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Were there really ‘East Saami Winter Camps’ in Northern Scandinavia?

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Abstract

During the early 20th century, the Skolt Saami of Petsamo gathered for 4–5 months annually in special winter camps after spending the summer months in smaller groups dispersed throughout their resource area. The winter rest provided time to formulate the *norrāz* common assembly institution’s policy towards the nation states and other Saami groups, dispense justice, and allocate resources according to need.

The geographer Väinö Tanner (1881–1948) believed that, prior to state formation, all hunter-gatherer Saami in Fennoscandia had this seemingly pre-state institution, and that it was preserved among the Skolt Saami because they lived so far from the centres of state power. His theory (Tanner 1929) has been widely accepted as a model, or analogy, in archaeological and cultural-historical research.

This article summarises my critical study of the ‘Winter Camp Theory’ (Wallerström 2017). In this study, I challenge the theory on empirical grounds using archaeology, vegetation history, and the analysis of written sources. Furthermore, I contend that the theory is based on a weak empirical basis, a vague methodology, and an obsolete cultural-theoretical framework. Certain 17th-century maps of the region do not depict a pre-colonial Saami cultural geography as the theory suggests, but rather the places where the recently taxed Saami had their settlements.

‘The East Saami analogy’ is consequently no longer a source of self-evident knowledge, as many researchers have previously assumed.

Keywords: Skolt Saami, Saami settlement patterns, state formation, vegetation history, Väinö Tanner.

7.1 Introduction

A little over a century ago, the Finnish geographer, geologist, diplomat, and university professor Väinö Tanner (1881–1948) visited the Skolt Saami winter villages. These were only occupied for a few winter months each year (Figure 7.1). The Skolt Saami lived by hunting, fishing, and small-scale reindeer herding. During the course of an annual cycle, families moved independently between different stations prior to gathering together during the winter.

Winter was a time for socialising and maintaining equipment, but it was also the time when the Saami’s highest decision-making body – the *norrāz* – assembled, led by a ‘president’ elected from

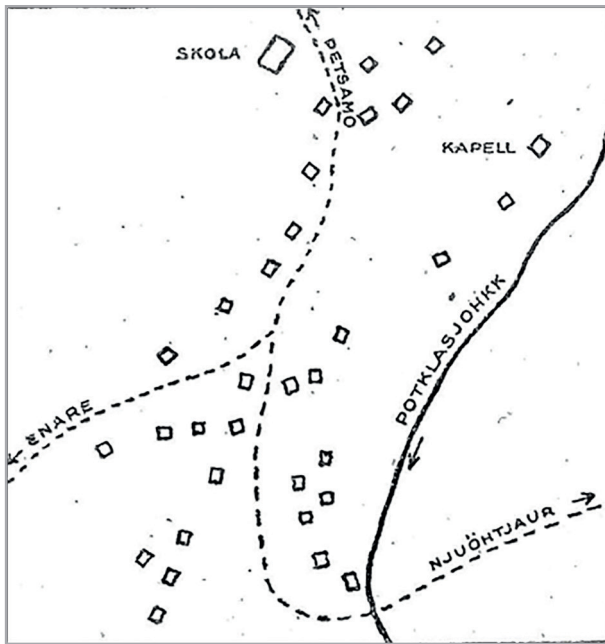


Figure 7.1: The Skolt Saami winter village Suenjel, Petsamo, as mapped by Kjuril and Jakko Sverdloff 1920 (Tanner 1929: 198). The map covers 1 km².

among the heads of families. The *norráz* was also a court which dispensed its own non-state justice and formulated policies in relation to the states (Norway, Russia, Sweden, and Finland) and other Saami groups. It also allocated access to natural resources according to need (Tanner 1929: 345–385).

This culture was characterised by the *siida* and winter camps, which Tanner (1929: 86–87, 399–402) believed to have been common to ‘all’ Saami before reindeer herding and maritime fishing became specialised economies. According to Tanner, it would ‘previously’ have been distributed throughout the Saami area (1929: 411–416). Saami society had ‘always’ been organised in *siida* groups living together in specific areas (Sw.: *samebyn* or ‘*lappbyn*’ in older research).

Both Swedish Lapland and a part of Finland are divided into ‘lapmarks’ (Sw.: *lappmarker*). Each lapmark contained a number of *siida*, loosely grouped around the main river systems. The term *siida* refers both to a group *and* its habitation area, and, following the change to reindeer nomadism, it also denoted a reindeer breeding community (Tanner 1929: 87–88; Koponen 2005: 392). Different spellings occur: *sīt*, *siita*, *siida*, *sijdda*, *sijd*, *sijtt*, *sijtte*, *sita* (Mulk 1994: 1–3; Lundmark 2006: 1).

The terms ‘winter camp’, ‘winter village’, ‘winter gathering place’ and ‘communal winter camp site’ are used synonymously in research to describe the Saami central places that were occupied in the darkest and coldest period of the year – at least according to Tanner’s Winter Camp Theory.

7.2 The Winter Camp Theory

Väinö Tanner generalised, claiming that all hunter-gatherer Saami in Fennoscandia previously practised this culture of winter camps in which Saami *siida* overwintered from December to April (1929: 227–229). He characterised this practice as a ‘survival’ from pre-state times in the north, preserved here as a result of these communities’ distance from centres of state power and colonization (1929: 7–8, 36, 57–62).

In Tanner’s (1929: 389) opinion, symbols that looked like Saami tents (*koit*) that were drawn on the first maps of Swedish Lapland (dated 1611 and 1643) depicted winter camps and a Saami cultural geography (Figure 7.2–7.4; for the 1643 map, see Ahnlund 1928). The Finnish ethnologist Helmer

Tegengren accepted his theory, incorporating the winter camp as an annual gathering site in his reconstruction of the extinct forest Saami culture in the northern Finnish Kemi *lapmark* (1952: 127).



Figure 7.2: Andreas Bureus' map *Lapponia* (1611). (Photo: Royal Library, Stockholm, Sign KoB1na.)



Figure 7.3: Arvidsjaur (Irmijeerfui). Detail from the 1611 map.



Figure 7.4: Detail from the 1611 map: Rounala (top left) and Markkina (represented by the nameless church symbol).

Both Tanner's theory of winter camps and Tegengren's reconstruction of the settlement pattern of the Kemi Saami were cited in virtually all subsequent studies of the Saami in the past, including those conducted by archaeologists, historians, cultural geographers, legal historians, and cultural researchers in various disciplines (Wallerström 2017: 19, 22, 49–52, 58–62). 'The East Saami analogy' or 'the East Saami model' functioned as an 'ethnographic parallel', and the winter camp was perceived as a *base camp* in the theoretical models that described Saami ways of life prior to the era of specialised reindeer herding and maritime fishing (Wallerström 2017: 49–62; cf. Mulk 1994: 248; Bergman 1995: 198–199; Karlsson 2006: 68–74).

The theory has a genealogy that includes K. B. Wiklund, professor of Finnish-Ugric Languages at Uppsala University (Tanner 1929: 402; Wallerström 2017: 52–55). In the course of nine pages in the Swedish legal historian Åke Holmbäck's (1922: 28–36) investigation into the historical origins of the so-called *lapskatt* areas, Wiklund described the Skolt winter camps, arguing that they had also been found in the West Saami area.

His main argument for the existence of the winter camp institution in the west was the place name derived from *talvatis*, a Saami word for winter, and an alternative name for the church and market places in Arvidsjaur and Jokkmokk, and therefore a supposed indicator of the presence here of winter camps (Wiklund in Holmbäck 1922: 33–34; Tanner 1929: 87, 388–389, 402; cf. Bergling 1964: 147–150; Korhonen 2005).

Tanner's theory became widely accepted. However, building on research undertaken in Russia, the theory's chief critic, the ethnologist Kerstin Eidlitz Kuoljok, argued that the legal institution of *norráz* highlighted by Tanner was not an ancient Saami institution, but rather a product of Russian legislation stemming from the abolition of serfdom in 1861. As her first critical article (1987) was barely noticed, she subsequently reiterated and expanded on her criticism in book form (Eidlitz Kuoljok 2011, see Wallerström 2017: 71).

Despite this and other critical or sceptical comments (Beach 1981: 59–60; Lundmark 1982: 67–70; Fjellström 1985: 41–44; Aronsson 1991: 109; 2009; Berg 2001; Karlsson 2006: 153, 164; Hansen and Olsen 2014: 167–168, 177), the Winter Camp Theory became axiomatic, especially among archaeologists inspired by the 'processual archaeology' paradigm that swept through North Scandinavian academic institutions during the 1970s (Wallerström 2017: 58–62, 66–67). According to Eidlitz Kuoljok (2011: 9–10) the theory's significant impact in earlier research circles was caused by various factors. These include the following: authoritarianism; difficulties in bridging traditional disciplinary boundaries; the fact that the few engaged scholars were reluctant to critique each other's research findings; that Saami and North Scandinavian research is rarely thorough and comprehensive;

that the theory suited Saami ethnopolitical endeavours; and, more recently, it satisfied the processual archaeological requirements of ‘ethnographic parallels’ (Wallerström 2017: 222–224).

But does this axiomatic theory actually reflect historical reality? According to Kerstin Eidlitz Kujok, the theory is not valid for the Petsamo area for which it was formulated. Given this criticism, why should it therefore be regarded as being valid for northern Scandinavia? This is an important question, not least because the Winter Camp Theory’s validity until recently has never been systematically scrutinised in northern Scandinavia.

7.3 An empirical testing of the Winter Camp Theory

In a recent book (*Kunglig makt och samiska bosättningsmönster. Studier kring Väinö Tanners vinterby-teori*, in English: ‘Royal Power and Saami Settlement Patterns. Studies concerning Väinö Tanner’s Winter Camp Theory’, Wallerström 2017), I challenge the Winter Camp Theory on empirical grounds using archaeology, vegetation history, and an analysis of written sources and maps.

In addition to an evaluation of the theory’s culture-theoretical framework, the significance of place names derived from *talvatis* (winter) used to support the theory is also examined. Furthermore, I discuss the historical context in terms of the establishment of the state in Swedish Lapland at around AD 1600, at which time the principle of the territorial state was implemented in northern Scandinavia. In this, it is important to distinguish between ‘state time’ and the theory’s ‘pre-state’ time (Wallerström 2017: 23). The following main research questions were investigated:

- a) Were there in fact ‘Skolt Saami winter camps’ in northern Scandinavia?
- b) Are these putative winter camps actually marked on Andreas Bureus’s map *Lapponia* (1611) and Olof Tresk’s map of Torne *lapmark* (1643) as Tanner (1929: 388–389) believed?
- c) What happened when the territorial state principle was implemented in the north? Were existing pre-colonial winter camps used as political outposts? What *happened* to the people? How did the ruling authorities think?

7.4 Background

This critical study originated as an interdisciplinary investigation involving historical archaeology and vegetation ecology which was originally planned to complement Tanner’s generally accepted theory.

Research questions were formulated regarding the age of the institution, changes in functions through time, cultural relations, and ongoing processes of power. At the outset, it was assumed that the many people who gathered in a limited area (the winter camp area) would have significantly affected vegetation growth. This would have registered in the local vegetation history, allowing it to date the origin of the winter-camp institution, which is impossible using only historical or archaeological data.

The processing of material from previous excavations in Arvidsjaur was planned as were archaeological investigations in Rounala. The vegetation history at an additional locality was studied; namely, the site of the first church in Enontekis, which was relocated after the 1808–09 war with Russia (Bygdén 1923 II: 60). This abandoned post-medieval church site and marketplace, now called Markkina, was partly excavated by Petri Halinen in 1990–1991 and 2000–2001 (letter, December 19th 2001; Lahti 2006: 286–287; Wallerström 2017: 21, 115–116).

Contrary to expectations, Väinö Tanner’s theory was not corroborated by these vegetation-historical ‘supplementary investigations’. Consequently, it was decided to test the theory against other historical

and archaeological source material, in which traces of the winter camps should have appeared, or at least indicated their probable existence. In addition, its culture-theoretical framework was scrutinised. The empirical data were interpreted in their respective chronological, political, and culture-specific contexts; i.e. the so-called contextual tradition in archaeology (Wallerström 2017: 27–29).

7.5 The vegetation history analysis

The vegetation history analysis carried out by Ulf Segerström and Eva-Maria Nordström showed that human impact on vegetation in Arvidsjaur can indeed be traced back to the late medieval period, but also that this early impact was very limited. It is only with the establishment of a rectory during the mid-18th century (Bygdén 1923 I: 98; Bylund 1956: 89) that a major impact on local vegetation history can be discerned (Segerström, Nordström and myself, two chapters in Wallerström 2017: 132–134).

Corresponding results were obtained in today's Markkina, where a rectory was also established in the mid-18th century (Bygdén 1923 II: 60; Wallerström 2017: 121–122). Similar intensification did not occur in Rounala despite the presence here of a church and an adjoining cemetery in the medieval period, judging from radiocarbon dating of human remains (Lidén, Fjellström and myself in Wallerström 2017: 282–308). This must be due to the fact that, at the beginning of the 17th century, the Saami were directed to move to Markkina with its existing church and marketplace established and organised by Daniel Hjort on the orders of the king (Wallerström 2017: 177–180). No rectory was built at Rounala (see Wiklund 1916).

The impact of humans and domestic animals on vegetation was surprisingly limited in all three localities. According to the theory, those who paid taxes while occupying the winter camps with their households during four winter months would have constituted a far larger population than that represented by the inhabitants of the rectories in 1601: 32 households in Arvidsjaur, 21 in Rounala, and 31 in Enontekis/Markkina (Hoppe 1945: 53; Wallerström 2017: 132–134). However, it is the environmental impact of the two rectories that features most prominently in the vegetation history.

7.6 Written sources and toponyms

Two historical documents are crucial to the critique of the theory. The first is a report written by King Karl IX's emissary Daniel Hjort (1606) and the second is King Karl IX's response to complaints from Saami who were to be given a church and marketplace in Enontekis/Markkina (Wallerström 2017, Appendixes 1 and 3). It is apparent from Karl's response (1604) that it was necessary to persuade the Saami to go to the site of the church and marketplace. If the Winter Camp Theory was correct, this would have been unnecessary since the Saami would have already been staying at this supposed winter site. Furthermore, detailed accounts of the Saami given by the clergy of the *lapmarks* in the 1670s do not mention this phenomenon. Other contemporary sources also suggest a reality *devoid* of Saami winter camps (Wallerström 2017: 136–139).

An evaluation of the *talvatis* place name as an indicator of the presence of winter camps is also appropriate since, as mentioned above, they were important to K. B. Wiklund's version of the theory (see also Tanner 1929: 87, 402). As many as 24 such place names are identified only in the parishes of Jokkmokk and Gällivare. Given this large number, it has been concluded that it is too common a name to be regarded as testimony for the existence of winter camps. Instead, it simply refers to places

in a winter landscape (pers. comm. Dr. Kjell-Åke Aronsson; Wallerström 2017: 164–165). The alleged relationship between winter camps and the *talvatis* place names therefore seems speculative.

7.7 Archaeological sources

Several previous archaeological studies have set out to provide archaeological support for Tanner's theory (see Wallerström 2017: 141–148). For example, Inga-Maria Mulk's (1994) attempt to find the winter camp for the Sirkas *sijdda* in Lule *lapmark* was preceded by extensive landscape surveys and the construction of theoretical models for testing. Mulk (1994: 233, 260–261) found that *sijdda* probably did not live in *one* given place during the winter but were rather dispersed across a larger area. Kjell-Åke Aronsson's (2009) archaeological investigation of the designated camp site for the Tuorpon *sijdda*, also in Lule *lapmark*, did not provide evidence to support the Winter Camp Theory, the validity of which he also questioned.

An additional major systematic survey is a study of Saami settlement patterns in Pite *lapmark* by the archaeologist Nina Karlsson (2006). Karlsson utilised vegetation history, soil chemistry, and geophysical methods, and tested archaeological models of Saami seasonal movements. She identified no winter camps and found that the site most resembling a winter camp in Sweden is Arvidsjaur with its church and marketplace. It also has an alternative name (*talvatis*) associated with winter (Karlsson 2006: 84, 153, 164). However, and as mentioned above, this place name probably does not relate to a winter camp. Furthermore, neither the vegetation history analysis, nor archaeological investigations conducted in Arvidsjaur indicated a significant 'ancient' human presence (i.e. a winter camp) predating the market place, church and rectory. While a few late-medieval artefacts were identified, more numerous finds from more recent times were also found (Wallerström 2017: 93–94, 160–161; see Lundholm 1968; Liedgren 1997).

The best-known archaeological site resembling a winter camp is the Nukkumajoki complex in the northern Finnish Inari, Kemi *lapmark* (Figure 7.5). Christian Carpelan and his team investigated several localities here with relatively robust settlement structures that may have been habitable during

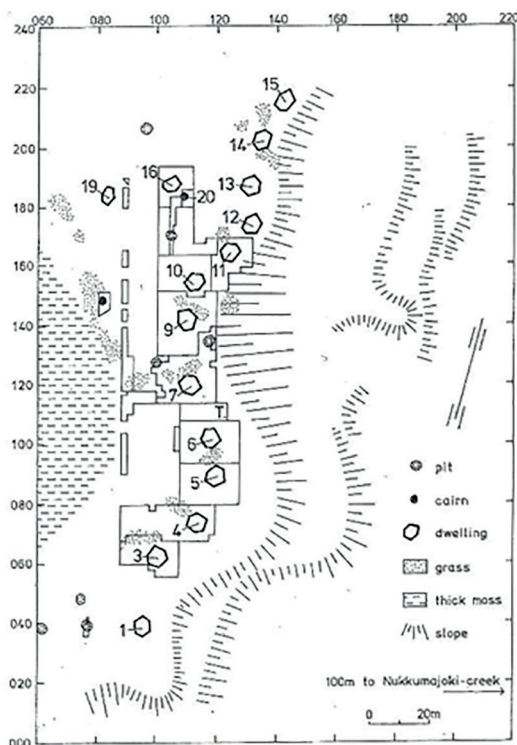


Figure 7.5: Nukkumajoki 2. An alleged Saami winter camp which has been archaeologically investigated (Carpelan and Kankainen 1990: 359).

the winter. The artefacts found are mainly of recent date, but some date to the late medieval period (Wallerström 2017: 155–158; see Carpelan and Kankainen 1990; Carpelan and Hicks 1995; Carpelan 2003: 71, 73). These compare more closely to the Skolt Saami settlements, although there are differences too (Wallerström 2017: 158–160). For example, Tanner described small cottages, which existed in Skolt Saami villages at the beginning of the 20th century, while the Nukkumajoki complex contains timber huts (Figure 7.1 and 7.5).

The somewhat doubtful similarities between Nukkumajoki and the Skolt Saami winter camps can best be explained by the fact that this community, the Inari *siida*, was formerly part of a ‘united’ Russian, Swedish, and Danish-Norwegian taxation area (Hansen 2011), and was consequently to some extent taxed similarly to the North-Russian Skolt Saami. There may therefore have been an outpost for taxation directed from Russia, Sweden and Denmark-Norway located here. Archaeologically similar localities are not known in northern Scandinavia, which may be due to the fact that Russian taxation systems did not extend this far west (Wallerström 2017: 162–163; see Hansen 2011).

Many archaeologists have identified localities with hearths in long alignments of 5–10 rectangular hearths, usually stone-built, indicating that they were used during winter, or at least when it was cold (for example Bergman 1990; Hedman et al. 2015). However, archaeological investigations do not provide convincing evidence that they represent winter camps of the type described by Tanner (1929: 198–199; see Figure 7.1). Instead, these may be places where 5–10 nuclear families gathered during the winter, essentially small communities that would not necessarily have required the *norráz* institution with its representative assembly and ‘president’. Consequently, it cannot be assumed that these so-called hearth rows represent a single, collective, habitation site equivalent to the Skolt Saami winter camps (Wallerström 2017: 148–154).

7.8 An obsolete cultural-theoretical framework

The Winter Camp Theory depended on a specific cultural-theoretical framework. Both K. B. Wiklund and Väinö Tanner (1929: 402; Wiklund quoted in Holmbäck 1922: 28–36) embraced early 20th-century cultural theory, particularly the notion that one could expect the occurrence of *survivals* – that is, the preservation of ‘cultural stages’ in peripheral areas; in this case, an ‘original’ Saami institution that escaped state influence.

Wiklund and Tanner also assumed the existence of different consecutive ‘culture stages’, a cultural theory current during their day. The stage with winter camps, one of the first, was thought to have ‘survived’ into the 20th century in the Petsamo area and was described by Tanner. Furthermore, they espoused the tenet of so-called ‘culture circles’, which postulated that human culture could be described as a relatively limited number of cultural circles (of which the Saami was one).

The notions of survivals and culture circles have, in common with the concept of diffusionism and Tanner’s ecological determinism, all been abandoned in mainstream anthropological research, and the same is true about his retrospective method, i.e. uncritically projecting seemingly old cultural structures backwards in time (1929: 8–9, 11, 18, 23, 25, 36, 47–53, 58, 61, 87, 99, 330–331, 386, 389, 402, 407, 412–416; cf. Hultkrantz 1960: 91–95, 174–176, 224–227; Berg 2001; Harris 2001: 164–169, 374–379, 382–383; Trigger 2006: 217–223, 315–319; Eidlitz Kuoljok 2011:16–21).

Cultural loans (‘diffusionism’) and migrations were the main explanations for cultural change in academic circles at the time. The Winter Camp Theory’s Saami were thought to have migrated to northern Scandinavia from the east bringing the institution with them (Tanner 1929: 18–28, 406; Wallerström 2017: 57). Tanner’s theory is consequently largely based on a now long-abandoned cultural-theoretical framework, especially the theory of survivals (Wallerström 2017: 56–57; see Berg 2001; Eidlitz Kuoljok 2011 *passim*).

7.9 Discussion

As described, it has proved difficult to find support for the Winter Camp Theory, whether vegetation-historical, historical, or archaeological. The theoretical framework for the theory is obsolete, and the toponymic ‘*talvatis*-argument’ is clearly speculative. Moreover, the 17th-century written sources that ‘should’ have mentioned the phenomenon seem instead to convey a reality *without* winter camps. Despite this, might the Saami nonetheless have had other forms of gathering places or otherwise important places that the cartographers chose to depict?

Tanner (1929: 389) assumed that tent-like symbols on two maps dated to 1611 and 1643 showed the sites of the winter camps. As other sources do not corroborate the Winter Camp Theory, one has to ask whether these cartographic symbols actually represent something else, and, if so, what?

One might begin by asking why such maps were needed? Do they really depict a pre-colonial cultural geography containing winter camps as Tanner and others after him maintained, or, alternatively, might these maps be the instruments of an expanding state, as recent researchers have suggested? (Wallerström 2017: 185–186; see Ehrensverd 2006: 127–132; Strandsbjerg 2008; Wood 2010: 33).

The written sources, including maps, are, in my opinion, best understood in the context of contemporary politics. Since the maps were drawn up at a time of territorial expansion, the nature of state activity must be taken into account in their analysis. It is relevant to discuss the expression of royal power in Swedish Lapland around AD 1600, including the establishment of church sites in these landscapes, where both the Saami, Birkarlians, and Swedish Bailiffs interacted, as well as taking into account the Saamis’ experience of the implemented principle of the territorial state. Birkarlians (Sw: *birkarlar*) were farmers from the estuaries along the Gulf of Bothnia who held a medieval royal privilege to trade and raise taxes among the Saami (Luukko 1956 a–b). These rights were taken over by the Crown’s bailiffs during the reigns of Gustav Vasa and Karl IX, thereby marginalising the Birkarlians.

Juridical-political relationships of this type must be taken into account when interpreting the source material, including the maps. Laws were taken into use to consolidate the Early Modern Scandinavian states, using the laws of the ancient Roman Empire and the contemporary Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation as models (Wallerström 2017: 29–38, 189–192). The active use of these power doctrines united the outermost periphery of the north with the central parts of Sweden to the south, and beyond that to Europe (Päiviö 2011: 80–82).

In light of this, answers to the following questions should be sought: Are the putative winter camps actually marked on Andreas Bureus’s map *Lapponia* (1611) and Olof Tresk’s map of Torne *lapmark* (1643) as Tanner (1929: 388–389) believed? What happened when the territorial state principle was implemented in the north? Were existing pre-colonial winter camps used as political outposts? What *happened* to the people? How did the ruling authorities think? Why was the 1611 map actually required?

7.10 The cartographic evidence viewed in a wider context

Tanner (1929: 389) assumed that tent-like symbols drawn on two maps dated to 1611 and 1643 depicted Saami winter camps. As noted above, contrary to expectations, the vegetation-historical studies registered little impact by humans and domesticated animals on three of these places (Segerström, Nordström and myself in Wallerström 2017: 132–134).

Consequently, it is relevant to ask what functions the three investigated sites had before they became the church sites? Did these places emerge as a result of the needs of the Saami, the Birkarlians, or the Crown’s bailiffs? In the answer lies a clue to the type of localities the 17th-century cartographers depicted (Wallerström 2017: 169–181).

Vegetation development was not influenced by humans until about 1100 BC in Markkina, and not until about the 1st century AD in Rounala, while probably not until about AD 1400 in Arvidsjaur. At Rounala and Markkina, human influence in the vegetation record increased during the Iron Age, especially from around AD 800, a time now distinguished cultural-historically by emerging small-scale herding of reindeer and the occurrence of many imported metal objects among the archaeological finds in the north of Fennoscandia (Wallerström 2017: 173–175; see Aronsson 1991: 102; Storli 1994: 96; Hedman 2003: 198, 223–225, 2015; Andersen 2011; Bergman et al. 2013 on the emerging reindeer breeding; Serning 1956, 1960; Sjøvold 1974; Zachrisson 1976; Huurre 1987; Uino 1997: 197 regarding the metal objects. See also Henriksen 1995 on the production of train-oil for a market in the adjacent part of northern Norway, c. 800–1200).

In Markkina and Arvidsjaur, historically documented rectories left the greatest impression in the pollen diagrams. Rounala had no rectory, although the church and its adjoining cemetery were already established in the Middle Ages (Lidén, Fjellström and myself, Appendix 4 in Wallerström 2017: 301–302).

It is possible that Markkina might have been used as a resting place on trips along the Torne River catchment, which formed part of a route connecting the North Atlantic to the Gulf of Bothnia and the Baltic (Wallerström 2017: 174–175). Rounala was situated on the Saami migration trail to Norway (Manker 1953: 59, 65). The pollen chart from Arvidsjaur, however, does not indicate a human presence there during that early period, although the 17th-century church seems to have had a medieval precursor (Bygdén 1923 I: 97; Bergling 1964: 163).

Interestingly, it is evident from the cartographer's commentary to the 1643 map that the Saami previously used Rounala as a gathering place, but that the church and market place in Enontekis (today's Markkina) were then already in use (Wallerström 2017: 177–179; the map and the commentary are published in Ahnlund 1928).

The functions of the church and marketplace in Markkina are highlighted in the royal letter of 1604 (Wallerström 2017, Appendix 3). Not only were the Saami supposed to attend them to hear the Word of God and pay their taxes to the bailiff, they were also supposed to give the bailiff first refusal of their goods (Wallerström 2017: 179–181). Their goods were to be weighed and measured with equipment provided by the bailiff, and merchants would be present.

The bailiff, as the king's representative, was now a prioritised buyer of goods from the *lapmark*. The Birkarlians were completely outmanoeuvred – their tax-levying role had already ceased in 1554. Those who took part in illicit trade did so on penalty of death. Karl IX's reforms came into effect quite rapidly, as shown by the bailiffs' records (Bergling 1964: 150 f.; Wallerström 2017: 177).

It is also demonstrated (Figure 7.6–7.7) that the church buildings in Rounala and Arvidsjaur lay centrally in relation to the distribution of settlements of the *siidas* (at least those identified from the 18th century, Wallerström 2017: 169–173). The church in Markkina was not similarly centrally located. Rather, communication was probably the crucial factor in its siting, since it was a place that was easy for the Crown's bailiffs to reach, located as it was at the intersection of lines of communication between the Gulf of Bothnia, the Atlantic coast (the Lyngen and Alta fjords) and the Arctic Ocean (the Varanger fjord).

Viewed in this broader context, it seems unlikely that the symbols on the first maps of Swedish Lapland (1611, 1643) that Tanner thought resembled Saami tents (*kot*) in fact depicted the locations of winter camps. Rather, they were depictions of places considered important enough to be represented on these maps. But what kind of places were they? And why was Andreas Bureus' map required in 1611?

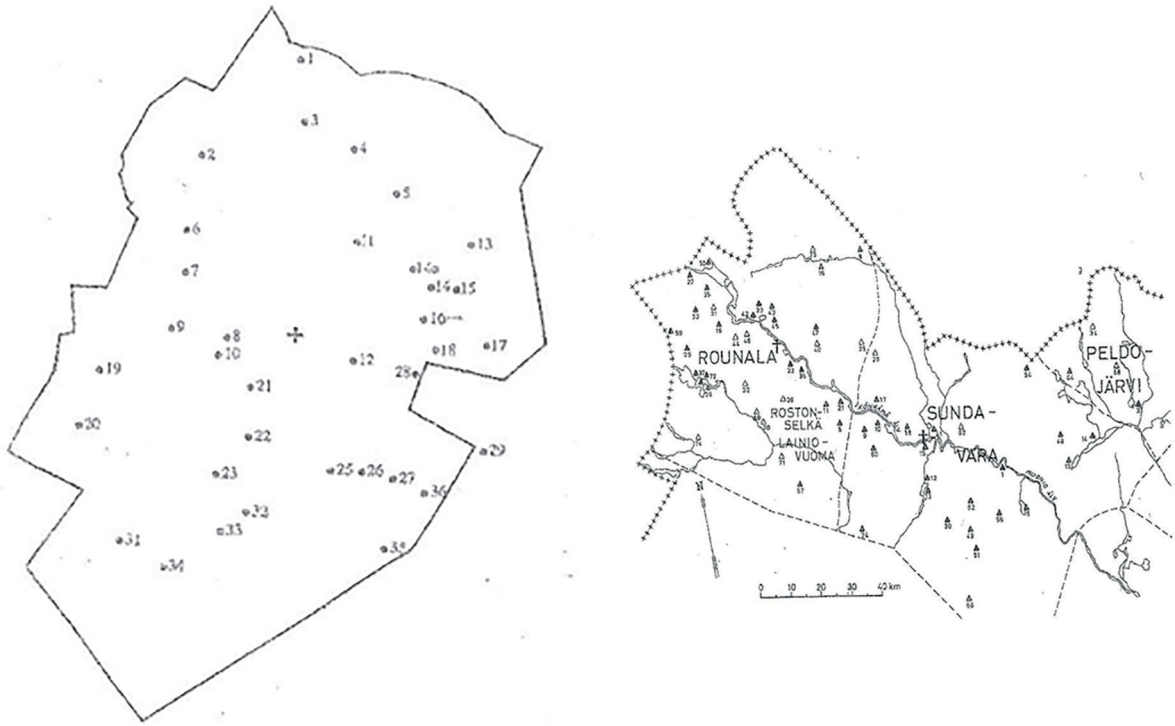


Figure 7.6–7.7: The churches of Arvidsjaur, Rounala and Enontekis/Markkina in relation to the distribution of seasonal settlements of the siidas according to 18th-century sources (Marklund 2015:8; Arell 1977:241; churches added). The Peldojärvi Saami had no church of their own.

7.11 The political context

The written sources from around 1600 are greatly concerned with contemporary initiatives that attempted to clarify the northern border between Sweden and Denmark-Norway. This territorialisation of royal power had begun under Gustav Vasa in the middle of the 16th century, pausing during the years of power struggles after his death in 1560. Karl IX eventually resumed his father's ambitions (for example Olofsson 1965: 3–87).

The territorial state was a socio-political innovation of the 16th century (Maier 2016: 1–2, 75–76). Following its introduction, people could now be taxed solely on the basis of their presence within a defined state territory. The decades around the year 1600 were characterised by rivalry between competing emerging states regarding the division of partially overlapping taxation areas; some Saami groups paid taxes to two or even three different nation states, a situation which had become unsatisfactory. The historical nation states – Sweden, Denmark-Norway and Russia – were at this time engaged in the process of attempting to create territorial boundaries in northern Fennoscandia (Wallerström 2017: 30–34, see for example Olofsson 1965: 45–87; Hansen & Olsen 2014: 257–262).

In attempting to understand the processes involved in shaping the Saami societies at the time in question, one must take into account historical legal conditions, including rights of ownership to land and water. Similarly, one cannot ignore political conditions, such as, in this instance, Sweden's attempt to gain control over the Atlantic coast in the north and contemporary royal political centralism.

Power doctrines were enforced on the Saami in the name of the king. They included the claim of *iura regni*, 'the rights of the kingdom' in *bona vacantia* (wilderness), as well as the doctrine of *dominium*. The regal juridical claim to supremacy in *bona vacantia* is usually mentioned in research as forming a legal basis for the Swedish state's presence in Sápmi, but the *dominium* doctrine is also relevant, being a restriction of a previously undivided right to ownership, a European-wide approach

to ownership introduced by Gustav Vasa's chancellor Conrad von Pyhy, a German administrator who had been working for the Roman-German emperor (Päiviö 2011: 80–81). Accordingly, ownership came to be regarded as a hereditary use right (*dominium utile*) that could be confiscated and legally given to another person, such as in the case of mismanagement by a household which reduced its taxation potency, a law which was also applicable among the Saami (Korpijaakko-Labba 1994: 364; Päiviö 2011: 41). Paying taxes was now, together with the *dominium* doctrine, regarded as recognition of the recipient's undivided *dominium directum*, in this case the recipient being the king (Inger 1997: 99).

The doctrine of *dominium* was new to Sweden when it was introduced among the Saami and the settled population around 1540, while *iura regni*, and royal claims in *bona vacantia* had a long history among Scandinavian medieval kings who sought to enforce a continental model of supremacy over valuable natural resources (Rosén 1949: 35–47; Hamre 1968: 698–701; Prawitz 1968: 701–705; Päiviö 2011: 80–81; Wallerström 2017: 34–38). 'Rights of the kingdom' were introduced among the coastal, agrarian settlements beside the Gulf of Bothnia to the east of Swedish Lapland from the 14th century onwards (Wallerström 1995: 27–30, 295–306).

Politics, law, economics, and the enforcement of power doctrines were means of expanding the power and reach of the Early Modern nation state. In the present case, this includes emerging ideas about state sovereignty and the appropriation of the population's resources, as manifested in the claim of *iura regni* ('the rights of the kingdom'), supremacy in *bona vacantia* (wilderness), and the *dominium* doctrine's concept of shared ownership (*dominium utile*, *dominium directum*). The novel technology of mapmaking (in effect, 'data bases') was also adopted, as mentioned above (Wallerström 2017: 34–38, 184–189).

7.12 Implementing the territorial state principle

It is evident that the kings of Denmark-Norway and Sweden tried to implement the principle of the territorial state current at their time. According to this principle, the same area could not simultaneously be Swedish and Danish-Norwegian, and conflicts consequently arose between these states.

As part of this process, they needed to know which Saami paid taxes to which king, and where the taxation areas were located in relation to 'presumed national borders'. By paying taxes, one was now considered to be accepting of the authority of the recipient state, a 'proof' that the taxpayer was the subject of the recipient, a subjugative legal relationship which in the long run now gained political and territorial importance (Wallerström 2017: 33–34, 187–189, 194–195).

During the introduction of the principle of the territorial state, the Saami were questioned about who they paid taxes to annually, the intention being to reorganise overlapping taxation areas (Wallerström 2017: 189–192). During hearings, it emerged that the Saami initially gave gifts to outsiders implicitly in exchange for being allowed to live their lives peacefully and undisturbed (Campbell 1948: 20–22; Guttormsen 2005: 214). From the perspective of the doctrine of *dominium*, these gifts were subsequently redefined as taxation, and proof of the taxpayer's subjugation. From the Saami perspective, however, gifts were regarded as a form of insurance against unpleasant situations. The Saami word for a gift to strangers (*uærro*) is the same as that for a sacrificial victim of their pre-Christian cult (Solem 1933: 247; Campbell 1948: 21–22; Wallerström 2017: 187–188).

Consequently, an anonymous contemporary critic who participated in taking evidence from Saami witnesses stated that the respondents could barely distinguish between taxation areas and state territories and provided answers that they thought their questioners wanted to hear (Steckzén 1964: 81; Wallerström 2017: 193–194). The use of violence in the course of tax collection is mentioned frequently in Swedish, Danish-Norwegian and Russian diplomatic sources of the 16th century, especially

the century's latest decades, and the beginning of the 17th century (Johnsen 1923: 68–69, 72–77, 79, 81, 85, 88, 90, 101, 124–129). However, following the so-called Kalmar War (1611–1613), which devastated parts of southern Scandinavia, Sweden was forced to abandon its claims over the Atlantic coast in the north (Harrison and Eriksson 2010: 361).

When viewed against this backdrop of inter-state politics, the ideal of well-defined territorial states, and the use of juridical claims of sovereignty and shares in people's property rights, it is likely that the oldest map discussed here (Figure 7.2) actually depicts the distribution of *siida* which paid taxes to Sweden. These are shown both in relation to each other and in relation to contemporary lines of communication. With churches and marketplaces located at some of these sites – one in each *lapmark* – arenas were created for contacts between the state authority and its subjects. This organizational arrangement in the landscape provided a basis for establishing economic, political and cultural power over these subjects by a variety of means, as was the case in other parts of the multicultural Swedish superpower (Wallerström 2017: 192–199).

Consequently, we can conclude that Andreas Bureus' map *Lapponia* (Figure 7.2–7.4) was an administrative document drawn up in 1611 to depict the locations of Early Modern Sweden's tax-paying Saami communities and the outposts for tax collection in Sápmi. The tent-like symbols do not represent 'East Saami' winter camps in a pre-colonial Saami cultural geography as Tanner and many others believed, but rather the places where the recently taxed Saami had their settlements (Wallerström 2017: 185–186, 192–194).

7.13 Conclusions

In this study, I have challenged Väinö Tanner's Winter Camp Theory on empirical grounds using archaeology, vegetation history, and the analysis of written sources and maps. The theory did not withstand the test of closer scrutiny. Furthermore, it is argued that the *talvatis* place-names simply refer generally to places in the winter landscape. The alleged close relationship between winter camps and the *talvatis* place names is demonstrably speculative. Moreover, I contend that the Winter Camp Theory is based on a weak empirical basis, a vague methodology and an obsolete cultural-theoretical framework.

Consequently, 'The East Saami analogy' (or model) is no longer a source of 'self-evident knowledge', as many Scandinavian researchers have previously assumed. We should now disregard the theory and open up for alternative hypotheses and interpretations. For example, why might not winter settlements have been dispersed over extensive areas under suitable conditions? Might such dispersed settlements perhaps be represented by the so-called hearth rows, material traces possibly left by groups of overwintering nuclear families? Perhaps pre-colonial Saami gatherings took place at the best fishing spots during the summer, as suggested by Kerstin Eidlitz Kuoljok? (1991: 43–45, see Karlsson 2006: 47; Aronsson 2009: 60; Wallerström 2017: 69).

Whatever the case, empirical data must, to a greater extent than before, form the basis for research into ancient Saami settlement patterns. External conditions, such as relationships with power centres, also affected settlement patterns – at least in Northern Scandinavia. As demonstrated by the present study, the 'circumpolar winter camps', which some researchers thought could be identified in Eurasia and in (Russian) Alaska (Mäki 2004), may in fact have arisen out of the needs of the emerging nation states (Wallerström 2017: 199–204).

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