme has trust been defined. In the interviews, we found that respondents equated trust with low level of friction in communicating with each other and mutual involvement. Doing this, the interviewees very often made a point of stating that they experienced partners on the other side of the border as being not so different from themselves after all. Assuming that this makes sense, although the question on mutual trust was not explicitly asked in 2007, the collaboration climate appears to have improved considerably during this time period (see Fig. 5). In particular, we note that more respondents think that closer ties have developed during the project period. Also, as shown in Figure 3, the balance between project partners and mutual benefit appears to have improved. In the in-depth interviews, many interviewees related how their prejudices have been overcome. In other words, what was referred to as "personalization" and "equalization" above, was achieved.

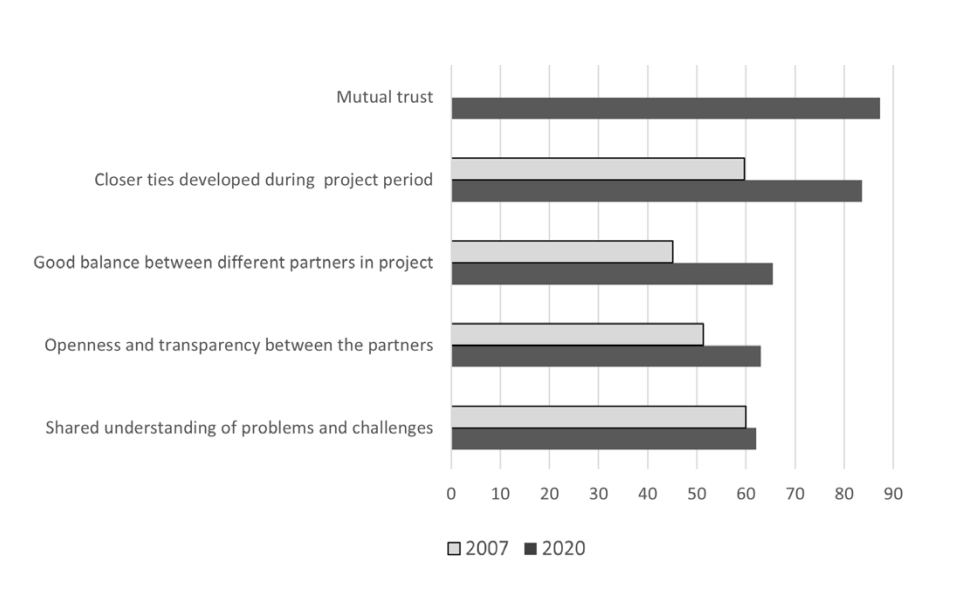


Fig. 5. The extent to which project collaboration has positive features: percentage reporting "to a large extent."
Questionnaire item: "To what extent has the collaboration between Russian and Norwegian partners in the project been characterized by the following?" Answer categories: "To a large extent," "To some extent," "To a minor extent," "Not at all," "Not relevant/don't know." The latter responses were removed.

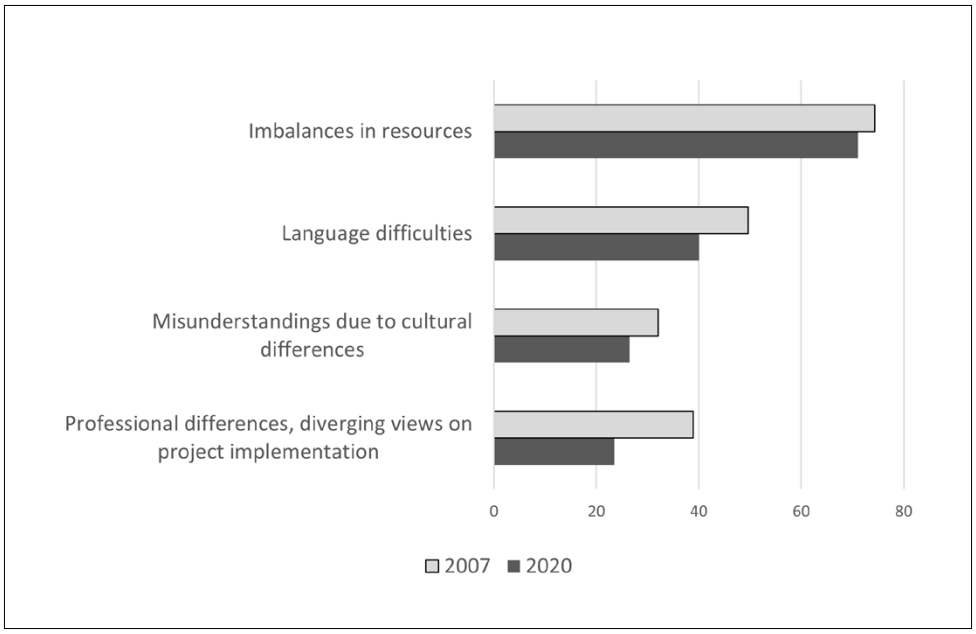


Fig. 6. Percentage reporting presence of negative features in their project "to a large extent." Questionnaire item: "To what extent has the collaboration between Russian and Norwegian partners in the project been characterized by the following?" Answer categories: "To a large extent," "To some extent," "To a minor extent," "Not at all," "Not relevant/don't know." The latter responses were removed.

Building trust takes time and results here come primarily as side-effects of shared interests in specific project activities. The driving force is not necessarily the wish to contribute to the development of cross-border trust, but to be able to engage in favourite activities, e.g., in culture or sports, with those on the other side of the border. The question of mutual benefit is central here.

While according to our respondents, *positive features* had become more prevalent in projects in 2020 than they were in 2007, the opposite was the case with *negative features*, as shown in Figure 6. Of the positive features, it is, in particular, the development of closer ties between the partners during the project period, and the good balance achieved between them, that were more frequently reported in 2020 than in 2007. Of the negative features, the greatest reduction was observed for reported professional differences and diverging views on project implementation.

Given the overriding aim of the programme, the fact that project owners continuously come back with new projects is both a sign that the programme achieves results (a wish for cross-border contacts) and a pre-condition for goal achievement (building trust takes time). The survey shows that many of the respondents had long experience with Barents project collaboration: seven per cent had started their project activities before 2000 and more than half of the respondents had started project collaboration before 2014.

Findings from 2020 also indicate that since the start of the grant programme in the early 1990s, a generation of project participants have been growing up with close ties to Norway and Russia, "The Barents Generation" (Holm-Hansen, Aasland & Dyb-

tsyna 2020: 30). Some people are now in positions of power, and it is reasonable to expect them to be open to further collaboration. Others decided to study Norwegian or Russian, this implying that they will be involved in Russian or Norwegian activities in the future. The Russian invasion of Ukraine will put such ambitions on a halt, though.

An interesting observation from the 2020 evaluation concerns the role of the Russian diaspora in Northern Norway. Among project holders, Norwegian citizens with a Russian background and Russians living in Norway are frequent. In particular, representatives of the diaspora community contribute in sports and culture projects, bringing with them high competence, not least their inter-cultural and inter-institutional competence.

The role of the NBS should also be mentioned. Only three per cent of the respondents in 2020 reported difficulties involving programme administration, as compared with the already low level of ten per cent in 2007. Our in-depth interviews show that the NBS advisers follow up projects closely and practise a hands-on approach, starting with dialogue between adviser and applicant during the preparation of applications. Thus, attempts at including pro forma Russian partners for a project that is de facto solely Norwegian will be detected and applicants recommended to make greater efforts at finding real partners. Here the Secretariat's three offices in Russia can assist; advice on how to avoid potential controversies is also offered.

However, our in-depth interviews and open-ended questions in the 2020 survey show greater surveillance of project activities on the Russian side than previously. There is less freedom for Russian partners to engage in cooperation, and more administrative barriers. One practical obstacle concerns difficulties in transferring money between the countries, which one interviewee ascribes to "political decisions."

Project Achievements

Equality Between Project Partners

Given the grant programme's objectives, and the general objectives of the Barents Region, equality between partners from both sides of the border is essential. Our survey shows a marked increase in respondents reporting success in terms of achieving a high degree of equality between partners. By 2020, 56 per cent of respondents reported that their project was "very successful" in this regard, while the corresponding figure in 2007 was only 37 per cent.

Further analysis offers additional insights into differences in terms of Norwegian project leaders' and Russian project partners' survey responses on equality. On most survey items, the two categories give rather similar assessments, but we also find some notable differences. For example, Russian respondents are far more likely than Norwegians to perceive the partnership as characterized by equality and a shared understanding of problems and challenges, in addition to feeling strongly confident that there is openness and transparency between the partners. They also more often appreciate the better funding opportunities and the moral support provided by their partners. On the other hand, Norwegian respondents tend to believe that their project has strengthened their partners in the local setting.

These findings from the survey may in part be explained by the fact that even though it is the Norwegian partner who must be the formal applicant, the initiative often comes from the Russian side. Applications are often co-written by the Norwe-

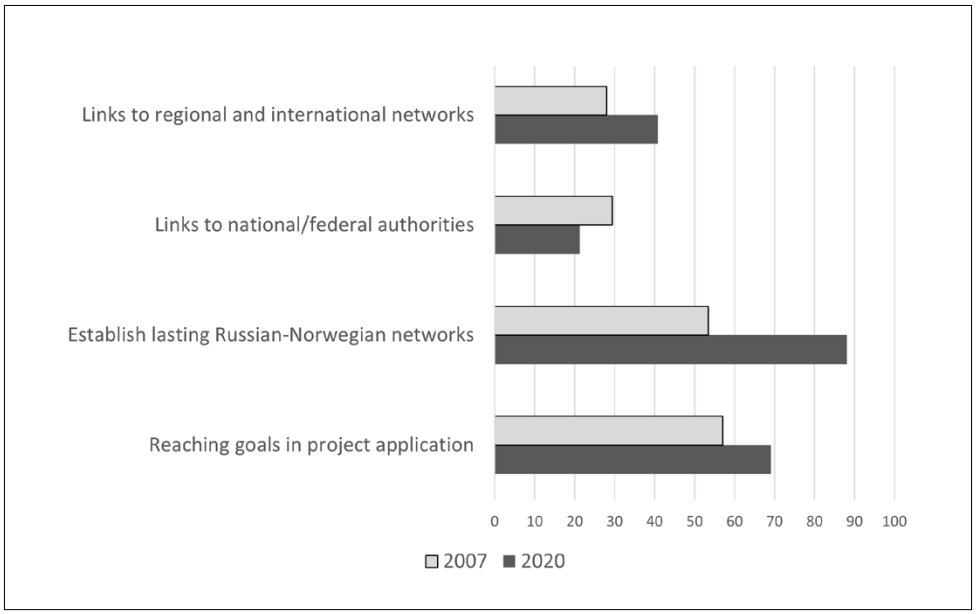


Fig. 7. Project achievements: percentage asserting that their project has been "very successful" in terms of specific criteria.
Questionnaire item: "How successful would you say that the project you have been involved in has been in terms of ..." Answer categories: "Very successful," "Rather successful," "Rather unsuccessful," "Very unsuccessful," "Not relevant/do not know." The latter responses were removed.

gian and Russian partner, giving both sides ownership to, and responsibility for, the success of the project.

Self-Reported Success

As noted above, it does not seem that the deterioration of political relations between Norway and Russia during the past decade has seriously affected Norwegian–Russian people-to-people project collaboration in the Barents region. For most of the survey items concerning perceived project achievements, the improvements along the larger set of indicators are much more prominent than any setbacks.

Our main finding is that project participants report higher levels of success in reaching their goals on a large number of dimensions in 2020 than they did in 2007 (see Fig. 7). The increase has been particular noteworthy as regards establishing long-lasting Russian–Norwegian networks, from a level quite high already in 2007. We also find a marked increase in respondents reporting success in terms of achieving a high degree of equality between partners. This mirrors our finding of more transfer of mutual competence in projects.

Projects are now even less linked to national (Norway) and federal (Russia) institutions than in 2007. This should not necessarily be interpreted as a negative development, given the programme's regional profile and focus on people-to-people cooperation. When asked about major obstacles in project implementation, significantly fewer respondents mentioned bureaucratic obstacles: from just below 40 per cent to well under 30 per cent.

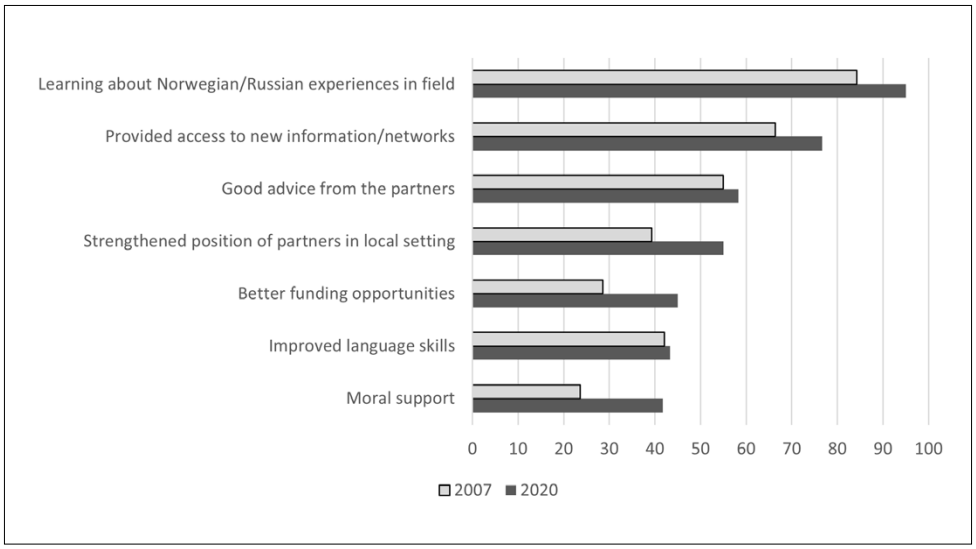


Fig. 8. Reported most important positive impacts of project, %.
Questionnaire item: "Which of the following would you say are the most important positive impact(s) of the project? Several answers possible."

Further, respondents reported more positive *impacts* of their projects in 2020 than in 2007 (Fig. 8). We note considerably higher scores than in 2008 for items such as competence development, access to networks, strengthened position of partners in the local setting, funding opportunities and moral support. There was no reduction in reported positive impacts for any items in the 2007–2020 period.

External Pressures. Political Tensions and COVID-19

When asked directly in the 2020 survey whether changes in bilateral political relations between Norway and Russia had affected their project, either negatively or positively (Fig. 9), around half of the respondents answered that they had not affected their project, or only to a minor extent. Some respondents (Norwegians only) even held that there had been positive effects on their project; about one in five reported negative effects, most of them Norwegian respondents. By contrast, Russians were more inclined to tick the "Don't know" option. Figure 10 shows that a much higher percentage of respondents reported negative effects from the COVID-19 pandemic than from deterioration of political relations for project implementation (between two thirds and three quarters of the respondents), with closed borders between Russia and Norway posing obvious challenges for project planning and implementation.

Politically Controversial Projects

Some projects have been politically controversial, even though the NBS runs risk analyses of potentially controversial projects, and many project applicants try to ensure that they submit proposals that avoid potentially sensitive topics and concepts. Our in-depth interviews showed that this primarily concerns projects on indigenous peoples (the Sami) and LGBT+.

Most project proposals in the thematic field of indigenous peoples now focus on

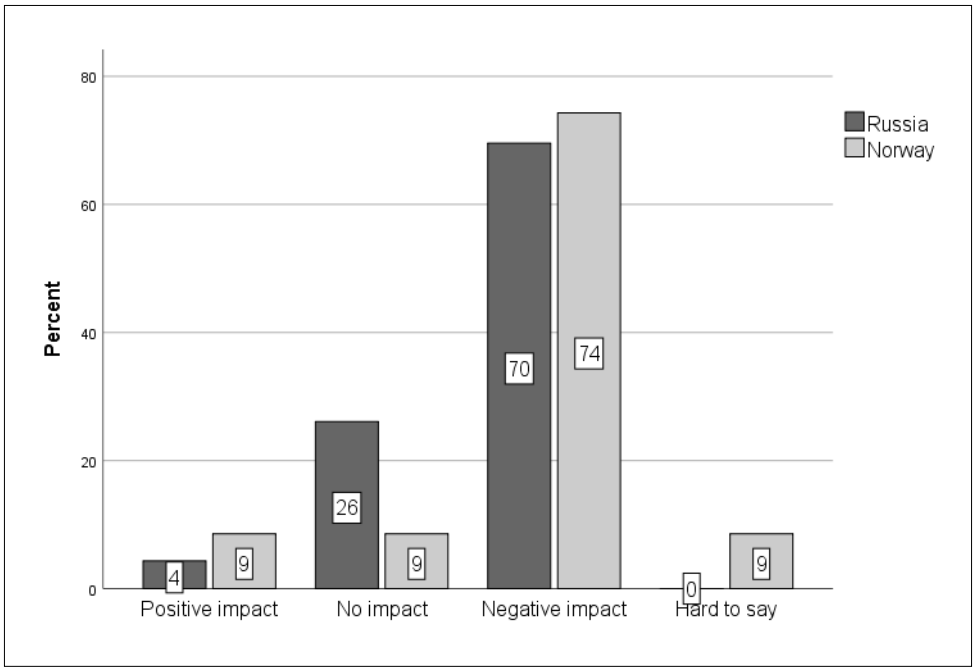


Fig. 9. Assessment of impact of deteriorating bilateral political relations between Russia and Norway on project implementation, by country, %.
Questionnaire item: "Have any of the following factors affected project implementation? Bilateral political relations between Norway and Russia."

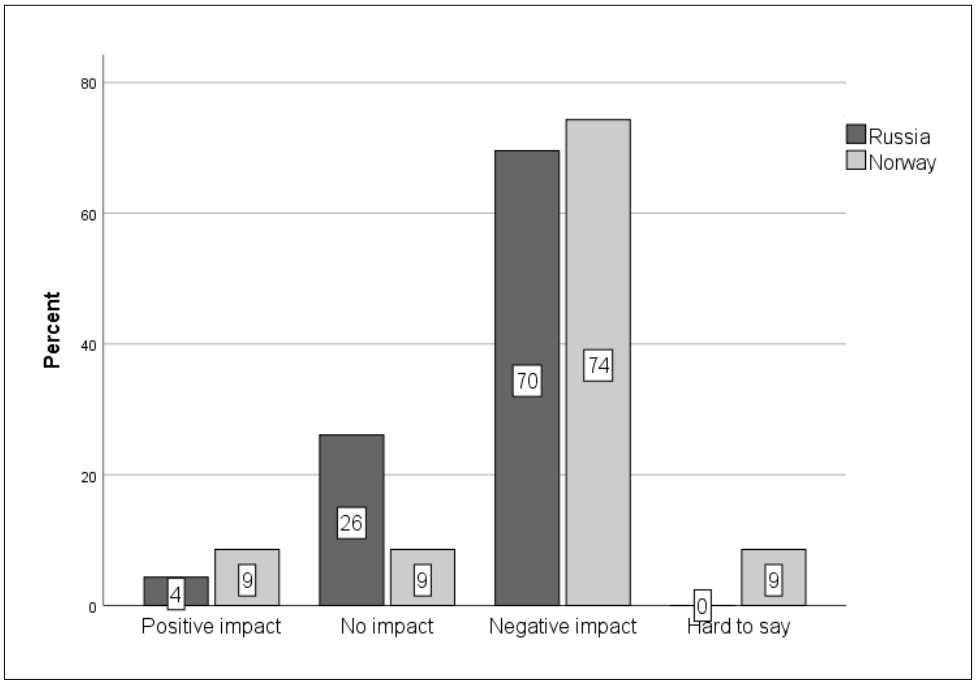


Fig. 10. Assessment of impact of COVID-19 on project implementation, by country, %.
Questionnaire item: "Have any of the following factors affected project implementation? The COVID-19 pandemic."

presumedly non-controversial issues, like language preservation, reindeer husbandry, or culinary tourism. Nonetheless, indigenous issues remain potentially controversial in both countries, especially when rights to natural resources are involved. On the Russian side, the institutional representation of indigenous peoples is still quite controversial, and NGO's in this policy area risk having to register as "foreign agents" (Zmyvalova 2020). The fact that the Sami are a cross-border ethnic group adds to the sensitivity of the issue (Berg-Nordlie 2015). In addition, there are internal rivalries among Russian Sami activists and groups. Some of these are particularly relevant for the grant programme because they are linked to side-effects of foreign funding. Norwegian funding of Russian Sami activities in the 1990s was generous. This enabled "gatekeepers" to position themselves, resulting in long-lasting resentment among those who lost out. Also, some pragmatic Russian Sami activists who were prepared to join government-supported platforms for indigenous affairs have gained the impression that this would mean losing prestige among funders and potential partners in the Nordic countries.

The conservative turn in Russian family politics is another possible source of controversy, as it runs counter to trends on the Norwegian side of the border. However, we found that Russia's conservative turn has not led to less focus on gender issues in the project portfolio. On the contrary, gender and equal rights perspectives appear to have been strengthened since 2007: the inclusion of gender and equal rights has increased from being an element in 15 per cent of the projects in 2007 to 30 per cent in 2020.

LGBT+ rights, however, may be considered to have a more serious potential for controversy, but here, too, the grant programme shows results. The Barents Pride festival, officially called the Barents Exchange, was organized in Kirkenes for the first time in 2017, and with funding from the grants programme. This has grown into an annual success co-arranged by groups in Murmansk, Arkhangelsk, Tromsø and Kirkenes—an example of cross-border mutual benefit for the groups involved. The first Barents Pride grant came after the NBS had conducted a risk analysis and also obtained information and advice from the MFA and the Barents offices in Russia. Later, the NBS received comments from representatives of regional authorities in Russia that this arrangement did not deserve support.

Conclusions

As we saw above, talking and writing the Barents Region into existence turned out not to work smoothly. Nonetheless, against the odds, the bilateral Barents people-to-people cooperation funded by the Norwegian Barents Secretariat grant programme has proved capable of surviving. It survived three main contextual phases—the "aid" period of the 1990s, the Russian economic and administrative revival of the early 2000, and then the rivalries between Russia and Euro-Atlantic structures. All three phases have posed specific challenges to the core aims of the programme which are to create trust and people-to-people cooperation.

During the current phase of international rivalry, Russia has become more assertive, culturally conservative and also more centralized, all likely to be disadvantageous to open, regionally based international cooperation. Externally, the events in Crimea since 2014 and the ensuing sanctions further harmed the prospects for a cooperative

atmosphere. Given these developments, we had hypothesized that achievement of the stated objectives of this low-level, trust-promoting people-to-people cooperation would be jeopardized. To check this hypothesis, we compared the NBS grant programme as of 2007 and 2020. We found that the hypothesis could not be supported. The NBS programme was closer to achieving several of its core objectives in 2020 than in 2007, despite the challenges posed to it.

Whereas the belief from the 1990s that a cross-border region could be "talked" into existence failed to take deep-seated differences into account, the NBS has been able to make the region attain a certain level of existence through concrete people-to-people cooperation involving those willing to engage in it. Despite the troubled times, the programme has been able to reduce some of the psychological barriers to people-to-people cooperation listed by Bar Tal and Teichman (2005). The cooperation has become more "personalized" in the sense that partners on one side of the border perceive their partners on the other side as being more like themselves. Participants on both sides of the border who have taken part in Barents projects since they were young and over a certain time span—the so-called "Barents Generation"—epitomise this.

Moreover, our findings show that partners have made steps towards "equalization," seeing each other "eye-to eye." Some unfortunate legacies from the 1990s have been overcome, notably the earlier tendency of the Norwegian side to apply a kind of "development aid approach." In 2007, competence transfer went predominantly from Norway to Russia—now it goes both ways, with even a slight predominance of transfer from Russia to Norway. The high level of mutual trust as well as benefit from project activities, as reflected in the survey and interviews, can be seen as indications of this.

The programme's "low politics" approach were put under strain due to the increasingly unfavourable context of geopolitical tension and Russian authoritarianism. Although some fields of cooperation were affected by this to the extent that they are hardly "de-securitized" anymore, notably indigenous rights and LGBT+, we find that the project cooperation in these fields between Russian and Norwegian actors were upheld. The number of groups on both sides of the border willing to engage in joint projects did not decrease as a result of geopolitical or other political complications between the two countries.

One explanation why the NBS grant programme was to survive and thrive may be its clear-cut "people approach" in terms of van Houtum's (2000) classification, where borders are made relevant through people's behaviour, actions and mindsets, rather than as barriers. Given the security issues between the two states involved here, this approach has its limitations. Nonetheless, people-to-people activists have found it relevant to work together within the limits given.

In short, the programme was successful in its "people approach," making meaningful practices out of the fact that there is a border. This was possible thanks to what van Houtum calls "the cross-border approach" which is concerned with the structures and dynamics needed to overcome the hindrances that borders create. Important in this regard is the fact that the Norwegian government provided stable funding of the programme since the 1990s, treating it as a goodwill issue in bilateral relations with Russia. One outcome of this stable support is that the NBS was able to develop

into a competence centre for the programme's wide-ranging projects. In interviews, many project owners mentioned that the Secretariat's facilitation had helped them to avoid pitfalls. Indeed, the Norwegian Barents Secretariat and its grant programme has offered structures and dynamics for cross-border people-to-people cooperation to thrive.

The future of the people-to-people collaboration now mostly depends on external factors, i.e. the war in Ukraine, and whether and when there will be a normalisation of Russia's relations with the West, including Norway. At the time of writing the prospects look quite grim, at least for the nearest future. All official collaboration between Norway and Russia has been suspended by Norwegian authorities. However, there is still some limited room for Norwegian actors to collaborate with non-state actors in Russia with financial support from the NBS.

A long period without communication and joint activities is certainly going to make it more complicated to start up again. However, the good relations between the partners who have built up trust in each other over years will make it easier to recommence if, hopefully, more normal collaboration can be resumed in the not too distant future. Preserving the main platforms for such collaboration, the Barents, Arctic and Northern Dimension institutions, would then make resumption of the collaboration with Russia go smoother than if the programme had to start all over again.

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DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

None of the authors had any formal or informal links with the NBS when the two evaluations were conducted. At present both authors collaborate with the NBS in the "RE:Barents" project, in which the NBS is one of two non-academic partners.

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AUTHORS

Jørn Holm-Hansen holds a PhD in political science and is a senior researcher at the Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR) at Oslo Metropolitan University. He currently leads the research project "Russian Policies of Influence in the Populist-Pragmatic Nexus" and has carried out several studies of Norwegian-Russian project cooperation.

jornhh@oslomet.no

Aadne Aasland holds a PhD in Russian & East European Studies and is a senior researcher at the Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR) at Oslo Metropolitan University. He currently leads the research project "Replay or renew? Learning from 20+ years of Norwegian-Russian collaboration on health and social welfare in the Barents region (RE:Barents)" and has conducted research on Russian social welfare over several decades.

aadnea@oslomet.no

Miscellanea: Notes

Introduction

Project Insights from the Arctic Graduate School at the Arctic Centre, Umeå University

The Arctic Graduate School with a focus on Sustainable Development, coordinated by the Arctic Centre at Umeå University, is proud to present the first batch of doctoral students. The different projects presented in this issue of the *Journal of Northern Studies* represent research important for the region and its people.

Situated under the umbrella of the Arctic Centre, the graduate school offers extensive possibilities for interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research and collaboration. Thus, different academic disciplines that focus on Arctic sustainability can meet, and researchers are encouraged to engage in collaborative projects outside of the university as well. The graduate school and the Arctic Centre work to facilitate this by offering workshops, Arctic-themed field trips, thought-provoking seminars, and international partnerships, in research and education at the university and beyond.

The projects presented here are a result of project presentations made at Umeå Arctic Forum 2022—Connecting in the Arctic. The forum is held once a year with different themes and is a meeting place for people with different interests within and beyond academia to come together to discuss sustainable development from an Arctic vantage point.

At the Umeå Arctic Forum, the doctoral candidates present in this issue—Petrus Garefelt, Lieuwe Jan Hettema, Janica Jokela, Paul Schmidt, Rebecca Tapper, Maria Camila Urrea, Hilde Weiser, and Mikaela Wikström—presented the work they had just started. They will be the future of Arctic research and are part of the crucial transformation that is needed for a sustainable future.

All of you who feel inspired to join in discussing and engaging in this transformation, please do not hesitate to contact the Arctic Centre or the young researchers directly.

Linda Lundmark
Head of the Arctic Graduate School
Umeå University
Sweden
linda.lundmark@umu.se

Anngelica Kristoferqvist
Education Coordinator at the Arctic Centre
Umeå University
Sweden
anngelica.kristoferqvist@umu.se

Investigating Labor Market Transformations in Northern Sweden

A Novel Data-Driven Approach

Introduction and Aim of the Project

My research project investigates labor market transformations, with a focus on Sweden's northern coast. Despite the region's recent significant industrial investments, knowledge gaps persist regarding labor market demand, resulting in uncertainties about the supply of skills. Current aggregated data sources, typically utilized by researchers, fail to provide detailed insights into labor market demand (Puga 2010). My project aims to bridge this gap by leveraging granular data to understand evolving workforce requirements and the potential impact of industrial development on the regional labor market.

This novel approach not only addresses a crucial scientific problem but also informs policymakers and stakeholders about labor market trends to support strategic planning and development in the economy.

The Importance of Studying the Northern Coastal Labor Market

The choice of the northern coastal labor market as the study area is particularly relevant for several reasons. Firstly, the region is characterized by its unique economic landscape, with major industries such as forestry, mining, and energy production playing a significant role. Secondly, the region is currently undergoing substantial industrial investments, which have the potential to reshape the labor market and create new opportunities for the local workforce. Finally, the northern coastal regions of Sweden face unique challenges, such as an aging population, outmigration, and skills mismatches (Lundholm 2007), which warrant a comprehensive understanding of the labor market dynamics to ensure sustainable regional development.

Data Collection and Methods

To gain insights into the labor demand, I utilize a unique data source: job advertisements. By analyzing over 10 million job ads, I can assess employer demands and the roles created, offering a comprehensive view of the economic landscape. This dataset enables me to uncover trends and dynamics often obscured by traditional aggregated data sources.

To process and analyze this data, I employ a temporal-contextual machine learning technique (Rosin et al. 2022), which involves fine-tuning a Swedish language model on the job advertisements. By doing so, I can extract valuable insights about labor demand, skill requirements, and emerging trends. This approach utilizes the high-performance computing capabilities of the Kebnekaise supercomputer at Umeå University, enabling the efficient handling of vast amounts of data and complex analyses.

Final Remarks

In conclusion, my research project contributes to the economic geography field by providing an in-depth understanding of labor market transformations in Sweden's

northern coastal regions. The integration of advanced machine learning techniques and high-performance computing infrastructure facilitates the extraction of valuable insights from granular data sources, ultimately supporting informed decision-making and regional development strategies.

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Petrus Garefelt
Dept. of Geography
Umeå University
Sweden
petrus.garefelt@umu.se

Local Processes and Practices of Policy Implementation for Sami Languages

An Ethnographic Study in Administrative Areas for Sami Language in Sweden

Introduction

In 2019, UNESCO proclaimed the year 2022 as the start of the International Decade of Indigenous Languages. The preservation, promotion, and revitalisation of Indigenous languages is central in this decade, as

> [p]eople's ability and freedom to use their chosen language is essential for human dignity, peaceful co-existence, reciprocal action, and for the general wellbeing and sustainable development of society at large. (UNESCO 2021: 5)

Five Indigenous languages are spoken in Sweden. The public sector has been responsible for the protection and promotion of the South, Ume, Pite, Lule and North Sami languages since 2000. That year marked a turning point in Swedish language policy, which until then had been focused on promoting the Swedish language (Hult 2004). Colonial and assimilative policies, including a segregationist educational system and deportations of North Sami speakers to other Sami language areas, created complex cultural contexts in Sápmi (Lantto & Mörkenstam 2008).

Increased mobility in recent decades has led to communities where people have linguistic ties to different Sami languages, which can divide a community. However, shared strong ties to a different, but similar, heritage can unify a community as well and support revitalisation efforts of several Sami languages (Outakoski & Vangsnes 2021: 12). What revitalisation means depends on the context. From a more traditional perspective, language transmission between generations and within a community is seen as a critical factor, and revitalisation efforts are focused on increasing the number of speakers and social domains where a language can be used (cf. Fishman 1991).

Processes and Practices

In this project, local processes and practices of the implementation of policy for Sami languages are analysed using an ethnography of language policy approach (Hornberger & Johnson 2007). The purpose is to explore how identified processes, practices, activities and observed discourses influence policy implementation in a large geographical area where different actors are active and potentially collaborate. The focus is on some of the municipalities that are Sami language administrative areas in Sweden. In such areas, individuals have more language rights and, among other things, the possibility to participate in municipal consultations (Hettema & Outakoski 2020: 8–10).

Observations will provide ethnographic accounts of local processes, practices, and activities, while interviews with local actors will focus on actors' experiences and understandings. Relevant actors can be decision-makers that are not actively involved in the implementation process, civil servants operating within different aspects of this process, actors that interpret and carry out the implementation, and those towards

whom a policy is directed. A critical discourse analysis of the data and policy documents can offer understandings of the recontextualization of language policy, with a focus on language, power, and ideology (Johnson 2011).

The process of policy implementation is affected by a diversity of actors in various contexts. A critical approach is used to investigate how different local actors with diverse roles influence this process, and how the actors influence and relate to each other within the process. Such a critical approach connects to the Indigenous research paradigm, in the sense of contesting power relations, aiming to contribute constructively to the transformation of society, and trying to include the interests of the marginalised and disempowered (Kovach 2018). The theoretical framework is constructed within an ecological approach to language planning, which is based on the idea of creating an ecological balance to maintain cultural diversity by focusing on linguistic diversity and community involvement (Mühlhäusler 2000).

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Lieuwe Jan Hettema
Dept. of Language Studies
Umeå University
Sweden
lieuwe.hettema@umu.se

Language Revitalization Efforts of Meänkieli among Small Children in Sweden

The Arctic language environment is multilingual with several indigenous, minority, and majority languages in everyday use by the Arctic population. While the Sami languages are used transnationally in the Nordic countries, the additional Uralic languages Kven in Norway and Meänkieli in Sweden have only more recently received status as national minority languages in their respective countries. In this project, my focus lies on language policy and planning for Meänkieli, a national minority language in Sweden. Prior to its recognition in 2000 (ECRML 1998), Meänkieli was formally regarded as a variety of Finnish, but Meänkieli as a term has been used locally since the 1980s in the northernmost parts of Sweden (Lainio & Wande 2015). This late recognition may have contributed to a public unawareness of Meänkieli and the minority group among the majority population (ISOF 2020). Meänkieli was used in Sweden long before the border between Sweden and Finland was drawn in 1809 and is thus a part of both the Swedish and the Arctic linguistic ecology.

Although Meänkieli is to some extent in use, contemporary multilingualism among the minority group needs statutory protection and perseverance. Meänkieli has traditionally been a domestically spoken language but today it is used for the most part by older people and is not available to younger generations to any great extent (Valijärvi et al. 2022). In language revitalization studies, language survival is often closely connected to intergenerational mother tongue transmission (Fishman 1991), that is, parents' possibilities to use the language with their children. When this language transmission is compromised, minorities depend on language education to learn and develop their languages. In this project, the focus of interest is the right of children to learn, develop, and use their national minority language in educational settings. The objective is to study the language socialization process of small children in Meänkieli-medium preschools.

In Sweden, the rights of national minorities to learn, develop, and use their national minority languages are stated and regulated in the National Minorities and Minority Languages Act (SFS 2009:724) introduced in 2010, and are further supported in the Swedish Education Act (SFS 2010:800) and the School Ordinance (SFS 2011:185). Municipalities have the responsibility to arrange preschools with Meänkieli as a medium of instruction. This makes preschools available language spaces where language socialization of Meänkieli can take place, which is particularly important to children and their families who do not have access to Meänkieli in their homes.

Educational language policies are essential to language revitalization. By studying the language socialization process of small children in Meänkieli-medium preschools, I intend to provide insights into factors influencing language transmission patterns and how language policies, ideologies and practices impact language socialization processes and outcomes. This knowledge can inform planning strategies that support Meänkieli language revitalization efforts among small children and promote language use and language transmission within the speech community.

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Janica Jokela
Dept. of Language Studies
Umeå University, Sweden
janica.jokela@umu.se

Transformation, Riskification and Geopolitics in the Arctic

Introduction

The current political landscape in the Arctic is strongly shaped by three major drivers. On the one hand there is the *ecological* aspect. The face of the Arctic is changing drastically and rising temperatures caused by climate change appear to be more grave in the high north than anywhere else in the world (cf. Norwegian Polar Institute 2023), which leads to rapidly melting ice and permafrost—which in turn exacerbates the global climate crises. The dwindling Arctic ice, however, is also arousing tremendous *economic interests* and concerns that drive politics in the region—and globally. Considerations around new trade routes, natural resources in the grounds of the Arctic Ocean and the necessity of renewable energies in the light of a changing climate affect political reasoning. Closely connected to the economic interests is the last driver: *Geopolitics*. A good part of researchers takes a neorealistic stance arguing, that the geostrategic importance of the region paired with a (seasonally) ice-free Arctic Ocean will inevitably lead to states trying to substantiate their claims to the riches of the Arctic by military force. Liberalists on the other hand argue that a military conflict in the region is unlikely as states always have the option to choose the rule of law instead of force. With all major regional collaborative forums put on a halt after the unjust war in Ukraine—and Russia's total disregard for international laws—it remains to be seen how states will react.

While all three drivers—and other issues—have been subject to intensive research, discussions within security studies have been dominated by the geopolitical side, whereby the theoretical debate on the likelihood of armed conflict in the Arctic has overshadowed almost every other approach to the issue. The project "Transformation, Riskification and Geopolitics in the Arctic" seeks to propose a new way to look at contemporary challenges the region faces. It tries to look beyond existing dichotomies and mere theoretical debates.

A Tale of Actors, Risks, Threats and Interwovenness

The Arctic is faced with manifold challenges, of which most go beyond military conflicts and traditional security concerns. Especially in the context of aforementioned drivers, dangers appear to be strongly interwoven and multilayered, creating the risk of polycrises (cf. World Economic Forum 2023: 9). The resulting complexity leads to uncertainty and thus to the absence of adequate responses to urgent questions. The world, for example, is in dire need of renewable and green energy which China appears to be willing to deploy, but the People's Republic's close relationship with Russia deters western costumers as fears remain that China will use energy supply as means to exert political pressure. Foreign investments and technologies (such as the investment in a wind park in northern Sweden by China) are thus under scrutiny and often framed as a danger. This is but one example of the interwovenness and complexity of modern dangers.

But who is turning issues into dangers? What even is a danger? And how can we prepare for them? By utilizing securitization (quite recently also framed as threatifi-

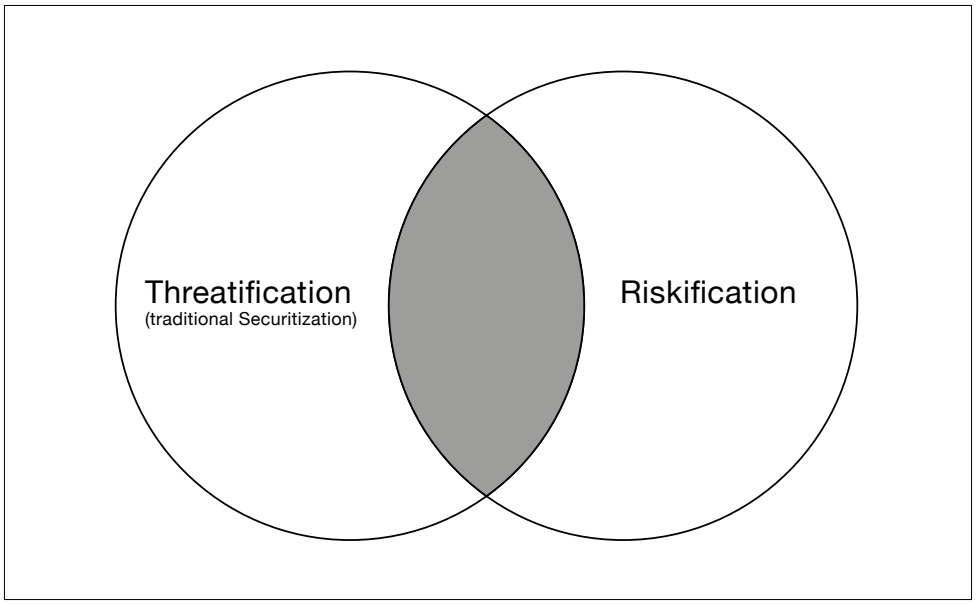

Fig. 1. The Grey Zone within Securitization Continuum.

cation) and riskification theory the project seeks to answer these questions in order to make sense of the multilayered complexity of reinforcing crises. The theories describe how specific actors turn issues into either a threat (that will cause direct harm to a valued referent object) or into a risk (that may cause harm to a governance object) (cf. Corry 2012) in order to legitimize exceptional or precautionary measures to an audience. Some scholars suggest to see both theories as part of a securitization continuum wherein both intersect (cf. Söder 2023: 3). The project seeks to contribute to this growing literature by analyzing the grey area that lies within the intersect of the continuum (see Fig. 1). It will furthermore try to overcome some of the shortcomings that seem inherent to securitization theory. As, even though actors and audiences are at the very heart of it, they remain strongly underexamined even after riskification was introduced—in fact it has gotten more complicated as riskification can be conducted by a broader range of actors such as risk scientists or even insurance companies.

Looking at different actors at different levels (regional, national, and international) and within the multilayered drivers of Arctic change, the project will focus on the question with whom the interpretative sovereignty to determine what a danger is lies now—especially in regard to new technologies and changing audiences due to mass media. It will furthermore look at the performative effects (measures) following a riskification/threatification in the hope to contribute to surmounting and understanding the complex challenges of our time.

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Paul Schmidt
Dept. of Political Science
Umeå University
Sweden
paul.schmidt@umu.se

Are You Feeling Cold at Work?

It should be noted that the majority of cold-related mortality […]
occurs already at milder suboptimal temperatures.
(Ikäheimo et al. 2021: 200)

The Concept of Cold

Ambient cold climate is sometimes defined as a temperature below +10–15°C, or when a person has cold-related symptoms (BS 7915:1998; ISO 15743:2008; Mäkinen & Hassi 2009: 207). Looking at the yearly temperatures around the world, one third of all countries would thereby be considered cold (Trading Economics 2023). Thus, billions of people are exposed to cold daily, especially in the wintertime. If we include people working in cold storages and with cold objects, a couple of million people could be added to the overall number (Ikäheimo et al. 2021: 3).

For our human body to function normally, the core temperature needs to be around 37 °C (give or take 1°C) (Ikäheimo et al. 2021: 2; Stocks et al. 2004: 444). Even though the human body can regulate its own temperature, external factors such as climate, clothing insulation and activity play a major part in how we can manage to maintain our body heat (Hassi et al. 2002).

When we are exposed to cold, cooling-related physiological responses occur, specifically targeted to preserve our core body temperature, resulting in system-specific symptoms such as respiratory, musculoskeletal, or cardiovascular symptoms (Ikäheimo et al. 2021: 10). Frostbite, hypothermia, slips, and falls are all associated with cold exposure (Mäkinen & Hassi 2009: 209). Hence, not all cold-related symptoms are physiological. Exposure to cold also affects our cognitive performance, attitudes, and comfort, which in turn, changes our behaviour, movements, and productivity (Ikäheimo et al. 2021: 10).

However, cold is not as straightforward as just temperature, since each person's physiological response will differ depending on external factors such as wind and moist, but also internal factors such as age, gender, fitness, body size, health and acclimatization (Hassi et al. 2002; Stocks et al. 2004: 447). Depending on what you are used to, where you live, and where you were born, the experience of cold becomes more or less extreme. This makes the concept of cold very complex.

Cold Exposure at Work

Exposure to cold is a world-wide issue, especially in arctic and subarctic climates, not just in everyday life, but also at work. Every day, billions of workers are exposed to cold, increasing their risk for adverse health effects. Cold stress and tissue cooling, together with decreasing performance, are common outcomes of cold exposure in occupational settings (Hassi et al. 2002; Holmér 2009; Mäkinen & Hassi 2009: 208). Thus, obvious occupational areas such as construction work, cold storage work, military operations, farming, and fishing are not the only ones where people are exposed to cold. People working in less obvious areas, such as postal services, child and elderly care, food preparation, and law enforcement are also faced with daily cold exposure. In Sweden, one eighth of all work-related injuries are due to temperature and weather conditions (Arbetsmiljöverket 2022: 35), making protection against cold one of the key solutions to this problem (Ikäheimo et al. 2021: 23).

Legislations and international standards, as outlined by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO), regarding risk assessment of cold exposure at work, exist to some extent (Holmér 2009; Mäkinen & Hassi 2002: 216), and usage would serve multiple purposes such as survival, reduction of adverse health effects, increased performance, efficiency, and productivity, and the maintenance of comfort (Holmér 1993: 149). Unfortunately, documentation of the usage, implementation and evaluation are lacking, potentially leaving the workforce vulnerable to adverse health risks from cold exposure.

What Will I Do?

An overarching purpose of my project is to expand the knowledge on how cold-related adverse health effects at work can be managed. The project will be exploring and interpreting subjective and objective experiences of cold exposure at work and current risk management and preventive measures regarding cold exposure in occupational settings. The thesis will lay a foundation for further development of the risk assessment tool based on the ISO 15743:2008 for a sustainable work life in arctic regions.

To achieve this, firstly, a scoping review of current cold risk management research will be conducted. The aim is to review the current knowledge about cold exposure and preventive risk management and risk assessment methods for different effects in an occupational setting. If possible, the review will also describe differences between male- and female-dominated occupational sectors, tasks, and settings.

In the second, third and fourth papers, I will work closely together with different companies in the Västerbotten and Norrbotten counties, Sweden, where employees are exposed to cold in their everyday work. The cold exposure of employees will be investigated by technical and subjective measurements through temperature loggers and physical activity, as well as questionnaires based on previous research, namely Cold and Health in Northern Sweden (CHINS), the Potential Work Exposure Scale (PWES), and the Cold Work Health Questionnaire (Annex D) in the ISO 15743:2008.

Documentations of current risk management protocols will be collected from the workplaces together with semi-structured interviews regarding exposure experience and preventive actions. Health and discomfort questionnaires will be collected to fully grasp and understand the complexity of cold exposure at work, and how risk management tools could be used and developed in the future.

With my thesis, I am hoping to capture subjective experiences of cold exposure in occupational settings, technical measurements of current exposure, possible gender differences, preventive measures known and used, and hopefully be able to further the knowledge about cold exposure at work. By preventing cold exposure, we will not only prevent adverse health effects, but also increase the knowledge of how we can achieve a sustainable working life.

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Rebecca Tapper
Dept. of Public Health and Clinical Medicine
Umeå University
Sweden
rebecca.tapper@umu.se

Choose Your Poison

Metal Contamination or Climate Change

With the advent of the green energy transition, there has been an increased need for clean energy technologies, which are greatly mineral intensive. Moreover, the European Union has increased its targets for mineral self-sufficiency sixfold by 2050 (IEA 2022; SGU 2022). The most needed metals in high volumes are copper, nickel, zinc, and lithium (IEA 2022), all of which are highly prevalent in the Swedish bedrock (SGU 2022). As such, Sweden's mining industry will play an important role during this transition. While metal mining is critical to the Swedish economy and the ongoing energy transition, the industry has incontestable environmental costs that are a global concern.

Direct environmental impacts of metal mining include the transport of toxic metal contaminants (i.e., arsenic, lead, mercury) through wet and dry deposition, the oxidization of metal waste (acid mine drainage), loss of biodiversity, and sediment build-up in nearby waterbodies. In aquatic ecosystems, these environmental impacts have compounding effects. For example, aquatic biodiversity loss inhibits important ecosystem functions, and acid mine drainage makes metal ions more water soluble, and greatly reduces water quality (Hogsden & Harding 2012). Some of these direct impacts, such as acid mine drainage, have been documented to persist for over a century (Fischer et al. 2020). The indirect impacts of mining are, however, much less understood. For example, physical changes in lake morphology due to increased mining-derived sediment build-up may have indirect, yet persisting, ecological effects that could influence overall toxicity. Thus, how these indirect changes reshape lake habitats and subsequently influence biological activity and communities is largely unknown.

Despite the clear and toxic environmental impacts, the metal ore mined in Sweden today has only a fraction of the carbon footprint and environmental impact than that of foreign-mined metal ore (SveMin n.d.). This is attributable to Sweden's robust and strong current environmental legislation, the Environmental Code 1999. Prior to the introduction of this Code, hundreds of mines operated and closed without stringent environmental regulations and without any obligation to remediate the mine sites (Naturvårdsverket 2019). Many, if not most, of these closed and abandoned mine sites, are unmonitored and may be a huge environmental hazard, because they may be continuously leaching metals and wreaking havoc on surrounding ecosystems.

Current monitoring efforts are carried out by the respective mining company and the state, usually the country administrative board. These efforts are responsible for limiting the spread of metal contaminants and ensuring the preservation of the environment. With regards to lakes specifically, modern-day monitoring efforts may be inadequately diagnosing the ecological status of metal-impacted lakes. Not only do monitoring efforts today neglect the indirect impacts of metal mining, they also predominantly use indices that were designed to measure the impact of acidification (acidic pollution) and eutrophication (nutrient pollution), and not specifically metal pollution. Therefore, before the mining renaissance in northern Sweden commences, monitoring efforts must be sufficiently sensitive to detect both the direct and indirect environmental impacts in Swedish lakes. This is especially true of the

northernmost Swedish lakes that are already vulnerable to arctic amplification and climate change.

This doctoral thesis aims to first disentangle how metal mining in northern Sweden indirectly impacts lake ecosystems. The study will investigate the link between how the direct and indirect impacts of metal mining jointly influence lake biological activity. The outcome of these results will be used to capture the effects of metal distribution on a temporal gradient and to develop tailored monitoring methods that provide a combined insight into the biological, terrestrial, physiological, and metal compartments. The study is carried out by Maria Camila Urrea (doctoral student) under the supervision of Åsa Berglund (associate professor).

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Maria Camila Urrea
Dept. of Ecology and Environmental Science
Umeå University
Sweden
maria.camila.urrea@umu.se

Sensing Tomorrow

Curious Taste for Cultivated Diversity amongst Adolescents in the Swedish Arctic

Environmental sustainability and human diets are tightly linked. During the last few decades, the diversity in human diets has declined, marginalizing the importance of local, traditional, and wild foods in many parts of the world. Further, the global food system is the primary cause of biodiversity loss (Willet et al. 2019). In a transition towards a more sustainable food system, there is a need to highlight local crop varieties. Local crop varieties that have not been subjected to modern breeding programs are commonly referred to as landraces. They generally possess intra-species genetic variations and contribute to the cultivated diversity, which is valuable in creating resilient food systems. Moreover, it is suggested that landraces can offer a unique range of flavors (Westling 2022). The food generally provided by modern agriculture tends to be uniform and does not offer great sensory variation. Yet, sensory variation through cultivated diversity is relevant to allow for culinary utility, thus offering gastronomic potential (Westling 2022). The variety of culinary and sensory experiences, combined with the social and physiological circumstances in which these take place, are important factors in the process of establishing eating habits and preferences during childhood (Reverdy 2011).

The present dissertation project takes place in the Swedish Arctic and aims to investigate how a transition towards sustainable food choices can be facilitated amongst adolescents in this area. This will be addressed through use, and co-creation, of activities that stimulate the exploration and expression of sensory experiences, using a local variety of barley as the case.

In the Swedish Arctic, barley, *Hordeum vulgare*, is a common crop that has been of historical importance for the local food supply. Today, it is mainly grown as animal fodder. The landrace variety named *Acanthus* has its origin in Västerbotten in the north of Sweden. It is currently not commercially produced, but enhanced consumption and production of it could contribute to local food system resilience in the Swedish Arctic. This implies, however, that its sensory properties, such as flavors and textures, might be unfamiliar and have to become appreciated.

Previous research indicates that amongst younger children, creative sense-stimulating interaction with food can contribute to enhanced curiosity for novel food. Sensory education through the methods of *Sapere* and*Classes du Goût* are examples of this (Reverdy 2011). Another example is a study that suggests engagement of children, aged 8–13, in sensory evaluations to explore intraspecific biodiversity in tomatoes, to formulate their own sensory research questions about tomatoes, and conduct experiments to test their hypothesis (Alfonso et al. 2021). The results showed increased liking and willingness to try tomato. The authors suggest this to derive from the experimental process in which the children engaged with the tomatoes using all their senses, as well as from the practical engagements in evaluating the tomatoes and the participation in the act of planning and conducting experiments.

Research concerning the use of food-related sensory engagements amongst older children and adolescents is scarce, and research that involves adolescents as participants in designing activities for sensory engagement and curiosity seems to be absent.

Fig. 1. Sensing smell. Photo: Hilde Weiser 2019.

For this research, it is valuable to explore what happens in the moment of sensory engagement (see Fig. 1 for an example of a moment for sensory engagement), to understand its role in allowing for sensory curiosity and what significance this could have for adolescents' food choices. Research in the field of design has used co-design process and explorative lab sessions to explore experiences of structure and texture through all the senses (Akner-Koler & Ranjbar 2016). This emphasized haptic and tactile perceptions and allowed the senses to attend to different qualities of the mate-

rial. Similarly, self-awareness of the body as well as of the sensations is a central aspect in the methods of sensory education through *Classes du Goût* (Reverdy 2011).

To address the main aim of this project, four partial studies are planned to be conducted. The first study will compile previous research in a literature review focusing on current practices and outcomes of food related participatory processes with adolescents. Secondly and thirdly, sensory evaluations of different preparations of *Acanthus* are planned to be done with a panel of adolescents, while simultaneously conducting observations focusing on their sensory engagements. Through this, sensory descriptions for, liking of, and perceptions about, different preparations of *Acanthus* can be obtained. Additionally, it can allow for an exploration of the meaning and expression of sensory curiosity through sensory engagement. These studies seek to investigate sensory engagements and sensory curiosity as contributing factors to sustainable food choices. In the last study, the sensory evaluations will be further developed into sensory activities co-designed with adolescents. This aspires to add the aspect of participation, embodiment, and agency to the exploration of sensory curiosity and sensory engagement, in order to further understand how this can impact sustainable food choices.

Developing concepts together with adolescents to encourage curiosity for foods that support local food system resilience can be an important contribution to the strive for a sustainable food system in the Swedish Arctic.

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Hilde Weiser
Dept. of Food, Nutrition, and Culinary Science
Umeå University
Sweden
hilde.weiser@umu.se

Media Discourses of a Sustainable Swedish North

Journalism, Places and Practices in Transition

The climate crisis entails some of the greatest challenges of present times. In the wake of the crisis, there are ongoing processes of a so-called green re-industrialisation in the northern parts of Sweden. Up to SEK 1,1 billion is to be invested in the development of basic industries, such as mining and steel production, in order to reduce their substantial carbon emissions. The goal is for the industries to become fossil-free. Access to important natural resources and the availability of relatively cheap renewable electricity in the Swedish North are factors that have been pointed out as answers as to why these processes and investments are occurring now (Larsson 2022).

The reindustrialisation also entails broader societal challenges. One major issue is the need for a larger workforce in industries and the public sector in the northern communities, which in turn requires a larger population and thus migration both within Sweden and from abroad. A rapidly growing population also puts pressure on the northern communities, regional or local governance, including the social sector, and services like healthcare, schools, and housing. The environmental, financial, social, and cultural impact on indigenous Sami communities are equally critical issues. The re-industrialisation relates to historical and present debates about the Swedish North and colonial ideas of exploitation of land and resources (Sörlin 1988; Eriksson 2010). The current transition is, at least partly, motivated by a "green" national narrative. The so-called green re-industrialisation and the societal transitions are complex and permeate multiple dimensions of society, if not all.

News media play an important democratic role (Nygren 2019). Both national and regional/local media provide important societal information to citizens and decision-makers. During the last few decades, the prerequisites, structures, and produc-

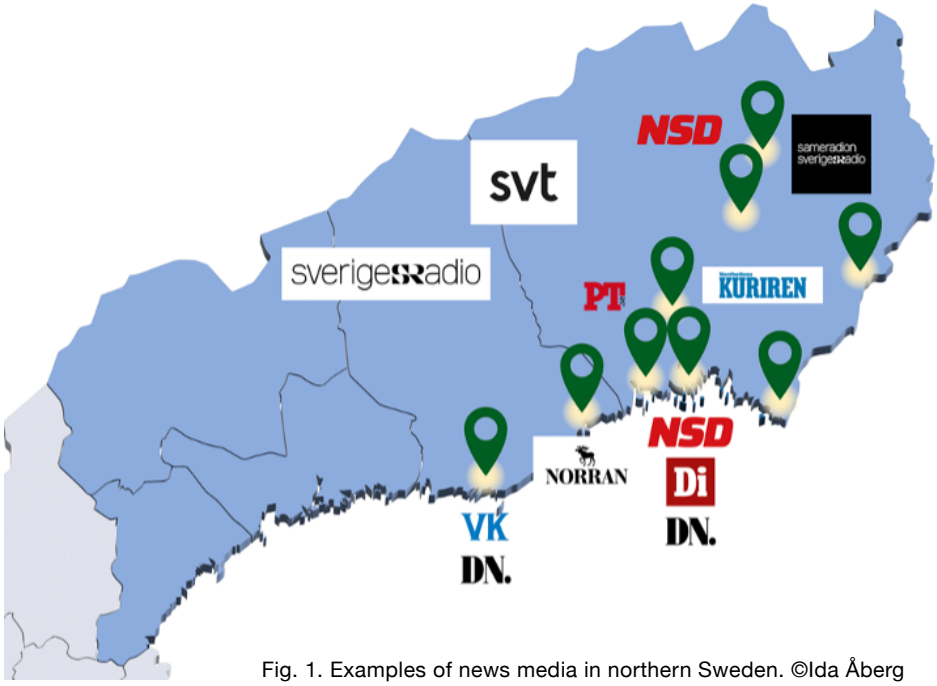

Fig. 1. Examples of news media in northern Sweden. ©Ida Åberg

tion of news have changed massively, and the ongoing and growing importance of the Internet and social media has changed information flows and economic structures, creating both opportunities and challenges for traditional media and news production in the present media ecology (Schäfer & Painter 2021). In a Swedish context, these challenges have led to closings of local newsrooms during the 2000s (Wallentin 2020) and news lacking local anchorage (Nygren & Nord 2019). However, it also seems that there has been a break in this trend in the last couple of years (Wallentin 2021). There are recent examples of media outlets that have invested in opening local newsrooms, for example in the Swedish North (see Fig. 1). News media is still one of the most widely used sources for information about the climate and climate change, and are therefore important actors in providing knowledge about, and understanding of, a changing climate (Schäfer & Painter 2021). Research on media and the climate has mostly consisted of studies of national media, and knowledge about climate and environmental issues in regional or local news media is largely missing (Egan Sjölander 2021).

The aim of this project is to study media discourses of the Swedish North, and the places, people and actors that are pointed out as central in the ongoing so-called green industrial transition. Furthermore, part of the aim of the project is to explore and critically examine the media industry's role, both on the national and the regional/local level, in contributing to transformation processes when it comes to creating more sustainable and just communities. Consideration of the heterogeneity of the Swedish North is an important context in the project, and stereotypical representations will be problematized.

The overarching theoretical and methodological framework of the project is discourse analytical (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). News media content will be studied to investigate how stories of a rapidly changing North get told, and which voices get heard. Using discourse analysis, dominant discourses and themes, central actors and places in the news media material will be identified, as well as how they are connected and positioned in relation to each other. To broaden the perspectives identified in news media, media ecologies of broadcast and social media will also be explored with a view to finding out how a larger network of actors interact and relate to each other. Furthermore, interviews with journalists will be conducted, aimed at exploring the media industry's role in impacting transition processes for creating more sustainable and just communities. Important questions like if, and how, journalistic practices and prerequisites affect discourses on the so-called green transition will also be studied in this project.

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Mikaela Wikström
Dept. of Culture and Media Studies
Umeå University
Sweden
mikaela.wikstrom@umu.se

Reviews

Book review editor: Lars-Erik Edlund, Dept. of Language Studies,
Umeå university, SE-901 87 Umeå, Sweden
Tel. +46-(0)90-786 7887
E-mail: lars-erik.edlund@umu.se

Dansk editionshistorie, editor-in-chief: Johnny Kondrup. *Volume 1, Udgivelse af græsk og latinsk litteratur*, edited by Christian Troelsgård with participation of David Bloch, 851 pp.; *Volume 2, Udgivelse af norrøn og gammeldansk litteratur*, edited by Britta Olrik Frederiksen, 896 pp.; *Volume 3, Udgivelse af dansk litteratur*, edited by Johnny Kondrup, 767 pp.; *Volume 4, Litteraturlister og registre*, 421 pp.—Volume 1–4: Charlottenlund: Museum Tusculanums Forlag 2021, ISBN 9788763546843.

This four-volume work comprising nearly 3,000 printed pages is the outcome of a cross-disciplinary project aimed at producing a survey of academic editions published in Denmark or by Danish researchers from the introduction of the art of printing around 1500 until today. "Danish" in the title refers to the institutional setting of the editions, i.e., the publishing houses and societies involved in the publishing work, but the publishers may also be of other nationalities, or Danes who have published editions in other countries. The project, which was financed by the Velux Foundations and involved a total of 26 researchers, was conducted between 2011 and 2016 and concluded in 2021 with the publication of the four volumes reported here. History of editing (Dan. *editionshistorie*) is a relatively new research field aimed at describing publishing activities *per se*, as well as their specific aims, methods, results and institutions. To my knowledge, this is the first time a work of such a wide scope has been presented in the field of history of editing, which makes it a pioneering effort. As the publishing principles chosen by a publisher set the parameters for the work of literature researchers, it is important to look in more detail at the principles the publishers chose to use, and to analyse them. *Dansk editionshistorie* provides ample opportunities to view editions from different times from this perspective.

Johnny Kondrup, professor of Nordic literature at the University of Copenhagen and co-editor and co-publisher of *Søren Kirkegaards Skrifter* and *Grundtvigs Værker,* is editor-in-chief of the work, and he deserves praise for having led this major project and brought it to a successful conclusion. By his side were the multi-faceted Nordic scholar Britta Olrik Frederiksen of Det Arnamagnæanske Institut/Arnamagnæanske Samling, Latinist and Doctor of Byzantine music research Christian Troelsgård, and David Bloch, professor of Greek and Latin, both of the University of Copenhagen.

This review will be mainly focused on the second volume, which treats of West Nordic and Danish medieval literature, but the other volumes will of course also be addressed. In Volume 1, editions from around 1500 to the 2010s are treated of. The

reader is presented with an account of Greek and Latin literature which includes classical texts, but also works in Latin from the Middle Ages onwards. The editor of this volume is Christian Troelsgård, assisted by David Bloch. After a general introduction to the entire work—which includes preparatory work, theoretical starting points and delimitations, and which should be read in order to get an understanding of the project's starting points—follows a chapter by Troelsgård and Bloch containing sections on, among other things, Latin and Danish in the book culture, manuscripts and manuscript culture, typographic book culture and publishing practises, what publishing work can look like in practice, and available aids and tools. This is followed by an in-depth account of five centuries of publishing activities, compiled by several researchers in addition to Troelsgård and Bloch, namely Klaus Alpers, Ivan Boserup, Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, Sten Ebbesen, Markus Hedemann, Anders Leegaard Knudsen, Fritz Saaby Pedersen, and Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, all of whom have excellent qualifications in the classical field.

The main impression one gets from the Danish editions of Greek and Latin literature is that Danish publishers have always been strongly influenced by experts from other countries. There are, however, also important Danish contributions. First and foremost, these include the efforts of Johan Nicolai Madvig and his disciples involving textual criticism, theoretical as well as practical. These can be read about in several contributions by, among others, Ivan Boserup (on Madvig and classical-philosophical text publication), the author duo David Bloch and Sten Ebbesen (on Madvig and Cicero's *Om afgrænsning af goder og onder*) and Christian Troelsgård (on Johan Ludvig Heiberg's editions on Greek natural science).

In particular, one chapter in Volume 1 leaves one wanting more, namely that containing a special study of five centuries of publication of Saxo's Danish History (vol. 1, pp. 797–848). The study is compiled by Troelsgård, and through concrete examples, it provides enlightening insights into various practical and theoretical considerations made in Danish history of editing over time. A great deal more could be said about Volume 1, but the above "teasers" will have to do.

The second volume is devoted to editions of West Nordic and Danish medieval literature; I shall return to it below.

The third volume is edited by the editor-in-chief, Johnny Kondrup, and treats of editions of Danish literature during a five-hundred-year period from about 1500 onwards. Initially, various philological issues are taken up by the editor, who writes about new philology, the establishment of stemmas, text errors, paper, inks, writing tools, electronic editions, and many other things. Next follow comprehensive chapters on the publication of Danish literature during three different periods, authored by Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen (1495–1800), Per Dahl (1800–1900) and Johnny Kondrup (1900–2018). Initially, there were relatively few works to write about, but over time the number of publications increased, and a selection was then made by the authors. In the section dealing with the period after 1900, there are well-informed and detailed accounts of editions of H.C. Andersen's, Ludvig Holberg's, Søren Kirkegaard's and N.F.S. Grundtvig's writings, and in some cases also of their letters and diaries. Moreover, a thorough presentation is given of *Samfundet til den danske Literaturs Fremme*, *Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund* and *Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab,* the societies which have been the mainstay of the publication activities.

In Volume 3, there are also three special studies on the publication of *folkeviser* ['folk songs'], hymn books and historical sources. An overview of Danish *folkeviser* and their publication tradition during the period 1591–2018 is presented by Vibeke A. Pedersen, where, for example, the magnum opus *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser,* published by Svend Grundtvig et al. (1853–1976) is brought to the fore, together with *Føroya Kvæði. Corpus Carminum Færoensium*, published by N. Djurhuus, Chr. Matras, Michael Chesnutt et al. (1944–2003). Although the publication of hymn books primarily serves a practical purpose, it also involves interesting issues concerning canonisation. The special study on hymn books was compiled by Peter Balslev-Clausen. The third special study in Volume 3, authored by Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, deals with the publication of Danish historical sources. In this contribution, we find publications from the Renaissance and onwards, and learn a great deal about the development of the professionalisation and organisation of the publishing work during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through the efforts of *Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab*, *Den danske historiske Forening*, *Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie/Kildeskriftselskabet* and *Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab.*

The fourth and last volume contains bibliographies and indexes relating to the previous three volumes. The bibliographies are linked to the different chapters in Volumes 1–3, and here, too, we find extensive amounts of text: more than 400 tightly printed, two-column pages containing sections on sources, editions and secondary literature; in a few cases, there is also a section on translations. In addition, the volume includes comprehensive indexes of persons and a subject index. The latter index is a mine of information. It contains references to the various places in the volumes where there are accounts of inks, diaries, dialects, colophons, lacunae, OCR-scanning, seals, XML, and a plethora of other things. Some index entries, for example *tekstfejl*, also list related phenomena such as *hørefejl*, *læsefejl*, *novationer*, *skrivefejl* and *trykfejl*.

I will now turn my attention to Volume 2, which, as was mentioned above, is the focus of this review. It is the most extensive volume in this suite with its nearly 900 pages. The editor is Britta Olrik Frederiksen, and in addition to her, another seven authors have contributed to the volume, which treats of Old Icelandic, Old Norse, Old Danish and Old Scanian texts from the introduction of the art of printing up until around 2015. Translations of Old Icelandic texts into Scandinavian languages are included only if a translation is contained in an edition together with the original text.

The very informative introductory text, authored by Matthew Driscoll and Britta Olrik Frederiksen, gives the reader an overview of the current manuscript collection and provides a general framing for the volume's content. The starting point is set to 800, as Denmark's runic inscriptions have been included. Then follow texts from the Old Danish period up until 1515, Old Norwegian ones up to around 1370, and texts from Old Icelandic literature up until around 1550 (vol. 2, pp. 17–19).

This introduction is followed by a chapter by Gottskálk Jensson on editions from Old Danish times up until 1772, the year when *Den Arnamagnæanske Kommission* was established. An account is given of Árni Magnússon's extensive activities as a collector of Icelandic manuscripts and his great interest in the source value of the manuscripts. However, it is noted that he did not publish a great deal himself (vol. 2, pp. 88–96, et passim); interestingly, Árni Magnússon was greatly inspired by the

source critical trend in the French school of history of the time. The setting up of *Den Arnamagnæanske Kommission* resulted in a strong institutional framework for the publication activities.

The period from 1772 up to 1879, the year when *Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur* was founded, is dealt with by Ragnheiður Mósesdóttir and Gottskálk Jensson. In her part of the chapter, Ragnheiður Mósesdóttir gives an account of various publishers, publication societies and editions, while Gottskálk Jensson describes the publishing activities from a broader history of learning perspective (vol. 2, pp. 160–213). It is interesting to note the conflicts that exist between editions seeking to reconstruct an original text on the basis of several different manuscript sources, and editions which present the same text exactly as it appears in one particular manuscript. Some publishers advocate texts rendered in normalised and readable editions, while others prefer literal editions, which of course are less easily accessible for people outside the circle of experts (vol. 2, pp. 215–216).

The next chapter is authored by Matthew Driscoll and deals with the period from 1879 to 1936. This half-century is an extraordinarily prolific period in terms of the number of scholarly editions—some one hundred Norse text editions were published during this period (vol. 2, pp. 215–216). Among many other things, we find in this chapter two of the key persons in the publishing activities at the time, Finnur Jónsson (vol. 2, pp. 216–221, et passim) and Kristian Kålund (vol. 2, pp. 221–223). Finnur Jónsson was very productive and published a large number of Old Norse texts during his career. However, it is mentioned that he worked very fast and that his publishing practices could be described as being a bit wayward; it is stated several times in the volume that his editions contain obvious flaws. Kålund's two-volume catalogue of the arnamagnæan manuscripts (1889–1894) is an important work.

In the next chapter, Odd Einar Haugen and Jonna Louis-Jensen treat of publishing activities during the period from 1936 to 2015. Here we find, not least, Jón Helgason's important work (vol. 2, pp. 320–326, 331–335, 343–362, 366–373, et passim). During this period, the foundations were laid for the book series *Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana* and *Editiones Arnamagnæanæ*, and a great amount of work was devoted to facsimile editions in the series *Corpus codicum Islandicorum medii aevi*, *Manuscripta Islandica*, *Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile* and *Manuscripta Nordica*. The latter editions contain thorough introductions which in many cases also include descriptions of the manuscripts. This is the multi-faceted content of the first main part of the second volume.

The second main part in volume 2 treats of editions of Old Danish literature. The first chapter is authored by Marita Akhøj Nielsen and deals with the publishing activities up until 1825, while the second one, by Britta Olrik Frederiksen, treats of the period 1825–2015. Among many other things in Akhøj Nielsen's chapter, one notes what is written about Ole Worm's achievements in connection with the publication of texts from *Codex Runicus* (1642) (vol. 2, pp. 499–503), and the section on Peder Kofod Ancher's editions of Danish medieval laws (1769–1783), which are carefully crafted for the time, and which also contain several text critical comments (vol. 2, pp. 517–525).

The following chapter, authored by Olrik Frederiksen, is extensive, running to no less than 270 pages! Initially, we meet here the pioneer Christian Molbech and his

work (vol. 2, pp. 541–555) and are given an account of editing projects by *Det nordiske Literatur-Samfund* (vol. 2, pp. 555 ff.) and the above-mentioned *Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur* (vol. 2, pp. 586 ff.). In 1879, *Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund* was founded at the University of Copenhagen. With these publishers in place, an extensive publishing activity was secured. Moreover, *Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab* was established in 1911, which ensured high-quality publications through scholars such as Lis Jacobsen and others. A publication of *Danmarks gamle Landskabslove* is on the agenda of the latter society (vol. 2, pp. 636–665). This project was very challenging in view of the very large number of law manuscripts and the complex interrelationships between them, which were very difficult to get to grips with. This has resulted in all but impenetrable set of notes. Having read the section describing the arduous work on the provincial laws, which runs to no less than 30 pages, one cannot help feeling sympathy for the editors involved in this difficult work. Other publishing projects undertaken by *Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab* are *Danmarks gamle Ordsprog*, *Danske Folkebøger* and *Middelalderens danske Bønnebøger*. At the end of the chapter is an account of the current state of Danish edition philology.

Volume 2 is concluded with two special studies. Gottskálk Jensson writes about the very interesting publishing work carried on at the printing works of the episcopal see in Skálholt in 1688–1690, where Old Icelandic texts were published in editions apparently intended for Icelanders. His study is certainly well-worth reading, but I cannot help feeling that it does not really have a self-evident place in a work on Danish history of editing. In the second special study, Anna Mette Hansen deals with the publication of *Middelalderens danske Bønnebøger.* The study provides the reader with intimate insights into the actual publishing process.

Summing up my impressions of the four volumes, I can say that that *Dansk Editionshistorie* is undoubtedly an impressive work, filled to the brim with factual information on just about every aspect of the field, not least in the comprehensive notes. The researchers behind these volumes describe the field by systematically mapping editions and the work of publishers over time. Inevitably, a particular theme treated of in one volume sometimes reappears in another volume. Most of the time, this does not get in the way of the reading experience, but very occasionally, such as in the case of the older editions of Danish literature, which are treated of in both Volume 2 and 3, there are some overlaps which could perhaps have been avoided. There are also certain digressions which are presented more *en passant*. This has a certain charm and undeniably enhances the value of the presentations, but sometimes it makes an already extensive presentation even longer—even unnecessarily long, to be frank. Perhaps a stricter editorial principle could have shortened such presentations. The sections that deal with the individual publishing companies and societies are often based on extensive primary material that the authors have analysed in detail, which is an admirable effort, and the illustrations taken from various editions enhance the value of the presentations. The various special studies provide important in-depth information which concretises and problematises the field of history of editing. This lifts the work beyond the level of a handbook—the special study in Volume 1 treating of Saxo's Danish History is a gem in this respect.

The publication of this four-volume work on Danish history of editing is a very important and most welcome event. As I said above, it is a pioneering work. Research-

ers have been presented with a valuable reference work which can be used for all kinds of future study involving older Nordic texts.

Lars-Erik Edlund
Dept. of Language Studies
Umeå University
Sweden
lars-erik.edlund@umu.se

Peter R. Dawes, *Expedition Relics from High Arctic Greenland. Eight Decades of Exploration History Told through 102 Objects*, [Chicago]: Museum Tusculanum Press/University of Chicago Press, [2022], ISBN 9788763546867, 509 pp.

When I agreed to review this book, I had not read the publication details very closely and expected a book that makes an accessible and "light" read for a general audience on the exploration history of Greenland, along the lines of other "history through objects" books that have become quite popular lately. The book that I received was something quite different and having read it, I am not entirely sure what to make of it.

The history of Greenland and its western explorations is certainly a fascinating topic. This book focuses specifically on the very northernmost part of Greenland, a strip of land from northern Baffin Bay to Peary Land. A plethora of photographs and other illustrations throughout the book are nothing short of marvelous and highly evocative of a far northern land with icy landscapes, explorers venturing into remote lands and the local indigenous people. The book is divided into four chapters: 1) "Introduction, geopolitics and scope," 2) "Prehistoric and historic sites, and their artefacts," 3) "Nineteen expeditions and the artefact collects," and 4) "A tribute to the Inuit and their dog sledges."

The author is an emeritus geology researcher with a keen interest in Greenland's exploration history who has worked in Greenland for decades. In Chapter 1, he provides an extensive account of how and why he embarked on the present project. At the heart of *Expedition Relics* is a collection of 102 objects associated with nineteen expeditions operating in northernmost Greenland between 1853 and 1934. These objects were randomly and casually collected between 1965 and 2001 by scientists working in northernmost Greenland. In effect, Dawes sets out to document, contextualize and provide a background to this collection ahead of its planned deposition in the Greenland National Museum and Archives.

The book is large-sized and heavy in weight, and it is also heavy in content, but not necessarily in a good sense. I genuinely appreciate the effort and passion that the author has put into this project, and I can see that the book is a useful resource for some purposes and that there are readers who will undoubtedly take delight in its rich content. However, I was struggling with *Expedition Relics* for several reasons. My main problem was that while there is a *lot* of text in this book, I did not find the text very engaging at all. It is certainly informative as far as the histories of Greenland expeditions and the sites associated with them go, and, indeed, the descriptions of

the relevant sites and their histories in Chapter 2 are my favourite part of the book. In general, however, the main body of the text is quite descriptive, basically just a collation of historical information presented in a very straightforward and conventional historicizing manner, in the form of lists of events, people, dates etc. In effect, much of the text comes across as simple "fact collecting" (as a colleague of mine likes to put it), which is an approach often taken by hobbyist historians.

I have no doubt that there are readers who like history books written in this manner, but I find such treatises difficult to read and rather uninteresting, even though, once again, *Expedition Relics* engages with its exciting subject matter, and it certainly also has many curious and intriguing bits to it. Overall, however, I did not find this book to be a history of Greenland exploration through objects—this goes for Chapters 3 and 4 in which these objects are primarily treated of—but more of a highly descriptive catalogue of finds associated with this or that particular expedition out the nineteen dealt with in the book. The objects themselves encompass a range of "western," "indigenous" and "hybrid" artefacts, some mundane (e.g., iron nails) and others more specialized (e.g., a cinematograph) or unexpected (e.g., an automobile wheel). The 102 objects certainly comprise a kind of cabinet of curiosities well worth documenting and a standardized template or structure is employed object by object in about two-thirds of the book.

Browsing through the various items in this "cabinet of curiosities" was quite interesting, but there is really no narrative told about or through them. Dawes has done valuable work in documenting and contextualizing the collection with some reflections on why it is important, and also in providing the reader with his personal background, motivation and reasons for engaging in this endeavour, but I cannot help wondering what audiences this book is intended for. *Expedition Relics* is not exactly a book with a narrative and/or specific arguments, but neither is it a mere catalogue. It is a heavy read if approached as an "ordinary" book, and it also does not lend itself easily to casual browsing the way "coffee table" books do, despite the truly captivating nature of the illustrations. In many ways, *Expedition Relics* feels more like an extensive descriptive document than a book, which I feel will make it appeal primarily to a niche group of Arctic expedition enthusiasts rather than a broader and more general readership.

Vesa-Pekka Herva
Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities
University of Oulu
Finland
vesa-pekka.herva@oulu.fi

Bärbel Mielke, *Subtile Einladung zur Deliberation. Die Romane Emilie Flygare-Carléns* (Münchner Nordistische Studien 44), München: Herbert Utz Verlag 2021, ISBN 9783831648498, 330 pp. [Dissertation: Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, 2019.]

The nineteenth-century novelist Emilie Flygare-Carlén was not only one of Sweden's most popular writers nationally, but also enormously successful abroad, which has been illustrated in recent publications by Yvonne Leffler in the context of the joint research project "Swedish Women Writers on Export in the Nineteenth Century" at the University of Gothenburg (funded by the Swedish Research Council 2014–2016). Flygare-Carlén's production of novels is also the topic of Bärbel Mielke's doctoral dissertation *Subtile Einladung zur Deliberation. Die Romane Emilie Flygare-Carléns*. Consisting of nineteen novels, the corpus of Mielke's study is remarkably substantial in its extent and motivated by the author's wish to present the width of Flygare-Carlén's literary production, as well as to track down their common features (p. 17) while leaving the author's biography aside. Instead, Mielke is approaching these literary works from a rhetorical, philosophical and narratological angle, focusing on the concept and practice of "deliberation," both as a topic and an aesthetic technique of Flygare-Carlén's novels. In an introduction, three chapters and a conclusion, as well as an appendix, Mielke investigates her hypothesis that the impression of "modernity" and up-to-dateness of the novels is a result of their constant preoccupation with the "Frage nach ethisch klugem Handeln" ['question of practices of ethically prudence'] in the sense of Aristotle's concept of *phronesis*. Mielke regards the practice of "deliberation" presented in the novels as a precondition of phronesis (p. 18).

In her introduction chapter, the author presents short definitions of the study's central concepts: "deliberation" as a precondition for Aristotle's concept of *phronesis*, the condition of "geistige Gestimmtheit" ['intellectual mood'], "self-deliberation" and "subtile Einladung" ['subtle invitation'], as well as thoughts on the essay as a relevant genre, which form the theoretical basis for the close readings presented in the following three main parts of the book. The introduction also offers a brief overview of previous scholarship on Flygare-Carlén—always referred to by both her first and last name by Mielke—, focusing on thematic aspects of her work, her role as a female novel writer, and biographical research. Unfortunately, this overview only covers research until 2007, leaving out several important studies such as the recent work on Flygare-Carlén's position on the international book market by Leffler and the publications on Flygare-Carlén in the context of female citizenship in Scandinavia by Anna Bohlin (2016; 2017; 2018) and Caroline Haux (2018). This might be a reason for some slightly unconventional statements in the context of "Verortung der Texte Emilie Flygare-Carléns" ['situating the works of Emilie Flygare-Carlén'] which is part of the introductory chapter. Here, the author refers to the works of extremely popular female contemporaries of Flygare-Carlén, such as the writers Fredrika Bremer and Sophie von Knorring, as "women's literature—by women for women," and as such being "eine Randerscheinung im literarischen Betrieb Schwedens" ['being on the fringes of Sweden's literary market'] (pp. 29–30).

The first chapter of the study's main part focuses on essayistic elements in Flygare-Carlén's debut novel *Waldemar Klein* (1838) by examining "[d]ie Frage nach einem ethisch klugen Handeln" (p. 35) presented in the novel. In the second part of this chapter, the author compares the essayistic-narratological traits of Flygare-Carlén's novel to the essay *Svenska fattigdomens betydelse* ['The Importance of Swedish Poverty'] by her Swedish contemporary Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, which was published the same year as *Waldemar Klein*. Their shared interest in social problems and their critique unite Flygare-Carlén with Almqvist, as Mielke convincingly shows in her study.

Another work by Almqvist, his scandalous novel *Det går an* [English title: *Sara Videbeck*] (1839) also constitutes the starting point for Mielke's second chapter, "Beobachtungsmöglichkeiten und Deliberation" ['Options of observation and deliberation']. In close readings of ten of Flygare-Carlén's less-known novels, Mielke investigates different thematic issues that expose the novel's characters to conflicts, such as the tension between friendship and love, freedom and restraint, and passion and reason. These thematic analyses are supplemented by a narratological examination of the ways Flygare-Carlén works with time and time perception.

The third part of the book is dedicated to "Beobachtung" ['observation'] as Flygare-Carlén's way of subtle social critique. By distinguishing between "kontrollierender" und "freisinniger Beobachtung" ['controlled' and 'broad-minded observation'], Mielke is "observing observation" as it is practiced by Flygare-Carlén and the characters of four of her most famous novels *Rosen på Tistelön* (1842), *Kamrer Lassman såsom gammal ungkarl och äkta man tecknad* (1842), *Ett år* (1846) and *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården* (1860). An excursus on the portrayal of literature and its use in two novels concludes the third chapter of Mielke's study.

In her conclusion, Mielke considers the "invitation to deliberation" to be the "eigentliche Substanz" ['the actual matter'] of Flygare-Carlén's works (p. 295). Deliberation, in combination with the "Unvollkommenheit ihrer Figuren und deren subtilem Scheitern" ['the imperfection of her characters and their subtle failing'] (p. 298) in a setting of everyday life, is regarded as the distinguishing narratological technique by which Flygare-Carlén includes her readers in the process of ethical consideration without providing them with universal truths or solutions. This makes the loss of this "matter" during the editing and shortening process of her works after 1861 especially unfortunate, as Mielke demonstrates throughout her study.

With its combination of rhetorical and philosophical concepts (Aristotle, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca) and literary close readings, Mielke's study provides a methodologically innovative and interesting new take on Flygare-Carlén's literary production. The author affirms earlier scholars' appraisal of the "modern" aspects of Flygare-Carlén's novels and inspires her readers to (re-)discover the works of this Swedish nineteenth-century writer. Her choice to write the study in German might, however, limit its potential impact. As the study's main focus is the work of a Swedish writer and Swedish literature in general, I would welcome a summary of its conclusive chapter in English and/or Swedish. Also, in view of the author's wish to encourage further research on Flygare-Carlén as a female writer in the margins of traditional literary historiography, this would make the study's results more widely available to non-German speaking scholars working both within and outside of the field of Scandinavian literature.

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Jules Kielmann
Dept. of Literature
Uppsala University
Sweden
jules.kielmann@littvet.uu.se

Einar Odd Mortensen Sr. with Gerd Kjustad Mortensen, eds. Ingrid Urberg & Daniel Sims, *The Fur Trader. From Oslo to Oxford House*, Edmonton: University of Alberta Press 2022, ISBN 9781772125986, 224 pp + maps & photos.

It seems implausible: in 1925 a twenty-three-year-old from the vicinity of Oslo, with no expertise with fur and whose image of "North American Indians" was drawn from the Romantic fiction of James Fenimore Cooper, lands a job as a fur trader in Canada, apparently based on the assumption that all Norwegians know about fur (p. 12). After three years, this man returns to Norway and writes account of his experiences for posterity. That unlikely scenario describes the narrative published here. The young man was Einar Odd Mortensen (1902–1968), who spent three winters as a trader in the regions around Oxford House and Pine Bluff in northern Manitoba. The docu-

ments from which this account is derived formed an incomplete narrative written by Mortensen relatively soon after he returned to Norway in 1928, either with an eye to publication or for the entertainment and edification of his family. In the early 2000s, Mortenson's daughter-in-law and son (Gerd Kjustad Mortensen and Einar Odd Mortensen, Jr.) produced a manuscript based on the incomplete memoir, which was published in Norway in 2007 as *Pelshandleren. Mitt liv blant indianere i Nord-Canada 1925–28*. *The Fur Trader*, the result of further collaboration with Ingrid Urberg, a Scandinavian Studies scholar, and Daniel Sims, a First Nations Studies scholar, comprises an English translation of the manuscript, together with an introduction and annotations. For several reasons, scholars without facility in Norwegian should welcome this English translation of a fur trader's story.

Thanks to the practices of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), there is a remarkably abundant documentary record relating to the history of the fur trade and the history of Indigenous people in present-day northern Canada for more than a century before 1900, but the HBC's records are less abundant for the period thereafter. More importantly, there are few historical documents written from the perspectives of non-HBC fur traders in subarctic and arctic Canada, whether they be small independent traders or representatives of the Revillon Frères, a large international Paris-based company that had a significant presence in northern Canada in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Given that Mortensen and his intended audience were Norwegians, this memoir is least problematically approached as a primary source for research into 1920s–1930s Norwegian *perceptions* of Canada, the fur trade in Canada, and the Indigenous people of northern Manitoba, including some of the Romantic and stereotyped perceptions Mortensen harboured before he arrived in Canada, and the degree to which his perceptions were and were not changed by first-hand experience. Although this memoir was published in the early twenty-first century, it is based on documents written many decades earlier (and minimally edited), and it thus reflects Mortensen's perspectives when he was a young man freshly returned to Norway. Mortensen's derogatory descriptions of Indigenous people were probably typical of the views of many non-Indigenous people of the day in Europe and North America, although scholars should aim for deeper insights than the simplistic characterization of Mortensen's ethnocentric comments as "racist."

Mortensen's account is also valuable because it was intended to explain, from the perspective of someone who was new to the fur trade to an audience entirely unfamiliar with the fur trade, how the fur trade was conducted at the time. For that reason, it reveals aspects of the mundane day-to-day conduct of the fur trade in the 1920s that typical business records do not mention. Scholars who believe that they are able—despite the ethnocentric lens through which Mortensen viewed reality—to extract reliable evidence about the history of the fur trade in northern Manitoba in the 1920s, may find it to be a rich source of evidence—albeit from the perspective of an independent fur trader—that cannot be found elsewhere. For example, although the editors downplay the anecdote, Mortensen obviously wanted his readers to know that he could purchase a pair of moccasins from a woman for a dollar, and sell them to the woman's neighbour for three dollars a few days later. "Indians," he remarked, "do not trade among themselves" (p. 49).

Mortensen's account, interpreted cautiously of course, will also be useful for those seeking to understand Indigenous life in northern Manitoba in the 1920s. Mortensen explicitly stated that he was disappointed that Cree of Manitoba were nothing like the Indians of James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* (pp. 57, 60). But he was probably less aware that he was influenced by other European tropes about North American Indigenous people. For example, his comment (p. 60) that "a few isolated tufts of beard are all they can manage," suggests that he was influenced by the stereotype of the effeminate Indian that dates back at least as far as the Enlightenment. The account also shows that Mortensen was influenced by myths of the stoic Indian and the warrior Indian.

On the other hand, many of Mortensen's descriptions of aspects of daily life among the Cree are unvarnished, sometimes in refreshing and sometimes in unsettling ways. Salvage anthropologists of the early twentieth century were so intent on discovering the "pure Indian" of pre-contact, that they typically showed little interest in the lives lived by their informants, sometimes going so far as to examine children's dolls to try to describe the traditional Indigenous material culture. In that regard, Mortensen's observation of Cree habiliments in the 1920s is refreshingly frank. He explained that moccasins were the only "traditional" clothing the Cree wore, although they invariably wore galoshes over their moccasins during the summer (p. 60). While scholars conducted field work into Indigenous languages, most did not mention, as Mortensen did, that most Cree in northern Manitoba could read and write in the Cree syllabics invented by the Methodist missionary James Evans. Interpreting Mortensen's descriptions of Indigenous work habits, alcohol consumption, hygiene, and gender relations would be a fraught endeavour. Mortensen frankly admitted that

> if one considers that I come from a country with municipal dental care and school breakfasts for children, … I will, naturally, only be giving a one-dimensional and biased impression, and a superficial description at that. (p. 60)

Given the dearth of other documents (and lack of documents written by Indigenous people in the region), the Mortensen's narrative, used cautiously, contains useful evidence about Indigenous life in northern Manitoba in the 1920s. In sum, though not unproblematic as a source, Mortensen's story is rich with evidence.

Scholars seeking to wring the most out of this narrative will find contextual information in the introduction and annotations useful. However, the publisher and editors clearly had an audience of non-specialists in mind—the book includes a "Readers Guide and Discussion Questions" but no index—which may explain why parts of the introduction and many of the explanatory annotations are didactic and simplistic. In the end, readers of this journal are likely to be most interested in the fascinating text of the narrative.

Ted Binnema
History Department
University of Northern British Columbia
Canada
ted.binnema@unbc.ca

Catarina Röjder, Hugo Karlsson & Roger Wadström, *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län. XIII. Ortnamnen i Stångenäs härad. 1. Bebyggelsenamn*, Göteborg: Institutet för språk och folkminnen. Dialekt-, ortnamns- och folkminnesarkivet i Göteborg 2021, ISSN 02841908; ISBN 9789186959746, XXXVII + 208 pp.

This volume in the series *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län* ['Place-names in the County of Gothenburg and Bohus'] has a long previous history. Initially, Roger Wadström (1906–2020) compiled a primary manuscript consisting of two parts, one treating of settlement names and the other of natural names. Hugo Karlsson (1929–2020) then took over the work with the current volume, which has now been completed by Catarina Röjder.

The disposition of the current volume is similar to that of the earlier volumes previously reported in this chronicle. The volume begins with the authors providing an account of the ecclesiastical district's divisions, demographics, natural landscapes, plant and animal life, and industry and commerce, in the course of which they make references to, among other things, place-names containing the names of plants and animals. Older place-name types are also briefly discussed, for example names ending in *by/bø*, *hem*, *land(a), sta(d)* and *vin*, as well as some other common elements such as *hed*, *hog* and *kärr.* This discussion focuses mainly on the latter element. Some younger place-name types are also treated of, albeit quite briefly, as well as the local dialect and linking morphemes between elements in compound names. A few short sections, which ideally could have been a bit more detailed, relate to records of pronunciation forms and the Swedish cadastral records.

The place-name *Stångenäs* is interesting. It has been suggested that *stång* might refer to a boundary or a navigation mark, but it is also possible that it denoted an elongated formation in nature, in this case perhaps an elongated island. There are three parishes in the ecclesiastical district—Brastad, Bro and Lyse. As evidenced by older writing forms, *Brastad* is originally a village name deriving from *säter.* The question is whether this refers to *säter* 'woodland, forest land, etc.' or *säter* 'summer mountain pasture land.' The authors seem to favour a connection with the latter meaning (p. 9). The first element includes the name of a stream, which could be regarded as a formation based on a word corresponding to Norw. *braga* 'shine, twinkle.' However, the authors also point to Swed. dial. *braga* 'tremble, vibrate, etc.' as a possible alternative interpretation. *Bro* is named after a bridge over Broälven (p. 63), while *Lyse*—originally the name of a village—was formerly the name of a stream or a branch of a cove (p. 182); as is well known, place-names deriving from *lysa* 'shine' can be found in many parts of the Nordic countries.

The volume contains several noteworthy name interpretations. An interesting example is that *Blådjuperöd,* rather than being associated with a lake name, **Bladiupi* 'the deep blue,' could be interpreted as 'the clearing located deep in the dark forest' (p. 67). Another interesting interpretation is discussed in connection with *Dyrhusmon*. Here, it is suggested that the first element is derived from dial. *dyrhus* 'dolmen, cairn,' but the question is what the background to this might be. An alternative that immediately suggests itself is of course *dyr*, 'animal,' often 'deer, cervid.' However, in connec-

tion with the name *Dyrsten(en)*, there is a legend about a troll woman who is said to have been carrying around a stone in her apron. As linking this creature to *dyr* seems a bit far-fetched, the authors present an attractive alternative interpretation of the name as deriving from an original **Gyghrasten*, which would thus contain an element corresponding to Old Norse *gýgr* 'giantess.' This is quite conceivable and worthy of a deeper investigation.

The authors have a laudable ambition to question previous, more conventional interpretations. As for the element *kärr* in Bohuslän place-names, the authors note that the meaning of 'dense forest thicket, dense shrubbery, thicket of trees' has often been proposed in the past, while the meaning of 'marsh' has been disregarded without good reason (p. XXXII, p. 32). In connection with *hult*, a name element that has often been regarded as meaning 'a grove of trees, wooded hillside,' they point out that a word denoting a height is also a plausible interpretation (p. 79). Regarding *nöt* in *Nöteberg* (pp. 39 f.), the fact that "certain interpretations are inherited as a matter of course" (p. 39) is pointed out, and that "*nöt* 'cattle' is usually the favoured interpretation of the second element, *berg*; the mountain in question may have been used as pasture land for cattle" (pp. 39 f.). However, the earliest recorded name of *Nöteberg* is *Notaberg*. This indicates that the name is derived from *hnot* '(hazel)nut,' which might be due to the mountain having been likened to a nut. There is good reason to consider such an interpretation. Regarding *Kopperöd* (pp. 103 f.), the authors discuss a connection with dial. *kopp, koppe* 'something dome-shaped, roundish or unwieldy, a round hill etc. or a depression in the terrain'; corresponding names can be found in several places in Sweden and Norway, where they are often associated with *koppare* 'cup and bowl maker, turner,' or with *koppare* 'a person whose occupation is a cupper.'

Quite naturally, terrain words can be found in a large number of names in the district, not least a rich repertoire of words denoting heights: in *Bornö* (from *borgund*, 'a steep height'; pp. 23 f.), in *Bräcke* (from *bräcka* 'a wide slope'; p. 11), in *Fjäll* (from *fjäll* 'vast, bare mountain land, especially formerly: only covered with heather; vast, barren mountain land'; p. 81), in *Hamre* (from *hammar* 'protruding steep mountain part'; p. 164 with an illustrative photo p. 165), in *Häller* (from dial. *häller* 'a hollow in a rock under a protruding rock edge, large hole or cave in a rock' etc.; p. 94 with an illustrative photo p. 95), in *Ryk* from a counterpart to Old Norse **hrjúkr* 'a thrown-up heap, pile,' etc.; pp. 41 f.), as well as in *Sköllungen* (from *sköld* referring to heights having the shape of a curved shield; p. 46). Other terrain words found in the district's settlement names are *bringa* 'steep protruding mountain side,' *gel* 'narrow valley, gorge,' *gilja* 'narrow valley, gorge, grassy depression between mountains,' *godda* 'holloway, narrow field or road between two stick fences, narrow glen' (cf. Icel. *gota*), *skår* 'crevice, depression in a rock' and *skupp* 'a place under a rock ledge overhanging water.'

Sometimes, however, the authors could have taken their analysis further and also presented additional material. For example, a river name **Íma* (from *imma*) is discussed in connection with *Immestad* (p. 28); here, one would have expected to find references to other corresponding Scandinavian watercourse names. The arguments presented regarding the connection of the first element in *Färlev* with **före* 'waterlogged meadow, flooded area' etc. (p. 85) could have been further substantiated, not least on the basis of the information found in note 40 (ibid.). As for *Tromängen*, the authors suggest a connection with dial. *trumm* 'log, tree trunk, chopped-off firewood

log,' and another meaning of the word is said to be 'cow muzzle' (p. 53). I am unclear as to which meaning is the most likely one in this case, and how this meaning might be justified. Nor does the relationship between the names *Kornö* and *Bygget* (pp. 176 f.) seem to be fully clarified, and further investigation is required here. When it comes to the possible *vin*-name *Skådene* (pp. 122 f.), it could also have been made clearer whether or not the name is to be considered a transfer name.

The volume concludes with a number of well-crafted indexes of place-names, first names, bynames, soldier and boatman names, as well as of lexemes and cultural- historical circumstances. The latter index, in particular, is commendable.

The current volume is a valuable addition to this series of place-name surveys. Parts that provide particularly stimulating reading are those where the authors have allowed themselves to discuss and question handed-down "truths," i.e., interpretations that have automatically been passed on from one place-name publication to the next, and the concrete manner in which these issues are discussed is commendable. In addition, illu-minating photographs supporting the interpretations—some of which are mentioned above—are found in several places in the volume, and these, too, deserve praise.

Lars-Erik Edlund
Dept. of Language Studies
Umeå university
Sweden
lars-erik.edlund@umu.se

Jan Rüdiger, *All the King's Women. Polygyny and Politics in Europe, 900–1250* (The Northern world 88), Leiden: Brill 2020, ISBN 9789004349513, 452 pp.

This book is an English translation of Jan Rüdiger's "Habilitation," published in 2015. English-speaking readers will have to put up with an original form of *Der König und seine Frauen*, which has not been revised or updated. This is a profound study that examines the fitness of the concept of marriage for the socio-political strategies of high medieval elites. Rüdiger argues that "full marriage" (the *matrimonium iustum/legitum*) was just one form of couple relationship that existed alongside many other forms of liaisons between men and women. He is careful to avoid the term *concubinage* because it is so closely associated with its juridical and Augustinian meaning, i.e., a reprehensible relationship, as opposed to marriage, which was considered a commendable union. With the notion of polygyny, Rüdiger develops a functional concept that is in many ways better suited to analyze various aspects of medieval sociopolitical practices. He argues that "polygyny is not a form of marriage, but marriage can be a form of relationship within general polygyny." The main objective, therefore, is to examine the meanings and uses of polygyny in elite political culture, focusing on narrative sources from twelfth and thirteenth centuries Northern Europe. These findings are thereafter compared with explicit and presumed polygynous practices in the Anglo-Norman sphere, France, and the Iberian Peninsula.

In the first chapter, the *generative aspect* of polygyny is discussed using case studies from Norse-Icelandic sources and Latin texts from Denmark. Reproductive strategies, especially in Royal families, are analyzed, focusing on legitimacy and to whom material and immaterial resources could be transferred. Both the Norwegian and the Danish realm are characterized by open systems of competition for control of resources. Polygyny was a common strategy to produce as many sons as possible. Rüdiger claims that the progenitor Harald Fairhair acted as a model in Norway (and Iceland) for the polygynous king with many sons. Paternal blood was what mattered to claim kingship in Norway well into to the beginning of the thirteenth century. Polygyny is not condemned in the Norse-Icelandic narrative. According to Rüdiger, it was quite the opposite. He notes, for example, that royal polygyny seemed to be a prerequisite for good rule according to Snorri Sturluson. The Saga society espoused a meritocratic principle based on ability to act, and therefore it did not matter if a pretender to the throne had a low-born mother.

The argumentation in this chapter is altogether convincing. However, when it comes to Denmark, Rüdiger could have unfolded the discussion of meritocratic ideology. For example, the Latin term *strenuitas* ['energetic, strenuous'] plays a prominent role in the *Gesta Danorum* of Saxo Grammaticus. This term pretty much resembles the basic content of the Norse-Icelandic ideal. Just as Saxo depicts the strategies of the Danish rulers through a Roman filter, Snorri portrays the Norwegian kings through the lens of an Icelandic chieftain. King Harald Fairhair becomes the model because polygyny prepared the ground for cooptative kinship, which meant that Icelandic leaders could claim royal descent. This is addressed in the next chapter, which deals with the strategies of the Icelandic chieftain Jon Loptson. However, Rüdiger does not elaborate on the source-critical question of the extent to which the Icelandic model might have had an influence on the portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in Norway. In contemporary Europe, the distinction between the royal/imperial family and the aristocracy was more noticeable. Snorri (and to some extent the aristocrat Saxo) had no interest in promulgating this demarcation for obvious reasons.

Rüdiger claims that the absence of commentary on polygynous paternity in Norse sources is "not a barbarian ignorance, but a cultural decision." He refers to the Danish chroniclers Sven Aggesen and Saxo Grammaticus as "dissenting voices" because, like Adam of Bremen, they speak of legitimate and illegitimate royal sons. For them, this question was particularly relevant when it came to the legitimacy of the Valdemarian branch of the royal family. Rüdiger does not discuss the Swedish royal house, which is probably due to the lack of sources. However, the Scandinavian royal families were closely intertwined. Norse and Danish sources contain a great deal of information about Swedish sociopolitical strategies as well. Rüdiger claims that the Swedish monarchy was "completely dispensed with genealogical consistency until the thirteenth century." This is clearly a misinterpretation. A closer look at the strategies in Swedish "Game of Thrones" shows that maternal inheritance was the key to power in Sweden. From a gendered perspective that focuses on how Swedish pretenders relied on connections with female descendants of the Stenkil family, a pattern of "genealogical consistency" can be discerned.

The following chapters, dealing with northern Europe, discuss habitual, agonistic, expressive, and performative aspects of polygyny. In the habitual section, Rüdiger

explores the question of whether polygyny can serve to enhance status. His case study of the Icelandic chieftain Jon Loptsson shows that *Nóreg's konungatal* served the purpose of proclaiming that the Oddverjar were descended from Harald Fairhair's *frilla* Gyða, which made them jarl worthy. Furthermore, Rüdiger has doubts about the binary model of previous research, which distinguishes formal marriages on the one hand and loose forms of all kinds on the other (*uxor* contra *concubina*). The distinction between marriage and non-marriage, he argues, is a sweeping assumption. Rüdiger's observations are for the most part compelling, although his counterarguments are also somewhat "sweeping," since he has chosen not to analyze the legal sources. He reasons that most previous studies of polygyny have focused on the legal material. While this is true, this decision does not preclude him from having some form of dialogue with these previous studies based on laws. This would have enabled him to better position his own study on narrative sources, and his counterarguments might have been on safer ground.

The chapter on the agonistic aspect deals with the ubiquitous rivalry of men over women. Here, the focus is on the Old Norse literary rhetorical convention *mannajafnað*, i.e., the comparison of men. This section is somewhat loosely connected to the main theme of the volume, and it is therefore challenging to see what the problem and conclusions really are and how they relate to the main purpose. Overall, the book would have benefited greatly from more frequent use of discussions of partial results. The chapters on the expressive aspect and the performative aspect are closely related. Here, polygyny is analyzed from the perspective of social semantics. Rüdiger's interesting study of the "bigamists" King Cnut the Great and King Harald Hardrada of Norway is a well-chosen example of how polygyny was used as a social sign system that was more flexible and adaptable to different situations compared to monogamously structured systems. For example, Cnut the Great had another wife, Ælgifu of Northampton, in addition to Queen Emma of Normandy. Through this triad, the king forged ties of loyalty on both sides of the English Channel, and at the same time these alliances functioned as "statements" directed at a wide circle of northern and western European rulers. Harald Hardrada's ties with Þóra Þorbergsdóttir of Trøndelag and Elizabeth of Novgorod served the same purpose. Using J.L. Austin's speech act theory, Rüdiger addresses the performative aspects of polygyny. This is illustrated by a case study of Hákon Hlaðjarl, in which the author attempts to show how the acquisition of land, as depicted in the Norse skaldic poems, went hand in hand with the acquisition of women. Through symbolic appropriation, Rüdiger argues, women could "not only signify the land, but also be the land." This is a thought-provoking interpretation that is most likely applicable to other types of sources and to other historical periods.

In the final chapters, Rüdiger compares his findings on polygyny in the North with sociopolitical strategies in western and southern Europe. In particular, he succeeds in drawing significant parallels between the Anglo-Norman region and Scandinavia, such as how Henry I of England employed polygynous strategies to strengthen his position. However, Rüdiger also notes some important differences, such as the fact that none of Henry's "bastard sons" laid claim to the throne. The comparative discussion of France, Occitania and the Iberian Peninsula ends with a rather vague conclusion. He finds some examples that suggest that polygynous practices like those in northern

Europe also existed in areas such as Catalonia and Andalusia, but here it is probably more appropriate to use the term *concubinage* rather than polygyny. Rüdiger does not elaborate on why European elites abandoned polygyny as a sociopolitical strategy in the thirteenth and fouteenth centuries. But his suggestion that the increasing formalization of medieval society led, among other things, to a more effective application of law and order seems plausible.

The book *All the King's Women* is an important contribution to a better understanding of the sociopolitical strategies of the high medieval European elites. Rüdiger is not the first to show that polygyny was an important political tool, but he presents a nuanced view of a range of relationships between men and women that will likely make scholars hesitant to take the static model of wife and concubine for granted. The study draws on a large body of different narrative sources, and it is refreshing that he does not refrain from combining Old Norse sources with Latin texts, as Scandinavian historians are wont to do.

Still, there are some weaknesses as well. One is that it is difficult to discern what the central theses are, and this may explain why his concluding discussion remains elusive. Another is the lack of dialog with previous research. Rüdiger explains that the study is not about concubinage, but "first about 'political culture,' that is, about the groups that are now called 'elites'." Nevertheless, much research has been done in recent decades on the political culture of medieval elites. Many of these studies focus on sociopolitical relationships such as friendship, kinship, fosterage, patronage, and gift-exchange. Rüdiger only partially situates his study of polygyny within this larger framework of social and symbolic resources. This is a pity, as it would have contributed to a deeper understanding of the ways in which members of the elite navigated between different sociopolitical strategies to consolidate and maximize their power.

Lars Hermanson
Dept. of Historical Studies
University of Gothenburg
Sweden
lars.hermanson@history.gu.se

Håkan Rydving & Konsta Kaikkonen eds., *Religions around the Arctic. Source Criticism and Comparisons* (Stockholm studies in comparative religion 44), Stockholm: Stockholm University Press 2022, ISBN 9789176351833, 277 pp.

As a scholar of religion, I can say how the timing of this publication is important, as many indigenous societies are reviving their spiritual traditions and practices. The subject matters treated of in the book are overall historiographically related to different themes related to indigenous religions located around the Arctic, from Iceland to Siberia. At the beginning of the first three chapters of the book, under the heading "Localised Practices and Religions," there are even correspondences from further

afield. In an article by Stefan Olsson, which deals with place-names related to Scandinavia and the Baltic states with regard to rituals associated with hostage-taking, Ireland is linked with the Norse Viking traditions. However, despite the article being a good contribution to this important scholarly study, its title and theme seem a bit out of place in a book that focuses on religions around the Arctic. In my opinion, this subject matter might have been better to have been published in a good journal or book which focuses on cultural history in relation to linguistics and etymology, as the content regarding religion is fairly minimal.

The following chapter brings into focus both reflections on past and current comparative research concerning a myriad of mythical parallels between Sami cosmological complexes and very early Icelandic religious traditions linked with Old Norse traditions and cultural narratives. Moreover, with regard to sacred mountains and different rituals and beliefs connected with these narratives, Professor Eldar Heide from Western Norway University of Applied Sciences investigates how they coincide with each other. The approaches used in the research have been carefully considered due to the nature of ambiguous literature sources linked with both cultures from documents written by outsiders. Thus, the scholar's painstaking work results in an extensive comparative study presented in the article and through this, one is able to grasp some of the different key concepts and beliefs within both cultures, despite the ambiguity within missionary sources, and furthermore, also to comprehend in what ways religious beliefs and practices are created in connection with sacred landscapes, what purposes they have and why. And at the same time, in what ways these comprehensions have been useful for the purpose of helping to formulate a variety of questions with regard to both comparable and compatible beliefs within the Sami religion and Icelandic cosmological landscapes concerning how they have emerged. And thus, the centerpieces of the scholar's analysis in connection with sacred mountains, ancestors and traditions are related to the afterlife in connection with mythical domains, landscapes and parallels, and the spiritual beings, sorcerers and shamans associated with these.

In the contribution by Vesa Matteo Piludu, University of Helsinki, Finland, we are introduced to some of the oldest and thus, explicit, ancient mythological studies on the bear and bear ceremonialism in relation to narratives, songs, and incantations. These studies present a number of good examples of how and why identity formation is intertwined with animals and mythical beings in both Finno-Karelian and Ob-Ugrian cultures that are tied to northern identity and sacred landscapes. Overall, the study brings forth a multitude of interesting examples of how different oral and written narratives, songs and incantations are wound around both culture and history with regard to the important roles and functions myths and mythic discourses play within Arctic societies and which, as a consequence, are invaluable resources in the study of religions and cultural histories within different time periods.

In-depth, investigative research is presented in part two of the book under the heading "Indigenous Sami Religion: Research History and Source Criticism," beginning with early sources around the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries where analysis of mythical landscapes is brought into focus in connection with a recent discovery of the frame part of a Sami *noaidi* bowl drum located in Hillsá, northern Norway. The subject matter is meticulously addressed through the combined efforts of Dikka

Storm and Trude Fonneland from the Arctic University Museum of Norway in an article entitled "Indigenous Missionary Religion in the Sixth District. The Case of the Hillsá Drum." Using multiple scholarly sources as a basis for the investigation, combined with interviews with Sami participants (family members connected with the drum), the authors assess the values, importance, and significance of the recent discovery of the frame that was found under a stone. The case study provides a refreshing and rare insight into the events linked to the discovery of the frame and, as a consequence, the fundamental importance of combining different research approaches together in order to help assess how a certain degree of understanding of drums as items of Sami cultural heritage and as sacred items might be gained. Moreover, even if what remains of the drum under investigation is deemed fragmentary it still holds immense value and can be linked by association with the plight of the drums that have been held in the custody of European museums for centuries some of which are likewise fragmentary. Therefore, when giving further consideration to this, the Hillsá drum can be contextualized as being part of the same legacy where drums had to be hidden away and therefore, has a similar history and resonance, and which today, the Sami are working to uncover and reclaim.

To continue on from this theme, a second study by Liv Helene Willumsen, who is a professor of history in the Department of Archaeology, History, the Study of Religions and Theology at The Arctic University of Norway, concerning Sami history, religion, cultural expressions and cosmology flows well into a similar research theme regarding a surviving Sami drum presented in connection with the court case and murder of Sami *noaidi* Anders Poulsen while he was held in custody on a charge of witchcraft. Having already published extensively on this same theme, the author, in a chapter titled "The Witchcraft Trial against Anders Poulsen, Vadsø 1692. Critical Perspectives," brings a broader discussion about the impacts of the witch persecutions among both the Sami and Norwegian populations in Finnmark, a brief discussion about Poulsen and an examination of different aspects of the court case. Thus, she brings further clarification and an extension of her earlier research, delivering a deeper focus on new critical perspectives on the trial and murder of Poulsen, and also further clarification pertaining to the figures and structure of the cosmological landscape on the *noaidi*'s drum and their importance regarding the possible distortion of documented evidence between Sami pre-Christian religion and Christianity to suit the agenda of the state.

To follow the theme of Sami indigenous religion and investigations relating to ambiguous historical sources, Finnish scholar Konsta Kaikkonen, senior lecturer in the Study of Religions at the Department of Pedagogy, Religion, and Social Studies, Western Norway University of Applied Sciences, embeds his research focus into documents compiled by missionaries and priests as a method for approaching and critically analysing, through deep investigative work, a number of perspectives and theories on early nineteenth-century literature presented in a chapter titled "Jacob Fellman's Introduction to Saami indigenous Religion. A Source Critical Dilemma." These different perspectives pertain to the documentation of Sami mythology by vicar Jacob Fellman and pastor Lars Levi Laestadius, who are among a number of other writers discussed in Kaikkonen's investigative research who at the time were ministers and missionaries that published various texts about the religion of the indigenous

Sami in different languages. The task taken on by the scholar is admirable and his determination to solve complex issues relating to assimilated textual data that is fragmented clearly demonstrates the benefits of being able to speak and read in the Nordic languages when it comes to assessing and categorizing what turns out to be ambiguous data that was likewise written and published as literature sources connected with the mythology of the Sami. Kaikkonen demonstrates through different theories and approaches why this is important. Indeed, in order to better understand the past and in what ways different source materials deserve to be critically analyzed and thus, to be as thoroughly investigated as possible so that history and different perspectives might be better understood when it comes to reliability and representation of the religious practices of the Sami and in what ways research was formulated in this case, predominantly by different ministers and missionaries.

The third and final section of the book that focuses further studies of religions around the Arctic are three chapters pertaining to "Theories, Comparisons, and the Roles of Scholarship," beginning with the scholarly work of Finnish scholar Riku Hämäläinen who is an adjunct professor of the Study of Religion at the Department of Cultures, University of Helsinki. Hämäläinen's emphasis is initially placed on the nature of change among Native North American societies in a chapter entitled "Methods and Theories as Tools in the Study of Northern Religions. Native North American Bear Rituals and Sweat Bath Traditions as Examples." This is with regard to rituals associated with both the powerful spiritual medicine linked with the bear and sweat bath traditions in different contexts in relation to initiation, healing practices, and taboos and customs related to both historical and contemporary beliefs and practices. The author makes a special emphasis on the benefit of using an approach from the ecology of religion and its usefulness for conducting analysis, collecting data and comparative research. In the conclusion, he also brings into focus the Finnish sauna tradition which is also known among some Native American tribes. Overall, the study presents some valuable examples of cross-cultural research from both inside and outside of different cultures through an investigation of traditions, beliefs and practices that are both contemporary and historical.

Olle Sundström is an associate professor at the Department of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies, Umeå University, Sweden. His research addresses multiple questions regarding issues relating to the classification and development of terms referring to spiritual beings associated with the Nganasan worldview and their portrayal from within multiple scholarly discourses with regard to primitive religion, with a particular emphasis on Soviet ethnographical materials. The study is approached in his chapter "'Spirits' and 'Gods' as Comparative Concepts in Soviet Studies of the Nganasan World View." The focal points are concerned with the roles, functions, and statuses of spirits and gods as conceptualized within a variety of different approaches in relation to the theory of primitive indigenous religion from the study of animism within western discourses, and how this relates to the realms of the spirits in connection with the Nganasan cosmology and its structure. Moreover, in what ways it has been portrayed, thus outlining many of the problems associated with these terms because of concepts being mixed up, given different categorizations and even false representation due to distinctions in different viewpoints pertaining to the structure of the Nganasan worldview and its conceptualization as an analogy for

the origin of religion. In his study, Sundström also demonstrates in what ways these concepts are linked, in particular to language, group identity formation, and maintenance of traditions and beliefs within the processes of change and development in the Nganasan worldview and the different ways it has been approached and interpreted with regard to how and why some of these structural developments and classifications are problematic.

The final chapter in the third section of the book delves further into the realms of Siberian shamanism. Russian scholar Liudmila Nikanorova, who is a researcher in the Department of Study of Religions at the University of Bergen, Norway, examines in her scholarly work "The Role of Academia in Finding, Claiming, and Authorizing Sakha Religions." The central focus of her research illustrates very well a common problem in the study of indigenous peoples and their religious practices, and what happens when these practices are interpreted, translated, categorized and presented through the lens of a particular dominant culture and, in this case, predominantly Russian discourses, as well as European involvement. The author describes rather well how the development of power relations and authority are evident within different discourses and are thus, problematic when it comes to why the indigenous Sakha religion has been misrepresented.

In addition to this, she brings into focus different descriptions of a multitude of problems with regard to in what ways outsiders are given a certain kind of feigned authority in the manner in which religion and related practices are portrayed in relation to the use of terminology and language for a multitude of purposes (colonialism).

Reflecting on where this originates from, Nikanorova later on in the study also presents an informative section on the widespread persecution and eradication of shamans throughout Siberia by Soviet authorities. I would say that this very important discussion highlights very well state policies that have also been a common practice throughout Fennoscandia, but much earlier, and ties in very well with other chapters in the book where similar policies have been in operation, albeit on a much smaller scale. To balance the research, Nikanorova includes the research of Sakha scholars and describes how important their contributions have been in helping to reclaim Sakha religions through their research and fieldwork in different ways from within the culture and the efforts that have been made in order to make this possible.

The collective research contained in the book *Religions Around the Arctic*, edited by Håkan Rydving and Konsta Kaikkonen, brings forth yet another important compilation of scholarly works that make a major contribution to the study of religions around the Arctic and sub-Arctic environments. This is in relation to comparative research and contrasting landscapes into ancient rituals, new contributions, and developments from within the study of Sami pre-Christian indigenous religion from different perspectives, and then two elaborate chapters about bear ceremonialism, myths, songs, and oral narratives from Finno-Karelian, Ob-Ugrian, and North American cultures and traditions. The book concludes with two chapters on cosmology and shamanism in Siberian indigenous religions in the regions of Nganasan and Sakha communities. The merits of the book are the systematic reviews of earlier data and the ways the wealth of new research is compiled and presented. The book can be recommended to anyone who engages in the study of the aforementioned cultures and themes, as the materials in many ways go beyond what is already known about each

individual subject matter and bring forth new insights into, and understanding of, each of the particular topics and their study.

Francis Joy
Arctic Centre
University of Lapland
Finland
francis.joy@ulapland.fi

Andreas Schmidt & Daniela Hahn (eds.), *Unwanted. Neglected Approaches, Characters, and Texts in Old Norse-Icelandic Saga Studies*, München: Utzverlag 2021, ISBN 9783831649426, 312 pp.

The concept of "the unwanted" central to this book appears rather similar to the concept of "the other." And many of the articles in the book do treat aspects of saga literature close to the latter concept. It is therefore not surprising that the editors in their introduction discuss the understanding of "the other" at some length. There are still, however, aspects of the unwanted, as it is treated in the individual chapters of the book, that to me appear to belong outside of the category of the unwanted as it is presented in the introduction, and in some instances perhaps it could have been made clearer what this concept encompasses.

The book is the result of a workshop for doctoral and postdoctoral researchers held in Munich in 2018 as a follow-up to the workshop *Bad Boys and Wicked Women* organised by the same researchers in 2015. The papers from both workshops have been edited by Andreas Schmidt and Daniela Hahn, and published in the same series, *Münchner Nordistische Studien*. The present book consists of nine contributions and the already mentioned introduction by the two editors. All the contributions adhere to some degree to the concept of "the unwanted," but the rather wide definition opens up for diverse aspects. The overall impression of the book can therefore be said to be that of a rather loose construction. This said, the individual chapters of the book are all engaging and present interesting approaches to saga literature and the research in this literature.

The group of sagas gathered under the sub-category of *skáldasögur* (sagas of poets) are studied in the inaugural article by Alexander J. Wilson. He starts by stating that

> [t]he protagonists of the skáldasögur as "unwanted" figures in the sense that their continued insistence on the primacy of their own desires, at least in their native Iceland, is shown to lead to long-lasting hostilities with their neighbours (p. 28)

This illustrates at once the problem with a wide definition of what is meant by "the unwanted." Does this concept bring anything new into the discussion of the role of these poet marauders occurring in the *skáldasögur*, a role that has been discussed at some length in the scholarly tradition? Wilson treats examples from a number of the

sagas in this group to sustain his statement. He has a focus on the relation to a beloved woman in *Kormáks saga*, *Hallfreðar saga* and *Bjarnar saga Hítdœlakappi* and how this relation is at the centre of all conflicts. And these conflicts are definitely central to the chosen sagas. The suggestion that "these men's romantic desires are often not satisfied simply by being with a woman: they also require rivals against whom they can strive to prove their love" (pp. 30–31) may therefore appear as rather obvious. Wilson's discussion of examples from the three sagas is, however, interesting and relevant, despite this critical note.

A central topos not only in the *skáldasögur* but also in relation to skaldic poetry in general and also in other prose narratives, concerns *níð*, the use of verbal abuse in feuds and conflicts. Sebastian Thoma concentrates on how the relation between gender and *níð* is displayed in *Njáls saga*. He scrutinises *níð* from a gender perspective as it appears in *Njáls saga*, in the feud initiated by the wife of Gunnar á Hlíðarendi, Hallgerðr, and Bergþóra, the wife of Njáll at Bergþórshvöll, which soon spills over to encompass all members of both households. Like the subject of Wilson's article, this topic has frequently been discussed in earlier scholarship. It is therefore interesting to see whether Thoma's approach can provide new understanding, using the concept of "the unwanted." However, I again lean toward the position that this concept does not bring much new insight to the theme. Thoma reads the saga narrative closely and provides a good presentation of the role played by the women of *Njáls saga*, primarily Hallgerðr and to some extent Bergþóra. But at the same time, the reading seems a bit narrow in its choice to focus only on *Njáls saga.* This is further confirmed when Thoma states that

> [w]omen do not usually take part in the discourse of *níð* directly, which demands several strategic measures on a narrative level when a female user of *níð* is about to be displayed in action. (p. 78)

Can this statement really be sustained by the extant saga material? What about women like Guðrún in *Laxdœla saga*, a number of women in *Gísla saga,* or, admittedly not in *íslendingasögur*, Guðrún Gjúkadóttir in eddic poetry and *Völsunga saga*? The impression is rather that verbal abuse is depicted as a useful tool for women in the storyworlds of the medieval saga literature at large.

In a third article, Anita Sauckel continues the investigation of "the unwanted" in *Njáls saga*. Sauckel is primarily interested in the "borstal boy" of the saga, Skarpheðinn Njálsson, the young man breaking norms, or perhaps just a teenager out of bounds. She states correctly that Skarpheðinn, as he is presented in the saga, is a rather ambiguous character, both central and at the same time "unwanted." But here she also equates "unwanted" with "unpopular," which I find a bit confusing; are these two words really synonymous? Like the first two articles, Sauckel's article treats a subject that has been frequently dealt with in earlier scholarship; is she challenging the earlier interpretations with her approach? Sauckel contributes to the discussions of female power initiated in the article by Thoma to change the perspective on Skarpheðinn. She concludes that matrilineality seems to play a central role in *Njáls saga*, and argues that Skarpheðinn is related primarily to his mother's ancestry at the same time as his "extraordinary male skills make him a transgressive figure, like his father" (p. 95).

This transgressive role, Sauckel argues, provides a better understanding of the saga structure, which she considers to be modelled on the eddic poem *Lokasenna*; Skarpheðinn would be comparable to Loki in what she considers "an Old Icelandic trickster discourse" (p. 102). Her approach thereby provides a partly new understanding of Skarpheðinn, as well as of the saga structure, which is in line with earlier suggestions by, for example, Lars Lönnroth. However, I am not convinced that the concept of "the unwanted" has contributed much to this interpretation.

We now move our interest in the direction of *samtíðarsögur*, the sagas written in the thirteenth century, covering the period of the internal struggles in Iceland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Lucie Korecká presents a study of the unwanted and excluded as a hero, as described in *Arons saga Hjörleifssonar* and *Sturlunga saga*. She points out the difference between the sagas of outlaws such as, for example, *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar,* where the outlaw motif is central, and the contemporary sagas:

> It is therefore surprising that the contemporary sagas, by contrast, contain so few fully developed outlaw stories: outlawry is frequently mentioned in passing, but as a rule it does not receive much narrative attention (p. 119)

Korecká sets out to discuss this difference between the two saga-genres, arguing that the outlaw motif was not relevant to the contemporary sagas as "the power relations and principles of justice in Iceland had become different from the Saga Age" (p. 120). This seems to indicate that the discrepancy between the genres reflects changes in society over many centuries, and not differences in narrative strategies. Korecká continues her reasoning by providing examples from the Sturlung period of outlaws having a rather different status than that described in the *íslendingasögur*, something which, she argues, may explain the changes of the motif.

> The shift in how the sagas set in the Sturlung Age depict the development of conflicts may explain why the outlaw motif subsided in the contemporary sagas despite its popularity in the Sagas of Icelanders, in some sense being an unwanted motif in light of the focus of the central sections of *Sturlunga saga* (p. 123)

Another explanation could of course be that the motif was irrelevant in the narratives of the contemporary sagas. An interesting question, therefore, is whether the use of "unwanted" brings new insights into the strategies of the contemporary "authors" who, needless to say, may very well have been identical to the ones composing the *íslendingasögur*.

Lucie Korecká goes on to discuss the outlaw hero Aron of the *Arons saga Hjörleifssonar*. After a thorough presentation of Aron's outlawry, his pilgrimage to Jerusalem and his life in the retinue of King Hákon, she concludes that the narrative patterns of outlawry and travel are retained, ending with the reconciliation between Aron and his antagonist Þórðr Sighvatsson. It might have been relevant here to compare this pattern with the conflict and reconciliation between Kári and Flosi of *Njáls saga*, a more or less contemporary text, but Korecká rather continues her line of argument by providing a further analysis of the relation between Aron and Þórðr Sighvatsson.

Her analysis is convincing and interesting at the same time as it is hard to see how the concept of the "unwanted" has any significance for her discussion.

Rebecca Merkelbach takes us back to the *íslendingasögur*. Her study concerns the post-classical sagas and explores the social dimension of these late sagas. Merkelbach states initially that humans are social animals and

> [t]hus, it is impossible for human beings to exist without society, and, I would argue, it is equally impossible for humans to envisage storyworlds that have no interest in society, its formation and reproduction, or in the issues that arise out of each individual human's membership in it (p. 143)

She argues that some of the late *íslendingasögur* have been treated as if they completely lack the social dimension, and states that she intends to counter this far too simple view, often based on a nationalistic idea of the later sagas being influenced and deteriorated by foreign influence. Was the social dimension from this point of view "unwanted" by the saga writers of the fourteenth century or was it scholars of later centuries that did not wish to see the social dimensions of these less regarded sagas? she asks. She sets out to study the social dimensions as reflected in the later sagas concerning outlawry, public opinion, honour and fosterage.

Outlawry is an obvious form of "unwanted," even though the outlaw in the more "classical" sagas is not necessarily regarded as unwanted. In Merkelbach's reading of some of the later sagas it is obvious, however, that the social dimensions of outlawry are at the centre of interest. While, according to Merkelbach, public opinion on social (and anti-social) behaviour, for example on the outlaw, is not as frequently expressed in the later sagas, it does exist. And the opinion concerning the individuals' honour is ever present in the later texts, just as frequently as in the earlier sagas. Finally, fosterage is an interesting institution described in many sagas. And the late sagas are no exception, as the relation between foster-parents and the young heroes are frequently central also in many of the later sagas.

Merkelbach concludes by stating that

> it has become obvious that these late sagas do not operate in a "social void"; instead, they engage with complex ideas about social roles, exclusion and belonging, public perception, and the creation of kinship ties (p. 170)

She argues that the narratives of later sagas engage in issues of contemporary interest in society, as well as issues of more "enduring importance" (p. 170). From this, she concludes convincingly that the later sagas are important as part of our understanding of *íslendingasögur* and the culture in which they thrived. It may seem a bit farfetched, however, to argue for the article's place in the present book by referring to these sagas as "unwanted."

Zuzana Stankovitsová moves our focus to the post-medieval tradition of re-writing the medieval sagas. She argues that what has been handled as corruption of the medieval texts in earlier scholarship should rather be studied in its own right as a result of the contemporary reception and tastes. With this as a starting-point, Stankovitsová approaches one branch of the extensive manuscript tradition of *Króka-Refs*

saga in order to explore the function in contemporary reception of changes and modifications in post-medieval text-witnesses.

Regarding the description of characters in the saga, Stankovitsová concludes that the changes found in later text-witnesses to some extent amplifies the portrayal of the saga characters. As for the dialogue, the saga hero seems to have been made an even stronger figure by the additions noted by Stankovitsová. In some of the text-witnesses, the context is made more explicit with descriptions of the scenes, which seems to be part of a tendency to expand and amplify the descriptions already initiated in the medieval saga text. Stankovitsová's study of text-witnesses found in post-medieval manuscripts of *Króka-Refs saga* yet again points to the relevance of further studies of these manuscripts as representative of reception and use in later traditions. It is good that the author avoids forcing her study into the stipulated theme of "the unwanted," as such a perspective would have been of little relevance here.

In his contribution to the volume, Yoav Tirosh starts by asking "[w]hat makes one text wanted and another unwanted?" (p. 206). This is a rather more complicated question than perhaps was intended. First, because the concept of "unwanted" is rather difficult to define in a clear way. As the editors of the volume mention, "unwanted" is to some extent related to "the other," but that does not seem to hold for its use in Tirosh's article; a book may represent "the other," but can it in itself be approached as "the other"? It seems that the use of "unwanted" in this context, an unwanted book, runs into a similar problem. Is a book unwanted because its content is outdated or because it, according to contemporary standards, lacks the quality expected? Or is it rather just outdated and lacks quality?

In order to discuss the unwantedness he postulates for *Ljósvetninga saga*, a late and in scholarship rather neglected *íslendingasaga*, Tirosh chooses a mishappen film from 2003, *The Room*, by Tommy Wiseau, unknown to most and perhaps mercifully forgotten by all but the real aficionados. Tirosh states:

> What makes the twenty-first century movie *The Room* particularly interesting to compare with the thirteenth century *Ljósvetninga saga* is the cult that has been established around the film, and the resulting audience participation during its screenings. The audience shouting slurs, corrections and responses to the characters, filmmakers and writing of *The Room* will be compared with the editorial practices employed with *Ljósvetninga saga* from medieval times to the twentieth century (p. 207)

He argues that both traditions reflect the participation of the audience, its reception, and throws into relief the difficulties of retrieving the authorial intent, both for the participating audience and for scholarship.

In his conclusion, Tirosh states that "[a]s *Ljósvetninga saga* and *The Room* show us, each in their own way, authorial intent is intangible, elusive, and impossible to prove" (p. 234), and this is easy to agree with. But does the comparison in any way strengthen this understanding? It seems rather that we have read two discussions concerning authorial intent without very much to connect the two, while obviously both cases are interesting in their own right. Finally, I cannot really see that the initial question of "[w]hat makes one text wanted and another unwanted?" (p. 206) has been treated or in any way answered.

In the following chapter, Mathias Kruse approaches the genre of *ævintýri* (or *exempla*) in a study of the short narrative *Af sýslumanni ok fjánda* or, in a post-medieval manuscript, *Callinius saga*. Here we meet what must be a highly unwanted creature, the devil himself. Kruse discusses the dissemination of the motif of the devil, who offers deals to men in dire straits including the soul of the victims, but is finally tricked while the soul is saved. The narrative under scrutiny in Kruse's article also includes a Jew who offers advice and finally converts to Christianity. After a thorough treatment of the motif and its relation to other similar motifs, Kruse, in his final discussion, states that "[t]his story has no single template or framework that would explain its contents; rather, it has a vast range of parallels and relationships to multiple other texts and motifs" (p. 262). This is a sound conclusion and one that goes for many of the narrative traditions we study in the medieval material. Motifs interact and change over time, bringing new characters into the centre, while other characters are reduced or even replaced. This leads Kruse to state that "[y]et there remains the question not of *from where* the text originates, but of *what* it is and *what* it represents" (p. 262). It is easy to agree with this conclusion. It is interesting that Kruse does not relate to the concept of "the unwanted" even though he deals with the devil; perhaps he realised that the concept would not contribute any new perspectives to his investigation of the devil, the Jew and the Cross of Christ?

In a final article in the book, Jan Alexander van Nahl argues for the need for new approaches to the Old Norse chronicles or *Konungasögur*. From a discussion of the tradition of scholarship, van Nahl builds a case for new perspectives in a scholarship that meets new challenges and needs not encountered by earlier generations of scholars. However, in this discussion, which is certainly very relevant, I miss the names of the two brothers Curt and Lauritz Weibull and their source critical approach to the *Konungasögur* in the early twentieth century, and perhaps also Jonna Louis-Jensen's *kongesagastudier* from 1977. These works stand out as important in the scholarship van Nahl discusses and their inclusion in the argument could possibly have changed some of the conclusions, for example when he states:

> Even as an interim conclusion, it would hardly be appropriate to build any sort of far-reaching theory on these few remarks. What they have hinted at so far is a continuous, yet difficult-to-grasp, tendency in scholarship to primarily consider the kings' sagas as sources for actual history in medieval Scandinavia (p. 284)

There have been voices critical of this belief in *konungasögur* as historical documents in our modern sense, but they have of course not been generally accepted. This said, van Nahl's suggestion that narratological approaches to the kings' sagas would open new perspectives needed to make this scholarship relevant definitely has much in its favour.

In the above, I have made some critical points on the individual studies presented in the book. A general and recurring question concerns the rather forced use of the concept of "the unwanted." In most, if not all, of the articles, this concept adds very little or nothing at all to the discussion. Some of the authors have, wisely I think, chosen not to use the concept. The subtitle of the book, "Neglected Approaches, Char-

acters, and Texts in Old Norse-Icelandic Saga Studies," provides a more relevant list of themes that are approached in the individual articles. The book as a whole still appears a bit incoherent.

The publishing of a collection of articles presenting a new generation of Norse scholars, however, is worthwhile and each article is in itself an interesting contribution to the on-going research, as well as to the debate about the future of our field of scholarship.

Karl G. Johansson
Dept. of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies
University of Oslo
Norway
k.g.a.johansson@iln.uio.no

Anti Selart (ed.), *Baltic Crusades and Societal Innovation in Livonia, 1200–1350* (The Northern World 93), Leiden: Brill 2020, xii + 303 pp.

Medieval Livonia comprises the territory of the contemporary national states Estonia and Latvia. In historiography, this territory is known as the land of the Teutonic Order on the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea. In historical writing it has traditionally been conceptualized in terms of "German" conquest of the "Baltic" peoples in the Middle Ages, a crusade which entailed Christianisation of the indigenous people.

In the book under review, the concept of "societal innovation" is understood as the results of "the mutual cultural impact and acculturation of groups of different ethnic origin, social status, and migrational background in this region." The perspective is not one of conquest, subjugation and exploitation but rather of "Coexistence, isolation, and cultural interchange in medieval Livonia." This was the title of a research project in 2017–2020 at the University of Tartu, funded by the Estonian Research Council. The research was carried out by historians and archaeologists in medieval studies, seven from Tartu University and one each from the Estonian Literary Museum in Tartu and the Turaida Museum Reserve in Latvia and the University of Leipzig, respectively. The results are published in the book *Baltic Crusades*. The title may be understood as a subtle, ironic misnomer of the subject. The crusades are de-constructed and re-conceptualised. They are understood as an—albeit distinctive—conjuncture in a lengthy process of making the Baltic Sea region into a historic region in its own right.

The gist of the project is a post-colonial perspective. It is spelled out in the headlines of two of the nine case studies, "Domesticating Europe" by Tõnno Jonuks and "Exploiting the Conquerors" by Kristjan Kaljusaar and in the summary and conclusion "Changing Aliens, Chancing Natives" by Christian Lübke. The project leader Anti Selart's empirical study on "Livonian Economic Resources, 1200–1350" elaborates on the change of focus in modern research from "clash" to "compromise." This has mainly concerned cultural life and religion. Selart adds economic and social intercourse between the "settlers" and the locals as an additional dimension under the heading "Redistribution and Expansion."

A pan-Nordic perspective on Livonia's medieval history is applied in church historian Mihkel Mäesalu's chapter "Missed Patronage?" The wording refers to the fact that Livonia, in distinction to other areas in medieval Europe, lacked higher nobility—thus the question mark. However, it is straightened out into an exclamation mark once the perspective is broadened and made to encompass the whole of Northern Europe. Princes and noblemen of the northern parts of the Holy Roman Empire, as well as the kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark, supported the crusades and the Christianisation of Livonia, not only at the outset in the early thirteenth century but well into the early fourteenth century. Moreover, the church and the Holy Spirit Hospital in Riga and monastic orders received donations in northern Germany, Denmark and Sweden. Livonia was closely interconnected with the northern German lands and Scandinavia throughout the early Middle Ages.

The study by Mäesalu offers substantial arguments for the thesis put forward both by the project leader Anti Selart in his introductory chapter "Life in Livonia: After the Crusades" and by Christian Lübke in the book's concluding chapter. Selart takes issue with the perspective in late twentieth-century research on historical development in the Baltic region that Livonia was rather passively on the receiving end as misleadingly one-dimensional. He notes that the "Europeanisation" approach by leading scholars in the field, such as Robert Bartlett and Nils Blomqvist, has been criticised by the Polish historian Marian Dygo for being geopolitical and neo-colonial. The project and the book *Baltic Crusades* attribute agency to the Finnish and Baltic speaking peoples.

A methodological flaw in research on influence and change may be, that the presumed sender is considered to be the sole active protagonist. This flaw is avoided in Tõnno Jonuks's article "Domesticating Europe—Novel Cultural Influences in the Late Iron Age Eastern Baltic." Jonuks chooses to view Christianity not from a limited religious or even strictly confessional perspective but as an emanation of European civilisation in a broad sense. Consequently, through an analysis of "narrative pictures" and of archaeological finds of artefacts such as brooches and bracelets from both the pre-Christian period and later in Livonia, Jonuks demonstrates how traditions and symbols from Roman Antiquity and the Muslim world appeared in medieval Livonia not as a contingent part of Christianisation but earlier. Livonia already belonged in European culture and the people could adapt the new religion to existing customs.

Four chapters are detailed empirical studies. In addition to Selart's chapter on the economy and the social fabric, there is a chapter on the role of money, not only as a means of economic exchange, trade, but also as a signifier of political authority by Ivar Leimus; on the legal status of women by Vija Stikāne; on the architecture and material of buildings in the towns by Arvi Haak; and on craftmanship and manufacturing by Andres Tvauri. Thanks to being framed by the chapters on Livonia as part of a common North European realm, these chapters succeed in enforcing the impression that Livonia was not an exotic periphery of Europe but an integrated part with some peculiarities of minor importance: folklore is ubiquitous but not substantially noteworthy as developmentally significant in any European society.

The Swedish nineteenth-century poet Esaias Tegnér, Bishop of Lund, wrote a poem about Sweden being a constituent part of European civilisation. Significantly, the poem was labelled "Svea," Sweden. The punchline read (in rough translation): "All culture stands on unfree basis. Barbarism alone was once a native treasure." The tenor

of *Baltic Crusades and Societal Innovation in Livonia, 1200–1350* is a forceful refutation of methodological nationalism, be it German, Estonian or Latvian. This anthology is a fine work on Northern European medieval history told as a coherent story.

The studies of the volume are all written in the manner of classical German historical research. The bibliography enumerates 1,170 sources, some repeatedly, the most commonly referred to being the chronicle of Henry of Livonia (*Henrici chronicon Livoniae*). His narration is corroborated by the analysis of contemporaneous diploma and archaeological finds. There are approximately 1,500 footnotes that cover one fifth of the total number of pages. In many cases, the text of footnotes covers more than half a page, rendering the body text sometimes to stand out as almost a decoration. Accordingly, *Baltic Crusades* is an up-to-date handbook on Livonian medieval history and a useful inventory of written sources, archaeological material and classic as well as contemporary and recent research on the subject matter.

Speaking in terms of Fernand Braudel's concepts of *la longue durée, conjunctures* and *events,* the book under review is not ostentatiously a counterpart to Braudel's magnum opus, *The Mediterranean in the Age of Philip II*. However, the book manages to deliver the story of Livonia as an integrated part of European civilisation in a long duration from Antiquity into the high Middle Ages. The crusades emerge as a conjecture, whereas the construction of houses and ovens appear as discrete events.

The era of the crusades was an epoch of transition in Livonia. The paradigm of transition, which appeared first in Latin American studies in the 1980s and then became widely used as an analytical tool for investigating the changes in the newly freed societies in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet system, proves to be of general significance. The concept is elusive if it is understood as an ontological concept. History is seamless. However, as an epistemological concept it can be equally useful as concepts in terms of historical periodisation. Accordingly, the period 1200–1350 in Livonia may, in spite of the clever circumspective approach of the reviewed project, be labelled "the transition to Christendom in Livonia." This means that it was a lengthy process of mutual adaptation of different social groups and classes to one another, and not a rather sudden "conquest" by an external force of a submissive native population.

Kristian Gerner
Dept. of History
Lund University
Sweden
kristian.gerner@hist.lu.se

Eva Silvén, *Friktion. Ernst Manker, Nordiska museet och det samiska kulturarvet*, Lund: Nordic Academic Press 2021, ISBN 9789188909909, 320 pp.

Ernst Manker (1893–1972) was a curator at Nordiska museet from 1939 until he retired in 1961, and his ethnographic studies of Sami cultural heritage during the 1930s to the 1970s have made him a legend. In his position as a curator, he challenged the academic hierarchies, "Lappology," even though he never earned a PhD. However,

his two studies on Sami drums in *Acta Lapponica* I–II are, in my mind, more than enough for a doctoral degree. He produced a number of books and exhibitions, and even long after his death, several of his books were published posthumously. One can say that Manker influenced Sami daily life and research during his life, and does so still. I have heard many Sami friends say that when they look at photographs from his books, they may notice some detail that has been forgotten in their daily life, usually something to do with clothing, and Manker gave it new life. Manker strove to give his photographs authenticity, but modernity (p. 120), as represented by, for example, a raincoat and rubber boots, or a modern turban such as that worn by Ellen Huuva, did not care about this to the same extent as Manker (p. 158). Is this what we call material punctum, what meets the eye, how the photographer arranged the picture? Or was it a frozen tradition? This is a typical dilemma for ethnographers like Frans Boas (the father of American anthropology) and his disciples, such as Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Gregory Bateson and others who faced the same problems as Manker did (see King 2019). In the early 1900s, almost all scholars believed that Sami culture would become extinct, but not Manker. However, he realized that things would change, and wanted to document the old ways of life while they were still practised. With his camera, Manker documented the old traditions, but at the same time, the people he photographed dressed up for the occasion, for example by wearing a fancy headscarf or silver jewellery (pp. 78–79). Manker had a lot of comments from his colleagues about Sami ladies wearing lipstick and men dressed in slipovers and knickerbockers. Modernity was taking over. The collection of Sami items, artefacts, stories, history etc. is a construction of Sami identity from a scholarly perspective, made through selection, reduction, categorization and classification. This is a discussion in which Eva Silvén is heavily involved in her study.

Dr. Eva Silvén, who was also a curator at Nordiska museet, now retired, has picked up the challenge and written a biography about Manker and his work. The main title, *Friktion* ['friction'], tells us that Manker, in his role as a curator and fieldworker, had a lot of challenges to overcome. Silvén takes three different angles on postcolonial studies, critical museology, and indigenous methodology. The identity of Sami artefacts is on the move, from their original locations to exhibitions/archives, and then perhaps repatriated back to their homeland. Stories will change because time and location will interpret them differently. The scars resulting from the practice of collecting Sami items will not be healed. Manker made Nordiska museet a contact zone where Sami identity, knowledge and meaning were portrayed, but on his own conditions and, of course, with some collaboration, which often involved friction or conflict—mostly friction, as Silvén mentions (p. 265). He was a culture broker, positioned between Swedish society and Sami society. There have been such culture brokers with a Sami perspective, too, like Mattias Kuoljok, Andreas Labba or Johan Märak, who gave a voice to the local groups. There was a triangular, balanced relationship between Mattias Kuoljok, Eric von Rosen and Manker, who represented three different kinds of agendas, authenticity, noblesse and research. Kuoljok is described as a noble Sami, but also a trickster, von Rosen as a respected and esteemed nobleman, and Manker as something in between (p. 171). Manker was also a philanthropist who took money from his own pocket and acquired financing from the Axel Munthe Foundation to purchase new reindeer livestock for families in the Vittangi forest *lappby* (*sameby*).

Silvén concludes that Manker's work consisted in competition and collaboration with other scholars about the construction of Sami history, cultural heritage, and identity. All the time, there was friction between essence and emancipation. Silvén does not take sides in her study. Her ambition is to treat the Sami peoples, Nordiska museet and Manker objectively and with respect. According to Silvén, the purpose, challenges and character of her study can, simply put, be said to be "what needs to be done, why and how?" (p. 13). Her intention (what?) was to extract and analyse how Sami history, cultural heritage and identity have been defined and documented. The chief purpose (why?) was to investigate the role that Manker and Nordiska museet have played in the construction and context of cultural heritage up until today. The third goal (how?) was to problematize Manker's biography academically. Silvén takes us on a 100-year journey through the lenses of Ernst Manker which I am certain the readers of this book will find fascinating. Ernst Manker played an important role during his lifetime, and he will be important also in the future. Eva Silvén ends her book with the question "Did Manker have a forward-looking Sami emancipation perspective in his work, or an essentially backward-looking one?" Silvén's answer to both alternatives is yes—in an environment of dynamic and productive friction. There is a dichotomy between Sami–Swedish, or empowerment–resistance in Manker's work.

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Krister Stoor
Dept. of Language Studies/Sámi dutkan
Várdduo – Centre of Sámi Research
Umeå university
Sweden
krister.stoor@umu.se

Nils-Gustaf Stahre, Per Anders Fogelström, Jonas Ferenius & Gunnar Lundqvist (with participation of Börje Westlund, Lars Wikström, Göran Sidenbladh, Lars Cleve & Carl Magnus Rosell), expanded and revised edition by Staffan Nyström, *Stockholms gatunamn*, 4th edition (Monografier utgivna av Stockholms stad 50), Stockholm: Stockholms stad 2022, ISSN 02825899; ISBN 9789170313363, 784 pp.

In the late 1950s, the then Professor of Swedish Language Carl Ivar Ståhle took the initiative for collecting material for a history of Stockholm's place-names. This eventually resulted in the book *Stockholms gatunamn* ['Stockholm's street names'] which has been published in several editions, the first of which appeared in 1982, chiefly authored by Nils-Gustaf Stahre and Per Anders Fogelström. The second edition ap-

peared in 1992 with, among others, Jonas Ferenius and Gunnar Lundqvist being responsible for the update. Staffan Nyström became involved in the work with the third edition in 2005, and in this fourth edition 2022, he is responsible for updating texts, removing outdated names and adding new ones.

In an introductory section, the reader gets an informed overview of the characteristics of Stockholm's place-name repository, as well as an excellent picture of the growth in the number of names. A few highlights from this section will be presented below. It is evident that extensive source material has been used in this book project over the years, such as evidence provided by medieval diplomas, city records, cadastral records, parish catechetical records, deeds of purchase, maps and, later on, leasehold records and estate inventories. The minutes of the Stockholm Name Drafting Committee are of course also important sources, even though the reasoning behind the choice of names were not originally clearly stated in the minutes.

In the City of Stockholm, one finds both spontaneous names that have arisen naturally and names decided by an administrative authority. The spontaneous ones are of course the oldest, and in older times they were often characterised by instability. Names decided by an authority are often thematic names, i.e., they are based on a specific name idea. For example, names based on famous Swedish authors can be found in the city districts of Kristineberg (from 1888), Stadshagen (1888), Fredhäll (1930–1936) and Marieberg (1938) and in the city district of Ladugårdsgärdet (1931, 1943) we find archipelago names. In Långbro and Långsjö (1928–1938) there are names drawn from insects, in Solberga (1949) from different kinds of footwear, in Hökarängen (1946–1949) from words associated with tobacco smoking, etc. The list of proposed name ideas (pp. 19 ff.) is valuable. Some of the ideas, however, are likely to raise a few eyebrows among the readers.

The principles that the Name Drafting Committee seeks to apply in its work are described in the introduction—names should be easy to grasp, pronounce, spell and remember, and must not be easily confused with other names—and the principles to be applied in the naming of a street or a place after a person are also presented. Placenames containing personal names are of different types. Some are of course spontaneous names, such as *Mäster Samuelsgatan* after the vicar Samuel Benedicti Hamarinus (d. 1667), who owned properties along that street. Among the names behind which there is a "baptism act," there are commemorative names after people who usually, but not always, have a link to the place in question. In addition, there are a large number of thematic names given after a specific group of people, for example "famous Swedish women."

Second elements appearing in Stockholm names are also listed (p. 30). The most common ones are *väg* 'road,' *gata* 'street' and *gränd* 'alley.' At the end of 2020, these three elements were found in 1,980, 950 and about 500 names, respectively, either as second elements in compound names or as separate second elements in word combinations, such as *Bellmans Väg*. Some such elements denote a specific feature of a locality, such as its design, function etc. (pp. 30 f.). Thus, *far* denotes an underground service street, and *gång* a lane only intended for pedestrian and bicycle traffic. Furthermore, *koppel* is found in the names of short connecting roads that link together different parts of flyover traffic junctions, *länk* in the names of streets that connect

larger routes and *mot* in names of flyover crossings between motorways and other roads. A short section treats of the different types of compound names and linking morphemes in such names (pp. 33 f.).

After these introductory pages, the names in the city are dealt with. A couple of pages are devoted to the possible background to the name *Stockholm*, where the "barrier theory" and the "footbridge theory" are presented, but the discussion then continues along the line of Clas Tollin's thoughts in his book *Stockholm, Klara kloster och Kungsladugården* (2017). The discussion about the background to the city's name is likely to continue.

The presentation of the names is divided into three parts: *Innerstaden*, *Söderort* and *Västerort*. Below, I will give some interesting examples from this extremely rich presentation, which comprises a total of 5,454 names of streets, squares, parks and other public places.

One learns, among other things, that Kungsholmen was called *Munkelägret (Munkelederne*) prior to 1672; the latter name is known from the 1530s. The first element contains *munk* 'monk,' referring to the fact that most of the island of Kungsholmen was owned by a Franciscan monastery before the Reformation, and the second element is discussed with a starting point in an investigation from 2016 by Staffan Fridell (pp. 100 ff.).

Norrmalmstorg has had two older names, *Fiskartorget* and *Packartorget*. According to a charter from 1636, salted fish brought into the city had to be taken to Packartorget for inspection and repackaging (p. 191). How the old name for Reimersholme, *Räkningaholm*, should be interpreted seems unclear. It has been suggested that it might be related to *räkna* 'count,' but this is highly uncertain, and whether a connection with *råk* 'channel through ice, hole in the ice, current line,' with reference to the conditions at one of the straits near the island, is possible remains to be investigated (pp. 206 ff.).

Skrubba is the name of a farmstead, recorded as early as the Middle Ages, and may be derived from Old Swedish *skrubba* 'burrow, cave, crevice,' also occurring in the compound *iordhaskrubba* 'dugout'; perhaps the first building on the site was a simple dugout. However, this interpretation is not entirely conclusive (p. 479). Two streets in Gamla Enskede, *Lilla Gungans Väg* and *Stora Gungans Väg*, get their name from two farm names. In the eighteenth century, there was a tavern named *Gungans Krog* in this area. The background to this name might be the swampy character of the marshy ground in the area (pp. 399 f.). The strange-sounding street name *Backluravägen* in Hässelby Villastad gets its name from a croft mentioned in the eighteenth century; the name may be connected with *backlure*, a word meaning 'a remotely located residence' recorded in the Swedish dialects of western Finland (p. 591). *Fåfängan* on Södermalm is named after *Lundins Fåfänga,* a gazebo that was built in the eighteenth century; incidentally, the word *fåfänga* seems to have acquired a specific meaning in Stockholm, namely 'a gazebo on a mountain with a panoramic view, where the owner would gather their friends for parties' (p. 255).

The name *Mitisgatan* on Kungsholmen is said to have its origins in the mitis casting process, developed in the 1880s by Swedish metallurgist Gustaf Wittenström, that was used at the Karlsvik foundry (p. 119), and *Lignagatan* on Södermalm is named after *Ligna nya snickeri AB* (a carpentry shop), whose name is related to *lignum*, the

Latin word for 'wood' (p. 271). *Lidovägen* in the city district of Ladugårdsgärdet is named after the seaside resort of Lido near Venice—a villa was built in the area by a Countess Piper in 1836 (p. 133).

Parmmätargatan on Kungsholmen comes from the occupational designation of *parmmätare*, a person responsible for measuring hay-loads brought into the city (p. 120). The name *Kindstugatan* (1449 *kinhæstagatan*) in Gamla stan has ancient origins and is probably based on *kindhes*t 'a box on the ear,' likely referring to some memorable fist fight (pp. 62 f.). *Tysta Marigången* in Norrmalm is named after Miss Maria Christina Lindström, called *Tysta Mari*, who ran a pastry business here (p. 202).

Bjurholmsplan on Södermalm is named after the brewer Anders Bjurholm (pp. 240 f.), and *Siargatan*, also on Södermalm, refers to Emanuel Swedenborg (p. 287). In Mariehäll, we find the strange name *Sol och Måne*, referring to a neighbourhood park, which "was an established working name before it was officially adopted" (p. 616).

A large number of thematic names of various kinds are reported in the book. *Sonja Kovalevsky's Gata* in Vasastaden, named after Sweden's first female professor (p. 325), is an example of a name inspired by the category "women pioneers." Other street names in Vasastaden based on this category are *Ninni Kronbergs Gata*, named after a nutritionist (p. 318) and *Johanna Hedéns Gata* after a midwife and barber surgeon (p. 316).

In Liseberg, we find names belonging to the category of "the legend of Staffan Stallare and older Christmas customs," e.g., *Annandagsvägen*, *Baltasarsbacken* (after *Balthasar*, one of the Three Holy Kings), *Fem Fålars Brunn*, *Staffan Stallares Väg* and *Tre Kungars Lund* (pp. 449 f).

The category of "Nordic children's literature" has given rise to a series of names in Mariehäll, such as *Dartanjangs Gata* (after Barbro Lindgren's book *Loranga, Masarin och Dartanjang*), *Krakel Spektakels Gata* (after Lennart Hellsing's book *Krakel Spektakel*) and *Mamma Muparken* (after Jujja and Tomas Wieslander's book *Mamma Mu och Kråkan*) (pp. 612 ff.).

Another category, "Swedish waterways," was used in the naming of streets in Bagarmossen, such as *Byälvsvägen*, *Djupågatan*, *Fyrisgränd*, *Nissastigen*, *Nossagränd* and *Tidagränd* (pp. 359 f.). In Stureby, there are names belonging to the category of "Swedish paper and pulp mills," e.g., *Billerudsvägen*, *Billingsforsvägen*, *Bollstavägen*, *Brättnevägen*, *Domsjögränd*, *Gideågränd*, *Hallstanäsvägen*, *Lessebovägen* and *Mölnbackavägen* (pp. 495 ff.). "Northern Swedish place-names" constitute the first element of names in Råcksta such as *Alnötorget*, *Hackåsgränd*, *Offerdalsgatan* and *Tärnabytorget* (pp. 643 ff.).

In Flysta, we find names on the theme of "the Great Inland Ice," such as *Berghällsvägen*, *Gråbergsstigen*, *Gråstensvägen*, *Jökelvägen*, *Rullstensvägen* and *Rösvägen* (pp. 576 ff.). The somewhat odd category of "tobacco smoking" characterises street names in Hökarängen, such as *Cigarrvägen*, *Munstycksvägen*, *Piprensarvägen*, *Sjöskumsvägen* and *Tobaksvägen* (pp. 432 f.).

The book concludes with a detailed list of sources and literature, followed by a fifty-page place-name index of names of villages, farms, crofts etc., as well as of city districts, streets and public places. *Stockholms gatunamn* contains a generous number of black-and-white photos showing buildings, people, excerpts from maps, etc. The photos are primarily from Per Anders Fogelström's private photo collection, now kept

at the Stockholm City Museum's photo archives, which has also contributed photos. Brief but informative preambles to the sections dealing with the various city districts provide the reader with a quick historical overview, and the name interpretations in the various sections are presented in a concise and pedagogical manner. The book is a treasure trove of information and is highly recommended to all those interested in urban naming practices.

Lars-Erik Edlund
Dept. of Language Studies
Umeå university
Sweden
lars-erik.edlund@umu.se

Clas Tollin, *Sveriges kartor och lantmätare 1628 till 1680. Från idé till tolvtusen kartor* (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien. Handlingar. Antikvariska serien 58; Skrifter utgivna av Riksarkivet 43), Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien; Riksarkivet 2021, ISBN 9789188763242; ISSN 00836761; ISSN 14024705, 464 pp.

As is well known, access to maps is extremely important in place-name research, as they contain lots of place-name forms, including names of fields, meadows and outfield lands. Maps also show what a district looked like in older times before settlements were established, drainage ditches dug, dams built etc. Ever since the early seventeenth century, a large number of maps have been produced in Sweden, and researchers from other countries often envy us this rich material; for example, the British geographer Elizabeth Baigent (cited in the book on p. 386) stated that "Sweden's cartographical inheritance is unique because of its priority, its comprehensiveness, and its preservation."

This richly illustrated book by cultural geographer and agrarian historian Clas Tollin, who leads the project *Nationalutgåvan av de äldre geometriska kartorna* ['National edition of the older geometric maps'] at the Swedish National Archives, presents a large-scale cartographic enterprise commenced in the first few decades after the establishment of the Swedish National Land Survey (Sw. Lantmäteriet) and which laid the foundation for that authority. The database resulting from this project, including all maps, has been available on the National Archives' website since 2010. The systematic mapping of Sweden's villages and farms at the time, from Öland to Tornedalen and from Värmland to Karelia, is completely unique. In total, the so-called geometric cadastral records comprise about 12,000 maps and some so-called smaller-scale geographical maps, for example of a district. Strangely enough, the reasons behind this large-scale mapping enterprise are not entirely clear, but a possible motive is that the Crown wanted to obtain a better basis for taxation.

The opening chapter provides an informed description of the background to contemporary European cartographic projects that may have served as an impetus to the Swedish project. The chapter furthermore contains an interesting account of Swed-

ish large-scale maps from the time before 1630; here, I found particular interest in Rasmus Ludvigsson's maps of lakes and rivers with mill sites and fishing waters, and in the maps found in court files. Thus, there are maps preceding the issuance of the Royal Land Survey Instructions in 1628. The presentation then turns to an account of the organisation and personnel of the geometric mapping project, which provides insights into how the practical cartographic work was done, including information about the technology and equipment used. Here, the reader can follow the day-to-day work of the surveyors as they travelled to farms and villages; a diary from 1696 gives particularly good insights into the work during the early years of the Swedish National Land Survey. A significant milestone is of course the above-mentioned Royal Land Survey Instructions addressed to Anders Bure, who led the work during the first few years of the project.

The description of the content and symbols of the maps is fascinating and substantiated with a number of photos of maps. Cartographic components such as scale bars, north arrows and compass roses are dealt with, and a description is given of how farms, fields, meadows, hop gardens, cabbage gardens, orchards, places with stands of linden trees and birch trees, as well as a number of other features, are marked on the maps. Fishing waters are also often given on the maps, as well as churches, roads with toll gates, sea tolls where customs duties were paid and places of execution. Given that these surveying records were drawn up in a time characterised by Gothicism and great-power ambitions, it is surprising, however, that ancient sites are hardly ever marked on the older geometric maps.

A very comprehensive chapter entitled "Karteringens rumsliga och kronologiska förlopp efter lantmätare och landskap" ['Spatial and chronological course of the mapping, by surveyor and province'], provides a systematic presentation of the mapping process, province by province, and the chapter also deals with the geographical maps (see above). This detailed presentation provides a very clear picture of the extent of the mapping of the different provinces, as well as of the different phases of the project.

The next chapter deals with the mapping of ecclesiastical districts and counties during the 1660s and 1670s, and discusses maps of the so-called protected mile around certain castles (Sw. *fredsmilskartor*), land surveys in the newly conquered provinces and some private map collections. The penultimate chapter gives the reader insights into how comparisons between draft maps (Sw. *konceptkartor*) and finished geometric maps (Sw. *renovationer*) can provide knowledge about how the mapping was carried out. In general, there is a good agreement between the two types of maps. One thing that can be observed, however, is that the textual descriptions are often significantly fuller in the draft maps than in the finished ones, e.g., in terms of ownerships, abandoned farms, enfeoffments and names of fief holders. Tollin summarises this by saying that the draft maps show "that the actual number of abandoned farms was significantly greater than what appears in the finished maps" (p. 367)—it was of course important for the Crown to find out about such farms in the villages, why they had been abandoned and whether this had resulted in the Crown's income in the form of tax, rent and other revenue having been "unlawfully reduced" (p. 361).

In the concluding summary and discussion, Tollin presents a selection of interesting discussion points and provides a clear picture of the different phases of the mapping enterprise with the help of an instructive suite of maps (pp. 372–375), a map

of the surveys of freehold estates, baronies and counties in the provinces of Södermanland, Östergötland, Västergötland and Småland (p. 378) and various other maps. Finally, we learn that the large-scale mapping enterprise in the seventeenth century continued in the following centuries with the mapping of new settlements and later on with surveys carried out in connection with various land partition reforms (Sw. *storskiftet, enskiftet, laga skiftet*) and the even later surveys whereby definitive borders between state and private land were established in Norrland (Sw. *avvittring*). However, it was the work with the geometric maps in the 1630s and 1640s that laid the foundation for the Swedish National Land Survey and resulted in "a map material that is unparalleled in the world" (p. 386).

The concluding appendices list the map collections, title pages of map collections by surveyor and year, and the surveyors. Sources and literature references are listed, followed by a personal index and a valuable index containing a large number of placenames. As mentioned above, this book is generously illustrated with excellent reproductions of often beautifully coloured maps. Tollin presents his extensive material skilfully and in great detail, while never losing sight of the overall perspectives of this formative phase of the history of the Swedish National Land Survey. The publication of this book, as well as the database at the National Archives linked to it, is a truly outstanding cultural achievement.

Lars-Erik Edlund
Dept. of Language Studies
Umeå university
Sweden
lars-erik.edlund@umu.se

Olga Ulturgasheva & Barbara Bodenhorn (eds.), *Risky Futures. Climate, Geopolitics and Local Realities in the Uncertain Circumpolar North* (Studies in the Circumpolar North 6), New York: Berghahn 2022, ISBN 9781800735934, xiv + 218 pp.

The volume *Risky Futures. Climate, Geopolitics and Local Realities in the Uncertain Circumpolar North*, edited by the social anthropologists Olga Ulturgasheva and Barbara Bodenhorn, continues Berghahn's series *Studies in the Circumpolar North*. The volume features contributions by Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars and experts and addresses uncertainties and risks resulting from global climate and environmental changes in the Arctic and the Himalayas.[1]

The Foreword to the volume authored by Peter Schweitzer critically unpacks the notion of the Arctic as a shared space with similar economic, social and cultural processes that was constructed after the end of the Cold War, as international academic collaborations, Indigenous movements and cross-border cultural exchanges devel-

[1] I would like to thank European Research Council project "InfraNorth" under the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme (Grant Agreement No. 885646) for support and inspiration I received while writing this book review.

oped and flourished. While climate change is a global phenomenon that exposes populations living in the cryosphere to similar risks, the ways these risks are perceived, experienced and addressed differ in different parts of the Arctic. Thus, environmental uncertainties and concerns of the peoples of the cryosphere should be seen in the larger context of "more-than-climate relations" (pp. xi–xii).

In their Introduction to the book, Bodenhorn and Ulturgasheva deliberate on the complex relations of Arctic residents with the environment, decentering the "human" through the conceptual lenses of the Anthropocene, more-than-human relations and by revisiting the notion of animism. Following provocations by Povinelli, Gosh and Weston, they reassert the value of traditional knowledge and Indigenous cosmological models as holistic approaches to understanding intricate webs of relations between humans, animals and natural forces. In the second part of the Introduction, the authors apply sociological and social science concepts of risks, hazards and uncertainties to analyze environmental unpredictability and human perceptions and responses varying from a risky decision about hunting on thin ice to risk assessment and modeling. Finally, they argue that collaboration between Arctic communities, knowledge-holders and scientists gains importance as environmental degradation proceeds.

After introducing the chapters and highlighting the main themes of the volume, Ulturgasheva and Bodenhorn continue in Chapter 1 with a critical analysis of the widely used concept of the Anthropocene. They introduce the notion "cryocide" to describe the processes of environmental degradation and geopolitical realities that "the people of the cryosphere" live in. They argue for the inclusion of Indigenous and local voices and cosmologies in the production of knowledge and global conversations about climate change. The old and well-intentioned concept of traditional environmental knowledge (TEK) might be useful for this purpose as it offers "a complex account of thinking about the Arctic that includes multiple perspectives" (p. 31). Holistic multiscalar thinking about the Arctic and the Anthropocene in terms of feedback loops means drawing connections between dramatically thawing permafrost, shrinking sea ice in the Far North, forest fires in Siberia and extreme heat in European and American cities, understanding the immediacy of the moment and the limits of human adaptability to global anthropogenic environmental change.

In Chapter 2, Ulturgasheva is drawing on her ethnographic case study of Eveny reindeer herders to describe unique cosmological entanglements between humans, animals and permafrost in Northeast Siberia. She presents ethnographic accounts of two reindeer herding communities heroically surviving wild-fires and floods caused by rapidly thawing permafrost. It is the sum of traditional ways of knowing, astonishing resilience and ingenuity of Indigenous people that help adapting to rapidly and unpredictably changing taiga landscapes and extreme environmental events threatening the lives of humans and their animals. Furthermore, the author demonstrates how the same ways of observing, knowing, and adapting can not only serve as survival strategies but also inform scientific knowledge about permafrost change through collaborative research practices.

Chapter 3 by Rachel Nutaaq Ayalhuq Nanginaaq Edwardson, an Alaskan Indigenous leader and writer, addresses the complexity of competing ontologies and epistemologies of climate change. Based on her family's and own experience of living in and knowing the Arctic, the author outlines the fundamental principles Indigenous envi-

ronmental ethics and holistic understanding of natural processes. The author calls for recognition of Indigenous knowledge, perspectives and voices in decision-making, as well as in the production of scientific knowledge about climate change.

In Chapter 4, Stacy Rasmus working in Yup'ik villages of Southwestern Alaska is dedicated to Native youth's well-being. This includes adapting to extreme and unpredictable weather and sea, negotiating relations with governing authorities, and meeting a number of social and economic challenges. The notion of "weathering the storms" in the title has multiple meanings—from literally standing against climate and environmental changes, to prosperity and resilience, to spiritual and emotional health. The visions of the future expressed by young Yup'ik leaders include sustainable and thriving communities that are able to address the issues of suicide and environmental degradation by transmitting their language, traditional knowledge and skills to the next generations.

In Chapter 5, the Canadian Indigenous media scholar Candis Callison analyses how the Arctic and the voices of its residents were eradicated in the media coverage of the UN Climate Change Conference (COP21). While Arctic Indigenous Peoples and local residents were able to participate in the conference meetings in Paris, this fact was not properly reflected, neither was the knowledge of environmental shifts they shared part of the overall discussion. Drawing on the COP21 as a starting point, the author elaborates on the role of regional and national media and journalism as potential tools for civic engagement, representation and construction of an Arctic identity in the face of climate change.

Chapter 6, authored by Hildegard Diemberger and Astrid Hovden, proposes a cross-regional, cross-disciplinary approach to studying icescapes. Drawing on their case study of the Third Pole, the authors suggest a number of parallels in the social lives of the changing cryosphere in the Arctic and in the Himalayas. The ways Tibetan nomads spiritually and pragmaticaly engage with mountain glaciers remind of those of Inuit hunters and other Indigenous Peoples of the Arctic. Such a high latitude–high altitude comparison is helpful for a holistic understanding of the challenges encountered by "the peoples of the cryosphere" that connects global processes and local responses to climate change.

Finally, Barbara Bodenhorn's contribution represents a multi-dimensional ethnography of whaling in Barrow, Alaska. In Chapter 7, she unpacks the meanings of whaling and food sharing as social practices through the Inupiaq concept of "social food." She further proceeds with describing the whale hunt and analyzing the role of ethical norms, institutional regulations and environmental uncertainties of this subsistence activity in autumn. These multiple factors as well as complex relations between the Inupiaq elders, experts of the Eskimo Walrus Commission and other members of the North Slope's Native community constitute the constellation of actors, risks and decisions made (to hunt or not to hunt).

The conclusion of the volume is provided in an Afterword by Michael Bravo, where he elaborates further on the idea of risk constellations in the context of what he calls "the politics of polarity." The author reflects on how commerce, navigation and military power have historically driven scientific explorations, western colonization and geopolitical relations in the Arctic. The inclusion of traditional environmental knowledge in conceptualizations of climate change processes and growing political

engagement of Indigenous Peoples transforms colonial imaginaries and governance structures helping to address unprecedented upheavals of fragile ecosystems, a shrinking cryosphere and engendered social worlds in and beyond the Arctic.

The collection of articles gathered by Ulturgasheva and Bodenhorn represents a well-designed and rather unique publication project that brings Indigenous voices to the forefront of discussions about climate and environmental changes affecting the cryosphere and human and non-human lives entangled with it. Drawing on eloquent ethnographies of thawing permafrost, shrinking sea ice, disappearing mountain glaciers and other irreversible changes constituting cryocide, the volume clearly argues for a holistic, multidisciplinary and multiscalar approach to understanding unprecedented social and environmental changes, challenges, uncertainties and risks. The dominating message that the book leaves: ongoing scientific research, future scenarios and political decisions made to mitigate the environmental change should be informed by knowledge and experience accumulated by the peoples of the cryosphere, as well as by their own visions of the future in increasingly unpredictable environment.

Olga Povoroznyuk
University of Vienna & Austrian Polar Research Institute
Austria
olga.povoroznyuk@univie.ac.at

Marianne Vasara-Aaltonen, *Learning Law and Travelling Europe. Study Journeys and the Developing Swedish Legal Profession, c. 1630–1800*, Leiden & Boston: Brill 2018, ISBN 9789004431652, 427 pp.

In this monograph, Marianne Vasara-Aaltonen explores the trajectories of early modern law students from the Royal Academy of Turku (later moved to Helsinki and renamed the University of Helsinki in 1917) who travelled to the continent, mostly to the Netherlands and to Germany, in search of academic education, especially in the art of jurisprudence. At home they pursued careers which took them to different positions in the state organization where they made professional use of their national and international law training.

The Turku travellers' studies and careers are related to the development of the early modern Swedish state and the concomitant changes in state bureaucracy and society. The author thus contributes to fields of research that have attracted broad academic interest, such as the rise of the early modern state, travel as a means of education and the development of the early modern judiciary system and law education. A central argument for the investigation is that while knowledge of the early modern state's need for professionals schooled in law is well established, very little is known about who the lawyers were, what they studied and where they travelled. Lawyers, it should be pointed out, is the overarching concept used by the author to denominate those who were active in the judiciary system, be it in

the central government, the royal courts of appeal, cities or the regional and local government.

A cohort of some 70 students of various social backgrounds travelling in the period around 1630 to 1800 is the empirical point of departure of the investigation. Vasara-Aaltonen found these students in the online database of the Academy of Turku (*ylioppilasmatrikkeli*) which contains annotations about the students' careers making it possible to single out those whose professions involved various kinds of legal work. Since the list of matriculations at the University of Uppsala does not provide the same kind of information, the Academy of Turku database is a particularly valuable source of information for research, according to the author. A methodological limitation is that, in many cases, little or nothing is known about what the students actually studied. A "law student," according to Vasara-Aaltonens definition, is therefore someone who later became a lawyer.

Six main questions are targeted, namely how common studies abroad were, which the most popular universities were, why the future lawyers studied abroad, what they studied, what effect their studies had on their careers and, more generally, how the students' foreign experiences of law training shaped the development in Sweden. In order to provide answers to these questions, the author has arranged the ten chapters of the book into three parts. The first part contains an introduction and an overview of early modern study travel. The second part is dedicated to Turku law students' stays at Dutch and German universities. The third part contains a discussion about developments in seventeenth century Sweden, the students' choice of universities and the decline in the number of law students abroad in the eighteenth century.

In my opinion, this outline has some clear advantages, e.g., that the students' matriculations at foreign universities come to the fore early in the study, but a disadvantage is that the reasons for studying law at foreign universities are discussed only late in the book, which means that issues that have surfaced in previous chapters need to be iterated, sometimes in a slightly superfluous way.

As Vasara-Aaltonen demonstrates, the number of Turku law students travelling abroad varied over time. There was a rapid increase in the 1640s and the numbers remained high until the 1680s when they started to decline, and by the 1750s only few students travelled abroad. This trend, it could be added, correlates with the general trend for Swedish students going abroad, as previous research about the seventeenth century (Niléhn, Giese) has shown. There is also a correlation with the overall pattern of Swedish academic peregrinations as concerns destinations. Most of the Turku law students matriculated at the university of Leiden in the Netherlands and at the German universities of Greifswald, Halle, Jena and Rostock. As for other Swedes, Wittenberg was an important destination for Turku students, but only a few of them are recorded to have studied law. In contrast, Strasbourg seems to have been quite attractive for future lawyers, as almost half of the relatively small number of Turku students who made their way there were found to have pursued legal studies.

The explanation for the increase in students, according to Vasara-Aaltonen, was the need for academically trained lawyers in the state bureaucracy which grew considerably as a consequence of the rapid Swedish state-building process in the seventeenth century. The reason for the decrease in the number of students was the development of law training at the domestic universities and the professionalization of the judiciary

powers, which made specialization in Swedish law more important than before, thus reducing the demand for internationally trained lawyers.

Furthermore, social background must be taken into account to explain the differences over time and the various different trajectories of the students. During the seventeenth century, and especially in the middle of the century, more members of the high nobility are found among the law student than later in that period. Of these, a majority studied at Leiden—the university *par préférence* for the Swedish nobility at least until around the 1680s—and only a few at German universities. The members of the higher nobility also distinguished themselves by pursuing grand tours in France and Italy once their university studies were completed. Consequently, social background, studies and travels contribute to explain the great differences in careers. While the members of high nobility ended up taking on legal work in the high offices of the realm and, in the seventeenth century, at the newly founded courts of appeal in Stockholm and Turku, the non-nobles were allotted less socially distinguished positions, in which they nevertheless made important contributions to the development of the judiciary system.

The social pattern uncovered in the study confirms the general circumstances of, especially, the seventeenth century, and for anyone interested in early modern education, the changing conditions for travels and studies for members of different estates make for interesting reading. However, in my view the use of the concepts of "law student" and "lawyer," when applied to the nobility, is somewhat problematic. A few examples will make my point clear.

One of the law students included in the cohort is Gustaf Bielke (1618–1661). A son of the first president of the Turku Court of Appeal, he studied in Leiden together with his brother Svante (1620–1645) and then went on to France and Italy. Vasara-Aaltonen labels Gustaf a "law student" but not Svante. The reason for this is that Gustaf later engaged in legal matters as Councillor of the Realm (*riksråd*) while Svante died a major at the age of 25. This conceptual separation is peculiar since Gustaf and Svante travelled together and stated in a letter written in Leiden that they were taking private lessons in history, politics and law. Another Bielke-brother was Sten Bielke (1624–1684) who travelled extensively on the continent and later became Lord High Treasurer (*riksskattmästare*). To define him, one of the most important representatives of the realm, as a "law student" and "lawyer" blurs the concepts, in my view. It would have been more fruitful, I would suggest, to discuss the Bielke-brothers' law studies as a part of the state-building process, that is, as a response to the nobility's need to be active agents in the state and to protect their estate from competition from underneath.

Having said that, it should be pointed out that Vasara-Aaltonen also critically discusses the nobility's role in the judiciary system and, more generally, the conditions for studies and travels for students of different social backgrounds. She does this against the backdrop of a large bulk of previous research and has generously contextualized her findings. For someone not so well read in early modern law education, there is much to learn about how it developed. In some cases, the studies pursued by the Turku students are well known and it is very useful to get detailed insights into their academic pursuits, e.g., the dissertations they defended, and their careers. Altogether, Vasara-Aaltonen makes an important contribution to the understanding

of law studies abroad and their relationship to the development of the legal system in early modern Sweden. She is clearly well-versed in different languages and her efforts to collect data in foreign archives and libraries deserve special praise.

Ola Winberg
Dept. of Education
Uppsala University
Sweden
ola.winberg@edu.uu.se

Elizabeth Walgenbach, *Excommunication and Outlawry in the Legal World of Medieval Iceland* (The Northern World 92), Brill: Leiden & Boston 2021, ISBN 9789004460911, 178 pp.

The book is a revised version of the author's PhD thesis at Yale University. It consists of five chapters, each ending with analysing conclusions. Already on the first page, the author makes clear her fundamental theses and points of departure in a short section providing the reader with a clear and interesting introduction to the topic. The author states that 1) outlawry is better understood when the term and the application of outlawry according to Icelandic sources are put in relation to the Church's legal system, both with regard to legislation and application, and that 2) the Icelandic "outlawry" was obviously very much influenced by the Church's opinion of excommunication. Consequently, there was no sharp dividing line between secular law and administration of justice on the one hand, and the Church's counterparts on the other.

The aim of the study is to analyse (explain) Icelandic texts, legal (mainly *Grágás*) as well as narrative ones (mainly *samtíðarsögur*), in the light of how the learned elite in Iceland interpreted and made use of the phenomenon of excommunication. The author describes her book as a mainly church law historical investigation on a local level (Iceland) and as a study of *ius particulare* in a wider European perspective.

To a Swedish reader, it is a sort of relief that you are spared a thesis burdened with an overloaded theoretical prelude. The author has managed to limit the "Introduction" to four pages without this taking away from the intelligibility with regard to the aim of the study and its points of departure—quite the contrary!

In order to give the reader a terminological and historical starting point, the author presents in the two first chapters fundamental and analysing surveys of excommunication and outlawry during the Middle Ages. As she remarks, both forms of punishment have been studied in earlier research, and she relates to this throughout the investigation, thereby thoroughly pointing out her own opinions.

In the chapter on excommunication (pp. 6–37), the author gives an account of how this form of ecclesiastical punishment developed and changed from the early Middle Ages to the late Middle Ages, and how it was introduced in Iceland with regard to both legislation and narrative sources. She points out that in the thirteenth century there was a change in Iceland, as well as in the rest of Western Europe; in Iceland during the latter part of that century. She also draws attention to the fact that in this case the nar-

rative sources are so brief that it is difficult to establish what excommunication really meant in each individual case. This observation is important. Although it is, at least partly, based on earlier research, it is thanks to the author that it is brought to the fore. Her further account in this chapter is a valuable analysis of excommunication based on several different kinds of sources, not just Icelandic ones but also the canon law that was operative internationally as from the early Middle Ages. Here some more sources from the high Middle Ages might have been taken into account, above all *glossa ordinaria* to the primary sources of canon law in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, since the glosses represent the Church's semi-normative interpretation of the sources. Probably, however, that would not have changed the author's conclusions to any appreciable extent; she has not at all neglected the most important sources. Consequently, the elegantly presented survey will be of benefit for future studies. Here, in a very good way, she discusses the rather indistinct Icelandic/Old Scandinavian terminology in the legal sources related to excommunication, and she can establish that during the period after 1275 at the earliest, there are sources in Iceland showing adaption to and reception of texts from the internationally accepted canon law on excommunication.

Starting out from mainly legal sources, the author devotes the second chapter (pp. 38–64) to "outlawry" as a punishment involving social exclusion and loss of legal protection. She underlines that the documentation of this phenomenon is less comprehensive than that concerning excommunication. Despite this, the author manages to present in a convincing way a broad and long chronological perspective going back to Merovingian times and the fascinating fact that a criminal could be declared/become a *wargus* in its a bit inaccessible but interesting etymological meaning. She rejects—and rightly so—that there was a direct continuity between the Merovingian sixth century and Iceland in the thirteenth century as regards legal terminology in this case. It is better to turn to Old English sources from the latter part of the eighth century and onwards, she argues, which she does in chapter 3 (pp. 65–98).

As for the Icelandic sources, her focus is on *Grágás* and the descriptions of "outlawry" found there. The author establishes that this sanction is not as unambiguous as has sometimes been maintained. On the contrary, *Grágás* contains many different ideas regarding the phenomenon. An analysis of the specifically Icelandic and tricky form of punishment called *fjǫrbaugsgarðr,* which in principle only occurs in Old Icelandic texts, is also given well-deserved space in the book. Furthermore, the author deals with outlawry in the sagas of the Icelanders, underlining that the sagas, unlike the legislation, deal more with the consequences of outlawry than the laws with regard to those who were affected. Of course, this observation is important, as the author thus demonstrates how the sagas provide a psychological contribution on an individual level to the understanding of the application of penal law. This is one of many essential results of the investigation.

In the third chapter, the author argues that outlawry, especially during the latter part of the Middle Ages, should be regarded as a sanction inspired by and derived from the Church's excommunication, and could therefore be said to function as a "secular excommunication." At the same time, she emphasizes that it is difficult to demonstrate the validity of her argument "in a strict sense." However, she makes some attempts, building also upon sources from Norway and England, together with

investigations of the manuscript tradition that has preserved the Icelandic texts. In four sections, she develops her argumentation for the thesis in a competent way, for example through reflections about how independent ecclesiastical law and secular law were in relation to each other. Here, she presents the interesting observation that outlawry was used as a punishment for crimes against ecclesiastical law more frequently than one would think (and, you would like to add, despite the fact that the Church had its own form of punishment through *excommunicatio maior*), thereby underlining the obvious tension between ecclesiastical and secular penal law in the "totally" Christian/churchly society. She ascribes this to a direct intellectual influence from excommunication on outlawry. Generally, this chapter, too, is an accomplished and nuanced contribution to research, not least with regard to the question of the right to be buried in consecrated ground, where her discussion on the coming into being of *Grágás* and its character is very fruitful, among other things because it partly diverges from more traditional opinions.

In order to elucidate the legal aspects as they appear in the normative sources, the author devotes the last two chapters (pp. 99–153) to conflicts related to excommunication and outlawry depicted in narrative sources, namely a story from Sturla Þórðarsons Íslendinga saga from the latter part of the thirteenth century about a lengthy controversy between the bishop of Hólar and a chieftain between the years 1203 and 1237, and narratives about Aron Hjǫrleifsson who was active during the 1220s as a bishop's supporter. Aron was made an outlaw but managed to overcome this through a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the benevolent support of the Norwegian king, who accepted him at the court. Undeniably exciting events took place around Aron. The reader is grateful that they have been described by the author together with an excellent analysis. Consequently, both chapters concretize in what way a bishop as well as a secular potentate could administer the law, a concretization that cannot be achieved via sources from the other Scandinavian realms.

Finally, it is very gratifying that Elizabeth Walgenbach has devoted herself to such a complicated theme as excommunication and outlawry during the Middle Ages and managed to deal with it so efficiently. The results of the study rest on solid ground thanks to her skilful and learned treatment of the legal as well as the narrative source material, in combination with previous research.

Bertil Nilsson
Lund
Sweden
bertil51nilsson@gmail.com