

Traditional Saami reindeer herding village resource territories on the western Kola Peninsula, Russia

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ABSTRACT. Some Arctic scholars believe that modern reindeer herding on the Kola Peninsula has cultural continuity with the traditional period of such activity in the late 19th century. Others believe that by World War II, Soviet repression of Saami leaders, collectivisation of herding villages, and relocation of families had eliminated many traditional behaviours, especially in the Lake Imandra watershed. This study utilises informant interviews with survivors of the Babinski and Ekostrovski Saami reindeer herding villages and archival materials to understand how their families used land and water to fish, hunt, and obtain other resources including cash labour. As part of the United States National Science Foundation's human dimensions of the Arctic system (HARC) programme to examine how humans are both shaped by, and shape, the Arctic environment, the authors document how lands and waters formed traditional resource territories for Saami herding families. The results reveal that prior to their destruction, western Kola reindeer herding villages were integrated along family lines, with villages sharing mates, resource territories, and economic activities. This paper argues that there was, in fact, no cultural continuity between traditional Saami reindeer herding villages and modern herding structures such as the post-Soviet brigade on the western Kola Peninsula.

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Introduction

This paper presents the results of a five year study of preindustrial land and water use in the Lake Imandra watershed on the western Kola Peninsula of the Russian Federation (Fig. 1). Russian and American researchers interviewed former members of reindeer herding villages [in Russian *pogosty*, singular *pogost*] and analysed archival materials including maps and photographs to reconstruct how Saami families utilised land and water in the region for hunting, fishing, and other economic activities prior to World War II. The overlapping, multi-source database facilitated GIS mapping that documented the locations of these traditional resource territories. Informants also helped produce genealogies illustrating how Saami reindeer herding family members interacted through exploiting and inheriting resource territories.

Pogosty was an archaic Russian word meaning traditional Kola Saami villages (Lukianchenko 1989), but which applied to no other northern indigenous group. Although mentioned in historical documents and ethnographies from the late 19th century, *pogosty* had a very limited regional meaning except for its classical use in the Russian Orthodox context (I. Krupnik, personal

communication, 18 March 2008). In the late 19th century all of the approximately 1,800 Saami living on the Kola Peninsula (Heinapuu no date) were members of the Russian Orthodox Church. Western Saami *pogosty* were part of Kola Lapp parish in the Kola district of Archangel province, which was further divided into three cantons, each containing several *pogosty*. Babinski and Ekostrovski *pogosty* constituted the Ekostrovski canton of Kola Lapp parish (Fig. 2).

Saami *pogosty* may have been remnants of indigenous reindeer herding communities called *siida* found throughout Sápmi (the Saami homeland) (Konstantinov 1997: 17; Meriot 1984: 379; Robinson and Kassam 1998). Despite being changed through centuries of interaction with Russian and Scandinavian groups in the region, Kola Saami *pogosty* were kinship based communities or *obshchina* (Konstantinov 2005: 170) that exploited common pasturage and owned fishing and hunting territories within extended families (*Encyclopaedia of Saami Culture* 2004; Manker 1953: 13–17; Pehrson 1957: 92–93). *Pogosty* maintained permanent summer and winter settlements, along with several temporary spring and autumn camps close to their resource territories. Besides having common socioeconomic interests, *pogosty* participated in shared pre-Christian spiritual life and beliefs through worship sites such as *seids* (sacred stone designs) and cemeteries.

Three Saami *pogosty* inhabited the Lake Imandra watershed before World War II; Babinski [in Saami *Akkel*] in the south, Ekostrovski [in Saami *Cukksual*] in the centre, and Masel [in Saami *Maaziellk*] in the north (Y.Y. Patsiya, personal communication, 10 July 2002; Took 2003). Despite various attempts through the years to depict *pogosty* boundaries (for example Sergejeva 2000;

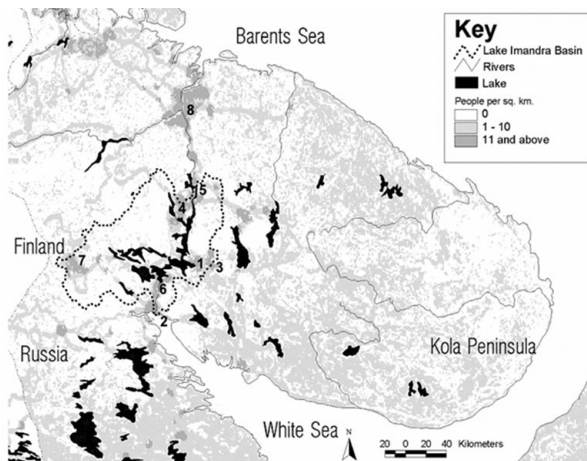


Fig. 1. Map of the Kola Peninsula including the Lake Imandra watershed, major cities, and population densities. The concentration of population centres mainly along the former Kola Track [Trakt] shows the influence of the railway, modern highway system, and industrial facilities on the development of the Lake Imandra region. Cities are 1) Apatity, 2) Kandalaksha, 3) Kirovsk, 4) Monchegorsk, 5) Olenegorsk, 6) Polyarne Zori, 7) Kovdor, and 8) Murmansk. Map courtesy of Lars Bromley, American Association for the Advancement of Science.



Fig. 2. A Russian Orthodox Church map, 1890. At the top are Ekostrovski and Babinski *pogosty*, which together formed the Ekostrovski canton of Kola Lapp parish. The parish seat at Kandalaksha is also shown, along with a parish school to the south. Courtesy of Helsinki University.

Nickul 1970), primary sources do not provide sufficient detailed information to confirm these depictions. None of these previous maps are presented here in order to prevent the perpetuation of their use as authentic sources. One of the goals for the development of the mapping component of the present project was to determine whether a boundary could be drawn between Babinski and Ekostrovski *pogosty* using traditional resource territories owned by their respective members.

To conduct the study, the authors concentrated on Babinski and Ekostrovski *pogosty*. The two *pogosty* formed a cohesive socioeconomic and cultural unit, speaking a common Saami dialect called *Akkala*, and having similar housing styles and economies that differentiated them from their neighbours. Due to several factors, such as living in geographical proximity and speaking the

Table 1. List of resource territories and their Owners

Resource territory number, family owner(s)

Babinski *pogost*

1. Sergina (Sergina) Alexandra Konstantinovna
2. Sergin Andrei Egorovich
3. Osipov Prokopi Stephanovich
4. Sergina (Osipova) Maria Prokopievna
5. Sergin Konstantin Makeevich, Sergin Denis Konstantinovich
6. Sergin Anisim Makeevich
7. Sergin Gerasim Anisimovich
8. Sergin Sergei Makeevich
9. Sergin Roman Illarianovich
10. Chernikh Afanasiy
11. Sergin Roman Illarionovich
12. Sergina (Sergina) Vera Romanovna
13. Sergin Feodor Romanovich, Sergin Artamon Semyenovich, Sergin Semyen Illarionovich

Masel *pogost*

14. Kobelev family
15. Gulkin family
16. Sorvanov family

Ekostrovski *pogost*

17. Arkhipov Kondrati Tikhonovich
18. Arkhipov Leonti Kalinovich
19. Arkhipov Gavriila Fomich
20. Arkhipov Ivan Kondratievich

same dialect, Babinski and Ekostrovski *pogosty* members sought mates in each others' villages (Polla and Kuropjatnik 2004). In fact, Babinski and Ekostrovski *pogosty* were so integrated along socioeconomic lines that they shared a 'common land for two siddas' relationship, referred to by neighboring Skolt Saami as a *kueitmeerjannam* (Sergejeva 2000: 11).

During the period from 1890 to 1910 Babinski and Ekostrovski *pogosty* maintained relatively stable populations, ranging from between 68 to 108 in the former and from between 63 to 72 in the latter (Polla and Kuropjatnik 2004: 245, Table 1). *Pogosty* residents were organised in multi-generational households at the turn of the 19th century. Most households in Babinski and Ekostrovski numbered fewer than ten persons, ranging between seven and 20, with a norm of between six and eight persons. The basic family unit was a married couple, and few single person or non-related residential households existed in the villages. While the majority of households contained one or more extended families living together in the winter settlements, households were in a constant state of flux. Multi-generational households were often temporary, consisting at various stages of the grandparents, one or more married sons and their wives, and grandchildren. By custom, the oldest married son would leave the house to start his own family, while one married son stayed behind to help the parents with their subsistence (Kharuzin 1890). Complex households were probably necessary due to the difficult lifestyle of reindeer herding in the region. According to Polla and Kuropjatnik, 'the custom of living in large, complex households during



Fig. 3. 'Nikandr Semenitsh Briskin [Russian telegraph operator] leaves for a tour of inspection. His loaded reindeer is waiting for him. A Lapp woman from Jokanga village stands behind the reindeer, 1914.' Photo by T.I. Itkonen, National Museum of Finland.

the winter may be seen as a means of providing security for women, children and old people at a season of the year when the menfolk were often away for long periods hunting or transporting goods by reindeer sleigh' (Polla and Kuropjatnik 2004: 255).

Traditional western Kola *pogosty* practiced mixed economies. Unlike eastern Kola villages, Saami living in the Lake Imandra watershed did not herd reindeer as their primary occupation (Lukianchenko 1989). Although the economy changed during the second decade of the 20th century due to Soviet influences to make the families became less nomadic and to increase the size of their herds for commercial meat production, herders in the Lake Imandra watershed used their herds primarily for commercial transport. Usually, Babinski and Ekostrovski *pogosty* families had small herds of fewer than ten animals. Toward the end of the 19th century Babinski *pogost* families owned a total of 114 reindeer, while Ekostrovski families had a total of 318 animals (Dergachev 1877: 14). In summer, after calving, reindeer were released for free range grazing, in a system called 'half-free' herding (Lukianchenko 1989: 91; Kharuzin 1890). The specific type of reindeer herding practiced by the western Kola Saami permitted other seasonal economic activities, including commercial transport and fishing.

For centuries, moving people and goods along the former Kola Track [in Russian Trakt] that ran from Kandalaksha on the White Sea up the Niva River to the Arctic Ocean port of Kola was an important source of income for Babinski and Ekostrovski families (Dergachev 1877: 61). Saami herders moved freight and passengers with boats on rivers or lakes and overland by draft reindeer in summer, and by reindeer sledge in winter (Fig. 3). Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Russia surveyed Lake Imandra's eastern shore to lay a telegraph cable.

Post and telegraph stations sprang up along the route at distances of between 20 to 33 miles, which began attracting Saami families who settled near the stations to provide commercial transport (Fig. 4). By the revolution some Ekostrovski *pogost* families had moved to the eastern shore and created a settlement called Polvinka to take advantage of economic opportunities at Imandra Station, the newly completed railway stop on the line between Kandalaksha and Kola.

Despite being referred to as reindeer herders, Babinski and Ekostrovski *Pogosty* families earned much of their incomes from inland fishing, the products of which they sold in Russian villages like Kandalaksha and Kola (Alymov 1927). While much of the income for Kola Saami living along the northern and southern coasts came from salmon fishing on the Arctic Ocean and White Sea, the importance of inland fishing for interior Saami families was shown by the several fishing places they controlled along lakes, bays, and rivers (Fig. 5). For example, in 1877 Ekostrovski *pogost* owned only one coastal salmon fishing territory out of a total of 121 on Kola, while its families controlled approximately 90 of 172 inland fishing grounds in the Lake Imandra watershed. Important inland fish were herring, trout, char, grayling, pike, perch and burbot. In addition to selling some of the catch, much of the fish, especially pike and perch, was dried for their own winter food (Dergachev 1877; Hallström 1911; Volkov 1996).

To obtain subsistence and income, prior to World War II Saami reindeer herding families 'owned' resource territories to graze, hunt, fish and cut timber. As in other parts of Sápmi, the term 'ownership' might not be appropriate in strictly legal terms, but *pogosty* councils assigned resource territories to individual households for so long that they were considered private property (Polla



Fig. 4. 'A telegraf [sic] station. Bjälaga Guba, Imandra [Lake], Kola Peninsula, 1880s(?)' Photo by Wilhelm Ramsey, National Museum of Finland.

and Kuroijatnik 2004). Resource territories were divided into two parts, one for use by the family and one kept in reserve to be inherited by the eldest son (Volkov 1996; Lukjancenko 1983; Took 2003). Babinski *pogost* families controlled many of the lands and waters on the southwestern side of the Lake Imandra watershed well

into the Soviet period (Whealersburg and Gutsol 2008). Similarly, the resource territories of Ekostrovski *pogost* families were situated west of the lake in and around the modern industrial city of Monchegorsk.

Eventually, development in the region eliminated western Kola reindeer herding villages. Families began



Fig. 5. 'Resting. Kola Peninsula, Imandra, 1867.' Photo by J.A. Friis, National Museum of Finland.

supplementing their household incomes with cash labour in agriculture or lumbering, and/or in service industries. Household economies remained mixed until the Soviets began collectivising reindeer herding in the 1920s as part of their overall modernisation programmes on the Kola Peninsula. Babinski and Ekostrovski *pogosty* families continued hunting and fishing in the region for decades after World War II, but they slowly integrated into the Russian economy by working in the Kola industrial complex. Some of the former herding families settled permanently in the mixed ethnicity village of Yena, and the modern industrial cities of Monchegorsk and Apatity (Polla and Kurojatkik 2004).

Theoretical orientation

This study of pre mechanised Saami reindeer herding *pogosty* prior to Soviet collectivisation and relocation programmes before World War II addresses an important question about cultural change in the Russian part of *Sápmi*. This is did Kola Saami *pogosty* represent continuity with earlier, perhaps indigenous Saami herding communities like the *sidda*? Some scholars assert traditional Saami culture continued into the 20th century despite *Sápmi* being incorporated into the states of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia (Sarv 1996: 132). While some believe that Saami culture changed significantly in the Scandinavian states (for example Lehtola 2002; Kvist and Wheelersburg 1997), an important aspect of the cultural continuity view is that despite a millennium of interaction with Russians, the Kola Saami ‘remained the longest close to the original culture of any Saami group’ (Meriot 1984: 381).

Kola Saami cultural continuity may derive from the region having no fixed borders limiting the influences there to those of a single state (Sergejeva 2000). Prior to World War II the Kola Peninsula was unlike other parts of *Sápmi* where sovereignty programmes eliminated Saami language and other traditional behaviours (Lehtola 2002). The openness of the western Kola Peninsula to invading and invited armies alike, especially during the first half of the 20th century, contrasted sharply with Norway, Sweden, and Finland. For example, perhaps at no other location in Russia was the 1917 revolution threatened more than on Kola, where the multinational, but British inspired ‘Interventionists’ hoped to put a quick end to the fledgling Red Army. Following the 1920 surrender of the White Army in Murmansk, the Soviets finally controlled the Kola Peninsula (Took 2003). Yet, the region remained open to other nations’ armies during both the Winter War with Finland, and during the early years of World War II. The Russian border with Norway and Finland, although firmly established was not absolute until after annexation of the former Finnish region of Petsamo by the peace treaty of 1947.

Perhaps due to their lack of control over the region, both the Tsarist and the Soviet governments permitted some Saami political and economic autonomy. For

example, the Soviets allowed private reindeer ownership for a time even after implementing the collective farm [*kolkhoz*] (Konstantinov 2005: 181). Perhaps due to Russian permissiveness, some scholars assert that traditional elements of the Kola Saami *pogost* continued in the Soviet reindeer brigade [in Russian *brigad*] since both were ‘minimal reindeer-herding collective[s]’ (Konstantinov 2000: 52). The brigade is a subunit of the *kolkhoz*, and each collective farm containing several brigades, each utilising some ten herders to tend between 4,000 and 6,000 reindeer. *Chumrabortnik* (Russian) or paid females cook, clean, and do laundry for the herders, and the brigade has its own veterinary team. While some brigades may be exclusively Saami, many if not most are multi-ethnic (Beach 1992: 119). In some brigades relatives may herd reindeer together, but family connections are not a requirement for membership.

The Russian government implementing rational herding policies suggested that a brigade should consist of six herders tending from between 1,800 to 2,200 animals (Konstantinov 1997: 16), although the numbers of herders and animals continue to vary between brigades. Mechanisation reduced the number of women and children participating in herding. Centralisation separates the male herders from the remainder of the family, which is no longer nomadic but stays in permanent villages such as Lovozero. Brigade members support their families and other dependents in the villages, such as pensioners or the unemployed. To some scholars, despite the differences in ethnicity, gender roles, and family involvement in herding, each brigade forms a minimum herding collective, and several brigades together equate to a cluster of *pogosty* from the earlier period (Konstantinov 2000).

To some, continuity between the *pogost* and the brigade despite these differences is evidence of the necessity of the minimal herding collective in the Arctic. The minimal herding collective transcended culture because it had an optimal ratio of one herder to between 300 and 450 reindeer (Konakov 1993: 100; Konstantinov 1997: 16). Additional evidence for Saami cultural continuity included the overlapping *pogost* and brigade grazing territories and the use of similar locations for both settlements. Thus, the minimal herding collective was a predetermined socioeconomic structure representing

a line of continuity connect[ing] the pre-collective *pogost* [*siida*] with the first collectives – *artel*’ and *kolkhoz* – and, eventually, with *sovkhos* [Soviet state farm] and post-*sovkhos* brigades. . . This rests on the premise that to herd reindeer one has to have a minimal group – be it an extended family, a cluster of such families (*siida*, *pogost*), or a brigade. In this sense the reindeer-herding *sovkhos* can be seen as a still bigger cluster of minimal collectives who have not changed in important structural characteristics from previous historical variants (Konstantinov 2000: 50, 53).

The cultural continuity view derives from theoretical models asserting that the evolution of particular socioeconomic structures and their relationship to a

primary herd animal, led to the development of Arctic reindeer pastoralism (Ingold 1980: 3–5, 112–116; Beach 1990: 261). To manage reindeer herds effectively in the Arctic, the minimal herding unit developed over time as the necessary socioeconomic structure. If the minimal herding unit was required throughout *Sápmi*, then Kola Saami *pogosty* were more influenced by the internal socioeconomic response of adopting a northern pastoralist economy than by the external influences of state level societies.

In contrast to the cultural continuity view, scholars advocating cultural discontinuity claim that virtually all of traditional Saami culture was changed through the external influences of state level societies (Eidlitz Kuoljok 1987: 74; Lehtola 2002: 68). Saami cultural discontinuity may have occurred as early as the 16th century in Scandinavia when Swedish administrators created a European style socioeconomic organisation called the *sameby* [in Swedish Saami village] that replaced the indigenous *siida* (Kvist and Wheelersburg 1997: 1). While the Kola Peninsula did not come under state control as early as other portions of *Sápmi*, many believe cultural discontinuity applied especially to the Russian Saami. In contrast to the assumption by many scholars that it existed in ‘relative isolation...with a wide berth of autonomy’ (Eidlitz Kuoljok 1987: 74), others concluded that the Tsarist administration and the Russian Orthodox Church, changed traditional Kola Saami society (for example Lehtola 2002), which was further altered by later Soviet programmes.

Even if some traditional elements survived earlier periods, the cultural discontinuity view asserts that *Sápmi* changed rapidly in first half of the 20th century. For example, ‘Norwegianization’ transformed many Saami into settled, Christian farmers fluent in majority society language and culture (Lehtola 2002: 44). In Finland, Skolt Saami lost traditional culture as a result of rebuilding the region destroyed during World War II, including accepting modern transportation technology during the so-called ‘snowmobile revolution’ (Pelto 1987). Yet, to some, nowhere did the attempt to eliminate Saami ethnicity succeed as on the Kola Peninsula, where ‘[t]he fate of the Kola Saami in the 1900s is the most tragic of all [...as the] traditional *siida* system collapsed in the decades after the Russian Revolution in 1917’ (Lehtola 2002: 68–69). In the late 1930s, the Soviets created reindeer herding collectives, repressed (that is arrested and/or executed) those Saami leaders who resisted, and in the 1950s and 1960s moved Saami villages to central locations. Combined with earlier mixing of Kola Saami communities with immigrant ethnic groups like the Komi in the late 19th century (Hallström 1911: 241; Konstantinov 1997: 15; Sarv 1996: 132), the Soviet programme ultimately disconnected the reindeer brigade from the traditional *pogost*.

Following the cultural discontinuity view, the modern reindeer brigade developed through state level control and it has no connection to the traditional *pogost*, let

alone the indigenous *siida* (Kiselyeva 1984: 85; Gutsol and Riabova 2002: 317). Since the reindeer brigade was imposed on the Saami by the Soviets, the Saami merely replaced one type of herding structure with another. Instead of requiring a minimal herding collective, reindeer herding was possible through a variety of socioeconomic forms, with regulatory differences in the various states being responsible for the particular herding structures that developed within specific countries. These structures included the Russian *brigad*, the Swedish *sameby*, the Norwegian *reindriftdistrikt* [reindeer husbandry district], and the Finnish *paliskunta* [reindeer herders association]. Other differences included laws in Sweden and Norway that allowed only ethnic Saami to graze reindeer on communal lands (although non-Saami such as northern Swedish farmers may own them), while in Finland and Russia non-Saami can own and tend reindeer.

Methodology

In the pilot phase of the present project, personnel surveyed archival materials and visited local organisations to determine whether traditional knowledge existed on pre-industrial territories and resource use in the Lake Imandra watershed. Specifically, the authors, with research assistant Anastasia Eremeeva travelled to western Kola to meet representatives of the Saami Cultural Centre in Lovozero, the Kovdor department of the Kola Saami Association, and the Local History and Economy Museum of Monchegorsk. The preliminary survey revealed that survivors and descendants from Babinski and Ekostrovski *pogosty* held significant traditional knowledge that could be obtained through informant interviews and family records. Additionally, primary source documents were studied in Helsinki at the National Library and the National Board of Antiquities, both of which contained much information on the pre-World War II *pogosty*.

Over the next two summers, informant interviews and archival materials helped establish the locations of pre-World War II settlements and resource territories, along with the identification of their owners. The locations were recorded on 1:250,000 Russian or American maps of the region. This mapping differed from previous studies (for example Robinson and Kassam 1998) because it documented resource territories instead of specific resource extraction locations. In some cases, the research team performed a limited field survey to ‘ground truth’ as many details as possible. For example, remains from the terminal Babinski *pogost* winter settlement were clearly visible as sod covered mounds during field surveys in 2004; however, the permanent Ekostrovski settlement had been replaced by industrial facilities and infrastructure. Informants also described subsistence and cash producing activities that supplemented reindeer herding and fishing, and they helped create family genealogies.

To produce a comprehensive overview of Saami traditional resource territories in the Lake Imandra watershed, the research team created a geographic information

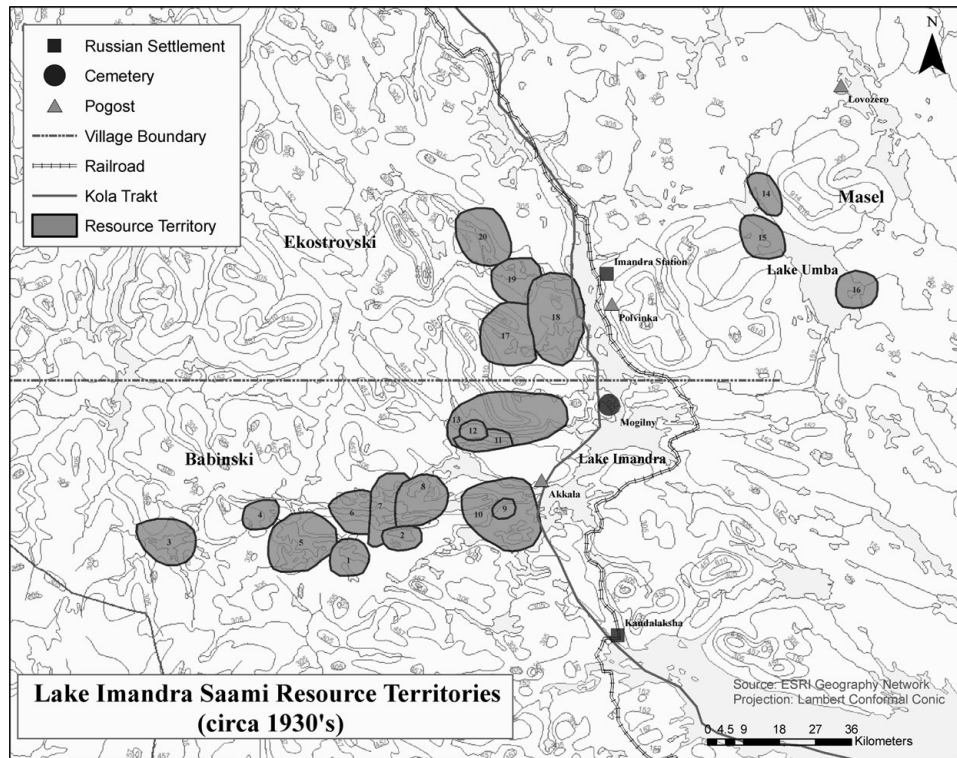


Fig. 6. Traditional Saami resource territories in the Lake Imandra watershed during the 1930s. Owners are listed in Table 1.

system (GIS) map recording their general locations. GIS technician M. Dodson obtained a base map covering the region from 'ESRI World' through the ESRI geography network using ESRI's ARCVIEW 9 software, ARCMAP version 9.3. Resource territory locations from the hand drawn maps were redrawn as polygons on the GIS base map, using natural terrain features like rivers and lakes and human made features such as railroad tracks and roads to aid in their placement. Comparing features on the GIS base map to those on the hand drawn maps confirmed that polygons approximated to the hand drawn locations, although the polygons provided general, not precise coordinates. The same process was used to produce other GIS layers that added contemporary cultural features including historic Russian and *pogosty* permanent settlements, cemeteries, the railroad and the Kola Trakt. Most of these cultural features were taken from historic maps (for example Temple 1880). The final step in completing the GIS map was graphic design to add elements such as title, key, north arrow, scale bar, and citation.

Results

The GIS resource territory map is shown in Fig. 6, and the owners are listed in Table 1. Babinski *pogost* families were arbitrarily assigned numbers 1–13, Masel *pogost* families numbers 14–16, and Ekostrovski *pogost* families numbers 17–20. A hypothetical *pogosty* boundary line based upon the reconstructed resource territories is also indicated, which could refine previous attempts at demarcating

the boundaries that did not use territorial ownership (for example *Encyclopaedia of Saami Culture* 2004; Took 2003).

Pre-World War II Babinski fishing and hunting grounds were situated on Lakes Babinski, Chuna, Hirvas, Kalazhnoe, Komsa, Pirenga, and Rummel, along with the Chumba, Lyavaporog, Nyavka, and Pirenga rivers. Ekostrovski's families controlled territories on Lakes Kalozhnoe, Koshk, Kutskol, Lumbolka, Pivnus and Yurmporog, along with several land sites such as Lambina, Ostrovskoi, and Tuibolka. Ekostrovski *pogost* families also utilised Volodkin Island for fishing, hunting, and herding, and Mogilny Island [in Russian Island of the grave) in Lake Imandra near present day Apatity as a cemetery prior to road construction in the late 1930s.

Family relationships

By establishing resource territory locations and their owners, and combining that data with informant genealogies, the project team reconstructed *pogost* family relationships. A prominent Babinski *pogost* family name during the late 1930s was 'Sergin' ('Sergina' for females). One of the Sergin founders, Illarion (third name unknown) had three sons, Roman Illarionovich [in Russian 'vich' is 'son of']; (resource territory numbers 9 and 11), Prokopi Illarionovich, and Semyen Illarionovich (number 13). The pattern continued into a third generation with Roman's son, Feodor Romanovich (who also owned number 13) and daughter Vera Romanovna (number 12), along with Semyen's son Artamon Semyenovich (who also owned number 13). The fourth generation included

Vera Romanovna's nephew Sergin Andrei Egorovich (number 2).

Roman Illarionovich owned a large herd, which the family kept in winter on Kord Island and grazed freely in the summer on the Lapland preserve along Lake Rumeljavr. The family slaughtered reindeer mostly for subsistence at that time, although Roman Illarionovich earned cash before World War II by transporting goods to the Finnish Border with the family's reindeer. Family members hunted and fished their resource territories for subsistence and to obtain natural products to use in barter. They also preserved fish in wooden barrels buried in the swampy land, while they transported some of the fresh catch to Zasheek for barter. His son, Sergin Feodor Romanovich (number 13) owned reindeer mostly for transportation and his wife Sergina (Osipova) Maria Prokopievna (number 4) was the daughter of Osipov Prokopi Stepanovich (number 3). After his herds were seized by the government, Feodor Romanovich was drafted into the army and served in Norway transporting goods with reindeer, possibly participating in the Petsamo-Kirkenes campaign delivering supplies to forward combat units (Gebhardt 1990: 36). In 1948 he returned from military service and worked for eight years as the director of the collective farm in Yena, where his descendents live today.

Sergin Semyen Illarionovich owned a relatively large herd, probably for transportation services. His family maintained fishing ground on the isthmus between Lakes Chuna and Okht, near their calving place. His brother Chernyh Afanasi (number 10) owned resource territories on Lake Pirenga at Dlinnaya Guba (Long Bay) and at Avva Guba (Open Bay). Semyen Illarionovich was arrested and killed by the Soviets in 1937 for resisting relocation and collectivisation programmes. After his father's death, Sergin Artamon Semyenovich worked in the Lapland preserve, as well as transporting goods in the region. His daughter Sergina Olga Artamonovna married into the Arkhipov family from Ekostrovski *pogost*.

Although informants could not recall how it was related to the Illarion segment, Sergin Makee (third name unknown) founded another branch of the Sergin family. His three sons were Sergei Makeevich (number 8), Anisim Makeevich (number 6), and Konstantin Makeevich. The third generation stayed active in the mixed reindeer herding economy by owning hunting and fishing grounds. Anisim Makeevich's son was Gerasim Anisimovich (number 7), and Konstantin Makeevich had a son Denis Konstantinovich (number 5) and a daughter Alexandra Konstantinovna (number 1).

Osipov was another important Babinski *pogost* family name. Osipov Prokopi Stepanovich (number 3) was a private reindeer herder and fishermen on Lake Hirvas. In some sources Hirvas was described as a separate *pogost* with close contacts to Babinski (for example Storå 1971; Itkonen 1958). His father, Osipov Stephan (third name not known) had also lived on Lake Hirvas, leaving hunting and fishing grounds to his son on Lake

Komsa. Prokopi Stepanovich was arrested in June 1938 and killed in November that year, as was his brother Nikolai Stepanovich. At least two other men in the Osipov family were arrested and killed in 1937 or 1938. Together, the Soviet repression of Babinski's leading herders in the Sergin and Osipov families severely reduced the ability of the *pogost* to function, and it ceased to exist by around 1940.

Informants were less successful in reconstructing Ekostrovski *pogost* family relationships, but there is sufficient information to create an illustrative example using the Arkhipov family. Arkhipov Kondrati Tikhonovich (Fig. 7; number 17) owned a large herd, which he used to transport goods. The family maintained pastures in the summer around Lake Inkas and in winter on Lake Lumbolka. Calving was at Tuibolka, between Lakes Koshk and Lumbolka, where they also hunted and fished. The family had its winter house at Lake Lumbolka, and in summer they moved to Lake Kutskol, where they preserved much of their catch in salted barrels and pits. They moved to Polvinka during the 1920s, but maintained a camping place on Ostrovskoe Lake until 1939 when Kondrati Tikhonovich was arrested and killed, and the family moved to present day Monchegorsk. Arkhipov Kondrati Tikhonovich had a son Ivan Kondratievich (number 20), who worked in the Lapland preserve as a hunter and goods transporter, supplementing his income by repairing boats and fish nets. A relative, Arkhipov Gavril Fomich (number 19) had a wife named Maria Petrovna. Their daughter, Arkhipova (Arkhipov) Agafya Gavrilovna was born at Imandra Station, and worked as a housewife making money sewing national clothes, shoes, and fish nets, while other descendents worked in the Serveronickel processing plant in Monchegorsk.

The eastern part of the Monche Bay was used by another branch of the Arkhipov family, Danila Ivanovich Arkhipov and his son Feodor. Having a summer camp at Monche Bay they used the Nyuda River and Lake Nyuda as well as Lakes Chuno and Horn for fishing. Their herding territories were on the Pozuaivench, Nyuduivench and Sopchuaivench fells. There was another member of the Arkhipov family, Leonti Kalinovich (number 18), although how he related to other Arkhipov family segments is unknown.

As stated above, Masel *pogost* was not a focus of the present study. Incidentally, informants confirmed that members of Mazel *pogost* used hunting and fishing grounds that bordered Babinski and Ekostrovski territories. The Kobelev family (number 14), the Gulkin family (number 15), and the Sorvanov family (number 16) owned resource territories on Lake Umba.

Discussion

The results indicated that Babinski and Ekostrovski families practiced mixed economies that consisted of reindeer herding, fishing, hunting and other activities from the late 1800s until at least two decades into the



Fig. 7. Arkhipov Ivan Kondratevich from Ekostrovski *pogost* circa 1939. Unknown photographer.

Soviet period. Extended families tended herds together, supplementing their incomes with cash labour such as working at the Lapland preserve or other government jobs, or through private transport services. These traditional economic activities were an important factor in maintaining the continuity of western Kola Saami reindeer herding *pogosty* families across generations. *Pogosty* families lived together in the same or neighbouring villages, with resource territories and marriage influencing settlement patterns. One of the critical factors in keeping families together across generations was inheriting and owning adjoining hunting and fishing grounds. At least twelve members of the Sergin family over three generations owned resource territories in Babinski *pogost*. The Arkhipov family in Ekostrovski *pogost* also controlled many resource territories over several generations.

Pogosty often exchanged marriage partners and families (Kuropjatnik 1992), and the Sergin and Arkhipov families ultimately owned lands in both. That sort of dynamic was not surprising given the fact that *pogosty* were endogamous, with marriage sometimes taking place within the same family (for example Sergin), within *pogosty* (for example Sergin and Osipov), or between neighboring *pogosty* (for example Sergin and Arkhipov). Reconstructed family relationships revealed that Kola Saami *pogosty* were organised into herding groups similar to other parts of Sápmi. Typically, a herding group involved a father and two or three sons or sons-in-law. Two other families in Babinski had fathers and sons or sons-in-law combinations (assumed when a female

spouse was listed as the resource territory owner), while the Arkhipov family showed a similar relationship in Ekostrovski *pogost*. Sometimes the father was deceased and three brothers formed the herding group, as in the case of Babinski *pogost* with the three sons of Sergin Illarion and with Sergin Makei's three sons.

Yet, do the results indicate that traditional elements of western Kola Saami culture, including economic activities, settlement patterns, and social structure, continued from the mid-19th century until World War II? First, it must be noted that this study cannot be generalised to the Kola Peninsula as a whole, because it is based on only two western Saami *pogosty*. Western and eastern Kola Saami *pogosty* differed by the number of their permanent settlements and the size of their migration routes. Eastern *pogosty* had two permanent settlements and long migration routes between pasturage in the interior forests and tundra on the coast. Western *pogosty* had one permanent settlement and several temporary residences, with smaller migratory routes between them and pasturage along the way (Kuropjatnik 2003: 102). Finally, unlike eastern Saami *pogosty*, all of the *pogosty* west of Lake Imandra were abandoned and the only reindeer herding conducted in all of western Kola is the reindeer farm Rassvet in the village Loparskaya (Saami Dawn). Babinski families were relocated to Yena. Although there were no special relocation programmes, Ekostrovski families just spread out along the railroad and Lake Imandra, and moved to Apatity, Monchegorsk, Olenegorsk. Consequently, there is no possibility of

continuity from the *pogost* to the brigade for western Kola Saami.

There were also several demographic changes to Kola Saami *pogosty* that make generalisation inappropriate. For example, many Kola *pogosty* to the east of Lake Imandra were not exclusively Saami. Konstantinov (2000: 49) described brigade based reindeer herding in *Olenevod* (Reindeer Herder) based in the village of Krasnoshchelye, which was founded in 1921 by Komi, not Saami, residents. It remains predominately Komi with smaller numbers of Saami, Nenets, Russian, and immigrants from other parts of the former Soviet Union also living there. Also, the number of Saami involved in reindeer herding decreased substantially after the 1930s as collectivisation proceeded (Konakov 1993: 100–101). Lastly, in the late 20th century reindeer herding became an almost exclusively male enterprise because of mechanisation (Konstantinov 2000: 53). Women and children were disconnected from herding to the point that they did not accompany the male herders on their migrations (Beach 1992: 122).

Due to advanced regional development and the influx of Russians and forced labourers from the Soviet Union, the Lake Imandra watershed contrasted significantly with the rather undeveloped and isolated eastern half of the peninsula. Unlike other parts of the Russian Arctic, the western Kola Peninsula was subjected to increasing development that included industrialisation and militarisation 'due to the proximity of Russian power centers and a longer period of colonization. . . especially when added to the proximity of North European neighbors' (Konstantinov 2005: 174). Industrialisation on western Kola increased pressure for Saami to abandon much of their traditional culture because their resource territories and pasturage areas were polluted or altered through landscape modifications such as the construction of mines and mineral processing factories.

Given their limitations, the results do not support the cultural continuity view that the collective reindeer herding brigade had its beginnings in the traditional Saami *pogost*. Although some aspects of traditional Saami culture survived the early Soviet period, a large change in reindeer herding methods decades earlier caused much traditional behaviour to disappear. During the 20th century, reindeer herding acquired a dominant position in *pogosty* economies as they transformed to the large herd type influenced by Komi immigrants to the region. Saami *pogosty* adopted the larger herds of the Komi, although they continued using their own ethnic management principles (Hallström 1911; Beach 1992: 115). Eventually, the Soviets forced the Saami to change to centralised commercial reindeer herding using modern techniques. Although traditional resource territories were still utilised for fishing and hunting by Babinski and Ekostrovski survivors for several decades after the villages stopped herding reindeer, due to increased wage labor those activities played a lesser role than in the traditional western Kola Saami mixed economy.

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