

JOURNAL *of* NORTHERN STUDIES



JOURNAL *of* NORTHERN STUDIES

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

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



UMEÅ
UNIVERSITY



JOURNAL *of* NORTHERN STUDIES

Vol. 14 • No. 2 • 2020

Published by Umeå University & The Royal Skyttean Society

Umeå 2021

The *Journal of Northern Studies* is published with support from The Royal Skyttean Society and Umeå University at www.jns.org.umu.se

For instructions to authors, see www.jns.org.umu.se

© The authors and *Journal of Northern Studies*
ISSN 1654-5915

Cover picture

Scandinavia Satellite and sensor: NOAA, AVHRR

Level above earth: 840 km

Image supplied by METRIA, a division of Lantmäteriet, Sweden.

www.metria.se

NOAAR. cESA/Eurimage 2001. cMetria Satellus 2001

Design and layout

Leena Hortéll, Ord & Co i Umeå AB

Fonts: Berling Nova and Futura

Contents

Editors & Editorial board.....	6
<i>Lotten Gustafsson Reinius</i> , Special Issue. Tracing the Arctic; Arctic Traces.....	7

Articles

<i>Kirsten Hastrup</i> , Living (with) Ice. Geo-sociality in the High Arctic.....	25
<i>Martin Jakobsson</i> , The Long Timeline of the Ice. A Geological Perspective on the Arctic Ocean.....	42
<i>Kyrre Kverndokk</i> , The Age of Climate Change. Cultural Change Temporalities and Crisis Awareness.....	53
<i>Dag Avango</i> , Imprints on the Resource Landscape. The Long History of Mining in the Arctic.....	67
<i>Annika E. Nilsson</i> , Ruptures in Existence—Openings for the Future. The Need for a Different Resource Landscape.....	83

Reviews

Copp�lie Cocq & Thomas A. DuBois, <i>S�mi Media and Indigenous Agency in the Arctic North</i> , Seattle: University of Washington Press 2020 (<i>Anna-Lill Drugge</i>).....	98
Anna Lena Deeg, <i>Die Insel in der nordgermanischen Mythologie</i> , M�nchen: Herbert Utz Verlag 2016 (<i>Anders Hultg�rd</i>).....	99
Heidi Hansson & Anka Ryall (eds.), <i>Arctic Modernities. The Environmental, the Exotic and the Everyday</i> , Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2017 (<i>B. Marcus Cederstr�m</i>).....	102
Darren McGettigan, <i>The Kings of Aileach and the Vikings, AD 800–1060</i> , Dublin: Four Courts Press 2020 (<i>Danica Ramsey-Brimberg</i>).....	104
Anders Persson, <i>Den levande n�rvaron av Ordet. �tta ess�er om bilden av den rosenianska och den laestadianska v�ckelsen i norrl�ndsk sk�nlitteratur</i> , Skellefte�: Norma 2018 (<i>Owe Wikstr�m</i>).....	106
Andrew Jennings, Silke Reeploeg & Angela Watt (eds.), <i>Northern Atlantic Islands and the Sea. Seascapes and Dreamscapes</i> , Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2017 (<i>Owe Ronstr�m</i>).....	108
Thomas Wallerstr�m, <i>Kunglig makt och samiska bos�ttningsm�nster. Studier kring V�in� Tanners vinterbyteori</i> , Oslo: Novus forlag 2017 (<i>Kjell-�ke Aronsson</i>).....	111

Reviews

Copp lie Cocq & Thomas A. DuBois, *S mi Media and Indigenous Agency in the Arctic North*, Seattle: University of Washington Press 2020, ISBN 9780295746609, 334 pp.

An innovative addition to literature on Sami media can be found in the book *S mi Media and Indigenous Agency in the Arctic North*, by Copp lie Cocq and Thomas A. Dubois (2020). This publication gives the reader a thorough insight into how the media field, communication and digital development have developed in S pmi. The book has a clear decolonizing ambition which is evident from, among other things, the framing of the content. An example of this is that the chapters are named after words in the various Sami languages denoting different forms of snow. In an unassuming manner, the reader is guided into the book through the language of symbolism, where the writing of history is woven together with the snow as a carrier of meaning. For instance, one of the chapters is named after the Lule Sami word for fresh snow, * pp s*, which in this context symbolizes early established organizational development. Another chapter is named after the Ume Sami word *ru vddietjarvva*, ‘snow with a hard crust capable of withstanding weight of a large animal like a moose or horse,’ which in this book is given meaning through descriptions of well-established, strong and effective communication methods through digital technology.

The book portrays how Sami cultural struggle, resistance and cooperation have developed over time. In an easily accessible way, it describes how the Sami organizational movement has been based on interaction between the Sami people on different sides of national borders in S pmi and found strength through collaboration at the local, national and international level, as well as through joint resistance to colonial structures of varying kinds. Throughout the book, explanations of the main features of Sami history are presented in relation to cultural communication practices, primarily during the twentieth century. A number of leading figures are presented through the unfolding of their ambitions to spread knowledge about Sami culture, both within and outside the Sami community, thereby creating space for capacity building and self-determination. The reader is given the opportunity to take part in critically crucial historical events that have affected the Sami people’s opportunities to make their voices heard, both in history and today. Examples include the well-known Alta conflict, the establishment of the Sami Council and Sami involvement in, and influence over, international indigenous politics. The authors describe a process of Sami awakening, where pride in their own culture has grown over time and is now very strong.

The book alternates between presenting general developments in broad brushstrokes and providing the reader with detailed descriptions of selected individuals, artists and cultural carriers who, in various ways, have been, and still are, important to Sami society. Sami voices emerge throughout the text, for instance in quotes from poems, lyrics and interviews reproduced in the original Sami language with English translations. The importance of new technology and social media is described, placing the Sami in the forefront of establishing new community-based communication strategies via the Internet.

The Sami voices presented in the book are of course those that have appeared in different contexts for a long time. However, in light of the fact that political developments in Sápmi have largely determined who is to be regarded as a “genuine Sami,” some questions come to mind: Which voices are not heard? Which voices have been silenced? And what determines which Sami voices may or can appear in communication practices, both in history and today? This applies to language, as well as to issues related to culture and identity. A problematization of these issues would have been both interesting and desirable.

The book is a historical chronological description of Sami networking and organization viewed from a cultural perspective in an ever-growing digital existence. It works very well as an overview, an introduction to Sami history, as well as to topics such as digitization, social media and communication in an indigenous context. It is a portrayal of how events, strategies and culture are interrelated on several different levels; between indigenous peoples around the world, between majorities and minorities, between history and the present and, not least, between traditional and modern Sami society. Its form and content are both historically rooted and aesthetically pleasing. Above all, the book is a respectful narrative about, and a tribute to, those who struggled before us, who paved the way, and created the tracks in the snow for the rest of us to follow.

Anna-Lill Drugge
Dept. of Language Studies
Umeå University
Sweden
anna-lill.drugge@umu.se

Anna Lena Deeg, *Die Insel in der nordgermanischen Mythologie*, München: Herbert Utz Verlag 2016 (Münchner Nordistische Studien 23), ISBN 9783831645077, 256 pp.

The book is an investigation into the various aspects of the “island” in Scandinavian mythology. In the introductory chapter, the author addresses the general concept of “insularity” and discusses the island both as a poetic space (*poetischer Raum*) and as a mythical space (*mytischer Raum*). This theorizing, which in itself is interesting, contributes less to the understanding of the main subject matter, however.

The source material is extensive and diverse and to handle it in a reasonable way, the author makes a thematic arrangement. We thus get four principal sections each with its own topic. The first one, denoted “Inseln des Wartens,” deals with two different myths, on one hand the story about the battle of the Hjaðningar, and on the other, the binding of the Fenris Wolf on the island of Lyngvi. The first myth has the struggle between Heðinn (of the Hjaðninga family) and Högni go on until Ragnarök. The author traces a trend to localize the place of the Hjaðningar battle in the real world, from a vaguely imagined island in the *Ragnarsdrápa* to different islands of the North Atlantic in *Skáldskaparmál* or of the Baltic in *Gesta Danorum*. Saxo points out *Hithinsø*, present-day Hiddensee at Rügen, whereas Snorri and the *Sqrla þátrr* prefer Hoy (ON *Háey*), one of the Orkney islands.

The binding of the Fenris Wolf is clearly localized to an island called *Lyngvi* which is situated in a lake with dark water, the *Ámsvartnir* (*Gylfaginning* Ch. 34). Neither name is attested elsewhere. I do not quite agree with the author's interpretation that this localization and the names should wholly be ascribed to Snorri's imagination. It is probable that he found something similar in the oral tradition which he then further embroidered.

The imprisonment and revenge of the smith Volund offers the theme of the second section. The main source, the *Völundarkviða*, sets this in a place called *sævar stöð* which is interpreted by the prose lines as an islet, *hólmr*, situated in front of the mainland (*fyrir landi*) and treated as a proprium, *Sævarstaðr*. The author argues that this islet is affected by the tide, it can be reached by foot at ebb and be inaccessible at flood. The sons of King Niðuðr thus walk onto the island where they are killed by Volund; the flood prevents them from escaping. The interpretation is attractive but presupposes specific meanings of some words occurring in the story. The verb *ganga* would be used in the sense of 'walk,' so in stanza 28 *grátandi Þøðvildr gekk ór eyu*, but *ganga* here could simply mean that she 'went from' the island irrespective of the way it happened. The term *ogurstund*, a hapax legomenon of disputed meaning, would refer to the period of high tide which prevented visitors to the island from returning by walking. For this, the author refers to Ursula Dronke (1997) who bases her interpretation on the Old English term *ēagor/ēgor* 'flood, high tide' which would be related to Old Norse *ogur*. However, the word *ogurstund* may here mean no more than a 'short hour' (Sveinbjörn Egilsson 1860; Kristjánsson & Ólason 2014).

The well-known phenomenon of the duel on an island (ON *holmganga*) is analyzed in the third section. The Icelandic family sagas of the thirteenth century provide the literary descriptions of the duel. The problem is to know to what extent this source material reflects the reality of the *holmgang* duel in the ninth to the eleventh centuries. The author seems to take the historical value of the sagas' descriptions for granted. Her analysis of the duels between Thor and Hrungrnir, and Heimdallr and Loki, respectively discovers traces of the *holmgang* also in the mythology. Similarly, the statement of *Fáfnismál* (14–15) placing the final battle in Ragnarök on the island Óskopnir leads the author to interpret the field Vígríðr with its demarcation indications ("a hundred miles in every direction") as being situated on an island. This field will be the scene of the last battle of the gods and their enemies according to *Vafþrúðnismál* stanza 18. In my view, the space indications are primarily intended to show the large extension of the future battlefield. Interestingly, the *holmgang* is associated with a double place delimitation. First its performance on an island, and second a small spot on that island marked out by hazel rods (cf. *Kórmaks saga* Ch. 10).

The contents of the fourth section, finally, are made up by the traditions about the creation of the earth and of two large islands in the Baltic, Sjölland and Gotland. The cover of the book shows a satellite photo of the island of Gotland. Surprisingly, the author introduces this section by an overview of the post-glacial development of the Baltic. This is not without relevance when comparing with the emergence myths of the two islands mentioned. Gotland actually rose out of the sea as the author remarks. The creation of the earth as told in *Völuspá* and *Gylfaginning* presents some differences which the author tries to reconcile and bring back to a common version. Following *Gylfaginning* the earth was shaped from the giant Ymir's body and the sea from his blood, and this concept was also that of *Völuspá*, the author argues. I am not quite convinced of this; rather, we have to do with two different variants, but I agree with her statement that both texts imagine

the earth as an island surrounded by the world ocean. As is well known, the *Guta saga* preserves the tradition of Gotland's emergence from the sea. The island sank into the sea at day but rose at night until a man named Thjelvar brought fire to the island. Thereafter it remained on the surface. Scholars have compared this tradition with stories from the Greek world about floating islands, but the author rightly refers to Celtic tradition describing the rise of Ireland from the sea as being a more relevant parallel.

The formation of Sjælland is told in a stanza of *Ragnarsdrápa* and in *Gylfaginning* Ch. 1. The stanza is open to different interpretations but its main message seems clear. With the help of oxen, Gefjon drew from Gylfi a piece of fruitful land which increased Denmark. The text presents philological problems and the meaning of some expressions is obscure. The author discusses the stanza in detail, and also offers her own interpretation. These pages clearly illustrate her scholarly competence in the field of ancient Scandinavian studies. Snorri's account in *Gylfaginning* is more elaborate and explicitly refers to the island as Sjælland. At the same time, he presents another version in the *Ynglinga saga* where the motif of Gefjon's dragging land away with oxen is connected with the founding of the dynasty of the Skjöldungar. The author indicates influence from Roman founding stories as known in medieval Europe and the twelfth-century work *Historia Regum Britanniae*. As to the origins of the Gefjon myth, I would like to draw attention to a similar tradition found in ancient Iran. Yima, the primordial man, enlarges the earth by driving her forward as one drives oxen (*Vidēvdād* 2, 10–11). The stanza of the *Ragnarsdrápa* may reflect archaic Indo-European myths about expanding the earth by means of a divine or semidivine figure driving yoked oxen.

In discussing the meeting of Freyr and Gerðr in the place called *Barri*, as first told in *Skirnismál* stanzas 39 and 41, the author concentrates on the version narrated by Snorri (*Gylfaginning* Ch. 37). The place name there appears as *Barrey* indicating that Freyr and Gerðr will have their meeting on an island. This would be confirmed by the characterization of *Barrey* as *lundr lognfara* taken over from *Skirnismál*. That *lundr* means a grove is clear but the interpretation of *lognfara* presents difficulties. The word *logn* refers primarily to 'calm, windless weather' (cf. *Alvissmál* 22), in particular on the sea. As the author points out, the second element *-fara* may represent the genitive singular of *fari* 'traveller' or be the genitive plural of *för* 'journey.' The compound *lognfara* is interpreted metaphorically by almost all commentators: the grove is a place for lustful, secret rendezvous or has the quality of a lonely, peaceful place. Against this, Deeg sets her own interpretation which seems plausible. Snorri regarded *lundr lognfara* (meaning 'Wald der Windstillefahrer') as a kenning for 'island' and this kenning also inspired him to place the wedding of Freyr and Gerðr on an island.

Some concluding remarks. Reference to the new edition of skaldic poetry is lacking (*Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages* 1, Whaley [ed.] 2012). The treatment of skaldic stanzas would have been more up to date if information from that edition had been incorporated into the text. Evidently, the author is not to blame for ignoring the volumes published in 2017 where poetry of named skalds are treated, e.g. Bragi inn gamli and the *Ragnarsdrápa*. The stanzas cited from this poem follow the text of Faulkes (ed.) (1998) and the author is well aware of the fact that the poem is defectively preserved. However, the case of *Eiríksmál* stanza 7 is different. Here I miss a reference to other attempts at establishing the text, in particular those made by Jón Helgason in *Skjaldevers* and R.D. Fulk in *Skaldic Poetry* 1. The author deserves merit for her translations of the Old Norse texts she is citing. They are accurate and follow closely the transmitted text. To sum up, her book is laudable in many ways, in particular for presenting a mythical phenomenology of the "island" in ancient Scandinavia.

REFERENCES

- Dronke, U. (ed.) (1997). *The Poetic Edda. Vol. 2. Mythological Poems*, Oxford: Clarendon.
- Faulkes, A. (ed.) (1998). *Snorri Sturluson Edda. Skáldskaparmál 1–2*, London: Viking Society for Northern Research, University College.
- Jón Helgason (ed.) (1968). *Skjaldevers* (Nordisk Filologi A. tekster), 3rd ed., Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- Jónas Kristjánsson & Vésteinn Ólason (eds.) (2014). *Eddukvæði I. Godakvæði*, Reykjavík: Hið Íslenska Fornritafélag.
- Sveinbjörn Egilsson (1860). *Lexicon poëticum antiquae linguae septentrionalis*, Hafniae.
- Whaley, D. (ed.) (2012). *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas I. From Mythical Times to c. 1035. Part 1 and 2* (Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages 1), Turnhout: Brepols.

Anders Hultgård
Dept. of Theology
Uppsala University,
Sweden
anders.hultgard@teol.uu.se

Heidi Hansson & Anka Ryall (eds.), *Arctic Modernities. The Environmental, the Exotic and the Everyday*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2017, ISBN 9781527502901, 350 pp.

Published in 2017, editors Heidi Hansson and Anka Ryall's volume, *Arctic Modernities. The Environmental, the Exotic and the Everyday*, is a timely addition to the ongoing discussions of climate change, geopolitics, and what, exactly, the Arctic means. Organized in three sections, Environmental Arctic, Exotic Arctic, and Everyday Arctic, Hansson and Ryall explain in their introduction that the fourteen chapters in the volume use the lens of modernity to examine how people interact with the environment to create new visions of the region—aesthetically, culturally, geographically, politically—and how modernity itself is a concept in flux.

In Environmental Arctic, we are introduced to the Arctic as an environment constantly in relation to humans—for better or worse. The chapters in this section focus on how Arctic literature, much of it written by outsiders, examines a view of nature vs. culture, of human vs. wild, and, perhaps most importantly, the ways in which those juxtapositions continue to change. Susi K. Frank notes in “Ice as a Literary Motif in Soviet Arctic Modernities” that this relationship between humans and the environment has shifted drastically to one in which the human is no longer “the hoped-for sovereign of the Earth, and the master of its fate” (p. 33). Sigfrid Kjeldaas writes later in “Icebergs and Light. Modernity and the Arctic Sublime in Barry Lopez's Arctic Dreams,” the second chapter of this section,

Because the present physical and cultural climate recognizes that the cause of its life-threatening power is ultimately to be found in the imperceptible and unintended forces set in motion by human exploitation of the natural world, when modern Westerners now identify with the sublime Arctic, our sense of its vulnerability is at the same time the sense of our own vulnerability. (p. 60)

In both we are reminded of the ever-changing relationship of those who visit and inhabit the Arctic with the Arctic itself. All of the chapters in this section allow us a better understanding of the ways in which poetry and prose can be used to critically engage with what the Arctic has been and what it may become through the eyes of those who wrote and continue to write about the environment.

Of course, the Arctic is not and has not been a barren landscape devoid of people. Indigenous peoples have long called the Arctic home and *Exotic Arctic* consists of five chapters that focus heavily on the Indigenous experience in the Arctic. Roswitha Skare's chapter, "*The Romance of the Fur Country*. Indigenous Life between Tradition and Modernity," is an especially interesting look at how film was used in the 1920s to bring the exotic to the everyday lives of Canadians. Placed in the context of the more famous *Nanook of the North*, Skare argues that *The Romance of the Fur Country*, which introduces viewers to Indigenous people from across Canada, presented those very people as non-modern, bound to tradition, and unchanging despite the effects of modern inventions. As any folklorist will tell you, though, tradition is constantly changing, being invented, reinvented, and revitalized in order to ensure relevance. These constructions, whether in film or literature, are racist depictions that amplify the colonial and patriarchal worldview held by many in the late 1800s and early 1900s (and still today, if we are honest with ourselves). Skare says as much when she writes of the film's "presentation of the Inuit as uneducated and primitive, acting more like animals than civilized people" (p. 187). The remaining chapters in this section cover a wide range of media and topics and together introduce the reader to Indigenous works, experiences, and issues. Audun J. Mørch's chapter on Chukchi writer Yuri Rytkeu, an interesting analysis of modernity, is also worthy of particular mention.

Finally, *Everyday Arctic* brings us to the ordinary, the mundane, the actual lived experiences of the people who inhabit the Arctic. Two of the chapters in this section focus on Svalbard, one of which, Elin Haugdal's chapter, "Mediating Everyday Life in Svalbard. Herta Grøndal's Photographs, 1950s–70s," is an excellent examination of the ways in which Grøndal used photography to challenge the assumed heroic masculinity needed to conquer the inhospitable landscape of the Arctic. Through a close examination of a number of photographs, many of which are reprinted in this volume, Haugdal helps the reader understand Grøndal's images as not just documentation, but instead "a contested and often paradoxical site of gender, identity and modernity" (p. 286). In doing so, Haugdal's chapter is a welcome response to many of the travelogues written by the stereotypical heroic male explorer that are examined earlier in the volume. Kirsten Thisted's chapter, "'A Place in the Sun.' Historical Perspectives on the Debate on Development and Modernity in Greenland," asks who defines what is and is not modern. Thisted argues that the Greenlander Mathias Storch's *Strejfflys over Grønland*, written in Danish in 1930 and in response to the Dane Sophie Peterson's *Grønland i hverdag og fest*, is in accordance with the belief that modernity is actively co-created by Greenlanders. In doing so, Thisted argues that Greenland's quest for independence is one that is closely linked to modernity (pp. 334–335). Together, the four chapters of this section serve to introduce us to the vernacular experiences of the Arctic through photography, literature, and the lives of those who inhabit the Arctic.

While some essays in this collection do an excellent job of engaging with issues of indigeneity (or, in the case of Thisted's article, engaging with the question of whether or not indigeneity is an appropriate term to use in regards to Greenland), the book as a whole would have benefited from a more critical engagement with work by Indigenous

scholars. Engaging more critically with studies of colonization and decolonization, especially as an analytical tool to better examine understandings of what modernity might mean in different cultural contexts, would have been useful. In addition, analysis of the Canadian Arctic dominates, a fact that the editors duly note in the introduction. But with such a wide geo-political scope as “the Arctic,” it remains true that a wider geographic focus would have given a more complete picture.

That said, a book of this scope can not be all things to all people, and *Arctic Modernities* is a welcome addition to what will surely continue to be an important and ongoing discussion, in academia and elsewhere, about the ways in which the Arctic is defined, delineated, and discussed among the people who live there and the people who don't. Students in courses focused on questions of sustainability in the north who are examining the ways in which the past shapes the present and how the present determines our future would surely benefit from the cultural and aesthetic approach to the Arctic provided in this volume, especially if read alongside work by Indigenous scholars from the region and about Indigeneity in the region.

B. Marcus Cederström
 Dept. of German, Nordic, and Slavic
 University of Wisconsin–Madison
 USA
 cederstrom@wisc.edu

Darren McGettigan, *The Kings of Aileach and the Vikings, AD 800–1060*, Dublin: Four Courts Press 2020, ISBN 9781846828362 (paperback), 208 pp.

Delving into the early medieval history of north-eastern Ireland, this book provides a close look at the various responses of the Cenél nEógain dynasty and the Uí Néill kingship to the Vikings and other Irish groups. Centred on local political history, the causes and effects of those responses are detailed, providing context as to how this area developed differently from those further south in Ireland. This most noticeably led to a lack of Viking Age urbanisation and economic development, ultimately developing this area into “a political and economic backwater” (p. 170). McGettigan illustrates the perspective of the Cenél nEógain about the Viking Age, providing positive and negative observations. Historical texts are primarily used with supplementary literary, archaeological, and geographical sources to provide more background on the politics of north-eastern Ireland.

The introduction sets forth the sources and methodology of the book as well as providing context of the Cenél nEógain (Northern Uí Néill) and their expansion in north-eastern Ireland. While predominantly focusing on politics, the chapter (which is the longest chapter) also discusses other aspects, including the economics, society, religion, and geography of the time period. Chapter 1 delves into a very brief overview of the Viking Age and their earliest raids in Ireland as well as their raiding, conquest, and colonisation of Scotland. The second chapter focuses more on the raids of the Vikings and their expulsion from the north by Áed Findliath, king of the Cenél nEógain who later also became High King of Ireland. Although some smaller settlements remained,

McGettigan argues that the “Cenél nÉogain campaign of 866,” when the Viking Age raiders and settlers were expelled from the Antrim coast, “appears to have been a decisive event for the history of Scandinavian settlement in the north of Ireland” (p. 95), preventing long-term settlement. Negotiations and battles between Irish and Hiberno-Scandinavians are examined in the third chapter, particularly key political events, such as the Battle of Dublin in 919, and individuals, such as Ólaf Peacock and Muirchertach of the Leather Cloaks. In the fourth chapter, the subsequent generations of the Cenél nÉogain are discussed. The rise to power of Muirchertach’s son, Domnall Uí Néill (Uí Néill being the surname adopted) is described, but the main focus is the subsequent fall from power of the Cenél nÉogain because of economic isolation (due to the previous elimination of Hiberno-Scandinavian settlements) and the rapid rise of Brian Boru to High King of Ireland. Lastly, the conclusion provides a critical analysis of the political events from the ninth to mid-eleventh centuries. It details the reaction of the Cenél nÉogain to the Viking Age and its subsequent effects on north-eastern Ireland, particularly the transfer of their primary residence and the political prowess in holding their own against their Irish, Scandinavian, and Hiberno-Scandinavian enemies, despite its ultimate negative political and economic effects. Overall, *The Kings of Aileach and the Vikings, AD 800–1060* is a widely accessible book on the Cenél nÉogain dynasty and their rise and fall from playing a key role in Irish politics, particularly as high kings of Ireland.

Although the perspective of the other side (Scandinavians and Hiberno-Scandinavians) are secondary, this book provides the Irish perspective of the narrative of the Viking Age. Weighing the positive and negative actions of the Cenél nÉogain, McGettigan provides a rationale for the political effects upon the lack of long-term Viking Age settlements in north-eastern Ireland. While some scholars may consider it vague in details regarding certain areas, the book’s focus is the political ongoings of the Cenél nÉogain dynasty longitudinally to see it strengthening and declining in waves over an extended period of time and whose reach extended far geographically at times. However, this is also the book’s weakness, as the title implies more of an equal treatment of the Irish and the Scandinavians/Hiberno-Scandinavians.

The table of contents and lists of abbreviations and illustrations are at the beginning, while the five maps and two genealogies throughout the book provide a critical resource to refer to while reading. The bibliography and citations are also comprehensive, and the coloured plates between pages 128 and 129 provide a nice visual reference to different aspects of the narrative. The writing style makes this book accessible to a wide audience for both academics and non-academics alike. Scholars and readers of Viking Age Ireland and early medieval kingship will find this a useful book. McGettigan provides an alternative point of view regarding this time period for although it does not radically change the narrative of early medieval Ireland, *The Kings of Aileach and the Vikings, AD 800–1060* does shed light on a geographic area not as often discussed as the Viking Age settlements further south.

Danica Ramsey-Brimberg
Dept. of History
University of Liverpool
United Kingdom
dramseybrimberg@gmail.com

Anders Persson, *Den levande närvaron av Ordet. Åtta essäer om bilden av den rosenianska och den laestadianska väckelsen i norrländsk skönlitteratur* [‘The living presence of the Word. Eight essays on the image of the Rosenian and Laestadian revival movement in northern Swedish fiction’], Skellefteå: Norma 2018, ISBN 9789172171138, 175 pp.

In the northern Swedish regions of Västerbotten and Norrbotten, a strong religious revival movement arose in the late nineteenth century, driven by preachers such as Carl Olof Rosenius and Lars Levi Læstadius. Large numbers of people gathered in villages and towns to listen for hours to their great preachers. The meetings in crowded prayer houses were filled with lamentations and weeping, alternated with bright euphoria and joyous dancing. This revival was a Low Church movement. Sin was described, as well as the various steps leading to Conversion: from the joy of the calling, via the demands of God’s word, to the bliss experienced in the appropriation of forgiveness.

The revival spread like wildfire across the realm of desolate forests. The Word was at the centre of the revival. The Word of God. By listening to it and taking it to heart, man was guided through a spiritual struggle. The preaching of the Word led to a bitter realisation of man’s lack of trust. This deep-felt grief came from a kind of heavy, self-critical and often depressive longing. The explosive joy resulting from having received forgiveness was expressed in tongue-speech or crying. Christ was seen as the Great Forgiver. The Low Church evangelism was spread by great revivalist preachers.

By the early 2000s, this form of Christianity had by and large withered away, and has now more or less disappeared from the mental arena. In the same region, but a hundred years after the emergence of the revival movement, three excellent and internationally known writers emerged, PO Enquist, Torgny Lindgren and Sara Lidman, all three of whom experienced the revival tradition in their childhoods. They all lived in the core area of the popular revival and used the northern dialects in their texts. They have attracted a large readership, who—at some distance—are acquainted with strongly personal and intimate descriptions of the longing for God, the struggle against sin and the joy of forgiveness, with the harsh northern landscape creating a backdrop to the pious struggle.

In a recently published book, Anders Persson, senior lecturer in Literary Studies at Umeå University, presents a close reading of these novelists focused on how the locally spoken rustic dialect (Swedish *bondska*) features in their respective writings. He does not pay much attention to the authors’ lives but reads their texts closely. Initially, he shows how Jack London’s idealising wilderness motifs entered Bernard Nord’s writing, and also, to an even greater extent, that of the preacher and author Tore Nilsson. Nilsson, however, differs from London in that he tries to describe conversion in more positive terms. Here, Anders Persson, by skilfully closing in on the texts, shows how Tore Nilsson approaches the concept of doubt, a feeling of being abandoned by God, an expression of his hidden remoteness. This is interpreted by the author as the central idea of the revival movement.

In the second chapter, the view of doubt is deepened. It is seen as a kind of inner suffering shifting between, on the one hand, a strong feeling of emptiness or abandonment and on the other a quiet and gracious trust. Sara Lidman’s writing is presented in this chapter. She has a more descriptive and partly critical way of presenting the struggle as a kind of religious claim to power, and individual and collective distrust is at the centre of her writing. Her texts contain both sharp and satirical criticism of the harshness and

intolerance of the revival, and at the same time a trust in grace and forgiveness which is strongly influenced by Rosenius.

A central chapter in the book presents a kind of close reading focused on the importance of the *spoken word* in the revival movement. The listening to the preachers' words was a central element of the movement. Not least, the sermons were interpreted by the listeners through their own strong roots, not only in the word of the Bible, but equally in the local dialects. Anders Persson calls this "the preacher anecdote," i.e. short personal characteristics:

We children never got tired of listening to our favourite preacher Gabriel Andersson, the philosopher Zakrisson, the rascal Hällgren or the district's loudest speaker, Viklund. When Anders Viklund cried out during his sermons, most people woke up. [...] He began by speaking softly but raised his voice gradually until he roared like thunder. (pp. 68–69)

He did so in his zeal and desire to be taken seriously and to wake up the listeners from their sinful sleep. Even other preachers were moved to tears. Gabriel Andersson's role model, Berglund, was known as Skråljanne ['Bawling Janne']. He preached and cried, and read from the Bible with tears flowing down his cheeks. The preacher's nickname became the bearer of the Rosenian mentality. Another preacher, who smiled a lot, was given the name Fliir-Janne, from the local dialectal word *fliir* ['smile'].

Another often recurring motif in the authors' texts is dancing. All of the above writers have an ambivalent attitude to this frightening and at the same time fascinating phenomenon that the children of sin engaged in, and which the preachers saw as deeply suspicious. A dawning sexuality was removed from consciousness, but was nevertheless included in the authors' narratives. Here, Anders Persson addresses a phenomenon that existed in the background, enticing and forbidden, not least in Sara Lidman's texts but also in PO Enquist's—the partly erotic secret. Distancing themselves from dancing became a sign that the listeners had taken a significant step and defined themselves as converts. Relapsing into erotic or sensual movements was apostasy. Being attracted to dancing was the beginning of a life beyond grace. So, watch your step!

Anders Persson's book is extraordinarily original. He moves skilfully between literary science and theology, and the book is full of observations of how the solemn biblical world of ideas lived in symbiosis with the popular, festive and merry world. Persson's research makes the book an important source of information for those who want to learn about how a religious folk culture was manifested in seemingly simple prayer house environments.

Owe Wikström
Dept. of Theology
Uppsala University
Sweden
owe.wikstrom44@gmail.com

Andrew Jennings, Silke Reeploeg & Angela Watt (eds.),
Northern Atlantic Islands and the Sea. Seascapes and Dreamscapes, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing
 2017, ISBN 9781443855129, 260 pp.

In the last decade, interest in Island Studies has increased markedly worldwide, which has led to an increased interest also in studies of seascapes, as a counterpart to the long-established field of landscape studies. Island and seascape studies are now being conducted in many places around the world, including at the University of the Islands and Highlands campus in Lerwick, in the Shetland Islands. The anthology *Northern Atlantic Islands and the Sea. Seascapes and Dreamscapes* is a result of a conference in Lerwick 2014 about traditions and narratives in the North Atlantic island world. Of the more than 60 papers read at the conference, 15 have been selected for publication by the three editors, all of whom are researchers and teachers at the University of Lerwick.

All contributions discuss long since bygone days. A good half of the contributions deal with the Middle Ages, the worlds of Vikings and island colonists. Other chapters deal with distant pasts, the Neolithic era or a vaguely defined mythical past, and a few also touch upon the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. If time is loosely delimited, space and place is more consistently encircled. The introduction, which briefly and concisely describes the book's content, is followed by seven chapters on Iceland and Icelandic sagas and an additional seven on the Shetland isles, the Hebrides and Orkney. Norway, the Faroe Islands, Greenland, North America and other parts of the North Atlantic world are merely touched upon in passing. The obvious difference in how the contributions relate to time and space is hardly a coincidence. As Anna Katarina Heiniger points out in Chapter 5 (p. 55), there are many and quite varying views on what constitutes "an island." But what they have in common is a strong spatial emphasis, as in the common reference book definition: "a piece of land completely surrounded by water." The preoccupation with spatiality that has characterized the discussions about islands and islandness up to recently has led to their temporality being more or less ignored. The result is that "the island" appears as a place beyond time, where time moves more slowly or stands totally still, a commonplace motif and figure of thought in fairy tales, sagas, legends and myths from time immemorial, as well as in just about any modern island tourist brochure.

Aspects of spatiality are thus what the contributions deal with. More specifically, the common underlying theme is the "mythical geography" that has grown out of the interplay between spatiality and the imaginative world, or, as in the book's title, between seascapes and dreamscapes. It is the anthology's greatest merit, and most important contribution, that all the authors in their different ways discuss the complex spaces and flows between the physical and the mental world.

The introduction presents the book's background, the conference in Lerwick 2014 on how Shetland's cultural identity has been shaped by its islandness and the surrounding sea. Throughout the volume, there are many examples of how islanders in the North Atlantic archipelago have developed specific life forms around boats, special abilities to read waves and winds and how they have cultivated contacts over great distances. In his introduction, Andrew Jennings highlights how the Shetland isles, like so many other islands over the world, have been characterized by a dualistic view—on the one hand as an isolated, remote and inaccessible periphery, and on the other hand as a central hub in extensive transport routes for trade, civilization and migration. The Shetlanders themselves have

also been consistently portrayed as characterized by such dualisms, for example between strong individualism and a prominent community and solidarity with other islanders.

In the second part of the introduction, Silke Reeploeg emphasizes how isolation and contact appear as a particularly potent dichotomy in the view of islands, islanders and islandness over a long period of time. It is precisely this field of tension, between isolation and contact, and the ambivalence that arises from it, that constitutes the anthology's most prominent underlying theme. All authors illuminate and discuss the North Atlantic as a cohesive islandscape and seascape. All emphasize the extensive and strong contacts over large areas and long times; as in the chapter on the Neolithic monuments on Orkney, now a World Heritage Site and a destination for tourists from all over the world; in the chapter on how the Neolithic remains at Mavis Grind in the Shetland Islands can be read as powerful visual metaphors and guidance for travelers between the North Sea and the Atlantic; in the chapter on how the Swedish Nobel Prize laureate Selma Lagerlöf reused and transformed widespread motifs from Norse myths in her short story about Sigrid Storråda; or as in the chapter on Norse influences on the Gaelic language in areas connected with the sea, boats and fishing. The examples are many and convincing. However, what simultaneously emerges between the lines is something like a counter-narrative. By actively emphasizing contacts, the authors aim at reversing the widespread notion of island isolation. But, as is the case with most counter-narratives, the result may still well be that what one is opposed to, the widespread idea of the isolation of islands and islanders, is at the same time effectively staged and reinforced.

Seven of the contributions discuss Iceland, Icelanders and the Icelandic tales. In chapter two, the folklorist Terry Gunnell gives an overview of the many creatures that populated Iceland along the border between land and sea and between dusk and dawn. The many legends of encounters with *hafmenn*, *haftröll*, *fjörulalli*, *marmenill*, and other semi-human beings who could show up on beaches during the dark hours, served as a kind of road map for the individual locals, and for the whole community. In the legends, the landscape gained a historical depth, its own character and personality and through the legends common worldviews, ideas, social and moral values were conveyed. In Icelandic folk culture, beaches appear as a particularly potent interface, where the visible and the invisible worlds could meet, as well as the world of the living and the dead, and the worlds above and under the sea and the earth. Not least, the beaches were a liminal zone where the Icelanders could encounter land-washed strangers from the outside, who in the legends were not infrequently described as only half human. The legends were multi-functional, they could be explanatory, dissuasive, persuasive and entertaining and they could provide advice on how to behave when unexpectedly running into strangers. By being designed and told locally, the legends are in many ways clearly Icelandic, and thereby a valuable source for a deepened understanding of the long gone life worlds of the early Icelanders. But at the same time, by also being told in similar versions elsewhere, they clearly testify to the Icelanders' close contacts with the rest of the Nordic world from the very first settlements on the island.

The first Icelanders' everyday struggle for survival is discussed by Ásdís Egilsdóttir in a chapter on miracles performed by the first Christians, several of them later canonized in Iceland. In miracle narratives, the unexpected is at the center, that which may happen despite everything speaking against it. Miracle stories were first orally transmitted, and then written down by clerical authorities, who shaped them according to local traditions. Therefore, Egilsdóttir argues, they can be read as a dialogue between the clergy and the common people, thereby providing a unique insight into everyday life. The common

theme in most preserved Icelandic miracle stories from the eleventh century and a couple of centuries onwards is a desire for survival, health, safety and enough food. In many stories, ships, seas and fish have a prominent role, which can be read as a reflection of the Icelanders' specific life world, but also as an influence from a much larger Christian symbolic world. In the Icelandic imaginary world, the border between sea and land is particularly charged, much in the same way as the forest in Swedish folklore. The sea gives and takes, it is both good and evil. It provides food, and takes lives. What was miraculous for the first Icelanders, was how they, against all odds, managed to land their boats in stormy seas, or in times of famine, how the sea or the rivers were wondrously filled with fish.

In a chapter on Icelanders' views of themselves as islanders during the Middle Ages, Torfi Tulinius reads *Íslendingabók* and *Landnámabók* as stories about the Icelanders' identity and self-image. While the older texts portray Icelanders as inhabitants of a "land," a country, the younger ones describe Iceland as an island, open to the rest of the world but at the same time also a world in and of itself. The Icelanders were indeed a seafaring people with extensive experience of seas and faraway islands. But of today's many notions of islands as insular, i.e. bounded, remote and isolated, there are no traces. For the medieval Icelanders, the island was more of an empirical fact than a concept. It is the material aspects of survival that are focused, the concrete limitations and possibilities at hand, and not "the island" as such.

A similar conclusion is drawn by Anna Katharina Heiniger in her discussion of how islandness is represented in *Íslendingasögur* and by Martina Ceolin in her chapter on the role of islands in *Áns saga Bogsvægis*. In the Icelandic sagas, islands come with many and prominent roles. They are important landmarks and natural harbors, strategic outposts and hiding places. They are places for grand events, meetings, celebrations, battles and funerals. They are residences for particularly powerful and remarkable men and women with extraordinary qualities, giants and dangerous beings. Miracles, visions, Christian baptisms, subversive changes of many kinds take place on islands. In addition, as Marion Polvez's contribution highlights, islands play a central role in stories of banished people and outlaws in Icelandic sagas. During the Middle Ages, expulsion of criminals and political opponents was common throughout the Norse world. Outlaws had to flee the country, either by escaping into wide forests or out to deep seas. In the Icelandic sagas, there are several stories of *útlagi*, men "outside the law" who have been forced to flee to the islands in the North Atlantic archipelago. And like the outlaws, islands could also easily be perceived as being "outside the law," especially suitable as places of refuge. For an Icelandic medieval audience, the stories of outlaws who flee from oppression on the mainland to create their own world anew on a distant island, it would not be far-fetched to interpret such stories in the light of their own history. This motif, Polvez argues, helped to strengthen the island identity of Icelanders.

What all the contributions about medieval Iceland underline is that in Icelandic sagas there is a prominent ambivalence in the view of islands, an ambivalence that emanates from maritime experiences. On the one hand as a limited and well-defined place, in short, an island, and on the other, also as a country, a mainland unlike *ey* and *holmr*. Both in *Íslendingasögur* and in *Áns saga Bogsvægis*, a concrete and pragmatic aspect of islands appears as well as a more symbolic or metaphorical aspect, for example when the "island" is used to show and reflect on the increasingly tense relations between the narrators' Icelandic political realities and the Scandinavian kingdoms' growing claim to power.

A conference anthology usually comprises a number of disparate chapters, at best held together by a few underlying themes and issues. This anthology is no exception,

the 15 short chapters are quite diverse. The fact that the authors here and there engage in parallel arguments that sometimes, but not always, are compatible, shows that they have not had the opportunity to comment on and make use of each other's reasoning and conclusions. It is also noticeable, and somewhat odd, that there are so few traces of the rapidly growing Island Studies literature, or of the extensive literature on mythical geographies, "dreamscapes" and various kinds of imaginary worlds. The research fields that the authors refer to are primarily Norse studies, literary studies, folklore and to some extent regional studies in archeology, geography and linguistics. This is definitely a shortcoming, since much would have been gained by more consistent comparisons with studies of islands and seascapes in other places and other times. But at the same time, this can be regarded as a strength, since the field of Island Studies is thus enriched with perspectives and findings from areas that are otherwise rarely covered. Although direct references to Island Studies are few, the book's themes are nevertheless precisely those that in recent decades have been at the center of the field: island ontology, islandness and island identities, all the notions and characteristics attributed to islands and islanders; and not least, the life worlds and living conditions of islanders around the world. To this growing literature, *Northern Atlantic Islands and the Sea. Seascapes and Dreamscapes* is a valuable contribution.

Owe Ronström
 Dept. of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology
 Uppsala University
 Sweden
 owe.ronstrom@etnologi.uu.se

Thomas Wallerström, *Kunglig makt och samiska bosättningsmönster. Studier kring Väinö Tanners vinterbyteori* (English summary: Royal power and Sámi settlement patterns. Studies concerning Väinö Tanner's winter camp theory. With contributions from Ulf Segerström and Eva-Maria Nordström), Oslo: Novus forlag 2017, ISBN 9788270999071, 322 pp.

In 1929, Väinö Tanner presented his theory about Sami winter villages. Tanner visited the Skolt Sami winter villages in connection with geological and geographical surveys in the newly conquered Petsamo district. These villages were inhabited by some one hundred people for a few months in wintertime, who formed a kind of primitive communist community with collective decision-making. Tanner imagined that the Skolt Sami winter villages and village organization represented something truly original among the Sami, as they lived far from the countries' centres of power. Later, in a study from 1952, the ethnologist Helmer Tegengren tried to reconstruct the extinct Sami culture in Kemi Lappmark with the help of Tanner's winter camp theory. His research established this theory, which was believed to be an explanatory model that could be used to understand older social conditions among the Sami, including the Western Sami in Scandinavia. A number of researchers used the theory as an explanatory model to describe Sami society prior to the emergence of large-scale reindeer nomadism and the start of colonization.

This was also the starting point for Thomas Wallerström in his interdisciplinary research project focused on the old church and market place in Arvidsjaur. Arvidsjaur was initially assumed to have been a winter village similar to those of the Skolt Sami. Wallerström's general research questions are: Have there been any winter villages of the Skolt Sami type in Scandinavia? Was Tanner correct in assuming that these villages are marked on Andreas Bureus's map from 1611 and Olof Tresk's map of Torne Lappmark from 1643? What were the consequences of the implementation of the new state administration in the north?

Over the years, there have been some critical voices against Tanner's winter camp theory. As early as 1987, ethnologist Kerstin Eidlitz Kuoljok held that the Skolt Sami winter villages were actually a Russian village organization, and in 2011, she presented a more comprehensive study on the issue.

Thus, there were some doubts about the validity of Tanner's theory prior to the investigation in Arvidsjaur. Had the winter camps really existed with the wide distribution and the dating proposed by Tanner? As the plan for the investigation in Arvidsjaur did not work out quite as originally intended, Wallerström decided to tackle the winter camp problem in a new and thorough way.

Wallerström's study can be said to follow three lines of investigation. In his book, he discusses what has previously been written on this subject and the empirical evidence that formed the basis for the conclusions drawn by previous researchers. The empirical support turns out to be surprisingly weak. The symbols with huts in the old maps may show something other than winter villages. They might rather be an expression of the territorial state's ambitions for taxation and trade. A new way of trying to trace the winter villages was historical vegetation surveys in Arvidsjaur. If about a hundred people lived together in a winter village, it is inevitable that the vegetation would have been affected, especially if that place was used for a long time, as the need for wood and timber would have been great. Later, comparative vegetation historical surveys were also carried out in two other places, Rounala north of Karesuando and Markkina on the Finnish side of the border. These contributions were made by Segerström and Nordström. The results of the palaeo-ecological surveys do not support the winter village theory. The cultural impact during the time the winter villages are supposed to have existed was found to be extremely small. It is only when permanent settlements with agriculture were established that a clear cultural impact can be seen. The conclusion is that neither the written sources nor the palaeo-ecology support the assumption of such villages. Here, it might be objected that only a few places have been thoroughly examined.

Wallerström then embarks on a review of the archaeological studies that are said to confirm the winter village theory. Investigations have previously been made in Pite, Lule and Kemi Lappmark where rows of hearths have been found. He asks the question whether a row of 5–10 hearths can be said to constitute a winter village of the Skolt Sami type. In his study, Tanner describes one of the Skolt Sami winter villages as being populated by 39 households comprising 140 people. Wallerström's conclusion is that if the sites with the rows of hearths were populated during the same time, they can be regarded as group winter settlements. This is not the same thing as the winter villages Tanner described.

Wallerström's critical examination now turns to the Skolt Sami winter villages where archaeological investigations were made in the 1970s and 1980s. Here, if anywhere, a model of what the remains of a winter village should look like ought to be found. The Finnish archaeologist Christian Carpelan concluded that the winter camps could only be

traced back to the sixteenth century and that they are related to state taxation. Carpelan also pointed out finds of Russian provenance in the find material. At this time, the Sami were taxed by Russia, Sweden and Denmark-Norway. These results do not fit very well with the theory that the winter camp villages are an original pre-colonial Sami community organization.

Wallerström then discusses the problem along the third line of investigation, namely how royal power was established in the north. It is a discussion about the Sami and the principle of the territorial state which leads to a number of pieces of the puzzle falling into place. The reason for the lack of positive evidence for old and original Sami winter villages is simply that they never existed. The meeting and market places established during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are a consequence of Swedish colonialism in the north of the European geographical state model. By paying tax, the Sami were drawn into the Swedish trading system. Wallerström also highlights the doctrine of dominion as a factor in understanding Sweden's political geography and states that the research needs new starting points.

Wallerström's study is undeniably very interesting. The study's new starting points make the conclusions drawn somewhat ground-breaking. Will it be met with silence from the research community, the way Eidlitz Kuoljok's previous studies were? Or will it open up for further research with new points of departure?

REFERENCES

-
- Eidlitz Kuoljok, K. (2011). *Den samiska sitan och vinterbyarna. En utmaning* ['The Sami sita and the winter villages. A challenge'] (Dissertations and Documents in Cultural Anthropology 10), Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- Tanner, V. (1929). *Skolt-lapparna* ['The Skolt Lapps'], Helsinki.
- Tegengren, H. (1952). *En utdöd lappkultur i Kemi Lappmark. Studier i Nordfinlands kolonisationshistoria* ['An extinct Lapp culture in Kemi Lappmark. Studies in the colonization history of Northern Finland'] (Acta Academiae Aboensis. Humaniora 14), Turku: Åbo Akademi.

Kjell-Åke Aronsson
 Åjtte, Swedish Mountain and Sami Museum, Jokkmokk,
 Sweden
 kjell-ake.aronsson@ajtte.com