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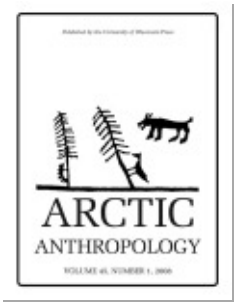

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Babinski and Ekostrovski: Saami *Pogosty* on the Western Kola Peninsula, Russia from 1880 to 1940

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Abstract. This multidisciplinary project focused on the Western Kola Peninsula and examined how human activities during the pre-industrial and industrial periods influenced changes in the environment such as pollution in the Imandra Lake watershed. The study concentrated on two Saami reindeer herding *pogosty* [communities] on the Western Kola Peninsula during the period from the 1880s until 1940. English, Russian, and Scandinavian ethnographies, photographs, and maps dating from the mid-nineteenth through the mid-twentieth century depicted the two *pogosty*, named Babinski and Ekostrovski, and recent interviews of Saami born in the 1920s and 1930s provided data concerning two decades after the Revolution. The data suggest that the two *pogosty* underwent significant changes during the study period. These changes resulted from residents adapting to new economic circumstances or from the Soviet program involving relocation and centralization of the reindeer herding communities in the region. Both Babinski and Ekostrovski ceased to exist as Saami reindeer herding communities sometime before World War II.

Introduction

This study documents the nature of two Saami *pogosty* [communities] on the Western Kola Peninsula (Fig. 1) from the 1880s until World War II. The early part of the study period allows an understanding of reindeer herding communities in the region prior to the economic and political processes that led to large-scale changes in Saami society during the twentieth century. The study period concludes with the decades of rapid and extensive modernization on the Kola Peninsula after the Russian Revolution that ended with the relocation and/or abandonment of Babinski and Ekostrovski Saami *pogosty*.

The study focused on the late-nineteenth century Saami *pogost*, which some consider a remnant of the indigenous Saami *siida* [reindeer herding community] (Konstantinov 1997:17; Meriot 1984:379; Robinson and Kassam 1998). Nineteenth century Kola Saami *pogosty* were called *obshchina* [kinship-based communities], and exploited common pasturage and inherited fishing and hunting areas within a defined territory through extended families as did the *siida* (Encyclopaedia of Saami Culture 2; Konstantinov 2:170; Manker 1953:13–17; Pehrson 1957:92–93). In historical documents, ethnographies, and other sources the term *pogost* meant a village and was widely used on Kola as a name for Sami settlements. Besides having common social and economic interests, *pogosty* participated in a shared spiritual life and ideology.

Available sources concerning the *pogosty* of Babinski and Ekostrovski during the study period included the writings of British, Russian, and Scandinavian ethnographers depicting Western Kola Saami culture in the late 1800s and early 1900s, using first-hand observations and secondary

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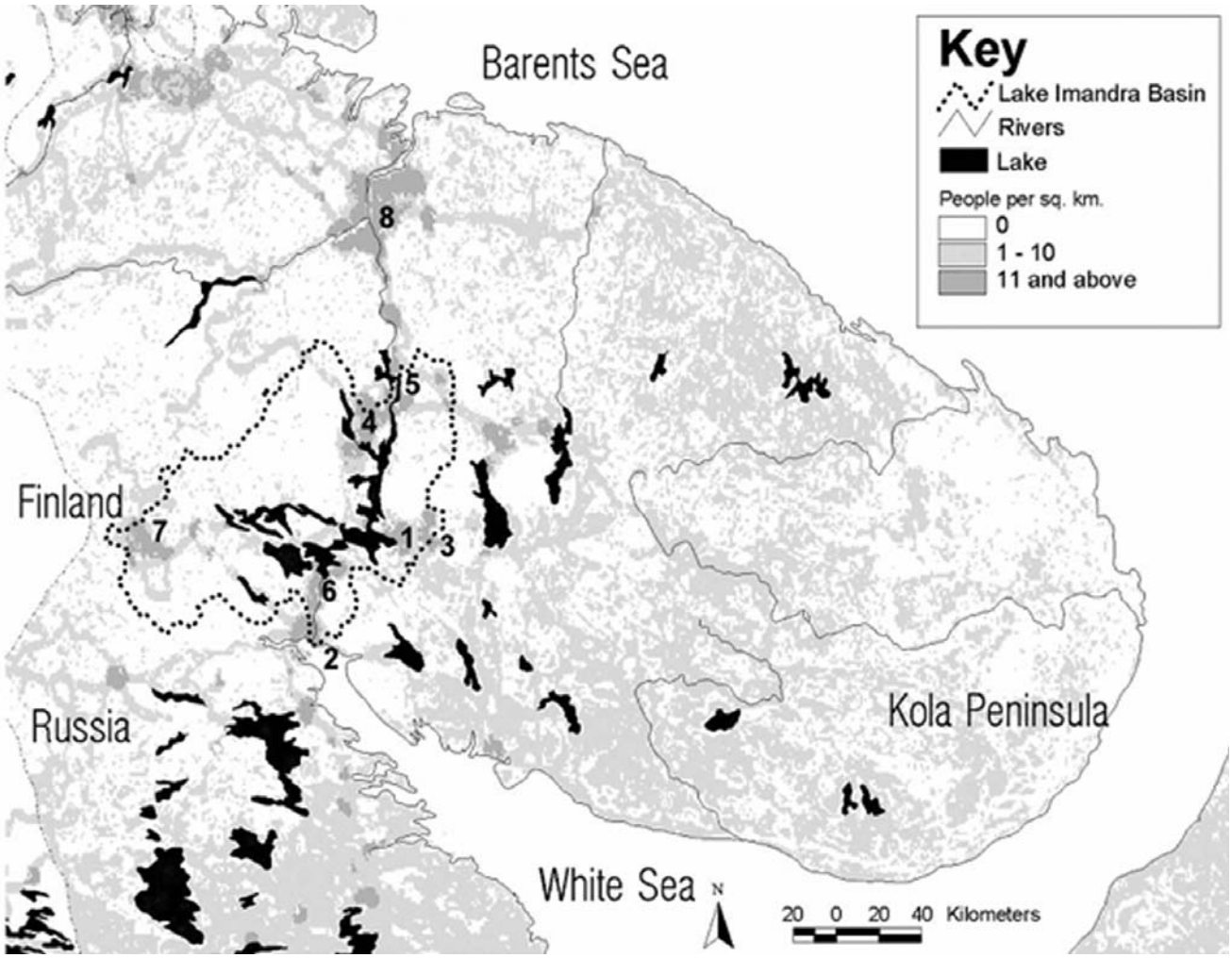


Figure 1. Map of the Kola Peninsula showing population densities and cities indicating high levels of development along the former Kola Trakt. Cities are *1*) Apatity; *2*) Kandalaksha; *3*) Kirovsk; *4*) Monchegorsk; *5*) Olenegorsk; *6*) Polyarnye Zori; *7*) Kovdor; and *8*) Murmansk. Map courtesy of Lars Bromley.

sources such as census data and economic reports. Maps produced by various cartographers from 1860 until 1941 established *pogost* locations and development of the region. Saami informants born into Western Kola *pogosty* recounted social structure and resource use during the 1920s and 1930s.

The study period was significant because it began with Saami herding communities operating in relative autonomy and finished with the Soviets establishing absolute control over the Kola Peninsula. Until the late 1930s Russian influence in the region was not absolute, and both the Tsarist and Soviet governments permitted some Saami political, social, and economic freedoms. For example, the latter allowed some private ownership of reindeer herds for a time after implementing the *kolkhoz* [Soviet Farm Collective] (Konstantinov 2005:181). Without the Russians having absolute control over the Kola Peninsula, several nations competed for control over the Saami, which facilitated a certain amount of freedom (Fig. 2). Yet, while the Kola Peninsula did not come under state control as early as other portions of Sápmi [Saami homeland], Saami culture was shaped by Russians for centuries. Although "the Saami lived in relative isolation and the Tsarist regime gave them a wide berth of autonomy" (Eidlitz Kuoljok 1987:74, translated by the author from the Swedish original) the pre-Revolutionary government, assisted by the Orthodox Church, influenced substantial changes in Kola Saami society before the Soviets.

As happened on the Kola Peninsula, the rest of Sápmi changed rapidly in first half of the twentieth century. For example, state imposition of political, social, and economic policies in Norway, commonly called "Norwegianization" (Lehtola 2002:44) transformed many Saami into settled, Christian farmers fluent in the language and culture of majority society. In Finland, Skolt Saami lost much culture as a result of rebuilding the re-

Figure 2. Photograph titled "Kola Skolt Lapps, Sasheika Village." Unknown photographer, late 19th century (exact date unknown). Photograph courtesy of the National Museum of Finland.

gion destroyed during World War II, a process that involved accepting modern transportation technology and material culture during the so-called "Snowmobile Revolution" (Pelto 1987). In addition, many Saami were forcibly removed from the border region between Russia and Finland and that also caused significant changes. Yet, perhaps nowhere did Saami culture-change reach such levels as on the Kola Peninsula during the study period. Those changes began with the immigration of the reindeer-herding Komi in the late nineteenth century, who established neighboring settlements, competing for resources with Saami *pogosty* and ultimately causing a change in their herding methods (Hallström 1911:241; Konstantinov 1997:15; Sarv 1996:132). Changes continued with the development of the Imandra Lake region in the early twentieth century, when telegraph wire was laid and the railroad from Kandalaksha to present day Murmansk was built and the western Saami *pogosty* adopted new economic strategies. The changes continued in the decades following the 1917 Revolution, as the Soviets created reindeer herding collectives, began removing Saami villages to central locations such as Lovozero, and executed leaders who resisted. The Soviet program ultimately led to the relocation/abandonment of Saami *pogosty* west of the Imandra Lake watershed. Some maintained that the influences during the latter part of the study period were so extreme that "the fate of the Kola Saami in the 1900s was the most tragic of all . . . [as the] traditional *siida* system collapsed in the decades after the Russian Revolution in 1917" (Lehtola 2002:68–69).

The present study cannot be generalized to the Kola Peninsula as a whole, because it is based on only two western Saami pogosty, which were different than eastern Kola Saami communities. Western and eastern Kola Saami *pogosty* varied in the number of 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 pastures along the way (Kuropjatnik 2003:102).

Additionally, there were several demographic characteristics of Kola Saami *pogosty* that make generalization inappropriate. For example, many Kola *pogosty* were not exclusively Saami, but the ethnic mix tended to differ between western and eastern communities. For example, the eastern Kola reindeer herding village of Krasnoshchelye was founded in 1921 by Komi, not Saami residents (Konakov 1993:100; Konstantinov 2000:51). It re-

mains predominately Komi, with smaller numbers of Saami, Nenet, Russian, and immigrants from other parts of the former Soviet Union living there as well. Western Kola Saami communities often mixed with Finnish and Norwegian populations who immigrated across the Russian border.

Finally, regional development and the subsequent influx of Russians, Scandinavians, and forced laborers from other parts of the Soviet Union into the Imandra Lake region on western Kola contrasted significantly with the rather undeveloped and isolated eastern part of the Peninsula. Unlike other parts of the Russian Arctic, the western Kola Peninsula was subjected to industrialization and militarization "due to the proximity of Russian power centers and a longer period of colonization . . . especially when added to the proximity of North European neighbors and trade routes" (Konstantinov 2005:173–174). Regional development on western Kola increased pressure for Saami *pogosty* to abandon much of their reindeer herding culture for economic reasons along with being forced to change by the Soviets.

Saami and Russian Relations

Saami and Russians have interacted on the Kola Peninsula since the eleventh century (Ushakov 1972:31). Initially, Russia was unable to establish dominion over the Kola Peninsula despite settlements established by *pomor*s [Old Russian maritime communities] on the White Sea Coast in the twelfth century. In the following centuries Tsarist interests competed with those of the Scandinavian Crown(s), as Swedish agents taxed and traded with the Kola Saami in defiance of Novgorod princes (Armstrong 1965:10–11, 42; Meriot 1984:381). In 1582 the Danish king demanded tribute from the Kola Monastery. Although the monks subsequently accepted Scandinavian sovereignty, the Swedish king burned the monastery town in 1590 killing hundreds (Rae 1881:17). After Sweden lost a war against the Denmark-Norway Union in 1611, it abandoned large-scale ventures on the Kola Peninsula as a result of the Knäred (1613) and Stolbova (1617) Treaties (Meriot 1984:382). Following Sweden's war with Russia in the early nineteenth century, northern Sweden's (now Finland's) border was established in 1809 followed by the Russian border in 1826, when Kola Saami finally became Russian (Gyebel 1909:197).

The Orthodox Church helped establish Russian hegemony over western Kola. Rozhdestva Hristova [Birth of Christ] Parish baptized Saami living along the mouth of the Niva River and Kandalaksha Bay in 1526, and a monastery was built in the town of Kola during the mid-sixteenth century (Armstrong 1965:11; Konstantinov and Vladimirova 2002; Shmakov 1909:9; Ushakov 1972:58–60). Subsequently, Orthodox Cloisters on Kola began to accumulate large tracts of land and water, acquired from the state, purchased from Saami and Russian families, or which they received as collateral on defaulted loans (Eidlitz Kuoljok 1987:74–76). Despite the Tsars later seizing many of these lands, the Orthodox Church continued building its infrastructure so that by the late 1800s there were three churches in the town of Kola, along with nineteen other churches, four chapels, and at least four parochial schools elsewhere on the Peninsula (Archangel Atlas 1890; Rae 1881:17). The Orthodox Church spent so much effort there that in 1899 the Governor of Archangel Province (including the Kola Peninsula) remarked that to develop the region like neighboring Norway, Russia would have to make infrastructure improvements beyond merely building churches (Engelhardt 1899:227).

Perhaps responding to Engelhardt's call, Russia increased development on the western Kola Peninsula in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Completion of the railroad in 1916 from Kandalaksha on the White Sea to the ice-free port of Romanov-on-Murman (renamed Murmansk after the 1917 Revolution) and the mineral exploration such a move allowed "fundamentally changed the settlement position of the whole peninsula" (Armstrong 1965:44). A Russian scientific expedition was sent to the western Kola Peninsula in 1920 to determine how best to exploit the region's vast natural resources. The expedition's geochemist discovered prized minerals in the Khibiny Massif on Lake Imandra's eastern shore, which led to rapid and large scale industrialization from Murmansk to Kandalaksha (Took 2003).

Industrialization created extreme demographic imbalances as the Saami, Pomor, Finn, and Norwegian inhabitants of the western Kola Peninsula were dwarfed by Russian, Belorussian, and Slavic immigrants brought in by the Soviets to work on mineral extraction and processing (Luzin, Pretes, and Vissliev 1994:7; Took 2003:2112–2114; Voinov et. al. 2004:377). By 1941 the Saami were a small minority of the total Kola Peninsula population consisting of 130,000 Russians, 2,100 Finns, 1,900 Saami, 800 Komi, and 15,000 classified as "others" (Economic Atlas 1941: map 10).

Industrialization of the western Kola Peninsula eventually led to severe ecological problems in the entire Barents Region, especially through construction of the Severonickel smelters in Monchegorsk and Nikel to process nickel, copper, and cobalt ores along with a fertilizer manufacturing plant in Apatity. All of these factories emitted sulfur dioxide, which produced the so-called "Forest Death Zone" on western Kola and damaged or killed vegetation on one quarter of the Lapland Reserve (AMAP 1997; Edwards 1994:84–85; Voinov

et al. 2004:377). Pollution stretched beyond Russia's borders, damaging lands in neighboring Norway and Finland (Doiban et al. 1992). Perhaps more importantly, construction of the Kola Nuclear Power Plant in Polyarnie Zori and the decay of the nuclear submarine fleet in Murmansk could result in atomic pollution affecting the entire Barents Region.

In addition to developing the Kola Peninsula, the Soviets instituted several programs that eventually contributed to the elimination of Saami reindeer herding communities west of Imandra Lake. Initially, the post-Revolutionary government treated the Kola Saami as one of the "Small Peoples of the North" (Slezkine 1994:1–3). That designation, given by the Soviets to indigenous Russian Arctic groups in the 1920s permitted Kola Saami *pogosty* to continue the self-governance created by mid-nineteenth century judicial reforms made under the Tsar. Although it took nearly two decades for regional Soviets to coalesce (Took 2003:195–196), northwestern Russia was so important that Stalin sent his friend and the Communist Party's second highest ranking member, Sergei Kirov, to Leningrad (St. Petersburg), where he introduced true repression to the Kola Peninsula. Although Kirov was assassinated in 1934, his programs eliminated Saami community autonomy. The city of Kirovsk on Imandra Lake bears testimony to his influence on the region's modernization.

As part of their second wave of collectivization, taking place from 1933 until 1941, the Soviets seized Saami lands and watersheds, centralized reindeer herding, and imprisoned or killed *pogost* leaders who resisted their programs (Robinson and Kassam 1998:13, 42; Sarv 1996:134). The Soviets also eliminated the indigenous education system and destroyed Saami texts in 1937—a move that decreased local proficiency in Kola Saami dialects and caused at least one to die out (Heinapuu n.d.; Lehtola 2002:11). The final piece of the Soviet program was put in place in the 1950s and 1960s when many western Kola Saami *pogosty* were removed and relocated to Lovozero. Along with the 1917 Revolution, other factors such as industrialization, environmental destruction, political repression, and finally the post-Soviet economic collapse particularly affected Russian's northern peoples (Ziker 2002), resulting in severe changes for the western Kola Saami reindeer herding communities.

Pre-Soviet Kola Saami Society

During the study period, there were three types of Kola Saami *pogosty* or their village groups; those that spent the whole year on the coast, those that spent the entire year in the interior, and those that spent part of the year on the coast and the remainder in the interior (Rikkinen 1983:90). Despite the overall variety, in 1888 over half of the Kola Saami population lived in interior communities (Kihlman 1890:30). Although the term *pogost* literally meant "village," *pogosty* referred to several settlements of various types (Fig. 3). Western Kola Saami *pogosty* typically had only one permanent settlement, which normally was inhabited from Christmas until late April.

The winter village (and the *pogost* itself) was named after the river, lake, or district where it was situated for fishing. In winter villages families typically lived in a log dwelling with a slightly sloping roof and a fireplace inside in one of the corners, similar to the Finnish Saami *tupa* [cabin]. The older Kola Saami winter dwelling was called *vezha* [hut], a tetrahedral pyramid made of poles and covered with bark and turf that the Scandinavian Saami called *goahte*, a style found throughout Sápmi. As local resources, especially firewood, were depleted the winter village relocated every few decades to within a few kilometers of the previous location (Kharuzin 1890; Rae 1881:233; Rikkinen 1981:205–206; Semyenov-Tyan-Shanski 1999:43).

In late spring the large winter village broke up into several smaller, family-based settlements near lakes or rivers to exploit fishing grounds. Saami families maintained spring and autumn camps for fishing and hunting small game, where they lived in tents called *kuvak* (Halström 1910: 295; Konstantinov 2005:178; Rae 1881:83). The summer dwelling on fishing sites was a *vezha*, *tupa,* or *kuvak* depending upon family needs. Families also maintained *balagan* [storage sheds], wooden structures set either on poles or on the ground.

Prior to the study period, pogosty engaged in a variety of economic activities that depended upon land and water resources held in common by the community. Agrarian reforms in the mid-nineteenth century eliminated resources held in common by Saami *pogosty.* Subsequently, the rights to use land and water became privately owned by individual families, and these rights could be bought and sold as property. Many Saami sold their resource use rights to Orthodox parishes and became landless peasants, although they leased land and water rights from the Church. Saami who lost resource use rights completely worked for Cloisters in their salt ovens and fishing facilities, and performed other tasks. That change caused Saami herding *pogosty* to assume a structure more like the Russian peasant farming community, as both were subsumed into the feudal state (Eidlitz Kuoljok 1987:74–76).

The economy of the Kola Saami *pogosty* during the mid-1800s was based more upon subsis-

Figure 3. Drawing of old Moncha Saami village (Ekostrovski Pogost) in 1935 by Sonya Sorvanova, a 15 year old Saami girl. Courtesy of the Museum of Northern Explorations, Kola Science Centre.

tence pastoralism than upon commercial reindeer herding (Konakov 1993:98). Yet, herding was the primary occupation of many Saami and wealth was measured by the number of reindeer households owned. Even the poorest herders considered other sources of income only as a means to purchase additional reindeer (Khazanov 1983:80). Saami reindeer herding changed when the Komi began immigrating to Kola in the late-nineteenth century. Neighboring Komi, who maintained large reindeer herds did not consider the Russian Saami very effective reindeer breeders; they tended their smaller herds mostly for domestic consumption and transport, underutilized available pasturage, and seemed to concentrate on fishing (Hallström 1911). As the century ended, influenced both by Komi herding success on Kola and Tsarist policies, Saami *pogosty* also began to work with larger reindeer herds, while retaining many of their own reindeer breeding methods.

While much Saami family income in coastal *pogosty* came from salmon fishing (Fig. 3), the importance of inland fishing for interior *pogost* families was evident in the several fishing grounds controlled by each along nearby lakes and rivers (Rikkinen 1983:88). Key inland fish included trout, char, grayling, pike, perch, and burbot. In addition to eating and selling some of the fresh catch, much of the fish especially pike and perch was dried for winter food. Fish were caught using a variety of methods (Fig. 5), including seines, sweep nets, weirs, and hooks (Halström 1911; Volkov 1996:30–31). Although reindeer pasturage was sometimes held communally by the *pogost*, *kudda* [Finn. fishing grounds on inland lakes and rivers] were inherited along family lines (Kiselyeva 1984; Lukjancenko 1983:202; Rae 1881:233). Each family territory was divided into two *kudda*s, one used by the family and the other kept in "reserve" for inheritance by the eldest son (Volkov 1996:33–34). In addition to fishing the family had rights to hunt and cut timber on its *kudda* (Took 2003).

Transporting people and goods along the for-

mer Kola Trakt that ran from Kandalaksha up the Niva River along the western shore of Imandra Lake to the town of Kola was an important source of income for western Saami *pogosty* (Dergachev 1877:61). Saami herders moved freight and passengers using boats on rivers and lakes, and overland by draft reindeer in summer and reindeer sledge in winter (Fig. 6). Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Russia surveyed Imandra Lake's eastern shore to lay telegraph cable. Post and telegraph stations sprang up along the route at distances of between 20 to 33 miles, and began attracting Saami families who settled near the stations to provide commercial transport (Fig. 7). In 1916 the railroad was completed on Imandra Lake's eastern shore and many Saami herders became so dependent upon money earned by transport that they relocated from the western shore.

The *pogost* had important social functions as well as economic ones. Although they were exogamous, several neighboring *pogosty* formed an endogamous marriage group, with between 50 and 60 percent of pre-Soviet marriages being within neighboring communities (Kuropjatnik 1992:2; Lukjancenko 1971:9). Kola Saami *pogosty* of 15 or more families were governed by a *skhod* [assembly] comprised of the most respected and prosperous elders. *Pogost* assemblies settled economic, social, and family issues along with handling conflicts between communities (Efimenko 1877:55–56).

Winter villages were the spiritual home of the Saami communities, symbolized by sacred sites like burial grounds and small wooden Orthodox chapels (Lukjancenko 1983:202). Since the time before Christianity was prevalent in the area and continuing in later years, Saami families constructed *seid*s [magic stone outlines] depicting people and animals in large numbers near lakes and rivers within the *pogost* territory (Komaretskaya 1928; Volkov 1996:98–99). Not surprisingly, fishing played a central role in the spiritual

Figure 4. Photograph titled "Drying a seine, Imandra Lake, 1867." Photograph by J. A. Friis, courtesy of the National Museum of Finland.

beliefs and ideology of Kola Saami *pogosty*. A deity was responsible for ensuring good fishing, and this understanding influenced taboos and customs to ensure a profitable catch. For example, a traditional saying was that "no one can leave the house while the hostess is taking the fish out of the pot. It means that the fish will escape from the seine" (Volkov 1996:42).

Babinski and Ekostrovski *Pogosty*

As part of a study about pre-industrial land and resource use on the western Kola Peninsula, this article examines how Saami reindeer herding *pogosty* operated in terms of settlement patterns, social structure, and resource use. For centuries prior to the large-scale industrialization of the region in the 1900s there were three Saami *pogosty* in the Imandra Lake watershed, Ekostrovski, Babinski, and Masel (the latter not included in this study) (Encyclopaedia of Saami Culture 2004; Took 2003). Ekostrovski Pogost, recorded first in 1574, included the territory in the central part of the watershed, while Babinski Pogost, documented in 1608 occupied the southwestern portion (Dergachev 1877; Platonov 1923). In the early seventeenth century Babinski Pogost's permanent village included seven dwellings with 60 inhabitants while Ekostrovski's permanent village had six dwellings with a population of 40 (Kharuzin 1890).

In 1866 the total Kola Saami population numbered about 2,182 (1,121 men and 1,061 women). The peninsula had been divided into nine *volosti* [administrative districts], which recorded Saami *pogost* populations. Ekostrovski had 101 adults (12 households, 20 dwellings) and Babinski had 105 adults (eight households, 10 dwellings), along with smaller mixed settlements in the region including Raznovolotskaya Station, Yokostrovskaya, and Zasheechnaya, each with less than ten Saami residents with only one or two dwellings (Dergachev 1877:2–3). According to the

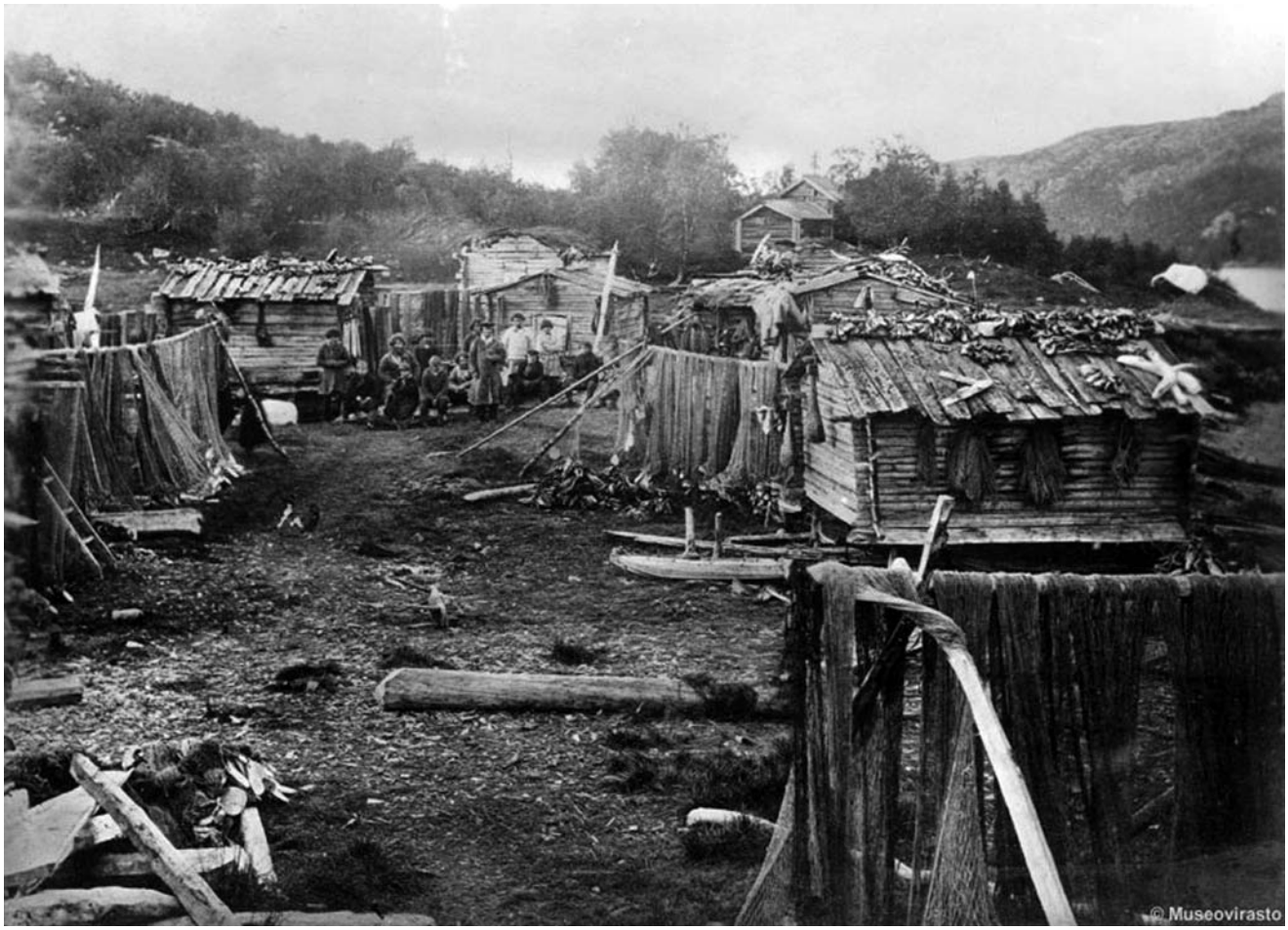


Figure 5. Saami *pogost*, permanent village showing wooden houses and fishing equipment drying. Photograph by J. A. Friis, courtesy of Helsinki University.

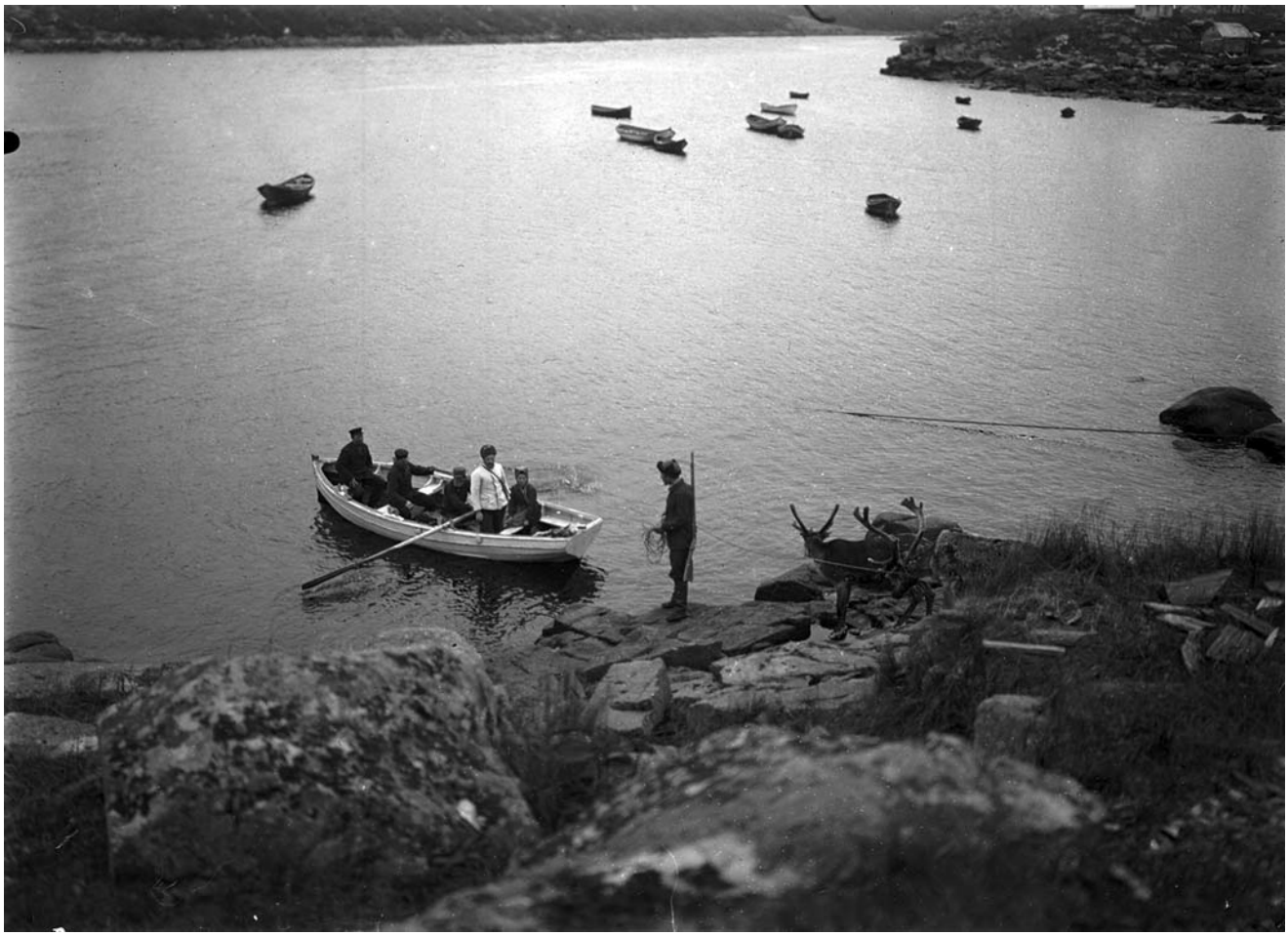


Figure 6. Photograph annotated: "Nikandr Semenitsh Briskin (a Russian telegrapher) is leaving for a tour of inspection. The reindeer standing on shore were used as beasts of burden. They swam after the boat and were loaded again on the other site of the bay. Jokanga." Photograph by T. I. Itkonen, 1914, courtesy of the National Museum of Finland, translation by the National Museum of Finland.

1868 census, 47 Saami in Ekostrovski Pogost belonged to one of the 13 Arkhipov families (Komshilov, n.d.). Around the turn of the nineteenth century Kola Saami were divided by the Orthodox Church into seven *prihody* [departments]. Kandalakski *prihod* included Ekostrovski and Babinski *pogosty*, recording 101 parishioners (54 men and 47 women) and 105 (48 men and 57 women), respectively (Dergachev 1877:27–29). The last population count during the study period, the census of 1926/27 indicated that Babinski Pogost contained 82 residents, while Ekostrovski Pogost contained 56 members (Census 1929).

Village Settlement Patterns

Maps produced at the beginning of the study period (Fig. 8) placed Saami villages on Imandra Lake along with Russian settlements and Orthodox chapels (Temple 1880, cited in Rae 1881]). Akkala winter village in Babinski Pogost was situated on the southwestern shore of Imandra Lake where the Peringa River enters (Lompo-Trofimov 1930). Ekostrovski Pogost's winter village Jokostrov (an alternate spelling) was located south of Ekostrovski Strait on the west central shore of Imandra Lake. An 1890 map (Fig. 9) also showed the contemporary locations of Babinski and Ekostrovski settlements (Archangel Atlas 1890). Although the map was not precise, it suggested the two winter villages had remained in the same general location from 1860 until 1890. The Russian Orthodox Church was firmly established near Babinski and Ekostrovski *pogosty* with monasteries, chapels, churches, and parochial schools in Kandalaksha, showing the diocese's influence on the western Kola Peninsula. In 1899 Babinski (i.e., Akkala) and Ekostrovski (i.e., Rasnavolokskaya) settlements "were all in good order, tidy, and evidently just done up with samovars, crockery, tables, stools

Figure 7. Saami fishing camp next to Imandra Post and Telegraph Station under construction, 1880. Photograph by Wilhelm Ramsey, courtesy of the National Museum of Finland.

Figure 8. Map showing Ekostrovski (Jokostrov) village on the western coast of Imandra Lake, and Babinski (Akkala) village at the southwestern end of the lake. Also shown is the Kola Trakt, the trail from Kandalaksha to Kola. From Friis (1872).

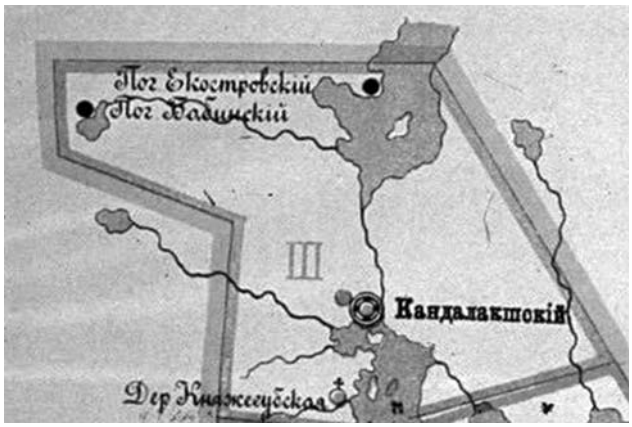


Figure 9. A Russian Orthodox Church Map, 1890. At the top are Ekostrovski and Babinski *pogosty*. Kandalaksha Parish is also shown. Courtesy of Helsinki University.

and sheds to sleep in" (Englehardt 1899:100–101). Engelhardt (1899:232–233) further described Babinski Pogost thusly:

> [Saami live in] Akkala, or Babinsky, an old village lying thirty versts [verst = .6629 miles] due west of Sashyéka, and the most southerly settlement of the Russian Lapps. *Akka* in Lapp, and *Baba* in Russian signify equally, old woman. The winter settlement is Akkalaver Pogost, where are three isboushki and one balagan, on the banks of the Yuni River . . . . The fishing-places of the Lapps are looked upon as properties and are hereditary . . . The Lapps are known . . . from the river, lake or district where they have their winter abode . . . [they move] three or four times in the year from . . . the winter pogost to a balagan near some lake or stream, for fishing or bird-catching; at mid July to the larger lake fishery; in August again to fishing and fowling, or hunting reindeer, martens, squirrel, otter, bear, etc. Finally at Christmas back to the pogost. Here stand their small chapels—simple wooden huts surmounted by a cross; and only when firewood and reindeer-moss become exhausted do they change their homes. Then the chapel is moved too.

Maps from the early 1900s also recorded the location of contemporary Babinski and Ekostrovski settlements (Hallström 1911:240). While Babinski remained in its previous location, Ekostrovski residents had moved their permanent village north near Rasnavolokskaya on the western shore of the Yokostrovski Strait, where the Piringa River enters Imandra Lake (Gyebel 1909:80; Rae 1881:236). That location was also revealed by its Saami place name. The bank of Ekostrovski Strait was called Lanirent, derived from the Saami word *lann*, meaning small town or village (Kazakov 1999:80). Ekostrovski's summer settlements were located on islands in White Bay and Monche Bay (Rihter 1934).

In 1900 the main Ekostrovski village relocated to the eastern shore of the lake approximately two kilometers north of the newly established railroad stop called Imandra Station (Fig. 10). The village was renamed "Polovinka" and contained about fifty residents (Charnolusski 1972:141; Voschinin, (ed); Kartta Muurmanin 1918). Ekostrovski residents moved closer to the station to participate in the growing transportation sector as the railroad's completion and growing mineral exploration brought more people to the region. For example, the Arhipov family moved to Polovinka where members established a hotel for traders and other travelers as a winter occupation, supplementing their incomes by hunting, reindeer herding, and fishing. Conversely, the Akkala settlement remained near its 1860 location until the late 1930s, suggesting that Babinski residents were less dependent upon the developing transportation sector than were those from Ekostrovski.

Figure 10. Finnish map showing the railroad from Kandalaksha to Kola. Babinski (Akkala) is still present, but Ekostrovski has moved to Imandra Station on the eastern shore of the lake. Courtesy of the National Library of Finland.

Although it was recorded near its original location in 1924, eventually the old Babinski permanent village vanished (Lompo-Trofimov 1930:32). In 1938 the Soviets relocated surviving Babinski residents to the village of Yena as part of the program to eliminate "unpromising" reindeer herding *pogosty*. It is unknown whether the buildings were moved to Yena, although in many cases structures were relocated along with the community inhabitants. In 2005 informants were still able to identify the old Babinski settlement location. Conversely, Ekostrovski's old permanent village changed its location during the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1925–26, an expedition made a geographical survey of the Imandra Lake region noting some *kentischa* [vegetation associated with earlier human activities]. Among these *kentischa* were the locations of three former Saami settlements, including one considered the old Ekostrovski *pogost*, six kilometers west of Ekostrovski Straight between the Ikostrovskaya Imandra-Zheleznaya and Pora bays, and Voche-Lambina and Kisloe lakes (Rihter 1935:map; Semyenov-Tyan-Shanski 1999: 44). It was situated on the lake shore and was rich in *kentischa* vegetation, and contained the remains of houses. A Saami fairy tale, "Hero from Voche-Lambina," names that location (Rihter 1927:5–6). There is no information about forced relocation of the survivors, but sometime in the 1940s Ekostrovski residents moved to the industrial cities of Monchegorsk, Kirovsk, or Apatity.

A 1941 map revealed that by World War II much of the old Babinski Pogost territory had been converted into a collective farm, with the remainder classified as "lands in reserve." Much of the territory was also designated as part of collective farms, lands in reserve, and "national reserves" (Economic Atlas 1941, map 13). A second 1941 map, although not as detailed, also revealed the changed settlement patterns. In the former Babinski Pogost territory two villages "Yena" and "Upoloksha" were recorded, but the residents were of mixed ethnicities including Finns, Russians, and relocated Babinski Saami. There was no trace of the old Ekostrovski Pogost on the west of Lake Imandra on that map, but Polovinka remained in the vicinity of the Imandra Railroad Station on the lake's eastern shore (Railroad Map 1941).

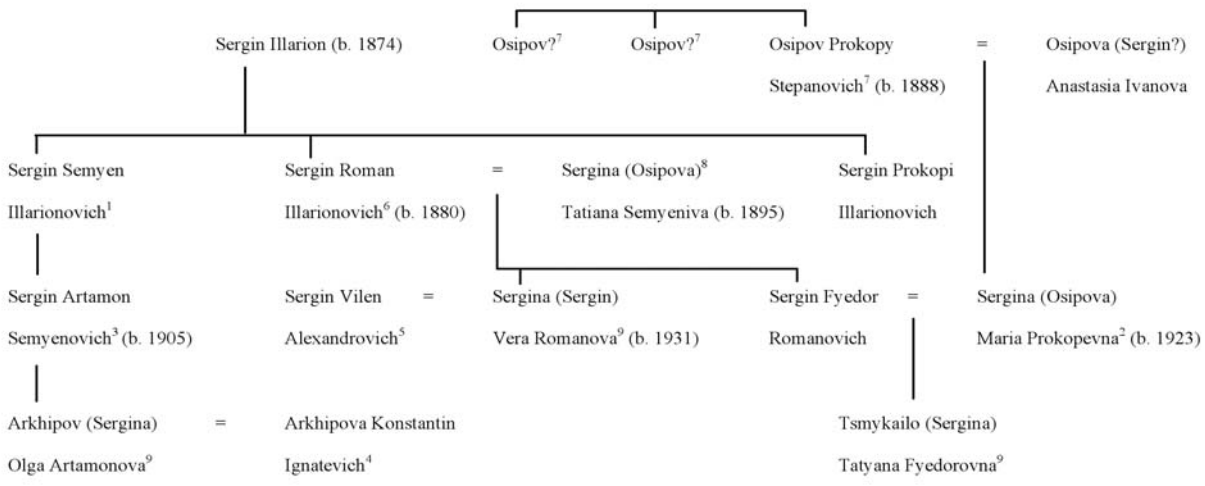
Thus, maps revealed changes in Saami *pogost* settlement patterns during the period, although the extent of those changes varied between villages. Babinski Pogost's settlement pattern remained similar to its nineteenth century form until it disappeared in the late 1930s. On the other hand, Ekostrovski Pogost's settlement pattern changed decades earlier, as the pogost moved its permanent village several times during the period from 1860 to 1940; this reflects more than the normal pattern of moving every few decades for firewood (Rikkinen 1981:206). Influenced by increased availability of transport work along the Kola Trakt, Ekostrovski Pogost residents relocated their permanent village to Imandra Station until it was abandoned around World War II.

One question that arises from this study is whether Babinski Pogost's settlement stability allowed its residents to retain their older culture into the twentieth century, while Ekostrovski Pogost's dependence upon increasing Russian economic and social activities caused the members to abandon much of their older culture. Regardless, by the time of the Revolution both Ekostrovski and Babinski *pogosty* had adopted many elements of Russian and Scandinavian culture. Russian culture had left its mark on Saami groups in the region especially in the form of clothing, food, housing, ceremonies, and the use of vodka and of tea. Finnish culture also began influencing the *pogosty* as early as the 1850s when Finns began settling in their territory, building sawmills, and marrying Saami (Halström 1911: 304–305).

Village Social Structure

During the study period, nearly 90% of the Babinski Pogost residents were related by blood or marriage to other Babinski residents, with approximately 65% of the inhabitants related to the Sergin family (Table 1). Informants described how the Sergin family formation process functioned within four spheres. The first sphere involved *pogost* en-

Table 1. Selected Babinski Pogost family relationships, 1940.



1. Arrested and killed in 1937; approximately six males arrested and killed, two males arrested and released.
2. Notzero Pogost
3. Worked at Lapland Reserve and transported goods in winter.
4. Yekostrovski Pogost
5. Half Saami, half Finnish
6. Sergin males were large reindeer herders; e.g. Sergin Roman Illarionovich owned 200 reindeer (estimate).
7. All three brothers arrested and killed in 1938.
8. ( ) = Maiden name.
9. * = Informants.

dogamy within the Sergin family, as in the marriage between Sergin Vilen Alexandrovich and Sergina (Sergina [maiden name]) Vera Romanova. The second sphere consisted of interfamily marriages with *pogost* endogamy between members of the Sergin and Osipov families. A third sphere of the family formation process was *pogost* exogamy between Babinski, Ekostrovski (especially the Arkhipov family), and Notozero residents, who lived in relatively close proximity to each other. According to some figures, the level of intermarriage between these three Western Kola *pogosty* reached 75% (Kuropjatnik 2003:105). The fourth sphere consisted of marriage between Saami and other ethnic groups, primarily Finns, Russians, and Komi. Together, these four family formation spheres created a multiethnic *pogost* population of several related members.

Three Sergin brothers—Semyen Illarionovich, Prokopi Illarionovich, and Roman Illarionovic—lived together along with one adult son, Fyedor Romanovich in Babinski's permanent winter settlement during the early twentieth century, where they cooperatively managed their herds. Sergin males were important reindeer owners and Roman Illarionovich Sergin's daughter estimated that her father owned 200 reindeer, which was a large number for Kola Saami herders at the time (Halstöm 1911:257). Semyen Illarionovich Sergin owned about 100 reindeer, according to his granddaughter. Ultimately, their status as large herders doomed Babinski senior males under the Soviet system (Lehtola 2002:68). Approximately eight Babinski Pogost males were arrested and killed in 1937 and 1938, including Semyen Illarionovich; most likely for resisting collectivization (Daschinski, Voronin, and Nechushkin 1997). Combined with forced relocation, elimination of its leaders caused Babinski Pogost to cease being a viable Saami community.

According to the 1868 census most residents of Ekostrovski Pogost belonged to the Arkhipov family, which dominated the village similar to the Sergin family in Babinski Pogost (Komshilov 1927). The well-known Saami family may have been founded by Kalina Arkhipov, who was the ancestor of Ivan and Lyubov Arhipov, listed as residents of Ekostrovski Pogost in 1868 (Charnolusski 1972:108,140–141). The exact nature of Ekostrovski Pogost social structure during the study period remains relatively uncertain; however, informant family histories suggested that the marriage pattern was similar to that practiced by Babinski residents.

Babinski Pogost resident Sergin Artamon Semyenovich (b. 1905) was married to a Kilden Saami woman Dmitrieva Anastasiya Demyanovna, and they had a daughter Olga Artamonova Sergina. She married Arkhipov Konstantin Ignatevich from Ekostrovski Pogost, whose father, Arkhipov Ignatiy Mironovich, was a reindeer herder. Ignatiy Mironovich's father, Miron Arkhipov, became a coachman on Imandra Lake, moving in 1919 to Polovinka and later to Khibiny Station near present day Apatity. A second informant, Tyutin Pyetr Maksimovich was born in 1929 in Polovinka where he lived with his mother until 1939. Pyetr's father was Russian born in 1893, while his mother, Selivanova Natalia Dmitrievna, was Ekostrovski Saami. Natalia's grandfather, Arkhipov Kondrati Tikhonovich, was a small herder with about 30 reindeer, who also hunted and fished in the Imandra Lake watershed.

The Soviet's presence had a profound impact on Ekostrovski Pogost. Approximately five of the Ekostrovski males were arrested in the late 1930s by the Soviets. At least three were killed, including Arkhipov Ignati Arkhipovich (b. 1894), a carpenter from Khibiny Station, and Sorvanov Pavel Petrovich (b. 1909) a private carrier with reindeer (Daschinski, Voronin, and Nechushkin 1997). The loss of so many leading males, along with the increasing participation in the Russian economy caused Ekostrovski Pogost to suffer the same fate as Babinski and it ceased to exist around 1940.

Village Resource Use

Prior to collectivization, Babinski and Ekostrovski *pogosty* had mixed economies that included reindeer herding, hunting wild reindeer and other game, transporting people and goods along the Kola Trakt and, most importantly, fishing. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the Babinski and Ekostrovski reindeer herds that were owned by individual families varied in size from between 20 to 300 animals (Kihlman 1890), many of which were used for transport (Rae 1881:232). The herders hunted wild reindeer on their territories on the Kibinska tundra west of Lake Imandra during autumn and spring (Hallström 1911:252; 257). During the late nineteenth century, reindeer herding acquired a dominant position in *pogost* economies due to the move towards management of large herds of a commercial type, a change influenced by Komi immigrants to the region. Saami *pogosty* began to increase the size of their herds like the Komi, although they continued using many of their own management principles (Beach 1992:115). Eventually the Soviets forced all Saami herders to change to large scale, commercial reindeer production using modern techniques. Also, the number of Saami involved in reindeer herding decreased substantially after 1917 as collectivization proceeded.

While traditional *pogost* territories were still used for fishing and hunting, due to the increased focus on herding these resources played a lesser role than in the earlier Saami mixed economy. Yet, despite the increasing importance of herding

and other economic pursuits like transportation, Babinski and Ekostrovski *pogosty* earned much of their income from inland fishing, and they sold their fish in Russian towns like Kandalaksha and Kola (Alymov 1927). For example, while visiting Rasnavolokskaya station, Englehardt (1899:100) reported that "fish were plentiful." Using towed lines Englehardt's party caught trout, salmon-trout, and grayling, along with salmon and gwiniad (i.e., European whitefish, *Coregonus Lavaretus L.*) that they took from Saami "fence traps" (e.g., a long weir).

Babinski Pogost families controlled many of the lands and waters on the southwestern side of the Imandra Lake watershed for herding, fishing, and hunting from the late nineteenth century into the Soviet period (Table 2). Pre-World War II Babinski *kudda*s were situated on Babinski, Chuna,

Table 2. Babinski and Ekostrovski *pogosty* resource use territories, circa 1940.

Family (*pogost*)	**Settlement Locations**	**Fishing/Hunting/Herding**
Sergin (Babinski Pogost)		
Semyen Illarionovich (b. 1874)		Nyavka/Chuna rivers, Ohtjavr, Chunajavr
Artamon *Semyenovich* (b. 1905)	Nyavka River, Sails Bay,[1] Okhto/Chuna lakes isthmus	Okhto/Chuna lakes
Matryena Petrovna (b. 1915)		Babya/Zhaleznaya bays
Denis Konstantinovich (b. 1910)	Kalazhnoe Lake, Lyavaporog River[2]	Kalazhnoe/Babinski lakes Sergeev and Dead islands
Anisim Makeevich		Chalm Lake
Sergei Makeevich		Chumba/Pirenga/Kandos lakes
Roman Illarionovich (b. 1880)	Kordsu-Kord Island	Rummel Lake, Ohtjavr-Oht Island, Vulich Lake
Gerasim Anisimovich	Avva Bay[1]	Chalm Lake, Geras'ka River
Fyedor Romanovich (b. 1924)	Akkala, Nyavka River, Chuna/Komsa/Olich lakes	
Maria Prokopevna (b. 1923)	Komsa Lake[1]	Novaya Bay
Sergin Andrei	Chumba Lake[1]	
Osipova (Babinski Pogost) Stepan Prokopy Stephanovich (b. 1888)	Hirvas Lake Komsa Lake	Taluya/Runya bays Hirvas Lake Kotbos Lake
Chernykh (Babinski Pogost) Afanasiy Matryena Ivanovna (b. 1915)	Pirenga Lake (Dlinnaya Bay), Bab Lake, Matryena Island	Pirenga Lake, Pirenga River Zheleznaya Bay Kalozhnoe Lake, Serveev/Dead islands
Arkhipov (Ekostrovski Pogost) Agafya Gavrilovna (b. 1923)	Imandra Station	Ostrovskoi/Pivnus lakes
Ivan Kondratevich (b. 1912) Kondrati Tikhonovich	Kutskol Lake[1], Lumbolka Lake,[3] Pulosero Station	Inkis/Kutsol/Koshk/ Ostrovskoe/Seidozero/ Mechnoe/Kumuzh'e lakes Tuibolka-Volchji
Tyutin (Ekostrovski Pogost) Pyetr Maksimovich (b. 1929)	Polvinka, Imandra Station, Ostrovskoi	Kutsol/Lumbolka/Koshk lakes, Tuibolka

[1] Summer settlement.
[2] Autumn and spring settlement.
[3] Winter settlement.

Hirvas, Kalazhnoe, Komsa, Pirenga, and Rummel lakes, along with the Chumba, Lyavaporog, Nyavka, and Pirenga rivers. The number and extent of lands and waters controlled by Babinski members and the location of several settlements on bays formed by lakes and rivers illustrated the importance of fishing in the pre-collective *pogost* economies.

Similar to Babinski Pogost, Ekostrovski families utilized inherited land sites, lakes, rivers, and islands for herding, hunting, and fishing into the 1930s. The Arkhipov and Tyutin families controlled *kudda*s on Imandra Lake from Ekostryovskaya Imandra to Monche Bay, and on Pivnus, Kutsol, Lumbolka, and Koshk lakes, along with the land sites Nyark, Chuna, Monche, and Volchji tundras. Ekostrovski families also utilized Mogilny Island [Island of the Grave] in Imandra Lake near present day Apatity as a cemetery prior to its destruction during road and power line construction in the late 1930s (Lukjancenko 1983:203; Rae 1881:236; Semyenov-Tyan-Shanski 1988).

Conclusion

At the beginning of the study period Babinski and Ekostrovski *pogosty* were interior villages, with the residents remaining inland throughout the year. In winter families moved close to forests for access to firewood, migrating onto the tundra in summer and autumn for fishing and hunting. Saami herding families practiced mixed economies that relied on fishing, hunting, and other pursuits to supplement income from reindeer herding. Yet, the last century and a half witnessed tremendous pressures on western Kola Saami *pogosty* to adapt to new circumstances, some imposed by external forces and some the result of internal choices. The most important external forces during the study period were initially the Orthodox Church and later Soviet programs like relocation. Internal decisions to move settlements from the western shore of Imandra Lake along the older Kola Trakt to the eastern shore where new economic opportunities were created by the railroad also resulted in changes. Internal influences may have reflected periodic readjustments in socioeconomic activities by Saami families as their earlier resource base of fishing, small scale reindeer herding, and transporting people shifted to increased participation in the Russian economy facilitated by the railroad and mineral exploitation. Following the Revolution, or more accurately after the full impacts of the Soviet program came to bear in the late 1930s, western Saami *pogosty* changed significantly.

Pogost residents lost much of their pretwentieth century traditions such as social structure and resource use as a result of these external and internal forces. Settlement patterns were altered the most as both Saami reindeer herding *pogosty* disappeared. Babinski residents were relocated to the present day village of Yena, although it is not known whether the Babinski buildings were destroyed or moved. What happened to Ekostrovski is not as clear. In the early 1900s about 50 of the residents moved their settlement on their own to the eastern side of the lake near the Imandra Lake railroad station to take advantage of job opportunities on the railroad and in the national parks. By 1939 there was no trace of the former Ekostrovski village, although a few of its surviving residents remain in the Imandra Lake region.

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