Ahola, Joonas, and Frog, with Clive Tolley, editors. 2014. *Fibula, Fabula, Fact: The Viking Age in Finland*. Helsinki: SKS. 519 pp. €43.00. ISBN 9789522226037; ISBN 9522226033. (Studia Fennica. Historica 18).

Finland's relationship to the Viking Age is somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, the Viking Age is a Scandinavian category defined on the basis of Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish history, especially in relation to Western Europe and the British Isles. Finnish nationalism since the nineteenth century has focused on distancing Finland from Sweden and Scandinavian identity, emphasizing Finland's distinct linguistic and cultural heritage. Nonetheless, the imagery popularly associated with "ancient" Finland—notably Gallen-Kallela's iconic illustrations of myths included in Lönnrot's *Kalevala*—draws heavily on the Scandinavian Viking Age. In the "language wars" of the late nineteenth century, the Swedish-speaking population in Finland also emphasized a connection with the Vikings in the interest of establishing a high age for the Scandinavian linguistic presence in Finland (see Aalto's chapter, 145). As the editors Ahola and Frog point out in the introduction to the volume (21), a typical response to the mention of the topic is to ask, "Were there Vikings in Finland?" Giving a meaningful answer entails defining the notion of Vikings and what is meant by Finland at that time.

This hefty anthology contains twenty-one essays (counting the lengthy introduction and afterword), which represent different areas of archaeology, folklore, history, linguistics, onomastics, paleobotany, and population genetics. All the contributors have affiliations with Finnish institutions. The scope is impressive. Many of the chapters are empirical in focus and expository, presenting an overall picture of a particular aspect of Finland in the Viking Age and providing references to relevant literature. Other contributions are more theoretical (e.g., Tolley; Korpela; Heininen, Ahola, and Frog; Frog). Several of the authors, include basic introductions to the methods of their disciplines; these introductions are designed for readers outside that specialty.

A substantial portion of the book's 519 pages consists of framing material and metatext. In addition to a 64-page introductory essay (21–84), there is a preface (8–16), acknowledgements (17–18), introductions to the individual sections (87–90, 171–74, 323–26), and an afterword (485–501). In contrast to the generally concise main articles, the framing material sometimes seems discursive and chatty. At the end of the book are separate indices for personal names (505–6) and place names (507–10), a general index (511–16), and an index of cross-references among the articles (504). References are listed after each individual chapter rather than for the volume as a whole.

The preface (8–16) starts by explaining the rationale behind the volume's title (8–9), then describes the project and its workings (10–11, 13–14). The contributions reflect a three-year dialogue among contributors from different disciplines, where paper drafts were discussed and workshopped by the participants. The interdisciplinary discussion would be a model for other research projects to follow. Numerous cross-references among the articles in the volume (indexed at the end of the volume) reflect this dialogue. Because the chapters are written as separate articles, there is some overlap among the different pieces. In a few cases, different perspectives appear that may be in conflict—e.g., Schalin (408) seems tentatively to accept the possibility that place names might suggest Scandinavian settlement west of the river Kymi in the early Viking Age, whereas

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Ranninen and Westman (328) maintain that there is no archaeological or "credible toponymic evidence of any Scandinavian settlement during the Viking Age in the present-day territory of Finland" (with a cross-reference to Schalin). These slight discrepancies highlight the difficulties of interpreting the evidence.

The massive introduction by Ahola and Frog (21–84) covers very broad territory—from the image of the Viking Age in Finnish popular culture and its historical background (21–26) to the problems of disciplines being out of step with developments in adjacent disciplines after the mid-twentieth century (27–29), to population movements and language shifts in Finland prior to and during the Viking Age (48–61), and to the conception of the Viking Age as an anthropocentric category (61–66) and as a period of mobility and transition (75–76). This introduction contains a lot of useful information, but especially the theoretical portions could have been condensed.

The main body of the text is divided into three sections with the broad titles of "Time," "Space," and "People." The section on "Time" (87–168) outlines changes that occurred in the region during the period in question—in languages, material culture, climate, and coins—as well as shifts in the terms used in modern scholarship to refer to this period. Clive Tolley's "Language in Viking Age Finland: An Qverview" (91–103) provides a brief introduction to the languages spoken in the territory of modern-day Finland during the Viking Age. Speakers of ancestral Finnish dialects were probably present in coastal regions and Sámi varieties further inland; a paleo-European substrate may or may not still have been present during the Viking Age (92). Finnish speakers were in contact with speakers of Germanic (95) and Slavic (93) languages, but the precise nature of the contact and the ages of loanwords are difficult to ascertain. Tolley emphasizes the difficulty of dating linguistic changes precisely and identifying languages with archaeological cultures. He explains linguistic terminology and issues clearly for non-specialists.

Ville Laakso's "The Viking Age in Finnish Archaeology" (104–16) discusses characteristics of the Viking Age in Finland from an archaeological point of view. It is standard in Finnish archaeology to refer to the Viking Age (800–1050 AD) as the penultimate period of the Iron Age, which extends from the Pre-Roman Iron Age (400–1 BC) to the Crusade Period (1050–1150/1300 AD) (104). Archaeology of this period focuses mainly on cemeteries (107). Cairns with cremations and level-ground cremation cemeteries (*polttokenttäkalmisto*) were common across the central area; inhumations appeared in Satakunta and mounds were common in Åland (107). Widespread adoption of inhumation burial near the end of the Viking Age is a sign of Christianization (110). There is settlement continuity across the core settlement areas from the Merovingian period into historical times, but the ethnicity of inhabitants outside the core areas is uncertain (111).

Samuli Helama ("The Viking Age as a Period of Contrasting Climatic Trends," 117–30) summarizes climatic changes that can be reconstructed from tree rings (dendroclimatology) as having taken place during the Viking Age in the territory of modern-day Finland. The Viking Age corresponds to a period of gradual long-term warming with larger short-term fluctuation (121). There was also a strong trend toward drier conditions (121). The years 804, 824, and 865 had notably cool summers, probably

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connected with volcanic eruptions elsewhere in the world (124_25). This likely had a deleterious effect on rye and barley yields (126_27).

Tuukka Talvio discusses "The Viking Age in Finland Numismatic Aspects" (131–38). The 7,000 coins (Islamic, German, and English) dated to the eighth through twelfth centuries and found in Finland represent only one percent of those found in all the countries around the Baltic (134), and most of those from the mainland are late, from the eleventh century (cf. Raninen and Wessman, the same volume, 337). There was not a monetary economy anywhere in Finland during the Viking Age (134). Within the territory of modern-day Finland, two areas stand out: Satakunta in the southwest has a much higher density of scales, although there is only one known hoard from the province (134–35). The Åland islands show a complete lack of coin finds from around 1000–1140, perhaps indicating a discontinuity in settlement (135–36). Some imitations of Roman coins were minted in Finland in the eleventh century (136).

Sirpa Aalto ("Viking Age in Finland? Naming a Period as a Historiographical Problem," 139–54) provides a quantitative overview of discussions of the Viking Age in Finnish historical and archaeological periodicals over the course of the twentieth century. Archaeologists use the term Viking Age (and its translational equivalents) more than historians (143). While interest in the period did not decrease following the Second World War, there was an increase in use of alternative terms such as "Heathen period" (144). Although connections with the Vikings were emphasized by the "Svekomans" promotors of Swedish language and culture in Finland—in the late nineteeth century, the Swedish term vikingatiden 'Viking time' does not appear to be more popular in the Swedish-language Historisk tidskrift för Finland than its Finnish translational equivalent vikinkaika in Finnish-language publications, perhaps because the debate had waned by the time the journal first appeared in 1916 (145–46). The 1980s marked a new interest in Viking Age archaeology with the theory of continuity of settlement in Finland since the last Ice Age (147). The quantitative approach provides a bird's-eye view of scholarship rather than a discussion of specific texts.

Petri Kallio ("The Diversification of Proto-Finnic," 155–68) describes the differentiation of the Finnic languages starting from early in the Common Era. The first division is between Inland Finnic (the ancestor of South Estonian) and Coastal Finnic (from which the other Finnic languages descend) (156–58). The second split separated Gulf of Riga Finnic, which later became Livonian, from other Coastal Finnic (Gulf of Finland Finnic) (158–60). While Livonian shares some features with South Estonian, Kallio argues that these can be viewed as secondary developments (158). The third split is between North and Central Finnic (160–63). North Finnic gave rise to the Finno-Karelo-Veps dialect continuum (160); Central Finnic was a dialect continuum from which North Estonian and Votic are descended (163). Kallio dates the break-up of Proto-Finnic to around the second century CE (164). Kallio's treatment is more technical than that of Tolley, specifying the sound changes that define each split.

The second main section, "Space" (171–320), concerns the problem of defining meaningful boundaries for "Finland" in relation to the Viking Age, as well as variation within the territory of modern-day Finland and Karelia. Jukka Korpela's "Reach and Supra-Local Consciousness in the Medieval Nordic Periphery" (175–94) discusses

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contacts between the northeastern European periphery and European centers, emphasizing that what is viewed as reachable or "near" is dependent on communication technologies and worldviews (175–77). Connection by water routes made Europe "a network with holes in it" (177). While "[t]he medieval world was a world of small centres and separate cultures" (179), Christianity brought a universalizing world-view and sense of commonality among the upper classes (179). A few centers in southwest Finland and the Ladoga area were fully Christianized during the Middle Ages, but large parts of Finland remained pagan (182). Contacts between the northeastern periphery and the European centers during the Viking Age were superficial (185). Southwestern and western Finland were integrated into the Swedish kingdom by 1300, but Eastern Finland, Karelia, and the Dvina region remained peripheral areas with waterway connections to Viking trade networks via the fur trade (185). The Hanseatic trade, where merchants profited by trading over long distances using awareness of distant markets, altered understandings of time and distance, connecting the periphery to a supra-local consciousness and facilitating the consolidation of royal power (187–88).

Mervi Koskela Vasaru ("Bjarmaland and Contacts in the Late-Prehistoric and Early-Medieval North" 195–218) discusses the place referred to in medieval sources as Bjarmaland (sometimes translated as Permia or Northwest Russia). Although Bjarmaland appears in legendary sagas as a locale where fantastic adventures take place, it was likely a real place, with a settled population and burial grounds (196, 203), that had contacts with Norsemen through the fur trade, as well as visits (as in *Örvar-Odds saga*, 205), and sometimes hostile altercations (205). The 9th c. Anglo-Saxon account of Ohthere locates Bjarmaland fifteen days' sailing north and east of Halogaland, near Terfinna land, the Kola peninsula (200). The Norse place name Gandvik (201) matches the Finnish name of the bay Kantalahti on the White Sea; the Finno-Ugric name is likely older (201). The place name Vina matches Finnish/Karelian Viena on the southern coast of Kantalahti (201). The theonym Jómali, mentioned in Ólafs saga helga in Heimskringla, is clearly Finnic (202). It is, however, not possible to identify it with a specific Finnic language. Russian archaeology characterizes settlements as "Finno-Ugrian" without differentiating among different Finno-Ugric cultures (214), but the twelfth- and thirteenth-century, burials from Kuzomen' contain bronze spiral ornaments of types known from Finland and Karelia (209).

Jari-Matti Kuusela ("From Coast to Inland; Activity Zones in North Finland during the Iron Age," 219_41) addresses changes in settlement during the late Iron Age in the northern parts of modern-day Finland, which has usually been excluded from discussions of Iron-Age Finland (219-21). Bronze and Iron-Age sites from North Ostrobothnia divide into cooking pits and barrows or stone settings (223). Cooking pits date mainly from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages (ca. 800_1 BC) and are linked to the manufacture of seal train oil (223_24). They generally appear close to the shoreline (224-26). Barrows are also stable relative to the shorelines (226). Late Iron Age finds from the interior of northern Finland are largely stray finds, not associated with a specific site (229_30). Kuusela assumes these were deposited by local communities (231). The number of stray finds seems to increase toward the end of the Iron Age (232_33). After 600 AD the coastal barrow cemeteries stop being used, and stray finds dominate the archaeological record in both coastal and inland areas (235). Weapons are associated mainly with inland

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finds (235). Silver deposits also appear starting in the Late Iron Age (237). It appears that activity zones in Northern Finland shifted from coast toward interior starting around 600 AD, and that activities included violence and trade (237).

Teija Alenius ("Pollen Analysis as a Tool for Reconstructing Viking Age Landscapes," 242_52) explains how pollen preserved in anaerobic lake sediments and peat bogs (243) can be used to characterize vegetation in past times. Sediment cores from the lake Kirjavalampi at the edge of Ladoga show indications of human land-use starting around 70 AD and rye cultivation from ca. 600 AD (247). The presence of both humulus (hop) and cannabis (hemp) increases around the Viking Age (249). An open cultural landscape of fields and grazing areas is indicated from around 1200 AD onward (249).

In "Toponymy as a Source for the Early History of Finland" (253–68), Matti Leiviskä discusses place names in the Siikajoki river valley in northern Ostrobothnia. He describes the methodology of using onomastic data from the Names Archive and from sixteenthand seventeenth-century tax records to reconstruct settlement history (255-60). Place name types that only occur in a few parts of the country can indicate a movement of population between those areas (259–60). Names from another language (e.g., Sámi) suggest language communities living side by side and some bilingualism, but it is important to distinguish between names borrowed as units and ones formed using borrowed words (259). The oldest stratum of names in the Siikajoki area appears to be Sámi names of smaller waterways, but preserved only in peripheral areas (261). The Sámi population in the region had disappeared by the mid-sixteenth century, so these must be medieval or older (261). Names associated with western Finland (Tavastia and upper Satakunta) include the names of larger waterways and are found over the whole area, including parts inhabited by Karelian and Savo people by the sixteenth century: therefore the western Finnish names must also be medieval (261). Names of eastern Finnish (Karelian) origin appear to be younger (as they refer to smaller places) but are found already in the sixteenth century tax registers (261). There are very few place names in the Siikajoki region associated with southwestern Finland (Finland Proper) (261) or of Scandinavian origin (262). Leiviskä ends with a plea for further onomastic research, as "toponyms are the only plentiful, easily available and regionally unbiased source material from the early history of Finland" (264).

Denis Kuzmin presents "The Inhabitation of Karelia in the First Millennium AD in the Light of Linguistics" (269–95). The archaeological record indicates that the area of Karelia has been inhabited for some 9 000 years (271). Some hydronyms likely reflect a pre-Sámi paleo-European substrate (280). There is evidence of a Sámi substrate over the whole Karelian area (274). Many words for landscape features and fauna are borrowed from Sámi into Karelian as well as into Veps and northwestern Russian dialects (274, 278–79). The linguistic form of these loans indicates that the forms of Sámi languages in the substrate were not uniform and differed from the Sámi languages spoken today (284–85). The majority of the area was likely inhabited by Sámi speakers during the Viking Age (291). There is also evidence of an "Old Vepsian" settlement in Aunus Karelia starting from the Viking Age (287–91).

The final chapter in the "Space" section, "Geopolitics of the Viking Age? Actors, factors and space" (296–320) by Lassi Heininen, Joonas Ahola, and Frog, introduces

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"critical geopolitics," emphasizing "the politicizing of physical space" (298) and incorporating such factors as actors, identities, and knowledge as well as resources and technologies (296–97). The Viking Age was marked by increased connectivity across Northern Europe and between it and other regions, It can be said that during this time Northern Europe emerged as a conceptual entity (315, cf. 173). Finland was linked to these networks, although it was marginal to and came to be subordinated under the increasingly centralized power structures in Scandinavia (316).

The final main section of the book (323_482) is called "People," Sami Raninen and Anna Wessman discuss "Finland as a part of the "Viking world," (327_46). The authors, emphasize that the archaeological record has been interpreted through the lens of modern identities (327_29). While the only part of present-day Finland likely to have had a permanent North Germanic-speaking settlement during the Viking Age is Åland (328), the developments in Scandinavia associated with the Viking Age affected the area of present-day Finland through increased mobility and trade (334_39). This chapter, like Talvio's (135_36) includes a specific discussion of Åland (329_30), which is otherwise largely "outsourced" to the companion volume (Ahola, Frog, and Lucenius 2014).

Elina Salmela's "The (Im)possibilities of Genetics for Studies of Population History" (347–60) begins with a basic introduction to genetics and population genetics (347–56). It is difficult to use genetics to identify "Viking" influences (apparently interpreted as influxes of population from Scandinavia) in Finland because the time scale is quite short and the populations are closely related to begin with (356–57). However, there are some indications of an influx of new genetic material in the areas of Satakunta, Porvoonjoki, and southern Ostrobothnia (357) (the last perhaps as results of later migrations). Eastwest differences within Finland seen in autosomal and Y-chromosomal loci but not in mtDNA may reflect male-dominated migrations from Scandinavia to western Finland (357).

Joonas Ahola's "Kalevalaic Heroic Epic and the Viking Age in Finland" (361–86) emphasizes methodological difficulties Ahola discusses different approaches to Kalevala-meter poetry that have been historically prevalent and the ramifications of different assumptions for inferences about which subjects might date to the Viking Age (368–75). Some epic themes such as Lemminkäinen, Kaukomieli, and the Bond (Ahti and Kyllikki) were thought by Julius and Kaarle Krohn to date to the late Iron Age and the end of the pagan period and to reflect historical hostile contact between Finnish and Scandinavian populations in southwestern Finland (370). Ahola (380) considers various possible explanations for the similarities between the "kolbítr" (coal-biter) antisocial hero seen in Norse sagas, Kaukomieli subjects in Kalevala meter poetry, and Russian bylina, viewing it possible "that the three traditions derive from a common background in a (broadly) definable historical period ... or may have been adapted cross-culturally either from east to west ... or from west to east" (381). Ahola is cautious about endorsing a particular historical scenario.

Kaisa Häkkinen discusses <u>"Finnish Language and Culture of the Viking Age in Finland"</u> (387–98). Direct historical study of Viking Age Finnish is impossible <u>because of the lack</u> of sources (387). Some Old Russian loanwords from the latter half of the first millennium <u>AD</u> relate to trade and Christianity (390). Some Germanic loanwords can be <u>connected</u> to

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changes in material culture such as cultivation of plants (391–93). Based on their sound structure, the Finnish words *äyskäri* 'baler', *humala* 'hop', and *laukka* 'allium sp.' are likely to be early Norse loanwords from the Viking Age (394–96).

Johan Schalin's "Scandinavian-Finnish Language Contact in the Viking Age in the Light of Borrowed Names' (399-436) also stresses methodological difficulties. Schalin views the Old Swedish place name *Kiulo* as a borrowing from early Finnish (412). The place names mentioned in King Valdemar's itinerary from the thirteenth century (such as *Iuxaræ* < *Juutt(i)saari/Juutinsaari* 'the island of the Jutes') most likely were not established in East Scandinavian at the time (412–16). The name Tavastland (Old Scandinavian *Tafæistaland*), attested in the eleventh century Swedish runestone Gs13, is probably not based on a Finnish form (contra some earlier researchers) but on the ethnonym *Tafæistr* 'Jaggard-Estonian', also attested as a personal name (416–21). Herdalar, mentioned in a poem by Sighvatr Þórðarson in Óláfs saga helga in Heimskringla, does not correspond to Hirdal in western Nyland (notwithstanding a popular celebration held there) but could fit Karis/Karjaa, if the Norse name 'battlevalley is not invented to fit the theme of the poem (422–25). The first element of Aland/Ahvenanmaa might reflect a reborrowing via Finnic into Scandinavian of the Germanic precursor to Swedish ö 'island' (425–27). Schalin's conclusions are generally cautious, reflecting the difficulties of place name etymology.

The final article under "People" is Frog's "Myth, Mythological Thinking and the Viking Age in Finland" (437–82). This expansive chapter takes a broad perspective on "myth," viewed as "a socially constructed non-reflective model for interacting with the world and interpreting experience" (440), encompasing ritual practices worldviews, and cognitive models that can be called "deep mythology," as well as narrative "surface mythology." (441). The Viking Age was probably characterized by the spread among North Finnic cultures of the tietäjä knower, magic practitioner, and associated incantation-based magic, likely influenced by Germanic contacts, at the expense of earlier shamanistic practices (451–54). The reference to jumolanuoli "god's/magically empowered being's arrow, in the thirteenth century, Novgorod birchbark letter no. 292, the earliest preserved text in a Finnic language (443–44), "reflects a technology of verbal magic suggestive of the deep mythology of the tietäjä institution" (465). It shows the development *juma 'god, sky', > *juma-la 'god' distinguishing the name of a sky god from the word for sky itself, as in *Ilma-ri 'sky being', < *Ilma 'sky, weather', (450).

The collection ends with an "Afterword; Vikings in Finland? Closing considerations on the Viking Age in Finland" (485–501) by Joonas Ahola, Frog, and Clive Tolley. This epilogue is largely concerned with definitions—what are meaningful temporal boundaries for the Viking Age in relation to Finland; what does "Finland" mean in that period; are there more precise terms than these familiar ones? The "Finnish Viking Age," a pivotal era of transition in the history of Finland and Karelia," (500) could be viewed as a longer period 750–1250, bookended by the founding of Staraya Ladoga in 753 AD and the Second Swedish Crusade in 1249, subdivided into periods before and after 1050 (489).

Fibula, fabula, fact is an innovative and ambitious collection assembling many different types of information in an accessible form in English. The presentations of different methodologies relating to recovering the past are also useful. The chapters vary in their

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density and readability, and the organization could in places be clearer. Much remains to be explored in relation to the Viking Age in Finland. Overall the book provides a useful point of entry for scholars and students interested in Finnish (pre)history or in the history of Northern Europe more generally.

Reference

Ahola, Joonas, Frog, and Jenni Lucenius (eds.) 2014. *The Viking Age in Åland: Insights into Identity and Remnants of Culture*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

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