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Networks, Diversity and Mobility among the Northern Sámi in the 16th Century

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present some 16th-century features of the economy and settlement patterns characterizing a group of the northernmost Sámi, namely those living along the coast of the Arctic Sea from the Alta fjord in the west to Varanger in the east, as well as those living in the adjacent inland areas from the siida of Suondavaara in the west to Ohcejohka and Anár in the east (see map, Figure 1). The variation in economic profiles, as well as the patterns of mobility displayed by different sub-groups of Sámi within the area investigated, will be studied against the background of various trading networks, and their relative extent and importance for the Sámi concerned.

Since the surviving, quantitative source material only allows us to chart in detail a limited slice of the total economic interaction, two initial questions arise. 1) To what degree were the various Sámi communities dependent on *imports* from the different trade networks, for items/commodities which they could use for paying taxes, or to what degree did the Sámi communities pay the taxes with *self-produced goods* stemming from fishing, hunting or trapping in their own resource areas? In this way, we will be able to chart the major traits of the economic diversity that may be observed among the Sámi communities, for instance between communities situated in the inland or along the coast, or between different coastal communities. 2) Various kinds of *mobility* will be studied, relating to movements both within and between the communities. We will also seek to chart the degree or frequency of these movements.

We must first clarify the position which the Sámi found themselves in, vis-à-vis the surrounding state powers of the 16th century, and their varying aspirations and the demands of these state various powers for control of people, resources and production surplus in the Sámi settlement areas, including aspirations for exerting state sovereignty over this region.

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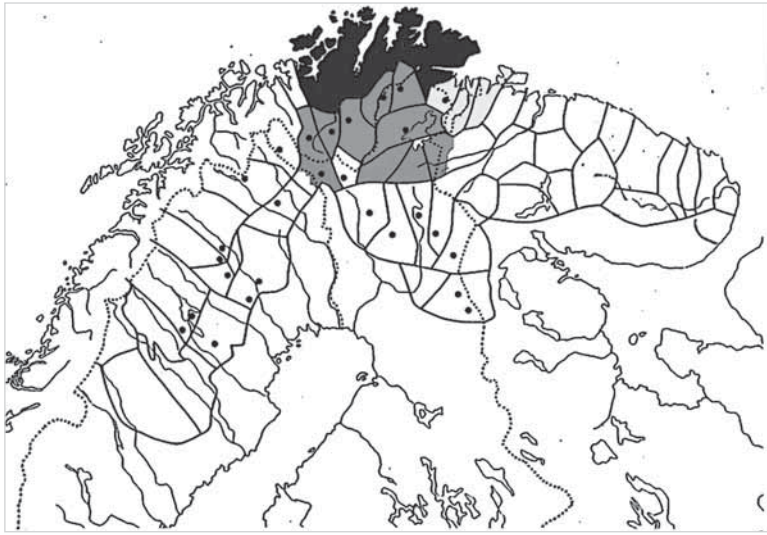

Figure 1. Area of investigation indicated. The map shows the boundaries of Sámi *siidas*.

The Sámi, their Habitat and Way of Life in Earlier Times

Due to a cultural diversification process among various heterogeneous groups of hunter-gatherers in Northern Fennoscandia, the earliest roots of a separate "hunter-gatherer identity" – the forerunner of the later distinct Sámi ethnic identity – seem to be traceable back to the first millennium BCE. This development seems to have been part of a reciprocal identification process involving intensified interaction with groups who were embarking at the same time on other cultural adaptations such as agriculture, animal husbandry, fishery or combinations of these, and who accordingly developed other identities. In the east, this seems to have involved contacts with metal-producing communities in present-day north-western Russia, as well as interaction with groups settled in present-day southern Finland, who later became known as *Hämäläiset* and *Suomalaiset* – predecessors of the later Finnish population. In the west, portions of the original hunter-gatherer population seem to have had an affinity with the agriculturalists of southern Scandinavia, borrowing cultural traits from them and successively adopting a Northern Germanic identity. Judging from the reproduction of sets of material-cultural features which reflect contrasting adaptations between various partners of interaction, it seems fair to surmise the emergence of a cultural complex identifiable with the distinct Sámi ethnicity of later times, during the centuries around the beginning of our era (Hansen & Olsen 2004: 38–41; cf. Odner 1983). This does not exclude the possibility, however, that the expressions of Sámi ethnic affiliation may have varied over time and according to context, and that Sámi ethnicity also may have been "generalized" further, to include more groups of hunter-gatherers as time went by.

In historically and traditionally known times, the Sámi habitation area included the northern and central regions of Fennoscandia, as well as parts of present-day north-western Russia. The approximate extension of this area is outlined on the map (Figure 2), which depicts the localization of the various Sámi dialects or languages, all belonging to the Finno-Ugric language family.

Despite their general and unifying characteristics, the Sámi also display various sub-groups, distinguishing themselves in material culture and not least linguistically, something which may indicate various connections and diversified forms of interaction with other groups, resulting in the exchange of diversified cultural elements. So far as the sources allow observation, Sámi groups along the coast, and Sámi populations settled in the interior of northern Fennoscandia, have shown different profiles in ecological adaptation. Fishing and hunting sea mammals seem to have played a great role among the Coastal Sámi, but these elements were also combined with the hunting of wild reindeer and fur animals (Vorren 1978). In contrast, the inland Sámi had to rely to a much greater degree on reindeer and fur-bearing animals, though they were also engaged in pike fishing in the lakes. Until the last part of the 16th century, or the first part of the 17th, the great majority of Sámi were hunter-gatherers, though small-scale sheep and cattle breeding had also been known among some of the coastal Sámi from the early Middle Ages onwards. In the southernmost districts, the coastal Sámi were even engaged in agriculture (Gjærevoll et al. 1978; Kolsrud 1947, 1961).

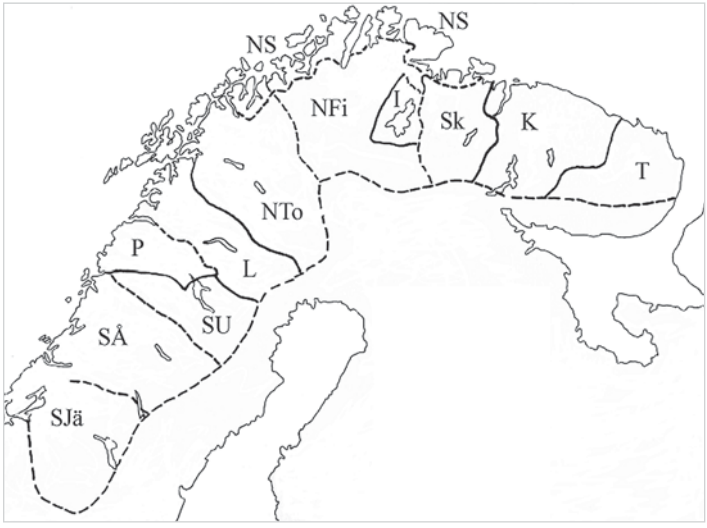

Figure 2. Extension of Sámi languages.

To a certain extent, some of the Sámi may even at an early point of time have kept a small number of domesticated reindeer for milking and draught purposes. The dating of the more definitive transition to specialized pastoralism is much debated, however. While it traditionally was held to have begun in the 17th and

18th centuries (Vorren 1978, 1980), some investigations have pointed to the High Middle Ages as the probable formative period (Storli 1994; Andersen 2002), while the most recent suggestion focuses on the later Medieval period, i.e. the 15th and 16th centuries (Sommerseth 2009). On the basis of ethnographic evidence from the East or "Skolt" Sámi areas during the 19th century, a model of siida life and organization[1] has been reconstructed, where one of the basic features is seasonal mobility. In spring, summer and autumn, families or households were living at different locations, according to the particular resource units that they were allowed to exploit separately, whereas in winter they gathered together in common winter camps, carrying out collective forms of hunting and taking part in various social activities (Tanner 1929). This model has also found some support in 16th and 17th century evidence for the communities in the Varanger fjord (Vorren 1978, 1980).

State Emergence, Taxation and Trade Networks

It should be noted that throughout the Middle Ages and until the end of the 16th century, large parts of the Sámi habitation area were not regularly subjugated to any state power or authority. However, as various forces among the surrounding peoples strove for state consolidation and territorial expansion, partly prompted by trade interests, northern Fennoscandia was successively divided into various spheres of interest and – especially from late Medieval times onwards – partially overlapping trading and taxation districts. From the west, the medieval Norwegian kingdom (later in union with Denmark) sought to expand northwards and eastwards, while the Swedish kingdom was acting from the south. From the east, the city-state of Novgorod established a network of fortified strongholds (Ru. *pogosty* = *погосты*) in the regions south of the White Sea, successively engaging in relations with the Sámi, partly with the Karelians serving as intermediaries (Hansen 1996). The role of Novgorod was to be replaced later by the principality of Moscow.

Striving to control people, trade, resources and territory in the north, these emerging powers competed in collecting taxes from the Sámi population. At the same time, comprehensive trade networks from all three sides were established, which were heavily engaged in trade and barter exchange with the Sámi, in particular demanding the precious furs that the Sámi could provide (Aarseth 1979; Hansen & Olsen 2004, Hansen 2005). Thus, the Sámi maintained relations with both tax collectors and private purchasers of furs from all three surrounding nation states and the corresponding trade networks (Steckzén 1964; Hansen 1990).

1. *Siida* is a traditional local Sami community or co-operative organization, consisting of several families or household units, who controlled a common resource territory and used it jointly for seasonal migration, hunting and the exploitation of various resource niches. As such the concept of *siida* connotes both a unit of social organization and the spatial extension of the corresponding usufruct territory (see Vorren and Manker 1962; Hansen 1999 and Helander 1999).

From the eastern side, the trade interests were represented by both Novgorodian and Karelian merchants, from the south Swedish traders and, in the north and west, the representatives of the Norwegian trading stations along the coast, attached to the Hanseatic network. Consequently, rather comprehensive records are preserved from the second part of the 16th century – particularly on the Swedish side – reflecting both royal taxation and trading activities. (Broch & Stang 1961; Hansen 1990; Rauø 2006). (See Figure 2).

The Source Situation

From the late Middle Ages through the second half of the 16th century (until 1595), the situation was that Sámi in the northernmost parts of Fennoscandia – in the regions that today make up the northernmost counties of Sweden, Finland and Norway – were regularly taxed by three states. From this taxation very useful annual records have been preserved on the Swedish side in the form of so-called "bailiff's accounts" for the northernmost provinces, covering the entire period 1551–1618, without any gaps. The records from the Norwegian side have not been preserved so well, but there exist useful Norwegian accounts dating from 1567 and the period 1593–1612 (Hansen 1990, Rauø 2006). Though there exist cadastres covering the Sámi settlements on the Kola peninsula from 1574 and 1608–1611 (Kharuzin 1890), the most interesting source of information about Moscow's tax-collecting practices dates from 1624. This survey gives detailed, geographical information and also contains a retrospective description of Muscovite taxation as practiced until 1602 (Broch & Stang 1961). In addition, the principles behind this taxation and some quantitative information about its extent have also been documented by Swedish officials in surveys from around 1600 (Hansen 1990 II: 135).

Furthermore, the Swedish "bailiff's accounts" provide information not only about taxation, but also about the trade that the Swedish tax collectors maintained with the Sámi on behalf of the Swedish state (monarchy). At the royal castle in Stockholm, there existed a special "Royal Fur Chamber", which channeled the fur surplus from the northern regions and handled its export to central European countries (Steckzén 1964). Thus, we also have detailed accounts of the quantity of furs that the tax collectors purchased from the Sámi, and what kind of goods they delivered in return, such as money, precious metals, woolen textiles, hemp, flour and butter. In addition, we should remember that the Sámi also maintained trade relations with other, private merchants from the Swedish side, who acted on their own and not on behalf of the royal trade. The relations of the Sámi to tradesmen from the other networks – the Danish-Norwegian and the Muscovite – are rather more scarcely documented, but they can to some extent be charted by way of more qualitative statements in later sources, and from a comparative analysis of what the different Sámi groups bartered with the Swedish tax collectors (Hansen 1990).

Thus, this study primarily focuses on the information that can be extracted from the Swedish records. In Figure 3 I have tried to present an overview of what kind of relations are best documented in the sources: 1) extensive information concerning both tax collection and bartering relations with the official Swedish tax collectors acting on behalf of the Crown, but no information about relations with private Swedish merchants; 2) more sporadic and late information about the tax collection from the Norwegian side, and no information about relations with Norwegian trade representatives situated along the coast; and 3) a few late and retrospective registers of Russian taxation, which may nonetheless be supplemented indirectly, with special statements in Swedish and Norwegian documents, regarding the typical and special preferences of Russian merchants.

For this study, which covers the period 1551–1600, I have used in total 10,644 individual entries from the Swedish tax records, which state the first name, patronymic and amount and type of commodity rendered as tax (i.e. whether the taxpayer paid in money, precious metals, textiles or self-produced items like furs and dried fish). In order to ascertain the length of the taxation period for each taxpayer, the identity of the individuals mentioned in recorded entries from year to year had to be established, and information concerning one and the same person had to be linked. It eventually turned out that this material actually comprised 2,119 identifiable individuals, all male.

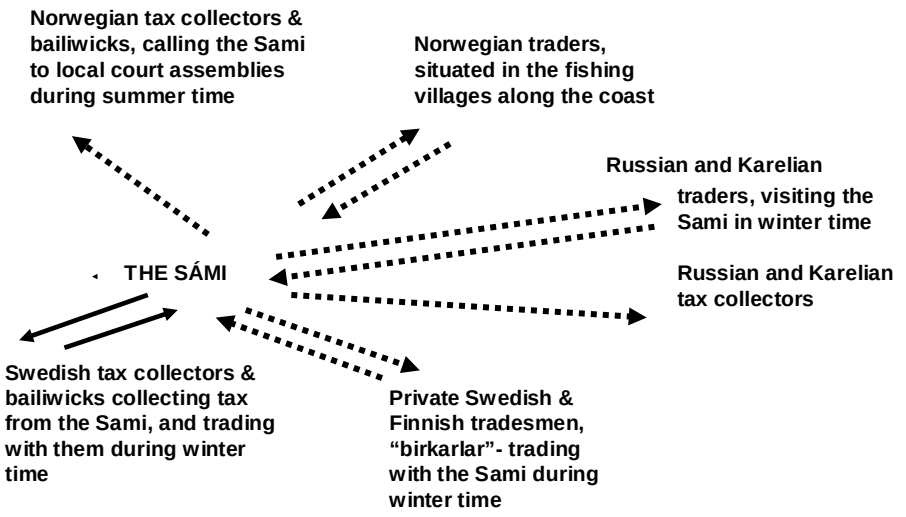

Figure 3. Relations covered in varying degree by the source material.

Methodological Considerations about Taxation Principles

A prerequisite for being able to draw conclusions about the economic diversity among the communities, or about the actual types of mobility is, however, that the principles making up the basis of the taxation system are properly understood. The question here is whether the taxes were based on an individual assessment of each payer, or if the taxes were levied on a kind of collective unit, a kin group, a household or a tax-paying unit consisting of several persons, so that they could divide a prescribed tax sum among themselves or take turns in paying.

Who should pay tax, and what are the possible connections between one observed taxpayer and the various kinds of social units, such as households, tax units or hunting groups? For instance, can we surmise that a household or family regularly stands behind any taxpayer, or possibly another kind of social unit? Taking a look at the whole Sámi area, and examining different periods, one can observe that both principles, the more individually based taxation and several kinds of collective units, have been applied, e.g. "bows" (Ru. *лук*), "hearths" (Swedish *rök*), and households as well. This has led to a lengthy debate among scholars and various conclusions have been drawn (cf. Tegengren 1952; Holmsen 1966; Korpijaakko 1985; Rasmussen 2002). However, while Russian taxation seems primarily to have been based on more collective units, like the "bows" which were used as a taxation unit for evaluating the resources exploited by various Sámi groups, individual statements from the earliest Swedish registers give the impression that the Swedish taxation principle was individually based:

> "Male census register and the tax of the Western Sea Lapps and they have discharged their tax according to what each and everyone can afford, but those Lapps who are well off are primarily to be found in Porsanger, Laksefjord, Tana and Varanger, and they pay yearly up to 3 marks of each lot that they can afford, but all other Lapps pay according to their fortune, and they do not have any permanent residence, so that they are not staying at one site for a long time."[2]

Corresponding headings are found in the accounts of 1562, 1564 and 1566.

The principle of individually-based taxation applied by the Swedish authorities in this period has been confirmed by a closer examination of approx. 1,800 identified taxpayers which has been undertaken as part of this study. One matter that can be ascertained, is that no Sámi woman is ever recorded as a taxpayer in the Swedish tax registers from the last half of the 16th century. (However, in the records of fur transactions, a few women do appear as fur-sellers.) Contrasting with the simultaneous tax records for the non-Sámi population, where the tax is levied per household and some women occur for shorter periods, this complete

2. Heading in the account of Nils Nilsson 1563: "Lengdenn på Nils Nilssons Rekenskap För Törnöö Lappemarck p. Anno 63"; corresponding headings in the accounts of 1562, 1564 and 1566 (Swedish National Archives, microfilm CD 2087).

lack of women should indicate that it is not the household which functioned as the tax unit among the Sámi during this period.

However, there exist irregularities where some taxpayers, who have similar names and were possibly identical, were left out of the records for shorter or longer periods. This might indicate that some collective responsibility was at work, whereby others paid the tax in the interim. Nonetheless, the amount of such temporarily "missing persons" is not sufficient to allow drawing such conclusions. The fact that the control of individuals is so accurate that it is reflected in the records that a taxpayer has temporarily stayed in one of the neighbouring communities and has been taxed there, seems also to substantiate that the basis for taxation was an *individual* assessment.

All in all, the overall principle which seems to have been followed in Swedish taxation during this period is individual taxation. The most probable conclusion for the area and period under investigation appears to be that taxation was based on males, who were noted down in the "male census" (Swedish *mantalet*) when they reached an age where they were capable of paying taxes, regardless of whether they were married or in charge of a household. As such, the records are therefore useless for calculating the number of households and population numbers, but all the more reliable for tracing possible patterns manifested by male individuals. Thus, the Swedish tax records dating from the last part of the 16th century seem to have applied an assessment principle rather similar to that used by Danish-Norwegian authorities about the same time, and which has been described in the following way by the historian Andreas Holmsen:

> "All men – and only men – paid the tax, the sons along with their father, and the brothers on their own, when the father was absent. The great majority within each 'village' or settlement gave equal yields; they were the 'full tax Sámi' [= they paid full tax]. Those who did not yield 'full tax' … or were not of 'full value' … paid half as much; those were the young boys, the elderly and the sick." (Holmsen 1996: 161; author's translation.)

However, towards the end of the 16th century there occur clearer distinctions and comments about those taxpayers who are "young" or have started to pay tax recently. Even later, during the 17th and 18th centuries, other collective units of taxation are known to have been applied from the Swedish side within Torne Lappmark, such as *rök* "hearth" from the 1640s and lasting well into the beginning of the 18th century (1724), and *skatteland* "tax land" from at least 1695, but probably introduced earlier (Rasmussen 2002: 58–66).

The very accurate tracking of the whereabouts of the taxpayers during the latter part of the 16th century can probably be explained by the presence of the so-called "Sámi sheriffs" (*finnelensmenn*). These officials, recruited among the local Sámi, were commissioned with various tasks concerning relations with the state authorities on matters of taxation, administration and jurisdiction. From a later point in time, we know from Danish-Norwegian sources that it was their task to oversee tax collecting, present summons to court and issue lease con-

tracts (Bratrein 1999). In the area in focus, a total of 38 "Sámi sheriffs" are mentioned in the records from the last 25 years of the 16th century, with periods of functioning stretching from 1 to 15 years, and an average of 4½ years. Towards the end of the century, we also find a distinction between the "Sámi sheriffs" for the Swedish authorities and those who acted for the Danish-Norwegian authorities. Obviously, one of their main tasks must have been to supervise the "male census" of the community, keeping a record of who was present and who was not.

Thus, based as they are on an individual assessment of male persons of various ages and stages of life, these tax registers cannot be used for computing the number of households, nor for deducting any other presumably collective tax units. On the other hand, since the tracking of the movements of individual taxpaying males appears so thorough and rather exhaustive, such observations about migration should be all the more reliable for tracing possible patterns.

Analysis of Economic Diversity between Regions, Fjords and Siidas

The analysis of economic diversity must be primarily based on the various items of payment registered yearly in the tax lists, as well as the selection of "exchanged commodities"[3] recorded correspondingly in the surveys of trade registers, year by year. In general, those commodities that were in use – both as means of payments and trade objects in the registers – regularly consisted of various quantities of Swedish and Danish money and precious metals like silver, copper and pewter, as well as various kinds of woollen textiles produced in Central Europe, e.g. *nersk*, *leysk, görlesk* and "English" – these named after the production centres Naarden, Leyden, Görlitz and England. In addition, the Sámi regularly bought or obtained by barter hemp, butter and flour for their own consumption. In contrast, the Sámi themselves produced rather large quantities of furs, stemming from foxes, otters, martins, beavers, ermine, squirrels, etc., as well as dried cod along the coast, and dried pike in the interior.

On the basis of the Swedish official records alone, it is therefore possible to chart the commodities received in trade from the royal Swedish officials, as well as the commodities and products paid to the same officials as tax to the Swedish authorities. Combined with more flimsy and sporadic statements and evidence documented in Norwegian and Russian sources, this material can be used for reconstructing the different and characteristic "trade profiles" among the various Sámi communities – in the siidas in the interior, in the fjords along the coast, and between the Coastal and Inland Sámi.

3. In Swedish *förbytte partzeler.*

For these purposes I have sorted the information about the various kinds of goods/commodities that the Sámi paid as Swedish tax into three categories: 1) the goods received in trade from the royal Swedish officials through the Swedish trade network, 2) the commodities stemming from the Danish-Norwegian trade network mediated through their merchant representatives stationed along the coast, and 3) items produced by the Sámi themselves, by hunting and by fishing. By calculating the relative proportion that each of these three commodity categories forms out of the total tax value collected from the various communities, it is possible to present the "trading profiles" of diverse Sámi communities in tabular form. In Table 1, the relative proportions of commodities stemming from the Swedish and Danish-Norwegian sides respectively, as well as self-produced items, are shown in quinquennia for various parts of the area investigated: the Varanger fjord and the Altafjord along the coast, the siidas Suondavaara, Guovdageaidnu and Láhpojávri, and Anár in the interior.

Starting from the easternmost coastal area, the Sámi of the Varanger fjord stand out as the most commercialized, with self-produced items counting for very little (if anything at all) of the items delivered as tax to Sweden. Apart from a miniscule amount of self-produced dried fish and furs in the intervals 1566–70 and 1571–75, all Swedish taxes over this period were paid with commodities and items delivered by either one of the trading systems. The bulk of the commodities paid in tax originally stem from the corresponding Swedish network itself, whereas the commodities reliably stemming from the Danish-Norwegian side take up a lesser proportion, and even decline further over the last 20–25 years of the 16th century. Nonetheless, we know from other, independent evidence that the Varanger Sámi must also have been heavily engaged in collective hunting and trapping activities during this period. Even if partaking in fisheries, animal husbandry and even a limited number of domesticated reindeer must have made up different aspects of a "combined way of livelihood", a great number of pitfall systems constructed on the isthmus between the Tana and Varanger fjords, as well as a considerable number of trapping systems deployed over the Varanger peninsula, shows that hunting and trapping activities must have been important, even at this period. The proceeds of these hunting activities are even recorded in the Norwegian county accounts of the 1590s (Hansen 1985). On the isthmus between the Tana and Varanger fjords, nearly 2,700 pitfalls have been registered, dispersed in 14 systems (Vorren 1998: 19; cf. Hansen 2009: 360–361). The only reason why these and other hunting activities are not reflected at all among the products delivered in the tax records, must be that Varanger Sámi maintained and exploited extensive relations with all three trading networks established in the area. A glimpse of what kind of preferences among their trading partners the Varanger Sámi could benefit from, is offered by the following statement about Russian merchants' demands, written by the Danish-Norwegian provincial governor Lilienskiold around 1700:

> "… and furthermore, regarding [the Russians'] desire for furs, one can expect a profit of two to three times as much, because while the Bergen merchants only give 3, 4 or 5 Danish *ort* (= 0.75–1.25 daler) for an average fox skin, and 4 to 6 *ort* for an otter skin, people may receive 13 à 15 ells of homespun (= 2.17–2.50 daler) by selling to the Russians, and even more for the otter skins. And such prices could never be expected from the Bergen merchants … Old tin and burnt-out, old copper is also subject to their desire …" (Lilienskiold 1942: 318f., translation by the author.)

Origin:	1551–1555	1556–1560	1561–1565	1566–1570	1571–1575	1576–1580	1581–1585	1586–1590	1591–1595	1596–1600
Varanger										
Swedish trade	37,78	5,31	77,66	77,31	72,04	68,57	82,58	86,94	93,05	99,17
Da.-Norw. Trade	33,03	94,69	22,06	20,79	25,37	31,43	16,80	13,06	6,95	0,60
Own products	29,19	0,00	0,28	1,90	2,59	0,00	0,62	0,00	0,00	0,22
Total tax Var.	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
Alta – stationary taxpayers										
Swedish trade		8,27	37,72	55,83	58,77	60,50	69,26	52,05	64,17	92,93
Da.-Norw. Trade		91,73	59,70	37,25	32,92	25,77	20,80	34,62	18,75	5,10
Own products		0,00	2,59	6,92	8,31	13,73	9,94	13,33	17,08	1,97
Total tax Alta – stat.		100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
Alta – mobile taxpayers										
Swedish trade		13,76	31,00	50,45	66,14	63,02	54,76	55,49	71,13	72,07
Da.-Norw. Trade		85,67	65,42	46,80	24,54	21,73	34,23	27,32	12,51	13,90
Own products		0,57	3,58	2,76	9,32	15,25	11,01	17,19	16,36	14,03
Total tax Alta - mob.		100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
Suondavaara, Guovdageaidnu, Láhpojávri										
Swedish trade	0,00	2,42	24,43	37,83	26,32	11,97	25,62	24,21	30,00	27,56
Da.-Norw. Trade	0,00	4,66	9,02	4,40	2,94	4,85	12,30	13,68	5,58	2,52
Own products	100,00	92,92	66,55	57,78	70,74	83,19	62,07	62,10	64,42	69,92
Total tax	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
Anár										
Swedish trade		0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	16,73	15,03	
Da.-Norw. Trade		0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,57	0,00	
Own products		100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	82,70	84,97	
Total tax Anár		100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	

Table 1. Relative proportions of commodities paid in Swedish tax from various districts (in quinquennia).

The existence of several potential trading partners who might engage in transactions with the Varanger Sámi is further substantiated by sources documenting the yearly market activities at Karlebotn at the bottom of the Varanger fjord, where several groups of producers from coastal and inland regions met with merchants belonging to various networks. The so-called Varanger market is clearly documented from 1571 (Johnsen 1923: 225, 228), but probably has a continuous tradition dating back to the first decades of the same century, if not earlier (Hansen 1984: 59–60, Hansen 1990: 140).

A diametrical counterpart to the commercialized Varanger Sámi is to be found at Anár siida, forming the northernmost part of the Swedish administrative district Kemi Lappmark. In Anár, self-produced products, consisting of furs and dried pike, made up 100 percent of the total value paid as Swedish tax through most of the period, only declining to a little more than 80 percent during the last two quinquennia. Only in these two periods was a lesser amount of the tax paid in money, *Swedish* money. Danish dalers, which circulated in the Danish-Norwegian network, are completely unknown as item for paying taxes in this siida. Evidently, the Anár Sámi primarily had relations with trading partners from the Swedish side, when they engaged in such activities at all.

Between these two extreme examples of self-sufficiency and commercialization, the Altafjord and the other inland siidas show themselves as more transitional forms. Similar to Anár, the interior siidas of Suondavaara, Guovdageaidnu and Láhpojávri also show a predominance of self-produced items (i.e. furs) among the commodities that are used for paying the Swedish tax, but not to the same extreme degree. In these siidas, the Sámi people's own products form a relative proportion of total tax value fluctuating between 90 and approximately 60 percent. Even if commodities delivered by the Swedish network represent the greater part of the remaining tax value, items from the Danish-Norwegian side are also known and in general fluctuate between 4–5 and 12–13 percent.

The Altafjord for its part displays a pattern more in line with Varanger, but it is not so consistent. The results for this fjord area are displayed in two graphs, since the taxpayers here fall into two very distinct categories: the *stationary* taxpayers, who are registered as residing at one site for the entire period that they appear in the records, and the *mobile* ones, displaying a pattern of frequent movements between various settlement sites, with intervals from as little as 2 years to 5–6 years. We will return to an evaluation of these two groups later in discussing different patterns of mobility.

Here in the Altafjord too, the bulk of commodities used for paying taxes stem from exchange via the trade networks. The products received from the Swedish side play a leading role, but not to such an overwhelming degree as in Varanger – at least, not before the very last quinquennium. Complementary to the items procured by the trading networks, there is also a minor but steady contribution of self-produced items (predominantly furs) forming an average proportion of about 9 percent of the total tax value, when the whole half-century is considered together.

So far, the analysis of the various profiles of the different areas, concerning the relative composition of commodities and items used for paying the Swedish tax, seems to substantiate the following conclusions. First, the Sámi settlements along the coast appear to have been engaged in trade and barter with the various networks to a much a higher degree than the inland siidas. Consequently, a much higher proportion of the total value paid to Swedish tax collectors was paid in exchanged and bartered goods. Secondly, the inland siidas for their part are generally much more dependent on their own, self-produced commodities for paying the tax, but they also show clear diversity on this point. Whereas the siidas of Suondavaara, Guovdageaidnu and Láhpojávri were engaged in bartering activities with both the Danish-Norwegian and the Swedish networks, goods from the Danish-Norwegian side seem completely lacking in Inari, and a certain amount of Swedish money – presumably stemming from an increased exchange with Swedish merchants – is recognizable only from the last decade of the period under investigation.

For its part, the coastal area also reveals diversity on a more subordinate level. As mentioned above, the Varanger area appears the most "thoroughly commercialized" area, where a very high proportion of the tax value is paid in money or money equivalents, procured by the trading networks. In fact, a relative proportion of about 80 percent of the tax is on average paid in money and silver. Altafjord, on the other hand, notwithstanding its engagement in trade, delivered a minor proportion of the tax value in self-produced furs. This variation between various fjord areas may possibly be traced back to the various trade contacts that the two fjords were able to exploit. While the Sámi settlements in Altafjord had access to the Danish-Norwegian and Swedish trade, the Sámi of the Varangerfjord had in addition regular contact with the Russian trade network, represented by both Russian and Karelian merchants, which manifested its presence each year at the Varanger market.

Mobility between Various Sites and Communities/Siidas

The various forms of mobility can be studied both on a more general level, concerning movements *between* different siida communities and various fjord areas, and on a more local level, relating to possible movements between different sites *within* a siida or fjord area. In the latter case, it is a question of whether the movements were seasonal, as for instance proven for the Skolt Sámi areas, or whether they were of another kind, e.g. movements between various sites with intervals of a few years. Since we have previously established that the registers only record male taxpayers, whose household relations in principle are unknown, we are in a good position to chart movements undertaken by these men, but we are less equipped for drawing conclusions about household stability, permanence or movability. Furthermore, due to the way the tax records are structured, the conditions for studying intra-area mobility are best in the

Altafjord, as the records here relate the male taxpayers to different, specified localities. In the fjords further to the east, from Porsanger to Varanger, as well as in the interior siida areas, the taxpayers are listed together in one lump, without further details. Presumably, this reflects the way taxes were collected in these areas, at one specific site where the bulk of the population was gathered at specific occasions during wintertime, in connection with markets, court assemblies or similar events. Thus, we must distinguish between three kinds of mobility when we approach the tax registers:

a) Seasonal mobility, as depicted in the "siida model", based on the Skolt Sámi areas.
b) More permanent resettling between various siida and fjord areas, which would equal migration in the more traditional sense.
c) Mobility with subsequent stays or intervals at various sites, lasting from one to five or six years. It thus forms different "life histories" or biographies for the individuals in question.

Seasonal Mobility

One cannot, however, draw any absolute demarcation between these forms of mobility. Seasonal mobility is possible to detect from the tax registers if one can compare two lists recorded at different times of the year. Since Swedish taxation took place in winter, while Norwegian taxation was carried out in relation to court assemblies during midsummer, a comparison of such two lists should give some indication. The number of actual Norwegian records is small, but a preliminary look at those few at our disposal gives no indication of seasonal migrations within the charted entities, not even in the Altafjord where the conditions should be most favourable for detecting such movements. However, when we enlarge our view to include the closest neighbouring siidas in the interior, we find examples of a certain seasonal migration from these parts into the bottom of the Altafjord during summers. Evidently, 9 out of approx. 20 taxpayers usually registered in Guovdageaidnu in these years stayed in the summer at the innermost part of the Altafjord. Here they were presumably engaged in the salmon fisheries in the Alta river, though they may also have participated in the saltwater fisheries. In the same way, a lesser number of taxpayers resident in the neighbouring siidas of Láhpojávri and *Ávjovárri*, situated further to the east, also took part in seasonal migrations to the Alta river outlet or the vicinity of the island *Årøya* (Figure 4). These movements cannot, however, be taken as evidence of the "siida model" of mobility, since the actual persons sought another resource area during summers.

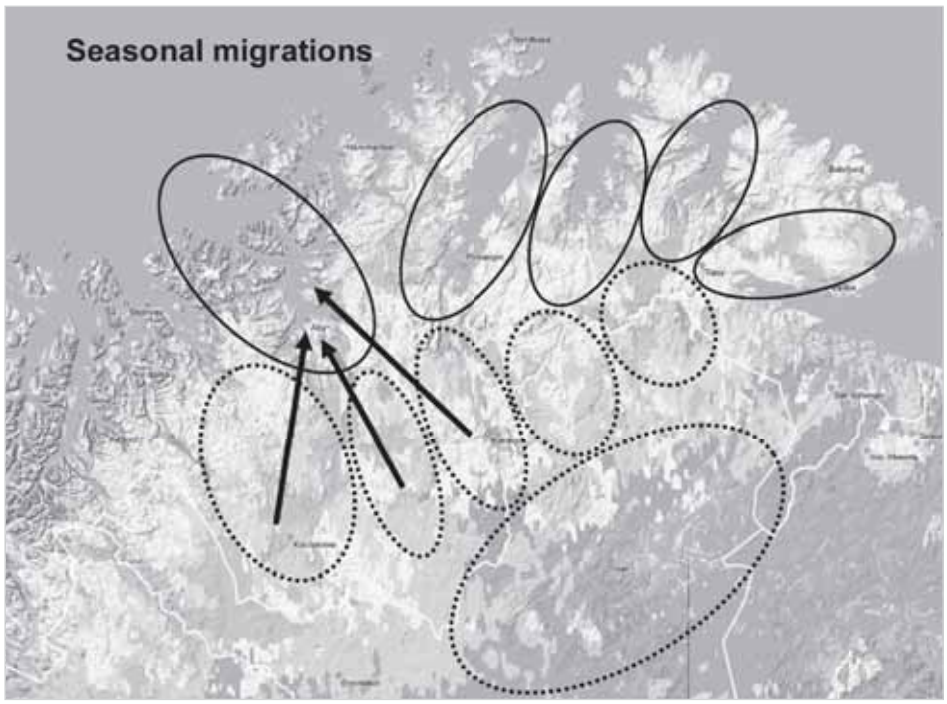

Figure 4. Seasonal migrations.

Permanent Resettling between Various Siida and Fjord Areas

The second kind of mobility – more permanent movements with certain intervals, but connecting greater entities, like various fjords and siida communities – can also be analyzed on the basis of the tax registers. The extent or frequency of such movements can be measured by counting the number of verified or most probable relocations made by individual taxpayers between such entities. The result is presented in Table 2 and Figure 5. The most frequent passages observed between inland communities and the coastal regions are the connections

a) between Ohcejohka and the Tana fjord basin,
b) between Ávjovárri and the Porsanger fjord,
c) and between Ávjovárri and Guovdageaidnu on the one hand, and the Altafjord on the other.

In fact, what really seems to be illustrated in this way, by counting and plotting these observed movements, are the main communication lines formed by the river valleys and water courses, namely the Tana river, the Lakselva and the Alta-Guovdageaidnu river. Secondly, one may also chart the most frequent re-

settlements among the fjord areas. Not surprisingly, the most frequent contacts are found between fjord areas bordering on each other, such as Alta–Porsanger, Porsanger–Laksefjord, Laksefjord–Tana, or between areas which are, as in the case of Varanger and Laksefjord, situated not too far from each other.

	Varanger	Tana	Laksefj.	Porsanger	Altafjord	Anár	Utsjoki	Tenoby	Ávjovárri	Kautokeino	Láhpojávri	Suondavaara
Varanger												
Tana	3											
Laksefjord	**4**	**10**										
Porsanger	2	1	3									
Altafjord			2	**5**								
Anár												
Utsjoki	2	**6**	1									
Tenoby		1		1			2					
Ávjovárri				**8**	1		2	1				
Kautokeino					**4**				7			
Láhpojávri										**9**		
Suonda-vaara												
Sum	**11**	**18**	**6**	**14**	**5**		**4**	**1**	**7**	**9**		

Table 2. Movements (highly probable) between different communities (siidas) and fjord districts, 1553–1600.

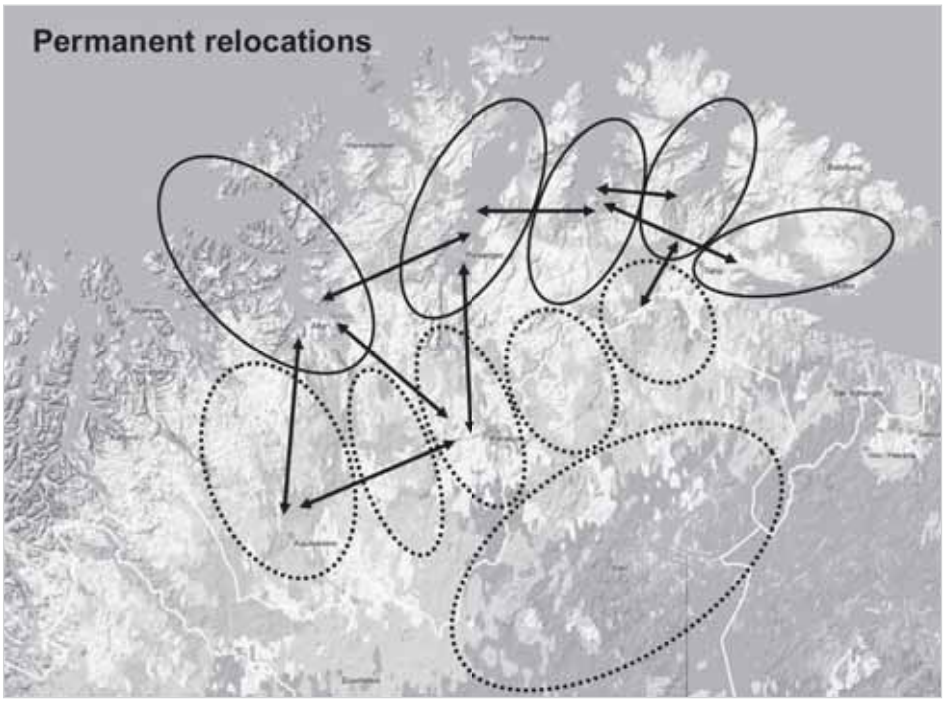

Figure 5. Permanent relocations.

Mobility with Subsequent Stays or Intervals at Various Sites, Located within the Same Fjord or Siida Area

This last kind of mobility – the "life history" kind, featuring subsequent stays or intervals of a few years at different sites in the fjord – is most easily traceable in the Altafjord. In fact, this was a common, predominant feature of settlement in the fjord at the beginning of the period under study. An analysis of taxed persons and their localization from 1551 to 1600 reveals that the taxpayers fall into two distinct categories. In total 127 persons were steadily on the move, while 181 persons maintained a stationary residence at one site during the entire period that they are mentioned in the registers. The average interval at which the mobile taxpayers relocated or resettled lies between 3 and 4 years, with the majority staying only one year at each place. Closer scrutiny reveals that the two groups also changed their relative proportions throughout the last part of the 16th century. While the mobile taxpayers make up over 60 percent of the population in the 1550s, they constitute less than 40 percent at the end of the period, towards 1600. The stationary group gains dominance during the 1570s, when there is a general increase in the number of taxpayers.

To present a highly illustrative, if extreme, example of such mobility within the fjord, the successive movements of an individual taxpayer by the name of Bjørn Hallvardsson (1562–1600) is sketched out in the survey below. It can be seen that this Bjørn Hallvardsson, over his 43-year career as a taxpayer in the Altafjord, undertook in total 11 relocations, staying at seven different sites. Four of these sites were visited more than once, and one of them (Korsnes) even three times. The average duration of stay at one site was 3 years and 3 months, ranging from three stays for only one year, through six stays with a duration of 3–4 years, and one single stay for as long a period as 9 years.

Number of succession in tax register	Location	First year of stay	Last year of stay
01	Alta	1558	1561
09	Langenes	1562	1563
10	Leirbotn	1566	1574
06	Korsnes	1577	1580
09	Langenes	1581	1583
06	Korsnes	1584	1584
04	Komagfjord	1585	1590
11	Lerresfjord	1591	1591
14	Rognsund	1592	1594
06	Korsnes	1595	1595
11	Lerresfjord	1596	1599
04	Komagfjord	1600	1600

Table 3. Movements of the taxpayer Bjørn Hallvardsson in the Altafjord.

Analogous to the study of resettling between siidas and fjord areas, this kind of subsequential mobility or contact "affinity" between the various sites specified in the fjord may also be measured by calculating the number of individual relocations or movements that connect these sites. It turns out that the frequency of movement is much higher between some of the localities than others. In Figure 6, which gives a simplified picture of the location of sites in the Altafjord, this has been illustrated by the thickness of the arrows connecting the locations, corresponding to the observed number of movements. Thus, it is a fair assumption that the varying degree of mobility between certain sites reflects some aspects of the social organisation within the fjord. Some localities are considered to be the legitimate resource area of some groups, rather than others. However, whether this really reflects some kind of siida organisation on a lower level within the fjord, or some other kind of social units or affinity, remains to be clarified.

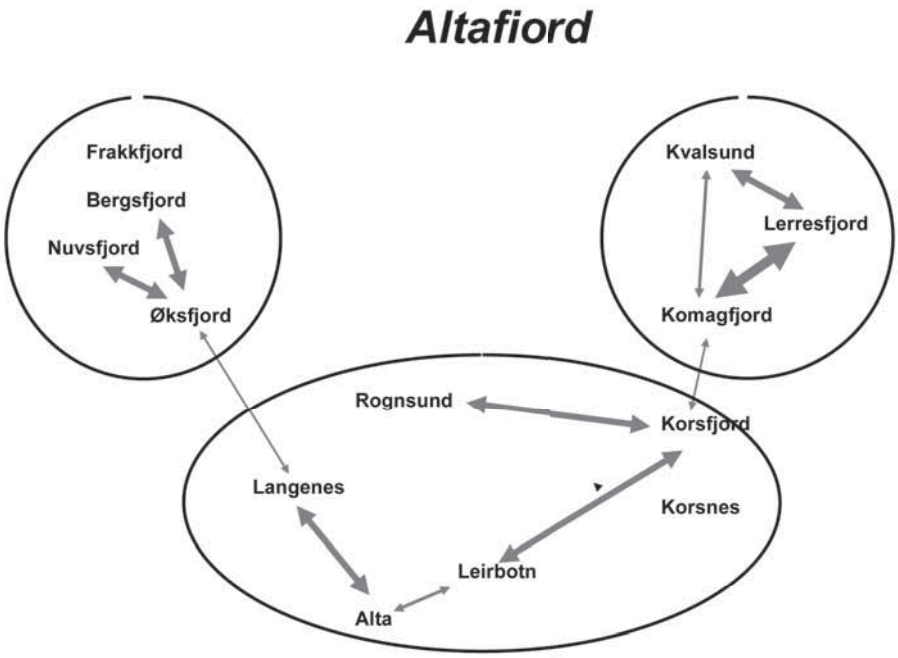

Figure 6. Relative frequency of movements between various localities in the Altafjord.

Some Suggestions for Explaining the Changing Relative Proportion Between "Stationary" and "Mobile" Taxpayers

As stated above, the relative proportions between the two groups of taxpayers change starting from the 1570s, so that the stationary taxpayers come to form the majority. How can this development be explained, and what kind of response to various challenges that arose may this steady resident location at certain already known and exploited sites represent? In conclusion, I would like to offer a preliminary hypothesis which might highlight some causes of this observed tendency towards sedentarism.

At least from the middle of the 16th century, the Sámi population of the Altafjord appear to have had a compound way of livelihood, combining such various resource exploitation and activities as hunting, trapping and participation in the commercial sea fisheries. Then something happens during the 1560s and the 1570s. The trade relations with the Danish-Norwegian network are reduced, both according to volume and importance. What can be observed is that a lesser proportion of the Swedish tax was paid with goods stemming from the Danish-Norwegian import, while a greater proportion was paid with commodities acquired from the Swedish side. At the same time, all Sámi taxpayers in the

Altafjord – both mobile and stationary – started to pay a greater proportion of their tax yields in *furs*, i.e. furs that they procured themselves, by trapping fur animals that were specific to and abundant in the coastal regions (foxes, otters). On top of this, they even engaged more eagerly in trade transactions with the Swedish tax collectors, selling them extra furs in addition to the ones paid as tax. At the same time, some of the localities on the eastern side of the fjord seem to have acquired greater importance for a portion of the Sámi, and it became more important for them to reside there permanently, controlling the resources there on a more continuous basis. Thus, it became imperative to steadily gain control over certain, selected localities. Alternatively, it became less relevant to practice a "mobile" lifestyle.

So far, this behaviour of the Sámi seems to be best explained as a response to certain immediate constraints and a temporary recession in the westerly-directed, Danish-Norwegian and Hanseatic trade, whereby the returns stemming from the commercial fisheries were diminished. We know for certain that such a setback really took place, and for the Norwegian fishery population its repercussions can be observed in the period between the 1560s and the 1590s. Among various measures of compensation, the Norwegians reacted by seeking to combine their traditional engagement in the fisheries with new ways of livelihood, so that they would not be solely dependent on the failing Danish-Norwegian imports to coastal Finnmark. Therefore, they engaged more eagerly in animal husbandry and cattle breeding, something which led them to seek to control a set of more varied resource bases (Nielssen 1986; Hansen 1990: 304–315).

The Sámi in the Altafjord may have undertaken similar ventures. Two options that must have stood out as the most relevant were the development of more specialized reindeer herding, based on domesticated reindeer, and increased efforts in cattle breeding. Both occupations were basic components of Alta Sámi livelihood a century later, when rudimentary cadastres and surveys give us a better exposition of Sámi resource exploitation.[4] For both of these forms of animal breeding, the resources attached to the sites on the eastern side of the fjord must have been highly relevant and sought-after. Controlling these resource-rich sites in a more permanent way can therefore have emerged as a central objective for certain Sámi families and/or household groups, who possibly had attachments to these places already.

A preliminary conclusion of this discussion might therefore be that the Sámi of coastal Finnmark met with a similar development as the Norwegians. But whereas the Norwegians tried to confront these difficulties and compensate for them by moving inwards into the fjords, starting to use resources that they had not exploited previously, the Sámi might have expended a greater effort in both reindeer herding and cattle breeding – something which may have given them a strong incentive for intensifying their exploitation of a set of localities

4. For instance: "Höyeste Bemeltte Kong: Commissions ForRetning Vdi och Offuer Findmarchen Thill Fiere och Fields; Begyndt Anno 1668", (*Chamber of Revenues ["Rentekammeret"], County Accounts, Vardøhus*, National Archives of Norway, Oslo).

that were already in use on a more ad hoc basis. Such a conjecture would form a parallel to the old hypothesis of Helmer Tegengren and Ørnulv Vorren, which concerned the development of reindeer herding as triggered by changes in the patterns of resource exploitation (Tegengren 1952; Vorren 1978, 1980). It would also coincide with their viewpoints about the chronological dating of this development. But whereas the hypothesis of Tegengren and Vorren primarily related the new reindeer herding specialization to over-exploitation of the traditional resource basis, this hypothesis primarily explains the newly observed practices as caused by failing export of fish and trouble with the provisions delivered by the Danish-Norwegian trading network.

Such a hypothesis could in the first place be tested by investigating to what extent the newly sedentarized, stationary taxpayers at the eastern locations used reindeer skins for paying the Swedish tax. Another way of highlighting a possible new emphasis in the patterns of resource exploitation among the Sámi, would be to study what measures they mobilized vis-à-vis a new, more acute demographic crisis that appeared around 1600.

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