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# Nation-State Science: Lappology and Sweden's Ethnoracial Purity

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## **Nation-State Science: Lappology and the Construction of Sweden's Ethnoracial Purity\***

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The scientific work of ethnoracial classification made possible the ideal of the homogenous nation-state. Swedish scientists implicitly defined their nation to Europe when explicitly creating knowledge about the “Lapps” (today’s Sámi / Saami). Nation was coupled to state through the production of these ethnoracial categories, the content of which were redefined as Sweden’s geopolitical power rose and fell. These shifts sparked methodological innovations to redefine the Lapp, making it a durable category whose content was plastic enough to survive paradigm shifts in political and scientific thought. Idiosyncratic Swedish concerns thus became universalized through the scientific diffusion of empirical knowledge about Lapps and generalizable anthropometric techniques to distinguish among populations. As Sweden lost geopolitical power, it gained biopower, domestically and internationally. This “nation-state science” helps unpack the interrelationships among state-building, nation-making and scientific labor.

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*Far away in the frozen lands beyond the northern forests the Lapps, a Mongolian people, had drifted westward as far as Lapland, but they played no part in the main current of history.*

—H. G. Wells (1922)

*Swedish dogs! <spits> Your blood is tainted by generations of race mixing with Laplanders! You're basically Finns.*

—NBC sitcom Community (Nov. 2011)

In the earliest description of the races of the world, Frenchman François Bernier described four: Europeans, Africans, Asians—and Lapps (Bernier 2001 [1684]). In a letter to Bernier praising this “New Division of the World,” the philosopher and statistician Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz recounted how he too had heard that “a certain traveler had divided humans into certain tribes, races, or classes. He gave one particular race to the Lapps and Samoyedes” (Bernasconi 2001b). For centuries, Lapps provoked anxiety and fascination among Swedish rulers and philosophers from Kant to Rousseau. Yet despite the fame of its Lapp population, Sweden became the model of a homogenous, modern nation-state. H.G. Wells’ breezy dismissal notwithstanding, the Lapp category was extraordinarily productive for anthropometric techniques and European notions of race and population.

This essay problematizes Swedish homogeneity through a case study of the interrelationships among the science of “lappology,” the Swedish state, and Swedish nationhood. For centuries, Lapps were understood as the nomadic reindeer herders of Lapland in the Nordic Arctic regions of Norway, Finland and Russia. Today, however, the Lapp category no longer

exists. In the 1980s it was replaced by Sámi / Saami, a category of self-identity that recognizes their indigenous sovereignty and their diverse cultural and economic pursuits.

This rise and fall of the Lapp classification helps unpack the nation-state concept: how did nations come to conceive of themselves as homogenous despite widespread awareness of minorities within their state borders? Homogeneity is one of the definitions of the modern nation state (Anderson 1983; Gellner 1983), an ideal that was widely shared in a world society of shared norms and convergent institutional forms in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Meyer et al. 1997; Wimmer and Feinstein 2010). As multiethnic empires crumbled, many central state functions were developed to assimilate internal others to achieve homogeneity, whether linguistically (Weber 1976), ethnically (Brubaker 1992), militarily (Mann 1993) economically (Pred 1995) or bureaucratically (Scott 1998).

We know relatively little about how national feelings took on ethnic characteristics, however, obscuring Western Europe's particular successes in creating national ethnicities. Scholars have long recognized that these categories are so contextually dependent as to make formal distinctions impossible. Until recently, however, few scholars explored their interrelationships, located as they are in different fields (Brubaker, Loveman, and Samtov 2004; Wimmer 2008).

I focus on the science behind ethnoracial classification—the measurement and creation of population categories to inscribe the boundaries among castes, races, ethnicities or nationalities. My project demonstrates the role scientists played in constructing the homogenous ethnic nation and coupling it to the state through the paradoxical case of Sweden. It was one of the earliest countries to construct a homogenous nation, admired by progressives and fascists alike. Sweden's racial identity was crafted by means of, not despite, the fame of its Lapp population.

Furthermore, Lapps were the medium through which Swedish scientific entrepreneurs constructed their country as cosmopolitan and European, projecting national influence long after Sweden lost geopolitical power. The nation-state ideal was only accomplished by tremendous amounts of scientific labor, bureaucratic work, and national forgetting. Thus the ethnically pure Sweden was classified in both senses: categorized, and encrypted.

Rather than explaining how Sweden came to conceive of its homogeneity, however, contemporary scholars routinely accept it, letting that homogeneity explain Sweden's political stability, lack of Feudalism, muscular welfare state, gender egalitarianism, and/or peaceful incorporation of immigrants (e.g. Baldwin 1989; Ruth 1984). This has parallels in the general acceptance of the term nation-state, which scholars rarely dissect to learn how this unwieldy compound was made real in practice.

Sweden's homogeneity was never a foregone conclusion. The Swedish Empire of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was a multiethnic Baltic conglomeration, incorporating portions of today's Poland, Germany, Estonia, Latvia, Norway, Denmark, Russia, and colonial toeholds in Ghana, Togo and the United States. Until 1812 Finland was integral to the Swedish realm, a vast population of non-Indo European language speakers ruled by a local Swedish aristocracy. Roma, Jews, and Russo-German tinkers brought trade and provoked anxiety (Rogers and Nelson 2003). The imagined homogeneity of Sweden was doubtful even in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century because peasants and other recalcitrant folk groups were embarrassments to modern nation-builders (Pred 1995).

Lapps posed endless puzzles for scientists trying to measure the nation and guide state rule. As Swedish geopolitical considerations shifted, Swedish scientists redefined the content of the Lapp category. These shifts prompted methodological innovations in the social sciences to refine the empirical bases for distinguishing Lapp from Swede. In different historical periods,

defining the Lapp was first a means to secure Lapland against claims from rival powers; a defense of Swedish Europeanness; a justification for colonization of the region; and finally the foil against which to imagine a homogenous population of ethnic Swedes (See Table 1).

[INSERT FIGURE 1]

Scientific knowledge about Lapps was produced during five periods: the Reformation, the Enlightenment years when Sweden was a Great Power in Europe, the disciplining of the social sciences and the formation of nation-states in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the 20<sup>th</sup> century wars hot and cold, and the human rights era post-1980s.

In 1938 these efforts were formalized as the interdiscipline of “lappology.” Three archives testify to its influence: the degree to which Lapps remained key figures to test anthropological ideas, the remarkable lineage of Swedish innovation in ethnoracial classification, and the international diffusion of these techniques.

## NATION-STATE SCIENCE

This essay traces a genealogy of lappology through its primary documents, synthesizing insights from Foucaultian biopolitics, state theory, and social studies of science and technology (STS). I find that lappology a) distinguished Swedes from what they were not, in part by b) creating and successfully transmitting scientific knowledge to international audiences. When Swedish scientists explicitly defined the Lapps, they implicitly defined them according to Swedish state concerns. This process was sensitive to meanings ranging from the geopolitical situation of Sweden; the internal domestic meanings of ethnoracial groups; to the norms of international scientific practices.

For lappology and all social sciences, the epistemological referent is the nation-state itself—as in state-istics (e.g. Woolf 1989). Since Max Weber, the role of science has been conceived as an intrinsic function of the modern state (Carroll 2006; Jasanoff 2004), with national and sub-national populations conceived out of government funding for universities and scientific associations (Bruce 1988; Gabler and Frank 2005). Population measurements and ethnoracial classifications bound the peoples of the nation across space and time as surely as railroads, canals and telegraph lines, helping social scientists marshal the human resources of a country while physical scientists helped exploit natural resources (e.g. Carroll 2006; Charland 1986; Mukerji 2009). In science and technology studies, this reflexivity between the goals of scientific inquiry and the social conditions that undergird them is expressed by the concept of co-production, which describes the reflexive relationship between the development of instruments of perception and the data they produce (Jasanoff 2004).

I use the term nation-state science to capture this scientific coproduction of state and nation by means of ethnoracial classification. A key finding of science and technology studies is that “international” science bears the imprint of national interests: “commitments to nationalism and internationalism in late nineteenth-century science were not mutually exclusive but could operate in a highly synergistic manner” (Manias 2009). Social science co-produced the concepts and tools by which the populations were conceived and the state was built, while the state was a key funder of some scientific questions over others. STS scholars have described this as “scientific nationalism” (Mizuno 2010; Sörlin 2002; Wang 2002), “national science” (e.g. Crawford 2002; Pruna 1994), or “methodological nationalism” (Chernilo 2011). As these variations suggest, however, STS does not systematically or consistently distinguish between national cultures, state architectures and their effects.

Michel Foucault coined the term biopower to describe this fusion of techniques of government to control bodies and populations through the parallel practices of “anatomy- and bio-politics” (Foucault 1978:140–141). Population management as the mode of the modern ruler implicates the production of knowledge in the human sciences: the very conditions in which humans could be both the subject and objects of scientific inquiry were grounded in the conditions of rule (Foucault 1970). As such a biopolitics, lappologists scrutinized Lapp bodies not only to understand and control the domestic population, but also to contribute to the glory of Sweden. This was the original context of the word biopolitics, a word coined not by Foucault but by early-20<sup>th</sup> century Swedish political scientist Rudolf Kjellén. He introduced the word in a 1916 work as the explicit counterpart to geopolitics, another term he invented that gained wide adoption. In one sense, then, this essay reclaims this original, explicit union of biopolitics and geopolitics as embedded in the scientific practice of ethnoracial classification.

This “Lapp” was a perceptual tool equivalent to a microscope or craniometric calipers, a “socioscope” that trained scientific vision and enhanced state rule over the North (Carroll 2006). As a conceptual device, the Lapp was always embedded within the epistemic culture of the Swedish nation-state: the national feeling and social connections of Swedish scientists, state funding for race science, and Sweden’s relative political power in Europe. Knowledge about the Lapps—even in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, and even that produced by non-Swedes—was co-produced with knowledge about Swedes particularly and Europeans generally.

By exposing the relationships among ethnoracial formations and the geopolitical contexts from which they arose, lappology is one location among several to untangle these interrelationships. In another, George Steinmetz detailed the role of ethnographers in shaping divergent German colonial policies (2007). Susan Greenhalgh shows how American Cold War



politics structured demography's disciplinary concerns with outmoded concepts of modernization (1996). Epistemology, embedded within national cultures and international scientific norms, co-produces ontology—the realities of the nation, the state, and science itself.

This next section details the development of ethnoracial classifications, showing how shifts in Sweden's political position was accompanied by shifts in the interpretations and techniques of lappology. This illuminates the roles played by both nation *and* state in the epistemic culture of social science. It describes how methodological innovations are prompted by mismatches between the external, geopolitical concerns of nation-states and the content of their population categories. It also provides a model for understanding the role social scientists play in the knowledge-generating capacities of the state.

#### DOCUMENTING SWEDISH LAPPOLOGY

Lappology's formal institutionalization began in 1938 with the establishment of the Lapp Department at the Nordic Museum in Stockholm. This national ethnological (folk) museum is unique, depicting not only Swedish customs but those of all other Nordic countries as well, founded as it was by the transnational "Scandinavianist" movement during the 1880s. The Lapp Department began publishing *Acta Lapponica*, an occasional series of conference proceedings, works in translation, and original ethnographic and anthropological monographs. The majority of these were printed in English or German for dispersal to international audiences, though some were of foreign works translated into Swedish. The timing and practices reflected the disciplinary boundaries of the specialized humanities, social sciences and life sciences (Abbott 2001). "Lapp," then, functioned as a boundary object that united this broad research program around this unstable object (Star and Griesemer 1989).

The timing was also fortuitous because the outbreak of WWII kept Nordic scholars in their own backyard, so the Lapp Department coordinated research that resulted in an explosion of post-war publications. A similar series from the University of Helsinki, *Acta Lapponica Fenniae* joined its sister publication in 1962. The third significant forum for lappology was the Indiana University Publications Uralic and Altaic Series (IUUAS), initiated in 1960 with US government funding for area studies during the Cold War. IUUAS published English translations of works previously available only in Finnish or Swedish, many of which were canonized in the massive cross-cultural database the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF).

This high-modern crystallization of lappology was short lived. Sámi political self-consciousness grew through the 20<sup>th</sup> century, rejecting the Lapp exonym as pejorative and claiming domestic and international sovereignty under post-war conceptions of human rights. By 1982 the *Nordiska Museet's* Lapp Department was renamed the Sámi Collection; most academic and government documents quickly followed. For example, Ernest Manker's exhibit "The Lapps" in the *Nordiska Museet* from 1947 was re-curated in 1987 as "Sápmi," the Sámi name for their transnational homeland. Campaigns for sovereignty were bolstered by the 1989 inauguration of Norway's Sámi Parliament, followed by sister institutions in Sweden (1993), Finland (1996) and Russia (2010).

Sweden is an important bellwether for early modern state-building and nationalism, a "local modernity" that was widely emulated (Stråth 2004). Three characteristics that make it especially suited to revealing nation-state-scientific transformations in the *longue durée*. A 16<sup>th</sup> century early-mover in administrative centralization, Sweden experienced several transitions in state capacity and national imagining without disruptive internal political revolutions. Its early-centralized state garnered the wealth that allowed great advances in sciences and administration,

allowing a small nation with meager colonial experience to participate in Enlightenment racial theorizing. Lastly, the country's early 19<sup>th</sup>-century Imperial dissolution laid the conditions for the rump state to be reconceived as homogeneous, focusing population concerns upon internal others, including Jews, Roma and Finns, but especially the Lapps.

I track changes in the meanings of Lapp via lappology's primary documents. I reviewed these in the Foster Anthropology Library at the University of California, Berkeley, the library at the *Musee d'Homme* in Paris, the *Medizinhistorisches Museum der Charité* in Berlin, the Finnish National Library in Helsinki and the *Nordiska Museet* in Sweden. Evidence for the dissemination and influence of lappological ideas beyond Sweden is based on a content analysis of research monographs on Lapps and articles in the three oldest and most influential anthropological journals in Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States: the antecedent journals of the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (1848-), the *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* (1859-) the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1869-), and *American Anthropologist* (1879-). Concepts and debates moved freely among these journals before the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century when scholars were fluent in multiple languages, members of multiple international associations, and articles were regularly summarized and translated. Electronic resources include special attention to the HRAF files on the Sámi and criticism of historical sources. An especially valuable source for these is the massive Encyclopaedia of Saami Culture administered by the University of Helsinki's Sámi Studies Program. Though a hard copy exists (Kulonen et al. 2005), the online materials are more comprehensive, if imperfectly searchable.

Sweden's innovations of ethnoracial categorization included the first population register, institute for genetics, and attention-grabbing international prizes for scientific achievement. As

the next section shows, lappology directly spurred many scientific techniques widely adopted in the human sciences, including ethnography, the cranial index, race biology and national genetics.

## LAPPOLOGY: NATION-STATE SCIENCE

### a. Securing the North through tribute (12<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries)

The earliest references to Lapps have the practical occupational character of a caste, classifying them according to livelihood rather than linguistic or cultural affinities. They first appear in 12-13<sup>th</sup> court records as hunter-fishers whose nomadism posed challenges to taxation for the proto-kings of Scandinavia and northern Russia. Since Lapps could not be taxed by ordinary means, early Swedish kings instituted indirect rule through the creation of a caste of tax collectors. Each of the *birkarlar* “had his own Lapps, obliged to pay taxes to him, and they were hereditary in his family” (Itkonen 1962). Many Lapp groups paid tribute to more than one power, reflecting incomplete and overlapping sovereignties in a Lapland “characterized by processes of accommodation, cultural exchange and demographic mixing” (Broadbent 2010, pp. xi-xii). Taxes were paid in multiple forms, reflecting the diversity of Lapp economic activities and their contacts with many Nordic trading networks: fur trapping, wild reindeer products, fishing, and coin (Mulk 2009; Vahtola 2003).

Sweden’s post-reformation state provided the administrative apparatus for direct rule. King Gustav Vasa seized the administrative architecture of the Church, using its clergy and population records to institute direct taxation. This precocious centralization of state authority gave 16<sup>th</sup> century Sweden the ability to wage war on an unprecedented scale, briefly establishing an empire encircling the Baltic sea plus colonial toeholds on three continents (Lockhart 2004; Tilly 1992; Wittrock 2004). Gustav I also claimed all the Lapps as subjects, a territorial grab

formalized by his son Karl IX, who added the title “King of the Lapps in the Northlands” to the crown (Kvist 1992).

Though researchers dispute the origins of reindeer pastoralism (see Sommerseth 2011), the practice had out hunting-gathering by the time of Swedish state expansion in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which marked a further transition to large-scale herding (Lundmark 2005; Sommerseth 2011:115, 124; Wallerström 2000). Crown bailiffs actively prevented Lapp seasonal sedentarism, promoted mass reindeer herding, and prevented Swedes from settling in Lapp lands. Thus the iconic feature of Lappishness—nomadic reindeer pastoralism—was the product of contact with the Swedish state (Wallerström 2000). This caste designation of Lapps was subsequently forgotten, conflating occupation with cultural group, as were the centuries of demographic mixing. This was enforced by removing Sámi from their land if they lost their reindeer herds, for example (Kvist 1992:68). From 1762 ethnic Sámi fisherfolk on the Norwegian coast, for example, were designated and taxed as *Finnar* (Finns). In Sweden, Sámi who converted to Christianity were permitted to own land, gaining the status (and taxation) of ordinary Swedes. Until Sámi was recognized as a minority language in Sweden in 2000, only reindeer herders were directly recognized by the Swedish state as Sámi.

#### **b. Reformation through pagan savages (16<sup>th</sup> century)**

The Protestant Reformation prompted the authorship of the first natural history of a people. Natural histories were the transitory form of knowledge production between Classical scholarship and what we today recognize as social science (Farber 2000; Foucault 1970; Harris 1968). By incorporating folktales, hearsay, and travelers’ reports in the histories of animals, minerals, or places, humans came to exist not only as subjects—tellers, knowers, authors—but

also as objects who might possess their own history to be told by others. The shift to natural histories of populations, the first of which described the differences between Swedes and Lapps, opened the way to a science of man as a strategy to lay claim to northern territories and peoples.

“The History of the Northern Peoples and the Nature of Things” (*Historia*), the first natural history of a people, was penned by the last Catholic Archbishop of Sweden, Olaus Magnus, from his exile in Rome (Magnus 1972 [1555]). There he discovered that the Church was so ignorant about Sweden that they excluded it from civilization. Magnus spent his remaining years trying to raise an Italian force to reconquer Scandinavia for Catholicism (Johannesson 1991). His first salvo was the *Carta Marina*, the first accurate map of Scandinavia. Because it failed to goad the Vatican to reconquest, Magnus then produced the multivolume *Historia* to explain and elaborate the map’s promises.

Both the map and the *Historia* bear continuity to Classical scholarship, depicting a haphazard collection of customs, resources, heraldic devices and landforms. Where the *Historia* broke with tradition was by including people as objects of knowledge. Swedes were valuable to the Church, he wrote, because of their heroism in war, while Lapps were wanton pagans. The *Carta Marina* and *Historia* were a multimedia provocation to reclaim worthy Scandinavian souls and convert or punish savage sorcerers.

Though the *Historia* failed as a goad to political action, it sold well. The Vatican, beset by the Reformation, had no resources for a faraway kingdom, and Magnus died the last archbishop of Sweden and the only one to have never governed there. Penned in Latin, it was a bestseller widely translated into vernacular languages, especially in selections that focused on Lapp sorcery. Magnus’ lurid descriptions of the reindeer-hide drums by which shamans communed with Satan established the Sámi drum as a prize collector’s item for curiosity cabinets

around Europe (Keil 2004). Collectors were secured a steady supply by their confiscation and sale by the same missionary apparatus appropriated by Gustav Vasa to tax and convert the Lapps, the authors of ethnographic descriptions of Sámi culture.

The *Historia*'s success spawned the enduring connection between sorcery and peoples of the North (Moyne 1981), libels that demanded rebuttal as Sweden became a Great Power (1561-1721). Where tax documents defined Lapps as a caste, the *Historia* framed them as pagans and Swedes as Catholic redeemers should the Crown be reclaimed from Protestant heresy. The combination of ethnographic details and myths of sorcery makes the *Historia* the foil for all subsequent accounts of the Lapps, spurring advances in empiricism to rebut its inaccuracies.

### **c. Writing culture for cosmopolitan legitimacy (17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries)**

The first ethnography (Kulonen et al. 2005), Johannes Scheffers' *Lapponia*, was an attempt to supercede the *Historia*. Drawing further upon ethnographic accounts from Northern clergy, *Lapponia* was a precociously modern work of national imagining that redefined the Lapps as beneficiaries of Sweden's civilizing influence. Queen Christina's minister of missionary activities commissioned renowned philosopher and philologist Johannes Schefferus to rebut pamphlets that attributed Sweden's military successes on the Continent to sorcery, citing Magnus. Schefferus was part of the construction of a glorious Swedish past to match its new-found clout on the continent, to "find an antiquity corresponding to this new position" (Ellenius 1957).

Written in Latin for a wide audience, *Lapponia*'s title page (1673) promised "new information about the origin of Lapps, their superstitions, rituals, food, ways of living and the animals and metals in their land; all carefully illustrated." The Lapps, Schefferus made clear,

were distinct from the Swedes, true practitioners of witchcraft, and recipients of Swedish religion and civilization. Schefferus broke with natural history by using only eyewitnesses who had spent time among the Lapps and spoke their languages (Pulkkinen 2003a). *Lapponia's* runaway success was bolstered by continental interest in the new Great Power astride the Baltic. The book was translated into English (1674), German (1675), French (1678), and Dutch (1682) (the first Swedish translation did not appear until 1956, a product of formal lappology).

Today's Sámi scholars miss this union of ethnography and geopolitics in their dismissal of *Lapponia* as tainted by the now-discredited lappology (e.g. Pulkkinen 2003b). *Lapponia* is far from the homogenous picture Sámi revisionists would claim. For example, Schefferus distinguished between the Lapps and the "Finns" (today's Sea-Sámi) (Scheffer 1704). European readers of *Lapponia* learned that it was difficult to know the truth of the enigmatic Arctic barbarians even through direct observation, but from contrast they learned what the Swedes were *not*: nomadic, superstitious, uncivilized, wretched, war-hating, weak, enigmatic. Schefferus' correction was not a homogenization of the Sámi, but of the Swedes, telling European audiences about a cosmopolitan nation of Christian heroes that obscured their hardscrabble peasant lives. *Lapponia*-toting travelers to the North were at such pains to prove the authenticity of their travels that they cribbed freely from Schefferus' descriptions in their eyewitness accounts of Lapps (e.g. Acerbi 1802; Rae 1875).

*Lapponia*, while hugely influential, did not displace previous accounts. For example, the last and most widely-read natural history, by Georges-Louis Leclerc the Comte de Buffon, synthesized Schefferus' account with the *Historia*. Published in French in 1749 and translated into English the same year, the English title virtually defines how the natural history genre collapsed under the weight of scientific curiosity: *Buffon's Natural History containing A Theory*



*of the Earth, A General History of Man, of the Brute Creation, and of Vegetables, Minerals, &c. &c. &c.* Buffon, following Bernier, classified Lapps as one of the six human races along with Tartars, South Asians, Ethiopians, Europeans, and Americans (Buffon 2001 [1749]).

To Enlightenment philosophers, Lapps defied categories of citizen and state that were only becoming scientifically and politically concrete. While other races had empires, the nomadic indigeneity of the Lapps gave them no *raison d'être* in the Enlightenment's politics of nature. Buffon placed Lapps with Native Americans at the bottom of his racial hierarchy, citing the degeneration that occurred in climatic extremes.

Yet it was the Lapps' hardiness *despite* their low station that disturbed Buffon, reflecting mercantilism's focus on marshaling domestic populations for trade. Buffon wrote, "though they seem to be of a degenerate species they yet are numerous, and the countries they occupy are extensive" (*ibid.*). Ledger columns in Sweden's national population register grouped unproductive citizens together: prisoners, paupers and Lapps (Axelsson 2010). In the face of physical and environmental disadvantages, the hardy Lapps aged with grace despite the harsh climate: "Under all these hardships they are subject to few diseases, and they live to a prodigious age. So vigorous indeed are the old men, that they are hardly to be distinguished from the young" (p. 197). "Useless in warfare," they yet performed prodigious feats: "Laplanders launch a javelin with so much dexterity, that at the distance of thirty paces they are sure to hit a mark no larger than a silver crown, and with such force, that it will transfix a human body" (p. 195). Worst of all, Lapps passed seamlessly through three kingdoms, immune to conscription or taxation. At a time when the art of government was to maximize domestic resources, the liberty and unproductiveness of the Lapps was disconcerting.

Despite the clarity with which their ethnographers depicted them, Lapps easily confused with other Northerners in practice. Contrasted with *Lapponia*'s images of heroic Swedes, poor Swedes were easily mistaken for Lapps, even by census takers: "one of the forms submitted to the Central Bureau of Statistics in the 1860s remarked that it was difficult to differentiate Saami from Finns and Swedes in parts of the far North" (Rogers and Nelson 2003, p. 66). Benjamin Franklin, that cosmopolitan scientist *par excellence*, believed Swedes were intermixed with their brown inferiors, describing them as having "swarthy complexion" (Franklin 1751). Even the Swedish gentry who settled the Crown territories were mistaken for Lapps by foreign observers.

One of the most documented confusions of Swede with Lapp was the scandal of Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis. Carrying a copy of *Lapponia*, he led a celebrated scientific expedition to Lapland in 1736 to test Newton's hypothesis that the earth would be flattened at the Poles. While there, he apparently promised a "Lapp maiden" marriage in exchange for some "pleasurable evenings," and his frank letters to Parisian friends about his love affair caused a sensation (Terrall 2002). De Maupertuis' conquest turned to humiliation when the *Lapone* and her sister arrived in Paris months after he had returned in triumph. Voltaire parodied Maupertuis in verse, and *saloneuse* and novelist Françoise de Graffigny complained "all Paris is going to his house to see these Lapp women. My God, how could one possibly be a Lapp?" (*ibid.*). De Graffigny's disdain reflected their dowdy appearance that disappointed expectations of skin-clad exotics. Though always called *Lapones*, they were Swedes, daughters of the rector of Torneå.

By then, Sweden had lost most of its multiethnic empire. Its alliance with the doomed Napoleon meant crushing reparations and wrenching national-reorientation. The loss of Finland, an integral part of the Swedish realm since the 12<sup>th</sup> century, split the realm in half; the transfer of Pomerania to Prussia ended 300 years of Swedish lands on the continent. As a historian

summarized, “the old Sweden had, without really understanding how, become the new, monolingual, monocultural nation-state we have known since then” (quoted in Hecker-Stampehl 2005).

#### **d. Measuring a homogenous nation: Linnaeus, racial taxonomy and anthropometry**

Carl Linnaeus decisively marked this turning point from the Lapps as challenges to border maintenance to the Lapps as symbols of domestic racial impurity. Over a century before Darwin, it was Carl Linnaeus who first and decisively articulated humans to apes and the rest of the natural world (Hrdlika 1940). He was a bitter opponent of Buffon, whose natural history he supplanted with taxonomic empiricism (Eddy Jr. 1994). For historians of science and post-colonial scholars, he is oft-cited for his model of the human races: *Homo rufus* (red American), *Homo albus* (white European), *Homo luridus* (yellow Asian), *Homo niger* (black African) and *Homo monstrosus*. It was here, in subtype *Alpini*, that he placed the *Fennones*, as he called the Lapps. The Lapps shared this *Alpini* category with cyclops, Trodglytes and Pygmies.

If the four-color categorization marks Linnaeus’ continuity with ancient ideas, the *Monstrosus* category asserts his own theories about the effects of climate and hybridization on species (see Frängsmyr 1983). It cemented the Lapps’ removal from schemata of representative types and had credence because of his experience with these scientific curiosities. Linnaeus had depended upon Lapp guides during his single voyage of scientific discovery to Lapland. Though considered part of Sweden, Linnaeus dramatized Lapland’s exoticness: “I seemed entering on a new world, and when I had ascended it, I scarcely knew whether I was in Asia or Africa, the soil, situation, and every one of the plants, being equally strange to me” (Ellingson 2001). Extensive notes on Lapp culture and economy appear in letters to Anders Celsius, chair of the Swedish

Academy and onetime astronomer for de Maupertuis, who reprinted them immediately in the Academy's proceedings (Anfält 2002).

Linnaeus seems to have identified with the Lapps. On his journey to Lapland he carried his famous "Lapp dress" and a confiscated Sámi shaman's drum. Self-portraits of himself in costume appear in his diary, captioned "A Lapland Fantasy" (Blunt 2002; 1792). This costume was fantastic indeed, consisting of a woman's summer coat, a woman's beret, reindeer boots made solely for trade, and Lapp curios strung from his belt (Fara 2004). The numerous portraits he commissioned of himself wearing it, and the treasured place it occupied on the wall of his Uppsala office for the rest of his life, indicated the importance this Lapp identification played in Linnaeus' professional life.

Linnaeus wore the costume when he appeared on physicians' doorsteps in Leiden during his studies there. As a Swedish scientist, Linnaeus was an almost Lapp-like rarity with an exotic, Swedish-singsong-accented Latin. He quickly gained a wealthy sponsor for his studies, to whom he dedicated the first of the Linnaeus-as-Lapp engravings (see figure 2).

#### FIGURE 2 HERE

Once a newly-minted doctor, he diagnosed himself with the *Gnostalgie* that he believed caused Lapps to die when removed from their homeland, justifying his return to the scientific backwater of Sweden (Koerner 1999).

Linnaeus' Lapp costume is more than the foible his biographers dismiss. Through it he embodied exotic Swedishness and the authority to express it to Europeans. Michel Foucault asks "what conditions did Linnaeus... have to fulfill, not to make his discourse coherent and true in general, but to give it, at the time when it was written and accepted, value and practical application as scientific discourse?" (Foucault 1970, p. xiv). Linnaeus' authority on the Lapps,

like his identification with them, had credence by virtue of his Swedishness and Sweden's long history as the gateway to a primary race of mankind. His Lapp dress underscored the same empiricism that underpinned his taxonomic innovations. His later descriptions of the Lapps as hairy pygmies, so different from those in his diaries, seem catered to the beliefs of the continental scientists whose recognition he craved.

Linnaeus has, oddly, been praised for his sympathetic treatment of the Lapps (Bernasconi 2001a; Ellingson 2001) despite demoting them to hybrids or mutants. This is especially striking their knowledge of native plants helped secure his fame. Though he never made scientific excursions outside his own country (and indeed only visited the most southern bits of Lapland), he installed his student "apostles" on prestigious round-the-world voyages and installed them in positions of prestige around Europe.

The greatest of Linnaeus' students was Johan Friedrich Blumenbach, the founding father of physical anthropology (Hrdlika 1940). His training in Uppsala was both a measure of Linnaeus' fame and an indication of how far Swedish institutions had advanced that a German would study in Sweden. Blumenbach extended Linnaean taxonomy by developing anthropometric techniques to measure population differences. In his 1795 edition of *On the Natural Variety of Mankind* he suggested five races of mankind: Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, Malay, and Caucasian, the enduring description of the white race based on the beauty of a female Georgian skull in his collection.

On her debut, the Caucasian was always much more than a specific skull shape, but an embodiment of racialized beauty from which Lapps were excluded:

*“Color white, cheeks rosy, hair brown or chestnut-colored; head subglobular; face oval, straight ... to this first variety belong the inhabitants of Europe (except the Lapps and the remaining descendants of the Finns)”* (Blumenbach 2001: [1795]).

Blumenbach’s new taxonomy, grounded in measurements as well as older aesthetics, marked a break with natural histories and the emergence of specialized disciplines of comparative anatomy, physical anthropology, statistics, and ethnography, all pioneered in Göttingen at that time. In later editions Blumenbach corrected himself, declaring that his new measurements showed that the European racial group constituted “the whole of Europe, including the Lapps, whom I cannot in any way separate from the rest of the Europeans, when their appearance and their language bear such testimony to their Finnish origin” (Blumenbach et al. 1865:99). This hypothesis that Lapps were Finns who had degenerated in the Arctic climate reflected ongoing debates about their interrelationship, the meanings of primitivity, and the borders of Europe.

Blumenbach’s focus on skull morphology represented a growing focus on the brain as a marker of nationality. Brain weights were tested as a comparative basis for racial differentiation, but were discarded for not producing the expected results: “skulls of Lapps, of pure blood, exhibit weights of brain very nearly equal to those of our [modern] Italians” (Davis 1868). The skull seemed to hold the promise of answering a host of racial puzzles, as evidenced by the blossoming of national skull studies under such titles as *Crania Britannica*, *Crania Americana*, and *Crania Polonica* (Fabian 2010; Jorion 1982).

Craniometry, a field advanced by Swede Anders Retzius, provided the next major innovation in physical anthropology’s contributions to ethnoracial categorization. Retzius was a student and colleague of Linnaeus, and his cephalic index became the most widely used measurement in physical anthropology, displacing brain-weights and distance from discredited

phrenology. He trained under Sven Nilsson, also a student of Linnaeus, whose archaeological comparisons of Lapp and Swede skulls supported Linnaeus' hypothesis about Lapps' pygmy status (1868 [1838]).

The timeline of the cephalic index's development reveals its role in delineating the Swedish population from its neighbors. It debuted in a paper comparing Swedes to Finns and Lapps, Sweden's three largest population groups (Retzius 1843), next upon the Russian Slavs (Retzius 1844), Sweden's arch-nemesis. His subsequent applications to skulls from collections from South Africa facilitated its adoption by the anthropologists of other colonial powers. Despite publication in Swedish, these studies were widely reviewed, translated and acquired by international societies. Retzius found his greatest audience in the German-language summaries in *Müller's Archiv*, a key resource for 19<sup>th</sup> century physicians and scientists.

By the 1880s the cranial index had received the endorsement of Europe's greatest anthropometricians, Paul Broca in Paris and Rudolf Virchow in Berlin, Retzius' most celebrated student (Blanckaert 1889). Craniometry promised answers to the puzzling relationships between contemporary primitives and the newly-discovered fossil Cro-Magnons. Many believed these to be the stone-age ancestors of Lapps, citing Linnaeus' pygmy categorization (Nilsson 1868; Pruner-Bey 1875; see also Schanche 2004). This Cro-Magnon/pygmy hypothesis suggested that Lapps once lived across Europe and were thus indicators of European racial degeneracy (Manias 2009; Wiwjorra 1997).

Allegations of Lapp hybridity in European populations provoked scandal. Armand de Quatrefages was the chair of anthropology at France's national *Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle*, the institution once directed by de Buffon. After France's defeat by Germany in the Franco-Prussian war, Quatrefages published a study simultaneously in French and English (1871, 1872) which

claimed “the mixed Prussian race possessed the tenacity and vengefulness of the Finns, the warlike nature of the early Slavs, the fanatical militarism of the medieval Crusaders, and the superficial affectations of the higher culture of early modern France” (Manias 2009:746). Later he broadened his assertions of Finnic-Lapp influences on the Prussians, positing a Lappish type (*type Laponoïde*) whose presence in European populations indicated lower levels of civilization (Quatrefages 1875). Citing Retzius and Blumenbach, Quatrefages asserted that the great civilizations did not show any Lappish influence, as the Prussians did, and accused Prussia of deliberately bombing the *Muséum* to destroy the empirical evidence of French racial superiority.

Retzius’ cranial index is dismissed “an answer for which there was no question” (Lahr 1996), while racial determinations of the Lapps are called “scientific myths” (Anderson 1962). Such rejections miss the episteme of the nation-state in the development and deployment of anthropometrics. After losing their empire, Swedish scientists developed a tool for scientifically determining the borders of a population just before the 1848 Spring of Nations unsettled the political legitimacy of European states. Retzius’ work to measure the “pure” Swedish nation implicitly fitted it to its truncated borders, a fate that soon befell all European empires.

The late-19<sup>th</sup> century appetite for primitives produced a host of creative lappological methods. Lapps were exhibited with live reindeer in London shows as early as 1822 (Qureshi 2011), and were the hit exhibit that launched Carl Hagenbeck’s career as the father of the modern zoo (Livingstone 2003). They also featured in the earliest attempts to make photography an anthropometric field technique (Bonaparte 1885; von Düben 1873).

Gentleman-explorer Alexander Humboldt von Horck, a protégé of Retzius’ star student Rudolf Virchow, proposed a method to measure skull capacity in live Lapps using plaster masks. He relayed its difficulties to a packed auditorium at the Geographical Society of New York:



Meeting an old Field Lapp (Nomad), a splendid type of his race, I desired very much to take his face. After great persuasion he yielded on condition that I should not cut off his beard. I therefore stuck the stiff, bristly hairs together with flour paste as well as I could, and after generously oiling him covered his face with the gypsum. After it had hardened I attempted to remove it when, to my horror... with it came the greater part of the old man's whiskers. I had scarcely freed him and washed the blood from his face when he sprang forward and furiously grasped my loaded gun which I took from him with difficulty and succeeded in bringing him to terms (Humboldt van der Horck 1876).

Lapps' popularity meant Humboldt van der Horck's talk received page 2 coverage in the New York Times and invitations to scientific societies in New York and London.

This popular interest also merited reportage when the British Association for the Advancement of Science debated Lapps' racial classification in 1871:

The position of the Lapps in classification is still an open question. Agassiz classifies them with the Esquimaux and Samoedes. Prichard, relying upon philological evidence—an unsafe guide when taken alone—maintains that the Lapps are Finns who have acquired Mongolian features from long residence in northern Europe; but according to Mr. Brooks, the Lapps and Finns have scarcely a single trait in common... [while] Isaac Vossius says the Lapps are of low stature, and that pigmies exist among them" (1871).

It is striking that the Lapps retained their popular appeal well after colonial empires brought other exotic peoples to the metropole. What escaped contemporary observers was that these "nomads" had only recently been confined within nation-states.

Once an open frontier, Lapland was formally divided in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as an influx of miners, loggers, railroads and farmers intensified conflicts (Kvist 1992). This

curtailed seasonal reindeer migrations, compelling many Lapps to take a single national citizenship for the first time. Russia-Finland closed the border to Norway in 1852, causing many “Norwegian” Sámi to register as Swedish to continue using their lands in Finland. Sweden closed the border to Russia-Finland in 1889, causing many herders to take Swedish citizenship for continued access to pastures. Meanwhile Sweden continued to encourage farmers to settle in Lapland, further incorporating North with South but increasing contacts between Swedes and Lapps at the height of scientific efforts to separate them. The Swedish-Norwegian frontier was closed to reindeer herders in 1919, a situation still under negotiation.

**e. The purity of the nation: race biology and the creation of the “pure Lappish race”**

The increased proximity of Swedes and Lapps resulted in measures both legal and scientific to distinguish them. The old policies that saw no conflict between farming and Lapp land use crumbled, even as concern grew that the Lapps were disappearing like the world’s other native peoples. As a historian summarized these series of legal changes, “the illusion that all Sami in Sweden were reindeer pastoralists could not be upheld anymore. When the authorities could not change reality, they changed the definitions” (Lundmark 2007). Late 19<sup>th</sup>-century parliamentary acts increasingly curtailed the rights of individual Lapps to own land and transferred Lapp privileges to village organizations that could only be joined by reindeer herders. These moves confirmed Lappishness as a collective trait and Swedishness an individual one by stripping rights from Lapps who fished, farmed or worked for wages instead of engaging in collective reindeer herding. Women received their rights through their fathers or husbands, so a village woman who married a Swede—even one who was ethnically Lapp—would lose her Lapp

categorization (Kvist 1992). A new separation of Lapps from Swedes was established, with different laws, education systems and police.

Swedish policy from 1913 is characterized the expression “a Lapp shall remain a Lapp” (*Lapp skall vara Lapp*). Lapps were forbidden from settling, were confined to reindeer herding, and intermarriage with Swedes was officially forbidden. This state policy kept the old occupational-caste designation of Lapp while continuing to deny any Lapp-Swede hybridity. Swedish innovations in racial science worked to specify this pure Lappish race, while Swedish political science posited Sweden as the ideal nation-state.

In 1916, Swedish political scientist Rudolf Kjellén published his influential book *The State as a Living Form* in which he coined the words geopolitics and biopolitics (Lemke 2011). Kjellén’s works were widely influential in continental political thought, especially in Germany. Geopolitics in particular would go on to find expression in Nazi theorizing as *lebensraum*. Kjellén defined biopolitics as the study of the state’s “ethnic individuality” as shaped by internal social groups’ competition and cooperation (ibid:10). Kjellén’s metaphor of the nation-state as an organic body whose health determined the area it covered implicitly framed the Lapps as a problem, a challenge answered by reaffirming the Lapps as a separate genetic race.

The first state institute devoted to race biology was in Sweden, not Nazi Germany, eugenic Great Britain, or the Jim Crow United States. Sweden’s *Statens Institut för Rasbiologi* (SIR) was founded in 1922, the result of lobbying by the charismatic industrialist and Nazi sympathizer Herman Lundborg. He had earlier established the Swedish Society for Race Hygiene to promote, in English, “the contributions made by Swedes within the fields of anthropology, race-biology, genetics and eugenics” (Lundborg 1921). SIR was located in the Uppsala, home in its time to Linnaeus and Retzius, though independent of the university.

Lundborg believed the Lapps were the greatest threat to the Swedish race. Under his direction SIR “invested nearly all its resources into a vast anthropological survey of the Sámi population inhabiting Northern Sweden” (Müller-Wille 2004). These results were published in two massive volumes, the first of which debuted in 1932, the second in 1941. Lundborg asserted a retroactive omniscience of the state to explain the preeminence of Swedish genetic research: “In her clerical and parish records, which, ever since about 1750 or somewhat later, have been meticulously kept by the clergy, *Sverige* [Sweden] possesses material for researches in race biology unsurpassed and inestimable in its completeness and reliability, even when the nomads of the country, the Lapps, are concerned” (Lundborg 1932). On the basis of these reliable records, any hybridization with the Swedish population could be firmly discounted: “The Lapps, however, are extremely homogenous, from a racial point of view, and probably there are few population groups which might be looked upon as a separate race on equally good grounds” (Lundborg 1932). SIR’s racial descriptions were used in foreign relations materials, such as the Swedish Tourist Association brochure that harked back to Blumenbach’s aesthetic considerations: “are the Lapps a beautiful or an ugly people? An indiscreet question requiring a discrete answer...” (quoted in Schough 2003). And, in 1941, the Board of Agriculture declared that Lapps were incapable of farming due to “reasons of racial biology” (Lundmark 2005).

Justifying the separateness of Lappish and Swedish populations united older projects as Linnaean taxonomy, Retzius’ cranial index, with the new race biology. Swedish science provided the material from which the Nordic race was created, the acme for eugenicists in other countries, demonstrating Sweden’s continuing international influence. While the end of World War II destroyed the credibility of race biology, the rise of human rights law cultural anthropology provided a new platform for Swedish ideals to be communicated via lappology.

### **f. Contemporary: Lapps as peaceful dependents**

Within Sweden, Lappology meant the first translation of Schefferus' *Laponia* into Swedish by the *Nordiska Museet's* Lapp Department in 1957; a year later, the Institute for Race Biology was renamed the Institute for Genetics. Gunnar Myrdal played a key role in prying the Institute away from racial eugenics toward more moderate population concerns (Broberg and Tyndén 2005), though he continued to describe Sweden's population as racially homogeneous (Ginsburg 1992:45). Of the texts written by Swedes for international audiences, the meanings of Lapps continued to reflect Swedish state interests in promoting its social welfare state as a peaceful, cooperative solution to Cold War tensions and decolonization struggles.

Swedish social scientists reimagined the relationship between Lapps and Swedes as a model of peaceful coexistence. In the flagship British anthropological journal *Man*, a Lapp linguist framed the Lapps as a rare case of cultural contact without conflict (Pehrson 1950). Though Lapps are the "least European of the Europeans," another lappologist chided that "we have indeed something to learn from the Scandinavians in respect of their wise tolerance of a people with traditions quite different from their own" (Allison 1953). Even today, Sweden's official website explains that while Sámi rights are contested nationally, in municipalities "one can find examples of genuine cooperation" between Sámi and Swede (Åkerström 2011).

A concurrent but related discourse of Lapp advancement reflected Sweden's postwar labor shortage and its labor market strategy of activating domestic labor through education, especially among women. Although few Lapps could recall the folktales and religious formulae of their childhood, the entrance of Lapps into "university research...stands to gain much when Lapp students with scientific qualifications more frequently associated themselves with other

lappologists in these tasks” (Hultkrantz 1955:94). Israel Ruong, the first Lapp to defend a dissertation in Lapp ethnology, first realized this promise. He helped found the first agency to represent herders’ interests to the state—the first time “Sámi” was used by a state agency. This *Svenska Samernas Riksförbund* (Swedish [Realm] Sámi Association) to this day represents only Sámi who herd reindeer.

The postwar rise of international human rights supported the Sámi name for themselves, who were increasingly successful in redefining “Lapp” as a pejorative exonym. Sámi began to replace Lapp during the latter half 20<sup>th</sup> century as Swedish Sámi organized politically, injecting their terms into public discourse. The first Sámi memoirs, often transcribed by lappologists and framed as auto-ethnographies, appeared in Swedish and translated into major European languages. A burst of Sámi activism followed revisions to laws on timber and reindeer management in the early 1970s. The Sámi helped establish the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations in 1982 and the International Labor Organization’s Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention of 1989. These established indigeneity as a sovereign force with which nation-states had to contend (Niezen 2000). National Sámi organizations established their membership definitions that recognized the loss of language and cultural heritage. Swedish state discourse still hewed to the policy that a “Lapp shall remain a Lapp,” but international anthropological texts reflected Sámi self-definitions. Increasingly anthropologists, and especially archaeologists, provided support for Sámi claims for land rights and political autonomy (e.g. Broadbent 2010; Iregren and Isberg 1993).

Though lappology became defunct in the 1980s, there are still two official Sámi categories in Sweden: the official one managed by the SSR that administers Sámi rights for reindeer herders, and the cultural understanding that Sámi are minority within Sweden. This

culminated with the removal of state references of Lapps in 1987 and the Sámi Parliament's recognition by the Swedish government in 1989. In 1998 the Swedish state apologized for its past oppression of the Sámi, reframing them as part of a multicultural Sweden. In 2000 Parliament recognized Sámi as a national minority language, granting the right to Sámi-language education for some children of non-reindeer-herders. Otherwise, Sámi indigenous land rights were increasingly eroded by court cases and parliamentary redefinitions of hunting rights between 1981-2006 (Borchert 2001). Only in 2011 were the reindeer grazing rights first proffered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century reaffirmed by the Swedish Supreme Court (Allard 2011b). Sweden has not acknowledged Sámi indigenous rights to land, however, as defined by the United Nations (ILO-169).

The Sámi still occupy an ambiguous position in Sweden's division of labor in the social sciences between domestic (ethnology) and foreign (anthropology). The Uppsala University chair held by Hugh Beach, renowned anthropologist of the Sámi, is named "Professor of Ethnology, Particularly Non-European." Ethnologists classified Lapps as topics for anthropology (e.g. Izikowitz 1959), while anthropologists neglected these domestic citizens as insufficiently indigenous from centuries of contact. This is dramatized by a 2004 image from the homepage of Uppsala University's Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology. It epitomized this trope of the Sámi representing Europe amongst global indigenous peoples (see Figure 3).

[INSERT FIGURE 3]

The Sámi man literally stands for Europe amidst the indigenes of the world, with his "four-winds hat marking the European border that excludes Russia as "Asia."

The enduring paradox that Lapps posed to social scientific thought reflects the category's intimate relationship to Swedish governance and obscures the achievement of Swedish

homogeneity. The lappologist was an apologist of the Swedish state, implicitly describing its geopolitics when explicitly describing Arctic hunter-gatherers. Only when human rights law provided external support for indigenous sovereignty and the social sciences recognized their own implication with the nation-state were the Lapps replaced by the Sámi—an autonomous category with the sovereign prerogatives of self-naming and self-rule.

#### LAPPOLOGIST: APOLOGIST FOR SWEDEN

*It may be asked whether the Lapps really have a history (Collinder 1969:13)*

*It is true that the nomads have no history; they only have a geography. And the defeat of the nomads was such, so complete, that history is one with the triumph of States (Deleuze and Guattari 1987:434).*

This article contributes to the comparative literatures on nation building, state formation, and science and technology studies by describing the role social scientists played in constructing population categories, a process dependent on geopolitics and scientific practice. Lappology was embedded within webs of meaning far beyond Sweden: the geopolitics of Sweden versus Continental powers, conceptions of nationhood and nationality unleashed by 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century revolutions, and increasingly invasive scientific methods. In this international context, lappologists contributed to the project of defining the Swedish state in terms of the reach of its peoples, even while describing in the minutest detail the physical characteristics of national bodies. Lappology was thus a prime example of Foucaultian biopolitics, measuring Lapp-as-body to demarcate Lapp-as-species (2003:243).



Changing state boundaries, administrative capacities, and national conceptions led to methodological innovations to describe Lapps, from ethnographies to biometrics. Schefferus used the authority of ethnographic details to discredit Olaus Magnus' descriptions of pagan sorcerers. Linnaeus made use of the Lapps but discarded them when his taxonomic system secured his fame. Retzius debuted his craniometric index via Lapps at a time when national homogeneity was desirable. As the nation became framed by its genetic stock, DNA distinguished Swede from Lapp (Müller-Wille 2004). Earlier empirical measures are framed as failures because they assumed what they were trying to explain: that Lapps and Swedes were distinct, bounded populations without intermixture.

This story of the state's key role in structuring human science's "ecology of knowledge" (Rosenberg 1979) conflicts with influential metaphors of how the state works. For Theda Skocpol (1979) the state "penetrated" society, while John Torpey (2000) envisioned states "embracing" the societies they rule ever more tightly. James Scott (1998) described the state use of technologies to make national populations "legible."

My description of ethnoracial classification as a practice co-produced with nationhood and state capacities builds upon Scott's influential metaphor in two ways. Firstly, lappology demonstrates that this legibility happened not within a single state, but in the broader ecology of competing states. As Sweden's empire crumbled, its scientists still found international prestige in their population measurement innovations, based in part on longstanding Continental appetites for Lapp knowledge. Put another way, as it lost power geopolitically, Sweden extended its influence biopolitically by creating knowledge that increased the power of all states.

Secondly, however, Scott's metaphor of legibility oversimplifies the role played by scientists. They did not simply describe the Lapps for some singular state—they constructed and

reconstructed the Lapps in dialogue with contemporary domestic interests, its geopolitical position, and international scientific norms. We can see this reflecting in the different meanings Lapps held for the Nordic countries, the different legal systems that were produced to regulate them, and the impacts this had on the relationship between Lapp recognition and reindeer herding (Allard 2011a). Norway's late independence (1905) and abrupt consolidation of Norwegianness prompted harsh Sámi assimilation policies and a lasting social stigma against the identity (c.f. Barth and Bergen 1969:57). In Finland, Lapps served as a useful foil for Finland's disputed claims to be Europeans. The Lapps of Russia were merely one of a score of northern hunter-gatherers in a sprawling empire of minority peoples. And today, under the influence of transnational bodies including the European Union and the Nordic Council, the four Sámi parliaments have discussed reconceiving themselves as one representative transnational body (Toivanen 2002). Even self-authorship among the Sámi reflects broader political contexts.

The ability of a strong centralized state like Sweden to maintain clear ethnic divides between Lapps and Swedes contradicts Kroneberg and Wimmer's (2012) conclusion that "ethnic closure emerges in the context of weakly centralized states." Sweden was a strongly centralized state from the Protestant Reformation onwards, and its elites incited and harnessed populism to speed industrial development in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Pred 1995). Given that sociological models of ethnicity are almost exclusively based on the great multinational Empires of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, smaller nations serve as useful tests of the relationships among state, nationhood and ethnicity. In Japan, for example, the indigenous Ainu and residents of the Kingdom of Ryukyu (Okinawa) also underwent radical redefinitions according to Japan's shifting geopolitical situation (Morris-Suzuki 1998). Aboriginal groups in Australia struggle to confirm their indigenous land claims, which are both thwarted and abetted by centuries of social-scientific knowledge (Povinelli 2002).

The scientific work of measuring ethnicity also specifies the geopolitical contexts of cultural holism, the anthropological idea that each culture was a discrete analytical category. Dominant from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, it was repudiated in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century as an inaccurate metaphor or an epistemological-methodological conceit that obscured the interaction among cultures and the influences of colonialism (Stocking Jr. 1968; e.g. Thornton 1992). The case of the Lapps shows how cultural holism reflected the aspirations of nation-states that were just developing the administrative and cognitive apparatuses to bound themselves, just as ethnoracial classification was the scientific practice of measuring population boundaries. Cultural holism, too, is a product of nation-state science. Like the “pure Lappish race” before it, cultural anthropologists created concepts embedded in international scientific networks.

Despite the idiosyncratic origin of the designation of Lapps as a primary race of mankind, they provided the foundation upon which Swedish scientists gained entrée into international markets for scientific knowledge. The invention of Sweden’s racial purity reflected its changing value in international markets of their stock—geopolitically and genetically. As Sweden became the representative of the Aryan-cum-Nordic race, that small nation’s scientific entrepreneurs in ethnoracial classification could maintain international esteem, and European countries could reimagine their own ethnic purity on the basis of the Swedish ideal.

Figure 1: Contexts and Contents of Swedish Lappology

Time period	Swedish Political priorities	Lapp meaning	Methodology
a) Medieval 12 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Secure hinterlands	Source of tribute	Tax-collecting intermediaries
b) Reformation 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Relationship to Rome	Pagan savages	Natural history of a people, Ethnography
c) Great Power 17 <sup>th</sup> -18 <sup>th</sup>	Establish legitimacy as European empire, mercantilism	Inferior race unproductive	Racial taxonomy
d) Nation-state 19 <sup>th</sup> c.	Homogenous nation out of shattered realm	Inferior race	Anthropometrics, cranial index,
e) Modern 20 <sup>th</sup> c. - 1946	Industrialization, labor shortages, Cold War	Dependent people, Peaceful coexistence	Race biology
f) Contemporary 1980s-	Immigration, gender equality	Multiculturalism (lappology defunct)	Human rights law, indigenous social movements

Figure 2: Linnaeus as Lapp



Image permission: University of Amsterdam Museum Portrait Collection

Figure 3: “Cultural Anthropology”



*Illustration from the website of Uppsala University's Department of Cultural Anthropology. A Sámi man embodies Europe in a world of indigenous peoples. Retrieved Sept 18, 2004.*

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