

Edited by Tore Ahlbäck

# *Saami Religion*





SCRIPTA INSTITUTI DONNERIANI ABOENSIS  
XII

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# SAAMI RELIGION

*Based on Papers read at the Symposium on Saami Religion held at  
Åbo, Finland, on the 16th–18th of August 1984*

Edited by  
TORE AHLBÄCK

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STOCKHOLM/SWEDEN



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Reproduction from a painting by Carl Gunne, 1968

*To Professor Carl-Martin Edsman  
on the occasion of his  
seventififth birthday 26 July 1986*



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## Editorial Note

Saami religion was the theme for the Donner Institute's tenth symposium. In 1942 Ernst Manker, one of the pioneers of Saami scholarship, wrote in the journal *Rig*: "The present state of Lapp scholarship is in brief as follows. The old Lappish culture is in a state of rapid dissolution (which does not mean that the people are dying out). In the material which has been saved from destruction there are still large gaps. [---] Many riddles are still unsolved and new discoveries have turned old theses upside down. It is high time that all forces were coordinated to build a solid foundation for future research." The purpose of the symposium arranged by the Donner Institute was to give Nordic scholars the opportunity to present "recent advances" in Saami research, and thus contribute to the "coordination of all forces" which Ernst Manker sought as early as 1942 in his contribution to *Rig*.

The congress programme was arranged so that the first day was devoted to pre-Christian Saami religion, and the two following days to the religious confrontation between Saami religion and Christianity. It is obvious that the theme for the symposium was too broad for comprehensive treatment and the aim, therefore, was rather to provide scholars in the field with an opportunity to formulate fresh research findings and describe research in progress. The arrangement of the papers in the present congress volume faithfully follows the order of the programme during the symposium.

Research into the Lapps is largely concerned with the study of a minority people's struggle to survive as an ethnic group, and research into Saami religion is largely concerned with the attempt to decide what is genuinely Saami and what is influence from the culture and religion of a superior power. This is true of research into the influence on pre-Christian Saami religion of Old Nordic and Old Finnish religion; it is true of research into Saami religion after the advent of Christianity; and it is also true, finally, of research into Saami religion and culture today—under influence from Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish society at large. It means that this research has been largely concerned with and still is concerned with source problems, together with syncretism and the problem of acculturation, that is to say questions with a central position in all cultural studies.

It should not be necessary to emphasize that it is an important task to present current Nordic research on Saami religion to an international public, since Saami scholarship is mainly pursued in the Nordic countries.

The congress volume is dedicated to Professor Carl-Martin Edsman. Professor Edsman has been chairman of the Donner Institute board from 1981–1986, having previously been a member of the board almost since its foundation. To be more precise, Professor Edsman was elected to the board on 28 May 1959, as a substitute for Professor H. S. Nyberg from the Faculty of Humanities at Uppsala University. In this capacity he served the board until 11 February 1970, when he was elected a full member; on 5 April 1971, Professor Edsman was elected vice-chairman of the Institute board and on 3 April 1981, he was elected chairman. During his time on the Donner Institute board, Professor Edsman has—as a member of the organization committee—helped with the arrangement of eight of the Institute's ten symposiums to date, besides being editor of the first congress volume, *Studies in Shamanism*, Stockholm 1967 and joint editor of the fifth congress volume, *Mysticism*, Stockholm 1970.

Professor Edsman has played a very important part in building up the library of the Donner Institute, the Steiner Memorial Library. In the very first year of the library's operation, for example, literature "on mysticism in the Far East" was acquired on the basis of Professor Edsman's suggestions. Of particular importance for the library was the contribution of Professor Edsman in 1961, when, over a period of several months, he reorganized the library's classification system, providing an index language and producing guidelines for the acquisition of material.

To illustrate the scope of the professional expertise which Professor Edsman placed at the disposal of the Donner Institute and the Steiner Memorial Library, it may be mentioned that he had obtained the degree of doctor of theology in Uppsala in 1940 with a dissertation on *Le baptême du feu* and that of doctor of philosophy in Lund in 1949 with a dissertation on *Ignis divinis*; from 1950 he was *preceptor* and professor of comparative religion with the psychology of religion in the Faculty of Humanities at Uppsala.

The bibliography of Carl-Martin Edsman's writings (*Carl-Martin Edsmans skrifter 1930–1980*, Åbo, 1982) provides eloquent testimony to Professor Edsman's exceptional breadth as a scholar. It includes approximately 300 items in the field of comparative religion and neighbouring disciplines. The systematic index thus includes 21 items under the heading "research history", 9 under "problems of methodology", 8 under "Antiquity and Christianity", 7 under "Islam", 12 under "religions of the hunters and so-called primitive peoples", 7 under "more recent religious formations", 18 under "psychology of religion and mysticism", 11 under "sociology of religion", 46 under "religious phenomenology, symbols" and 30 under "apocalypse and eschatology, death and the dead, concepts of the be-

yond". Carl-Martin Edsman the scholar, with his great expertise in his subject, came to play an important role in the life of the young research institute both in its initial stage and during its subsequent expansion, a contribution that covered a quarter of a century. I do not hesitate to suggest, however, that Professor Edsman has meant even more to the institute through qualities quite different to those which find expression in his skill as a scholar of comparative religion and as one of the leading experts in his field in the Nordic countries. I am thinking quite simply here of the role that an uncompromisingly honest individual, an extraordinarily considerate person and one unfailingly prepared to help his neighbour will always play, whatever his station in life.

Professor Carl-Martin Edsman's contribution to the foundation and development of the Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Cultural History and the Steiner Memorial Library is object of the greatest admiration on the part of the Donner Institute's board—and, if possible, of even greater admiration on the part of its present director.





# Opening Address

*at the Symposium on Saami Religion arranged by  
the Donner Institute 16–18 August 1984*

BY CARL-MARTIN EDSMAN

On behalf of the Donner Institute here in Åbo I wish you all heartily welcome to this symposium on Saami religion. We are glad to see specialists from all the ancient four Nordic countries as participants. We enjoy the presence of scholars from other circumpolar fields, too. I hope that we may have a fruitful meeting together, learning from each other as we are representatives of different scientific branches and institutes treating Saami religion and culture from varying approaches. The intentions of the organizers are formulated by Dr Tore Ahlbäck in the invitation to this symposium and need not be repeated here, nor does the programme of the coming three days need any repetition.

Instead of that I will make some general comments on the subject of this symposium. When one of those invited to attend this symposium—not present here today—heard what we were to discuss, he said that Saami religion was a topic which, in his view, seemed to have been exhausted. This criticism has, in reality, already been answered by Dr Ahlbäck when he explained the reason for holding this conference: we need to know about fresh research results and current research in the field of Saami religion. I myself came to think of what was originally my own academic discipline, namely New Testament exegesis. Although it is almost 2000 years old, if we think of Alexandria around the year 200, nobody doubts in the slightest that there still exists tasks to be studied and that congresses in this field still need to be arranged. It is true of all scholarship that, even though the source material remains more or less constant, new facts keep on emerging from time to time. Moreover, the methods used to study the various sources change in step with the developments that take place in scholarship generally. The fact that research is closely bound up with its historical background can be easily observed in the individual branches of knowledge; their history therefore offers much for us to learn and prompts us to careful self-examination.

It is not my intention to give you a historiography of Saami studies. Suffice it to mention the names of some earlier symposia which have dealt

with Saami problems in general and their religion in particular. It is merely a selection of such symposia in which I myself have had the honour and pleasure to participate in some way or other. I also wish to mention a number of research surveys that have been made and give some examples of the importance of inter-disciplinary contacts.

At the International Congress of European and Western Ethnology, which took place at the Nordic Museum in Stockholm in 1951, the professor of Finno-Ugrian languages at the University of Uppsala read a paper entitled "Uppsala Contributions to the Knowledge of the Life and the Language of the Lapps". To begin with Björn Collinder mentioned his predecessor Karl Bernard Wiklund and his contributions to what Wiklund himself called "Lappology", and then went on to Harald Grundström, and Karl Gustav Hasselbrink, learned clergymen of Lapland, both of them Doctors of Philosophy, and experts on Lappish. Knowledge of Lapp language is naturally considered extremely important by Collinder as also the contribution of scholars who themselves are Lapps, such as Torkel Thomasson, Carl Johansson and Israel Ruong. This short abstract was published in the proceedings of the Congress as late as 1955. There, however, one does not find the paper called "Ethnographical Investigation of the Lapps" by Ernst Manker, Head of the Lapp department of the Nordic Museum.

The enlarged version of Collinder's contribution appeared in *Svenska Landsmål* 79, 1956, under the title "Swedish Research on the Language and Folklore of the Lapps" (pp. 25-50). His evaluations can also be found in the foreword to the book on *The Lapps* published in English 1949 and in Swedish 1953, in which three writers of handbooks are praised for their knowledge of languages. They are the Norwegian missionary Knud Leem, professor at the Seminarium Lapponicum in Trondheim (1767, reprinted 1956 and 1975), the Swedish Gällivare vicar and member of the Royal Academy of Science in Stockholm, Pehr Högström (1747), and the Finnish scholar of language and religion, Toivo Itkonen (1946). The Lapps Carl Johansson and Israel Ruong and the Lapland curate Harald Grundström are characterized by Collinder as the best Swedish experts on Lapps.

In 1962 a Nordic symposium was held at the Provincial Museum in Luleå on "Life in a Traditional Hunting and Fishing Milieu in Prehistoric Times and up to the Present Day". This was a real North Scandinavian ("Nordkalotten") conference. The long time perspective, which took into account both intellectual and material progress, contributions from scholars from a number of university disciplines and representatives from practical life together with an excursion to Swedish Lapland made this conference a most rewarding experience. On my return to Uppsala, I was able to

announce the confidently to the Rector of the University that "In Luleå I have experienced a greater degree of interdisciplinary interaction than in this city". The proceedings of the congress were published in English in 1965 while the Swedish-language reports appeared in 1970 and 1975.

In 1973 it was again the turn of the Nordic Museum, which hosted an inventory in Swedish of what in the duplicated text was called "Saami Research today and tomorrow. Report from a Symposium on Saami Culture held November 19–20 at the Nordic Museum (Nordic Museum Jubilee Symposia)." In the accounts given of different projects in progress at different institutes both Finland and Norway are represented. As in Luleå, the history of religion was properly considered.

On the occasion of the 500th anniversaries of the universities of Uppsala and Copenhagen in 1977 and 1979 respectively Saami problems were discussed at those jubilee symposia dealing with the North and North Scandinavia (Uppsala) and Christian missionary work and colonialism (Copenhagen). Anton Hoem of the Pedagogical Research Institute at the University of Oslo read a paper on "Local Saami communities, Christian mission and colonialism". Anker Steffensen from Denmark provided an account of "The Background to the Breakthrough of the Saami Mission in the 18th century". Both contributors used their mother tongues. The symposium had an epilogue here in Finland since the critical reflections of the ethnologist Sören Lund on the theological contributions to the symposium were published in English in *Temenos* (Lund 1981, 116 ff.) without the other side having a chance to reply. — In the 17th century it was, as a matter of fact, considered the duty of every Christian authority to root out all forms of idolatry and thereby ensure the salvation of their subjects. To a pluralist society of today, where freedom of religion is something entirely natural and everybody's religious beliefs are considered to be his own private affair, such an interference seems like a crime against inherited belief and custom. But such a view is obviously an anachronism, which nonetheless serves to set church historians and cultural anthropologists farther apart (Edsman 1982, 41).

The Copenhagen contributions, with the exception of Sören Lund's, are unpublished. The same also holds for the proceedings of the symposium "Saami Pre-Christian religion" held at the Department of Comparative Religion at Stockholm University on September 26–28, 1980. The journal *Arv* is to devote a special number to publishing these papers in English (now in vol. 39, 1983, printed 1985). The contents of the Stockholm conference correspond to the programme for the first day of the three-day symposium here in Åbo. However, there is no duplication, which just shows that the field is a rich one.

Several research surveys have already figured in this list of symposia on Saami questions. Others naturally form the preface to handbooks of Saami religion, of both earlier and more recent date. Here in Åbo with cultural anthropologists such as Helmer Tegengren and Nils Storå and a church historian like Bill Widén we have reason to look back and remind ourselves of Uno Holmgren–Harva's *Lappalaisten uskonto* (The Religion of the Lapps) of 1915. The unpublished manuscript of the Swedish translation of this work made by P. A. Boreman, who was later to become the vicar of Övertorneå, is included in the K. B. Wiklund manuscript collection of the Uppsala University library, catalogued in 1981 (Signum 75:8). Even before it was catalogued it was in frequent use by Swedish Saami scholars. The same file also contains unpublished papers given by K. B. Wiklund at the congress of comparative religion held in Lund on August 28, 1929 (Signum 55:8) entitled "Die Quellen unserer Kenntnis von der alten Religion der Lappen". In it this famous Swedish Lappologist says that Holmberg's monograph is "the best description hitherto of the religion of the Lapps".

To this it may be added that Holmberg–Harva's works still retain their value even today as the mass of factual information together with the circumpolar perspective fortunately take precedence over the obsolete theories of the turn of the century. The same cannot be said about chapters and articles on Saami religion by Collinder, of Manker's more popular works, often in international languages, and of Rafael Karsten's monograph, translated into English (1955). Naïve positivism, vague romanticism, cold rationalism and simplified ecology in turn characterize the attitudes towards religion of these three otherwise meritorious authors. Manker's major achievements on Lapp drums (1938, 1950) and the holy places of the Lapps (1957) must naturally be excluded from this criticism precisely because these comprehensive works are exemplary in their descriptive approach and because they therefore are open to so many interpretations. In the first of these works Manker has fulfilled one of the wishes expressed by Wiklund in 1929, who continues: "The final processing of the massive material will require the joint efforts of an entire generation of scholars." We can hardly claim, even today, that this work has been fully completed.

Before we leave the K. B. Wiklund manuscript collection I would like to draw your attention once more to the unpublished subject index of religion included in this collection; this index gives references to 17th century Lapland accounts in *Svenska Landsmål* 17 (1897–1909, reprint 1983), Högström's description of Lapland (1747) and Hammond's History of Christian mission (1787) (Signum 55:6). Thus, there still exists unstudied archive material, both old and new, about the Saamis. I recall, for example,

the manuscript collection by Erik Nordberg, once curate of Arjeplog (see *Arv* 39, 1983 [1985]).

I am well aware that some of the critical remarks I have just expressed differ from corresponding evaluations made by my colleague, professor Åke Hultkrantz in his rich and well-balanced "Swedish Research on the Religion and the Folklore of the Lapps" in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 85, 1955 (pp. 81–99). Criticism and evaluation are all part of scholarly dialogue and are likewise to be found in Collinder, Manker and Karsten. When Tore Ahlbäck, in his invitation to this symposium, takes as the theme Manker's survey (written in Swedish), "The Present State of Lapp Research" in *Rig* 1, 1942, this is in fact a reply to Collinder's article with the same title in *Saga och Sed* 1941 (pp. 102–114). Behind them lies a clash between two different methodological approaches and research traditions, the linguistic and the ethnological, the latter in the sense of the study of artefacts. But we need both "Wörter und Sachen", and the tension between Uppsala and Stockholm in this respect has now softened and been replaced by mutual respect. Today these conflicts belong to a generation of scholars that have passed on. But they still may make their appearance between representatives of different fields of study with different approaches to the same subject. It is then that we need personal contacts and interdisciplinary meetings as in this symposium.

A new generation of Saami scholars has emerged, among whom comparative religion, linguistics and Saami birth are all well represented. But the problem of existing premises of different kinds remains. This is true both as regards scientific theories and with reference to the political and ideological division into a majority and a minority nation, to use a mild expression, which has emerged as a result of the Saami people's movement. This opposition stands, in turn, in conscious and unconscious relationship to Marxist historical theory, which nevertheless has the advantage that it brings social relations to the fore. At the same time, however, this conflict leads to a simplification where one side is forced into a defensive position and the other levels unhistorical accusations. Journalism, mass media and the novel stand in the front line but scholarship, in this case comparative religion, may also be affected.

Some examples. In the announcement of a radio programme about the pre-Christian religion of the Saamis broadcast from Luleå at the turn of the year 1978/79 there is mention "of the political pressure to which the Saamis were subjected by clergymen—how via the clergymen the Saamis were forbidden to use their own language and their old customs" (*Röster i Radio/TV*). On the other hand, despite a certain unwise evangelising zeal on the part of the church, Lars Thomasson, Saami, writing in his annotated

bibliography, App. 5 in *Samerna i Sverige* (The Saami Report, 1975), says that "Materials written in the Saami language comprise, according to information provided by Adolf Steen in the 1960's, a total of between 500 and 600 books and pamphlets. Most of these are of a religious nature" (Thomasson 1975). To this can be added that the language of the Luleå Saamis was saved for posterity by the Jokkmokk clergyman Harald Grundström and that it has been ruled even right up to the present day that the vicar of this parish has to be able to speak the Saami language. This is, of course, in conformity with the Reformation principle that everybody should be able to listen to the gospel in his own language.

Let me give a further example. Such an outstanding and balanced Saami scholar as Israel Ruong characterizes the tragic events of 1852 in Kautokeino as "an uprising against the existing order" brought about by the terrorist activity of a local chief of police and triggered by Laestadian revivalism. These formulations are repeated in the 4th fully revised version of Ruong's handbook about the Saamis, published in 1982. The Norrbottens-teater, with its political awareness, uses even heavier artillery in its strongly biased interpretation of this event, which was quoted without comment by the official organ of the Swedish Church, *Kyrkans tidning*, in the fall of 1983. The antidote to this distortion can be found in Samuli Paulaharju, to mention an impartial, conscientious person well acquainted with the folklore and history of the region, who is nonetheless not a church historian. In his *Lappmarksminnen* (Memories of Lapland) published in Finnish in 1922, translated into Swedish as late as 1977, Paulaharju describes, quite correctly, the violence as the result of conflicts between the Saamis themselves, what the local population called "the war of the Lapps". In other words, it is an example of a phenomenon well-known ever since the early days of the Church when a spiritual, ecstatic group in pious selfconsciousness has opposed traditional Christianity in all its forms and demonstrated against it, in this case Laestadianism. We can compare this phenomenon in the North Scandinavian region with the later Korpela movement. According to the Marxist view of history, political opposition during the feudal period takes the disguise of religious protest which partly explains the above interpretation.

There are several current and completed bibliographies on the Saamis (see Edsman 1983, 124, note 5) and the Donner Institute seeks via *Temenos* to keep an eye on this field, too. Nevertheless, it is not rarely only a matter of coincidence that contributions to Saami research become known. For example, scholar exchange between the universities in Uppsala and Cracow and a personal visit to Uppsala by the Russian ethnologist Anita Thierry directed attention towards two essays that she had written in the

Polish journal *Euhemer* (no. 3 <81>, 1971, no. 4 <82>, 1971). The latter deals briefly with Lapp shamanism. The late Dr Åke Ohlmarks' monograph of 1939 on the same topic has attracted greater interest abroad than what Swedish critics have deemed it worthy. Ohlmarks gave blunt expression to his own views on these critical scholars and his attitude to the problems of shamanism in an interview published in Jochen U. Haas, *Schamanentum und Psychiatrie*, Diss., Freiburg im Breisgau 1976 (§ 5.9). In this case it is Hans-Joachim Paproth, now professor of ethnology at the University of Munich, who has provided the information and the photocopies.

An examination of a manuscript on the Skolt Lapps, written by the German amateur scholar Georg Heyne from Bielefeld resulted in a contact with Dr Elis Pålsson of Växjö, a cultural geographer. He is a specialist in the North Scandinavian region and has published a number of articles on Finnish and Russian Saamis and Karelians in the Vadsö newspaper *Finnmarken* and the likewise North Norwegian Saami journal *Sågat*. In these Pålsson has used and makes references to Russian materials including works by our Soviet quest Tatjana Lukjantschenko (*Sågat*, 26/5, 1982). More than twenty summers' sojourns in these northern latitudes has meant that Pålsson is well conversant with the environment there.

I regret that Dr Pålsson and Prof. Paproth have not been able to attend our symposium. The professor of missionary studies at Uppsala University, Carl Fredrik Hallencreutz, has also had to withdraw at the last minute. Fortunately, however, he has sent a comprehensive memorandum on "Further Research into Saami Religion and Church History". It includes a preliminary inventory of problems suited to an interdisciplinary approach. At the same time Prof. Hallencreutz also gives a report of work already completed or in progress; this is probably unfamiliar to those not engaged in these studies.

The increased interest in the Saamis in recent years has meant that a number of classic descriptions and dissertations from earlier years have been re-published. Similarly, we have seen several good monographs and special studies both by historians of religion and representatives of other university disciplines, dealing with the Saamis, their language, culture and history. Nevertheless, it is not too much to say that Saami religion still awaits a comprehensive monograph. Åke Hultkrantz has written a short summary in German in the collective work on the history of religion *Die Religionen der Menschheit*, Vol. 3, 1962 and there are also minor accounts in handbooks and encyclopaedias. What we need as a start is a summarising survey of the current research situation and an inventory of resources, both persons and institutions.

Faced with this, we might make the following reflexions. As historians of

religion, we tend to occupy ourselves with the outer forms of expression of religion and therefore become alienated from what is living reality for religiously aware people, what is the "Ausdruck" and not just the "Anwendung", to use the distinction of Ad. Ed. Jensen, the ethnologist of religion. In other words, the function of religion in practical life and the ability found in people's piety to combine what are, on the surface, incompatible elements.

In terms of comparative religion Norwegian materials are more rewarding than Swedish as far as the personal relationship to the invisible powers that control human life is concerned. Among the oldest and most reliable informants in this group is Isaac Olsen. He worked as a teacher, principally in the eastern part of Norwegian Lapland (Finnmarken) for 13 years up to 1716, when he was appointed to teach northern Lappish at the cathedral school in Trondheim. It was also he who communicated his knowledge of the Saamis' religion to Thomas von Westen and, in all probability, he who taught Western northern Lappish. In his work "Om Lappernes Vildfarelser og Overtro" (On the Misbeliefs and Superstitions of the Lapps) Isaac Olsen reports as follows: "There exist special prayers, words, songs and incantations for different accidents, e.g. when people have been smitten by illness or hurt by fire, water, steel, iron, wood, magic arrows and fairies' shots or when the trolls have done them ill. When domestic animals are beset by ill fortune, of whatever kind, then there are also special formulas, just as for good or bad weather, storms and tempests, morning and evening. The Lapps also have travel prayers and devil prayers, to ensure that no accident may befall them on their journey, that they may dream of good hunting, that they may sight animals during the day and be able to catch them, that they may find game during their travels and have the good fortune to shoot it" (Olsen 1910).

Otherwise both the Norwegian and Swedish materials are dominated by divination and the taking of omens with the aid of a "runebom", a magic or divining drum, what and to which god sacrifices should be made. This is also true of the official records of the hearings on witchcraft held in the 1680's and later in Swedish Lapland.

An idea of what actually happened when good hunting was divined by means of a drum can be had from the interrogation of the hundred-year-old Saami Anders Poulsen conducted at Vadsö north of the Varangerfjord on December 8, 1691. There are several versions of the court's record and the otherwise conscientious Adolf Steen does not indicate in this case that the last and best version is to be found in Qvigstad. The old nomad was born in Torne Lappmark in Sweden which by the way is further evidence of the insignificance of national frontiers. His poignant behaviour when faced by



the interrogator reveals a religious syncretism which accords well with the imagery of the drums, an imagery in which the Church and its beliefs are also represented. Anders Poulsen testifies to how he uses the drum by making the sign of the cross over both it and himself and saying the Lord's prayer and other prayers, which are incomprehensible to the three listeners because he intones them so softly. He begins with "weeping tears in the deepest devotion" while he examines the figures on the skin of the drum: "Oh, Father, Thy Woman [Mary] with Thy Son and the Angel [Holy Spirit], Thou who hast created heaven and earth", etc. After confessing his sins, the Lapp added in an appendix found in two of the versions that the gods [!] disagreed if he did not get the answer he hoped for. They should not be afraid that there were Norwegians present for the Norwegians could do them no harm. The gods should therefore tell the truth and not lie, but give an answer. In the end, he received an answer from the invisible powers. When reporting the figure of a wild reindeer on the drumskin, Anders Poulsen also mentions a prayer for good hunting (for refs. see Edsman 1982, 46f.).

By means of some examples from my own experience I have tried to show that there really exists a need for a symposium on Saami religion. In the hope that the days that follow will increase our insight into this topic, encourage personal contacts and stimulate further research and cooperation, I declare our symposium open.

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# On the Continuity of Old Saami Religion

BY ROLF KJELLSTRÖM

In the earlier permanent Saami exhibition at the Nordic Museum in Stockholm it was possible to read, "Drum magic was officially eradicated with the Christianisation of the Lapps in the 17th and 18th centuries, but drums were used secretly well into the 19th century". This contemporary view of the drum and other phenomena connected with the Lapps' traditional religion seems to accord rather well with the opinions of other scholars. Furthermore, it does not seem as if people in general considered that this period was any longer in this respect. Israel Ruong, for example, suggests nothing about such religious practices in his publications but points out—obviously as some kind of late example—how relics of a belief in shamans were to be found as late as the middle of the 19th century in Finnmark (Ruong 1982, 58).

Among religious historians it is Hans Mebius who goes farthest forward in time; in his valuable essay *Sjiele* he is fully aware that sacrificial traditions, for example, continued to live on long after the arrival of missionaries and other such activities among the Saamis. Mebius comes to this conclusion partly on the basis of actual information found in sources that he had consulted and partly as a result of the detailed and well-informed knowledge shown by the informants in the 19th-century sources (Mebius 1972, 100). The question now is whether such sacrificing customs and similar traditions were current even later than what research has suggested and if so, how late in time. I wish to cast some light on this problem by presenting a number of examples taken in part from the literature about the Saamis, in part from personal communications from other scholars and in part from my own interviews observations in the field.

If we begin from the north, I should like to mention an example from the parish of Karesuando referred to by Ossian Elgström and dating back to the beginning of the 20th century. He reports how a man was about to sacrifice a reindeer after having tried in vain to obtain help from the Christian God. The background to this was that the man had earlier lost two sons and the third was now very ill. In a situation like this the man was, so to speak, willing to try yet another possibility in a very difficult situation (Elgström 1922, 249). The example is probably not unique.

One of Manker's informants from the parish of Jukkasjärvi said that

sacrifices were made in the early 19th century but examples are also given from as late as the 1910's. A fishing Lapp from Kortolahti on Lake Torne offered up money at a sacrificial site at Vuoitaskallo. This sacrifice was made during a wolf hunt which had hitherto been unsuccessful. However, after the sacrifice the hunters were more lucky (Manker 1957 *a*, 92 f.).

In Demant-Hatt's opinion it was also likely that the occasional Saami continued to make offerings at that time—around 1907—probably when passing the old sacrificial sites in the course of nomadic migrations or in connection with hunting or fishing trips. Among the Saamis there still existed the view that good fortune forsook certain families after they had ceased to make offerings to the gods (NM Demant-Hatt 1907–1913).

According to my informant it happened that a certain measure of respect was accorded to the sacrificial sites in the Kaitum valley in the parish of Gällivare even as late as the 1950's (NM Kjellström 1984).

We continue south to the parish of Jokkmokk. In 1907 there was a report in the newspaper *Norrbottenskuriren* that at Jaurekaska a Saami had tried to persuade the spirit of the local rapids to give him good fishing. To do this the man had laid out an old fishing net and a birchwood bowl, in which he had placed a few whitefish wrapped in birchbark. The newspaper noted that "belief in the old gods is persistent in the wilds of Lapland". (*Norrbottenskuriren* 1903, 26.8).

Much later, in 1945, Manker tried to visit a well-known but unlisted sacrificial site at Tjakkeli but it proved extremely difficult—even impossible—for Manker to get any Saami to show him the place. The nearest that Manker could get was a vague indication of where the place was situated. When he finally succeeded in reaching the site, a very peculiar thing happened—six adders appeared—in an area high above the limit of coniferous forest where adders had never been seen before.

It may be added that the Saami who had indicated the sacrificial site to Manker, Petrus Gruvvisare, later had such pain in one leg that he was forced to go to Stockholm for radium treatment. He claimed that the pain in his leg had begun at the very spot where he had told Manker about the offering site (Manker 1957 *a*, 189; Manker 1957 *b*, 108–126).

When I spoke to Gruvvisare much later, there was no mistaking how strong an influence the episode with the adders at the offering site had had on him. However, his leg got better and he is still alive (NM Kjellström 1975).

In the course of the intensive inventory work that we have been conducting at the Nordic Museum for the last decade or so quite a large number of cultural relics related to Saami cult practices have been found. In an area about 10 sq. km along the frontier between the Sarek and Padjelanta

national parks in the parish of Jokkmokk a total of 31 sites have been found which have cult associations. They comprise collections of bones and horns that have been collected in a systematic fashion and deposited in a sheltered place. For example, I found a place with a whole reindeer that had been sacrificed. It is obvious that such material has a lot to offer the scholar of comparative religion and should therefore be the object of further study. As for the age of the bones and horns, it is difficult to judge but we have guessed that most of them were deposited there between 1850 and 1950. If this guess is correct, then it means that well-known sacrifice traditions must have continued right up to quite recent times (Kjellström 1983; Kjellström 1985).

Mention may also be made of the fact that in 1932 a ritual fortune-telling drum was found in a cave in the study area (Manker 1957 *a*, 192 f.) and close by the same area another drum was found only a few years ago. It is rumoured that there are still such drums—albeit not in use—in the Jokkmokk mountains (NM Kjellström 1978).

There are also reports that a kind of shaman lived in the parts around Peurare at the turn of the century. He is said to have had a special spring where he made offerings (Andersson, Hans—pers. comm. 1985).

Travelling farther south we come to the parish of Arjeplog, where I have made notes in the course of my own fieldwork. However, I have also been in a position to study the information collected so admirably by Dr Einar Wallquist. I should like to take the opportunity to thank him for all the help that he gave on this occasion—as on so many others.

It is quite clear that in the 19th century at least that sacrificing was widely practised in these parts, but there are also several examples of such practices during the present century, as I shall briefly relate.

A relative of one of my informants had, according to reliable information, a ritual drum which he used to tell fortunes. However, he got the idea that it was not a good thing to keep the drum at home so it was hidden elsewhere. This man died in 1958. With his death the drum was lost—or rather it could no longer be found. As a result another member of the family tried to make a new drum. My informant was himself a witness to how the frame of the drum was made. How, or indeed, whether it came to be used I do not know (NM Kjellström 1984).

The last known offering of a whole reindeer, a large white buck, was made in the Saami village at the beginning of this century. But offerings also occurred even later than this according to my informant. The last was probably made in a gorge at Vuornatj in Bårrok (NM Kjellström 1984).

In this connection it is worth remembering what Margareta Bengtsson told Demant-Hatt concerning the Piteå Lapp area: "It was the custom in

olden days to sacrifice one reindeer a year, in late summer [...] to the earth. This custom was called Boaldon vieron. The reindeer was first adorned and then slaughtered with a knife and thereafter burned, after which its bones were buried" (Demant-Hatt 1928, 48).

Einar Wallquist gives the following example. "A settled Lapp, born in 1887 and long since dead, told me that when he was a boy in the 1890's, he had played on a ritual drum owned by a Lapp relative of his in the valley behind Ramain. His father had been very angry that he had touched the drum. He described it; it resembled an ordinary drum. A crown forester, born in 1876, had come to hear about the drum and managed to get hold of it. He took it with him in his rucksack, skied to Västerfjäll where he was to spend the night but when the Lapps who lived there heard what he had with him, they forbade him to bring it into the camp. He was forced to hang it in a birch tree outside the fence for the night. In order to calm the Lapps. This was told me by the forester's daughter, who was born in 1911. She remembers it, she saw it in her early childhood, around 1920. It was not like the older drums, oval and low, but cylindrical in form with figures painted on the skin stretched over one end. Manker mentions that such drums existed up to a very late date" (Wallquist, Einar—pers. comm. 1984).

The next example is from Lövnäs. "A peasant woman from Lövnäs at Arjeplog, born in 1924, told me that on the farm they had frequent contacts with the Lapps from the Lapp village of Semisjaure-Njarg when they passed by on their travels. A Lapp woman, born in 1884, had developed a great trust in the peasant woman. The Lapp woman caught cancer; she got worse and worse. Some time in the 1940's she came to the peasant woman and asked to speak to her. She expressed great fear and spiritual anxiety about the end that would soon face her. She was a Christian but she and her husband, born in 1899, had nonetheless made offerings to the old Lapp gods every year in a cave up on Barturte fell. Now she was worried that her sins would not be forgiven on account of this heathen practice and told the peasant woman about it. The peasant woman then told me everything when the woman and her husband had died. I succeeded in persuading a Lapp who had a sensible attitude towards the old rites to try and find the grotto again but found nothing there. He thought that other Lapps had got wind of what he was about to do and had borne everything away" (Wallquist, Einar—pers. comm. 1984).

Among the Karesuando Lapps who arrived in the early 1920's there was a woman who went to Roggejaure and made sacrifices there. It was also rumoured that they brought some ritual drums with them, not the very religious Laestadians, however, who settled mainly in the area of the Pite river. The Karesuando Lapps on Svaipa fell and farther south of the parish

were only exceptionally orthodox Laestadians. "A man born in 1931," says Wallquist, "who had often been with the Lapps in the Svaipa area once saw a ritual drum in a barn in the 1960's; he did not remember who it belonged to. He said that the drum was not like the one in Silvermuseet; instead it was shaped like a bowl, a large wooden bowl, in other words a northern drum that the Karesuando Lapps had probably brought with them on their wanderings south. I asked a number of Lapps in the area if there might possibly still be such a drum there. They were doubtful and said that the older generation had believed in them and used them but the younger generation did not approve of such rites and had thrown their drums in a barn around the 50's and 60's. There they had lain and people still remembered them. The barns had gradually rotted away and contained only rubbish so they said. The barns had been burnt down, contents and everything. They therefore did not think that there were any drums left but promised to have a look. However, they were still there in the 1950's and still used by the old people, that much is known" (Wallquist, Einar—pers. comm. 1984).

One of Einar Wallquist's informants is a Saami born in 1931 whose forefathers came from Karesuando. He told Wallquist that he is still in the habit of laying out a few coins when he passes the well-known *seite* at Svaipavalle. He has his cabin nearby at Tjolmejaure and beside it there is a large light *seite* to which he still makes offerings. Moreover, he also has a small *seite* inside his cabin to which he often directs wishes for good fishing. There can be no doubt, says Wallquist, that the man really believes in his gods. This information has been confirmed by others. "A man who often visits Svaipa fell once saw this Lapp at a distance without the Lapp noticing him. He was standing throwing ashes over his shoulder in different directions and was talking to himself. However, he seemed to be in some kind of a trance and 'far away'. He has heard that others have also seen the Lapp in a similar state of psychic influence" (Wallquist, Einar—pers. comm. 1984).

The detail about laying out coins occurs in many parts of Lapland but Wallquist contributes a further example encountered at Arjepolog. "A settled person of Lappish origin, born in 1925, his wife is a true Lapp, lives in a village of the forest Lapps. He knew of a sacrificial site on Lake Seite near the Lapp village of Maskaur; the site is mentioned by Ernst Manker. The *seite* there is said to have been thrown into the lake. In quite deep water not far from the shore the man found a stone resembling a bird of a species not found in the neighbourhood. It may very well have been the lost *seite* for an old Lappish legend says that a bird flew to the Tarra valley, was turned into stone but nevertheless continued to sing. He took the *seite*



home with him and put it in a barn. One day he caught a lot of fish and a neighbour from the Lapp village asked how that had happened. He replied that it was thanks to the *seite* that he had found. One day the neighbour came and asked to see the *seite*. The man told him that he could go out to the barn where it stood. When the owner of the *seite* went out to the barn some days later he saw that his neighbour had placed some 1-crown coins on the *seite*, in other words, made an offering" (Wallquist, Einar—pers. comm. 1984).

Even if the old beliefs have been abandoned in most cases, people still very often respect the places held sacred by earlier generations. An elderly man once told me, for example, that when he passes such a place, he always stops and thinks for a moment of what it meant for earlier generations. He feels an awe and peace which reminds him of devotion. He never allows his dog to urinate against the *seite* (Wallquist, Einar—pers. comm. 1984).

There are of course numerous examples of superstition of different kinds from the parish of Arjeplog but we shall not go into them here.

Let us move on from Arjeplog to the parish of Tärna. Here there are notes made by O. P. Pettersson in 1905 concerning Kristoffer Sjulsson.

Collections of bones '*jårtesie*' from the animals and birds consumed by the Lapps were a common occurrence in Sjulsson's youth about the middle of the 19th century (Pettersson 1979, 60f.). Such bone remains are still quite common in many parts of Sjulsson's home tract near Abelvattnet even though the realisation of their import had already disappeared by the beginning of the century according to Kristoffer Sjulsson (NM Kjellström 1979–84; Pettersson 1979, 63).

Another type of offering was *vero*; such places were marked by an arrangement of stones on the ground where a reindeer buck had been buried in a cairn of stones with only the tip of one horn visible above the ground. In his youth Kristoffer Sjulsson saw many such sites but gradually the horns rotted away and the places became increasingly difficult to identify. It has been possible to locate several such sites, however, in the area (Pettersson 1979, 63f.; NM Kjellström 1977–84).

A further phenomenon was sacrificial stones, *verogerke*, and about the middle of the 19th century small offerings of little importance were still made to such stones. Such offerings might consist of brass rings, glass beads, brass wire, etc. At that time people still believed in, or rather feared, the power of such stones; they thought that the stone had the power to harm them (Pettersson 1979, 64).

At Vilhelmina an informant told Manker that it was still the custom to make offerings during the latter half of last century. The informant's father,

the well-known lynx and wolf hunter Jon Andersen Neiner, is said to have been the first to break the tradition of making offerings to the stone at Offerskalet; that was in about 1860. But it was the custom to make offerings at this site when travelling by during the spring and autumn migrations (Manker 1957 *a*, 88, 93).

Torkel Tomasson, himself a Saami, has provided valuable notes on the topic. For example, he reports an example from the parish of Vilhelmina in 1917 concerning the first time of the year that the reindeer were milked. His informant was an 80-year-old woman; "It was early summer one year when the informant and his wife drove the herd of reindeer into the pen to milk them for the first time. An old Lapp woman, who was maid to the informant, said, 'See to it that you offer a little to the spirit now that you are about to milk the reindeer for the first time this year.' But the informant took no notice. Soon afterwards, however, a buck reindeer went lame and the informant began to wonder whether perhaps her failure to give the 'spirit' something had anything to do with it" (ULMA Thomasson 1917, 58).

We now travel even farther south—to the parish of Frostviken, where Demant-Hatt made notes in 1910's. One of Demant-Hatt's informants had an old relative who had bought a silver harness for his reindeer and then buried it alive with only its head above the ground. The place was flat and even and lay near a stream, probably not far from Ankarrede. Another of the man's relatives had happened to see the reindeer while it still lived and had thought to kill it so that it would not have to continue to suffer but had not dared to do so. The reindeer grave had been dug with a reindeer horn.

There were several other such places in these mountains according to a report dated 1913. One was situated on the eastern side of Bastu fell. The reindeer sacrificed there had also been decorated with ornaments of silver but when the informant visited the site, some of the silver leaves had fallen to the ground.

In another case a year-old reindeer had been adorned and then sacrificed. These offerings of reindeer still took place about the turn of the century according to report. Later, it sometimes happened that, instead of reindeer, something else more mundane such as tobacco or snuff were left at the site (Demant-Hatt 1928, 49 f.).

I wish to quote the following example from the parish of Undersåker in central Jämtland. In 1972 I was contacted by a local inhabitant of Ottsjö who told me that some years earlier some youths had found a wooden object about one metre in length that had been carved to some extent but resembled nothing that they recognised. After this telephone call I took the night train to Jämtland and reached the place where the find had been made the next day. It lay by a steep cliff about 900 m above sea level; there was

also a chasm and the whole place was covered with a large "roof". This was where the *seite* was hidden. In the middle of this semi-ravine there was a hillock on a plateau which had, in all probability, been artificially constructed. This peculiar site accords rather well with earlier finds of wooden *seites* and other cult locations.

The wooden object proved to have two parts—we might call them arms—and was reminiscent of the wooden idol from Överstjuktan. Comparisons of the wooden artefact from Ottfjället with other wooden idols showed that the one from Ottfjället was more stylised, more like a carving of Christ.

The artefact was sent in for dating and the answer was most unexpected; it proved to be 65 years old. Even if this figure must be treated with great reservation, it shows that this wooden idol was of relatively late date.

Who had used the site? Suspicion soon fell on a Saami in the region called Lill-Mårten. He was mentioned in a book by Torsten Boberg, who was familiar with the fells. He had called a chapter about Mårten "Christian heathen", indicating that Mårten had one foot in Christianity and the other in old Saami beliefs. It was a well-known fact that this Lapp had a statue of a god and a sacrificial site somewhere in the mountains; Boberg tried to find out where the whole of his life. He writes, "I must admit that my innermost desire [...] was to find the old Lapp god and the offering sacrificial site". When during the final years of Mårten's life, Boberg plied him with questions about the wooden idol, Mårten would answer, "You shall know nothing. You are too young and too stupid, and it's too important a matter." The man's attitude towards the old religion of the Lapps can be detected in this answer (Boberg 1946).

To cut a long story short, it may be noted that Mårten had lived only about 700 m from where the idol was found, and it was obviously his sacrificial site that the youths had uncovered. Mårten Thomasson was born in 1849 and died in 1924 (Kjellström 1975).

According to Demant-Hatt the ritual drum would seem to have disappeared from the southern parts of Lapland later than from the more northerly parts. People still remembered such drums quite well when Demant-Hatt visited Lapland in about 1910 and were occasionally still preserved at the end of the 19th century. One of Demant-Hatt's informants at Tännäs parish, for example, could remember his grandmother having a drum with her when she moved from Frostviken to Härjedalen. The informant was then ten years old.

Another man had been forced to hide his drum in a crevice on the mountainside after his children started to go to school and had come home with new ideas about such things (Demant-Hatt 1928, 53 ff.).

## Summary

In my paper I have given some examples of a few elements that formed part of traditional Saami religion. However, my report is by no means the result of a full and careful study. Rather, it is a collection of very sporadic impressions and observations. Nor has it been possible to determine the degree of intensity or frequency with which this religion was practised. Nor, moreover, has any comparison been made with earlier epochs concerning the form that these elements took.

What we *can* note is that certain traditional elements of Saami religion—at least in a few individual cases and in part perhaps in somewhat changed form—have continued to exist right up to quite recent times and, indeed, still live on, above all in the southerly parts of the region inhabited by the Lapps.

In cases where the practice of making offerings ceased, the people still continued to show respect and veneration for the religious sites and could even experience something of the force emanating from them. They therefore felt a need to shield themselves from these forces and consequently followed the traditional practices. Their respect, however, still persisted.

Early Saami religion and Christianity undoubtedly continued to exist side by side. It is possible that in their traditional livelihoods and even in life in general they resorted to their former well-tried religion, especially when all else failed.

The purpose of my paper has been to draw attention to the fact that old Saami religion is not entirely extinct. Instead, there still exist elements worth taking into account and trying to discover more about.

In the course of submitting this manuscript I have learned that the report from the symposium will be dedicated to Carl Martin Edsman. I note this with great pleasure and feel very grateful for the opportunity to contribute.

I remember at the same time how Carl Martin Edsman, in a highly complicated scholarly question many years ago, came into a field where I for once happened to know the literature well. The scholarly analysis which Carl Martin Edsman presented on that occasion was a superb achievement and so impressive that he became my scholarly “idol”—which he has remained.

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# Cultural- and Traditional-ecological Perspectives in Saami Religion

BY PHEBE FJELLSTRÖM

There are often certain details in Saami source materials which may cause the scholar to scratch his head. The information seems to part quite distinct from its context and often contains a number of conflicting components. Information of this kind is to be found in Rheen's account of the Luleå Saamis recorded between the years 1666 and 1671: "Christmas Eve is looked upon almost as a day of fasting and they eat no meat; everything else they collect together and consume on that day at one small meal. This they do especially on Christmas Day [...] which morsels set and aside and gathered together they put in a container of birch bark which is formed in the shape of a boat equipped with mast and sail and oars and on top of this they pour a little fat. This container they then place about a musket shot from their tents in a tree; this they wish to give to the errant Christmas folk who they believe wander abroad in the air" (Rheen 1897, 27).

By "Christmas folk" are meant the dead referred to by Grundström "There is a particular time of the year when the dead wander abroad. That is Christmas. It is then that crying and wailing can be heard. It sounds as though people were out and about, travelling. Nothing can be seen. The dogs become restless [...] What is it that has caused this unrest? Yes, the dead who arise at Christmas to visit their old homes. But they are no longer called the dead but "Christmas goats" (Grundström 1950, 54). The Saami version of the wanderings of the dead is connected in part with the western Norwegian *oskorei* idea, in part with conceptions of sirens but also with Celtic materials that have been elicited by Reidar Christiansen in his work *Gaelic and Norse Folklore* (Christiansen 1938).

Of considerable interest to anyone studying such folk beliefs is the similarity of conceptions in Finnish-speaking areas. In *Das Verhalten der Finnen in heiligen (pyhä) Situationen* (Vilkuna 1956) Asko Vilkuna demonstrated how loaded with magic the words *pyhä* (holy) and *väki* (folk) are. In Finnish-speaking areas there are beliefs in *hiidenväki*, a band of dead people travelling through the air with horses and jingling bells. It was dangerous to meet them. *Hiidenväki* had a strange appearance; in Satakunta they had long noses while in Seiskare they had seven heads, in

Ingermanland black headscarves. They were abroad the twelve days of Christmas i.e. from Christmas morning to Epiphany—the same period that the Christmas goats of Scandinavian traditions roam the area among the Luleå Saamis. I do not intend to go into all the problems surrounding the Christmas period of peace encompassed by the twelve days of Christmas. I would simply like to point out that the period of Christmas peace, established by the Hälsinge law, was a firmly established custom in the Nordic countries going back to the official Christmas celebrations laid down by the Catholic church at Tours in 867 (UU Fjellström).

So, in this account told by Rheen, we find

- that Christmas Eve was respected as a day of fasting and “no meat was eaten”,
- that beliefs about Christmas folk were common in western Scandinavia and Celtic areas,
- that the Catholic celebrations of the twelve days of Christmas—the period of Christmas peace—was linked with these beliefs and
- that the sacrificial rite took place relatively close to the tent with a sacrificial dish shaped like a boat complete with sail and oars being hung up in a tree, probably a tall tree so that the Christmas folk could reach it on their wanderings through the air.

This last that-clause does not seem to have any Catholic connections but rather pre-Christian ones. In brief, Rheen’s quotation appears to contain several different components of tradition, and also several different time strata.

An analysis of these different phenomena can perhaps provide us with what I termed in my introduction as a different phenomenon in Saami materials.

In order to gain access to what lies behind these concrete things—the boat, the Christmas people, the twelve days of Christmas—I shall use both cultural-ecological and tradition-ecological approaches. The ecological and cultural-ecological aspect was of great importance for ethnologists and archaeologists in northern Sweden throughout the 1970’s (see in particular Luleålsymposiet 1981). Steward, who pioneered cultural-ecological methodology in his book *Theory of Culture Change* in 1955, inspired Hultkrantz, who in turn published what has now become a classic *Type of religion in the Arctic hunting cultures* (1965). This work was to play a decisive role in my own research. When I wrote my book *The Swedish-American colonization of the San Joaquin valley in California* in 1970, I took up in particular the cultural-ecological aspect. I also addressed this same aspect in my article *Immigrantmiljön och den kultur-ekologiska aspekten* (1971), which formed

part of *Ekologi och kultur* (ed. Daun-Löfgren, 1971). The Finnish ethnologist Sarmela also described his cultural-ecological research results in the same work. In my article I pointed out the importance of how factors other than simply the physical environment can create cultural patterns and variables. The Luleå Lapp region is taken as an example; here two ethnic communities live side by side with exactly the same resources: mountains, forest, water, reindeer. Yet they nevertheless have very different cultural patterns, different values, i.e. a completely separate cognitive style.

In the article dated 1971 I quote C. Darryl Forde (*Habitat, economy and society* 1963, 463). He says that "Between the physical environment and man's activity there always exists an intervening layer, a collection of specific goals and values, a store of knowledge and beliefs, in other words, a cultural pattern" (Fjellström 1971, 132).

I continue, "This intervening layer between the physical environment and human activity, which we call culture, traditional pattern, can exhibit an entirely different character within different groups even though they live in identically the same environment [. . .]" I also add that the environment, the physical environment, that is, "has, it is true, played a large part in the creative process that has resulted in these patterns but geographical factors must not, as stated in the introductory chapter of the Daun & Löfgren work, be regarded as determining this process. Quite different factors must also be taken into account—namely the acquired cultural pattern which is handed on, with certain variations (integrated innovations), from generation to generation, the habits, practices, values that are inherited, in other words, the intervening stratum between the physical environment and human activity. This stratum has within it, so to speak, an innate creative mechanism. Here in my opinion lies the focus of expressions of culture" (Fjellström 1971, 132). The end of my quote and so much for my article of 1971.

What now is interesting is that 10 years later Lauri Honko and Orvar Löfgren have published the work *Tradition och miljö. Ett kulturekologiskt perspektiv* (1981). In it Orvar Löfgren develops a clearly expressed cultural-ecological approach with which he did not agree in 1971 and Lauri Honko introduces his informative chapter on tradition ecology. It is encouraging to note that Honko's reasoning is closely linked with Darryl Forde and exactly the same quotation that I used in 1971. What Honko describes as the "perceived environment" (Honko 1981, 20), seems to correspond to my thinking on "the intervening layer". Honko has, as I shall demonstrate in the following, realised the importance of a wider cultural-ecological view, which he terms tradition ecology. Cultural ecology, which Hultkrantz has made widespread and which many disciplines have adopted in their re-



search, has become a key approach in, for example, the interdisciplinary Lule river project at Umeå University. For those natural scientists and archaeologists taking part in the project cultural ecology has been fundamental (Fjellström 1983, 1). Against this background it is rather surprising that one of the leading ethnologists in the Nordic countries should write "Since this model [the ecological] has sometimes proved rather mechanical, in American scholarship the term 'cultural ecology' has appeared, which has not led to any greater clarity" (Bringeus 1978, 41–56). The real import of ecology and cultural ecology seems to be diffuse as far as Bringeus is concerned.

If we now return to Rheen and the birchbark boat in order to try and elicit the cognitive map behind this kind of sacrificial rite, which seems to differ from the norm in the Luleå region, where a reindeer or reindeer's horn was the standard sacrifice to propitiate the gods and get better hunting, if we examine the quotation above and its importance in relation to good fortune when hunting reindeer, then we find that it was not reindeer herding which was the object of this sacrifice but something quite different. Let us now apply tradition ecology to our quotation. In his tradition-ecological model Honko has shown that we can operate with three kinds of environment: the *total*, the *effective* and the *perceived*.

The *total environment* in this context would comprise the entire physical and geographical surroundings, the *effective environment* would be how they were exploited (by the Saamis) and how they would affect people whether they liked it or not. These two environments would, so to speak, be looked upon by the scholar standing apart and they would constitute his intellectual tools in his analysis.

In the *perceived environment* it is man himself who is the object studied, the actual creator of culture. Honko writes "It is his way of perceiving, classifying, verbalising, expressing and pronouncing upon his world which is the guiding principle in definitions of the perceived environment" (Honko 1981, 20). Here Honko quotes the statement made by Forde and "the intervening layer" I mentioned earlier and which Honko prefers to term "Man's cultural pattern of perception".

The Forde quotation adds a sharpness to tradition ecology, which is why I have described this background to the approach in detail.

Let us now go on to analyse in depth the relevant Saami historical, archaeological and philological materials—necessary interdisciplinary aspects in ethnological Saami studies. Then we will cast light once more on our introductory quotation with the aid of cultural and tradition ecology. When we first come into contact with a Saami area which we know has been inhabited by Saamis, it is with their language. There are no written

Saami sources that could provide us with a firm prehistorical basis to stand on. Therefore an interdisciplinary approach is absolutely indispensable in Saami studies. Philology is one such fundamental tool, archaeology another.

What helps us to penetrate a Saami community in the centuries just after the birth of Christ are Norse loanwords in Saami. We know from philology that certain rules obtained for the pronunciation of Old Norse in the period A.D. 200–600. In the Saami language there are certain words borrowed from Norse which are characterised by these special laws of pronunciation. The words cannot have been borrowed as late as A.D. 800, for example. The area in which this process took place must have laid somewhere in northern Norway, in the Tromsö–Saltdalen region. This is how K. B. Wiklund (1911, 1947), Collinder (1965), Sköld (1961) and Qvigstad (1893) reason. What kinds of words did the Saami inhabitants borrow? The answer is Norse loanwords connected with different kinds of work: boatbuilding, milk production, new settlement, etc. According to Collinder the Saamis, who lived deep in the fjords—the Norwegians lived at the mouths of the fjords—learned to build boats, to milk, etc. at the same time that they learned the words to describe these activities. I am of another view and have discussed these problems in my book *Samernas samhälle i tradition och nutid* (1985).

When the Norwegians moved in a continuous flow, from the period before the birth of Christ, and even earlier, for several centuries onward up from southern Norway to settle the virgin lands of the north along the coastal strip (Sjøvold 1974; Johansen-Søbstad 1978), they needed labour to help them. As with all forms of new settlement, the colonists lived far apart. They needed helping hands to clear the land, to build boats, to transport timber, to milk cows and to tend them.

These helping hands were to be found in the deepest parts of the fjords. It was there that the sea Lapps lived on fishing and bird-catching, not by herding reindeer. They had fixed dwellings and were not nomads. They probably had a goat or two and they exploited the forest for their own needs (Vorren & Manker 1976). Fishing was their mainstay. Surely these Saamis would have been able to build boats, living as they had for hundreds by the water. They must have known the skills of boat-building. If we now assume that the Saamis and the Norsemen worked side by side at the jobs involved in new settlement, they must have been able to communicate with each other. The Saamis therefore adopted the Norse term, “lappicised” it and forgot the original Saami word. In this way the uppermost plank of a boat came to be known as *råpmo*, a word of Norse origin. These Norse loanwords do not constitute a large vocabulary in the Saami language but they are terms typically used by settlers and workers (Nesheim 1953, Collinder 1965).

The Saamis living along the northern coast of Norway lived on fishing and other things taken from the sea. They made ship's cables of whale and seal skins, as Ottar tells us as early as A.D. 800. At that time they had already begun to keep reindeer to some extent—wild reindeer were tamed—but Ottar says nothing about nomadism. It was still the sea that provided them, in the main, with their livelihood; they gathered eider feathers and hunted seals and whales. Not a word is mentioned by Ottar about milking reindeer or about reindeer cheese. Such things indicate intensive reindeer, i.e. the care and grazing of herds of reindeer. This formed the kernel of the nomadism which was to emerge during late Mediaeval times when migrations, raids, the movable Saami tent became the main feature of the mountain Saamis' life, and by this are meant Swedish and Norwegian mountain Saamis south of the Troms area.

The mountain Saamis of the Norwegian part of Finnmark along the Arctic coast did not enter the picture until quite late—not until the 17th century. In Finland there lived forest Saamis with quite a different life during the Middle Ages—the hunting of wild reindeer and fishing were combined there.

Even a thousand years after the birth of Christ the north-Norwegian sea Saamis were still living in fixed dwellings, in their cabins, they were still fishing, did not go on nomadic wanderings even though they had started to tame wild reindeer. One might well ask if they did not tame the wild reindeer to use them as transport animals. The reindeer was absolutely indispensable for transport in the mountains; horses, on the other hand, had difficulties in the deep snow. When the process of domestication had once begun it was only natural to tame the reindeer properly and make use of them in the same way that the Norsemen did with their cattle.

From this it should be clear that a large group of Saamis—the sea Saamis in northern Norway—have lived and still live by the sea. They probably constitute the largest group of Saamis in western Scandinavia. Some of these Saamis were no doubt able to hunt elk (there are elk bone finds dating back to 4000 B.C. at Hoting in northern Ångermanland, Sweden) and later wild reindeer. The custom of using pit traps on the Swedish side is an indication of such hunting activity. With time there gradually developed mountain nomadism on a small scale in the Swedish areas inhabited by the Saamis—wild reindeer were tamed, guarded, cared for, milked. It therefore seems not unlikely that the hunting coastal Saamis in Norway also took to this new kind of livelihood, too—we know from Ottar that they had such herds of tame reindeer—and that they perhaps settled beside Swedish mountain lakes (Fjellström 1985).

Let us now return to Rheen and his birchbark boat while at the same time still keeping the coastal Saamis in mind.

Honko writes, "Legends, recollections, prayers, magic spells, beliefs and rites form groups in the natural environment as *tradition territories*. These are based to a large extent on economic niches but it should be remembered that man's conquest of his surroundings is not just an expression of economic activity: the cognitive conquest is equally important, i.e. attempts to organise, divide, classify, name and so dominate one's environment" (Honko 1981, 33).

This statement of Honko's I take to be decisive in an analysis of Saami pre-Christian religion, which seems to exhibit several layers of belief. This, it would seem, is the result of their attempts to organise their surroundings in order to cognitively master a new physical environment.

For a fishing people (the north-Norwegian sea Saamis) living near the water—their economic niche—the cognitive domination of what formed their environment was important. They already controlled their effective environment—fishing, nets, boats, etc.—but in order to achieve cognitive dominance these sea Saamis, these creators of culture, had to perceive their environment in such a way as to be able to classify it, give it a name, master it—all in order to master their life situation. For them it must have been a necessity to have power over the forces of the weather by means of concrete concession measures, i.e. ritual behaviour with sacrifices or the like; similarly to give them a name, to classify them. They had to have "cognitive maps" that reflected their world view.

Let us now see if such material is to be found in old sources. We can all immediately agree that the sources that we have—17th and 18th century archive records—are much too late. What can 16th-century materials tell us about Saami religion in A.D. 500? Clearly, this is the real difficulty, the absence of sources. However, it happens that the components of human traditions from the past have an amazing vitality. They lie hidden deep within the cultural heritage; sometimes they peep up through the layers of later deposits, sometimes they are discovered anew, they are still visible but we just have not noticed them since we have not had the right tools, we have not had our eyes about us.

As an ethnologist I think that we are constantly surprised by this special internal current of ideas which surrounds our beliefs and which lives on beneath the surface, so to speak, of human life with such a vitality.

What do the sources tell us about the coastal Saamis' "perceived environment"? I have used Nensén's materials as part of my sources. Nensén is very careful as both recorder and abstractor. Nensén noted down from Carl Renmarck, who on September 1, 1742 in Luleå wrote a "list of some of

the gods of converted Lapps". I have also used materials from Thomas von Westen's circle. Among these, Samilin, for example, speaks of Giase olmai—"the water god"—one who rules and reigns over the water (Reuterskiöld, 14).

Solander, another member of this circle, says that sacrifices were offered to Biex-Ollma "[...] a god of the weather who lives up in the sky; to him are promised offerings when the weather is very strong [...]. The health of this Biex-Ollma must be drunk at Christmas ..." (Reuterskiöld 1910, 23). Hans Skanke also mentions this same "*Bjega-Galles*, the god of the wind, who casts out weather and storm with his shovel, which is called Koiwo" (Reuterskiöld 1910, 100). Harva points out that the Saamis got their beliefs about a particular water spirit, *tjatse-halde*, from the Finns. According to Fellman Finnish Saamis offered silver coins to this spirit so that it should grant them good harvest from the waters: fish, beaver, pearls.

Nensén has described "Namma-qvele, the name fish, whose help is granted to few since not everyone has known about him. They obtain his help when someone is baptised by Magic Baptism more than once; according to this, when someone falls sick he is given another name and water is poured over him with the following words: I baptise you with this name N. N. and you shall live with this name N. N. Those who are christened in this way may also take the name Nammaqwele, and the Lapps often see Nammaqwele going over streams and bogs. Then they see him also when they go to church and when they go to confession, they drink of the blood of Sarakka in the same stream where Nammaqwele lives" (UUB Nensén, 656). In the Nensén quotation Christianity and pre-Christian rites are interwoven in a tangible way; in other words, we see here different cognitions that come into conflict. Randulf says that the north-Norwegian Saamis turned to the sea god *Tonsie* to obtain good fortune at sea and to Harchild for success when fishing in rivers and lakes (UUB Harva, 827). Nensén (after Renmarck) writes of *Piäggesvålma* = governs weather and wind, sea and water and has received offerings in order that he might allay storms at sea" (UUB Nensén, 654).

This must refer to the same god mentioned by Skanke and Solander. What is interesting is that Randulf reports that certain small artefacts "namely small boats" were offered to this "wind man" and Forbus says that "to him is offered a shovel made of wood (Reuterskiöld 1910, 33). Harva was of the view that this shovel was the rudder (steering oar) of a boat (UUB Harva 142, 829).

Our analysis is now approaching the birchbark boat referred to by Rheen, the boat equipped with sail and oars, soaked in fat and placed up in a tree. However, this birchbark boat was not sacrificed to some spirit of the wind

but to the Christmas people who “travel abroad in the air” at Christmas. Such an offering was made by mountain Saamis with large herds of reindeer in the Luleå area in the 16th century. — Rheen recounts throughout Tuorpon and Sirkas Saami conditions. — Among these very tradition-bound Saamis we find a ritual custom that would seem to have belonged to quite a different economic niche—probably that of the sea Saamis—but was transferred to a new niche, that of the mountain Lapps with quite a different structure. How is this possible? Honko writes about *environment-morphological adaptation*: “In the first place narratives and traditions of foreign origin often contain descriptions of natural environments that are less well-known. These elements must sometimes be replaced by familiar features from the community’s own physical surroundings, i.e. it is the process of familiarisation” (Honko 1981, 31).

Here the description of the closeness to the “Saami tent environment” and the forest landscape that surrounds the Luleå Saamis in the winter is a form of familiarisation. It is not a seascape or winds blowing over water that is described in this case. The ritual behaviour described in Rheen’s quotation—about offering up a birchbark boat and abstaining from meat at Christmas—represents a different world, in brief a different world picture than that recommended by the 17th-century Lutheran environment. But the sacrificial rite seems to have undergone several stages of adaptation and has become consistent with the reindeer-herding environment of the Luleå Lapps.

This is what Honko terms tradition-morphological adaptation and it is particularly obvious when “[...] foreign traditions [...] enter an environment”. By environment is meant the tradition environment bearing the marks of the individual’s experiential and perceived world and determined by socioeconomic structures, role, value and norm systems (Honko 1981, 35). What can possibly be extracted from Rheen’s quotation against the background of the historical account I have given above is that the boat that was probably offered to the wind god by the coastal Saamis in prehistoric time as an expression of ritual behaviour lives on centuries later in an adapted form among mountain Saamis. During the Middle Ages Catholic features were added, under the influence of the Catholic church and Catholic beliefs (there was a Catholic church in the Troms region, “*ecclesia sancta Marie juxta paganos*”) (Fjellström 1962, 259).

The Catholic faith seems to have had a strong influence on Saami society and Saami beliefs (cf. Rheen’s reference to fasting, the Christmas people). Lutheran contributions are remarkably few in Saami folklore material. When the socioeconomic structure changed, i.e. when reindeer herding became the Saamis’ principal source of economic welfare, then offerings of

reindeer horns, whole reindeer and reindeer blood new sacrificial symbols by means of which to obtain good fortune. Nevertheless, the cognitive trappings of times long past still seem to have lived on in the form of offerings to the water spirit, the god of fishing or to the wind spirit, a birchbark boat as described by Randulf.

Among the Luleå Saamis, however, the birchbark boat was offered to the Christmas people, not to the water spirit or wind god. Why? Honko says, "New elements of tradition are adapted in accordance with the best-known tradition, i.e. collective tradition, so that their message will take effect" (Honko 1981, 35).

Therefore we find the Christmas people—the dead as the group to whom the birchbark boat offering was made. It was the message that best reached the collective, i.e. the Saami sita.

The water man, the fishing god who reigned over sea and storms, was not relevant among the Luleå Saamis in the 17th century. The Christmas people, on the other hand, were. Catholic customs lived on. The birchbark boat, which seems to be quite irrational as a symbol, seems nonetheless to have had a rational significance. This, in my view, is what an analysis from a tradition-ecological perspective can help us to realise.

By applying culture-ecological and tradition-ecological ideas to certain ritual behaviour among the western Saamis in the past I have tried to extrapolate the perceived environment that I have found remarkably split in their cognition. The concept of perception is topical in this context since it implies that information received by the senses is interpreted in a certain way. Through the process of learning an extremely large mass of information is stored in the brain. We then use this information in order to interpret what we have perceived and give it a meaning. But—and this is something which our 17th-century quotation concerning the birchbark boat seems to indicate—people experience and interpret information in different ways according to what might be termed cognitive style. Moreover, it is quite clear that a persons' cognitive experience is expanding all the time and that each new piece of information changes the person's cognitive map.

The creative process that has led to this adaptive behaviour, the dynamic "intervening layer" between the natural environment and human activity is the basis of all culture, what we take with us as cognitive style. "Between the physical environment and human activity, there is always a middle term, a collection of specific objectives and values, a body of knowledge and belief, in other words, a cultural pattern" (Forde 1968, 463).

As early as 1970 I championed this culture-ecological method and, it still seems to be a useful tool for analysing different cultural phenomena. The

tradition-ecological evolved by Honko provides us with an even finer tool with which to analyse beliefs and ritual behaviour.

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# Einige Termini der lappischen Mythologie im sprachgeographischen Licht

VON OLAVI KORHONEN

Die ältesten schriftlichen Quellen der lappischen Religionsforschung sind auch von Bedeutung für Untersuchungen der sprachlichen Verhältnisse unter den Lappen in alter Zeit. Auch wenn der Sprachforscher nur einzelne lappische Wörter und Ausdrücke in dem ältesten schriftlichen Material findet, haben diese dennoch einen grossen Wert, weil sie üblicherweise in einem Zusammenhang stehen, der deutlich die Bedeutung der Wörter zeigt. Mit Kenntnis des Verfassers und seines Wirkungsortes können die Termini oft einem bestimmten Dialektgebiet zugeführt werden. Das letztgenannte Kriterium kann jedoch manchmal irreführend sein, weil der Textverfasser, ohne seine Quelle anzugeben, Angaben von ganz anderen Gegenden wiedergeben konnte. Durch die Lautgestalt oder die Formen, in denen die lappischen Wörter wiedergegeben werden, kann so ein Fall manchmal blossgelegt werden. Es sagt sich von selbst, dass eine Kontrolle der Provenienz der religionsgeschichtlich wichtigen Termini eine dringende quellenkritische Frage ist.

Was man zuerst tun sollte, ist, die lappischen Wörter und Ausdrücke, die in einer Quellenschrift vorhanden sind, miteinander zu vergleichen, um zu sehen, ob sprachliche Einheitlichkeit vorliegt. Für die Entscheidung, ob die Wörter von einem und demselben Sprachgebiet stammen, oder ob sie von verschiedenen Gegenden gesammelt sind, kann die Lautgestalt der Wörter von Bedeutung sein. Die instabile Schreibung in den Texten bereitet jedoch oftmals Schwierigkeiten. Kasusformen (z. B. südliches *-n* für Genitiv Singular in zusammengesetzten Substantiven) und Nomen- oder Verbableitungen mit mehr oder weniger charakteristischer geographischer Verteilung können auch vorkommen. Gewöhnlicherweise fehlen aber Kriterien dieser Art für eine geographische Ortung der lappischen Elemente eines Textes. Es gibt jedoch noch eine andere Methode, die sprachliche Provenienz zu bestimmen.

Die Methode, an die ich denke, ist gelegentlich sowohl von Sprachwissenschaftlern als auch Religionshistorikern angewendet worden und sie geht von den Möglichkeiten aus, in den jetzt existierenden lappischen Dialekten Parallelen zu den auftretenden lappischen Termini zu finden und

ihre jetzige Verbreitung zu kartieren. Der Wortschatz des Lappischen hat sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte stark verändert, und Termini mit Anknüpfung an die lappische Religion sind oft in Vergessenheit geraten, aber die Methode kann für noch existierende Termini trotzdem fruchtbringend sein. Die sprachlichen Parallelen, die schlimmstenfalls sich vielleicht nur noch in dem lappischen Ortsnamenmaterial finden, machen jedoch ein Komplement zu den kurzgefassten alten Texten aus.

Wenn K. B. Wiklund – in seiner bekannten Arbeit von 1916 über die Vorstellungen der Lappen vom „Saivovolk“ – die variierenden Bezeichnungen, die die Unterirdischen in verschiedenen Gegenden haben, durchgeht, dann scheint oft die Betrachtungsweise des Sprachwissenschaftlers durch. Man müsse, meinte er, als erstes „die geographische Provenienz der Quellen erorten, welches manchmal schwer genug sein kann und im allgemeinen allzusehr vernachlässigt worden ist“, und er betont, wie „notwendig und unumgänglich eine eingehende philologische Analyse bei der Behandlung eines religionshistorischen Problems sei, auch wenn es sich um eine Religion eines Naturvolkes handle“ (Wiklund 1916, 46).

Wiklund stellt generell fest, dass die *Saivo*-Termini und -Vorstellungen der norwegischen Quellen zu „den südlichsten lappischen Gegenden sowohl in Schweden als auch in Norwegen gehören“ (vgl. Bäckman 1975) und gar keine terminologischen Verankerungen in der Finnmark haben (Wiklund 1916, 58). Zu Fellman und Castrén sei *Saivo* als Name für ein geistliches Wesen auf literarischem Wege gekommen (Wiklund 1916, 62), und das bei Jessen vorkommende *Saiwo-olmak* mit nordlappischer Pluralendung (-k) sei ausserdem auf fehlerhafte Generalisierung zurückzuführen, wie Wiklund es nennt.

Wir wissen aus vielen Beispielen, dass Friis in sein Wörterbuch (Friis 1887) Wörter aus entlegenen Dialekten (auch aus dem *Lexicon Lapponicum* von Lindahl & Öhrling, 1780, das vorwiegend Ume- und Pite-lappische Gebiete in Schweden behandelt) aufnahm, ohne den Ursprung anzugeben. Das gilt offenbar auch für das Wort *Saiuvo* „der Platz unter der Erde, wo die Lappen glaubten, dass sich die glücklich Verstorbenen mit neuen Leibern aufhalten und das selbe Gewerbe wie hier auf Erden treiben würden“ (Friis 1887, 601).

Manchmal ist es möglich, die geographische Herkunft der Wörter mit Hilfe der Lautgestalt herauszufinden. In anderen Fällen kann die Bedeutung in verschiedenen Gegenden hilfreich sein. Was das Wort (saN) *sái'va* (mit Varianten, aber gewöhnlicherweise mit kurzem -a in der zweiten Silbe) betrifft, kann man feststellen, dass die nichtmythologische Bedeutung 'Süßwasser' in ost- und zentrallappischem Gebiet, d. h. auf der Kolahalbinsel und in den nördlichsten Teilen von Finnland, Norwegen und Schwe-

den, vorherrscht. Von der westlichen Finnmark ab und in Richtung Südwesten tritt die Bedeutung 'heiliger See' immer mehr hervor, und von den mittleren Lappmarken ist sie der einzige Rest einer früheren nichtmythologischen Bezeichnung für kleinere Seen im allgemeinen. Das Wort *Saivo* bei Friis ist deswegen sowohl wegen der Lautgestalt (mit -o) als auch wegen der Bedeutung irreführend. Trotzdem hat es einen Stammkonsonanten im Starkstadium (-*ivv*-) erhalten, als wenn es in den Mundarten der Finnmark belegt wäre. Ein unkritischer Benutzer des Wörterbuches kann leicht dazu verleitet werden, auf Grund des Wortartikels eine falsche Theorie aufzubauen.

Wiklunds Einschätzung der Verbreitung der Termini fusste auf eigenen Aufzeichnungen oder Aufzeichnungen anderer, aber er hatte nicht zu so guten Lexika oder Wortsammlungen Zugang wie wir jetzt. Zu der Reihe grösserer lappischer Wörterbücher gesellt sich jetzt auch ein südlappisches Wörterbuch von Gustav Hasselbrink, vom Institut für Mundarten und Volkskunde in Uppsala herausgegeben. Die Möglichkeiten, innerhalb des südlichen lappischen Wortschatzes dialektgeographische Studien zu betreiben, sind deswegen erheblich verbessert worden. Noch würden jedoch mehr leichter zugängliche Wortsammlungen über enare-, torne- und ume-lappische Gebiete benötigt.

Wenn wir uns noch einen Augenblick bei Wiklunds Artikel über *Saivo* von 1916 aufhalten, bemerken wir die Einstellung, die er als Sprachwissenschaftler zu seinem Thema hat. Angehend die Vorstellungen der Lappen, die an die „Unterirdischen“ geknüpft sind, beachtet er die Bezeichnungen für die Erdgeister und die geographische Verbreitung der Termini. So weit die Unterirdischen Namen z. B. nordischer Herkunft haben, kann man deutlich getrennte Distributionen der betreffenden Termini finden. Ein Beispiel ist das '*go(d)vetter*' der Norweger, was vorwiegend in einem östlichen Teil des Zentrallappischen in der Form (saN) *gufittar* (vgl Wiklund 1916, 49; Itkonen 1946, 92 ff.) zu finden ist, während die lappische Form (saN) *ul'da* (vom schwedischen 'huldra') vorwiegend in den westlichen Teilen des Nordlappischen vorkommt. Weiter östlich finden sich Belege für den ersteren Terminus auf jeden Fall von Karasjok (Wiklund 1916, 51) und Utsjoki, aber in dem späteren Falle mit einer entgleisten Bedeutung (d. h. einer Bedeutung, die sich stark von der ursprünglichen entfernt hat) „unhöfliche, schweigsame Person“ (Ravila 1934, 101). Im Westen erreicht das Wort hinwieder u. a. die Ofoten (Qvigstad 1893, 182). T. I. Itkonens Bemerkung, dass *ul'da* zu der genuinen Terminologie in Enontekiö gehört, während *gufittar* nur in gewissen festen Redewendungen gebraucht wird, veranschaulicht, wo das Grenzgebiet zwischen den Wörtern verläuft (Itkonen 1946, 96). Offenbar späte Varianten, die mit *h-* (*hul'da*, *holdo*,

*holldo*) anfangen, erwähnt Qvigstad von Gebieten in Norwegen auf der Höhe von lule- und südlappischen Dialektgebieten (Qvigstad 1893, 337), und einen naheliegenden Beleg gibt es auch von Arjeplog (vgl. Wiklund 1916, 53). Wenn folglich ein Einfluss vom Norwegischen in einer östlichen Hälfte des zentrallappischen Gebietes und Teile des Ostlappischen mit der langen Küstenstrecke im Westen vorherrschend zu sein scheint (*gufittar*), so ist offenbar schwedischer Einfluss, ausser in Torne-Lappmark in Schweden, auch in den entsprechenden Gebieten in der westlichen Finnmark bemerkbar (*ul'da*).

Alte politische Verhältnisse können für diese Terminusverbreitungen die Erklärung sein. Einen anderen schwedischen Einfluss finden wir in den Termini *vittarah*, *vitara* (= *viihtarah*) aus Arjeplog (Wiklund 1916, 53; Kolmodin 1914, 30; Dahlstedt 1976, 17, 46). Dafür habe ich auch durch eigene Aufnahmen mit Lappen in den betreffenden Gebieten Belege.

Weitere Termini könnten erwähnt werden, aber hier ist nur die Absicht, gewisse Tendenzen in ihren Verbreitungen vorzuweisen. Einen ganz anderen dialektgeographischen Charakter hat ein wohlbekanntes und ursprüngliches lappisches Wort für die Unterirdischen. Ich denke an *ganii*, Pl. *gadnihah*, um nun die Aussprachevariante, die in den zentralen Teilen des Lulelappischen vorherrschend ist, zu erwähnen (Grundström 1946–54, 165). Wenn man in den mittleren Lappmarken in Schweden von älteren lappischsprechenden Personen noch Vittersagen zu hören bekommen kann, wird gerade dieses Wort gebraucht. Wo es die früher erwähnten entliehenen Bezeichnungen gibt, ist dieser ältere Terminus ganz offenbar verdrängt worden. Zwischen Wörtern, die dieselbe Erscheinung bezeichnen, besteht oft ein Kampf um die Stellung innerhalb des Wortschatzes eines Idioms (d. h. eines Dialekts). Der Ausgang eines solchen Zweikampfes kann wichtige Informationen nichtlinguistischer Art beinhalten, wie z. B. die Art der ethnischen Kontakte in einer Gegend, die Richtung und die Stärke von Einflüssen u. s. w. Man kann sich hier fragen, warum einige nordische Termini so grosse Verbreitung im Norden erhalten haben, während ein lappischer Terminus von ursprünglichem Charakter in grossen Teilen der Schwedischen Lappmarken standgehalten hat. Die wortgeographischen Verhältnisse verlocken uns dazu, die dahinterliegenden Ursachen zu suchen; diese sind jedoch selten leicht eindeutig aufzudecken.

Bei den Vorstellungen von den Unterirdischen können wir auf jeden Fall sehen, dass die ursprünglichen Termini in Vergessenheit geraten oder in ihrer Bedeutung stark verändert worden sind, wenn es fremden Termini gelungen ist einzudringen.

Die Entsprechung zu dem *ganii*, Pl. *gadnihah*, des Lulelappischen findet sich in dem Wörterbuch von Leem (1768–1781) in der Form *ganish*, Pl.

*ganishjak* „et Bierge-Trold, spectrum, qvod vulgo crebedatur montes incolere“ (vgl. Nielsen & Nesheim 1962, 29). Wie man es von einem alten Terminus für eine volkstümliche Vorstellung erwarten kann, tritt diese Bezeichnung vereinzelt über ein grosses Gebiet auf. Ich sehe jedoch einen Zusammenhang zwischen der Tatsache, dass der Terminus im Norden in späterer Zeit so selten vorkommt, und dem Umstand, dass entlehnte Wörter für die Unterirdischen dort so grosse Verbreitung bekommen haben. Die Wörter *gäniš*, Pl. *gäničak* (auch -æ-) „ecko, Ekko; daemon montanus, Trold, som bor i Fjeldvægge“ bei Friis (Friis 1887, 276) und *gäneš*, Pl. *gänečak* „daemon montanus“ laut einer Aufzeichnung in Kvänangen von Qvigstad (siehe Wiklund 1916, 50) haben den Stempel der Ursprünglichkeit, aber *piru kēneš*, ein Kraftausdruck für Mensch oder Tier bei Gebirgslappen in Enare (Itkonen 1946, 70), *Kinnaš-Elle* (Kvänangen; Lagercrantz 1939, 298) „eine kleine Frau“ und *geniš*, als Bezeichnung für eine schwerhörige Person in Nesseby, haben sich schon von ihrem Platz in Mythologie und Folklore entfernt. Dasselbe gilt in gewisser Hinsicht für *kanis*, Pl. *katnihah*, in Jukkasjärvi, was die Geister der Toten, die man auf andere Menschen setzen oder ihnen senden und sie dadurch verrückt machen kann, bezeichnet (Wiklund 1916, 51). Hier hat der Terminus ganz seine Anknüpfung an hauptsächlich positiv erwähnte „Unterwohner“, Unterirdische, oder wie wir sie nennen wollen, verloren und ist statt dessen eine Bezeichnung für dämonische Geister oder Kräfte, die übel gesinnte Personen ihren Gegnern senden können, geworden. Der Glaube an 'sändig-ar' (saN, Pl. *bijahat*) einer bösen Kraft, von einem Geist oder ähnlichem, den man durch Zauberei sendet und der einen Menschen krank oder geisteskrank macht, von dem man bei der Feldarbeit im Norden ständig volkstümliche Erzählungen erhält, macht ein kräftiges Attraktionszentrum aus. Hier sehen wir ein deutliches Ergebnis der Anziehungskraft, die diese Vorstellung ausgeübt hat.

Südlich von den eben genannten Gebieten, das heisst in Lule-Lappmark im weitesten Sinne, begegnen wir dann *ganii*, Pl. *gadnihah* 'vittra' (Grundström 1946–1954, 165; oder Formen, die vom Umlaut beeinflusst sind wie *genii*, Pl. *gednihah* 'vittra'; Collinder 1938, 60 Waltlappisch in Gällivare), *ginii* (Grundström & Väisänen 1958, 58) *kinê*, Pl. *kitniha* 'unterirdisches menschenhaftes Wesen' (Arjeplog; Halász 1896, 28), Nom. Sg., *kinegi* 'Heinzelmännchen' (Malå; Wiklund 1916, 53) u. s. w. alle mit Bedeutungen, die wir mit lappischem Glauben an die Unterirdischen in Verbindung bringen können. Es gibt viele Erzählungen (Dahlstedt 1976, 15 ff.), aber deren Inhalt gehören nicht zu dem Thema dieser Arbeit, deswegen werden sie hier übergangen (siehe hierzu Wiklund 1916, 52). Bei Interviews mit älteren Informanten oder Informanten mittleren Alters kann

man noch heutzutage selbsterlebte Ereignisse zu hören bekommen, laut welchen die Unterirdischen sich vorwiegend als Warnzeichen vor den ermüdeten Rentreibern oder Waldleuten im allgemeinen vor nahendem Unwetter zeigten. Die Sagen mit ihren bekannten Bildern sind natürlich noch häufiger.

Für den Sprachwissenschaftler ist es interessant, die in grossen Gebieten vorkommenden gemeinsamen Bilder, die keine Entsprechungen in einer besonders grossen Einheitlichkeit in der Terminologi haben, zu vergleichen.

Bei einer weitergehenden Reise südwärts über die Dialektkarte zeigt sich dieses nochmals deutlich. Ausser dem Malälappischen *kitnegi* in der Bedeutung 'Heinzelmännchen' finden wir das Wort mancherorts im Südlappischen in Jämtland schwach belegt (u. a. *gidnj'ese*, *-sje*, *giqñj'esje* 'eine Art Geister; Menschen die überall lauernd und spähend umherfahren; Hasselbrink 1983, 587; vgl. Wiklund 1916, 56). Von einer stärkeren Stellung des Wortes in älterer Zeit zeugen solche Ortsnamen wie *Gitnivaratje* (eigentlich 'Der kleine Vitterberg', Lillberget in der Nähe vom westlichen Kikkejaur) in Arvidsjaur und *Kitnihasse* (Viterliden) in Malå. Wenn ein Dialektwort aus dem Wortschatz der Bevölkerung verschwindet, kann es für unüberschaubare Zeit in den Ortsnamen bestehen bleiben. So ist es in den eben genannten Teilen des Nordlappischen der Fall gewesen, wo Namen wie *Kenešpahta* (Utsjoki), *Kenisjärvi* (Kittilä) und *Kinislampi* (Rovaniemi) von einem früheren Gebrauch dieses Wortes für die Unterirdischen zeugen (Wiklund 1916, 48).

Hier können wir auf die Relation zwischen Termini, die in älteren schriftlichen Dokumenten bewahrt sind, und Termini, die in der lebendigen Sprache zu finden sind, eingehen. Im Nærömanuskript von 1723 erwähnt Johan Randulf eine Waldgöttin mit dem Namen *Gidne*, die alle Kennzeichen der Waldfrau trägt. Ihre Vorderseite war schön, aber hinten trug sie einen Schwanz und sie war trügerisch gegen die Männer im Walde (Kil-deskrifter 1903, 46). Die Figur ist offenbar von nordischer Herkunft, aber der Terminus ist lappisch. Der Einschub *-d-* (*gidne* statt *gine*) gehört mit süd- und umelappischem Lautbild zusammen. Der Verfasser des Nærömanuskripts kann deswegen den Terminus zum Biespiel nicht vom Norden geliehen haben. Der Ort für die Aufzeichnung (Bäckman 1975, 30f., 36) liegt auch auf der Höhe vom nördlichen Südlappischen in Schweden und alles deutet darauf hin, dass dieses ein genuiner Beleg von der lappischen Bevölkerung des Ortes ist.

Aber was ist dann der Grund dafür, dass der in Lule-Lappmark wohlbekannte Begriff *ganii* (mit Varianten) im Süden so schwach belegt ist? Der Grund ist offenbar hier derselbe wie im Norden: Konkurrenz von anderen

eindringenden Termini. Das im Süden wohlbekannte *saivo* ~ *saiva*, was übrigens ein häufiger Terminus in Randulfs Text ist, ist im Laufe der Zeit ganz dominierend geworden. Das ist der sprachliche Faktor, der bewirkt, dass unsere Terminuskarte so aussieht, wie sie es tut.

Ein wortgeographisches Studium kann folglich allerhand darüber aussagen, wie sich das Traditionsgut einer Volksgruppe entwickelt hat. Wortverteilungen und der Ursprung einzelner Wörter und Termini – in den Fällen, wo sie entlehnt sind und nicht den Charakter von ererbten Grundwörtern haben – haben viel über Kontakte zwischen den Völkern zu berichten. Der Bruch zwischen Ursprünglichem und Neuem, für den ich hier Beispiele habe geben wollen, ist interessant zu studieren. In meinem obigen übersichtlichen Durchgang habe ich die Verbreitung der Termini nicht mit den vorhandenen Dialektgrenzen verglichen. Mehrere auffällige Übereinstimmungen können jedoch festgestellt werden und an einer Traditionsgrenze werde ich mich noch weiter aufhalten, nämlich der, die den Terminus *ganii* (mit Varianten), der noch heute in lappischer Folklore eine starke Stellung hat, von *saiva* ~ *saivo* trennt. Das erstere Wort findet sich in den Gemeinden von Arjeplog und Jokkmokk und in den Gebieten nördlich davon, das letztere kennen wir von Tärna, Sorsele und Stensele (d. h. ungefähr Västerbotten) und südwärts (vgl. Bäckman 1975, 132). Hier verläuft auch eine wichtige Sprachgrenze, nämlich die zwischen südlicherem beziehungsweise nördlicherem Lappisch im weitesten Sinn auf schwedischem Gebiet.

Ich werde noch ein weiteres Beispiel dafür geben, wie diese Grenzzone hervortritt. Um einen Kontrast zu dem so oft studierten nordischen Einfluss zu erhalten, wähle ich einen Terminus von östlicher Herkunft. Östliche Entlehnungen sind in nördlichen lappischen Dialekten häufig, aber dagegen mit einer ausschliesslichen Verbreitung im Süden selten. Das Dokument, aus welchem der betreffende Terminus geholt worden ist, ist *Epitomes historiae missionis Lapponicae pars prima* von Hans Skanke (Skanke 1945, 179 ff.), das irgendwann nach dem Tod von Thomas von Westen 1727 verfasst worden ist (Qvigstad 1943, 37 f.). Nach einer Beschreibung der drei Arten von 'Creature' die der Zauberer in seinem 'Nåjden-Dienst' hat, nämlich Vogel, Fisch und Ren-Stier, findet Skanke es geeignet, die Namen der Vögel zu erwähnen, die ihrem Besitzer folgen und ihm in Jagd und Renzucht beistehen, die mit Botschaften kommen oder fahren und so weiter. Die Liste enthält siebzehn Namen, von welchen Qvigstad acht identifiziert hat. Ein Vogelname ist *Jap* (Skanke 1945 191), der als das Südlappische *jipp*, *jihpá* 'the great horned owl' gedeutet worden ist (Qvigstad 1943, 45). In dem neuen Südlappischen Wörterbuch finden sich Belege für *jippe* von Vefsn, Vilhelmina, Frostviken, Snåsa,



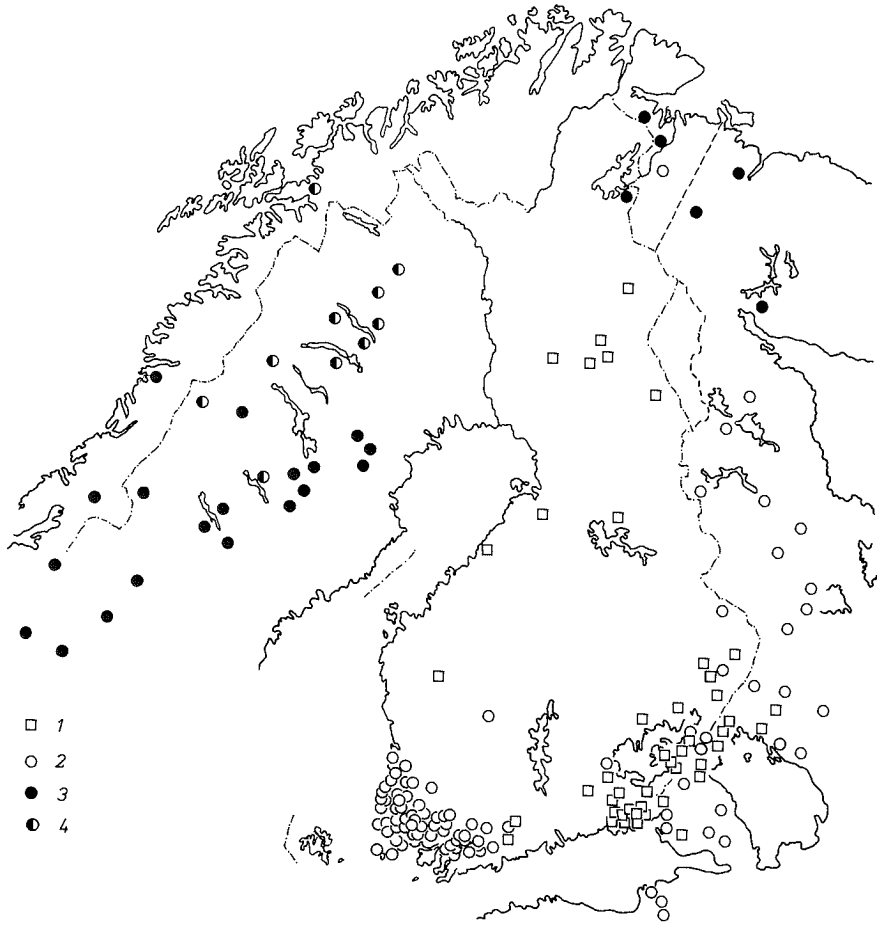


Fig. 1. 1. Finnische und karelische Ortsnamen, die auch den Benennungen des Berguhus zurückgehen (*Hüpiä-, Hüpiö-* etc.). 2. Finnische und karelische Belege für die Benennungen des Berguhus (*hyypiö, -piä, -ppiö, -ppiä* resp. *hyypie, hyybie* etc.). 3. Das lappische Wort für den Berguhu (im westlappischen *jippege, jippelii, jippil, jippa* etc; siehe oben genannte Wörterbücher bezüglich den östlichen Belege). 4. Das westlappische Wort in einer anderen Bedeutung als 'Berguhu' (siehe Text).

Meraker, Offerdal, Oviken in der Bedeutung 'Bergeule, (Gebirgs-)uhu', oft auch 'eine graubraune Eule, Horneule'. Die Form *jippege* findet sich in Rörös und Tännäs (Härjedalen), hier als 'Baum-, Waldkauz', ausserdem an dem jeweiligen Ort in der Bedeutung 'dummer Mensch (der albern lacht); (der) Heide'; 'ungewöhnliche Erscheinung, Gespenst' (Hasselbrink 1983, 792). Ausser diesen Wörterbuch-Angaben habe ich aus Vilhelmina in der

Handschrift von J. A. Nensén (UUB R 649, 1) den Beleg *jipp* (Gen Sg. 1) *jip̄eken* 'Uhu'.

Interessant ist die Frage der weiteren Verbreitung des Wortes zum Beispiel im Umelappischen, welches das nördlichste Gebiet des Südlappischen ist, vom Umeälvs hoch bis zu den Gemeinden Malå, Arvidsjaur, Sorsele und dem nördlichen Tärna. Aus zugänglichen Wörterbüchern sehen wir, dass das Wort im Gebiet bekannt ist: *jipp* 'Bergeule (Lindahl & Öhrling 1780, 93, 100, 237) ~ *jippa* (Lindahl & Öhrling 1780, 696). Synonyme sind laut Lindahl & Öhrling *lidno* und *maiwe*, für welche ich im Umelappischen Belege habe. Von Malå stammt Schlachters *jihpagii*, *jihpaga*, 'Uhu' (Schlachter 1958, 73).

Von dem Vorkommen des Terminus in der Literatur und von meinen Exzerpten kann eine gleichmässige Verteilung im übrigen Umelappischen bestätigt werden. Belege, die an bestimmte Gemeinden gebunden sind, sind unter anderen: (Tärna) *jeppok* '(Kinder die) nichts gesehen haben, gehört oder gelernt haben (und die für den Mangel an guten Sitten getadelt werden)' (Pettersson 1979, 159), (Stensele, Ullisjaur) *j̄icp̄ak̄a* 'Zauberfisch' (DAUM 3844, A. Calleberg 1925–26), (Sorsele, Ranbyn) *jipp* 'Uhu' (UUB R 649, 359, J. A. Nensén) und *j̄ixp̄(ə)k̄a*, *j̄ix̄'p̄ak̄a*, *j̄ixp̄ak* 'Uhu' (ULMA 3032: 2, A. Calleberg 1930), (Arvidsjaur, Lomträsk) *jihp̄âGij* 'Berguhu' (ULMA 16359, B. Collinder 1943), (Arvidsjaur, Fjällbonäs) *jippege* 'etwas eigenartig(-e) Person' (DAUM 3793, I. Ruong), (Malå, Släppräsk) *j̄ixp̄aḡa* 'Uhu' (DAUM 3622, K. B. Wiklund 1900). Ohne nähere Ortung ist Nenséns Angabe *jipp* 'Uhu' von Lappmarken von Åsele und Lycksele (UUB R 649, J. A. Nensén, 215, 414). Von der lappischen Siedlung Stenbacken in Arvidsjaur habe ich *jippege* 'Berguhu' aufgezeichnet (Jonas Jonsson 800531) und in Arjeplog, Stenbacken, den Beleg *jippa* 'Gewitterwolke' (DAUM 3398, 800) mit Sara Ruong auf Band aufgenommen.

Näher an der Gebirgskette neigt das Wort dazu, eine abweichende Bedeutung zu erhalten (entartetes Kind in Tärna, Zauberfisch in Stensele und Gewitterwolke in Arjeplog), aber dieses ist für die einzelnen Belege, die nördlich des Umelappischen zu finden sind, noch deutlicher. Aus Arjeplog gibt es nur ein Beispiel, aber im nördlichen und zentralen Jokkmokk bedeutet *jippeliü*, (*jippelij* ~ *jippil*, *jippilih*-) 'Kosekind (kleines Kind)', im nördlichen Gällivare ist *jippeliü* 'das versteckte Kind von Eva, das von Gott verfluchte u. s. w.' und im südlichen und nördlichen Teil der Gemeinde ist *jippa* 'schwarze Gewitterwolke' (Grundström 1946–54, 165). Obwohl ich Informanten im Gebiet das Wort oft aktualisiert habe, habe ich nur von Bieggaluokta, Porjus, *jippelahah* (Pl.) in der Bedeutung 'kleine Kinder (die zum Beispiel auf dem Hof spielen und toben'; 810816). Man kann verstehen, dass Wiklund (Wiklund 1916, 51) sich gegenüber einer

Angabe bei Fellman (Fellman 1903, 109) fragend stellt, laut welcher der Terminus *Jppelak* (Offenbar Pl.) in Jukkasjärvi dasselbe die *Kanesak* sein, also die Unterirdischen bezeichnen sollte. Wiklund hatte im Norden keine Parallele zu dem Terminus.

Jetzt hat jedoch Qvigstad in Ibestad in Norwegen, auf der Höhe des tornelappischen Gebiets in Schweden, wo Jukkasjärvi liegt, *ippel*, Pl., *ippelah* 'etwas Übernatürliches (gehört)' aufgezeichnet, bzw. *ippelaš*, Pl., (*G*)*ippelažžak* (OUB 1465e, J. Qvigstad). Wie wir sehen, hat sich die Bedeutung bei all den selten vorkommenden Belegen nördlich von der lappischen Sprach- und Traditionsgrenze, die ich mehrmals erwähnt habe, stark von der ursprünglichen Bedeutung entfernt. Wir können von regelrechten Bedeutungsentgleisungen sprechen, was für Wörter ausserhalb ihrer Kerngebiete charakteristisch ist.

Welches ist dann die Etymologie des Wortes? Wie ich schon erwähnt habe, handelt es sich um ein Wort östlichen Ursprungs. Das Wort kann laut dem Finnischen Etymologischen Wörterbuch (SKES) einem finnischen Wortstamm zugeführt werden. Es hat auch einige ostlappische Dialekte erreicht und findet sich im Enarelappischen (*opp'uū*), ausserdem ist es in Kuolajärvi (dem jetzigen Salla; *hubbug*) aufgezeichnet worden.

Wir finden, dass der Vogelname mit variierendem Lautwesen verschiedene Eulen-Arten im Skoltlappischen (Paatsjoki, Nuortajärvi) und bei Imandra (Itkonen 1958, 39; Toivonen et al. 1955–81, 95) bezeichnet. Die lappische Vogelbezeichnung geht auf das finnische *hyypiä*, *-piö*, *-ppiä*, *hypiä* (Berguhu) zurück, und das Wort ist wahrscheinlich eine frühe Entlehnung aus dem Ostseefinnischen (Toivonen et al. 1955–81, 95). Der Vogelname hat seine Entsprechung im Karelischen, mit einer ausgeprägten nordsüdlichen Verbreitung (siehe Karte). Mit dem Lautwesen *hūpie* (im Norden) und *hūbie* (im Süden) tritt es so weit nördlich wie Petsamo auf. Im übrigen kommt es im eigentlich karelischen Gebiet in den Gemeinden Kiestinki, Vuokkiniemi, Jyskyjärvi, Tunkua, Rukajärvi, Paatene, Porajärvi, Suojärvi, Korpiselkä, Salmi, Säämäjärvi und Vitele (SMS, Dialektkartensammlung) vor. Das Karelische Wörterbuch (Karjalan 1968, 373) kennt das Wort von Tver.

Sehr nahe den aufgezählten karelischen Gemeinden gibt es den Wortstamm auf finnischem Gebiete in Ortsnamen (*Hūpiö*-, vorwiegend im Norden, und *Hūpiä*-, vorwiegend im Süden). Das setzt einen früheren Gebrauch dieses Vogelnamens in den Dialekten voraus. In der südöstlichsten Ausbreitung der Namen in Finnland kommt jedoch auch *hyypiä* vereinzelt (siehe Karte) als Appellativ vor.

Bevor ich die westfinnische Verbreitung des Dialektwortes kommentiere, werde ich den übrigen Befund in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen erwähnen.

Wiedemann (Wiedemann 1973 (1893), 1279) hat den Vogelnamen in der Form *hüp*, *hüpel*, *hüple*, *hüpre*, was die Rohrdrommel (*Botaurus stellaris*) bezeichnet. *Jänese-hüp* bedeutet dagegen Berguhu (*Bubo bubo*). Das Institut für Sprache und Literatur in Tallinn (Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituut) kennt das Wort in der ersten Bedeutung und mit den zusätzlichen Formen *üüp*, *üip*, *hüpli* mit vereinzelt Befund in den Gemeinden Jõelähtme, Martna, Urvaste, Kolga-Jaani, Põlva, Räpina, Setumaa, Vasteliina und konzentrierter im Westen in Läänemaa und Saaremaa. Im übrigen gibt es den Namen des Berguhus im Olonetzischen (Toivonen et al. 1955–81, 95), Lydischen (Kujola 1944, 82), Wepsischen (Zajceva & Mullanen 1972, 137), Wotischen (Posti 1980, 81) und den ingrischen Dialekten (Nirvi 1971, 78). Überall hat der Vogel eine hervortretende Rolle als Warnvogel.

Die Variation im Lautwesen im Westen (*h-*, *j-* oder der Entfall von initialem Konsonant) kann laut Toivonen et al. auf den onomatopoetischen Charakter des Wortes zurückgeführt werden und bei den ostseefinnischen Sprachen auf Einfluss von *huuhkaja* (mit Varianten), welches das häufigste Wort für Berguhu ist. Wiklund hat das Bemerkenswerte, dass langes finnisches *-yy-* in den westlichen lappischen Entsprechungen des Wortes kurzes *-i-* hat, besprochen (Wiklund 1896, 248; vgl. Korhonen 1981, 82).

*Hyypiö* hat eine sehr interessante und begrenzte Verteilung in den südwestlichen Dialekten in Finnland. Das Wort ist mit seinen Aussprachevarianten auf das Eigentliche Finnland und die naheliegenden Teile von Nyland und dem südlichen Satakunta konzentriert. Ausserhalb von diesem Gebiet habe ich den Ortsnamenbeleg *Hüpiä-* nur in Jalasjärvi im südlichen Österbotten und den Appellativ *hüppiö* in Ruovesi im Tavastland wiedergefunden. Die Namensglieder *Hüpiö-* in Himanka, Rantsila und Paltamo müssen als Belege aus einer Randzone des nordfinnischen *Hüpiö-* Gebiets angesehen werden. Das hat wiederum zweifellos seine sprachliche Anknüpfung an den nordkarelischen Appellativ *hüpie* (s. o.) und einem früheren Gebrauch des finnischen Dialektwortes *hyypiö*. Das letztere wird übrigens von Jagdbeschwörungen bestätigt, die am Ende des achtzehnten und Anfang des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts aufgezeichnet worden sind, in welchen die Herrscherin des Waldes *Hyypiö*, *Hyyperö* und *Hypere* genannt wird (Haavio 1967, 80). Die Gemeinden, in denen die Belege aufgezeichnet wurden, liegen im südöstlichen und nördlichen Savolax (u. a. Juva und Kiuruvesi), nahe den Orten, wo die erwähnten Ortsnamen sich finden. Der Name der weiblichen Jagdgöttlichkeit wird für eine volksetymologische Bildung gehalten (Haavio 1967, 82). Die Tatsache, dass sowohl die Vogelbezeichnung wie auch der Ortsnamenbeleg in den zentralen Teilen Finnlands fehlen, ist ein wichtiges Detail in der Wortverteilung. Offenbar hat das ostlappische Vorkommen des Wortes mit karelischem Einfluss zu tun.

Schon früher habe ich auf den Zusammenhang zwischen den karelischen Appellativen und den ost- und nordfinnischen Ortsnamen verwiesen. Der Name für Berguhu im südwestlichen Finnland wird sprachgeographisch von dem entsprechenden Namen, der südlich und östlich des Finnischen Meerbusens zu finden ist, erhellt. Der Wortkarte entnehmen wir, dass dieser Name für Berguhu während einer Zeitperiode sich von südöstlichen Gruppen ostseefinnischer Sprachen nach Westen und Norden verbreitet hat. Die früh besiedelten südwestlichen Teile Finnlands, Teile des Finnischen Meerbusens und die Gegenden um den Ladogasee mit dem nahebelegenen Karelrien, das ein nördliches Hochland hat, haben in anderen Zusammenhängen alte gemeinsame Kulturelemente aufgewiesen. Zu den südlichen lappischen Dialekten kann der Vogelname nur aus dem südwestlichen Finnland gekommen sein. Die Waldfinnen, die nach Schweden aus dem zentralen Finnland kamen, hatten wahrscheinlich dieses Wort nicht in ihrem Dialekt. In meiner Dissertation über die Verbreitung finnischer Bootstermini und Ortsnamenelemente im Lappischen und ihre äusserste Verbreitung in einer slawischen Kultursphäre, habe ich gerade auf den Finnischen Meerbusen als einen Verbreitungskorridor verwiesen (Korhonen 1982).

Aber was wäre der Grund für eine Entlehnung des aktuellen Wortes ins Lappische? Es kann die sehr starke Stellung des Berguhus als Warnvogel im Volksglauben sein (Tillhagen 1978, 210f.). Im Volkskundearchiv (Kansanrunousarkisto) in Helsinki finden sich eine Menge Beispiele: Wenn der Berguhu (*hyyppi*) nahe an ein Dorf kam und im Wald mit einer „alten“ Stimme rief, starb kurz danach eine alte Frau oder ein Mann in einem der Häuser des Dorfes. Wenn er mit junger Stimme rief, starb ein junger Mensch im Dorf“ (Pyhäranta 1929). In den Archiven von ULMA, Uppsala, heisst es von Sorsele in Västerbotten: „Der Berguhu ist auch ein ‘Feigvogel’.“ Wenn er anfängt, sich in der Nähe eines Hofes aufzuhalten, wird jemand im Hof sterben (1933). Von Jokkmokk wird erzählt, dass ein Mensch im Dorf sterben wird, wenn der Berguhu (*lidno*) in der Nähe von der Sita (d. h. dem nomadisierenden Dorf) zu schreien anfängt und näher kommt und dann rufend davonfliegt (H. Grundström). Eine ältere Lappenfrau, die ich in Jokkmokk interviewte, erzählte, dass der Berguhu in der Nähe rief, als ihr Mann krank lag. Sie nahm ein glühendes Holzschicht aus dem Feuer und warf es in die Richtung des Vogels und war sicher, dass sie auf diese Art ihren Mann vom Sterben gerettet hatte.

Der Berguhu hält sich am liebsten in der Einöde auf, versteckt sich während des Tages in den Höhlungen der Felsabhänge und zeigt sich bei seiner Jagd in beeindruckender Grösse mit einem Federkleid, das gelb, schwarz und weiss schillert. Er ist der grösste aller Arten seiner Gattung.

Er kann bis zu 4 Kilo wiegen. All dies hat dazu beigetragen, ihm eine Sonderstellung in den volkstümlichen Vorstellungen zu geben. Am häufigsten hat man den schreckenserregenden Laut des Vogels mit jähem Tod und Unglück verbunden.

Es ist nicht schwer zu verstehen, dass der Berguhu der Hilfsgeist des Zauberers (Skanke 1945, 101–92) und im weitesten Sinne ein Warnvogel wurde. In lappische Gegenden muss der finnische Name des Vogels mit einer Bevölkerung gekommen sein, die tief verwurzelte Vorstellungen von dessen übernatürlichem Charakter hatte. Dieses geschah offenbar schon vor langer Zeit. Vielleicht ist auch anderer Einfluss auf älteren lappischen völkischen Glauben denselben Weg gekommen? Diese Frage zu erörtern, wird der zukünftigen Forschung zufallen.

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fi finnisch  
 saL lulelappisch  
 saN nordlappisch

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 SMS Suomen murteiden sanakirjan kokoelmat  
 Dialektkartensammlung

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# Sjiele Sacrifices, Odin Treasures and Saami Graves?

BY INGER ZACHRISSON

In this lecture I should first like to comment upon some new results which are of interest for the History of Religion from my dissertation on what I prefer to call the Saami metal deposits (Zachrisson 1984). These well-known "Finds from Lapp Places of Sacrifice", objects from the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages, were mostly found in northern Sweden (Hallström 1932; Serning 1956; Fjellström 1962). I then intend to present a new research project, dealing with prehistoric and medieval Saami graves from the south Saami area.

The fact that the metal objects have been lying among antlers and bones on the sacrificial sites is proved by Gustaf Hallström's report from his archaeological excavation in 1915 at Unna Saiva, a sacrificial site in Lapland, showing that the artefacts here were found in a layer of antlers. A silver earring from a well known Saami "sacrificial cave" at Ukonsaari, an island in L. Enare in northern Finland, was embedded in burnt bones. Christian Carpelan's recent excavations at a Saami dwelling-site from the 15th–16th c. by the same lake have revealed piles of antlers and bones, metal objects among them, possibly sacrifices.

The circumstances in which the large and much discussed Gråträsk find from northern Sweden was discovered—formerly interpreted as a sacrificial site, but without antlers or bones—have now been studied for the first time. According to old documents, the artefacts were situated in a "box" of logs, submerged by the shore of a lake, and attached to the bottom. The artefacts are all typical of the Saami sacrificial sites, and they have suspension holes and threads of the same kind as these finds. They must derive from sacrificial sites. The only plausible interpretation of this unique find is that it is a thief's cache. One or more sacrificial sites were plundered, and objects of pewter, bronze and silver from them—no iron, however, in contrast to other such sites—were collected and hidden under water in the box, probably on several occasions. All this indicates that the thief was not a Saami.

The artefacts from Gråträsk and the sacrificial sites had been suspended on woollen threads and not thongs of leather, the most common material

according to Saami grave finds. Was wool used for a practical reason or for a ritual purpose—perhaps the wool in itself was a sacrifice?

The most typical artefacts in the Saami metal deposits are the cast pendants of pewter, ca 500 in all. These have the character of amulets. They could have been suspended from Saami drums or personal belongings before being sacrificed. It has now been possible to date them to the first half of the 14th c., whereas they had formerly been attributed to the 11th–12th centuries. Their manufacture, metal composition and ornamentation show them to be of Saami fabrication.

One question which has not really been discussed before is why the Saamis began to sacrifice metal artefacts during the Viking Age. Was it because at this time metal objects became abundant in the North? Or is Knut Odner right in suggesting (1983) that it could be the result of influences from Nordic religious concepts? From southern Sweden we know of sacrificial finds consisting of animal bones, weapons and other artefacts, mostly from the early Iron Age. From Gotland, however, even some Viking Age finds of this kind are known.

If the latter explanation is correct, the Saami custom of sacrificing metal objects—together with the traditional antlers—could be another survival of traits of the Nordic Viking Age culture in the Saami culture. Other characteristics of the Nordic and Eastern peoples of the Viking Age, in ornamentation, dress etc., were taken over by the Saamis and gradually came to be regarded as something typically Saami. This is what the ethnologists call “culture fixation” (Erixon 1945). It shows that the Viking Age was a boom period for the Saamis, probably based on the fur trade.

I have also put forward a new hypothesis about why the Saamis ceased to sacrifice metal objects in the middle of the 14th c., the time to which the most recent datable foreign objects in the Saami metal deposits can be dated. Most of these reached the West Saami area from the Norwegian coast. At the beginning of the 14th c., a severe deterioration of the climate took place in Norway, as in the whole of northern Europe. In 1349–50 the country was struck by the Black Death, harder than its neighbours, as it seems. All this caused an agrarian crisis which laid waste between half and threequarters of the farmsteads in Norway. Russian chronicles from Novgorod also mention that the Black Death several times struck this vast empire with its influence on Saami areas and as far away as northern Norway (Akiander 1848).

It is in the light of these facts that the drastic break in the continuity of the Saami metal deposits must be seen. This sudden end of many hundreds of years of tradition must have had serious causes. The sacrificial sites continued to be used, but now without any quantity of metal artefacts being

sacrificed. I interpret this as a result of the Black Death. The trade contacts of the Saamis must have been broken, and it is likely that they themselves suffered from the Black Death. The custom of sacrificing metal objects seems, however, to have survived on a small scale among the Saamis until recent times. The Saami metal deposits could be early examples of so-called *Sjiele* sacrifices (Zachrisson 1984; cf. Mebius 1968; cf. Mebius 1972).

Furthermore, other kinds of metal deposits from the period 1000–1350 have been found in Saami regions far away from the Norwegian settled areas in northern Fenno-Scandia, i.e. metal deposits quite different in character from those mentioned above: silver hoards, consisting of one or several pieces of jewelry. They are characterized by pendants and rings. Many of the silver objects have their only known equivalents in the Saami metal deposits and Saami graves of northern Norway. It is significant that the distribution of the silver deposits is not the same as that of the Saami metal deposits. I am of the opinion that some of the former could also have been deposited by Saamis.

Should the silver deposits be interpreted as hoards or sacrifices? Rings always seem to have been objects of treasure and cult. Deposited gold and silver rings have often been shown to be sacrifices, and finds of a few precious artefacts are often looked upon as sacrifices and not treasure hoards. Such things have not been found in graves (Geisslinger 1970; Capelle 1970).

It is also possible that some of the silver jewelry in question was deposited in accordance with the so-called Odin's Law. Snorre Sturlasson writes in the 13th c. in *Heimskringla*, Chapter 8, about Odin establishing laws: "He said that every man should come to Valhalla with the riches that he had with him on the pyre; he should also benefit from the things that he himself had buried in the earth." Examples of this primarily east Scandinavian custom are also to be found in other west Scandinavian written sources, for example in Egil Skallagrimsson's Saga. Both Skallagrim and his son Egil, in his turn, hid their silver when they felt death approaching.

The same custom was alive among Saamis in Sweden and Norway as late as the 18th and 19th centuries. Leem writes from Norway of a Saami who, asked why he buried his money, answered: "If my money after my death came into the hands of others, then what should I live on in the Land of Death?" Högström relates from Swedish Lapland, also from the 18th century, that the Saamis bury their money "but hide nothing except what they themselves have buried at a certain place on their land, which they are not allowed to reveal or touch themselves". In 1973 von Düben quotes the above authors and adds that "such burials are still taking place in Stensele, Arjeplog and Jokkmokk".

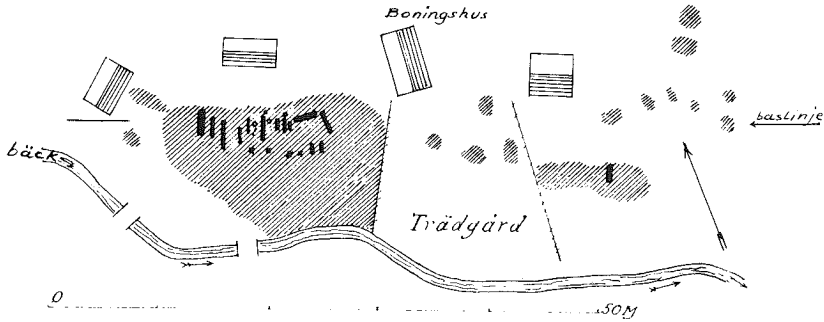


Fig. 1. The grave field at Vivalen in north-west Härjedalen, from the 11th–12th c. Plan by Gustaf Hallström, 1913.

This is the point where I should like to present a new Norwegian-Swedish archaeological-osteological research project. Our aim is to answer the much debated question “Were there Saamis in Hedmark, Härjedalen and Jämtland during the Viking and Middle Ages?” Some are of the opinion that the Saamis originally lived in central Sweden and southern Norway, and were then pushed back northwards, others that they did not until recent times spread as far south as northern Dalecarlia and L. Femunden (in Norway). Today, this last view is held especially by the Norwegian historian, Jörn Sandnes. He has also put forward the theory that the Saamis would have spread southwards in the vacuum following the Black Death in 1349–50 (Sandnes 1973).

There are, however, indications in the archaeological material that the history of the Saamis in southern Norway and central Sweden is a long one. In the new project we will now investigate this further: on the Norwegian side Guro Syversen, Oslo; from Sweden, Elisabeth Iregren, the osteologist, and myself, both working at the Museum of National Antiquities (Historiska Museet) in Stockholm, and Jan Sundström at Jämtlands läns museum in Östersund.

The starting-points for our work are the known finds, combined with new field investigations. The study of the grave material seems to be a fruitful means of starting this work of determining the ethnic affiliation of archaeological and anthropological material—the first time a research project in Sweden has had this as its main purpose.

As our investigation area in Sweden we have chosen an area of 60×20 km at the sources of R. Ljusnan in north west Härjedalen. In the centre is situated the grave field of Vivalen, 5 km NW of Funäsdalen. Twenty

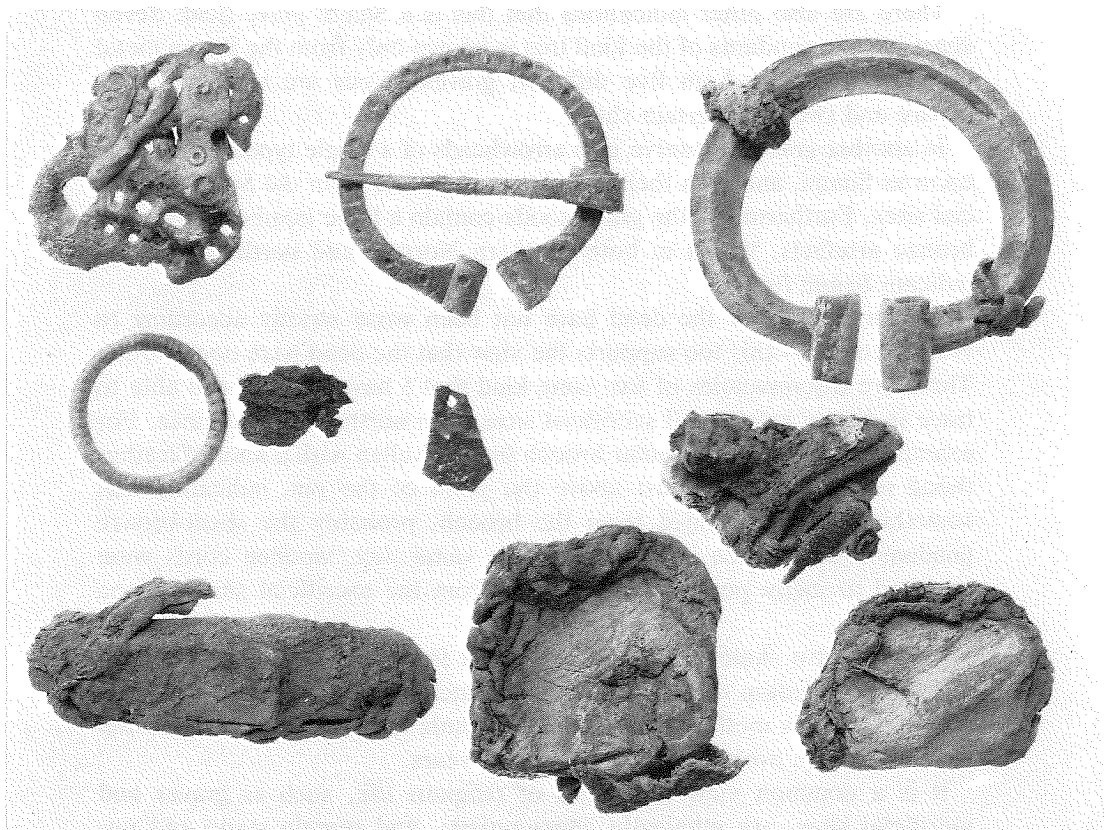


Fig. 2. Artefacts from the Vivalden graves, *inter alia* the three ring-shaped brooches of bronze, one of the trapezoid pendants of sheet bronze, and (below) three amulets, sewn up in leather (a pendant, a piece of bronze sheet, and a piece of wood). 1:1. Photo Gunnel Jansson.

graves, mostly from the 11th and 12th c., were excavated here by Gustaf Hallström in 1913 (Hallström 1944). These were skeleton graves, situated in two rows in a slope facing south, by a small stream. They were lying in flat ground, oriented north–south, and so close together that they must have had some markers above ground, so as not to interfere with each other. The dead had been tightly wrapped in mummy-like shrouds of birch-bark. This had made it possible to place them in the very narrow, rectangular, shallow pits in the sand, all of which except one were shaped like a trough. All this is characteristic of Saami pre-Christian burial custom as we know it from the Iron and Middle Ages—up to more recent times.

There are also other indications that this is a Saami grave field. Seven sheet-bronze pendants of the kind that is known only from the Saami metal deposits were found (in five different graves). Four are trapezoid, one square and two of uncertain shape.

In another grave lay twelve iron arrowheads of a single type, also looked upon as Saami, and with their closest counterparts from the Saami sacrificial sites. Furthermore, the grave goods contain a large number of Eastern bronze artefacts, which in both northern Norway and northern Sweden indicate Saami finds.

The ornaments of the dead have not been worn strictly according to Nordic custom—this too supports the view that the dead were non-Nordic. There are discrepancies of the same kind that I have earlier been able to trace in Saami graves and sacrificial sites from northern Scandinavia. For example, there is a penannular brooch from VivalLEN with a knot of leather thong round the frame just above the point of the pin, indicating that something was suspended from the brooch, probably the sheet-bronze pendant found beside it. In exactly the same way, woollen cords were attached to many penannular brooches from the sacrificial site at Unna Saiva.

There is also skeletal material preserved from VivalLEN. The anthropological investigation of this will above all include a study of the so-called discrete traits, a method of establishing ethnic affiliation and relationship which has been evolved during the last 15 years.

It is a common view that signs of religious life, such as graves and sacrificial sites, are ethnically characteristic, and remain static and unchanged for a long time. However, the oldest known typical Saami grave in Sweden is from the 14th c., from Tärna in west Lapland (Zachrisson 1986). What the Saami graves in most of Lapland looked like before that, we do not know. Maybe the dead were laid out on or above the ground (Storå 1971).

South of Lapland we know of many graves from the period ca A.D. 1–1050 from the interior, far away from the agrarian Nordic settlement areas, often situated on the dwelling sites of the hunter-gatherer culture. These are the so-called Lake Graves, known from the sources of the R. Ångermanälven in the north to Dalecarlia in the south. They have been interpreted as belonging to a hunter-gatherer culture, or to the Nordic agrarian culture. They can be divided into three groups (Baudou 1978).

The first and oldest consists of grave fields with cremation graves in triangular or circular stone settings. Two of the most thoroughly investigated of these are the ones at Smalnäset and Krankmårtenhögen, both situated in north-west Härjedalen. Some of their graves were covered with a layer of



*Fig. 3.* Krankmårtenhögen, a grave field in north-west Härjedalen from the time of the birth of Christ. Photo Göran Stolpe.

antlers of elk and reindeer, interpreted as sacrifices of the hunter-gatherer culture (Ambrosiani & Iregren & Lahtiperä 1984).

The second group consists of stone settings, many of them in Härjedalen and Jämtland. They are mostly cairns. It is typical how often the word “Finn” or “Lapp” (i.e. Saami) can be attached to them by tradition, or how it is said that Saamis have been buried at these places (Selling 1976).

The third, Viking Age, group, might also belong to the hunter-gatherer culture. I think it reasonable to call this culture Saami at least from the beginning of the 1st century A.D..

If the above is correct, it means that some Saamis during the Iron and Early Middle Ages borrowed their burial customs from neighbouring peoples. Odner has arrived at the same conclusion after studying graves from Norway and Finland. According to him, it was not until ca A.D. 1500 that a typical Saami burial custom had spread over the whole Saami area (Odner 1983).

Further studies of the preserved Viking Age and Medieval graves in northern Sweden are required. Many of the Saami graves are probably so similar to the Nordic ones that they can not easily be differentiated from them.

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# Old Nordic and Christian Elements in Saami Ideas about the Realm of the Dead

*Some Reflections from the Source Material and  
Previous Research in Saami Religion*

BY OLOF PETERSSON†

In his book *The Lapps* Professor Björn Collinder writes: “The Scandinavian loan-words in Lappish give striking evidence of the lively intercourse between Lapps and Scandinavians (up to the seventeenth century perhaps chiefly Norwegians). There are about three thousand such loan-words, and at least two hundred (probably many more) of them date from the epoch of Primitive Scandinavia or still earlier times; that is to say, they are at least about thirteen hundred years old. They belong to the same language as Scandinavian runic inscription from the time A.D. 700. [. . .] This is enough to refute the opinion that the Lapps are savages who have lived in isolation for many centuries. On the contrary, as long as thirteen centuries ago the Lapps, or at least part of them, had learned much from their more advanced neighbors [. . .]” (Collinder 1949, 37 ff., 40) About twenty years later Asbjörn Nesheim makes the claim in his study *Eastern and Western Elements in Lapp Culture*: “As far back in time as we can trace the Lapps, they have lived in areas where eastern and western elements of culture have met. This fact has left a distinct stamp on every aspect of Lapp culture, and on the language which contains a great number of loanwords” (Nesheim 1967, 104).

Collinder and Nesheim then—amongst several other scholars—have clearly fixed the starting-point which any student in the field of Saami religion must be aware of: Saami culture did *not* originate and develop in a vacuum. This does not mean however that Saami culture and religion are not something *sui generis*. To a certain point, the discussion is fairly unanimous: this or that loan word in Lappish comes from Scandinavia. But then the problems amass. The fact that a word or concept has been borrowed from outside does *not* mean that the *original* content, the original ideas which the loan word in question expresses, have also been adopted.

And this is by no means the case when it is a question of abstract words and notions. A word, an idea, a custom is taken over but *filled with new content*; in its new context it acquires a genuinely Saami conceptual load, which has its original domiciliary rights in Saami, north Eurasian culture. This means in turn that a *holistic* point of view must be adopted in an analysis of Saami beliefs. Different traditions—or beliefs—have been added to the *mother tradition* already extant in the Finno-Ugric, North Eurasian context.

The present brief notes on the Nordic and Christian influence on Saami ideas about the realm of the dead proceed from the *Saami religion as a whole*, examining and explaining it from an external perspective: what connecting-points are there in the “original” mother tradition for the new ideas which have been adopted over the course of time and which have been grafted on to the old? *The Saami religion must not be detached from the Finno-Ugric North Euroasian context to which it belongs*. A study of the foreign elements in Saami religion can never lead to greater or lesser degrees of probability. This is due primarily to inadequate source material. The sources for Saami religion which we possess are not primary sources, which go back to the Lapps themselves; they have been assembled by outsiders. In other words, they are *about* the Lapps and are from the 17th and 18th centuries at the earliest. They are in fact, as Louise Bäckman suggests: “[. . .] ethnographic records of a general kind, where information about the religion of the Lapps only takes up an insignificant part of the individual manuscripts” (Bäckman 1975, 50). Those who compiled these records were “children of their time” and bound by the conceptual models of the day and by the frames of reference of their religion—Christianity. These chroniclers—priests and missionaries—were limited in their knowledge of religions other than Christianity to a certain familiarity with classical antiquity and the old Norse sagas of the gods—of which all except of course Christianity were the “work of the devil”—a knowledge they had possibly acquired during their training. The Saami religion was automatically relegated to the “sphere of the devil”. It was to be replaced by Christianity through missionary activity.<sup>1</sup> It is not surprising therefore that these early writers sometimes made connections between Saami religion on the one hand and Nordic or classical religion on the other, when they were discussing gods whose character and activities reminded them of classical or old Norse divinities. The available source material on Saami religion reveals a number of names for the place or places to which the dead go, together with ideas about life after the present one. That these Saami ideas

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<sup>1</sup> For an evaluation of the source material see Mebius 1968, 9ff.; Bäckman 1975, 50ff.

show elements from non-Saami religion and culture cannot be questioned and has been pointed out with greater or lesser emphasis by a number of scholars who have occupied themselves with Saami religion.<sup>2</sup> The present reflexions about the Nordic and Christian elements in Saami ideas about the realm of the dead make no claim at all to represent any kind of comprehensive analysis, but merely attempt to introduce certain fundamental viewpoints concerning Saami religion beginning from the sources and from previous research. In this context, the problem of confrontation between different religions will also be considered in more general terms.

The first and fundamental starting-point for the study of the meeting of the Saami religion with the old Nordic and Christian ones will be the Saami religion itself in its Finno-Ugric and North Euroasian context and not the old Norse or Christian beliefs.

The question is then: to what extent can it be demonstrated that this religion has undergone influence from old Nordic and Christian elements? Earlier research—from the turn of the century—on Nordic and Christian influences on Saami ideas about the realm of the dead has sometimes reversed the question and asked about the Saami elements in Saami ideas about the realm of the dead; the essential contents of these ideas were supposed to be of Nordic or Christian origin. Thus Axel Olrik, for example, believed that Saami ideas about the realm of the dead were based on the Hel concept of the Nordic peoples (Olrik 1905, 36–64).<sup>3</sup> Helge Rosén worked in the same way: the Saami ideas about the realm of the dead had been shaped from concepts which had been borrowed from neighbouring Teutons during the Middle Ages (Rosén 1919, 16). Fritzner points out how the Norwegian Lapps had contact with Christianity even before the reformation (Fritzner 1877, 135 ff.). According to him, there were still elements of Catholic ritual to be found among the Lapps at the end of the 19th century. As an example of this Fritzner cites the detail that Saturday was

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<sup>2</sup> Only a few studies can be mentioned here as examples of research into this particular problem in Saami religion: Fritzner 1877; Bäckman 1975; Krohn 1906 (Krohn believes that Saami mythology is largely taken from Norse religion and that it thus "bietet uns nicht nur ergiebige quellen (!) und verlässliche zeugen (!) zur germanische mythologie (!) sondern auch ein sicheres kriterium (!) zur beurteilung (!) der religiösen vorstellungen (!) in den Eddaliteratur und zwar zur unterscheidung (!) des skandinavischen gemeingutes (!) und des speciell isländisch erwerbes (!), des echten erbeites (!) aus dem heidentum (!) und des christlichen lehngutes (!) darin" Krohn 1906, 180); Olrik 1905; Pettersson 1957; Rosén 1919; Unwerth 1911; Wiklund 1916; Mebius 1968; Hultkrantz 1962.

<sup>3</sup> One of the great authorities in the area of old Germanic religion, J. de Vries, values Olrik's research highly and believes that his studies have shown "die grosse Bedeutung die die Glaubensvorstellungen der Lappen für die Forschung der germanischen Heidentums haben, wie sie ihre rituelle Handlungen teilweise von ihren südlichen Nachbarn übernommen haben und zwar in einer sehr frühen Periode" (Vries 1956, 63).

dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Fritzner 1877, 41; Leem 1767, 493). Differentiation in the realm of the dead is according to him the result of the meeting with the Christian population (Fritzner 1877, 253). Von Unwerth (Unwerth 1911, 5 ff., 10 ff.) goes very far in his emphasis of the old Nordic influence, claiming amongst other things that the god of death Rotu (Rota) is identical with Odin. We shall return to this shortly.

Von Unwerth also claims that the Lapps have taken the idea that the dead lived in certain holy mountains from the Teutons: "Hier herrscht völlig die Vorstellung: jede Familie hat ihren Opferberg, mit strengen Bestimmungen ist seine Heiligkeit festgelegt, man glaubt dass die Verstorbenen in den Berg eingehen und drinnen ein dem menschlichen völlig gleiches Leben führen ganz wie die álfar des nordischen Volksglaubens, Lebende werden mit unter zu ihnen eingelassen wie die Isländer Thórdr in den Totenberg seines Geschlechtes [. . .]" (Unwerth 1911, 30). More recently, in 1969, Nordland introduced the same viewpoints (Nordland 1969, 73). Starting from the Eyrabyggjasaga, where there is a description of how the fanatical Aesir worshipper, Torolv Mostraskjegg, obtained his own death mountain, Helgafjell, Nordland attempts to show that the same idea was present in the beliefs of the Lapps. Some twenty years earlier, Nils Lid had tried to show that the holy mountain, like the realm of the dead, had come from the Teutons (Lid 1942, 144). Uno Harva (Harva 1915, 22) and Arbman (Arbman 1960, 127) assume that the Saami mountain of death has a Germanic model. Åke Hultkrantz may be said to sum up the view of modest scholarship when he writes: "Nach allem zu urteilen ist die Idee vom Saivoheim (*saiviaimo*) als jenseitigem Wohnsitz für bestimmte Verstorbene unter skandinavischer Vermittlung aufgenommen" (Hultkrantz 1962, 294).

The above scholars are all agreed that we are dealing with a Nordic loan as far as Saami ideas about the holy mountains are concerned. Naturally, as Louise Bäckman has pointed out (Bäckman 1975, 90 f.), it is not unreasonable to suggest that these ideas could be Saami in origin. Similar ideas—mountains as an abode for the dead—are mentioned in Russian sources. One Russian source, referring to the period around the eleventh century mentions populated mountains among the Jugrers:

"(1096) And I will relate what a person from Novgorod [. . .] before this last year told me: He had sent his servant [. . .] to Petschorene—for these people pay tax to Novgorod—and after my servant had arrived among them, he went from there to the Jugrers. But the Jugrers are a silent, heathen people (of a foreign tribe) and border with the Samoyeds in the northern regions: these (Jugrers) said to my servant: we find a mysterious miracle, which we have not heard (mentioned) before now; and it is now three years since this miracle first began. There are mountains, on the way

to Lukomorie, and they reach almost to the sky and in these mountains there is a great roaring and talking, and they split open the mountain if they wish to break it. And if someone gives them iron, or a knife, or a broad-axe, then they give animal hides in return [...] And there is also a road to these mountains, which is impassable, because of the many precipices, deep snow and forest, and therefore always inaccessible" (Akiander 1848, 23). Wiklund has some information about the belief in holy mountains occurring in Russia, but there are no dead people in them (Wiklund 1916, 47, note 1). According to the data in the Russian source referred to, the idea of mountains of the dead is found not only in Scandinavia but also in the eastern parts of the North European area (Craigie 1920, 851 ff.).<sup>4</sup>

In spite of this information, there is much to suggest that we are dealing with a Nordic influence, even if—bearing in mind the part played by mountains and fells in the Lapland landscape—and the fact that the concept is found outside Scandinavia—it is tempting to think that it could be a purely Saami, North Eurasian idea. But bearing in mind the geographical proximity and the clear Nordic parallels, it is reasonable to rest with the assumption that ideas about the *sajvo* mountains are of Nordic origin.

It is by no means clear, however, that the Lapps also adopted the old Nordic ideas which were associated with these Nordic mountains of the dead in their *Nordic* context. *Sajvoaimo* is no realm of the dead, but rather—as Louise Bäckman has clearly shown—"[...] a permanent residence for deities [...] i.e. guardian spirits, tutelary geniuses, and at a later stage in the history of the Southern Lapps, subterranean ones" (Bäckman 1975, 100 ff.).<sup>5</sup>

"Shamanistic ideology includes a feature according to which the souls of shamans or worthy persons become, after their death, guardian spirits for those still living, thus acquiring a status different to that of ordinary mortals in the 'other life' [...]" (Bäckman 1975, 103).

I have previously suggested (Pettersson 1957, 132 ff.) that *sájvo* was a realm of the dead like *Jabmeaimo*. Through subsequent studies of shamanism and the belief in guardian spirits I have come to a different conclusion to the one I reported in 1957. *Sájvo* cannot be equated with a realm of the dead in the manner of *Jabmeaimo*, even if a confusion of the two often appears in the sources, and the boundary is often fluid. Arbman expressed the matter in these terms in a posthumous article from 1960. He believed

<sup>4</sup> According to Craigie 1920 similar ideas are found in the religions of primitive peoples.

<sup>5</sup> Arbman 1960, 124: "We may thus confirm—a fact that seems to have been completely forgotten in the lengthy discussion of the *saivo* mountains—that in large parts of the Scandinavian area according to Saami belief every holy mountain has been populated by a quite small group of divine spirits—a Saami miniature pantheon as it were."

that "these sacred mountains as dwelling places for the souls of departed Lapps cannot really, as people generally seem to have imagined, have been identical with either an as it were idealized or an improved form of the underworld Jabmeaimo. In actual fact, it was a completely different world, which at the time of the Lapps' conversion to Christianity did not have, and had not previously had, anything in common with Jabmeaimo" (Arbman 1960, 124 ff.).

To summarise the Nordic/Christian influence regarding the *sájvo* ideology, it is highly probable that we are dealing with an old Nordic loan of the concepts of the sacred mountains. The parallels between old Nordic sources on the one hand and Lappish ones on the other are so strong, that one is justified in assuming a Nordic influence. *But it is only the external frames which have been borrowed*, i.e. the ideas about the sacred mountains. The Lapps have then "filled in" these frames with their own native, religious content, relating it to Saami ideas about the shaman's guardian spirits and other types of spirits. We meet a process here which we may observe in different contexts in the world of religion: in confrontations between religions and cultures there is never a complete and unqualified adoption of an idea from the "alien" religion from which the loan takes place, but the borrowed ideas are filled with or supplemented by the original concepts, i.e. those of the mother tradition. The new becomes a brick which is adapted or fitted into the old system of beliefs. Thus, even if the *sájvo* probably has its *external* models in the old Nordic ideas of Helgafjell, the content of the Saami ideas is shaped according to a genuine Saami model, where shaman ideology is of decisive significance.<sup>6</sup>

The real realm of the dead for the Lapps was Jabmeaimo (Jámie-ájmo).<sup>7</sup> It is genuinely Saami in character and has its equivalents among different Finno-Ugric and North Eurasian peoples (See Pettersson 1957, 137 ff.). Ideas about Jabmeaimo are found in the mother tradition. It was situated below the earth and undifferentiated. Many features of Saami and North Eurasian beliefs about the realm of the dead reveal elements at a general level in common with ideas found in many other religions (Hel in the Nordic countries, Hades among the Greeks, "the land without return" among the Babylonians etc.) without for this reason permitting us to form any conclusions about identity or common origins. *We only speak of a phenomenological resemblance*. The Saami Jabmeaimo is *sui generis* and must only be interpreted in its own terms, i.e. *starting point* for interpretation is the *Saami* realm of the dead and nothing else. As mentioned previously, a

<sup>6</sup> I refer to Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978 with its comprehensive bibliography.

<sup>7</sup> The sources have different designations: Jabmeaimo, Jamikaimo etc.

number of scholars have attempted to suggest that the Saami ideas of Jabmeaimo have been borrowed from the ancient Teutons.

“A little way into the earth is Jabmiaimo, where Jabmiakka, the mother of death is mistress. All mortals there are as powerful as they have been in the world and they receive a new body, in place of the one that is rotting on earth” (Sidenius 1910, 59). We may let these words of Lennart Sidenius represent what we actually know of ideas about the realm of the dead in the Saami religion:

the realm of the dead is in the earth  
the realm of the dead has a mistress, Jabmiakka  
the realm of the dead is undifferentiated.

The realm of the dead is created from the world of the living. There is no idea of any resurrection. Sources going back to T. von Westen (Westen 1910, 3), H. Forbus (Forbus 1910, 35) and others give similar evidence. In contrast to this picture of Jabmeaimo, however, there are certain statements which point towards ideas of differentiation with regard to the realm of the dead. Kildal, writes: “[...] if the Lapp has not obeyed his gods, then his soul comes to the most evil Rota down in Rotaimo, which lies quite deep in the earth where it also acquires a new body” (Kildal 1910, 89), and Forbus says: “Those who dwell deep down in the earth are in Rotaimo, or place of torment, where those souls remain who have not obeyed their gods here in life” (Forbus 1910, 36).<sup>8</sup>

The source material, which can here only be briefly indicated, is very meagre and difficult to interpret, but suggests the possibility of differentiation, with one realm for the good and another for the bad. Even if the information is vague, the fact remains that the idea of a differentiated realm of the dead appears in the available source material. The question is what has inspired these ideas:

Are they ideas which have emerged from the Saamis' own religion, or are these ideas the result of old Norse/Christian influence? The answer to this question cannot go beyond conjecture. The vagueness and confusion of these ideas result from the fact that it was originally a matter of an undifferentiated realm of the dead: the new ideas about a differentiated realm of the dead are from later and not integrated in the Saami cosmology. This does not, however, eliminate the possibility that concepts of a differentiated realm of the dead were part of a genuine, original Saami concept existing as a vague element in ideas which later developed into more

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. Forbus 1910, 37: “Those who have lived wicked lives remain for ever in Rotaimo.”

concrete, if still very vague, ideas about one realm of the dead for the good and another for the bad—those who had not “obeyed their gods”.

The Finno-Ugric, North Eurasian material shows similar ideas about places for the evil and the good after death: the Jurak Samoyeds say that the evil go to the evil god, *Ngaa*, whilst the good go to the good god, *Num*, the god of heaven. Lehtisalo (Lehtisalo 1924, 133 ff.) denies that Christian/Russian myths could have carried these ideas to the Jurak Samoyeds. He gives an account of various myths and suggests that they are of Jurak-Samoyed origin. Similar ideas are found among the Voguls, the Ostyaks, the Mordvins etc.<sup>9</sup>

From a phenomenological point of view, I would claim that within most religions we find ideas of right and justice transcending earthly existence. Thieves, murderers etc. are excluded from society here in life. It follows as a logical consequence of such thinking that life after death excludes from society those people who are regarded as anti-social, “evil”, here on earth. Such “thoughts of retribution” were present in embryo in the original religion and have served as a point of contact for possible ideas coming from outside. Moreover, the Saami religion is characterised by a high degree of suggestibility (cf. Nilsson 1916, 304), which creates a tendency to adopt other ideas. The combination of embryonic original ideas about retribution and religious suggestibility facilitates and explains this adoption, which is *actually a reinforcement* of already extant elements. What has been adopted is actually nothing new. The idea, inherent in religion, of a differentiated realm of the dead may have been reinforced from two directions, Christian and old Norse. Even before the Reformation in Scandinavia, the Saamis, as has been suggested, had encountered Christian ideas about purgatory. And there is no doubt that the Saamis not only came into contact with, but also adopted, Christian ideas. These included the doctrine of heaven and hell (cf. Fritzner 1877, 138 ff.). The concepts of differentiated realm of the dead which we encounter in Saami religion consist of three components:

- original Saami elements
- the influence of Christianity through missionaries
- old Nordic ideas

The Saami element must be linked with the old shamanistic idea of heaven as a region of the universe peopled by gods and spirits. Ideas about life in the realm of the dead as a continuation of life on earth also belong to this Saami component.

<sup>9</sup> For additional examples see Pettersson 1957, 137 ff.



The influence of Christianity is constituted by the Christian belief in life after this one for both the righteous and the wicked, which the missionaries spread and which provides the typically Christian element of their preaching.

The possible old Norse influence with regard to differentiation in the realm of the dead is more difficult to specify. The old Norse Hel was originally undifferentiated. To this concept of Hel, however, there were attached ideas about a paradise for heroes, *Valhalla*. It is possible that these concepts may have influenced Saami ideas, but the sources are quite silent on this point.

In scholarship it has been almost axiomatic that the Saamis have "borrowed" an essential part of their ideas about the realm of the dead from old Norse beliefs.<sup>10</sup> The discussion of Norse influence includes the question of whether the underworld god *Ruto* was of Norse origin. The figure of *Ruto* is only mentioned in the Norwegian material from the 18th century and to find evidence for this in the source material is impossible. In my study from 1957 *Jabmek and Jabmeaimo* I have, in association with Holmberg-Harva, tried to maintain *Ruto*'s connection with Finno-Ugric, North Eurasian religion and culture (Pettersson 1957, 138 ff.), whilst a subsequent essay is entitled *The god Ruto. Some Phenomenological Reflections* (Pettersson 1983). Professor Gustav Ränk (Ränk 1981) represents the same line of research.

The attempt to find *Ruto*'s origins in Norse culture, which von Unwerth among others strongly asserts, has no foundation in the source material. Hans Mebius, in his study *Värrö* has demonstrated the weaknesses of von Unwerth's arguments (Mebius 1968, 110 ff.). Scholars who have come to assume a Nordic origin have, to demonstrate this, picked out odd details from the source material, which they have then taken out of context. This kind of scholarly work cannot lead to acceptable results.

A survey of the source material and the history of research confirms that we must probably place *Ruto* in the Finno-Ugric, North Eurasian religious and cultural pattern. The question then arises of to what extent the figure of *Ruto* has been influenced by Christian ideas borrowed from the Christian figure of the devil. As mentioned previously, *Ruto* only occurs in Norwegian source material from the 18th century. The sources have their origin in an early missionary context. We should remember that the Christian missionaries who have given us information about the Saami religion worked with a Christian background and with a Christian terminology.<sup>11</sup> A consistent feature in all the sources is that the function of *Ruto* is of a protective

<sup>10</sup> See the previously mentioned works of von Unwerth, Olrik, Krohn, Fritzner.

<sup>11</sup> Concerning the sources, see Mebius 1968, 21 ff.

nature. Sacrifices to him are sacrifices for protection. The picture of Ruto as a kind of explicit devil figure is probably a result of missionary activity and missionary description in the sources.

With differentiation of the Saami realm of the dead, Rotaimo, the home of Ruto came to signify hell. I have previously mentioned the question of different places of residence for the "evil" and the "good". According to Sidenius "the soul in Iamaimo [...] acquires [...] a new body, and then after a time comes to Radien, if one has lived a worthy life according to the will of the gods [...] But those who have lived badly remain in Rotaimo" (Sidenius 1910, 37). Skanke translates Radien-aimo by "the place of the Holy in God's Heaven" (Skanke 1910, 105). Leem (Leem 1767, 410) explains that Radien takes the dead to him after they have been in the realm of the dead for some time. Those who have disobeyed the gods go to Ruto.

The different names for the realm of the dead are vague and confused in the source material. There is no evidence of clear differentiation in the realm of the dead—only a hint of such a division. I consider it likely that this vague division between the realm of Radien and Rotaimo may be ascribed to the preaching of Christian missionaries. The missionaries started from Christianity when they formed their ideas of Saami religion. It was described and analysed from the perspective of the dominant theological beliefs (cf. Holsten 1932, 126ff., Grönlund 1848).

I should like to summarise the foregoing under four points:

1. The source material is so vague that no *certain* conclusions may be drawn.
2. As far as old Norse influence is concerned, its relevance is limited to the *saivo* concept.
3. The sources dealing with the realm of the dead in general contain elements which are of Christian origin. The statements of the missionaries have a Christian bias. In them we meet a Saami belief with Christian colouring.
4. The Saami realm of death, Jabmeaimo, is Saami in character, with certain Christian elements (purgatory, heaven–hell, heavenly god–devil).

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# On Time-reckoning in Old Saami Culture

BY SIV NORLANDER-UNSGAARD

Qu'est-ce que le temps?

Le temps est peut-être, parmi les aspects d'une culture, celui qui en caractérise le mieux la nature. Il en est l'incarnation, il est relié à la conception du monde d'une époque, au comportement des individus, à leur conscience, à leur rythme vital, à leurs rapports avec les choses (Gurevich, 1983, 96).

Suomen suvi—the Finnish summer  
on kaunis—is beautiful  
mutta lyhyt—but short.

This quotation ending the first part of Väinö Linna's *Crofter Trilogy* is also representative of the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish summer, but in particular of the summer in Lapland as well as the other arctic regions. The literary quotation is to be understood in the following sense: Man when young, vigorous and potent has a beautiful life, even though circumstances may not be the best. The underlying aspect has a strong, life-holding character with an erotic flavour that gives us a sad impression because of its sensible awareness of the brevity of Man's powerful period. Here *the concept of the individual time aspect* in an allegorical sense is quite perceivable.

*The concept of time* can also be seen from a general point of view. The same word *suvi* (summer) earlier played an important role in *time-reckoning* as a part of an old expression in the Saami and Finnish languages concerning a couple of days in the middle or at the end of April.<sup>1</sup> “[...] From the 9th to the 15th of April. A. *Suwija*, D. *Kess Idja*, ‘The week of the Summer nights’, E. *Suvidja*, the day of *Tiburtius* on the 14th of April [...]. It is worth paying special attention to the form of the word *suwija* (*suvipäivä*, on 14th of April, the summerday) which is obviously a loan from the Finnish language [...]” (Wiklund 1897, 16; cf. Grundström 1950, 47 ff.; Toivonen et al. 1955–81, 1141; cf. Nilsson 1934, 107).

The first impression is confusing. Summer in April is not relevant to the arctic climate. Scheffer says about the Saamis: “[...] As for Spring and

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<sup>1</sup> The common Lule Saami word for summer is *kiessē*, *kässe* (Grundström 1950, 47); cf. Finnish *kesä*, summer (Toivonen et al. 1955–1981, 187).

Autumn they know neither, there being so very little space between the extremity of cold in the Winter, and heat in Summer [...]” (Scheffer 1674, 8).

My intention in this paper is to show that time-reckoning in old Saami culture was an orientation towards macrocosmos and microcosmos, conditioned by factors in the ecological environment affecting the course of men’s practical activity, and that the concept of the two main seasons—winter and summer—with their subdivisions was the primary basis of time-reckoning.<sup>2</sup>

What kind of sources do we have at our disposal for checking the old Saami concepts of time-reckoning? In this area we have a) a collection of old Saami calendars of wood, bone and horn and the studies of them made by earlier scholars, b) laws, and c) literary notices of various kinds, among them missionary reports.<sup>3</sup>

The way of thinking around the expression of the ‘week of the Summer nights’ in April reminds the scholar well-versed in the sagas of corresponding expressions such as *sumarmál*, *vetrnaetr* (summer nights, winter nights) (Nilsson 1960, 82; cf. Lid 1934, 129). The winter night was marked on the calendars on the 14th of October, the day of Calixtus (Lithberg 1921, 152–167). In Lule Saami it was called *talvidja* (Wiklund 1897, 16; Grundström 1950, 48 f.).<sup>4</sup>

Reckoning time in this way corresponded to the old Icelandic concept of *misseri*, the summer and winter parts of the year (Beckman 1934, 20 ff.).<sup>5</sup> Kristoffer Sjulsson tells about the same measuring of time from the southern part of Lapland in terms of *sjeunjestie* (the dark period) and *tjuoikestie* (the light period) (Pettersson 1979, 87).

Students of the field did not always agree in views and opinions upon this division of the year into two for all Scandinavia, but Sam Owen Jansson, a scholar with great knowledge of the subject writes on time-reckoning as follows:

The division in summer and winter halves of the year, which is constituted in the Icelandic calendar, is most likely to be the original division and belongs to the calendar tradition, common in the whole of Europe. (Jansson 1982, 274.)

Also K. Vilkuna declares openly the same opinion (Vilkuna 1977, 61). Today this view is general among scholars of whom Lithberg is the first to

<sup>2</sup> However it is important to realize that “[...] no religion grows out of the ecological, economic or the technical presumptions although *the forms do* [...]” (Hultkrantz 1973, 146 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> This paper does not intend to cover all the examples. See for example Granlund & Granlund 1973, 182 ff. a covering bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> The corresponding expression is *Suvidja*, summer night.

<sup>5</sup> See Blöndal et al. 1920–1924, 2, 550.

have mentioned it. Almanacs covering only one year began to appear in the late 16th century in Scandinavia (Lithberg 1934, 77; cf. Danver 1943, 14 ff.). The first almanac in the Saami language was printed in 1795 and this happened only in Sweden, not in Norway, Russia or Finland (Wiklund 1897, 25). In those days Norway was a part of Denmark and Finland a part of Sweden. The first time an almanac was printed in the Finnish language was in 1705 in Åbo (Harva 1937, 70).<sup>6</sup>

The printed almanac followed the continental tradition, which is understandable, for printing was invented by Gutenberg in Germany. This tradition is also to be found in the old calendars which preceded the almanac.<sup>7</sup> It came originally from the Roman Church, which inherited it from Julius Caesar and introduced it in Europe with the Julian calendar. It also brought an oriental influence to Europe (Edsman 1981, 4). This was also the first calendar which was gradually adopted for use in Scandinavia (Jansson 1982, 271).

This was long before the constitution of the national states of Denmark-Norway, Sweden-Finland, which later made use of the same calendars as the Church, but under the name of *the civil calendar* (Edsman 1981, 4). The Julian calendar tradition is sometimes called 'the old style', for the new Gregorian calendar was introduced in 1753 in Sweden, while the Academy of Science has been responsible for the almanac since 1749 (Nilsson 1934, 4; Lithberg 1933, 59). These two calendars existed and were used side by side for a long time and people stuck willingly to the old style (Nilsson 1934, 4).

The official calendar tradition is also called 'the learned tradition'. Before the civil calendar appeared, the dioceses in Trondheim (Nidaros), Uppsala and Åbo (from 1220) were responsible for time-reckoning. They were given great freedom by the Pope, as can be seen from the calendars, where the names of many saints appear at different dates in the three dioceses. The days of Tiburtius and Calixtus were nearly always mentioned, however, and always in the middle of April and October. We can therefore take it for granted that a very old concept of time-reckoning in seasons is concealed behind the names of the two Popes, who meant little to people in Scandinavia and that this concept was valid in all three dioceses (Nilsson 1934, 105 ff.).

It is evident that the authorities, particularly the Church and the national

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<sup>6</sup> Sweden and Finland were separated in 1809, when Russia took the supremacy over Finland. In compensation Sweden got Norway which was a part of Denmark earlier. This union was dissolved in 1905 and Norway became an independent state. Finland became also independent—in 1917 (Carlsson-Rosén 1979, 448, 488).

<sup>7</sup> About definitions of tradition see Hultkrantz 1960, 229 ff.; Hultkrantz 1973, 14 f.; Mebius 1972, 55.

states, had a common interest in the calendar, for it was a useful instrument for attaining their goals. The Church wanted control over the souls and the national states wanted both taxes and control over the people. The oldest form of taxes was connected with the seasons in the form of *the winter and summer taxes*. The word summer became an important term among the different taxes and is mentioned in most of our laws. This is even the original meaning of the word calendar in Latin *calendarium*, which was the name of the account-books in Rome (Liebgott 1973, 9).

In addition to the learned and civil calendar tradition there is a popular one observed in time-reckoning. There is no doubt that *this popular tradition is the older one*, as it has grown out of local customs. It is amazing how conservative people are; generation after generation do what the elder generation did in matters concerning time-reckoning. Authorities may try to change the rules, but *a custom related to the biocosmic rhythm* with its change of light and darkness was considered *sacred*. It gave the biological revival to man's economic conditions in the form of growing plants, hunting and breeding animals. Therefore the marking of such a custom in the calendar was not a suitable object for alteration.<sup>8</sup>

People in Europe used a calendar perpetuum, "an eternal calendar", before and even after the almanac was introduced. It was a kind of device for calculating time, especially holy days, in the manner they were used to. A definition of the word *calendar* is here required:

By the term 'calendar' we understand the system by which days are named in relation to their place in larger units of time. In this sense the subdivision of the day into hours or other small units is independent of the calendar, while the era or other method by which years are named or numbered is also, as a rule, independent of it. Even the point from which the year is reckoned may be independent, and the Julian calendar has notoriously been used along with many different eras and many different New Year's Days [...] (Fotheringham 1910, 61).

As we have seen above the use of the word calendar has a double function, the one abstract, the other concrete.

The calendars preceding the almanac were made of different materials and could have all kinds of forms such as swords, sticks, wands, rings, books, boards, boxes, clocks, pictures and they could even be fan-shaped. They appeared under different denominations, a common appellation was *rimstavar* from *rime* (time-reckoning) and *stavar* (wands) (Lithberg 1920, 1-27; Lithberg 1934, 77-94).

An English term was *Runic calendars*, because of the carved sign of the

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<sup>8</sup> Examples of the importance of the sun in people's early history see Edsman 1957; Biezais 1972, 249.



old runic letters. The use of these was in a way complicated and a man was regarded with respect, if he knew how to handle a score or a runic calendar.

The *Saami calendars* were made of *wood, bone or horn* and took the shape of *plates, lamellae*. Ingalill and John Granlund have pointed out that *the handy form and the material* better suited nomadic conditions than breakable wands. They were made portable (Granlund & Granlund 1973, 87). The result of their investigation of thirty old Saami calendars was that *Saami time-reckoning is of a very old date*. It is of the same very old type as *the board calendar from Trøndelagen* and *the 'rimstainar'* (time-reckoning stones) from Estonia, previously investigated by Nils Lithberg and Sam Owen Jansson (Granlund & Granlund 1973, 94).

The calendars of this epoch were earlier valid also for the Scandinavian peninsula. Evidence of their old origin is found in the reckoning of weeks. Lithberg writes about the reckoning of weeks: "[. . .] in Scandinavia there existed an ancient primitive division of time founded on the revolution of the moon [. . .]. The basis was the half of a lunation, which resulted in 'fortnights', in 'ny' and 'nedan' (new moon, waning moon) [. . .]" (Lithberg 1944, 158). The word *week* is of a very old use, for it existed long before Christianity and therefore cannot be a Christian invention. The week is connected with the phases of the moon (Vilkuna 1957-58, 213).

When the Julian calendar was introduced, the Saamis continued their way of measuring time in weeks, because they were used to having fixed points based on such a time-reckoning. This was the reason why they did not accept the new system of counting in months. On the whole *there is no Saami calendar arranged in months* (Granlund & Granlund 1973, 97). When they later adopted months, it was in a system of thirteen months, but the weeks were originally the mainstay of their time-reckoning.

The Granlunds discovered that Saami time-reckoning was dependent on *the summer and winter solstices* and on *the vernal and autumnal equinoxes*. The latter ones were *the points of time* when new work started and the Saamis changed their settlements (Granlund & Granlund 1973, 97; cf Alstadius 1750, 169). It was *at the vernal and the autumnal equinoxes* that *the durative time of the summer* and *the durative time of the winter* began. These were also *times for sacrificing* (Mebius 1972, 96 f.). The confusing names of the old calendars: *Suvidja* (summer night) in the middle of April and *Talvidja* (winter night) in the middle of October are now quite perceivable to us. (cf. Grundström 1946-54, 1027, 1071).

When were the limits of the seasons fixed in the calendar? In all probability they already appeared in the first official calendar. In the continental calendar tradition we find that Tiburtius and Calixtus were fixed at the same dates as in Scandinavia. Lithberg stresses that the popular tradition of

these two days has been long alive in the Swedish countryside. He finds no traces in the learned tradition of them (Lithberg 1953, 274).

The Julian calendar was valid in many countries, but the binary division of the year into summer and winter halves is older than Christianity. The word *sommar* in Swedish (summer) is related to *sa'mā* in Sanskrit (*half year*) and has its origin from the reckoning of two seasons among the Indo-Europeans (Hellquist 1980, 1027). This is also the concept of *Suvi* in the Saami calendar.

*The popular Saami concept of time* behind the time-reckoning was close to Nature. In a society or a culture where hunting and fishing and breeding animals were the chief occupations, the concepts were influenced by the circumstances surrounding these activities. The environment created the concepts of time (Granlund & Granlund 1973, 87; cf. Campbell 1982, 81 ff. about the importance of the start and the end of a working year or a culture year in an arctic area).

In the northern parts of Sweden as well as in the whole of Finland two Norwegian-Saami expressions are still used as time indicators in everyday language. The first one is *skamtida*, in the 18th century *skamdia*, a name for *the darkest period of the winter*. Lid explains it as derived from *skam-* 'stutt' (short) in Latin *brevis*, and *tida* (time). It is when the days are short of light. The expression corresponds to *bruma* in Latin (Lid 1934, 123, 138 note 4). According to linguistic rules the equivalent Finnish word is *kaamo(s)aika*, *aika* (time) (Toivonen et al. 1955–81, 134).

The other expression is the Saami word *rusjkā*, in Finnish: *ruska-aika* (the red-brown time) for the period when everything turns yellow, red and brown in Nature (1946–54, Grundström 885).

These indications of time are older than our concept of the year. It is therefore incorrect to talk of a 'divided year' (Nilsson 1960, 86 ff.; cf. 'år' (year) in Hellquist 1980, 1422 f.). The seasons with their subdivisions were the line in time-reckoning as well as the weeks in pre-Christian society. From this it follows that we have to reconsider the concept of the *New Year*, unless we are talking of a *Nature year*, which is the same thing as a *Tropic year*, the sum of the seasons. In the time-reckoning of the Saamis all seasons (except *suvi*) have purely Saami names (Wiklund 1897, 5). Usually they talk about eight seasons in all.

The orientation of time from a general point of view was made *vertical* towards the heavenly bodies—the sun, the moon, the stars; and *horizontal* towards Nature in form of fauna and flora (cf. Nilsson 1960, 2).

Time indicators took on a *sacred aspect* and became important to man and his view of the world. For example, in sayings still used, *the bear goes into and out of the den in the week around Calixtus and Tiburtius*.

If these two points of time (Calixtus and Tiburtius) are combined we get the period of the winter, which was *the hunting period* (Dalalagen, see Nilsson 1934, 107 f.; Grundström 1950, 49). The summer was *the growing period* and *the tree* was here a good indicator of time (see James 1961, 11. Preface). The seasons with these indicators always reappear as in a circle, and the ring became the symbol of time (cf. *annus* in Latin (year) Müller 1982, 536 ff.). This is *a circular concept of time* (cf. Gurevich 1969, 48; cf. Benktson 1981, 1).

Time-reckoning in our Western societies of today starts at the birth of Jesus Christ, or what we assume was his birth. As late as the Middle Ages the term *märkesår* (marking year) was used for a point of time or a period of time, for example, in the event of plague, battle or war (Benediktsson 1981, 161 f.; Liedgren 1981, 162; Vilkuna 1981, 162 f.).

[...] the uniting of the seasons into the year is only a late and incomplete development, [...] the years are not reckoned as members of an era but are distinguished and fixed by concrete events (Nilsson 1960, 86).

Such an event in Saami history was *the bear hunt*, marked on the drums and on the dress of the hunters. Among the Saamis it took place at the end or the beginning of the winter (cf. Hallowell 1962, 31 ff.; "A phenomenon peculiar to the peoples of the far North is that the winter is the time of the festivals [...]") (Nilsson 1960, 339). The hunt and the transport of the heavy bear carcass were possible only during a short period, when snow conditions permitted such an activity. Thus the bear feast marked the end of the winter, or the beginning of it (cf. Bakró-Nagy 1979, 16; cf. Le Roy Ladurie 1979, 337 ff.).

The bear could see and hear everything and was considered to have extraordinarily great powers. For this reason the bear can be seen as a time indicator of the individual life-span. From popular medicine we know about women who used a bear paw as an obstetric help in northern Scandinavia (Gjessing 1953, 250). In the same way Collinder informs us of Saami obstetric tricks and practices: a midwife who "[...] used dead men's bones which were sewn into a black catskin [...]" (Collinder 1949, 125).

At their betrothal a couple swore fidelity to each other on a bear skin (Düben 1977, 278). Also we hear about bear dances in connections with weddings and on special dates, for example in February and Lent, in the Swedish countryside and in the south of Europe (Edsman 1967–68, 137–146).

Von Düben tells us about a man who counted his ancestry from the number of bears he and his family had killed (Düben 1977, 284; cf. age from *aldo* [reindeer cow with calf] Drake 1918, 279).

We know that the bear was regarded as a ferry man for the dead among peoples in the East. Pettersson points out the similarity between the Saami concepts of birth and death. The Saamis give rings as gifts on these occasions (Pettersson 1957, 87; Mebius 1972, 106 ff.).

There are many Iron Age finds in the form of bear skins with claws from graves on the island of Gotland and on the east coast of Sweden, which, of course is not a Saami area, but as information it is of great interest (Wigardt & Petré 1973, 1–51).

The concepts of Man's existence were obviously linked to the bear in Saami culture. He was called 'grandfather' or other *fictitious names*. Man's existence is the same thing as life-span. The crucial points of the life-span are birth, 'wedding', and death. They all meant *a transition from one condition to another* and were surrounded by special rites (Gennep 1909, 19–33; cf. Edsman 1963, 1–59). The aspect of time is of the greatest importance within the rites and a common idea in the concept of time was 'to do things in the right time'.<sup>9</sup>

Vilkuna has shown that it is possible to trace the bear to the old Midsummer, 13.7, and the old Midwinter 13.1 (Vilkuna 1962, 43–83; cf. Edsman 1952, 859). These two points of time mean a division of the main seasons into two parts, each of thirteen weeks. Vilkuna calls it "the two-parted or four-parted year" (Vilkuna 1962, 43 ff.). It would be more correct to talk about the binary season in relation to what is said above about *the year*.

Vilkuna's investigation was based on Estonian and Finno-Ugrian materials. To emphasize Finnish influence on Saami calendar terms only from a linguistic point as he, Harva and Grundström do is, in my view, too easy. They neglect the function of the calendar.

The Granlunds comment upon the case is: "As is apparent from the orientation in tabular form of the Saami calendars in picture 5:5 Harva's, Vilkuna's and Grundström's statements about the Saamis having got their calendar merely from Finland are based on material which is not extensive enough and must therefore be modified [. . .]" (Granlund & Granlund 1973, 75). Jansson confirms in his criticism that The Granlunds in many connections beat their predecessors who made their observations based on insufficient knowledge of the material and its background (Jansson 1974, 122–133).

To this I have a small objection to make. It is not always possible to reach an opinion about facts combined in tabular form, because the materials is sometimes too widespread in age and local provenance. Can that be the case here? I leave the question open.

<sup>9</sup> Time was nothing in itself; it always had a content. See Gurevich 1969, 48; Needham 1965.

The Granlunds have shown the similarities between the Saami and Estonian calendars. (Granlund & Granlund 1973, 94 ff.) We know that the Saamis migrated around the Gulf of Finland and that the type of calendars they used are common in other hunting cultures. Furthermore, many scholars have pointed out that the concepts in Saami time-reckoning are also related to old Scandinavian time-reckoning. This assumption is no doubt correct. However, *the wood and bone calendars* are certainly of purely Saami origin for two reasons:

A. The handy form and the material fitting their special conditions (Granlund & Granlund 1973, 87).

B. The universality in the orientation of time-reckoning is obvious as Nilsson showed as early as 1920. This view has, however, been neglected by some scholars (Nilsson 1960, 2). The Saamis may very well have made their own observations just like other peoples.

Seasonal expressions testify to the Granlunds' assumption being correct:

The names of the seasons have pure Saami names: (Lule Saami) tal<sup>o</sup>vē (winter); kitā (spring); kiessē (summer); tjaktja (autumn). Also such compound words for parts of the seasons as kitā-tal<sup>o</sup>vē (spring winter); tjaktja-kiessē (late summer) can be heard (Wiklund 1897, 5).

Why was then the bear such a dominant figure in time-reckoning?

1. The regularity of hibernation made the bear *a good indicator of time*. The rhythm of hibernation fitted well with *the biocosmic rhythm with its change of light and darkness*. This established the limits of the main seasons. The bear became the dominant symbol of the entire transition, the passage between winter and summer. This was a *macrocosmic orientation*. *The bear became a mediator between Heaven and Earth*. Thus the two different cultures in summer—the growing period—and in winter—the hunting period—depended very much on Man's relation to the bear. What was good came from the bear. In a Skolt Saami myth, for example, it is told that the bear had to draw up the sun every morning (Lundmark 1982, 50 where he is referring to Charuzin).

2. All over the globe *time-reckoning has its basis in the biocosmic rhythm*, which is experienced as the most important part of Creation everywhere. Some scholars consider it a religious orientation; others do not (see note 9). I shall not deal further with this particular problem in this paper. I shall only remind you about the many myths that tell us how these things were expressed, often in the form of anthropomorphic or theriomorphic stories. So also in old Saami culture. Questions of individual existence were also focused on the biocosmic rhythm—in old Saami culture through

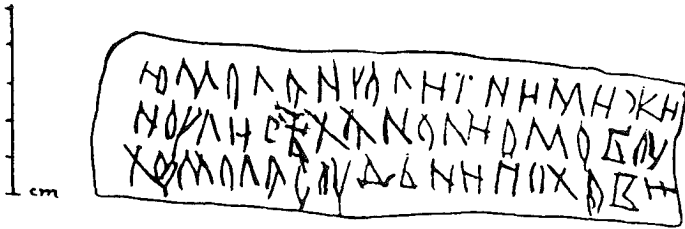


Fig. 1. Published by Artsihovskij and Borkovskij (1963, pp. 120 ff.). It is written with cyrillic characters by an unexperienced hand. Jelisejev (1959) has interpreted its contents as a magic charm against lightnings, written in Finnish or one of its dialects. It is the earliest known example of written Finnish. Stratigraphical date: Mid 13th century.

Transliteration:

1. Jumolanuoli 10 nimiži
2. noulisēhanoliomobou
3. ioumola soud'niiohovi

Modern Finnish transcription:

- Jumalannuoli kymmenen nimeäsi.*  
*Nuoli, sehän oli oma Bohun.*  
*Jumala "soud'"-ni johtavi.*

Translation:

1. "Arrow of God—ten are your names.
2. The arrow—it verily belonged to God.
3. God will guide my fate(?)" (Holthoer 1981, 161 ff.).<sup>10</sup>

the three *madderakkas*. This is an individual micromacro orientation, the time-reckoning of the individual life-span. We have seen above the bear's importance in the passages between the different stages of the personal life.

3. The appendix, fig. 1, shows how an early man in a Finnish hunting culture (like the Saami) expressed his wonder about the possible connection between the mighty power—God—and his own fate. 'As a magic charm' he used the scroll we are told (see note 10). It means that he used his own

<sup>10</sup> Commentary to fig. 1: The identification of the present text as a magic charm is beyond all doubt. In the word *jumolanuoli*, "arrow of God", I am inclined to see a reminiscence of the Russian word громовержецъ, "the one who throws thunder/lightnings", an epithet of the pagan god of the Baltians and the Slaves, Perkunas/Perhun. Here, however, a benevolent god is meant and not *Perhana*, being a modern Finnish word for the devil. The word *buo* is a genitive form of a loanword from the Russian, where the original word in nominative is Божь, "God", with a weakly pronounced ending. This loanword is still used in the Carelian dialect. The word *soud'ni* presents some difficulties of interpretation. I disagree with the accepted opinion, that it refers to the concept "righteous", being a Russian adjective with the singular masculine ending *-ni*. It seems in fact related to the words соудъ, "judgement" and соудити, "to judge", but is not an adjective but a Russian substantive completed with a Finnish possessive suffix of the 1.p. singular, *-ni*. This word should consequently be translated as "my judgement", in an extended meaning as "my fate" (Holthoer 1981, 162).

strength to work for a positive connection in his own interest, certainly relating also his own individual time-reckoning.

The importance of the bear in many fields, also in time-reckoning, is still concealed in our cultural heritage as well as in the history of different disciplines<sup>11</sup>. Carl-Martin Edsman has unveiled this to us in his extensive humanist research and he has in this way brought us closer to the views of the world that were significant for earlier generations (see Carl-Martin Edsmans skrifter 1930–1980).

## Conclusion

We have seen above that in old Saami culture *the concept of time and time-reckoning* had the same base, connected with a special content—winter and summer—caused by the biocosmic rhythm. Fauna and flora gave the indications of the coming season. Among these *the bear's hibernation* was a stable and prominent sign, due to his extreme sensitivity towards the biocosmic rhythm. It may be compared to the sign of the budding tree and the green grass. We can call this *an ecological measuring of time*, well fitting to the different occupations of a hunter, his settlements and life-style of the main seasons. As the bear was linked to *the points of time* when light and darkness were shifting, the bear became an important factor in old Saami culture for the orientation on both macrocosmic and microcosmic level. The bear was considered a representative of the mighty powers behind the existence.

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Codex Aboensis* is a annotated translation of the manuscript Signum B 172, Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm. *Codex Aboensis* is a *Festschrift* for Kustaa Vilkkuna.

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# Sacrificial Sites, Types and Function

BY ØRNULV VORREN

Much has been written and said about Saami mythology and pre-Christian religion. There is, however, considerably less documentation of concrete cultural elements in scholarly descriptions. Nonetheless, some does exist and I would like to mention J. K. Qvigstad *Lappische Opfersteine und Heilige Berge in Norwegen* and Ernst Manker *Lapparnas heliga ställen*.

In his work Qvigstad provides a description of hundreds of sacrificial sites about which he collected information from local informants, from archives and from old literary sources. He locates most of the sites by means of references on official Norwegian maps. In addition to this, he also includes sacrificial sites and holy mountains described by his informants. The book also contains numerous legends associated with the sacrificial sites and the traditions surrounding them.

Ernst Manker's major opus deals with the sacrificial sites in the areas in which the Swedish Saamis travelled—including those parts of Norway visited by the Swedish mountain Saamis. It is a massive piece of research with detailed descriptions of each individual "holy place". Manker's celebrated skill as a photographer is also well in evidence in the book. This impressive work was published as one of the volumes in the series *Acta Lapponica* which Manker started at the Nordic Museum in Stockholm.

Many others have made minor studies of sacrificial sites and published them in short papers. Mention may here be made of Carl Johanson, a Saami schoolteacher, with wide academic interests.

Since the 1950's the Saami ethnographic section of the Museum of Tromsø has been engaged on studies of the sacrificial sites in northern Norway, both on the coast and in the hinterland. The first objective has been to visit some of the places identified by Qvigstad on the maps and to document them carefully. As the work has progressed, however, more and more new information has emerge about sites not described by Qvigstad, provided by the local population.

These investigations are considered important not only because they aim to provide documentation that can be used for studies of Saami mythology and pre-Christian religion. They also provide material that can throw light on the function of the holy places in a social context through analysis of their origin, their connections with certain families and persons, their

associations with the siidas, their location within the areas where the Saamis from these siidas gained their livelihood, etc. The materials collected about the sacrificial sites also play an important role in studying the course of events leading up to the differentiation of Saami hunting and gathering culture.

A question that has frequently arisen in the course of this work is with what powers or deities the different sacrificial sites were associated. This is naturally connected with their origin and their form. This, in turn, is reflected in the traditions and legends recounted concerning them. It is also reflected in their location in the physical environment and in the kinds of offerings that have been found.

In the materials so far collected it is possible to distinguish between about eight different types of sacrificial site and holy mountain or fell according to their form and location:

1. Holy fells
2. Rock formations
3. Stone boulders
4. Holes
5. Cracks in fells
6. Springs
7. Lakes
8. Ring-shaped sacrificial sites

I shall describe some examples of most of these sacrificial sites with the aid of slides and I shall also recount something of the traditions associated with some of them. This paper is intended as a lighter contribution on the topic outside the programme proper of the congress; it is not an academic paper.

The "holy fells" are of such dimensions that they cannot really be compared with the other sacrificial sites. They are usually isolated and topped by a peak or ridge that reaches up into the clouds or the blue sky. "Halde" west of Kåfjord in Alta is a good example. It lies in the middle of a large complex of mountains. However, the best example of all is perhaps the one illustrated, "Sieidde" on the lake Laksvatn some miles south of Tromsø, easily visible from the Tromsø-Nordkjosbotn road (Fig. 1).

Many people have often asked themselves where the actual cult site, the sieidde or sacrificial place, lies on this mountain.

Traditions recorded in various written sources suggest that there need not in fact exist any special sacrificial site. The very fell itself is accorded a certain veneration by the Saamis when they passed by. Such fells are often situated by trails where the wild reindeer used to pass and where the Saamis in more recent times drove their herds of tame reindeer. "Sieidde"

on Laksvatn, for example, stands on a narrow neck of land between Laksvassbukta on Ullsfjord and Laksvatn. The reindeer had to pass this way on their migration from the hinterland and the peninsula of Stuorranjarga between Balsfjord and Ullsfjord.

The way in which the mountain was revered was, according to the missionary Jens Kildal, that when the Saami passed the mountain, he donned his "Sunday best" so to speak. Qvigstad also refers to the tradition of singing a "juoigos", a traditional Saami song when passing. The custom of removing one's hat or bonnet to show one's reverence for a mountain, cliff or rock is associated with many sites along the coast from Lofoten north along the coast of Finnmark.

However, there are some holy fells on which were located one or more cult sites. Mention might here be made of Gudfjellöya on the lake Limingen in Nord-Trøndelag. This is a mountain over 800 m high shaped like a foreshortened ninepin. There is a crack in the mountain reaching from the summit right down to shore level. In this crevice was placed a live reindeer which was tied fast and left to die of hunger. There are also mentions in Qvigstad's book of other places where it was the custom to offer up a live reindeer.

Ernst Manker writes that in the past it used to be customary to make an offering to Horragalles, the god of thunder, by burying a live reindeer in the ground so that only the antlers could be seen above the ground.

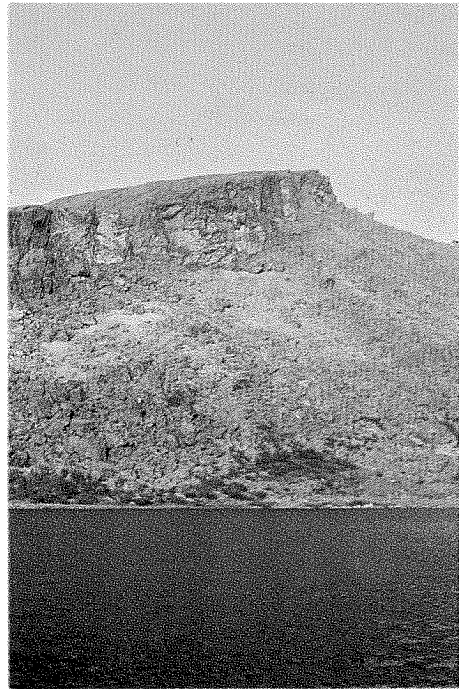
The second figure shows a fell in Finnmark. It lies near Sieidde-javri and is called Vaddasbakke in the Saami language, in Norwegian Offerberget, —and was reported to be a holy mountain by the missionary Isach Olsen as early as about the year 1700. This mountain, too, has a wide deep crack running across the top of it. Report has it that nobody should say the name of mountain when passing it or else there would soon be bad weather and storms.

A third fell, somewhat smaller this time, that I would like to mention is Muorjegappir on Varangerfjord, shown in Fig. 3. Of this fell it is said that the missionary Isach Olsen had seen offerings made there and Bishop Gunnerus mentions that there were holes on the fell where bones were once burned. In 1719 a large number of reindeer horns were found there. Just over 100 years later Professor Keilhau reported that on his expedition to the mountain he had found a quantity of halibut bones there. Off the cape on which Muorjegappir stands there is a very rich halibut fishing ground.

Muorjegappir resembles a rock formation rather than a real mountain, which brings us on to those types of sacrificial sites which are more like rock or cliff formations that stand isolated from the mountain they once formed part of. Such formations have sometimes been known to be called



*Fig. 1*



*Fig. 2*



*Fig. 3*



*Fig. 4*

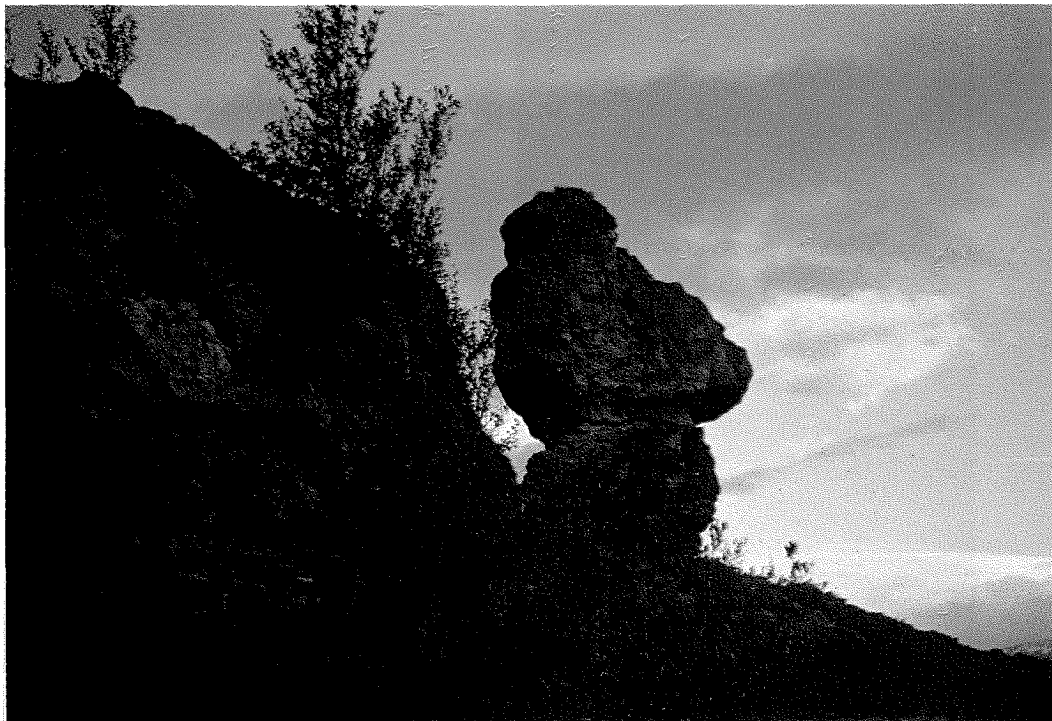


Fig. 5

“finnkirker” in Norwegian. Frequently there is considerable doubt as to whether they were ever really Saami sacrificial sites, e.g. “Finnkirkene” outside Kjøllefjord in Finnmark. There are, however, a large number of free-standing formations, especially along the coast, that are reported to have been offering sites. I shall mention some of them: “Hornet” on the North Cape, “Galgo” on the island Nökklan in Kvenangen and “Sima-Lango” farther out in the same fjord. Figs 4, 5 and 6 are “Ahkkanjarg-stabba” near Kvalsund, Ahkko (old woman) at the foot of Komsa fell in Alta and “Ålbmai” (man) outside Gandvik on the south shore of Varangerfjorden respectively. Finds of fish bones and reindeer bones, the remains of offerings, have been made at both the first two sites. “Ålbmai” has undoubtedly played a similar role to “Hornet” on the North Cape, for example. Not far from “Ålbmai”, which is Saami for man, in the bay Gandvik stands an “Ahkko” (old woman). It is a corresponding rock formation high up in the precipice of a mountain.

However, loose boulders as sacrificial sites seem to be most common, sometimes extremely large in size. I might mention “Landbenstein”, which is 20 m high, in Ullsfjord in Troms and “Jettanasgirko” in Smalfjord in



*Fig. 6*



*Fig. 7*



Finnmark, which is some 10 m high. In some places there are collections of boulders, albeit not quite so large but easily seen from a great distance.

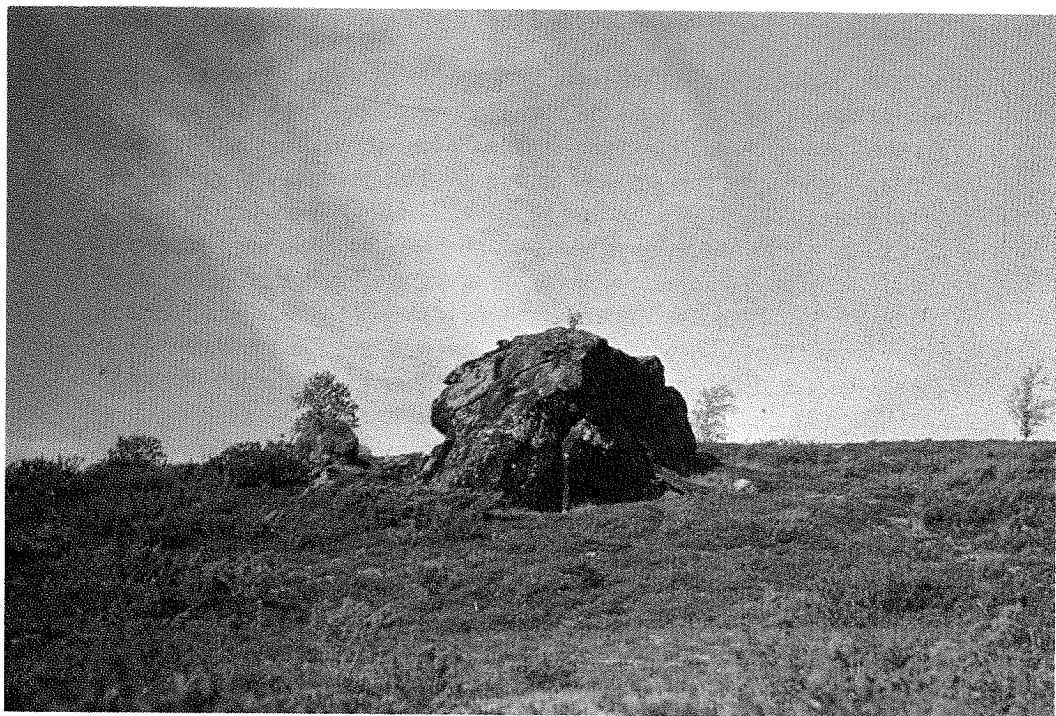
As examples I can mention the sacrificial site at Stödi on Saltfjellet. A site of the same type can be seen in Fig. 7—Fallegiedgit, situated on the treeless plateau some distance east of the Alta valley. There are recounted a number of stories about this site. Some of them, for example, tell of finds of newly slaughtered reindeer calves or of parts of reindeer in the large crevices of the boulders. Another story describes the nomad Saami Stuurra-Piera (Big Pete) who lived about the middle of last century; he is reported to have always made a point of sacrificing to the sieidde whenever he passed with his herd in the course of his wanderings. One year he omitted to do so and his herd stampeded and died in a bog. Garra-Rastus (Tough Rasmus) took part of a reindeer horn that lay on the ground and as a result his lead reindeer immediately ran away when it was set out to graze at the next resting place. On another occasion when some nomad Saamis rested by the offering stones, one of them spat on the sieidde and then his best lead reindeer disappeared. It was found again the following autumn as a pile of bones.

There are many sacrificial sites as boulders with cracks or crevices in them. One of them stands beside the old route from Kautokeino to Østfjellet. It is white and stands at the approach to the pass that leads over the Beljaš group of mountains. Offerings were found there in the crevice when I visited the place and there was also a great pile of charcoal from a lot of fires on the eastern side of it.

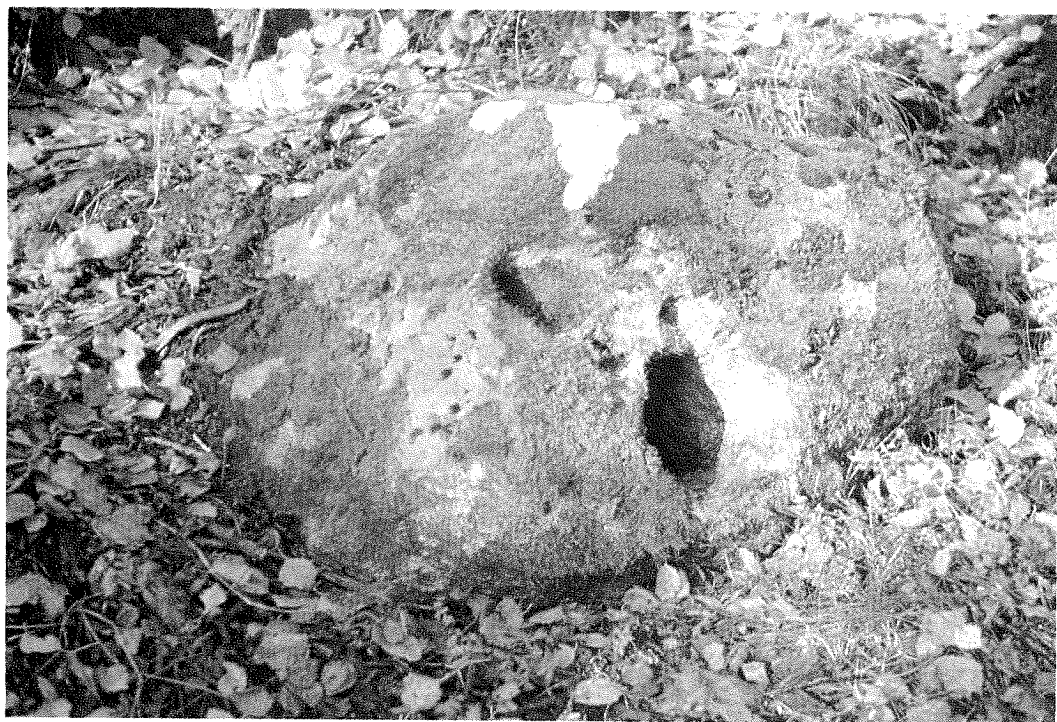
In the vicinity of the church in Kautokeino there stands a boulder with a large crack in it. Here there have been found quantities of bones and reindeer horns. One man told me that “[...] my grandfather's brother once passed by this way and took some reindeer horns that lay there with him. But then he turned dizzy and had to put them back” (Fig. 8).

There are many such tales about these stones. One of them dating back to the days of wild reindeer hunting, is about the sieidde on Baes'kadas. A hunter of wild reindeer came to the sieidde and said: “If a couple of large reindeer bucks come now and I can shoot them, then I will give the sieidde the horns and the entrails.” Shortly after two bucks came past. The hunter thought to himself: “Now I have something to kill but I don't want to serve an evil spirit.” Then the two reindeer ran away and the hunter was left empty-handed.

There are also many stories of how promises of offerings were broken and the negative consequences that followed. These sieidde stones are, as I said, mainly large boulders. By rivers and water, however, there were often small sieidde stones which might be termed fishing sieiddes for offerings



*Fig. 8*



*Fig. 9*

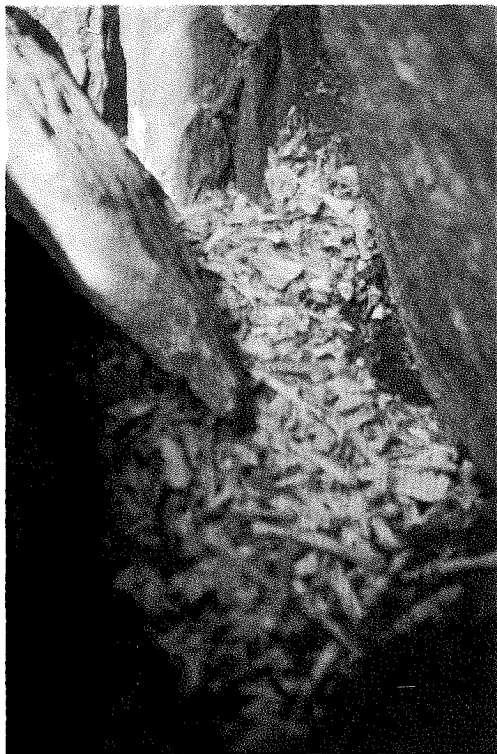


*Fig. 10*

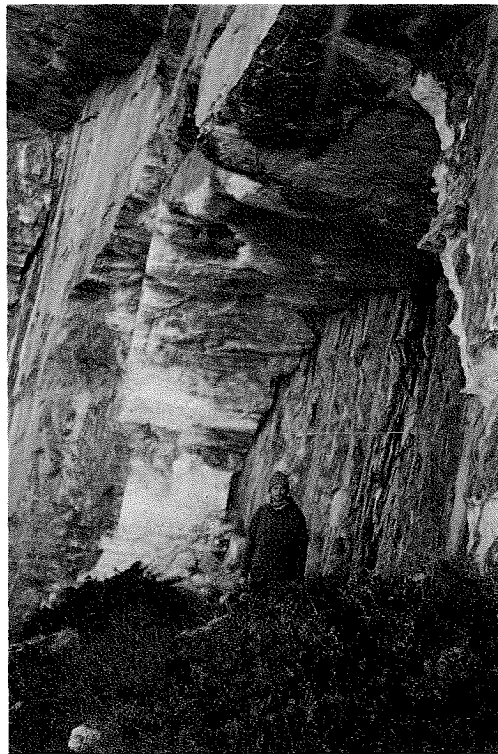
were made to these in the hopes of good fishing or as thanksgiving after a good catch. Two such sacrificial sites on the Tana river are shown in Figs 9 and 10. They are situated near good fishing waters and it was customary to offer the entrails of the fish caught to these stones. This tradition has persisted for a very long time, right up to the present day without it being possible to link it with offerings to the deity that gave good fishing at sea, in rivers or lakes.

Holes and grottos were also often chosen as offering sites. Here is a figure of a small grotto high up in a precipice at Mörsvik in Nordland (Fig. 11). As can be seen, the bottom of the grotto is covered with the bones of different kinds of animals. There was once, so it is said, a sieidde made of wood at this site, but two Christians threw it into the fiord. It sank like a stone.

“Gir’ko” on Bafte-niarg in Kvenangen is, as can be seen in Fig. 12, like a large gateway in the cliff of Kvitberg. Peter Schnitler relates in his “Examinationsprotokoller” of the 1740’s that offerings of reindeer, calf heads, fish, etc. were made at this site. Reindeer-herding Saamis made offerings of reindeer antlers in order to obtain good fortune with their reindeer while the sea Saamis often gave halibut heads in order to get good catches when they



*Fig. 11*



*Fig. 12*

went fishing. "A man who once caught a very large halibut said, when he passed by the site: 'Now the sieidde will only get shit on his nose'. Then there arose a mighty storm from the west, the boat was filled with water and the man only just succeeded in saving his own skin."

The sacrificial sites and sieiddes that I have shown you so far have all been natural formations. They are the most numerous and the most common.

However, there also exist the remains of another type of sacrificial site,—and they seem to have been particularly important—built by pre-Christian Saamis. These are ring-shaped offering sites. So far 19 such sites have been studied; they are spread over the whole of Finnmark and also found at one place in Nord-Troms. They consist of a wall of stones built in a circle with a diameter of 6 to 9 m. The height of the walls varies and is difficult to determine exactly since the uppermost stones have in most cases collapsed. Nevertheless, the highest walls reported have been between approx. 70 cm and 120 cm. These sacrificial sites have normally been constructed from collections of stones from rock falls which have provided

excellent building material. The actual offering site and the sieidde lie within the ring of stones. In some of these circular formations the place where the sacrifice actually took place has been a cairn of stones. But the sieidde itself has disappeared. The reason for this in my opinion is that in the past missionaries were required to destroy these sacrificial sites. In only one of them we have succeeded in finding the sieidde.

It appears, quite simply, that these circular sacrificial sites were common to the siida or siidas within whose area they were situated and they are often to be found near the places where wild reindeer were caught. The hunting of wild reindeer was, of course, a joint operation for the whole or even several siidas.

Fig. 13 shows the sacrificial site at Offerholmen on the lake Øvrevatn, which lies along the course of Lakselv. You can see the edge of the site in the bottom right-hand corner on the island. Knud Leem reports in his book published in 1867 a tradition associated with this site. He also has an illustration portraying this tradition. Wild reindeer were driven into the water by Saamis on the shore and forced to swim towards the island where there were hunters in boats hiding. At the appropriate moment the hunters approached the swimming animals and killed them with their lances and spears. Reindeer antlers and bones could be found at this site until well into the present century. The link with the hunting of wild reindeer seems to be quite obvious.

Some kilometres from this site at the upper end of Nedrevatn, which lies farther downstream, there is yet another circular offering site. In the middle of the site there is a hollow cairn of stones constructed in such a way that it is possible for a man to stand in the hollow in the cairn. Professor Friis visited the site on his journey to Finnmark in 1867. He describes the cairn and says that bones, antlers and pieces of wood were found at the site. The pieces of wood were from tree trunks that were built in the form of a fence along the top of the stone walls. I have also found remains of wood, horns and bones at the same place and can verify the use of such wooden structures since I had studied a ring-shaped offering site at Storfossen in Karasjokka. The wooden remains were so well preserved there that it was possible to ascertain that the fence surmounting the stone walls was made of tree trunks in two rows. This could be seen from the very join that we also found.

Fig. 14 shows a ring-shaped sacrificial site which also seems to have been associated with wild reindeer hunting. It lies in an area of not too many square kilometres where there are thousands of fallpits for wild reindeer. There is a large autumn camp for the hunters at Gollevarri (Gold fell) some miles away. At the site numerous finds have been made that prove that the



*Fig. 13*



*Fig. 14*



*Fig. 15*

camp was connected with the hunting of wild reindeer. However, there have been no finds at the actual sacrificial site that indicate the same.

The next two pictures, however, provide less evidence of having been associated with hunting for wild reindeer; they both lie on the shore of Varangerfjord. Fig. 15 shows the ring-shaped site up on Čieste (Bird mountain).

Qvigstad refers to the fact that this site together with three other “stone circles” on Varangerfjord are mentioned in the records of Nesseby parish. This and yet another “stone circle” a few kilometres away lie in an enormous burial ground dating back to ca. AD 100–400 where the graves are chests of flat stones.

Yet another circular offering site on the shores of Varangerfjord receives no mention in the parish records. This site is situated some hundreds of metres from the brick wall stone on which the first church in Varanger once stood. It lies on the edge of an ancient settlement with dwelling sites going back to the iron age and right down through the ages until our own century (Fig. 16). It is almost the only ring-shaped sacrificial site where the sieidde stones have been found. They were found lying inside the circle of stones but had been broken into pieces. However, they had been broken in such a



*Fig. 16*



*Fig. 17*





Fig. 18

way that it was relatively easy to piece them together again; they are shown in Fig. 17.

I mentioned earlier that missionaries were urged to destroy the offering sites and here we have proof of their activities in this respect.

Finally, one more sacrificial site from the latitude of Varangerfjord, Cevcagiedge at Mortensnes (Fig. 18). This is more or less a bauta stone surrounded by 12 stone circles that lie about one metre from each other.

Mortensnes is also an ancient settlement with the remains of dwellings covering the period from the earliest stone age down to sea Saami communities of the present century. The stone still bears traces of the fish oil that was smeared on it. However, the origin of the stone and its function are debated by the experts.

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# On Beliefs in Non-Shamanic Guardian Spirits among the Saamis

BY ÅKE HULTKRANTZ

## 1

In her meritorious dissertation on the Saami *saiva* (or *saivo*) spirits Louise Bäckman has defined this important group of supernatural beings as the guardian and helping spirits of the shaman (Bäckman 1975). In this way, Saami shamanism appears as a counterpart to shamanism in Siberia and North America where guardian-spirit beliefs have similarly played a distinctive role. In my opinion these beliefs should be considered as one of the constituent elements of shamanism (Hultkrantz 1973, 33 f.).

However, the concept of guardian spirits is not necessarily limited to shamans.

Traditionally shamanism has been regarded as a dominant religio-ritual complex all over the circumpolar and circumboreal area. In particular, this view has been applied to Siberia, as is easily discernible from the oldest ethnographical survey of this area, Maire Antoinette Czaplicka's classic *Aboriginal Siberia* (Czaplicka 1914). In North America shamanism has had its strongholds among the Eskimos and the Indians of the northwest coast; in a weaker form, shamanism is represented among other Indians (Hultkrantz 1967, 35 ff.; Hultkrantz 1978, 52 ff.). However, at the same time it is characteristic of North America that ordinary individuals, mostly adolescent youths, could turn to zoomorphic guardian spirits in order to obtain supernatural help. Shamanism is here attenuated whereas the individual vision and guardian-spirit quest takes a prominent place (Benedict 1923).

The Saami religious scene is nowadays regarded as an extension of Siberian religions, with its shamanism and beliefs in guardian spirits as counterparts to corresponding Siberian phenomena. There are, however, indications in the Saami source material of an individualized guardian-spirit belief of at least partly American pattern.<sup>1</sup> At the same time there is in

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<sup>1</sup> My main points of view in this article tie in with my argument in Hultkrantz 1965, 307.

places in the Siberian material information about similar guardian-spirit beliefs, particularly among the Palaeosiberians.<sup>2</sup>

It is my intention in this paper to try to prove the occurrence of a non-shamanic guardian-spirit belief among the Saamis, and to discuss its religio-historical import. The task is not insignificant. As Hans Skanke, one of the earlier missionaries among the Norwegian Saamis has testified, the conceptions of the guardian spirits, *saivo*, were "the main article in the old Lapp religion to which everything else belongs" (Skanke 1945 a, 194).

## 2

During the present century beliefs in the *saivo* have attracted scholarly attention to an increasing degree. Three investigations should be especially mentioned; K. B. Wiklund's important study of the word *saivo*, its origins and proceeding changes of meaning—a study which, in spite of T. I. Itkonen's strictures, still vindicates its position (Wiklund 1916); furthermore, Ernst Arbman's critical examination of the differences between cult of nature and cult of the dead in the *saivo* complex, with results which have become similarly well-established (Arbman 1960); and finally Louise Bäckman's scrutiny of the *saivo* beliefs in all their amplitude (Bäckman 1975). It is not my task here to discuss Wiklund's and Arbman's investigations. There is thus no reason to consider, for example, the extent to which beliefs in *saivo* also embrace beliefs in the dead.<sup>3</sup> Instead, my interest focuses on Bäckman's analysis of the *saivo* complex and its dimensions, and first of all on what she has to say about the guardian spirits of the common people. We shall also observe how two previous scholars, Olof Pettersson and Uno Holmberg (Harva), approach the same subject.

As Bäckman has indicated in the sub-title of her work, the term *saivo* should primarily refer to the Saami guardian and helping spirits living in sacred mountains. The word can also have other meanings (cf. below), but in the southern Saami areas of Sweden and Norway *saivo* is the designation of just these spirits. In the northern areas, on the other hand, they are called *passevare olmai*, or "sacred mountain men" (the ideas are about the same). Several of our old source authors have described the delightful life that the *saivo* people lead inside the sacred mountains, where Saamis who had them

<sup>2</sup> There are reports on individual non-shamanic guardian spirits among the Chukchee (Bogoras 1904–09, 88 ff.) and the Tungus (Stadling 1912, 47). These spirits were acquired by chance, not through ecstatic experiences.

<sup>3</sup> Most scholars, including Olof Pettersson (Pettersson 1957, 131–137) and Ernst Manker (Manker 1961, 21–36), have had a cautiously positive attitude to the identification between *saivo* and the dead, whereas Arbman and Bäckman have been more restrictive. See now also Bäckman 1978. Cf. my points of view in Hultkrantz 1962, 294, 299 f.

as their guardian spirits—perhaps in particular the shaman—could occasionally take part in their festive life. These *saivo* could, in different ways, become engaged as guardian or helping spirits. In compensation they demanded their tribute, that is, sacrifices.

Louise Bäckman has succeeded in demonstrating that there were many kinds of *saivo*. Indeed, the designation refers to a wide variety of spiritual beings, from animal spirits to anthropomorphic ancestors and spirits of nature. Bäckman has made an important distinction between two categories of spirits, the guardian and the helping spirits (Bäckman 1975, 114 ff.).<sup>4</sup> The former are anthropomorphic spirits who call the shaman into service and assist him with their counsel. Their position vis-à-vis the shaman is that of a superior or (as a consequence of a covenant) of an equal. The other category, which Bäckman denominates helping spirits, has a subordinated position. To this belong the *saivo* bird, the *saivo* reindeer bull and the *saivo* fish (or snake). These zoomorphic spirits are at the shaman's disposal. They accompany him on his soul-journeys, or fight for him against the helping spirits of other shamans—in this case the *saivo* bull is the active partner (Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978, 43). They are the only spirits about whom it is said that they are reserved solely for the shaman. The guardian spirits have, comments Bäckman, possibly a wider circle of clients.

Bäckman writes, "According to certain vague information every human being was supposed to own at least some [spirit], but the shaman was the one who could reach contact with them in a material way" (Bäckman 1975, 125 f.). Bäckman notes that according to some information *saivo* could be inherited by everybody, not just the shamans, so that any person could have his guardian spirit (Bäckman 1975, 148, 159). This is the first time this possibility was clearly spelt out.

However, twenty years earlier Olof Pettersson had approached the problem. He devotes attention to some source information that a child who had been given a deceased relative's name also thereby received the latter's guardian spirit (Pettersson 1957, 64). According to the author of the source, Dean Henric Forbus, such a guardian spirit often reveals itself and walks in front of the Saami "near marshes and waters" (Reuterskiöld 1910, 35). This spirit is called *nemogvelle*, "name-fish" (Reuterskiöld 1910, 117). Pettersson likens it to the *färrosâš* of the Inari Saamis which certainly seems to be more of a double-ganger (Itkonen 1946, 162 f., cf. also Paulson 1958, 36 f., 306).<sup>5</sup> However, as Pettersson emphasizes, this double may be inherited

<sup>4</sup> The same distinction may be drawn for Siberia, cf. Hultkrantz 1979, 50.

<sup>5</sup> On the phenomenology of the double-ganger, see Crawley 1928 and Hultkrantz 1953, 353–363.

after the owner's death. I agree with Pettersson that such a conception lies at the periphery of soul and guardian-spirit beliefs, somewhere in the no-man's land between the two. It is less certain that *nemogvelle*, a spirit in fish apparition, belongs to the same category. Still less can I share Bäckman's interpretation of it as a reincarnated ancestor (Bäckman 1975, 164 ff.). It reminds me more of an auxiliary spirit, and so does the eastern Saami spirit concept to which we now turn.

In an article on the spiritual "companions" of the Skolt Saamis Uno Holmberg (Harva) established the occurrence of individuals' protective supernatural beings in this society sixty years ago. He found that each kin group among the Skolts was accompanied by an animal spirit, *kaddz*, a word he translates by "companion". This *kaddz* was handed down from father to son and from mother to daughter. Normally it was invisible, but it could be seen by the shaman when awake and by common people in dreams. A shaman had several such spirits. The *kaddz* preceded its owner on the walk, running or flying. As a rule it was the guardian of the individual, but in unlucky cases it could also be harmful to its owner, Holmberg (Harva) reports (Harva 1928).

Bäckman and Pettersson both combine the *kaddz* ideas with the tendencies in soul conceptions to develop in the directions of "nagualism" and guardian-spirit beliefs, and Bäckman is surely right in her assumption that conceptions of different origin here coalesce (Bäckman 1975, 158 ff., 163 f.; Pettersson 1957, 67). For my own part I should, with Itkonen, like to point out the possible connection with totemism, or the tendencies towards totemism; with Baumann (Baumann 1939) one could interpret *kaddz* as a protototemistic phenomenon. Thus, we are informed that members of a kin group were not allowed to kill or eat animals of the species their *kaddz* belonged to. Such taboos are characteristic of totemism, the latter complex defined as the mysterious relation between a kin group (usually unilinear) and a certain animal species. Holmberg has noted that such totemism occurred in the southern parts of subarctic Siberia where larger extended family groups existed (Harva 1927, 503 f.; Harva 1938, 468 ff.; cf. the different views in Haekel 1946, 152 ff.; Jettmar 1954, 27 ff.).

It is important from the perspective of this article that these *kaddz* are linguistically identical with the *Noide-gadze*, or "shaman's companions," that Isaac Olsen mentions from Finnmark at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Olsen 1910, 30 ff.).<sup>6</sup> These shamanic companions are identical with the *saivo* spirits.

<sup>6</sup> Olsen studied them exclusively in their capacity as the shaman's protective spirits. He says however that "they appear to some, indeed, mostly to most Saamis, and preferably to those who descend from a shamanic family" (*troid slegt* in Norwegian). Olsen 1910, 31.

We then face the question whether ideas corresponding to those of the Skolt Saamis did not also occur in the Scandinavian lapmarks.

## 3

Older Saami source material (Danish-Norwegian and Swedish sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) poses great difficulties in fixing the boundary lines between the shaman (*noaide*) and the common individual. It is, for instance, uncertain who was the diviner, the *pater familias*, or only the shaman; the evidence of the sources is unclear except in those cases where the shaman is directly indicated (cf. Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978, 47 ff.). Similarly, there is talk about "the guardian spirits of the Lapp," but such pronouncements usually refer to the shaman's guardian spirits. Nowhere is there a clear distinction between the layman's and the shaman's protective spirits. However, there is enough information to convince us that other than shamans could have guardian spirits.

The first examiner who, on the basis of extant sources (Peder Claussøn Friis, Olaus Petri Niurenius, Johannes Tornaeus), arrived at this conclusion was the seventeenth century scholar, Johannes Schefferus. In his widely read *Lapponia*, translated into several languages, he states that "whole lineages had certain definite spirits in their service, spirits which often differed from those of other lineages and were often hostile towards them. Sometimes not only the lineages but also single members of them have their special spirits, one or several, partly those who defend them against the designs of other demons, partly those by whose aid they injure others" (Schefferus 1956, 152 f.). In later research the source evidence has been interpreted to mean that the spirits (by whom are meant the *saivo* and *passevare olmai* who reside in certain mountains on the Saami village grounds) have revealed themselves only to those kin people who have become shamans. This, however, seems to be a false interpretation.

It is worth letting the sources speak for themselves, and then to take a definite stand.

According to Johan Randulf's so-called Naerø manuscript dated 1723, the Saamis of the Trondheim diocese knew of sacred mountains in which there were spirits able to protect and help the Saamis in all their doings. Each Saami chose one or two, sometimes three or four of these spirits as their guardians. The *angelus tutelar*is was invoked by singing a *juoigos* (a sacred song) and then appeared in human form. If the Saami refused his services, the spirit threatened to tear him to pieces. The author points out that "there is no *Finn* [Saami] without his having his *Saivo*" (Randulf 1903, 43 ff.).

In a letter to the clergy of Jämtland in 1723 Thomas von Westen, the leading Norwegian missionary at the time, and probably well informed on the religion of the more southern Norwegian Saamis, mentioned the *saivo* complex. He writes that every Saami had his particular *saivo*—here is meant sacred mountain—in which his *saivo olmai* or spiritus familiares were collected in great numbers (Reuterskiöld 1910, 2).<sup>7</sup>

von Westen's own field notes have been lost, but much of his information is preserved in Hans Skanke's *Epitomes* from the 1720's. Skanke tells us that *saivo* constituted "every Saami's possession as soon as he becomes a man." Some Samis had only a few, others up to 8, 10, 12 or 14 *saivo* as their guardian spirits. Furthermore, each Saami had three kinds of animals as helpers for his shamanic service, a bird, a fish or snake, and a reindeer bull. These were included under the designation *noides woeigni*, "magic spirits" (Skanke 1945 a, 191, 253). Skanke provides the further information that the *saivo* could be inherited, discharged and sold. Before his death the Saami divided his *saivo* between his children, which he did in such a way that the favourite child was given a better and stronger *saivo* than the other children. "One considered that marriage to be the most happy one where somebody through his wedded sweetheart received many *saivo* as a dowry, or might expect to inherit them." If parents or friends had died without leaving their *saivo* to their descendants [or close friends], the latter made sacrifices to the *saivo* of their ancestors [and friends] in order to notify them that their assistance was desired and demanded.

Skanke gives us to understand that a covenant was drawn up between the *saivo* people and the Saamis. For their services the *saivo* could claim their desired sacrifices from the Saami's reindeer herd. For their part the *saivo* assumed the obligation to bestow reindeer luck, fishing and hunting luck, to save his client when the latter's life was in danger, to scout for him and to give him revenge for injuries (Skanke 1945 a, 192 f.).

The facts speak for themselves when Skanke communicates the names and numbers of the *saivo* pertaining to a family known to him. The head of the family had 13 ministering spirits, inherited from the mother (5), father's father (2), mother's brother (2), mother's siblings's children (1), mother's mother's sister (2), and the father's sister (1). Three of the spirits taken over from the mother had finally been bequeathed to the owner's own children (cf. below). The wife commanded 6 *saivo*, inherited from her father (3), mother (1) and mother's mother (2). The daughter also had 6 spirits,

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<sup>7</sup> The word *saivo* denotes both sacred lakes and mountains and the supernatural beings (also *saivo olmai*, "saivo man") living in them. As Wiklund has shown the exact meaning differs in different Saami regions.

received from her father as dowry (3, cf. above) and from her mother's mother (3). A man-servant had 2 *saivo*, of which one had been given to him by his father when he was twelve years of age, and the other had been acquired by him when he was fourteen. And so on (Skanke 1945 b, 222f.).

Information from contemporary Swedish sources confirms the data in the Norwegian material (to the extent that it pays attention to these beliefs). Church dean Henric Forbus had studied the papers of the Trondheim mission, and also had some experience of the Torne Saamis in northern Sweden. He reported to the King in 1727 that the Saami *spiritus familiares*, which he calls *saifolmai* and *passevare olmai*, "are particular gods, either inherited, bought or achieved through one's own diligence" (Reuterskiöld 1910, 34). In his addenda to this rescript Forbus mentions that these *passevare olmai* lack names but are known through the sacred mountains they reside in. (This conforms with Skanke's information.) When a Saami sings a *juoigos* and thereby mentions some *passevare* (sacred mountain) some of its *passevare olmai* whom the singer recognizes make their appearance. Forbus assures his readers that "one *Passevara* may often also be more propitious and helpful than another, and its *Olmai* more obedient to appear and more speedy than those of other *Passevara*" (Reuterskiöld 1910, 66f.).

Otherwise the Swedish sources are less indicative concerning privately owned guardian spirits, and sometimes negative. In a letter of 1727 from Lennart Sidenius, a Swede working in the Trondheim Saami mission, it is said that the *saivo olmai* (whom he translates "mountain men") "do not serve all Lapps commonly but only one or another in particular who has inherited them or bought them from other *Noider* [shamans] or achieved them himself through some diligence in the shamanic art. These *Saivo-Olmai* give counsels in various difficulties [...]" (Reuterskiöld 1910, 58). We get the impression that only shamans could have owned guardian spirits.

Another similar account was rendered by the clergyman and Saami descendant Nicolaus Lundius in the 1670s, and concerns Ume lapmark. He writes, "Just as not all Lapps have drums they do neither all of them have spirits of divination. However, these spirits of divination they inherit from each other. [Then] they do not know from whom they receive them. When the Lapp has reached adolescence, and has some task to do in the woods, then the spirit of divination comes to him and makes his appearance, singing a song which the Lapp must remember. The next day the Lapp walks to the same place. If the spirit of divination wants to remain with him it comes to the same place, makes its appearance again and sings. [...] If the spirit of divination wants to stay with the same Lapp, the Lapp has to sing the same song that he has learnt from the spirit of divination. Then the spirit



of divination comes to him whenever he so wishes" (Lundius 1905, 5f.). Lundius describes these spirits as little people, about an ell in height,<sup>8</sup> and he calls them *sueie*, a word which probably means "shelter", "shadow" (Paasonen 1909, 24f.).<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, he states that a Saami could have as many as 4, 5 and up to 9 such *sueie* (Lundius 1905, 6).

Since Lundius makes use of the Swedish word spirit of divination, (*spådomsanda*) it is probably the guardian spirits of the shamans to which his account refers.

Olaus Niurenus's manuscript on the Saamis, which presumably dates from the 1620's or 1630's, similarly refers to Ume lapmark. Its information on the *saivo* is fairly general. "The phantoms of spirits often show themselves to them," it is said, "and they often speak with these spirits which guide and defend their worshippers. They are accompanied by a certain number of spirits, some by three, others by two, but at least by one. This spirit they only use for defense" (Niurenus 1905, 20). It might be imagined that Niurenus is here talking about the Saamis in general; however, we cannot be too sure about that.

As we have seen, Schefferus founded his earlier quoted judgement on Niurenus, Johannes Tornaëus and Peder Claussøn Friis. The last two, however, only discuss the shamanic art and are therefore not competent in this connection.

An interesting document is master Carl Solander's report from 1727 to the Royal Chancellery in Stockholm on the Norwegian mission among the Saamis. He writes here that the *passevare olmai*, "the holy mountaineers" in his translation, are spiritus familiares which may be bought or inherited and live in certain mountains. They are adored and glorified with *juoigos*, particularly by those who are strong shamans. When a woman wants to consult them, she hangs up her belt and questions the latter. It is also possible to receive their counsels in dreams (Reuterskiöld 1910, 24).

The sources from the middle of the eighteenth century and onwards are mainly based on one or several of the authors already mentioned. Thus, Lars Levi Laestadius founds his statements about *saivo* on E. J. Jessen, who in his turn has plagiarized Skanke (Laestadius 1959, 46–50; cf. Jessen 1767, 23–29). Also Knud Leem repeats in his *Beskrivelse* on the whole what Skanke reports. Later ethnographic descriptions by Friis, von Düben, Fritzner, Reuterskiöld, Karsten, Collinder and Manker have nothing new to tell, but some of them theorize much on the *saivo* problem. It is interesting

<sup>8</sup> One Swedish ell or *aln* measures 2 feet or 59 centimeters.

<sup>9</sup> Both Holmberg (UUB Harva 21) and Paulson (Paulson 1958, 35) associate *sueie* with the free-soul. It might stand for spirit in general.

to read that Gustaf von Düben calls the *saivo* complex “the kernel of older Lapp religion” (Düben 1873, 239). Since in the sequel he quotes what Jessen (i.e. Skanke) has said about the *saivo* belief as the “main article” of Saami religion, he has presumably been guided by this pronouncement. In his Saami cultural monograph Björn Collinder correctly maintains that the Saamis had lively connections with the *saivo* people, that they could acquire these spirits through sacrifices, heritage or purchase, and so on. He then cautiously writes, “the *noaide* [shaman] could not do without such assistants. He was assisted by a *saiva*-bird, a *saiva*-fish, or a *saiva*-serpent, etc.” (Collinder 1949, 172.) No criticism can be directed against Collinder’s presentation, but he obviously avoids the problem relevant here.

In his analysis of Saami religion Uno Holmberg (Harva) has asserted that the *seite* stone worshipped on a mountain or at a lake represented “the guardian spirit of a certain family or a certain kin group” (UUB Harva 61 f.; Harva 1927, 104). Such an identification is of course possible provided that what is meant are the *saivo* spirits residing in the mountain as manifested in the stone (cf. Högström 1747, 193; Wiklund 1916, 66, 68; Hultkrantz 1962, 294),<sup>10</sup> or if it is borne in mind that in Lule and Pite lapmarks the *seite* could be called *saivo*, that is, “supernatural”, “sacred” (see, for example Lindahl-Öhrling 1780, 390; Wiklund 1916, 55, 56; Grundström 1945, 103; Bäckman 1975, 22). However, in its sense of supernatural *saivo* is a common superior category for both sacred stones and spiritual helping beings. Moreover, the *seite* can under no circumstances be labelled a man’s guardian spirit—it is usually a ruler of a piece of land and the animals on it. It should at the same time be emphasized that in the southern lapmarks *saivo* has successively lost its import of sacred or supernatural (Bäckman 1975, 18). Bäckman thinks the identification between *seite* and *saivo* is unrealistic and without support in the sources (Bäckman 1975, 77).

The discussion around Holmberg’s article on the “companions” of the Skolt Saamis was reported on in the foregoing.

## 4

It is now time to summarize the material here analysed and to draw some obvious conclusions.

Apparently not only shamans but also other Saamis formerly owned guardian spirits that were handed down in the family. Among the western

<sup>10</sup> Sigrid Drake considers that information from the Åsele lapmark to the effect that *saivo* and *seite* are synonymous concepts is due to a misunderstanding: *seite* is really the image, *saivo* a spirit associated with this image (Drake 1918, 357).

Saamis these spirits were anthropomorphic (if we may believe the sources), among the eastern Skolt Saamis they were zoomorphic. There is also some information on the purchase of guardian spirits. It seems, furthermore, that some persons—not just the shamans—could achieve guardian spirits through their own efforts.

The reasons why the occurrence of this non-shamanic guardian-spirit belief has been so slightly dealt with by research are in particular the following. Firstly, scholarly interest has been directed towards shamanism and the role of the guardian spirits within the shamanic complex. Secondly, as Louise Bäckman has noted, the early source writers turned primarily to the shamans in order to secure information on Saami religion, and the shamans of course described *saivo* from their own points of interest (Bäckman 1975, 126). In this way a large segment of Saami religion practically ventured into oblivion. Holmberg (Harva) “discovered” the guardian-spirit complex among the Skolt Saamis, but he ignored its Saami importance (for example, he regarded it in its connection with other guardian-spirit beliefs, such as the Scandinavian *fylgia* beliefs).

Seen from a comprehensive circumpolar and circumboreal perspective, the Saami *saivo* complex may be interpreted as a European counterpart to the North American Indian belief in guardian spirits. It may be sufficient to point here to four possible parallels.

(1) The guardian spirit appears in dreams or visions, and may in many cases also be acquired through dreams and visions.

It is well-known that in aboriginal North America visionary experiences are a basic trait in religion, a hypertrophy in the religious pattern (cf. Benedict 1923). This is scarcely the case in Saami religion where shamanism has a stronger position than in North America. However, it emerges from our sources that the *saivo* primarily reveal themselves in dreams, and this not only to the shaman. We may here refer to information supplied by Thomas von Westen (Reuterskiöld 1910, 2), Solander (Reuterskiöld 1910, 24), Forbus (Reuterskiöld 1910, 51 f., 83) and Sidenius (Reuterskiöld 1910, 54, 58). Most to the point is Forbus’s short statement, “They have also dreamt of these mountain-men and in the dream gathered their answer” (Reuterskiöld 1910, 83). To all appearances Forbus meant that the spirits were called on to give counsel through the singing of a *juoigos*, and that their counsel was given in the dream. Summoning the spirit through a song is, as Lowie noted, a common feature among the peoples of northern Eurasia and North America (Lowie 1934, 187f.). However, the parallel between Saamis and Indians is scarcely particularly remarkable (cf. Hultkrantz 1981, 18).

Nowhere in the sources is it mentioned that *saivo* were acquired in

dreams for common people. When Forbus says that a person could gain a guardian spirit by exercising his "own diligence", or Skanke tells us that a manservant managed to acquire a guardian spirit at the age of fourteen, we are left in uncertainty as to how this happened. It is possible that the singing of a *juoigos* or spontaneous dreams had paved the way for the guardian spirit, but this remains speculation. A source writer from the nineteenth century, J. A. Nensén, gives us to understand that the guardian spirits are reserved for the shamans, who had received them through inheritance, purchase or "diligence in shamanism" (UUB R 649, 654f. See also Bäckman 1975, 61). The latter phrase probably refers to singing a *juoigos*, drumming or visionary activity. However, what held true for the shaman would not necessarily have held true for common man.

(2) Guardian spirits can be purchased or inherited. This was common procedure among the Saamis. Among North American Indians the vision quest was the normal pattern, but both on the Northwest Coast and on the Plains purchase and inheritance can be found (Benedict 1923, 12f., 56f.). In general a social structure with a close-knit lineage system seems to provide the best precondition for transference by heritage. As far as the Saamis are concerned one could preferably adduce Gustav Ränk's interpretation of the Saami village, *siita*, as a community in kinship, society, economy and cult (Ränk 1954, 1955). As we have seen the *saivo olmai* were the spirits of the kin group; other kin groups had their spirits, and all of them were located to particular mountains. Such a fixed organisation of the spirit world is less characteristic of North America, but it does occur.

(3) The guardian spirit is in both areas zoomorphic or anthropomorphic. In North America it is mostly zoomorphic, among the Saamis it was zoomorphic in the east (the Skolts), otherwise as far as one can see anthropomorphic (except that shamans had zoomorphic helping spirits). It is natural in a hunting milieu for the spirits to adopt both forms of disguise. The dominance of anthropomorphic *saivo olmai* or *passevare olmai* among the Saamis could possibly indicate influences of manistic conceptions among Finnish peoples (Hultkrantz 1979, 50; cf. Honko 1971, 178ff.). However, there was no outspoken ancestor cult among the Saamis (Bäckman 1978, 47).

(4) There is a close connection between the guardian spirit and his client, so close indeed that among the Indians and the Skolts the death of the guardian spirit also means the death of his protégé. As mentioned thought trends of this kind, often denominated "nagualism", may form a basis for the growth of totemism.

If, finally, we regard the Saami guardian-spirit beliefs in a wide circumpolar perspective, we find that it offers many parallels with the better-known

North American Indian beliefs. In Siberia shamanism has constituted a predominating complex, albeit even there tendencies towards the occurrence of individual guardian spirits for common man have appeared. On the flanks of the pronounced shamanic complex, in Lapland and North America, a guardian spirit belief, probably very old, has survived. In North America it has tended to supplant shamanism; among the Saamis it has existed side by side with shamanism.

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# The Saami Shamanic Drum in Rome

BY JUHA Y. PENTIKÄINEN

Although some of my colleagues, including Professors Gretel H. Pelto and Pertti J. Pelto, suggested that this paper should be written in the form of a science fiction novel rather than that of an article, I opted this time for the latter alternative. This paper was read first as a guest lecture in Rome in October 1982, then at the Nordic Symposium arranged by the Donner Institute in Turku in August 1984 and finally in the city Hall of Patti in Sicily in an Italian-Finnish Colloquium arranged by the Department of Ethnohistory and Anthropology at the University of Palermo, in September 1984. I am thankful to my colleagues on all these occasions for their valuable comments which have benefited the progress of this paper. Without forgetting the others, I would like to remember with deep gratitude the names of Ugo Bianchi, Louise Bäckman, Carl-Martin Edsman, Phebe Fjellström, Rolf Gilberg, Luigi Grottanelli, Mihály Hoppál, Åke Hultkrantz, Rolf Kjellström, Olavi Korhonen, Martti Linkola, Larissa Lomnitz, Romano Mastromattei, Nilla Outakoski, Aurelio Rigoli, Annamaria Savarese. Doctors Marco Curatola and Claudio Cavatrunci, ispettore etnologo, Museo preistorico etnografico L. Pigorini, have opened the doors of the L. Pigorini museum for me and helped me in finding the drum and the documents in Rome. Prof. Patrik Reuterswärd listened to my paper on Saami Shamanism in Åland and sent me information about the Tessin-Cronström correspondence. Anne Helttula has translated the Italian texts, Veikko Anttonen and Kari Vesala have helped in the technical edition of the text and in the bibliography. My heartfelt thanks to all of them.

## 1. "Lapptrumma" as a diplomatic cargo on early 18th century

The turn of the 17th century and the subsequent 18th century were a magnificent period in the history of the Swedish kingdom. Nicodemus Tessin the Younger was the architect of the Royal Palace which was to be built as the symbol of a powerful country for Continental Europe and for succeeding generations. Tessin wanted to build a palace the interior of which would appeal to the continental artistic taste of its period. He was



creating an appropriately regal setting for the Swedish king, in conformity with leading French standards. In order to keep himself informed about artistic development in Continental Europe, Tessin had an agent in Paris, the Swedish envoy Daniel Cronström who had been the resident at the Court of the French King since 1702 and the Swedish envoy from the year 1703 until his death in Paris in 1719 (Reuterswärd 1966, 265).

Tessin was not, however, only interested in French architecture and art. Fascinated by Roman arts, he also used his agent to get information about Italian culture and such masterpieces as could be used for the interiors of the royal palace and his own house in Stockholm. It was Cronström's task to find the right people and to negotiate with them. Tessin's artistic credo, as becomes apparent from the huge correspondence with Cronström in French from 1693–1718 was "the idea of combining Italianate interiors with interiors decorated and furnished in the French style" (Reuterswärd 1966, 265). It was for this reason that a Lapp drum came to play a crucial role in the diplomatic correspondence between Stockholm and Paris.

Tessin was a good friend of the young Swedish king, Carl Gustaf, and guided his interests in collecting art. It was in 1698 that the name of Callot is mentioned for the first time in correspondence. He later on became Tessin's particular favourite. The king and Tessin wanted to get the complete collection of Callot's engravings to Stockholm. The most important missing Callots were to be acquired directly from Florence, but using Cronström and the Florentine envoy in Paris as intermediary agents. In order to get these valuable masterpieces of Italian art to Stockholm, Tessin used quite a special strategy. He decided to send over to Paris a Lapp drum to be forwarded as a present to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who then would reward Tessin via Cronström with the desired engravings (Reuterswärd 1966, 265). How everything happened can be read from the correspondence from the years 1705–06 (Weigert & Hernmarck 1964).

Tessin wrote on January 28th, 1705, about a "laptrumma" which should be arranged for his use by the governor of Västerbotten, Colonel Gustaf Douglas (1648–1705) to be sent as soon as possible to Cronström for the envoy of Florence:

Au reste, Mr. Douglas com̄e j'espère me fera avoir un "Laptrumma"<sup>1</sup> avec ses attributs pour Mr. l'envoyé de Florence, que j'enverrois avec la premiere occasion qui se trouvera ... (Weigert & Hernmarck 1964, 338).

The first effort to obtain the drum from Lapland did not succeed, however, probably because of the death of Governor Douglas in 1705. Mr. Cronström had accepted the idea and became anxious at his lack of success in his efforts to get the famous Battle of Medici via the Florence envoy to

Stockholm. He wrote on September 11th of 1705 to Nicodemus Tessin the Younger about his plan to send Mr. Göran Josua Törnqvist, a Swedish architect, as his delegate to Florence to bring back the work in question:

Vous devriez tâcher d'avoir "laptrumman" [le tambour lappon] par quelque autre. Je mettrois par l'Envoyé de Florence dans son tort de ne m'avoir pas encor donné les batailles de Médicis . . .

Je tacheroy de faire donner une recomendation à Mr. Törnquist pour Florence par laquelle il pourra obtenir les batailles de Médicis, etc. Si le tambour lappon pouvoit venir incessamment, cela y aideroit beaucoup. Mr. Törnquist a dessiné ma grande calèche dans les proportions, je crois que c'est ce qu'il vous fault. Je luy en feroy voir encor quelqu'une plus chargée d'ornements qu'il pourra adjouter par parties (Weigert & Hernmarck 1964, 346).

The project seemed to proceed when Tessin did get the drum. He wrote to Cronström on February 10th of 1706:

J'ay à la fin eu cette laptrumma . . . (Weigert & Hernmarck 1964, 351).

## 2. Ethical considerations about shipping the Lapp boy to use the drum

The next step was probably to find out how to use the drum in question. The envoy at Florence was clever enough to make that kind of request, because Tessin wrote to Cronström on March 21st 1706 about his intention to send the description of how to use the drum by the next boat leaving for Rouen:

Depuis, j'ay eu l'honneur de recevoir la vostre du n:o 3 à laquelle ces peu des lignes serviront de response. Je suis très ravy d'apprendre que Mr. l'Envoyé de Toscane vous aye promis de faire venir les 32 pièces de Callot; pour celles de la Terre Sainte, je les ay moy mesme. Mais comme je compte ma caisse de festes perdûe si, au lieu de cela, il y avoit moyen d'avoir l'Entrée de la Duchesse de Lorraine à Florence, cela me fairoit bien du plaisir, car parmy toutes les Entrées c'est le livre le plus rare. J'ay trouvé une description de la manière comme l'on se sert de la machine de Lapponie; j'enverrays l'un et l'autre avec le premier navire qui partira pour Rouen (Weigert & Hernmarck 1964, 353).

This was not, however, enough. After half a year, the envoy of Florence brought a new request from the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Not only a drum was needed but a lapp boy besides that. Mr. Cronström felt the new request was so difficult that he expressed his opinion quite openly to Tessin at the end of his letter of September 3rd, 1706:

Au reste, Mr. le Grand Duc est un peu intéressé. Il voudroit plaisir pour plaisir. Il demande un petit garçon lappon et s'offre defaire les frais du voyage. Cette

commission sera embarrassante, d'ailleurs l'issue en sera reprochable du costé de la religion ... (Weigert & Hernmarck 1964, 355).

Tessin also felt his situation to be uneasy for several reasons. The surface of the drum had become broken during the transportation process. He did not, however, want to replace the broken cover with a new one but instead sent the drum as it was. The problem of despatching the Lapp boy was even more difficult. He was doubtful of the loyalty of the Lapp race in general, and the religious question seemed overwhelmingly difficult (Weigert & Hernmarck 1964, 355). A full report of the matter was sent with a delegate from Sweden to France. Tessin wrote on September 19th of 1706:

... Je suis très ravy des estampes de Callot, que Mr. l'envoyé de Toscane vous a livré. Voyla mon oeuvre de Callot tout entier, exceptées quelques peu de feuilles; je vous en suis entièrement redevable.

J'ay envoyé la machine [le tambour lapon] qu'il a souhaité, telle que je l'ay pû avoir ... La peau du tambour est déchirée en party; il est facile d'en remettre une autre où les mesmes caractères soient imités, mais on ne les estime presque que par leur ancienneté. Ainsy, j'ay crû vous la devoir envoyer telle qu'elle estoit. Pour le garçon qu'on demande, ces gens là sont bien sujets à caution a l'égard de leur fidélité, d'autant plus dans un voyage, ou ils ne scavent s'expliquer envers qui que ce soit, outre les difficultés de la Religion, qui paroissent presque insurmontables. Il en est party un homme d'icy pour la France il y a quelques semaines, qui vous en donnera tout l'eclaircissement (Weigert & Hernmarck 1964, 355).

In spite of all these problems, the Lapp boy was tracked down and dispatched. He came to Paris before the drum and Mr. Fouquet who was to speak for him. The unhappy Cronström reported his behavior and drinking habits to Tessin on October 24th of 1706:

... Ce Lappon dont vous m'avez parlé est arrivé; c'est un ivrogne dont il n'y a pas plaisir de se mesler. Je le feroys connestre [à] Mr. l'Envoyé de Florence. S'il veut ou peut l'enrôler pour son maistre; qu'il le fasse, c'est son affaire ... (Weigert & Hernmarck 1964, 356).

The letter from Cronström to Tessin of December 10th, 1706 indicates that the drum and Mr. Fouquet had still not arrived in Paris:

Mr. Fouquet n'est point encor arrivé ny le V. qui porte "laptrumman" (Weigert & Hernmarck 1964, 366).

The correspondence after this is silent in the matter. The fate of the drum as well as that of the Lapp boy remain uncertain. Tessin, however, did get the engravings he missed, including the Battles of Medicin in copper, which are nowadays in the collections of the National Museum in Stockholm. Tessin could be satisfied, but the problem of the drum remained open.

### 3. The history of the Lapp drum in the museum of L. Pigorini

I had happily learned of this correspondence before my lecturing tour to Rome in the autumn of 1982. I paid a special visit to the L. Pigorini ethnographical museum located in the E. U. R., the administrative centre in the neighbourhood of Rome built in the style of Mussolini's period of the 1930's. Having read of and heard about this most southerly located Lapp drum, I became greatly surprised on studying the catalogues and indexes of the museum. There was no inventory number for any Lapp drum in the collections of the museum. An Italian scholar was found, however, who had seen the drum some time ago in the storage room of the museum. We were guided there, and finally after a search of a couple of hours, the Lapp drum without no inventory number was found under some Central American ceremonial masks used for an exhibition of the museum. What is the history of that particular drum, which once arrived from the Saami area in northernmost Europe to the collections of an Italian museum? Having the correspondence of the early 18th century in mind, it is necessary to take into consideration the possible connection between the drum of the Tessin-Cronström correspondence and that found in the collections of the L. Pigorini museum. It was in any case a happy accident, that a drum with no inventory number had survived the ravages of war etc. until today.

The Ethnographical Museum in E. U. R. carries the name of its founder, professor Luigi Pigorini. At the time of its foundation in 1876, it mainly consisted of the materials transferred from the Museo Kircheriano, founded by Atanasius Kircher, a Jesuit father, at the beginning of the 18th century. According to the information of Cartella 56 in the historical archives of the Pigorini museum, the drum was donated to Luigi Pigorini by Countess Alomena Borgia, sister of Count Ettore Borgia, on June 10th, 1878. It had been a part of a collection of Scandinavian stone weapons, which had been sold to Pigorini by Ettore and Alomena Borgia in the same year. Professor Pigorini was happy about the donation and sent on the following day (June 11th, 1878) a letter to the Minister of Education with a request to thank Count Borgia for his donation:

Count Ettore Borgia from Velletri has presented this museum with a drum of considerable ethnographical value, made by the Eskimoes or some other nation from those parts. On the leather surface of this drum a reindeer hunt is depicted. Because of the rareness of this article, its great scientific value is due to the scene depicted on it, and the fact that it has belonged to the famous Museo Borgiano of Velletri, which yet increases its value, Count Borgia deserves a word of acknowledgement from you (ASMP 56).

At first the drum was supposed to be Eskimo, and a place was reserved for it in the collection of Eskimo culture, arranged in Rome with the cooperation of Det Kongl. Ethnographiske Museum in Copenhagen. Pigorini sent an inquiry to Christian Frederik Herbst, a Danish archaeologist, on June 10th, 1878, and received a reply containing the truth about its Lappish origin (ASMP 224). It is probably for this reason, i.e. its non-Eskimo origin, that the drum was left without any inventory number in the collections of the Pigorini museum. Because it could not be part of a greater Eskimo collection, it was left on its own, as the only Lapp item in the museum at that time.

#### 4. The route of the Lapp drum to the Museum Borgianum at Velletri

On his Italian trip in 1787 Goethe paid a visit to the small town of Velletri on the road between Rome and Naples, about 40 kilometres from Rome. He there carefully studied the family museum, Museum Borgianum with its “treffliche Altertümer und sonstige Merkwürdigkeiten” (Hildebrand 1937, 112).<sup>1</sup> The museum, founded at the beginning of the 18th century, was then taken care of by Cardinal Stefano Borgia (1731–1804). Stefano Borgia had been interested in antiquarian pursuits since his youth. After being nominated to the office of Congregazione de Propaganda Fide, the mission of the Roman Catholic Church in the Vatican, in 1770, he broadened the scope of the family museum to the areas of ethnography and Oriental studies. As the secretary of the office for Propaganda he could combine his museum interests with his church activities. Catholic missionaries all over the world were aware of his interests and did their best to collect materials for him. Stefano Borgia carried on an extensive correspondence with learned people who shared his antiquarian interests (Hildebrand 1937, 112f.).

One of the most active correspondents of Cardinal Stefano Borgia was a Danish theologian Friedrich Münter (1761–1830), a church historian, archaeologist and finally the bishop of Sjaelland. In his youth, Münter studied a whole year (1785–86) in Rome and became a good friend of Stefano Borgia visiting Velletri so often that it became “our museum”. The chief of Propaganda had a great influence on the further development of his personality and career. It was Friedrich Münter who worked so hard for the collection of Scandinavian antiquities that the latter became one of the rarities of the Museum Borgianum. Due to this friendship, “grande delizia della sua vita” Stefano Borgia lived on a Danish state pension after being

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<sup>1</sup> Goethe, W. v., *Italienische Reise*, note on diary 22.2.1787.

obliged to flee from Rome for two years during the period of the Roman republic in 1798–1800 (Hildebrand 1937, 116f.).

There is a huge correspondence between Borgia and Münter over the course of twenty years 1785–1804. After having returned to Denmark, Münter worked hard to fulfil the requests of Cardinal Borgia for his Nordic collection, “*la classe Boreale*” consisting mainly of coins and weapons in stone and bronze. It was Münter’s “*amica generosità*” which increased the Nordic collection. On June 2nd, 1792, Borgia asked Münter to send him a “*timpano magico di Lapponia*”, a Lapp drum which also arrived rather quickly, because Borgia thanked Münter for the beautiful drum which he considered an excellent addition “*al Nostro Museo Boreale di Velletri*” as early as Sept. 5th 1792. Borgia then had in his museum drums from both Lappland and Greenland, “*deus tambours magiques de la Lapponie et du Groenland*”. In 1795 Borgia wanted to have another Lapp drum, which also was sent by Münter via Brest but was lost or stolen on its way to Velletri (Hildebrand 1937, 120f.). The unhappy Münter wrote to Borgia on December 28th, 1795:

I cannot understand why the case seized by the French has not yet arrived there. Mr. Grouvelle has released it; I suppose it has been caught somewhere else. Its loss would cause me great distress, since I am not able to replace the Lappish troll-drum which is one of the curiosities it contains. But let us hope that it will be found again. I shall speak with Mr. Ramus, who took care of the shipment. Besides, for safety’s sake the case was addressed to Mr. Giorgio Z[oëga], not to you (Münter 1944, 136ff.).<sup>2</sup>

Another great wish expressed by Cardinal Borgia to prof. Münter concerned a runic stone. The first “*cippo runico*” arrived safely in 1793 (Hildebrand 1937, 131).<sup>3</sup> Münter was looking for another in 1795–96 and still sorry about the loss of the valuable case.

Cabbot has brought me the description of the Velletri Museum. I wish I could tell you more about the northern things. I am still in search of a runic stone. I have written everywhere and received promises from bishops and clergymen, who are the only ones able to procure them, but have obtained nothing. I am extremely sorry for the case seized at Brest; it will be impossible to get it back from the middle of that disorder. Some of the articles, e.g. the boat from Greenland, can be replaced without great difficulty; but the loss of that Lapp in his sledge, made of the teeth of the sea lion, is irrevocable. It will by now have become the embellishment of some museum at Brest. This is one of the consequences of the war (Münter 1944, 138f.).<sup>4</sup>

The lapp drum sent by Münter to Borgia in 1792 is clearly the drum of the Pigorini museum. When C.V. Hartman, director of the Naturhistoriska

<sup>2</sup> Münter to Borgia 28.12.1795.

<sup>3</sup> Borgia to Münter 19.9.1793.

<sup>4</sup> Münter to Borgia 14.12.1796.

Riksmuseets Etnografiska Afdelning in Stockholm made an inquiry about the drum in October 1909, he received the following reply from L. Pigorini:

“Two days ago I sent to your address the two photographs of the Lappish troll-drum kept in this museum. Please accept them as a gift.

The drum belonged to the famous Museo Borgiano [Borgia Museum] founded at Velletri by Cardinal Stefano Borgia in the second half of the 18th century.

When in the first half of the 19th century the Museo Borgiano was bought by the National Museum of Naples, the drum remained in Velletri together with several stone weapons of Scandinavian, perhaps Danish origin.

In 1878 I bought these Scandinavian stone weapons from their owner Count Ettore Borgia for the Museo Preistorico-Etnografico of Rome. On that occasion the Count donated the drum to the museum” (ASMP 56).<sup>5</sup>

The ethnographical collections of the family museum in Velletri were divided between the museums of the Vatican, Florence and Naples. The unique Nordic collection still remained the property of Museum Borgianum until the deal by Luigi Pigorini. After Pigorini had bought the Scandinavian weapons he was donated the Lapp drum which was then transferred from Velletri to Rome.

How and why the drum in question had arrived in Copenhagen, is another question worth studying. At that time, Norway was a part of Denmark (from 1380 to 1814), Copenhagen being the capital of the whole country. Det Kongl. Ethnographiske Museum in Copenhagen became the natural destination of the ethnographical objects found inside the country as well as abroad. Finnmark and Lappmark in the far north were not any more the exotic borders of the territory of the regime but had become areas of general interest, due to the activation of missionary interests in the north.

Thomas von Westen (1682–1727), “the apostle of the Lapps”, had in 1716 begun his *seminarium lapponicum* in Trondheim and launched with his colleagues a strong mission among the Lapps “preaching the gospel, founding schools, building churches and putting missionaries into office”. Von Westen himself made three missionary trips to the Lapps (in 1716, 1718–19 and 1722–23) (Reuterskiöld 1910, XII f., 1–7, 12–27).

Under the influence of the wave of witch persecutions from the 16th century onwards, the shamanic drum was considered to be the most crucial manifestation of paganism among the Lapps. A systematic collection of drums took place as a part of missionary work during von Westen’s time. According to the information reported by Jan Friis in his *Lappisk Mythologi* (Friis 1871, 19), a greater collection of drums was sent by von Westen to

<sup>5</sup> Pigorini to Hartman 26.10.1909.

Copenhagen where, however, about 70 of them were burned in a fire in 1728. There are six Lappish drums today in the collections of the National Museum in Copenhagen. Two of them are from the period before von Westen's time, i.e. from the 17th century. The two drums sent by professor Münter to Cardinal Borgia in the 1790's may have belonged to the collection of drums found by von Westen or his missionary colleagues and sent from the Norwegian Lappmark to be preserved in Copenhagen. Due to the nature of collecting drums as a part of the Christian mission as well as the fire in Copenhagen, the information about their origins is very deficient as far as the whole Copenhagen collection is concerned.

On basis of the archival information it seems to be clear that the Saami drum in Rome came to the Pigorini Museum from the Museum Borgianum in Velletri. It was shipped to Velletri from Copenhagen by F. Münter in 1792. Münter finally found the drum from the collection slipped by von Westen or his colleagues from the Norwegian Lappmark. Because more precise source information is lacking, the drum must be located on the basis of comparative analysis.

### 5. The report of the runeboom by Paolo Mantegazza in 1880

The Saami drum in Rome became familiar to Italian scholars when during the 70th meeting of the *Società Italiana di Antropologia e di Etnologia* (April 20th, 1880), Prof. Paolo Mantegazza presented the design of the drum (runeboom) and affirmed that, while being the only exemplar in Italy, it was also a rarity in all Europe, since almost all Lappish *runebooms* had been destroyed in a fire in Copenhagen (Mantegazza 1880, 445).

Paolo Mantegazza was Professor of Anthropology in the University of Florence. In 1880 he published a book *Studi antropologici sui Lapponi*, with Stephen Sommier as his coauthor, studying the physical anthropology of the Saami. In the following year, 1881, an ethnographical field report "Un viaggio in Lapponia", appeared containing a comparative study of the expressions of shamanism in Greenland and Lappland. Referring to the information by Jan Friis in his *Lappisk Mythologi* he gives a description of the drum in the Pigorini museum and also describes the use of the drum on the basis of the famous Nærö manuscript in 1723. As an anthropologist, Paolo Mantegazza uses the native terms *noaide* and *runeboom* quite carefully when referring to Saami shamans and shamanic drums. The concept of runeboom stems from texts of Norwegian Lappish origin:

"My dear friend Prof. Pigorini has recently come cross a Lappish troll-



drum and bought it for the Ethnological museum of Rome. Thanks to his kindness I am able to present here a design of it" (Mantegazza 1880, 284).

The Saami drum in Rome is, of course, a rarity. It is the most southerly located exemplar of the 71 drums, studied by Ernst Manker. At the moment, it is also the only Saami drum the existence of which is certain in Italy. Ernst Manker made an expedition to several Central and Southern European museums in 1932 to trace the possibility of preserved Saami drums. He came to Rome: "The drum preserved in Rome is a very beautiful exemplar" (NM 531, Ms. 22.12.1932). He also tried to find a drum in Florence on the basis of some rumours heard in Stockholm, but without any result. I made similar efforts taking into consideration the correspondence between Tessin and Cronström, but with no results either. It is, of course, possible that the broken drum never reached its Florentine destination, due to the accident with the surface of the drum as well as the problems with the Lapp boy shipped from Sweden to France. Another alternative is that it arrived at Florence, either became lost later on or is still preserved somewhere, for example in a private collection. That Swedish Lappish drum is not, however, the Norwegian Lappish *runebom* in the Pignorini museum.

## 6. Lapp drums as souvenirs and antiquarian objects

Saami drums were probably popular objects of export in the 17th and 18th centuries. Missionaries and explorers brought dozens of drums from various parts of Lappmark to be sold and shipped to the private collections of noblemen and other interested people all over Continental Europe. Some of these drums later on found their way to the museums, many became lost or are still somewhere, to be traced by future investigations of local museums and private collections.

There is information about five Saami drums which were supposed to have Italy as their destination. The only one preserved is the *runebom* of the Pignorini museum, the object of this study. Another was sent by prof. Münster to Cardinal Borgia in 1795–96 but was lost or stolen at Brest. The third drum was the diplomatic cargo from Västerbotten Lappmark to be shipped from Stockholm by Tessin the Younger to go via Rouen and Paris to Florence in 1705–06 (Reuterswärd 1966, 266). Besides these three drums, there is literary evidence of two others which arrived in Italy at the end of the 17th century. An illustration of a drum with a hammer and a ring was published in a posthumous work by Francesco Negri of Ravenna, *Viaggio*

*Settentrionale Fatto*, in 1701. It is highly reminiscent of the drawings published by Joh. Schefferus in his *Lapponia* of 1673.

Schefferus's *Lapponia* had a great influence in awakening general interest towards the Lapps in the 17th century. It was a kind of bestseller of the period, appearing in the course of ten years in five different languages covering the whole of contemporary civilized Europe: Latin 1673, English 1674, German 1675, French 1678, Dutch 1682. This book was certainly much better known in Continental Europe than in Scandinavia itself. It gave its international readers valuable information about the way of life and religion of this people, considered the most exotic in the whole of Europe, in spite of the fact that Schefferus in his *Lapponia* used no eastern Lappish source.

A typical example of this interest is a letter sent by Mr. Magalotti to Joh. Schefferus in September, 1674. Magalotti worked as the agent of the Grand Duke of Tuscany in Stockholm to get a complete *curiosum* from Lapland shipped to Italy. Beside the collection of Lappish costumes, he already had a drum with a hammer. What he particularly needed in this respect were rings to jump on the surface of the drum and a *storjunkare*, the image of a Saami god:

Monsieur,

Your kindness of which you have given me ample proof since I first had the pleasure of meeting you, and the openness with which you have shown me that you wished to continue henceforth in the same mind, give me the courage to remind you today of the favour for which you had allowed me to hope, that you would undertake to assemble a collection of *curiosa* which as far as possible would resemble your own. The honour in which you are held by my noble lord, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, is well worthy of this correspondence from you, since it is at his request that I feel obliged to make this entreaty. Whatever you collect in the course of time may be delivered to Herr Nicolas Matthiessen, German merchant, resident in this city by the German Church. I also authorise him to pay the sums of money you require when you deliver any *curiosum* to him. If something of particular value should arise, I beg you to inform me in advance, which you may do by addressing any letters intended for me to the above mentioned merchant. The journey you will undertake to the North will thus offer you a favourable opportunity for the acquisition of some *curiosa* from Lapland. What I already have of such items is: their dress, boots, shoes, gloves, feather cap—all embroidered with lead. You need not therefore trouble yourself with anything of this kind. I also have a drum and a hammer. What I would like is one of the rings which they make jump on the drum when they hit it, a bow, some arrows of their own manufacture and above all a pair of skis. I would also be very happy to acquire a *storjunkare* together with anything there is which could serve science, with the exception of copper and silver coins, of which I am sufficiently provided. You see therefore how I impose on you, although you give me all too little reason for this, as you have forgotten, in the catalogue you had the kindness to send me of your works, to give the title of the book you would

so like to receive. I beg you not to forget it this time, and I am quite convinced that there can hardly be anyone in this world who appreciates your worthiness as much as my Master.

Messrs. Åkerman and Schefferus are hereby  
assured of the deepest devotion of their most  
humble servant,

Magalotti

Stockholm, 11/1 September 1674 (UUB G 260c, 57).<sup>6</sup>

Interestingly enough, Tessin the Younger worked three decades later to send a Saami drum to the same destination as Magalotti: the Grand Duke of Tuscany in Florence. The drum sent by Tessin cannot be the same, because it was arranged for this purpose via the governor of Västerbotten in 1705. Magalotti wrote in 1674 that he already had a drum with a hammer. It is even possible that there are two different Saami drums somewhere in Florence, one sent by Magalotti, another by Tessin. Anyhow, Reuterskiöld is wrong to assume that the drum in Rome (published by him on the basis of Mantegazza's book) is the same as the one reported by Magalotti. Magalotti's unknown drum came from Swedish Lappmark in the 17th century, the runeboom in the Pigorini museum reported by Mantegazza is Norwegian Lappish and from the early 18th century (Manker 1938, 737 ff.).

Why did the royal architect, Tessin the Younger, choose a Lappish drum as his diplomatic cargo to obtain the desired engravings from Florence? He, of course, must have been aware of the great interest of the Grand Duke of Tuscany for Lappish antiquities, particularly the shamanic equipment. Stockholm was a continental city where envoys and agents met as well as in Paris. Although Tessin the Younger may have been ignorant as far as the letter from Magalotti to Schefferus is concerned, he was certainly clever and interested enough to get to know the oral histories, one generation old at that time and surely remembered in learned, artistic circles of Stockholm. When planning his manoeuvre, Tessin the Younger could be almost sure about his success as actually happened.

There clearly has been a special interest towards the most northern corner of the European continent in the Mediterranean countries, particularly in Italy. This interest also led to such important excursions as those by Giuseppe Acerbi and Paolo Mantegazza and so on. The correspondence and other descriptions quoted above bear evidence about shamanism as the most illuminating and appealing manifestation of the ancient culture and religion of the exotic people living behind the circumpolar zone at the edge of the universe. Shamanism has always been one of the favourite objects

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<sup>6</sup> Magalotti to Schefferus 11.9.1674.

described by scholars studying the most northern territory in Europe. There seems to have been some appeal towards exotic people in the north shared by Italian scholars and vice versa. Why not mutual interest from the North towards the south, for example in the way expressed by the most popular Finnish Christmas song, "Sylvia's Christmas Song" with its Sicilian nostalgic dreams.

## 7. The cosmology of the drum

Paolo Mantegazza was the first scholar to give his interpretation to the figures on the surface of the drum. As an anthropologist he was able to realize that the three items preserved, the drum itself, the hammer (*coarve-vaever*) as well as the ring (*vuorbe* or *vaeiko*) formed a whole:

"The *coarve-vaever* was a T-shaped wand made of reindeer horn, sometimes covered with leather, with which the drum was beaten. The *vuorbe* was either a brass ring from which other small rings were hanging, or a triangle made of bone. It represented the sun, and when the *runebom* was consulted the ring or the triangle was placed on the figure of the sun designed in the centre of the drum (Mantegazza 1881, 284f.).

Mantegazza's important discovery was that each piece of equipment played its own role as a part of the shamanic session which should be interpreted holistically. He did, however, forget to explain what was behind the beautiful surface of the drum.

Nordic research on the drums has hitherto been mainly typological inventory. Reuterskiöld began the historical tradition followed by Wiklund and Manker, The Saami drum in Rome was familiar to all of them on the basis of Mantegazza's book as well as the correspondence between Pigorini and Hartman. Wiklund made a typological survey on the drums, defining the drum in Rome as the manifestation of the so-called *Ranentyp* (Wiklund 1930, 96). Manker mainly agreed with him but supposed that the place of origin might be farther north because the hunter of the drum had a *Kautokeino* hat. As far as its construction is concerned the drum in Rome belongs to the category of *Schalentrommel* (NM 531, Ms. for Manker 1950; Manker 1938, 741 f.).

The sum of the technical details of the drum is quoted according to the inventory by Ernst Manker:

"In this drum too the part indicating heaven is separated from the earth, and you can see the figures of the gods, the sun, the house of the Christians, the reindeer and the bear. The design also includes the magic wand, which, however, is made of wood, not of reindeer horn" (Manker 1950, 390ff.).

Mantegazza realized that the part indicating heaven on the surface of the

drum has been separated from the earth. Manker also divides the figures of the drum into two: the 11 figures belonging to the upper region and the 9 of the lower region. The clear centre of the drum, however, is the sun which again has a black centre. The *peive* or the sun seems to be under the celestial sphere, although connected by a line up to the radial line between heaven and earth, on the one hand, and with a thicker pillar down to another line towards the bottom of the drum, on the other.

This drum is very sun-centred. The *peive* is a part of the pillar of the universe around which everything takes place both in the heaven of the deities as well as among people below. The line under the pillar indicates the fine borderline between the spheres of the living and the dead members of the family or the clan, i.e. the thin boundary between life and death, this world and *Jabmeaivo*, the Land of the Dead where everything is upside-down compared to this world. An ordinary man could wander there in his dreams or supernatural experiences with the *stallo*, the *qufittar* and the other beings of that sphere (Nielsen 1934, 379; Turi 1910, 200–206; Pentikäinen 1984). The surface of the drum may be divided into three realms of the universe than rather into two as research so far has interpreted it.

What becomes manifest on the surface of the drum is a Saami Weltanschauung of a tripartite universe. It consists of the upper realm of the heavenly deities, the middle human realm and the lower realm, *Jabmeaivo* or the world upside-down. They are, however, connected with a pillar having a *peive* or the sun as its centre. The sun is located in the centre of the whole drum surrounded by gods, people, animals and other symbols in a symmetric configuration towards the centre. The location of the figures as well as the whole structure of the drum with its oval form seems to indicate a cyclic view of life.

The Saami way of life, economy and culture is highly dependent on the sun. Seasonal variation is felt very strongly in the Arctic and Subarctic conditions of the Far North. In winter there is a long *kaamos* period with no sunrise and in summer a couple of months with no sunset. Most of the Saamis have until recently been nomadic or seminomadic people moving annually from place to place in accordance with the migratory drive of the animals (moose, elk, deer, reindeer, salmon, trout) they have been hunting, fishing or breeding. After settling down, the Saamis have often occupied summer and winter villages or even summer, autumn, winter and spring cabins for the different branches of their combined economy system. The Saamis have, for this reason, been called “the people of eight seasons” (Manker 1963).

In northern Fennoscandia, the Saamis have occupied a huge area from Central Scandinavia (the most southern corner being in Idre in Dalarna) to

Finnmark and the Kola Peninsula on the coast of the Arctic Ocean. The dates of the eight seasons, of course, vary from area to area and are highly dependent on the resources of each Saami group and their economy and culture. In Swedish Lapland between the Pite and Tornio rivers the seasons follow one another roughly as follows: winter lasts from December to March, early spring is March-April, spring May-June, early summer in June, summer in July and early August, late summer in the end of August, autumn in September-October, late autumn in November. Seasonal rotation is taken into consideration annually when moving from one landmark to another, starting and finishing seasonal activities in fishing, hunting, reindeer husbandry, berry picking and so on. Social, cultural, religious and private life also followed the annual rhythm of the seasons to such an extent that courtship took place in early summer and almost all childbirths occurred in late winter. The religious calendar, of course, was obliged to adapt itself to this seasonal rotation. It brought some kind of functional rhythm into the routines of daily activities and social life. The high seasons of religious life followed observations of the sun. From this point of view, time was not considered as linear but cyclic. The winter period started from the 14th October and summer period from the 14th April. The day of *kaskatalve* (Midwinter) was on January 13th and that of *kaskakesse* (Midsummer) on July 13th. A year could be divided into two parts, into winter and summer. As far as economy and culture is concerned, it is possible to speak of winter and summer cultures among the Saamis (Aikio et al. 1985; Manker 1953, 23-40). It is only natural that this division particularly concerns religious affairs both in Pre-Christian and Christian times. For example, the Laestadian service calendar knows winter and summer services, the high seasons being around the dates of Midwinter and Midsummer.

Shamanism is one of the main manifestations of Saami Pre-Christian religion, and many of its functions have remained as a part of Saami world view until recently in spite of the fact that almost all the Saami are at least formally baptized Christians nowadays. The natural centre of the drum is the sun. This does not, however, mean that the Saami had worshipped the sun god, as has been supposed by some scholars until now. The more probable interpretation is that the drum has been read and interpreted in a perennially varied way, due to the season, person and problem in question. The oval form of the drum and the location of the figures towards the heliocentric sun indicate the same. The director of the shamanistic session, the noaide or the shaman was an expert in shamanic folklore. He had to know the myths about the origins of the universe as well as the culture. Mythic time is cyclic. The early golden times are brought to the present every time that a social, cultural or private crisis takes place.

The drum is a key to the cosmology of the Saamis. The shaman had an intimate relationship with his own drum which was often also made by him. The figures of the drum were a kind of cognitive map for the trip of the shaman's ego-soul between the three levels of the universe. At the same time it was the collective side of the drum, open to the public to be observed collectively and interpreted publicly by the shaman to the audience who shared the same cosmologic beliefs. The cyclic world-outlook of shamanism became manifest in the oval shape and the heliocentric figures of the drum. It was probably used, read and interpreted from different directions in a way that shifted annually in accordance with the seasonal variation.

### 8. The use of the drum in the shamanistic seance

Paolo Mantegazza gave a description of the use of the drum on the basis of the Naerø manuscript of 1723. Because it very probably stems, both in space and time from approximately the same cultural area as the *runebom* of the Pigorini museum, it is quoted below *in extenso*:

To ask advice before any undertaking of some importance (a journey, a hunting or fishing trip) or in a case of illness, the Lapp consulted the *runebom*. It seems that every family had one, just as every Protestant family has a Bible. Only in the case of more serious matters the *noiade* was asked to act as an intermediary; normally the *runebom* was consulted by the head of the family. After numerous preparations and gesticulations the *vuorbe* (the ring) was placed on the drum, which was then beaten with the wand until the bouncing ring finally stopped on some figure and refused to move away from it. The place where the ring had stopped revealed the will of the gods. If a journey was planned, the stopping of the ring on the sign of the morning or the evening indicated the time in which one had to set out. The ring which stopped in that part of the drum where a lek with fish was designed promised success for a fishing trip. If the ring stopped on the edge of that part, the god of the fishes would be propitious if he received an offering; but if it refused to enter into that part of the drum, no success could be expected. The *runebom* had a place of its own in the special sacred part of the hut. At the risk of death of some other great disaster no woman was allowed to touch it or even walk on the road along which the drum had been carried (Mantegazza 1881, 285 ff.).

A Lapp named Andreas Livortsen had an only son aged 20, who was so ill that nobody believed he would recover. The desperate father used all the *runerie* or magic arts he knew, but all in vain. Finally he decided to turn to the *runebom*. He was a great *noaide* himself, but according to the articles of his faith in such a very personal matter he was not allowed to consult the *runebom* himself. Therefore he sent for the brother of his late wife; this man was as capable as the father himself in the arts of the *noiades*. After the opening ceremonies the brother-in-law placed the ring in the right place and

began to beat the *runebom* with the hammer. But look! The ring went straight away to the *jabmicuci-balges*, the road of the dead, quite close to the kingdom of the dead. The father was very upset, especially when he saw that although the drum was beaten harder and harder, accompanied by all kinds of incantations, the ring refused to move away from there; at last, advised by his brother-in-law, the father promised to sacrifice a female reindeer to the dead. Then at last, when the *runebom* was beaten again, the ring moved but did not go any further than the road of the Christians, wherefore the brother-in-law beat the drum again. But now the ring went back to the road of the dead. This time the father promised a male reindeer to *Mubben-aibmo* (Satan), in order to make his son live. The ring moved, but went again to the road of the Christians, and it was impossible to make it move into that part of the *runebom* where the huts of the Lapps are (which would have been a certain sign of recovery). The brother-in-law beat the drum the third time, with many exorcisms, but the ring went back to its earlier place, i.e. the road of the dead, and stayed there, until the father, in addition to the two reindeer, promised to sacrifice a horse to the *noiade* of the reign of the dead, if he *runed* in such a way that the dead would allow the ring to go to the Lappish huts, and so the father could be sure that his son would live. But this time even less was achieved than before: in spite of all the beating, the ring stayed still on the road of the dead; therefore a certain death was predicted for the young man. The brother-in-law was amazed and could not understand why the ring gave a worse prediction and the gods remained more inexorable after receiving such offerings. Finally he took the following measures: he went down to the shore and picked up an oblonged stone. Having consecrated this stone with many exorcisms and incantations, he hung it in front of the hut; then he threw himself in front of it, face against the ground, and said a prayer; he then asked *Mubben-aibmo* (Satan) the reason why the ring refused to abandon the road of the dead, although such splendid gifts had been promised to him, to the dead and to the *noiades* of the reign of the dead. He then heard the son give this answer: the promised offerings had to be sacrificed to him and to the other gods immediately, otherwise the boy would die, unless another human life could be offered instead. These were hard conditions; it was impossible for the father to fulfil his promises as promptly as Satan demanded, having at hand neither the reindeer nor the horse he had promised; and where could he find a man ready to offer his own life to save his son? Therefore, if the father wanted his son to live, he had no other way than die himself; and he willingly decided to do so. And as soon as he had made this decision, with which he showed a greater love for his son than for his own soul, the brother-in-law returned to beat the drum again, on which the ring was still



in its first place; but now it moved and went onto the Lappish hut, which predicted life and health to the sick person. The strangest thing is that immediately the son began to feel better, while at the same time the father fell mortally ill, and after dinner the following day the son was completely recovered, at the very same moment when his father, dying a miserable death, gave his miserable soul to the devil.

The son showed his gratitude to his father, according to the wish he had expressed at his last moment, by sacrificing a male reindeer to his soul; so he could more comfortably move around and go where he wanted to in the reign of the dead.

This Lapp named Johan, to whom all this happened five years ago and who is now in service in my parish in Helgeland, has told this story, together with other Lapps and their wives, in my presence in my house in the January of the present year 1723 (Mantegazza 1881, 287 ff.)<sup>7</sup>

Mantegazza's information coincides with the other sources from the same era and from the same cultural area. The shamanic session varied according to season and reason, for example, when and why it was arranged, for whom, by whom and for what particular purpose. The drum must be regarded only as a part of the whole including the other ritual repertoire and all the other attributes of the shaman in his culture. The drum clearly had both the collective side, drawn or painted on the skin surface, read and interpreted publicly for the audience and the more private backside.

## 9. The family side of the drum

Research has hitherto only been interested in the collective front of the drum and almost completely forgotten the inventory of the back side. Also in the case of the *runebom* in Rome, there is a complicated symbolism in the under side which does not only indicate the artistic values of the drum maker but may contain clues for dating and locating the drum. The figures cut with a knife on the nether side are symmetric and may refer to reindeer marks or to more esoteric information transmitted in a clan or a family from generation to generation or even as a sacred tradition passed from shaman to shaman in succession. In order to be sure about the meanings of the symbols on the lower side, all the known drums should be revisited and restudied. This type of holistic analysis—a research project under planning process—will surely lead to a new interpretation of the semiotics of the uses, meanings and functions of the Saami shamanic drums.

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<sup>7</sup> Ms. of Naerø 11 ff. Cited in Mantegazza 1881, 287 ff.

The huge body of information on Arctic shamanism seems to agree in regarding shamanism as a clan or family institution (cf. Shamanism 1978; and Shamanism 1984). The shaman often acted on behalf of his kin against competing groups, peoples, clans, families etc. Shamanism was still a family institution when Thomas von Westen in the 1710's and 1720's was collecting tens of drums from the Norwegian Lapps—one of which probably is our runeboom in Rome. A Soviet ethnographer S. I. Weinstein reports that the Tuva in Central Siberia, 30.000 in all, still had in the 1930's as many as 700 shamans (Weinstein 1984, 353).

Although the use of the shaman drum later on was usually confined to one leading regional shaman, it was not unusual for the head of a Saami household, *siita*, to use the drum in simple exercises of divination. Holding the drum in his left hand and the drumstick in his right, he would place a small object, called an *arpa* (or triangular piece of reindeer bone decorated with metal rings and ornaments) on the face of the drum and follow its movement on the drum's face. He might predict a number of things on the basis of this act. He might decide, for example, in what direction his *siita* should continue on a migratory journey; where he might find a lost reindeer or a grazing spot for his herd; what courses of action he should take to protect his clan from beasts of prey; where the best hunting spots were; when it would be best to depart on a journey he was about to take; what sacrifices he had to offer to the gods or guardian spirits to protect the victim of a serious accident, and so forth. The drum was also used to determine the will of the gods for punishment of reindeer theft, murder, and other crimes (Harva 1915, 100 ff.; Collinder 1949, 148).

There were also special norms connected with the drum itself. Here, it is important to note that among the Saamis, the use of the shaman drum was taboo for women. Documentary sources of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries concur that women were not even allowed to touch it (Itkonen 1948, 2, 33). The drum was stored in the rear part of the so-called *boasso*, the holy corner where no woman could set foot. Rehn tells, for instance, that when on migratory journeys, the Saamis first took the shaman drum to the new location. This practice was based on the belief that if a woman even came into contact with a drum harm would come to her. According to Rehn, women were not allowed to follow the path by which the family's man had taken the drum to its new place of storage for three days. On seasonal journeys, the drum might also be placed in the last sledge of a moving caravan, or was sometimes taken to its destination along a completely different path (Cf. Manker 1938, 23–73). This kind of information coincides with the general view of Saami shamanism as a male institution.

## 10. The problem of the hunter with a Kautokeino hat in heavenly sphere

There is a problematic figure in the celestial sphere of the runeboom in Rome. Above the traditional pictures indicating the heavenly deities of the Saamis (Väraldenolmai, Bieggolmai, Tiermes or Horagalles and Leibolmai) there is the figure of a hunter with a four-edged hat on his head and a bow and an arrow in his hand towards a bear under a picture of a large reindeer with great horns. It was on the basis of this so-called Kautokeino hat, that Manker located the drum's origin as Norwegian Finnmark (Manker 1950, 390 ff.; cf. Wiklund 1930, 96). This kind of hypothesis, however, quite contradicts the theory of some ethnologists, according to which this kind of Kautokeino hat is very recent among the Lapps in Finnmark. It became a fashion among the Lapps from the 19th century at the earliest (Itkonen 1948, 1, 363 f.).<sup>8</sup> For this reason, some scholars suggest that the whole drum is not at all authentic or that the peculiar celestial sphere had been made at a later date when the drum had been repainted for some reason. Other scholars consider it authentic and—on the basis of comparative analysis—located it either in Pite or Lule Lappmark, on the Norwegian side.

My own study indicates the latter opinion. There is no sign of any repainting on the surface of the drum. The whole skin was painted at the same time. In accordance with the historical documents, we come to the following conclusion: the drum was found during the mission of the 1710's or 1720's by von Westen or his colleagues but was probably painted as early as the second half of the 17th century in Pite or Lule Lappmark by the Lapps who moved over the Swedish-Norwegian border.

The runeboom in Rome seems to reflect a world view of hunters. There is one bow and arrow in the human sphere and one hunter in heaven. But what special purpose has the hunter in the celestial sphere, above the heavenly deities? His picture has been painted quite naturally. Compared to the bear, his size seems to be quite natural. The figure of the reindeer, on the contrary, is magnificent and gigantic, compared to both the hunter and the bear. This may also be the clue to the solution of the problem of the hunting drama in heaven. It may not concern an ordinary hunting episode here but an astral hunting drama above in Heaven. The hunter may be a shaman. If this type of a four-edged Kautokeino hat became a fashion as late as the 19th century, it may well have been a part of the repertoire of the shaman, his former ceremonial hat. This may also be the reason why the church authorities particularly attacked this kind of hat rather than other

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<sup>8</sup> I am thankful to Martti Linkola for his comment in the conference in Turku 1984.

quite decorated Saami costumes. The four edges of the hat may indicate the power of the shaman as the mediator between this world and the other. In this role he had the capacity to rule over the four corners of the universe, east, north, west and south as well as the seasons, spring, summer, autumn and winter.

A comparison can be made here between Saami shamanism and Finnish folklore, on one hand, and with Siberian shamanism, on the other. As has been said above, in Saami shamanism the shaman drum clearly reflects the view of the universe forming three zones. On the basis of the Finnish creation rune, the cosmos is similarly divided into the upper, middle and nether spheres (Pentikäinen 1987 a.). The centre of this world view is the sun, in Lappish *peive*, or the Tree of Life. The Evenks and some other Northeastern Siberian peoples describe the roots of this life tree as being the cosmic rivers of the shamans themselves. There is a Land of the Dead in the mouth of each river where the shaman journeys during his trip to meet his helping spirits, i.e. among the dead. The hole, often drawn concretely on the surface of the Lappish drum, is the manifestation of the outstanding capacity of the shaman to wander from zone to zone and to interact with the deities and the spirits of each zone where necessary. He was considered to be the real mediator of the universe. The shaman's dress refers to the same fact. V. Basilov tells about the Evenks of the Baikal Lake who had two kinds of dress, that of a bird for the upper and that of the ox for the nether world. The Selkup used the dress of the wild deer when journeying up, and that of the big bear when going down to the nether world. Sometimes the same shaman had two drums, one for his journey up, another down to the Land of the Dead. It is interesting that the ritual actions also varied according to the destination of the trip of the shaman's soul. Such shamanistic attributes as a snare or stack referred to the heavenly trip, fish figures down to the Land of the Dead (Basilov 1986).

In Finnish poetry, the rune on the Skiing down the Hiisi Elk seems to be a description of the heavenly journey of a shaman, Lemminkäinen. The elk has been born in the astral hemisphere. The skiing takes place in the same cosmic zone, when going up Tapomäki, climbing Kirjovuori, i.e. the level of the heaven of the Milky Way. Päivölä, the Land of *päivä*, *aurinko*, Sun, where the banquet of gods takes place is not in Hell but in Heaven. Later folklore has moved this meeting place from the heavenly atmosphere to the black river of Tuonela, the land of the Dead. It was there the dead Lemminkäinen was finally found by his mother. In spite of his effort to go up, Lemminkäinen's destiny is to die, to go to the land of the dead, called Manala or Tuonela in Finnish folklore. He joins the group of cultural heroes who shared the rare experience of having visited the land of the dead,

forbidden to ordinary people but the destination of most shamanistic trips (Pentikäinen 1987b). According to *Mythologia Fennica* by Christfried Ganander, in 1785, the expression “Tuonella käydä, Tuonelassa vaeltaa”, ‘to visit Tuoni, to wander in Tuonela’ mean falling into an ecstasy or trance (Ganander 1960, 94). The hostess of Tuonela is described as a feminine figure, the virgin of Tuoni, the girl of pains who welcomes newcomers at the river of death. Väinämöinen makes his trip in the shape of a snake to get through the iron net to hinder his departure.

A notice should be taken in the petroglyphs of the large size of the elk or deer. At the Onega and Uiku River fields in Onega and White Sea Karelia for example, reindeer can be three meters in size. The giant figures of the large deer are reminiscent of the folk poem about the Great Ox, which doesn’t necessarily refer to the bovines of farming culture and can just as well refer to the elk, whose “head swings in Häme (Taastia) tail hangs in Tornio”. According to Matti Kuusi (Kuusi 1963, 164), the great ox is related to the killing myth of the great bear like the birth of the bear. Already in his writings of the 1960’s Kuusi sought connections between the poems and petroglyphs. Julius Krohn showed the great ox to be the counterpart of the Siberian blue ox, whose “stomach drags along the ground, horns pierce the clouds” (Krohn 1885).

The scholar of Siberian rock art, Okladnikov, has related the subject matter to northern Euroasian folk tradition. Some Siberian peoples see the Big Dipper, known to Uralic peoples as the Great Bear, Otava, as an elk constellation and its three stars as hunters. The mythical mandas’ deer of the Kola Lapps also belongs to this subject matter. In referring to the Domi petroglyphs, Okladnikov hypothesizes that the boat points to the area where the reindeer or elk descends into the Tuonela River to rise again the next morning into the heavens gold-horned (cf. Autio 1983, 135f.). The poem *Pilvivene*, cloud boat, is related to this subject matter which, according to Matti Kuusi, is part of cosmic mythology (Kuusi 1963, 197):

In the boat are three men  
 What are they doing there;  
 Currying the Hiisi elk  
 Washing the reindeer  
 They got the elk curried  
 The reindeer washed  
 It ran there, the Hiisi elk  
 Gathered, the reindeer  
 Where vipers drink beer  
 Snakes draw near (Lönnrot 1829–31, 1, 26).

The sun, to which the elk and the boat are obviously related, is worthy of note when examining the Astuvansalmi field of pictographs in southern

Savo. In 1985 I spent a day at Astuvansalmi and was able to follow how the painting area grew visible in a varying manner as the sun casts its light on the paintings done in red clay. The location of the Astuvansalmi boulder in an east-west direction on the north side of Yövesi corresponds to the painted boulders at Hossa in Kainuu in Northeastern Finland. Both are visible in the setting sun then, when night and day compete with each other, that is, when winter becomes summer and vice versa. In examining the Astuvansalmi painting area, it was easy to observe how these first hand observations were dependent on the movement of the sun. Their world view is cyclic and time mythical, becoming manifest in the course of the rituals acted annually by hunters in accordance with the mythical model painted in ancient pictographs.

## 11. Shamanism and totemism

The heavenly hunter may thus be the Saami "brother" of Lemminkäinen in Finnish folklore and the male figures of Finnish pictographs or Siberian petroglyphs. The hunter of the drum is in the company of a gigantic reindeer. The celestial bear may also be connected with totemistic myths describing the origin of a clan which should be in the primordial relationship between the grandparent and a bear. This bear is not an ordinary animal but the celestial Big Bear, *Otava* in Finnish. Saami folklore knows totemistic mythology both about wild or reindeer and bear as alternative totemistic animals. Vladimir Basilov has emphasized that the innermost part of the drum is its nether side, according to Siberian shamanistic folklore. The drum has often been identified as being an animal, an elk or a horse that the shaman used when riding on his cosmic road. The shaman had an intimate relationship with his drum. It was like his own maternal ancestor as an animal, the representative of the animal species considered to be the totem of a particular people or clan (Basilov 1986). The trip of the shaman to the other world took place in the shape of that animal when he was riding the drum as if it were that animal and were going to meet that Protoanimal in the Land of the dead in the same way Väinämöinen went to meet the protoshaman Antero Vipunen.

In the old religion of the Saamis, shamanism was a family or clan institution having many important social and religious functions. In his various roles, the *noaide* was an important link between the different levels of the universe. Typically enough, there are holes or thresholds drawn on the surface of some drums between the upper, middle and lower sections of the drums. The shaman was supposed to be able to make ascents and descents from one realm to another in the universe. He was a necessary

mediator between man and the cosmos, having a tripartite structure. From this point of view, a Lapp kota with its seven corners may be considered as a manifestation of the Saami world view. It is a kind of microcosmos of Saami social life as family and clan. The boasso was the holy corner, the sacred place of the drum. The main pole of the kota kept its structure together, but was, at the same time, the manifestation of the structure of the universe centred around the Northern Star and the Milky Way. A Saami nomadic family, living in this kota, could observe the movements of the stars, the northern lights and the other phenomena of the skies through the smoke hole around the main pole at the roof of the kota. It was quite natural that people strongly felt that their microcosmos was a part of Nature, the macrocosmos. The drum in the boasso, used by their religious leader in certain ritual contexts, made it possible to overcome the boundaries of human existence. When conflicts arose or diseases or accidents occurred the necessary harmony could be reached by shamans as mediators between man and universe. For this reason, shamanism, although modified, plays its special role in current Saami world views. Maybe it is a kind of manifestation of *in illo tempore*, the premordial state which must be reexperienced when severe times of minority oppression occur (Pentikäinen 1984).

Paolo Mantegazza concludes his study as follows:

The *runeboms* are not all equal, even if they have much in common. In some of them almost all the figures are taken from Christian beliefs; these drums have probably belonged to Lapps who were officially Christians, but who secretly continued to observe their pagan practices. Nowadays the *gobda* (*runebom*) is completely unknown among the Lapps; they do not even know its name any longer. The Lapps were famous for their magic arts among their neighbours, the Finns.

Finally, he makes a comparison between the Saami drum, the *gobda* and the *Sampo* of Finnish folklore:

Many explanations have been given of the *sampo*, the miraculous implement celebrated in various songs of the Finnish *Kalevala* and made by the Finnish hero Ilmarinen in order to win the most beautiful girl in Pohjola (Lapland), the daughter of Lochis (Mantegazza 1881, 290ff.).

Friis supposes that Sampo was nothing else than a *gobda* or *runebom* (Friis 1871, 47–52). Without taking the whole problem of the Sampo into consideration, the *runebom* in Rome seems to support the idea of the Sampo as the pillar of the universe. There is a clear pillar of the universe in the drum having the *peive* or the sun as its centre. Inside the sun there is a deep hole or a black centre which is the road of the shaman into the inner depths of the universe and into the human mind. Peter Hajdú has connected the Sampo with the Tungus concept of the shaman and the Sanskrit Soma

(Hajdú 1963, 169 ff.). The Sampo issue is, however, much more complicated than Friis and Mantegazza suppose and demands a separate study.

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# Schamanentrachten in Sibirien

## *Formen und Funktionen, Alter und Herkunft*

BY BO LÖNNQVIST

### 1

In der 1980 herausgegebenen, bearbeiteten und erweiterten Auflage seiner Arbeit „Schamanen und Medizinmänner. Magie und Mystik früher Kulturen“ behandelt der Museumsforscher Andreas Lommel im Kapitel „Kunst und Schamanismus“ auch „Schamanenkostüme und Masken“ (Lommel 1980, 162–175). Das Kapitel stellt eigentlich eine Zusammenfassung früherer Forschung dar. Lommel betont drei Faktoren: 1) das Vorkommen einer „wirklichen“ Schamanentracht einzig in Sibirien, 2) die Funktion der Tracht, die nach Lommels Ansicht in erster Linie psychologisch-künstlerischer Art ist und 3) die Symbolik der Tracht. Lommel betont den Charakter der Tracht als Tierverkleidung und weist darauf hin, daß „die älteste Darstellung eines Schamanen“ – nämlich die Höhlenmalerei von Trois Frères – „einen Schamanen in Tierverkleidung zeigt“ (Lommel 1980, 165). Weiterhin verweist er auf den Zusammenhang zwischen der Dekorierung der Tracht mit Tierfiguren und der schamanistischen Vorstellung von Hilfsgeistern in Tiergestalt. Diese weiter existierende oder wiederbelebte Skelettmagie vergleicht er mit Felsenmalereien und lappischen Trommeln der gleichen Art. Laut Lommel deutet die Skelettmagie auf die Auffassung der Jägervölker von der Wiederauferstehung des getöteten Tieres hin. Die figürlichen Gehänge an der Tracht bilden folglich Symbole für die Hilfsgeister in Tiergestalt, und deren Eigenschaften können im Zustand der Trance auf den Schamanen übergehen. Unter Hinweis auf eiserne Gehänge an den jakutischen, tungusischen, burjatischen und jennissei-ostjakischen Trachten stellt Lommel fest, daß die „alten, vollständigen Trachten“ – seiner Meinung nach ähneln sich Schamanentrachten im allgemeinen – ein Tier darstellen und daß Haupttypen der Tierverkleidungen Vogel, Hirsch und Bär sind. Lommel stützt sich hier auf die Theorie von Uno Harva (Harva 1922; Harva 1938), der wiederum auf Gedanken aufbaute, die schon 1925 von Nioradze und 1902 von Troščanskij vorgebracht wurden. Ebenso stützt sich Lommel auf die Deutung der Funktion der Tracht durch A. Friedrich (Friedrich 1943–44). Laut eigenen Berichten sibirischer Schamanen sowie

ausgehend von den ekstatischen Tänzen während der Séance kann die Tracht gedeutet werden als ein Mittel, mit dessen Hilfe sich der Schamane in ein Tier verwandelt; ein atavistisches und somit altes Merkmal im Schamanismus. Die Wiedergeburt des Schamanen wiederum – den Berichten zufolge geschieht sie aus eigenem Skelett und Fleisch sowie aus dem Skelett und Fleisch der Stammesangehörigen – zeigt dessen menschliche Natur; auch dies kann durch die Tracht veranschaulicht werden. Eine ähnliche zusammenfassende Deutung gibt Eliade mit seiner Feststellung, daß die Tracht einerseits ein symbolisches System bildet, andererseits – als Werkzeug – verschiedene geistige Kräfte besitzt. Auch Eliade neigt dazu, die sibirischen Schamanentrachten in eine gewisse Entwicklungsreihe einzuordnen. Den vollständigsten und am besten erhaltenen Typ soll es danach unter den Altai-Stämmen geben, während die tungusischen Trachten Merkmale von den jakutischen und burjatischen Trachten erhalten haben sollen. Von den Kupferspiegeln an den Trachten der südlichen Tungusen nimmt man an, daß sie sino-mandschurischen Ursprungs seien (Eliade 1970, 145–180).

## 2

Innerhalb der Religionsforschung sind die sibirischen Schamanentrachten vor allem als Dokument bei der Bestimmung des *Wesens*, des *Alters* und des *Ursprungs* des Schamanismus interessant geworden. Aus dem relativ heterogenen Material hat man einen *Idealtyp einer Tracht* geschaffen, obwohl es bei der rituellen schamanistischen Bekleidung in Sibirien große Unterschiede gibt und obwohl rituelle Trachten in Verbindung mit ekstatischer Religionsausübung auch in anderen Kulturen vorkommen. Ebenso berücksichtigt diese Betrachtungsweise nicht die lange und unterschiedliche Bevölkerungs- und Siedlungsgeschichte der sibirischen Völker. Auch sollte das Verhältnis der Tracht zu anderen Attributen – vor allem der Trommel – analysiert werden, ebenso die Frage, warum Trachten dieses Typs nur in Sibirien vorkommen, obwohl ähnliche Merkmale innerhalb des Schamanismus als Religionsform auch in anderen Gebieten – u. a. in Lappland – verbreitet sind. Ferner scheint die Deutung der zur Tracht gehörenden Figuren nicht so klar zu sein, wie man bisher annahm (vgl. Ivanov 1978; vgl. Ivanov 1963; vgl. Ivanov 1970; vgl. Ivanov 1979).

Hans Findeisen, Vilmos Diószegi und Helmut Hoffman haben die Schamanentrachten auch unter historischen Aspekten untersucht. Findeisen bringt Harvas Theorie mit ethnischen Fakten in Verbindung und ordnet daher die Trachten vom Typ Vogel den Gruppen mit Turksprachen zu (Altai, Jakuten) und die vom Typ gehörntes Reh sowie Rentier den Samoje-

den, Tungusen und Burjaten. Nach Findeisen ist die Vogelmaske die älteste Trachtenform. Diese Aussage wird sowohl durch die Funktion der Tracht als Hilfsmittel während der Reise als auch durch die totemistischen Berichte über den Adler als Gebärerin des Schamanen unterstützt. Die prähistorischen Abbildungen zeugen jedoch von anderen Tierverkleidungen, und zwar von Fellen, Geweihen und Masken. Trotzdem können die Jägerkulturen in Sibirien mit den prähistorischen Jägerkulturen in Verbindung gebracht werden, und die Schamanentrachten können mit der Geschichte der Tierverkleidung verglichen werden, welche während des jüngeren Paläolithikums (Magdalenien ca. 8500 v. Chr.) begann (Findeisen 1957, 80–85).

In seiner Untersuchung des Schamanismus in der Mongolei betont Diószegi den unterschiedlichen ethnischen Ursprung der Stämme sowie deren sprachliche Differenzierung. Eine zentrale Frage ist laut Diószegi jedoch die, ob die Formen des Schamanismus als konservativ genug angesehen werden können, um ethnogenetische Probleme erhellen zu können. Die Burjaten, Tungusen und die Turkstämme leben ja über ganz Mittelasien und Sibirien verstreut. Außer auf *interethnische* Akkulturationsprobleme weist Diószegi auch auf die *interreligiöse* Problematik hin, die das Verhältnis des ursprünglichen Schamanismus zum vordringenden Buddhismus betrifft. Auch Ulla Johansen und Eliade haben ähnliche Gesichtspunkte vorgebracht sowie mögliche kulturelle Einflüsse aus Tibet, China und der Mongolei angedeutet (Diószegi 1961, Johansen 1954, Eliade 1970).

In seiner Arbeit „Symbolik der tibetischen Religionen und des Schamanismus“ schließt sich Helmut Hoffman Harvas Auffassung darüber an, daß die Schamanentracht in späterer Zeit degenerierte. Er nimmt an, daß die Tracht sowie die Masken in einem weiten arktischen Gebiet von Nordsibirien bis nach Lappland vorkamen; dort hat sich die Trommel bis heute erhalten. Bei seiner Kritik der Diskussion Harvas und Findeisens über die Tiersymbolik widmet Hoffmann den Metallgehängen zentrale Aufmerksamkeit; er behauptet, daß diese relativ späte Requisiten seien, hinzugefügt, „als die alte Bedeutung des Schamanengewandes nicht mehr vollkommen bekannt war“ (Hoffmann 1967, 131–140).

### 3

Die früheren Deutungen der Schamanentracht repräsentieren damit zwei verschiedene Betrachtungsweisen. Einerseits hat man die Funktion der Tracht als Inkarnation des Schutzgeistes – des Tieres – hervorgehoben (Troščanskij, Nioradze, Harva, Lommel), andererseits war man der Meinung, daß die Trommel der Vorgänger der Tracht war und man nahm an, daß die Tracht nach und nach ihre reich ausgearbeitete Form erhalten hat

(Stadling 1912, nach Pekarskij und Vasiljev 1910). Die eine Betrachtungsweise betont die Funktion der Tracht, die andere historisch-geographische Faktoren.

Des weiteren muß folgendes beachtet werden:

1. Bei Samojuden, Tschuktschen und gewissen anderen paläo-asiatischen Völkern (Nanaiti) gibt es keine reich dekorierten, ausgesprochen rituellen Trachten in dem Sinne wie z. B. bei den eigentlichen Tungusen, den Altai-Völkern, den südlichen Tungusen und den Burjaten.
2. Die Festlegung dessen, was eine „eigentliche“ Schamanentracht ist, wird auch durch die Tatsache erschwert, daß ein Schamane seine Tracht sein ganzes Leben lang vervollständigte. Während der Zeit, in der die Schamanentracht außer Gebrauch kam, also im 20. Jahrhundert, haben die Museen auch sehr einfache und fragmentarische Schamanentrachten erworben.

Der überwiegende Teil der in Museen aufbewahrten Schamanentrachten aus Sibirien wurde zwischen ca. 1860 und 1920 gesammelt. Ich hatte Gelegenheit, in Museen in Europa und Sibirien ca. 130 erhaltene Trachten sowie Trachtenteile (Kopfbedeckungen, Brustlatze, Handschuhe, Stiefel) zu besichtigen. Darüber hinaus sind ca. 50 Trachten wissenschaftlich publiziert worden. Ein Vergleich zwischen dem ältesten *Bildmaterial* (z. B. Witzen 1705, Georgi 1772–74, Pallas 1776) und dem musealen Material zeigt, daß die Tracht vom Ende des 18. bis Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts keine Veränderungen erfahren hat. Dagegen sind die Veränderungen im 20. Jahrhundert beträchtlich; sie bestehen hauptsächlich in einer Vereinfachung der Gestaltung. Weiter kann festgehalten werden:

1. Nicht alle Schamanen hatten besondere rituelle Trachten; bei einem Teil beschränkt sich das rituelle Merkmal auf die Kopfbedeckung. Dagegen ist die Trommel obligatorisch.
2. Die im ältesten musealen Material vorkommenden echten Tierteile (Krallen, Flügel, Pfoten) waren möglicherweise früher mehr verbreitet; darauf deuten auch die Bilder bei Witzen und Georgi hin, soweit sie zuverlässig sind.

#### 4

Im folgenden sollen die Schamanentrachten in Sibirien nicht unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Religionsforschung untersucht werden, sondern unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Trachtenethnologie. Bei Beachtung der oben referierten Forschung ist die zentrale Frage hier nicht die nach dem Beweiswert der Tracht bezüglich des Wesens, des Alters und des Ursprungs des

Schamanismus, sondern die umgekehrte Frage, nämlich die nach dem *Bedarf* des Schamanismus, *der rituellen Ekstasetechnik, an einer rituellen Tracht überhaupt.*

Welche Schlüsse kann man aufgrund des Alters, der Form und der Verbreitung des erhaltenen Trachtenmaterials ziehen? In welchem Umfang kommen rituelle Trachten in Verbindung mit dem Schamanismus in Sibirien vor, und kann man überhaupt von einem bestimmten Typ von Schamanentracht sprechen?

Welche Funktion hat die Tracht bei der Séance und auf welche Weise wird die Tracht durch die übrige Ausstattung ergänzt, d. h. in welchem Maß bildet die Tracht eine notwendige Ergänzung zu den übrigen Requisiten, insbesondere zum Gebrauch der Trommel?

Im Blickpunkt der Forschung steht also die Funktion der Tracht als *Mittel der Transformation* sowohl für den Schamanen als auch zwischen Schamane und Zuschauer, eine Funktion, die die Trommel oder ein anderes Werkzeug nicht zu haben scheint. Gemeinsam für Trommel und Tracht ist jedoch, daß beide, wenn auch in verschiedener Form, das Weltbild des Schamanen, den Kosmos, veranschaulichen. *Eine dekorierte Trommel und eine Tracht mit figursymbolischer Verzierung schließen sich also zu einem gewissen Grad gegenseitig aus, sie bilden alternative Ekstasewerkzeuge.* Aus visueller Perspektive dürfte die Trommel jedoch eine direktere Beziehung zum Schamanen haben, während die Tracht sich ja visuell in hohem Maße an die Zuschauer wendet. Als persönliches Mittel zur Verwandlung dagegen ist die Tracht zentralere, während die Trommel wiederum die Funktion eines Beförderungsmittels für den Schamanen haben kann. Betreffend der Geräuscheffekte ist die Trommel dominierend, aber auch die mit Metallgehängen reich dekorierten Trachten haben die Gleiche Funktion.

Wenn man die Tracht als ein Codesystem ansieht, das die zweifache Funktion hat, sowohl die innere Existenz des Individuums/des Schamanen zu befördern als auch mit seiner Stellung gegenüber der sozialen Umwelt übereinzustimmen (vgl. Enninger 1983), wird die Frage nach der Notwendigkeit der Tracht noch zentraler. Im Blickpunkt steht dann die Rolle des Schamanen und des Schamanismus in der Gesellschaft überhaupt.

Vom *trachtengeographischen* Aspekt aus kann festgehalten werden, daß der überwiegende Teil des erhaltenen Trachtenmaterials aus dem südlichen Sibirien stammt, aus einer Zone, die vom Gebiet Altai/Baikal bis zum Amur reicht. Auch das museale Material wird im wesentlichen von zwei Völkergruppen repräsentiert: 1) Tungusen (Krasnojarsk, Zabajkal, Irkutsk) und 2) verschiedene ethnische Gruppen im Gebiet des Altai, der Sajan-Berge und in der nördlichen Mongolei. Darauf folgt das Material von den samojedischen Stämmen, den Jakuten und den südlichen Tungusen. Die meisten

Variationen bezüglich der Ausgestaltung und des Materials der Trachten findet man bei den zwei erstgenannten Gruppen. Ich habe das Trachtenmaterial in vier Gruppen eingeteilt, welche im wesentlichen der Einteilung von E. Prokofyeva aufgrund des Materials im Muzej Antropologij i Etnografij zu entsprechen scheint (Prokofyeva 1971; vgl. Lönnqvist 1976).

1. Zur ersten Gruppe können die Trachten der *eigentlichen Tungusen* gerechnet werden (Oberlauf des Jenissej, Angara);
2. zur zweiten Gruppe die Trachten der kleinen ethnischen Gruppen im *Gebiet des Altai* (Sojoten, Karagassen etc.);
3. zur dritten Gruppe die Trachten der *südlichen Tungusen* und der *Burjaten* in der nördlichen Mongolei, in der nördlichen Mandschurei sowie die der Stämme am Unterlauf des Amur;
4. zur vierten Gruppe die Trachten der *Samojeden* zwischen Ob und Jenissej, der *nördlichen Tungusen*, der *Dolganen*, *Jakuten*, *Jukagiren*, *Tschuktschen* usw.

Eine derartige auf der Form und der geographischen Verbreitung der Trachten beruhende kartographische Aufnahme ergibt folgendes Bild:

1. Je weiter man sich vom Gebiet Altai/Baikal/Amur entfernt in Richtung der Samojeden im Nordwesten und der Paläo-Asiaten im nordöstlichen Sibirien sowie am Unterlauf des Amur, umso weniger ausgeprägt ist die Verwendung einer speziellen rituellen Tracht in Verbindung mit dem Schamanismus.
2. Viele Details der Schamanentracht – wie hängende Bänder, Schellen, Stickereien aus Perlen oder Rentierhaaren, verzierte Stiefel, Handschuhe, Kopfbedeckungen – sind bei tungusischen, samojedischen, jakutischen Trachten sowie denen der Turkvölker allgemein verbreitet und haben keine ausschließlich rituelle Funktion.
3. Als zentrale symbolische Elemente der Schamanentracht bleiben damit noch die metallischen oder aufgemalten oder aufgestickten *Tierfiguren* auf dem Kaftan oder der Kopfbedeckung übrig.
4. Eine ausgesprochen andersartige und in dieser Hinsicht „eigentliche“ rituelle Tracht in Verbindung mit dem Schamanismus dürfte in erster Linie *typisch* sein für die *Tungusen* und die mit ihnen in Berührung stehenden Jakuten und Burjaten sowie für die *Altai-Völker*.

## 5

Eine ausschlaggebende Frage bei der Analyse der Ausgestaltung der Schamanentracht nach historischen, ökologischen und religiös-sozialen Gesich-

tspunkten betrifft das Verhältnis der Tracht zur Trommel als ein Werkzeug, das sowohl das Weltbild veranschaulicht als auch die verbale und musikalische Tradition während der Ekstase veranschaulicht. Diese Sichtweise vereinigt sowohl eine mehr zeitlose funktionalistische Perspektive als auch eine kulturhistorische Perspektive.

Es ist wichtig festzustellen, bei welchen Gruppen und in welchen Gebieten das Transformationsthema der Séance eine spezielle, rituelle Tracht entwickelt hat und die Bilderwelt der Trommel auf die der Tracht übergegangen ist. *Könnte es möglicherweise so sein, daß ein primärer, nomadistischer Jagdritus und die Ahnenverehrung keine spezielle Tracht voraussetzen, sondern die Trommel als wichtigstes Ekstasewerkzeug und Symbol des Weltbilds fungierte?* Verschiedene Forscher haben ja auch die Funktion der Trommel als Reittier für die Reise des Schamanen betont (Kamel, Elch, Pferd) (vgl. Potapov 1978). Folglich müßte dann die eigentliche Schamanentracht in Sibirien mehr mit dramatischen religiösen Techniken zusammenhängen (öffentlicher Auftritt) sowie mit einer Situation, in der die Rolle des Schamanen Merkmale eines Berufs besitzt (vgl. Weinstein 1963). Die Schamanentracht könnte dann als ein nördliches Parallelphänomen zu den rituellen Trachten der Glaubensformen Mittelasiens, z. B. des Lamaismus und der damit verschmolzenen Bon-Religion, angesehen werden sowie zu den bei den Cham-Zeremonien in der Inneren Mongolei verwandten Trachten. Trotzdem ist der rituelle Symbolwert der sibirischen Schamanentrachten ein anderer, obwohl ihre Funktion, ihren Träger, darin besteht, zu einem nicht menschlichen Wesen zu transformieren. Die Trommel hat in diesem Zusammenhang nur eine begleitende Funktion; der Blick ist auf die Tracht gerichtet. Von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus gesehen könnte man daher bei den in Verbindung mit der schamanistischen Ekstase in Sibirien vorkommenden Requisiten zwei Traditionsschichten unterscheiden, einerseits ein archaisches Stadium, andererseits ein Stadium, in dem eine berufsmäßige Ekstasetechnik eine ihr entsprechende Ausrüstung hervorgebracht hat. Die rituelle Tracht würde also nach dieser Betrachtungsweise das letztgenannte Stadium vertreten, d. h. sie würde ein Produkt einer religiösen Hochkultur darstellen und *die Schamanentracht wäre demnach ein relativ spätes Phänomen bei den sibirischen Völkern*. Gemäß einer solchen Betrachtungsweise hat sich eine speziell rituelle Tracht in Verbindung mit dem Schamanismus z. B. der Lappen niemals entwickelt. Vom obengenannten Gesichtspunkt aus gesehen erscheint dann auch ein Vergleich zwischen den sibirischen Schamanentrachten und den Tierverkleidungen in den prähistorischen Höhlen- und Felszeichnungen als ziemlich spekulativ.



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# Rijkuo-Maja and Silbo-Gåmmoe— towards the Question of Female Shamanism in the Saami Area

BY BO LUNDMARK

## 1. Rijkuo-Maja—female noaidie of the forest Saamis?

Among the forest Saamis of Arvidsjaur the traditions about Rijkuo-Maja are still alive. She was married to Nils Hindersson, who died before 1730. She herself died in 1757 at the age of ninety-six years old (AKB Nyman & Nyman 1973, 3). The year of her birth must therefore have been about 1660.

When Edvin Brännström, at the beginning of the 1930's, was collecting traditions about Rijkuo-Maja on behalf of Dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala, he realized that descent from her was regarded as something very prestigious (ULMA 5585, 46). Her main home was by Mausjaur, called Lundby. In 1730 she paid three dalers in silver coins for the Lapp fiscal area of Mausjaur. Eleven years later she was registered for 2,16 dalers.

She acquired her nickname because of an unusually large reindeer herd. "Wealthy, rich" is "*rikkuo*" in the Arvidsjaur Saami dialect. The corresponding term in the neighbouring Malå dialect is "*riikhoo*". Other words with the same meaning in these dialects are "*adnèja*" and "*båndàs*" (Schlachter 1958, 3, 20, 110).

When a Saami woman in the area wanted to show how wealthy she was, she often did this by wearing several frocks on top of each other, so that the shortest would be on the outside, the second shortest next and soon. Rijkuo-Maja apparently wore five (ULMA 5585, 46)!

The general belief was that her wealth depended on the fact that she was master of the noaidie's arts. Thus, for example, she is said to have had only one shepherd in spite of the size of her reindeer herd. There are many traditions according to which she "knew" her reindeer in a special way. On one occasion her godson Vuolla was to receive a reindeer as a gift. He came skiing to Rijkuo-Maja's home to fetch the reindeer, but only the servant girls were at home. Rijkuo-Maja herself was out milking some reindeer cows. At that time it was the custom to milk even when the snow had come. Vuolla skied on, and finally found her. It was foggy and the reindeer were so numerous that they "were crawling like ants whichever way you looked", as it is expressed in a written record. Nevertheless, she pointed

out a particular reindeer cow far away in the birch forest, and said: "My godson, there's your reindeer cow!" (ULMA 4373 a, 53).

The people in Rijkuo's neighbourhood had to comply with what she had decided, even the menfolk. They were thus forbidden to engage in any hunting within her area, as she had placed the wild animals and the most edible birds "under her protection". One of her brothers-in-law was apparently an outstanding hunter and once shot a bird in the forbidden area. Rijkuo-Maja then ordered that the quarry should be sacrificed on a large tree on the western slope of Tallberget. In the bark, a human face was carved (ULMA 4373 a, 107).

Judging by tradition, the thunder god. *Horagalles* or *Atjakatj*, seems to have been the object of her particular devotion. According to Lars Jonsson of Mausjaur she had chosen reindeer who were marked out for the thunder. They were sacrificed on special occasions by being buried so that only the antlers stuck up above the ground, i.e. a so called *tjekku*-sacrifice. The sacrifices were generally made at Åskmyren. If the sound of thunder was heard, this was a sign that the sacrifice had been well received.

By the above mentioned sacrificial bog she had several *luovveh*, platforms for the birds. There, she put out meat for the raven, the eagle and the *koksik* (in lule-Lappish *guovsak*), i.e. the bench jay. They seem to have helped her. An informant reports that even the wolf was in her service and so she did not need any dogs. When her two daughters got married and the sons-in-law came with their dogs, she became angry. In her opinion, the dogs could be a nuisance and drive away the reindeer (ULMA 4373 a, 53).

A stone-seite is connected with Rijkuo. It is situated out in Lake Mausjaur and measures almost a meter in diameter. The rock is nearly 70 centimetres above the surface of the water and is often visible, even in the winter. According to the records, it appears that there was also a sort of stone altar on the headland nearby, where sacrifices were made. According to another account: "Rijkuo-Maja and her husband made sacrifices to the rock in Mausjaur, when they went to fish; they sacrificed the sort of fish they wanted to catch" (Kolmodin 1914, 27). According to a modern informant, Rijkuo-Maja also sacrificed silver objects on the fishing rock. Thus a silver cup was found at the bottom of the lake by the stone (Lundmark 1977, 64).

Tradition also ascribes a drum to her. It is mentioned amongst other places in connection with a forest fire which broke out on Storberget. The fire threatened to destroy the fine reindeer pasture. But Rijkuo-Maja, who during the last years of her life was blind, made the servant lead her down to the lake. She also took the drum with her. Having waded out quite a long

way, she threw a veil, *lijnie*, over her head. After this, she began to whistle, splash water and beat the drum. According to the informant, the thunder came in a large black cloud over Storberget. The subsequent downpour is supposed to have put out the fire quickly (ULMA 4373 a, 48). The fate of the drum in question is unknown.—One informant reports that she had a *skudnjaa* over her head, a sack-like rug of the sort one slept in (FA1). One tradition claims that while she was whistling, she struck the water three times with her stick with brass trimmings (Ramselius 1920, 54).

Before Rijkuo-Maja ended her days, she expressed a wish to be buried on Storberget. Then she would be able to hear the clattering of the hooves when the reindeer were nearby and the sound of oars from Lake Mausjaur. She also warned her family about not following her will, which would result in the whole herd being destroyed. On the evening when she died, she seems to have been sitting among her reindeer in the pasture (Manker 1939, 166). One of the sons-in-law thought that the suggested method of burial seemed too heathen, and so Rijkuo-Maja was buried in the churchyard in the conventional manner. According to what is related, this was followed by bad reindeer years and the herd made its way down towards the coast. The reindeer were impossible to stop! The men had to run after them and stab them with spears; but, in spite of this, the majority of them drifted out to sea on ice-floes by what is now Rönnskär. Soon Rijkuo-Majas reindeer herd was just a memory (ULMA 4373 a, 49; NM 573, 638, 641)!

But “the mountain where she wanted to lie after her death we still call Akkanålke” according to her present-day descendant, Maria Jonson of Mausjaur (ULMA 4373 a, 49). She also reports that Nils Henrik Stenvall in Mausjaur later became owner of the “thunder mark” (NM 1032).

The local historian Beda Wiklund from Bureå had some interesting information in her posthumous papers about the dramatic final stage. She assumes that it was Rijkuo-Maja's reindeer herd which drifted out to sea between Burvik and Rönnskär, “an event which my father said his own grandmother had described to him when she was a child”. This actually emphasizes the great dangers in travelling over the sea. The example is given of a reindeer herd consisting of thousands of animals which drifted to sea some years ago. “It was claimed that fishing for Baltic herring was particularly rewarding for a few years afterwards, which was said to be because the sea was giving something in return.” Wiklund also believes that Rönnskär (Rowan skerry) is a corruption of the original Renskär (Reindeer skerry). The Mausjaur Saamis had, since ancient times, a natural crossing here on the Skellefte river for their reindeer. She also finds support

in the dialect for her interpretation: "The plural form for *renar* (reindeer) and *rönnar* (rowan trees) is pronounced identically: *rääina*" (FA 2).

## 2. Silbo-gåmmoe—female noaidie of the mountain Saamis?

We find the next female figure of interest to our discussion among the mountain Saamis of Tärna. She was called Anna Greta Matsdotter and came from Vapsten, being better known by the name of Silbo-gåmmoe or Gammel-Silba. She was born in 1794 and died in 1870 (Egerbladh 1969, 51). She thus represents a considerably later period in time.

Traditions about her are not so numerous as those concerning her fellow Saami in Mausjaur. Nevertheless, the nickname is interesting. The first element should be equated with *silbe*, silver. *Gåmmoe* actually means "wife". The epithet is meant to have arisen because her drum was richly decorated with silver objects! There is no information about how she acquired the drum or about who made it. It seems most likely that it was inherited from her father, Mats Nilsson Druri of Lövfjäll, also called Mahti Druri or Trore (ULMA 385).

He is mentioned in the literature. Thus Kristoffer Sjulsson reports that Druri always had "the magic drum in the front sleigh (*ackja*) and conveniently to hand, so that at short intervals he could beat it and obtain council in everything" (Pettersson 1979, 77). On this point, Gustaf Hallström, and later Louise Bäckman, has pointed out that according to the sources for Saami pre-Christian religion the drum was always carried in the last sleigh. "This was so that nothing unclean would cross the path of the magic drum" (Hallström 1910, 36; Pettersson 1979, 301).

According to one tradition, Druri could, with the help of the drum get the reindeer to come to the enclosure or the pasture. They apparently came "running to the enclosure with their tongues hanging out, tame and subdued" (Forsslund 1914, 123).

Maria Sjulsdotter reported in 1909 that Gammel-Silba was "famous for magic and could also use the drum". The same informant also stated that a drum which had belonged to the Njajta family was now to be found "at Skansen" (Hallström 1910, 37). At *Nordiska Museet*, however, no such drum is known. The information is based on the fact that Silbo-gåmmoe married Nils Ersson Njajta (1794–1856). According to information from Maria Klementsson of Aitelnas Silba's husband also owned and used the drum (NM 1032).

Isak Rydberg has stated that Silba's drum was furnished with rings. Her father, in his adolescence, had also seen with his own eyes how Silba lay in her hut with foam at her mouth and the drum beside her. Also according to

Ernst Manker's informant, she could "fall into a faint" (DAUM Gr. 390 B; Manker 1957, 245).

So much for her *gievrie*, as the drum is called in Southern Lappish. Brita Maja Nilsson of Grundträsk has also reported that a reindeer pasture was named after her, i.e. *Silbo-giedtie*. The same informant has also described a meeting with Gammel-Silba in her youth. According to the record: "Tsilpo-gummo was also a noaidie. The last time I met her was up by the Milk brook. The old woman was herding the reindeer and had no food. She was rich, but it could always happen that you found yourself without food in the reindeer-forest. I gave her a bit of meat which she put in her bosom, like they used to before and she said: *Velges biena dovden goatsot*—a white dog will go before you all the time. I don't know what she meant by that but a white dog must anyway be more suitable than a black one" (NM 1032). Of Silba's many sons, Nila (born 1822) became known as "the last noaidie" in Lycksele lappmark. Generally speaking, heredity on the mother's side was considered to have been decisive for him. Before Christmas in the winter of 1848 he became involved in a fight which ended in the death of his antagonist. According to one version of the fateful event, Sven Sjulsson accused Nila of having—together with his mother—"bewitched" his wife to death. For having killed Sven Sjulsson without the excuse of self-defence Nila was sentenced to death by Lycksele district court. The Court of Appeal (Svea Hovrätt) nevertheless commuted the sentence to two years hard labour on Långholmen. Stor-Nila or Spå-Nila, as he was generally called died, together with his wife in a snowstorm by Oxtinderne in 1899 (TFA Död- och begravningsbok 1899).

There is no reliable evidence to suggest that Nila inherited and used the drum. He is, however, said to have inherited the scarf of squirrel tails from his mother. This was an invariable accessory at Nila's seances. One informant reports that once while at church Nila put the scarf in his belt and let one end drag on the floor. "This was also a sign that he intended to practise divination" (ULMA 5585, 64).

### 3. Lapp-Stina and Spå-Ella—two more examples

In his *Fragmenter i Lappska Mythologien* Lars Levi Laestadius has much to say about Lapp-Stina, whose abilities were particularly evident in the field of medicine. She was apparently a so-called parish Lapp, a native of Ångermanland (cf. Svanberg 1981, 48).

The Karesuando pastor was astonished that "an uneducated old Lapp woman, without preparatory medical studies, could have obtained such a

deep insight into the human organism, and even more remarkable, that she claims to have learned these arts from a woman of the underworld, to whom she says she has a special relationship, that is exactly the same relationship as is reported for the real noaidies”.

Stina reported that the woman from the underworld had been godparent at her christening. The account continues: “Sometimes when she is called in for more serious cases of sickness, she is in the habit of closing her eyes and reflecting a second as if to obtain information from within on the type of illness and the remedy for it. And when one asks her why she does this, she answers: I am asking my godmother.”

Among the cases mentioned by Laestadius, one is struck by that of Pastor Nordenson, who had become completely blind. The latter visited Lapp-Stina and, within the course of a few weeks, had his sight fully restored. In response to those around him who asked how this could have happened he is said to have answered by quoting the words from the Bible: “One thing I know, before that, whereas I was blind, now I see.”

Laestadius’s comments on a case in Härnösand are also interesting. This concerned the curing of a girl who was affected with rickets. “But since, in addition to medicines, she also used some minor magic arts (probably Sympathi courses), I therefore regard it as not worth compromising persons who wish to be regarded as above all superstition, although I myself in this case do not suffer the least over their reliability; for the young girl, who no doctor had been able to cure, was truly cured by Lapp-Stina. I have been assured of this by the honourable members of the household and by the cured person herself” (Laestadius 1959, 96 f.).

Judging by O. P. Pettersson’s and Nils Eriksson’s notes on Spå-Ella, her activities were not of a particularly redeeming kind. She seems, like Silbo-Gåmmoe, to have sprung from noiadie stock. Her father, who had his home near Kronakken, was regarded as being “a Lapp potent in magic”. According to Pettersson he was “the only one in the neighbourhood who possessed the art of making magic drums. For such a drum he demanded a price of no less than 60 riksdalers, an enormous sum at that time” (Pettersson 1944, 118).

One winter when his daughter Ella was down in Åsele an old peasant woman had annoyed her. Then she had cast a spell on the old woman so that her eyes began to squeeze out of their sockets. But the old woman went down on her knees and Ella relented, so she cancelled the spell. Then her eyes sank back into their sockets.

On one occasion, a settlers fodder was trampled by a reindeer-herd. He blamed Ella’s husband for what had happened. When he came to obtain compensation however, Ella refused. He became angry and pulled her hair

hard. In spite of this she offered him coffee and reindeer cheese, but added: "Now you'll get your deserts for pulling my hair!"

Immediately after this, the settler's son had a nervous breakdown. He said he saw reindeer and Saamis everywhere. And people in the area generally believed that he had been bewitched by Ella (ULMA 7017).

### Commentary and analysis

In his study *Sjiele. Samiska traditioner om offer* Mebius comes to the following conclusion: "The traditional material about Saami sacrifices which has been reported here coincides most remarkably with the material that is about 250 years older. On almost every point in the sacrificial rituals we can see how faithfully the oral traditions of a later period reproduce the conditions of Saami culture in a previous period." But Mebius points out quite rightly that the overall picture constructed on the basis of the material "in most cases has no coverage in the reminiscences of the individual carrier of tradition. It is normally so that the individual informant has only been aware of a few fragments of the sacrificial cult" (Mebius 1972, 110).

Mebius, too, has used the notes of Torsten Kolmodin and Edvin Brännström from Pite lappmark. They were made in the years following 1910 and at the beginning of the 1930's respectively. The informants are often identical, as for example Maria Jonson of Mausjaur.

Her information about Rijkuo-Maja is quoted and discussed in several places in Mebius's study. These include the sacrifice of male reindeer to the thunder god, and are in complete agreement with what is cited in the accounts of Samuel Rhen and Carl Solander. The latter thus reports that they sacrifice to him "an ungeded reindeer ox" (Reuterskiöld 1910, 23). Even the special marking of the sacrificial animal in the ear is mentioned in the older source authors, including Isac Olsen (Kildeskriver 1910, 12, 34). They also mention the burial of sacrificed reindeer-bulls. The sacrificial tree and the hanging up of the offering are also mentioned, for example the "boat sacrifice" at Christmas time (Högström 1747, 188f.). On the other hand, I have not been able to find in the older sources any direct equivalent for the reported sacrifice of a bird in the pine-tree in Mausjaur.

In the recorded traditions about Rijkuo-Maja, however, there are a number of things which conflict with the woman's role in the cult as represented in the older sources. According to these, the sacrificial sites were "as a rule a forbidden area for women" (Mebius 1968, 78). Henric Forbus reports among other things that "womenfolk may not come within 1/4 mile of Passevara, the holy mountain, and neither may they approach the place of sacrifice, but if they wish to make a sacrifice, this must be done



through a man versed in the art" (Reuterskiöld 1910, 36). As Mebius reports "it was necessary to make some kind of expiatory sacrifice" if a woman broke the law in this respect (Mebius 1968, 78).

Rijkuo-Maja nonetheless appears to have been "versed" in matters of sacrifice, both with regard to the thunder god and the *seite* in Mausjaur, even if her husband also participated.

There is the additional information that she used the drum, this also being in conflict with the older accounts. As mentioned previously, tradition also ascribes to Silbo-gåmmoe a drum "with a ring grown by itself" (Hallström 1910, 35). Emilie Demant-Hatt suggests incidentally that the drum seems to have disappeared later in the southern Lappmarks than in the northern ones. She writes: "Among the Torne and Karesuando Lapps the memory of the drums is only vague and unclear, whilst [...] the use of one drum or another is still remembered clearly among the Southern Lapps" (Demant-Hatt 1928, 53). Her study covered the years 1907–1916. Here there is apparently conflicting information about the relation of women to the drum. Thus Jon Jonasson of Hävlingen in Idre is cited as claiming that the hide of a calf from the previous year, *laeihpen miesie*, should be used for the drum "and that no woman was allowed to touch it" (Demant-Hatt 1928, 54). On the other hand, an informant in Storvallen, Härjedalen, born c. 1850 reported that her father's foster-mother Sara Larsson "had a magic drum with her when she moved down here to Herjedalen from the north, from Frostviken". It was kept for a long time in a shed until Sara buried it in a place "where it can't get in anyone's way" (Demant-Hatt 1928, 54).

Among the Saamis shamanism has been predominantly male, at least from what we know of it through 17th and 18th century accounts: Louise Bäckman states consistently: "[...] female noaidit seem to have been rare amongst the Lapps: in any case we can find little about them in the available source material" (Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978, 84).

There is not, however, a complete lack of information. There is thus mention of an old Saami who was summoned to the local assizes in Vadsö in 1691 for having used the magic drum. He explained that he had received his training from his mother, who was a noaidie. The drum, however, he himself had made (Kildeskifter 1903, 72).

Furthermore, the missionary Isac Olsen states the following: "In the summer of 1714 Niels Andersson's woman, Kirsten Klemitsdotter, died; she was an evil old noaidie woman who everybody feared and had performed much evil with her magic and caused the death of many people. And many praised God that she died and she was fetched by the 'noide-gadzerna' at death's door, while she was still alive [...]" (Kildeskifter 1910, 76).

Hans Skanke also uses the term *guaps* for a sort of female equivalent to the noaidie. Skanke writes of one of these that she “knows how to yoik and make soothsaying”. The same author also explains: “it is enough for that Sex to be admitted to the men’s magic masses and noaidie gatherings, and to be taught to yoik and to yell their heathen antiphonas”. No *guaps*, however, was apparently allowed to make sacrifices. This was reserved for the male colleague “who is well versed and experienced in sacrificial customs, who is their priest and him they call ‘the sacrifice man’” (Skanke 1945, 200).

The Åsele priest, Petrus Thurenius, uses the term *Gåbeskied* for witches. These were said to enjoy great prestige like the male noaidies. It is also reported that they can “harm another person, as well as affect the weather when they so wish” (Fellman 1910, 395). The missionary Isaac Olsen also writes *Noide Kalcko*, “an old witch”, as a female noaidie (Kildeskrifter 1910, 85).

As far as Saami shamanistic terminology is concerned, Lindahl & Öhrling write *qwopes*, *qwopeswuot* and *qwopestallat* as meaning “witch”, “women’s magic” and “to use magic” (Lindahl & Öhrling 1780, 362 f.). From the Luleå Saami area one may mention “*kuopaskui’na*, woman versed in magic” (Grundström 1946–54, 276). In Malå and Arvidsjaur one finds the names “*guaps-gåb’dee*, magic drum” and “*nååides-gummoo*, sorceress” (Schlachter 1958, 53, 104). Finally, in Stensele one notes “*noåjdiessaakkaa* Sauberin, Hexe” and in Frostviken “*noåjdiegåmmaa* Hexe, Weissagerin” (Hasselbrink 1981–85, 2, 1013).

To throw light on conditions in Swedish lappmark we turn to Nicolaus Lundius’s account. With reference to his description of *sueie* Louise Bäckman writes: “In my opinion *sueie* covered the whole train of the noides, as in *gaž’žek*, i.e. the auxiliary and guardian spirits, which are both those who have taught the magic art and those who foster it,” both those perceived teriomorphically and those perceived anthropomorphically. Lundius also characterizes the *sueie* as “a fellow worker or helper”. Moreover, he claims that magic spirits of this kind never appear to women and far less stand at their disposal. On the other hand, they were able to practise “their magic arts through certain words, with which they could do their neighbour harm [. . .]. As regards the reason why the spirits will not unite with women, this is obscure, unless we are to believe that it occurs through pride and dislike of the sex, since it is subject to weaknesses of various kinds” (Bäckman 1975, 136; cf. Lundmark 1976, 53).

Rijkuo-Maja seems none the less to have had “fellow workers or helpers” at least of the teriomorphic kind. Amongst other things, the raven, the eagle and the bench jay were “protected” within her reindeer pasture.

They also seem to have had some connection with the sacrificial tree on Tallberget. In this context it is interesting to note Eliade's observation of "a relation between the eagle and sacred trees" among a number of Siberian peoples. Not infrequently, the eagle in the myths of these peoples is said to have a direct part in the origin of shamanism. Among the Buriats it is thus sent from the gods for precisely this reason. According to a variant of this myth the eagle saw a sleeping woman under a tree "and had intercourse with her . . . and the woman, after her connection with the eagle, saw spirits and herself became a shamaness" (Eliade 1964, 69).—Regarding the bench jay it may be mentioned that it even formed part of the name of another *guaps* in Arvidsjaur, *Guoksag-gummuo*. She also, incidentally, is said to have worshipped pine-trees with anthropomorphic features carved on them (Ruong 1944, 125 ff; cf. Manker 1957, 225).

Finally, two more comparisons: the linen cloth with which Rijkuo-Maja is said to have covered her head recalls Leem's information regarding women who were to be present at a noaidie seance. They are described as "beautifully got-up in their best clothes and with a linen hood on their heads, but without belts round their waists [. . .] (Leem 1767, 476). As far as Silba's and Stor-Nila's belt is concerned, one may cite what Thomas von Westen writes in his letter to the priests in Jämtland on March 11, 1723, to wit that they made spells with the belt: "[. . .] in addition they made soothsaying at Ax, *Stielko*, *giergie*, belted in Veertos and Idnus [. . .]" (Reuterskiöld 1910, 2). In Carl Solander's account it is also related that when a woman wanted to pray to "*Passevare-Ollmaj*, the holy men of the mountain, they hang up their belt and ask through it" (Reuterskiöld 1910, 24).

Furthermore, the priest Henric Forbus in his letter to the king on March 29 1727 points out that this custom was commonest in the southern lappmarks. In his own words: "In the south a woman's belt [. . .] Herewith there is singing as long as the instrument is still moving" (Reuterskiöld 1910, 34).

The ability to reveal theft by divination in *aquavit* is also mentioned in the older sources. One of Forbius's questions to the Saamis was as follows: "Have you seen in the *aquavit* who has stolen?" (Reuterskiöld 1910, 73.)

Neither Rijkuo-Maja or Silbo-gåmmoe functioned on the orders of a Saami community or *sijte*. Far less is there any information to the effect that they were elected or rewarded as shamanistic functionaries. From one point of view it probably illustrates a considerably advanced disintegration of Saami religion and the functions of the noaidie. They represent a stage where it was possible for woman to perform in new roles which were previously *taboo* to them.

From another point of view, they are possibly latter-day exponents of an even earlier, extant shamanism with female characteristics in the Saami

area—a time when her role was comparable to her colleague among the Tschuktsches or the *völva* on Nordic soil!

I chose to leave the door of the Lapp tent slightly open. It was after all a female deity who ruled over *baåssjoe*, the holy area farthest in where the wild game was placed and where the bow and the drum were kept. Perhaps the first noaidie was a Rijkuo-Maja or Silbo-gåmmoe!

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# Lars Levi Læstadius' Attitude to Saami Religion

BY CARL F. HALLENCREUTZ

How Læstadianism became the "religion of the Saamis" is a process of church and religious history which has not been fully explained. It is a comprehensive development which includes most of Læstadius' entire ministry. But also included in it is not least his attitude towards to the old religion of the Lapps.

It is this question which I propose to address in this paper. By this I mean not so much Læstadius' religious studies and interpretation of Saami religion—or "Lapp mythology" as he preferred to call it. Rather, my approach is from the missionary perspective. I am interested in how Læstadius took account of—or afforded expression to—motives from traditional Saami mythology when he formulated and adapted his own interpretation of Christianity to the Saami environment.

This problem should naturally be studied in any study of how Læstadianism became the "religion of the Saamis". It can, however, also contribute to a better understanding of Læstadius' endeavours themselves. The fact that Læstadius inherited a knowledge of Saami language on his mother's side and Swedish on his father's—added to which he learned Finnish later in life—casts important light on this question.

## 1. The chronology of Læstadius' church work

In a missionary study of Læstadius' place in the emergence of Læstadianism as the "religion of the Saamis" it is important to delimit three periods in Læstadius' ministry, each of which expresses different aspects of his attitude towards the earlier beliefs of the Saamis. The first of these periods was Læstadius' time as a "Saami missionary" in Arjeplog from 1825 to 1826 and then as vicar in the Swedish part of Enontekiö parish, or Kare-suando, until 1843.

The second period was the dramatic phase from June 1843 to May 1844, which includes the time when he passed his pastoral examination in Härnösand and his subsequent visit on behalf of Bishop Franzen to the Saami parishes from Föllinge in Jämtland in the south to Vittangi in the

north. His own parish of Karesuando was not included in the official episcopal visit.

It was during this period that Læstadius, in early January 1844, met his Maria, or Milla, Clemensdotter at Åsele and that, according to his own autobiography and to latterday tradition—particularly Læstadianism as the “religion of the Saamis’”—he underwent his conversion or experienced his second religious breakthrough. I term this course of events as Læstadius’ personal and pastoral change.

Finally, the third period comprises Læstadius’ time as parish priest and revivalist critical of the established church, once more in Karesuando—from 1844—and in Pajala—from 1849 until his death in 1861.

As I have already indicated, each of these three periods actualises important contributions to Læstadius’ attitude to old Saami beliefs. As far as the study of Læstadianism as the “religion of the Saamis’” is concerned, the question of whether we can discern any decisive changes in Læstadius’ attitude to Saami religion after 1844 is, of course, decisive. I shall attempt to prove that such changes did take place. In order to do so, I must first, however, clarify what was characteristic of Læstadius’ missionary attitude throughout his wholehearted career as “Saami missionary” and parish priest in Lappland from 1825 to 1843.

## 2. Læstadius’ position as “Saami missionary” and minister in Lappland

The first phase of Læstadius’ ministry is often overlooked. Frequently, it is interpreted in a negative way. However, efforts are being made in research into Læstadius to adopt a more balanced assessment. As part of this trend, Gunnar Wikmark, for example, makes an energetic—even one-sided attempt to rehabilitate the young Læstadius and the Karesuando parish in *Lars Levi Læstadius’ väg till nya födelsen*, 1980.

For anyone studying the development of Læstadianism into the “religion of the Saamis’” the period 1825–43 is undoubtedly a period of fundamental importance. During this period Læstadius and his fellow workers Anders Fjellner and Juhani Raattamaa came into close contact with the Swedish Saamis of the Kalott region. It was then that he began his campaign against the sale of alcohol and the abuse of strong drink in Lappland. He offered a Christian theological instrument and insights, which came fully into their own after the Læstadian revival had begun to make itself fully felt subsequent to 1845.

The first phase of Læstadius’ ministry occurred during a transition stage in Swedish ecclesiastical history in Lappland. The Saami parishes were,

unlike the praxis during the Saami administration's epoch, to satisfy the Saami population's spiritual needs by means of divine services in the parish's main church and through ambulatory catechetical teaching. Petrus Læstadius, however, criticised this policy and recommended the establishment of fixed schools for the Saamis. From 1835 onwards the Swedish Missionary Society started to set up special Saami schools and school homes, especially in the southern Lapp areas.

Reports of episcopal visits and ecclesiastical activities from the Härnösand provincial archives bear witness to Læstadius' wholehearted efforts to promote official parochial and education policy after 1820. In a very detailed comment on Dean Wikström's inspection report, dated February 4, 1836, Læstadius gives a careful account of current activities and how they had been adapted to existing conditions among the Saamis.

Such eucharist was held on Sundays in the parish church. The sermon was usually in Finnish. Læstadius adds, however, that "on certain feast days, such as Boxing Day and Easter Monday, for example, I have preached the sermon in Lappish but the preparatory service has been in Finnish". He also notes that the celebration of certain special days of prayer had been adapted to the Saamis' nomadic migrations. No day of intercession was held in the summer for "from the beginning of May until the end of November the Lapp people cannot visit their parish church since this section of the congregation spends the spring and autumn 100 km away and the summer in Norway 160–200 km distant from the church" (HDA F III bf 11, 1836).

For the same a 3–4 week intensive course during the weeks before Easter with the actual confirmation ceremony taking place on Good Friday.

The work in the parish church had to be supplemented with special ambulatory work to take care of the Saami population in the northern part of the Enontekiö or Karesuando parish. Læstadius acknowledges the value of Fjellner's and Raattamaa's work. He also gives examples of how he himself made great efforts to visit the Saamis in the nomadic sites. He describes in detail how he prepared a visit to Saami families. His description is strongly coloured with local details and is given in a special appendix.

Læstadius' account of his work reveals his concern for the Saamis' spiritual welfare and a readiness to adapt the routines of the established Lutheran church to local conditions. It was almost inevitable that this period of parish work should give Læstadius insights and impulses that would lead to his adopting a direct personal stand when, from 1844 on, his preaching took on "a more colourful tone" and he began to agitate more openly to further "living Christianity" among the parishioners of Karesuando.



Against this background it is important to draw attention to three other things that directly link Læstadius' involvement during the first period of his ministry with his work as an out-and-out revivalist in the years after 1844. The first was his struggle against the trade in alcohol and the abuse of strong drink in Lappland.

As early as the report of 1836 Læstadius draws attention to the problem, even if he did not yet find it so acute as elsewhere. Soon after, however, he found cause to take up in writing these new problems and mobilise the Saami population against the abuse of alcohol. His first document is in the form of three dialogues "between a Christian and an ordinary person" (Læstadius 1839), which Læstadius cites in a letter to the episcopal chapter in Härnösand as a suitable textbook for people settling in Lappland for learning the northern Saami dialect. The second is formulated as a sermon given on Boxing Day (*Prediko Nobbe Jáluå Peiwen nalu, maw lå tjalam*; Laestadius 1842). Both these pamphlets are marked by Læstadius' declared intention to make northern Saami an accepted literary language. They also place the warning against the abuse of alcohol in a conscious Christian doctrinal framework. Drinking is placed on the same footing as the pre-Christian "idolatrous church":

Listen, then, what life you lead! Your predecessors worshipped seiti and saivo-places, stones and tree stumps. They crept and crawled on all fours before fallen trees and uprooted stumps. But you have begun to creep before other idols. You have taken your stomachs as your god. It says in the Scriptures, "He who drinks, he worships idols". And what is he who drinks strong drink but the most abject worshipper of idols (Læstadius 1978, 28).

For this "sin" the Christian shall make atonement through Jesus Christ and life in the forgiveness of sins (Læstadius 1978, 13). Læstadius is not content with using only pastoral arguments, however. In a letter of May 27, 1842 to the episcopal chapter in which he mentions his Boxing Day sermon and requests money to publish it he stresses that the aim of this sermon (Læstadius describes it as a "thesis") is in fact "to prepare opinion among the Saamis for the establishment of teetotal societies" (HDA F IX a 4).

References to these pamphlets anticipate the second element in Læstadius' early work, an element which directly prepares the way for the development of Læstadianism into the "religion of the Saamis". I refer to his efforts to create a northern Saami written language, the most significant of which was his composition of the Biblical compendium *Ancient Tales of God and Men (Tåluts Suptsasah, Jubmela pirra ja Almatji pirra*; (Læstadius 1884).

As early as the report on activities made in 1836 Læstadius pointed out the pedagogical value in discussion of both private and general questions of

life of "oral accounts from the biblical history of the Old and New Testament". This compendium, which Læstadius finally completed editing after his pastoral examination in Härnösand on October 7, 1843, reveals in truth a very pedagogical approach in his attempt to bring the Old Testament to life. The penultimate chapter, in which Læstadius sums up and adapts "God's promises of the Redeemer", is of particular importance (Læstadius 1978, 171 ff.).

In his introductory "Erinran till wördiga Presterskapet i Lappmarken" (Admonition to the worthy Ministry in Lappland) of December 15, 1843, however, Læstadius adopts a somewhat different tone. He is almost apologetic when making a linguistic point: "The author is of the view that both the Lapp language and the Lapp people will die out first in the southern part of Lappland, for which reason all books published in Lappish hereafter should be in the northern dialect, which is any case the most recent and will last the longest" (Læstadius 1978, 34).

During the first part of his appointment Læstadius was also closely involved in Saami field studies along the lines of Linnæus, Pehr Högström and Carl Erik Læstadius. He was particularly interested in Botany.

In his autobiography of the early part of the 1850's Læstadius takes a critical view of his early interest in natural science. Judging by what he says in the report of 1836 these studies may also have interfered with his duties as vicar. Læstadius admits "[...] since not only all Lapps are to be found on the north side of the ridge but also all those among the settlers who are capable of working are to be found in the vicinity of distant mountain lakes, the author has sometimes visited different mountain areas both within and without the parish area in the interests of natural history; during this time missionary Anders Fjellner has always been present at the church to hold divine service should there be anybody wishing to hear it" (HDA F III bf 11, 1836).

This was the situation in the summer of 1838, when Læstadius at the order of Karl XIV Johan accompanied the French *Recherche* expedition led by P. Gaimard from Hammerfest to Karesuando. It was in this connection that he was inspired to put together his *Fragmenter i Lappska Mythologien* (Fragments of Lapp Mythology), which Harald Grundström has made accessible for wider study (Læstadius 1959).

I am not the man in this worthy company to make any kind of expert comment on Læstadius' contributions to the study of Saami religion. I shall confine myself to examining how these *Fragmenter* can contribute to an understanding of Læstadius' attitude to Saami religion.

Generalising to some extent, we may say that the Norwegian mission to the Saamis, from Thomas von Westen onwards, was marked by a conscious

effort to describe Saami beliefs while at the same time renouncing them as "the works of the devil". A Swedish tradition dating back to Pehr Högström has adopted a more anthropological approach to traditional Saami religion, which it was considered should be replaced by Christian beliefs and practices but not be entirely condemned. In his admonition to the reader who goes so far as to enter into debate with Karl Axel Gottlund on the topic of pre-Christian religion Læstadius makes a similar comment even though he is of the opinion that the official Swedish attitude to the Saami shamans was more critical than the Norwegian (Læstadius 1959, 24).

Læstadius takes an independent view. He is attracted to Saami mythology and therefore follows to a large extent the Norwegian tradition in his interpretation of "Gudaläran" (Læstadius 1959, 37 ff.). At the same time, however, he makes wide use of the concept mythology and can provide accounts of folk tales of "supernatural beings and events" in addition to the "Gudaläran" (Læstadius 1959, 29). In this he is able to build on Högström's Lappmarksbeskrivning as well as on his own field studies (Högström 1747).

In his *Fragmenter* Læstadius refrains from pursuing an a priori negative attitude, dictated by Christian theological thinking, to the beliefs that he is studying. Prompted by Högström, he reflects on cause and effect in the development of Jubmel as the Saami god of thunder and sky (Læstadius 1959, 42 ff.) and rejects diffusion theories. He casts light on the connection between the *Saiwo* dimension of existence and the shaman's behaviour and goes far in his attempt to explain the behavioural patterns of what he terms the "fortune-telling Lapps" (Læstadius 1959, 46–60, 110–115) using modern anthropology. He also gives an account of local *Stallo* traditions and tries to establish their historical background in assault by the Birkarlar (Læstadius 1959, 131–169).

Læstadius' adoption of a broad concept for mythology makes it somewhat difficult, however, to obtain a grasp of how he conceives of the status of traditional Saami beliefs at the time. He is adamant in his refusal to accept that Saami Christian belief and practice were still coloured by old sacrifice cults and consequently "in many places a heathen Christianity". It particularly irritated Læstadius that such thoughts were spread abroad by benevolent representatives of the Swedish Missionary Society (Læstadius 1959, 73 ff.).

Læstadius himself seems to have been of the opinion that "the Lapps' earlier mythology has presumably been lost" and the worship of pre-Christian deities had therefore ceased (Læstadius 1959, 23; cf. Læstadius 1978, 28). At the same time there occur what can be regarded as "false belief and superstition", which can nonetheless be understood when seen in the light of anthropological or psychological theories (Læstadius 1959,

23 and 107 ff.). To this should be added what can be characterised as “the Lapps’ saga traditions” (Læstadius 1959, 127–169). Læstadius seems not to be entirely unwilling to prefer the second and third category of mythological beliefs within the framework of Saami folk Christianity.

Læstadius completed his *Ancient Tales of God and Men* in December 1843. The work represents the continuity between the first and the second phase of Læstadius’ ministry. *Fragmenter i Lappska Mythologien* was not, in fact, completed until 1845 (cf. Læstadius 1959, 73–77). This means that the work continues from the first to the third phase. It is now time to turn to these two later periods of Læstadius’ development.

### 3. Læstadius’ personal and pastoral transformation

When it comes to Læstadius’ attitude towards the old religion of the Saamis, the dramatic and personally enriching development that he experienced in conjunction with his pastoral examination in Härnösand and his inspection of the Saami parishes can possibly be regarded as a transition phase. It is inevitable, however, that a person’s attitude towards another religion should be influenced by changes and transformations in his attitude towards and his interpretation of key aspects of his own religion. This was primarily what took place in Læstadius during the time between July 1843 and May 1844 and it was to have direct consequences for his ministry during the third period. The period 1843–44 is an important one for the development of Læstadianism as the “religion of the Saamis’” for it was then that Læstadius met his Maria.

If we go beyond Læstadius’ own autobiography and examine available primary materials—principally his dissertations for his pastoral examination in October 1843 and his inspection report—we find that there was much that challenged and enriched Læstadius and affected his personal and pastoral transformation during these intensive months. It was his personal experience of the Brandell revival which he had read about earlier and with which he now came face to face in the persons of the deputy dean in Härnösand, Pehr Eric Bylund, and the Föllinge Saami, Milla Clemensdotter. They gave him a deeper and more differentiated view of the church’s work in the areas inhabited by the Saamis and it was in particular the experiences of the Swedish Missionary Society’s mission schools for Saami youngsters in the parish of Lycksele and the meeting with the catechists Carl Ludvig Tillström and Fredrik Nordberg that gave rise to Læstadius’ decision to continue his parish work in Karesuando while conditions at Arvidsjaur, Arjeplog and Vittangi left much to be desired. It was also the

confrontations that took place at Sorsele, where Læstadius stand in favour of the old readers against his former colleague Anders Fjellner. In addition, there was also his own adaptation of new experiences. Gunnar Wikmark has given a complete report on this material in the work quoted earlier, in which he also summarises his detective work that preceded the identification of Læstadius' Maria (Wikmark 1980, 132–277, concerning Maria 182–241).

If we regard Læstadius' *Dårhushjonet. En blick i Nådens ordning* (The Asylum Servant. A Look into the Order of Grace) as the complete theological expression of his attitude as a parish priest critical of the church and as a revivalist after 1844, then we can look upon the theses laid down in his pastoral examination in October 1843 as an indication of where he stood ecclesiastically and theologically before the eventful inspection tour of Lapland.

In these theses Læstadius defends his theological position as he adapts it and develops it further in *Dårhushjonet*. He maintains that the subject of faith is to be sought in the heart (Læstadius 1949, tes IX) and he assumes that the recent convert cannot be unaware of his change of heart (Læstadius 1949, tes VI) but rather is able to remember the different stages of his conversion (Læstadius 1949, tes VII). Even as early as October 1843 Læstadius expressed the same criticism of supposedly rationalist features in the new baptism ceremony in the 1811 Prayer book of the Swedish Church as he later developed further in *Dårhushjonet* (Læstadius 1949, §§ 1565–1578) and which caused him to sympathise with the old readers of Sorsele (Læstadius 1949, tes I; HDA F III bf 11, 1844 a, § 1), Læstadius also explains the Christian theological basis of his struggle against the sale of strong drink and the abuse of alcohol in Lapland and criticises any commitment to teetotalism which "preaches of teetotalism rather than of Christianity" (Læstadius 1949, tes XI).

As far as we are concerned there are two features of Læstadius' theses which are of particular interest. The first is that in his last thesis, written in the north Saami dialect, he maintains that "a Lapp is a better kind of human being than one who resides in a fixed place or who is not a Lapp" (Læstadius 1949, tes XII).

This thesis is notable for two reasons. From the purely formal point of view it is an innovation. Up to then the theses Læstadius had composed for the pastoral examination had been written mainly in Latin. (Thesis XI on the Christian basis for teetotalism is, however, in Finnish.) More important, however, is the connection between the thesis and our question of Læstadius' attitude towards Saami religion. The thesis conforms with Læstadius' understanding attitude, as expressed in *Fragmenter i Lappska Mythologien*,

and explains his commitment to north Saami as a written and church language. It is given further consideration in his view of "uneducated people's opinion of the soul" in *Dårhushjonet*.

The second feature of the theses that deserves our attention is that not one of them deals specifically with atonement. What Læstadius regarded as rationalist efforts to water down traditional theological teaching on atonement was, however, extremely topical even in 1843. Martensen's *Moralfilosofiens system* (Systems of Moral Philosophy) had already been published in Swedish translation in 1841. In 1843 Nils Ignell's *Granskning af den evangelisk-luthersk Trosbekännelsens förnämsta hufvudstycken* (An Examination of the Main Theses of the Evangelical-Lutheran Faith) had appeared. The same year saw a Swedish translation of the Roman Catholic theologian J. A. Möhler's comparison of the principal features of Catholic and Protestant theology. In view of the very important role played by atonement theology in *Dårhushjonet* it is actually remarkable that Læstadius does not address the problem in the theses for his pastoral examination.

This should of course, not be seen as an indication that Læstadius was unfamiliar with classic atonement thinking prior to his meeting with the Saami girl Maria. His Boxing Day sermon in 1842 and the fine chapter 79 about God's promises of a Redeemer in *Ancient Tales of God and Men* suffice to show that this cannot have been the case. Rather, the absence of any explicit comment on atonement in the theses should be interpreted in quite another way. At a time when the official attitude of the Swedish Church towards nascent revivalism was becoming more severe—George Scott had been deported in 1842—Læstadius considered it relevant to offer a justification for a more modified attitude in the form of a theological comment. He also took the side of the old readers in one acute dispute—the form of the baptism ceremony. Seen in the light of *Dårhushjonet*, it is clear that this attitude—and Læstadius' earlier pronouncements—was not enough for a comprehensive development of the atonement problem.

From 1844 on it became increasingly obvious to Læstadius that atonement constituted a double problem. Partly it was a question of understanding the opposition between God's love and his righteousness which precedes the act of atonement. Partly it was also experienced how atonement was to be the question within the individual believer's reach and how this process could be understood psychologically and theologically. Both questions were naturally closely related and constituted what might be termed the double problem of atonement.

Læstadius' earlier teaching on the subject of atonement had, in a very committed way, locally adapted the predominant interpretation of the first

and superordinate theological component of the problem. His experiential comment in the theses forestalls, however, what was to become his pastoral contribution in *Dårhushjonet* and what gave concrete expression and directness to his teaching after his homecoming in May 1844. The meeting with Milla Clemensdotter at Åsele in early January that year gave further inspiration to this personal and pastoral transformation.

#### 4. Læstadius as parish priest and revivalist critical of the established church

As I have already pointed out it was not least Læstadius' experiences of pastoral work among the Saamis in Lycksele parish with its three separate mission schools and enthusiastic catechists that inspired and stimulated him to form his new strategy for his work among the Saamis of the Karesuando parish. Summing up the situation in Karesuando in May 1844, Læstadius was forced to admit a more acute problem than the lack of fixed educational localities for the Saami youngsters. In his comparison with conditions in Lappland generally he found the situation in Karesuando as far as the knowledge of Christianity was concerned "much better than at Arjeplog, Gellivare and Jukasjärvi" (HDA F III bf 11, 1844b). However, it was only "dead knowledge" unable to withstand the temptation of strong drink. He therefore appealed to the authorities to take measures against the sale of alcohol (HDA F III bf 11, 1844b). His efforts as parish priest and revivalist critical of the established church would continue to be directed especially towards the abuse of strong drink in Lappland.

With Læstadius' move to Pajala, where the great majority of the congregation consisted of Finnish-speaking settlers, his direct contacts with the world of the Saamis changed. The first period of Læstadius' ministry was marked, as we have seen, by intensive and close links with Saami villages and communities. After the success of the revival in 1845 and his move to Pajala in 1849, however, it was his interest in the Læstadian movement which dominated his life. Læstadius was forced to act as both religious leader of the people and arbitrator between the revivalists and the established authorities of the church and of society (see e.g. §§ 21–23 in A. Högström's official report of Bishop I. Beckman's inspection tour of Pajala, July 30–31, 1853).

Despite this change in the actual framework of Læstadius' ministry, his personal and pastoral transformation seems to have meant a somewhat different attitude to Saami religion. In content Læstadius' work was characterised partly by his endeavours to create a more direct preaching style that

would lead to "the more vigorous practice of the Christian religion" (cf. Læstadius' report of his inspection tour, January–May 1844) and partly by his further consideration of the theoretical and practical implications of the question of atonement.

As regards the matter of Læstadius' "new teaching" he himself described his intentions as a desire to paint in "more vivid colours". His daring, at times even drastic, imagery was very characteristic of him.

In his struggle against the Saamis' abuse of alcohol Læstadius' homiletic—and perhaps rhetorical—approach led to a new angle in his attitude to the mythological heritage of the Saamis. In his Boxing Day sermon Læstadius placed the Saamis abuse of alcohol on a par with "idolatry", something which belonged to the past. In another work, a discussion between a Christian and an ordinary person (*Nobbe Hålaittem Ristagasa ja Satte Almatja Kaskan*; Læstadius 1847), which is a direct attack on the trade in strong drink and the abuse of alcohol among the Lapps, Læstadius went one step further. In this work he did not regard the Saami religion as something exclusively out of date. Instead, he put his message in a more concrete form by making use of Saami ideas. Læstadius talked forcefully about the threat of "the evil alcohol" which exploits the Saamis and holds them captive (Læstadius 1978, 20). He was also able to refer to Saami conditions. He describes the drunken Saami as "one who sings and wails like a dog in heat that has lost its bitch to other mongrels" (Læstadius 1978, 15). He compares someone who persists in his abuse of alcohol with "a wild reindeer pursued by the wolf" (Læstadius 1978, 24). What Læstadius particularly lashes out against is indulgence in strong drink in connection with church-going and receiving holy communion (Læstadius 1978, *passim*).

Against the background of this conscious use of very concrete language in his communications with the Saamis after 1844, which certainly contributed to a large extent to the fact that Læstadianism became "the religion of the Saamis'", it becomes tempting to ask whether Læstadius tried to be equally concrete when talking about "heavenly things", not least about atonement. An answer to this question may be found perhaps in *Dårhushjonet*, even though this work is a qualified theological dissertation at a high level of abstraction and not so much a medium for direct communication with the Saamis.

*Dårhushjonet* is probably one of the most remarkable and interesting products of 19th-century Swedish theology. Not until very recently has it been available to a wider public. Had it been within the ordinary people's reach during the atonement disputes of the latter part of the 19th century, disputes which split the new evangelical movement, it would probably have



resulted in quite a different outcome for this exchange of opinion—and indeed for Swedish ecclesiastical history in general.

As has already been indicated, Læstadius' treatment of the double problem of atonement constitutes the main theme of this work. He bases his solution to the problem, however, on very ambitious theoretical and psychological reasoning in which he makes independent use of contemporary anthropological insights into "the passions", i.e. man's baser instincts (cf. Bäcksbäcka 1937; Åberg 1961).

It is characteristic of Læstadius' approach to the double problem of atonement that—briefly—he holds fast to the substance of the classic teaching on atonement of Anselm but does not lay it down in legal terms but within the framework of a personal relationship between "the heavenly parent" and the prodigal but reconciled son (Læstadius 1949, §§ 1252–1270). When Læstadius illustrates the inner side both in the conflict between the demands of righteousness and the love shown by the deity and in the struggle between fear and the devil's temptations, he consciously chooses the image of the loving mother who bewails and seeks her lost child. He describes the conflict within the mother between right and love by means of concrete images and he pities the mother whose sense of righteousness becomes an infernal passion that kills maternal love. Such a mother is a reflection of the Law without the Gospel (Læstadius 1949, §§ 1286–1291). At the same time Læstadius describes most dramatically how the lost but reconciled person must first accuse himself of "matricide" and hate of the self-sacrificing mother (Læstadius 1949, § 1299) as a struggle against the devil's self-righteousness, which does not allow of a given atonement (Læstadius 1949, §§ 1330–1336). Læstadius also makes clear how the encounter with the reality of atonement can provide "a foretaste of heavenly bliss" (Læstadius 1949, § 1339) which can be experienced once more during proper partaking of Holy Communion (Læstadius 1949, § 1282).

Læstadius is aware that this adaptation of the anthropological framework for the dedication to atonement carries traditional atonement theology a step further, especially atonement seen as "a psychic act" (Læstadius 1949, § 1282). His mention of "the heavenly parent" and the use of mother symbolism are also new in this context.

More than anyone else it is Hjalmar Sundén who has directed his attention to these facts. He has placed them on a footing with Læstadius' own account of his meeting with Maria and tried to explain the problems with the aid of role-psychological analysis. The significance of the Saami woman Maria for Læstadius according to this approach is that she re-actualises the image of his mother and liberates it so that it can serve as a mirror of the

Saviour, the Redeemer (cf. Sundén 1959, 231). If we so wish, we might say that Læstadius's treatment of the atonement theme in *Dårhushjonet* reflects what we might term his Saami mother tongue.

With reference to what we have already discovered about the way in which Læstadius, subsequent to 1844, consciously made use of elements of Saami mythology when he wished to give an important message to his Saami listeners (and readers), it is tempting to take a step in a different direction from Sundén in our attempt to understand Læstadius' conscious imagery in *Dårhushjonet*. Does this reflect anything more or other than Læstadius' own relationship to his mother?

As Læstadius makes clear in *Fragmenter* in connection with E. J. Jessen, above all, the existence of the mother gooddessa (Madder-akka) and other female deities was something extremely concrete in Saami pre-Christian religion (Læstadius 1959, 35 ff.). In Læstadius' time conceptions and the worship of these deities had ceased (Læstadius 1959, 23). Despite this, Læstadius may have found it of value, in a living Saami interpretation of Christianity, to give a more rounded picture of the deity that was expressed in Christian usage by the old Saami god of thunder and sky, Jubmela (Læstadius 1959, 42 ff. about Jubma and Jubmel) by keeping alive the mother aspect of "the heavenly parent". Therefore he may have consciously chosen to use mother symbolism when talking of the secret of atonement—not least to the Saamis.

I leave this question open at this stage. The problem must be studied more closely by means of a structural analysis of Læstadius' theology and language, especially in his writings in the northern Saami dialect. It is my opinion, however, that in any discussion of how Læstadianism became "the religion of the Saamis" it is impossible to ignore the fact that Læstadius was not alien to a locally adapted Saami interpretation of Christianity. In modern terms we might say that Læstadius did not reject the problem of contextualisation. In this, however, he did not go so far as his earlier colleague Anders Fjellner. Fjellner represented quite different ideals from those of Læstadianism in Saami religious and ecclesiastical history of the 19th century.

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## Appendix

Læstadius' arrangement of his visitations to the Lapp population of Karesuando parish (29 March 1836).

For the preservation of the Christian knowledge bestowed by these zealous predecessors (David Engelmark, Erik Grape and Zacharias Grape), and to contribute in some degree to its increase particularly among younger persons the undersigned, together with the missionary Mr And Fjellner, has visited the Lapps in their proper habitation, wherein occasion was provided not merely to observe each person's morals and progress in Christian knowledge but also to provide teaching in accordance with the people's powers of understanding.

Although it may seem immaterial which method is normally used for general examinations of the Catechism, it may nevertheless be useful to set down which method was employed by the undersigned during his tent hearings among the Lapp peasantry.

On arrival at a tent settlement, which may consist of 10 to 15 people, no reading could be performed when arriving in the evening because of the various household tasks in which the Lapps are engaged at that time of the

day. During the period preceding the evening meal it was not considered suitable to engage in anything but general discussion about the structure of the world, the movement of the heavenly bodies and the nature of the earth etc. since circumstances permitted this.

After the evening meal the whole tent settlement is summoned to prayer, after which a short examination is conducted among the older members concerning the highest principles of Christianity. These examinations consist mainly of questions in order to establish the concept itself.

From these questions to test the understanding it was customary to move imperceptibly to oral accounts of biblical history from the Old and New Testament, which being applied to public and private life were continued far into the night, or as long as they seemed to hold the attention of those present.

In the morning in broad daylight the settlement is again called to prayer, after which reading tests are conducted with both older and younger people. Those texts from the gospels chosen for reading aloud are selected for the opportunities they provide for further explanation of Christian requirements.

At the end of the examination the journey was continued to another village, for which purpose tax paying householders in the settlement provide reindeer and guide.

These tent interrogations apparently have the benefit of allowing no-one to evade them on the pretext of lawful hindrance, with the exception of those who are absent at that time, who it is usually possible to meet however at another settlement or during another year; so that the negligent ones may be personally warned and when no improvement occurs, they are finally obliged to come to confirmation school to receive instruction. Experience has shown that when certain groups were called to church or to the neighbouring village, the most ignorant and those most in need of instruction remained by their tents with the excuse that they were taking care of the home and the reindeer herd. Without visiting house and property it was not possible to oblige everyone to attend an examination not held at their own tent.

# Shamanistic and Postshamanistic Terminologies in Saami (Lappish)

BY HÅKAN RYDVIING

## 1. Introduction

The study of the lexicon of a language, of special semantic fields, changes in the meaning of words and comparisons between the lexicon or parts of it in different dialects can provide valuable complements to other types of sources. This is nothing new, and the study of Saami cultural history is in this respect no exception. A number of papers have thus dealt with different parts of the Saami lexicon, central for the understanding of various aspects of Saami culture. Knut Bergsland (Bergsland 1942), Johannes Falkenberg (Falkenberg 1953) and Ian Whitaker (Whitaker 1979) have e.g. presented kinship-terminologies and Nils-Erik Hansegård (Hansegård 1978) has treated words referring to permanent settlement; the terminologies of fishing, furs and skins, handicraft and weaving have been dealt with by Asbjørn Nesheim (Nesheim 1947; Nesheim 1964; Nesheim 1967; Nesheim 1954); Israel Ruong (Ruong 1945, 186–193; Ruong 1964, 75–92; Ruong 1982) has discussed reindeer colour and snow terminology and names for non-Saamis, Pekka Sammallahti (Sammallahti 1982) hunting-terms and Bo Wickman (Wickman 1965) the hunting and fishing terminology. We cannot here devote space to any history of research in this field. Suffice it to note that perspectives and methods differ and that religious terminologies have not come under examination.

The most important sources for the study of pre-Christian Saami religion, the so called “*prästrelationer*” ‘priestrelations’, are indirect, but, although language could be reckoned as a direct and primary source, Saami linguistics can only function as a means of assistance for the history of religions. It is scarcely possible to draw solid conclusions about Saami religion, solely on linguistic evidences, although different types of linguistic arguments can be used to supplement what has been concluded with the help of other source categories.

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to a problem of source criticism that faces the student of Saami shamanism and is caused by the changes of meaning which words used in the shamanistic context underwent in the period of religious change, i.e. the 17th, 18th and (to some

extent) 19th centuries. These changes of meaning render our possibilities of understanding the shamanistic aspects of the pre-Christian Saami religion more difficult as they make it hazardous to draw conclusions about shamanism from what we know about the use and meaning of these words in the later terminologies of magic.

The study of the terms of what in Saami is called *noai'dėvuottá*<sup>1</sup> 'what has to do with the *noai'de*' to some extent involves different problems to the study of the terminologies of e.g. hunting or handicraft. New hunting-methods have certainly replaced older ones that turned out to be less effective, and handicraft has, through access to new materials, broken new ground, but this does not mean that the older hunting or handicraft terminologies in some way have become "taboo" in the same way as the terms that were used in the old religion. Neither is it so that those who have given us the most important source material on let us say Saami bird-hunting, had as their main task to introduce new hunting-methods or replace bird-hunting with some other kind of hunt or another source of livelihood. That is obviously the case, however, when we are studying Saami religion. The sources from the 17th and 18th centuries derive almost exclusively from persons whose mission in life was to replace the Saami religious rites and conceptions with new ones.

This is certainly true; but given the conditions and presuppositions of the time, what is remarkable is that we after all know as much as we do, something that of course is due to the fact that the main interest of the missionaries was—religion.

### 1.1. Preliminaries

Before proceeding, it is necessary to draw some essential distinctions in meaning and mention the delimitations I have made. I will therefore briefly define the terms in the heading: 'shamanistic', 'postshamanistic' and 'terminology'.

Definitions of *shamanism* are legio and historians of religions sometimes

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<sup>1</sup> Saami words are, if not otherwise stated, given in lpN form according to the orthography used in Nielsen 1932–38. As for the other dialects the orthographies that have been used are Grundström 1946–54 for lpL, Schlachter 1958 for lpU and Hasselbrink 1981–85 for lpS, while the spellings used in Itkonen 1958 and Lagercrantz 1939 have been simplified conventionally. Words that are given in the same form as in the older sources are printed in boldface. Russian words are transliterated according to the system used by the British Museum.

The designations for the dialect-groups and dialects have been abbreviated in the usual way. Dialect-groups: lpS: Southern Saami, lpC: Central Saami and lpE: Eastern Saami; dialects: lpU: Ume Saami, lpL: Lule Saami, lpN: Northern Saami, lpI: Inari Saami, lpSk: Skolt Saami, lpKld: Kildin Saami, lpTer: Ter Saami.

The examples of words are in the main given in order of provenance from lpS to lpE.

have a tendency to talk as if 'shamanism' were something concrete, thereby forgetting that it only exists as an abstraction and a concept in the brains of its students. In this paper I have used Åke Hultkrantz' definitions of 'shaman' as "a social functionary who, with the help of guardian spirits, attains ecstasy in order to create a rapport with the supernatural world on behalf of his group members" (Hultkrantz 1973, 34) and 'shamanism' as "the complex of beliefs, rites and traditions clustered around the shaman and his activities" (Hultkrantz 1973, 36). These definitions have been my point of departure, but I have, because of the limited space here at my disposal, left out the words for different guardian spirits and also words for the Saami drum.<sup>2</sup> The words here discussed are then designations for the shaman and his activities. Unfortunately, only a few words of this kind are known from the earlier sources, and students of Saami shamanism have used words from later sources to compensate for this shortage, even though for example Nikolaj Kharuzin (Kharuzin 1890),<sup>3</sup> Toivo I. Itkonen (Itkonen 1946) and Louise Bäckman (Bäckman 1978) have clarified the differences between the *noai'de* as 'shaman' in the old religion and the *noai'de* as 'diviner' and 'magician' in the postshamanistic period. As I have already indicated, my purpose is to discuss some aspects of this change of meaning.

If 'shamanism'—in spite of the discussions about its definition—is well grounded as a concept in the history of religions, *postshamanism* is a more dubious term. I have used it in order to emphasize both the continuity, when the same words are used, and the differences in meaning between the words as used within the shamanistic segment (this wording after Hultkrantz 1973, 37) of the pre-Christian religion and these same words when later used to denote functionaries and practices in the magic sphere. But I have also included words that are not found in the sources of the old religion, words that in later sources are translated in the same way as these, i.e. other words for 'diviner', 'sorcery', 'witch' etc. Some of these words might, although they are not found in the older source material, have been used earlier in shamanistic contexts, but most of them have no doubt never had any connection with shamanism. From what I have said, it is apparent that I wish to stress the religious roles of the *noai'de* as the shaman in the

<sup>2</sup> It is my intention to discuss the understanding of the concepts of 'soul' and 'spirit' in Saami in another paper.

<sup>3</sup> I have had no access to Kharuzin's paper "O noidakh u drevnikh i sovremennikh loparei" 'On *noai'de*'s among former and contemporary Lapps' in *Ethnograficheskoe obozrenye* 1889, but according to a note (by K. B. Wiklund ?) in the copy of Kharuzin 1890 that is kept in the university library in Uppsala, the contents of the paper are totally included in the fourth chapter of the book.

indigenous Saami religion, in contrast to the *noai'de*-magician after the change of religion, a view that will be discussed briefly later.<sup>4</sup>

Out of convenience I have used *terminology* in no strict philosophical meaning, but in the general sense of 'a system of terms' and it should be noted that I have not aimed at completeness, but only tried to exemplify the contents of the terminologies under examination.

### 1.2. Sources

As sources for this presentation I have gone through the printed source material from the 17th and 18th centuries, printed oral traditions from the different dialect-areas and dialect-dictionaries. Taken as a whole the material gives an indication of the disparity of the different contexts that had the *noai'de* at their centre.

## 2. Words

The shamanistic terminologies in the Uralic languages show, contrary to e.g. the hunting and fishing terminologies, a surprisingly small common vocabulary. This is, at least partially, explained by our inferior knowledge of these terminologies. Those who collected and wrote our sources, as representatives of an alien religion, naturally had difficulties both in getting access to and in understanding more deeply the shamanistic aspects of the indigenous religions. Obviously, only a small part of the words used in the shamanistic contexts have been preserved.

A special problem with the shamanistic terminology in Saami has to do with the negative connotations by which even the earliest sources are marked. Hence, the Saami words are translated with 'conjure', 'enchantment', 'sorcerer', 'sorcery', 'witchcraft', 'wizard' etc., a tendency that, as Louise Bäckman has observed, "has coloured the general view of the *noaidi*" (Bäckman 1978, 86).

The following presentation of words is structured so that the first section is devoted to words found in the sources from the 17th and 18th centuries, the second to a comparison of some passages in the translations of the Bible from 1811 and 1895, whilst the third presents words from later sources and also briefly discusses the origins of the terms.

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<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of the problems of the drawing of the borderline between religion and magic, see Widengren 1969, 1-19.



### 2.1. Examples of words found in sources from the 17th and 18th centuries

The common word for the Saami shaman in the earlier sources is *noai'de*, but, strangely enough, there is no record of the word in the Swedish sources from the 17th century. Not even Lundius who knows *sueie* to be the name of the guardian spirits and **kwepckas** the word for 'a woman versed in black art' (Lundius [late 1670's] 1905, 6, 8) has anything to say. The reason for this is probably the general tendency of the pre 18th century sources to attribute the skills of the *noai'de* to most Saamis (Bäckman 1978, 71 f.).

The word is however well attested in the sources from the 18th century and translated in various ways as e.g.<sup>5</sup> 'prophet, diviner, sorcerer' (Randulf [1723] 1903), 'priest and prophet of sorcery' (Skanke [1728] 1945, 205; Skanke [1731] 1910, 104), 'a wise man, a diviner' (Kildal [1730] 1945, 105), 'sorcerer, wise man' (Leem 1767), 'witchprophet' (Jessen 1767) and 'sorcerer, diviner' (Lindahl & Öhring 1780).

Of the derivations (see further 2.3 below) to *noai'de* Lindahl & Öhring (Lindahl & Öhring 1780) mention: **nåitats** 'a small diviner', **nåiteswuot** 'black art', **nåitot** 'conjure' **nåitom** 'witchery', **nåitostet** diminutive to **nåitot**, **nåitogåtet** 'begin practising sorcery', **nåitotet** 'bewitch', **nåitotem** 'bewitching', **nåitastallet** 'practise sorcery, [...] boast of, that one can conjure', **nåitastalleje** 'one that practises sorcery or boasts of his/her sorcery', **nåitastallem** 'sorcery' and **nåites** 'what has to do with sorcery and witchery' as in the compositions **nåites pargo** 'witchery', **nåites ålma** 'wizard, diviner' and **nåites did** 'ritus magicus'.

Although it is doubtful whether *lpL kuopas* denoted a shaman proper (Bäckman 1978, 84) this female is treated in connection with the *noai'de* in the sources, and I therefore list a few of the explanations here: **kwepckas** 'woman versed in black art' (Lundius [late 1670's] 1905, 8), **guaps** 'a woman that could chant and divine on the instruments that her sex had access to' (Skanke [1728] 1945, 200; Jessen 1767, 46, with the misprint *!/? Guape*),

<sup>5</sup> Finnish, German, Norwegian and Swedish words in the examples have, for the sake of homogeneity, been translated into English according to the following outline: bewitch (verzaubern, förtrolla), bewitching (förtrollande), black art (svartkonst), conjure (noitua, zaubern, trolla), divine (wahrsagen, spå), diviner (Wahrsager, runemand, spåman), enchanting (zauberisch), enchanting song (Zauberlied), female fortune teller (Weissagerin, spaaeqvinde), practise sorcery (harjoitta noituutta, bruka trolldom/trolleri), priest (praest), prophet (prophete), shaman (Schamane, schaman), sibyl (signekone), sorcerer (Zauberer, troldman, trollkarl), sorceress (Zauberin/Zauberweib, troldqvinde, trollkvinne), sorcery (noituus, Zauber/Zauberei, troldom, trolldom/trolleri/trollkonst), troll-drum (Zaubertrommel, trolltrumma), wise man (viismand), witch (Hexe, hex, häxa), witchery (häxeri), witch-prophet (hexe-prophete), wizard (Hexenmeister, häxare/häxkarl).

The words are easily found with the help of the source-references.

**gwopes** ‘sorceress’ (Lindahl & Öhring 1780). Lindahl & Öhring (Lindahl & Öhring 1780) mention two derivations of the word: **gwopeswuot** ‘sorcery’ and **gwopastallat** ‘conjure’. The word **gapishjaedne** in Leem (Leem 1768) ‘a female fortune-teller, sibyl, witch, sorceress’ is most likely a composition of **lpL kuopas** and **iednē** ‘mother’ (see further, section 2.3.2. below).

A third word ought to be mentioned: Leem’s (Leem 1767, 486) **judakas** or **juraak** ‘a sorcerer that never chanted’. It is probably connected with **lpN jurrâ** ‘noise, hum, rumbling, crashing’ (Nielsen 1932–38), a word that is likely a Finnish loan-word (cf. Finnish *jury* ‘rumbling’; Toivonen et al. 1955–81, 128), and in all probability characterizes the seance of the shaman.

After these indications of what is known of the shamanistic terminologies in Saami, we now turn to the sources of postshamanism and first to some extracts from Saami Bible-translations.

## 2.2. Examples from translations of the Bible

To translate biblical (and other religious) texts into Saami was an important method for the Christian mission,<sup>6</sup> and the words used in the translations were very likely chosen with great care in order to establish connections with Saami thought. Consequently, one could use the translations in order to get an idea of (how the translators at least conceived) the meanings of the Saami words. I have gone through those verses in the translations of the Old Testament from 1811 and 1895 respectively, where Arvid S. Kapelrud (Kapelrud 1967) believed there were to be found what he calls ‘shamanistic features’, thereby hoping to find suitable examples. And, interestingly enough, the word *noai’de* is found in several of these passages in the translation from 1811:

- |             |       |   |
|-------------|-------|---|
| 1 Sam 28: 3 | 1811: | “[...] ja sardnoin etjebse årrot nåiten [...]” ‘and called themselves <i>noai’de</i> ’s’    |
|             | 1895: | “[...] ja diettes olbmaid [...]” ‘and men good at knowing’                                  |
| Is 3: 2     | 1811: | “[...] profetait, nåitit, ja wuores ålmait [...]” ‘prophets, <i>noai’de</i> ’s and old men’ |
|             | 1895: | “[...] profeta ja einostægje ja vuorrassa [...]” ‘prophet and diviner and elder’            |
| Is 8: 19    | 1811: | “[...] ja nåitemeb [...]” ‘and <i>noai’de</i> ’   |
|             | 1895: | “[...] ja diettes olbmai [...]” ‘and a man good at knowing’                                 |
| Is 44: 25   | 1811: | “[...] takkab nåitit wadn-miälakin [...]” ‘make <i>noai’de</i> ’s witless’                  |
|             | 1895: | “gutte dakka [...] einostegjid jallan [...]” ‘that make diviners stupid’                    |

<sup>6</sup> Of the literature in Saami printed before 1899, 173 out of 290 items (if the 106 calendars are excluded) are different religious texts such as bible translations, service- and prayerbooks, catechisms and books of homilies (Qvigstad & Wiklund 1899, 135).

- Jer 27:9      1811: “Alet kuldele (kula) Profetaitate, kättojitate, päketejitete, äutoi-tjälgestejitete ja näitite [...]” ‘Do not listen to your prophets, your diviners, your [?], your self-explainers or your *noai’de*’s’  
                   1895: “Ja di, allet gulddal din profetaidædek ja din einostegjidædek ja din niegoidædek ja din mærkkačilggijegjidædek ja din guvllaridædek [...]” ‘And you, do not listen to your prophets or your diviners or your dreams or your soothsayers or your quack-doctors’
- Jer 29:8      1811: “[...] ja näititete [...]” ‘and your *noai’de*’s’  
                   1895: “[...] ja din einostegjidædek [...]” ‘and your diviners’

That *noai’de* only occurs in the older translation, but corresponds to *einustæg’gje* ‘diviner’ (3 times), *diet’tes olmai* ‘a man good at knowing’ (twice) and *guvllar* ‘quack-doctor’ (once) in the translation from 1895 might be an evidence of the greater proximity to the old religion in 1811, but could also be explained by different attitudes of the translators to connections with pre-Christian religious ideas or by the different dialects that are used in the translations.

### 2.3. Examples of words in postshamanistic terminologies

Turning to other sources from the Christian period, it is important to note that words from the shamanistic terminologies of the pre-Christian religion are still used, but with the new meanings and in the new context of postshamanism.

#### 2.3.1. *lpN noai’de*

The word with the widest distribution occurs in Northern Saami as *noai’de* and is found in all Saami dialects (in the present orthographies of the literary languages: *lpS nåejtie*, *lpL noajdde*, *lpN noaidi*, *lpI noaidi*, *lpSk nåidd*), in Finnish (*noita*) and in the other Finnic languages. The occurrence in Mansi (*najt*), an Ugric language, shows that it could be reckoned as Finno-Ugric (Collinder 1977, 117), and thereby, according to the prevalent (approximate and uncertain) datings, belonging to the stratum of Saami words that are reckoned to be at least 4000 years old (Wickman 1965, 503; cf. Korhonen 1976). It is worth observing that nothing can be said of the possible changes of meaning that the word may have gone through, but as the word has about the same meaning in both the westernmost (Saami) and easternmost (Mansi) language where it occurs, one could be tempted to assume that the meaning and consequently what the word stands for should be of the same age.

*Noai’de* is translated in roughly the same way in the different dictionaries:

*nuojtie* 'diviner, sorcerer' (Snåsa, Tysfjord, Karesuando, Lyngen, Nesseby) (Lagercrantz 1939), lpS: *noåjdie* '1. sorcerer, wizard; 2. one being in charge of the troll-drum (*gievrie*)' (Härjedalen, Oviken, Vilhelmina) (Hasselbrink 1981–85), lpU: *nåy-dee* 'sorcerer' (Schlachter 1958), lpL: *nåi'tē* 'sorcerer, shaman' (Grundström 1946–54), lpN: *noai'de* 'sorcerer, wizard' (Nielsen 1932–38), lpE: *noaid* 'sorcerer' (Pasvik, Petsamo, Nuortijärvi, Kildin, Ter) (Itkonen 1958).

2.3.1.1. Derivations of and compositions to *noai'de*.—Saami is a language rich in derivations. While compositions are formed spontaneously, derivations are looked upon as individual words (Nickel 1984, 181). They are therefore found in dictionaries and consequently dominate this presentation. The words are of varying age. Some occur in the whole Saami-speaking area, which makes it possible to assume that they are older than those only found in one or two dialects.

Among the derivations found in all the dialects is the previously mentioned *noai'dēvuottâ* 'sorcery, witchcraft, magic', a word that, during the time of the old religion, was perhaps the Saami word that was nearest in meaning to the modern abstract 'shamanism'.

The verb that is best supported in the sources is *noai'dot*:

*noåjtot* 1. 'sing an enchanting song' (Tännäs), 2. 'divine' (Snåsa), 3. 'conjure' (Arjeplog, Karesuando, Lyngen) (Lagercrantz 1939), lpS: *noåjdudh* 1. 'conjure' (Vilhelmina, Offerdal), 2. 'sing an enchanting song' (Frostviken, Undersåker, Härjedalen), 3. 'beat the troll-drum (*gievrie*)' (Oviken), 4. 'divine' (Snåsa) (Hasselbrink 1981–85), lpU: *nåydoot* 'conjure' (Schlachter 1958), lpL: *nåi'tot* 'conjure, practise sorcery'; in Southern Gällivare also 'bewitch' (Grundström 1946–54), lpN: *noai'dot* 'practice sorcery, witchcraft' (Nielsen 1932–38), lpSk: *noaidat* 'conjure, practice sorcery' (Pasvik, Suonikylä) (Itkonen 1958).

Another verb is lpN *noaidastâd'dât* or *noaidastâllât* 'practice sorcery, magic' (Nielsen 1932–38), lpL 'give an air of knowing how to conjure' (Grundström 1946–54; lpE momentan-diminutive-frequentative in Pasvik and Kildin according to Itkonen 1958). The present participle of this verb *noaidastâl'le* means accordingly 'sorcerer, sorceress' (Lyngen) (Lagercrantz 1939), 'someone that is practicing sorcery or wants to appear as sorcerer' (Jokkmokk) (Grundström 1946–54).

Two examples of compositions (in the Eastern Saami forms from Nuortijärvi) are *noitkalles* 'old *noai'de*-man' and *noitahk'k* 'old *noai'de*-woman' (Itkonen 1958).

Beside words that are found in all the dialects, there are also words with a more limited distribution. In Southern and Ume Saami there is, for example, the adjective lpS *noåjdies* 1. 'enchanting (man)' (Tännäs), 2. 'someone that can divine' (Snåsa) (Lagercrantz 1939), 'enchanting (man), someone that can divine' (Stensele, Härjedalen, Snåsa) (Hasselbrink 1981–85), 'sor-

cery-' (Schlachter 1958). The word is used as the first component in compositions like IpS *noåjdiesaaakkaa* 'sorceress, witch' (Stensele), *noåjdiesbaarnie* 'son of a sorcerer' (Stensele) and *noåjdiesgåmmaa* 'witch, female fortune teller' (Frostviken) (Hasselbrink 1981–85), 'sorceress' (Schlachter 1958). Another example of a southern word is *noåjdume* 'sorcery' (Røros) (Hasselbrink 1981–85).

From Central Saami dialects one could mention *noai'dohit* 'cause enchantment', and from this *noai'dohæg'gje* 'someone that causes someone elses enchantment' that Lagercrantz (1939) has recorded in Lyngen and is also known in Lule Saami: 'enchant' (Northern Gällivare; causative to *nåi'tot* in Jokkmokk) (Grundström 1946–54). Ume Saami *nüidadahka* 'brought about by sorcery' (Schlachter 1958) is also attested in Lule Saami, but there with the meaning 'sorcery' (Grundström 1946–54).

There are also some words that are only recorded in Eastern Saami dialects. Examples are *noitmaš* 'sorcery' (Nuortijärvi) and *noitlaššat* 'conjure, practise sorcery' (Nuortijärvi, Pasvik) with the form *noaideluaššat* 'conjure (keep membling an enchanting song in one's sleep)' also known from Pasvik (Itkonen 1958).

### 2.3.2.. IpL *kuopas*

Locally in Lule Saami there is together with *noai'de* another word also known from the earlier sources (cf. 2.1 above): *kuopas*. Grundström (Grundström 1946–54) says that it is rarely used and translates it as 'sorcerer, sorceress' (Gällivare), 'skilled in the sorcerer's/ sorceress's art (seldom about men)' (Jokkmokk). As a derivation of *kuopas* he mentions *kuopastallat* 'conjure' (Gällivare), 'want to be regarded as skilled in the sorceress's art' (Jokkmokk), and in IpU there is a word for 'troll-drum' that is a composition to this word: *guaps-gåb'dee* (Schlachter 1958). The word is notable as Samuel Rheen (Rheen [1671] 1897, 35), writing about the adjacent Lule Lappmark, emphasizes that women were forbidden even to touch the drum. Whether the contradiction is due to regional differences or to changed attitudes is difficult to say, but the word should be born in mind in discussions about whether there were female shamans among the Saamis or not.

It is often difficult to localize the information that is given in the earlier sources, but with the help of dialect geography this is sometimes possible. *Kuopas* can exemplify this possibility to determine from where a word, and thereby a conception, comes, since—because of its current distribution—it can be defined as Lule and Ume Saami. But one should of course bear in mind that language is not static, and that the dialectal distribution of a word can be changed for various reasons.

Nesheim (Nesheim 1970 *a*, 22) has compared the word with IpL *kuobbit* 'turn the eyes inside out, glare, stare angrily', an etymology that, because of the phonetic conditions, is rather uncertain. Another suggestion is to connect the word with Mari *kuva* 'old woman' and Udmurt *kuba* 'mother-in-law'. The word would then be Finno-Permian. If this etymology, which Toivonen et al. (s.v. *kave*) quotes with some hesitation, is correct, the word could be compared with the words used as second element in compositions translated 'sorceress, witch' etc. These words often denote an 'old woman', as e.g. IpN *ak'ko* or IpS *gammaa*.

### 2.3.3. Other words for diviner, sorcerer etc.

IpN *noai'de* and IpL *kuopas* are in the postshamanistic terminologies only two of a large number of words that denote different diviners, sorcerers etc. The vocabulary is very rich and it is here only possible to give some examples.

A word found in Southern and Central Saami is the Nordic loan-word *guwlar* (cf. Swedish *kucklare*, Qvigstad 1893, 184) 'quack-doctor' (Karesuando, Enontekiö, Utsjoki, Nesseby) (Lagercrantz 1939), 'who cures people with the help of conjurations, the laying of hands etc. (not with medicine)' (Grundström 1946–54), 'who does magic, does quack cures (by magic)' (Nielsen 1932–38).

In Central Saami dialects one finds words such as IpN *diet'te* '[...] who knows a thing or two, versed in magic' and (*čâlmě-*) *gæi'do* 'one who bewitches people's sight' (Nielsen 1932–38; also in IpL, Grundström 1946–54; from Finnish *silmänkääntäjä*) and IpL *skäddar* with the same meaning (Grundström 1946–54).

The Eastern Saami dialects have their special words for 'diviner' and 'sorcerer', as well. In Kildin the word for 'rock or stone which has been an object of worship' (Nielsen 1932–38, IpN *siei'de*) has the subordinate sense 'sorcerer' and in Pasvik there is a word *sahple-lijjen-jotti* 'sorcerer' (that at the beginning of a journey sends out a mouse as reconnoiterer; if the mouse is killed, the sender will also die). The Russian loanword *eretnik* 'heretic' is used in the same dialect in the sense 'sorcerer; troll'. The word *kebun* that Korol'kov (Korol'kov 1908, 162) mentions, has also been looked upon as a Russian loan-word (Kalima 1930), but is more probably a slightly corrupt Saami form of a derivation of a word corresponding to IpN *gievvot* (Äimä 1932; see further 2.3.4 below).

An interesting word is IpTer *käirve* or *käivre* 'sorcerer', Ip Kld *kivr* 'sorcerer, heretic', according to Itkonen (Itkonen 1958) related to the name of a god, *Kārva*. It is, as far as I know, the only example of a possible theistic association among these words. The gods have otherwise no roles to play either in Saami shamanism or in the magic of postshamanism.

2.3.4. *Words denoting characteristics and activities of the noai'de*

Although ecstasy is a central element in shamanism, it is usually said that there is no Saami word for ecstasy and if only nouns are taken into consideration this might be true, but there are two verbs that denote ecstatic states: IpN *gievvot* and IpE *kikkat*.

Nielsen (Nielsen 1932–38) translates *gievvot* as ‘behave as if one is in an ecstasy (e.g. of one who is under the influence of profound religious emotion); be wild’ (Kautokeino) and Grundström (Grundström 1946–54) gives the meaning ‘be out of one’s senses in emotion or hysteria (?)’, with the addition that in Jokkmokk it is used for ‘wrath, particularly women’. Also Laestadius discusses the word and translates it ‘be wild or furious, or behave like mad’ (Laestadius [1840–45] 1959, 98). Äimä shows in his investigation of the word, although it is to a great extent built on the theories about an ‘arctic hysteria’ prevalent at the time, that *gievvot* is connected with ecstatic states. Even though it is impossible to know if this word was used about the shamanistic ecstasy, it is hardly rash to assume that an existing word for ‘ecstasy’ could also have been used in religious contexts (Äimä 1932, a list of derivations on 411 ff.). According to Toivonen et al. (Toivonen et al. 1955–81, 189) the word is possibly Finno-Ugric, but the etymology is uncertain.

The other verb is even more interesting as it has clear connections with shamanism. IpE *kikkat* means ‘play, sound (capercaillie courting)’, in Nuortijärvi, Kildin and Ter also ‘sing, hum (ecstatic sorcerer)’ and in Ter ‘conjure’ as well (Itkonen 1958). It denotes in Central Saami the pairing-sound of animals, the amorous call of birds (and particularly capercaillie, *Tetrao urogallus*)<sup>7</sup> and in the dialects of the Kola peninsula also the sound of the *noai'de* during ecstasy (an onomatopoeia for this sound is in IpTer *kharr–kharr*; Itkonen 1958). The word is Finno-Ugric, and e.g. related to words in Khanty and Mansi with clear shamanistic connotations (Collinder 1977, 96).

As these two words are in all probability indigenous, they were used during the time of the old religion, and then, possibly in the shamanistic context.

There are, to be sure, many other nouns and verbs that denote different activities of and circumstances connected with the *noai'de*. For some this is their primary sense (a few examples are given under *a* below), while others are only attested with a connotation connected with *noai'de* in one or two of the dialects (*b* below).

<sup>7</sup> Prof. Lars-Gunnar Larsson has informed me that the capercaillie, during a certain part of its courting is blind and deaf, i.e. in a state of ἔκστασις!

(a) In Wefsen (IpS) a word *västies* means 'evil, enchanting' according to Lagercrantz (Lagercrantz 1939), and from Tysfjord (IpL) he has recorded *kanna*, translated as 'magic power', borrowed from Norwegian *gand* (Qvigstad 1893, 164).

Another Nordic loan-word (Qvigstad 1893, 128) is *tii'dâ* 'magic act, sorcery, superstitious practice' (Arjeplog, Nesseby) with derivations such as *tii'dit* 'undertake magic acts, conjure' (Nesseby), *tii'distâllât* 'undertake magic acts, conjure' (Arjeplog) (Lagercrantz 1939) and *tii'dâstâllât* 'divine with the help of signs, practise superstition, be superstitious' (Grundström 1946–54).

In IpN one finds *gæi'det* '(supernaturally) make invisible or cause to assume the appearance of something else (by bewitching the sight)' (Nielsen 1932–38), 'bewitch, make invisible through a sorcery' (Nesseby) (Lagercrantz 1939) and *juovsâtit* 'through a sorcery bring back, gather and let return to the possessor' (Lagercrantz 1939; Nielsen 1932–38). A causal informant from Polmak translates the last word as 'employ magic to make wild reindeer assemble and come to the place where one is lying asleep oneself (of *noai'de* in old days; [...])' (Nielsen 1932–38), and in IpTer *pâlledit* 'participate/co-operate in enchanting songs ("while the sorcerer hums in ecstasy— *kikka*—, his assistants reiterate and beat the sorcerer with the flat of the hand on the back of his neck")' (Itkonen 1958).

(b) The second category, words with (local) connotations that denote activities and characteristics of the *noai'de*, but otherwise have other and more neutral meanings, could be exemplified by some IpC words.

The teeth were important as a sign of the power of the *noai'de*, and it is therefore rather natural that *bânētuvvât* in IpN besides 'become toothless' also means 'lose the power to practise sorcery, magic' and consequently *bânētæbmě* 'toothless' has the subordinate sense 'who has lost the power to practise sorcery, magic' (Nielsen & Nesheim 1962–69, 5, 109).

The word *borrât* 'eat; bite' is, as is already known from Olsen (Olsen [after 1715] 1910, 96), used when someone kills by sorcery and the strongest *noai'de*'s were called *borâ-noai'de* 'eating-*noai'de*' (e.g. according to Qvigstads' informant J. J. Aikio [born in Inari in 1855], Qvigstad 1927, 440; cf. 3.2 below). This word, too, shows the significance of the teeth.<sup>8</sup>

In Central Saami dialects the Nordic loan-word *goan'stâ* (Qvigstad 1893, 174; cf. Swedish *konst*) besides 'art' also means 'art of magic' (Nielsen 1932–38, Grundström 1946–54).

<sup>8</sup> A comparison between these last words and *kuopas* (2.3.2 above) gives the opportunity to pose the question of differences between the sexes, as it seems as though men should be young (still have their teeth) but women (if the proposed etymology to *kuopas* is correct) old.



An Eastern Saami example is the Nordic loan-word *murret* (Qvigstad 1893, 241; cf. Swedish *morra*) that in many dialects has the same meaning as in the Nordic languages ('growl'), but from Pasvik it is recorded as 'hum (sorcerer in his sleep)' (Itkonen 1958).

Finally, let us turn to some examples from the dialect in Lyngen. These words were recorded by Eliel Lagercrantz when he investigated the dialect in November 1919 and during the autumn of 1920 (Lagercrantz 1939, 1201).

An example of a word which in other dialects has a more neutral meaning, but here has a special sense is the derivation *juoigâstit* (of *juoi* 'gât' 'sing in the Lapp style', Nielsen 1932–38) that is translated 'bewitch'.

Loans from Norwegian are e.g. *lapmat* and *mânidit*. *Lapmat* denotes the motion of the blood of the sorcerer, which moves around the body of the enchanted man, and the passive derivation *labmujuvvot* means 'bewitch'. *Mânidit* 'affect through sorcery' and the derivations *mânidæd' d' i* 'sorcerer, that through sorcery and magic acts drives away diseases etc.', *mâni-dæpmi* 'sorcery, magic chasing away', *mânidahtit* 'drive away through sorcery' and *mânidahtihahti* 'possible to affect through sorcery' have been borrowed with Finnish *manata* 'call forth, conjure up (spirits)' as intermediary (Lagercrantz 1939; Qvigstad 1893, 204, 231; cf. Norwegian *kluma* and *mana*).

Other words from Lyngen are e.g. *pijehakat* 'sorcery', *påjjidit* 'caused by sorcery', *tajka* 'sorcery, magic act' and *tajkkastallat* 'conjure' (Lagercrantz 1939).

#### 2.4. Some concluding remarks

The words that have been used here to illustrate the contents of the shamanistic and postshamanistic terminologies in Saami are only examples from some parts of the terminologies and represent words for the shaman/diviner and his activities. The material is, because of the different sources, not uniform. Much less is known about shamanistic than about postshamanistic terms, and the dominance of Northern Saami material is not solely due to a greater abundance of terms in those dialects (although that really seems to be one of the reasons). It is accordingly slightly hazardous to draw conclusions. Well aware of the fact that a more extensive examination could give other results, I think that it is at least possible to gather three tendencies from the material:

1. There seem to be great regional differences in the postshamanistic terminologies, with various words for e.g. types of diviners in different regions, but we cannot from this conclude that there were similar differences during shamanistic times.

2. Nordic loan-words are most common in Northern Saami, a tendency

well known also for other word-categories and other cultural traits. This region seems to have been an important area for cultural contacts and innovations.

3. Words used in the shamanistic terminologies proper (denoting the shaman and his ecstasy) are inherited to a greater extent than words used in the postshamanistic terminologies (that denote the diviner and his practices).

Indeed, the lexicon of a language is never static, but undergoes continual changes. Old words go out of fashion and new words, derivations and compositions, borrowings and translation loans, come into vogue. A point that should be born in mind when one is considering loan-words is that the loan of a word does not necessarily mean that the phenomenon the word denotes has also been borrowed. Reasonings based on loan-words cannot be used in isolation as criteria for cultural borrowings, but must be supplemented by other arguments. That the terminology of magic in Saami to a great extent is borrowed, does not necessarily mean that magic as such is also borrowed, although separate techniques may have been borrowed together with the words that denote them.

### 3. Terminologies

So far, we have looked only at the words occurring in the Saami shamanistic and postshamanistic terminologies from the point of view of singular words. It is now time, however, to discuss some examples of terminologies. It is worth observing at this point that there are no presentations of terminologies in the older sources, if we disregard Leem's distinction between *noai'de* and *judakas/juraak* or Skanke's between *noai'de* and *guaps* (cf. 2.1 above). The authors of the written sources *did* know about different types of *noai'de*'s but have nothing to say about the words used for the different types; that there were lesser and stronger ones was known by Hans Skanke (Skanke [1728] 1945, 207f.) and Jens Kildal (Kildal [1730] 1945, 136–140), and Skanke (Skanke [1728] 1945, 208) states that "the Lapps were of the opinion that there were grades in the perfection of the *noai'de*'s". The terminologies of other peoples in northern Eurasia discussed by Bäckman (Bäckman 1978, 62–67) are then only comparable to the postshamanistic terminologies in Saami, as we know them from the later sources. The problems for the study of Saami shamanism that these changes of meaning imply, have, as I have already stated, been to a great extent overlooked in the study of Saami religion.

I have chosen three examples of terminologies where *noai'de* occurs in a postshamanistic context, i.e. in connection with words denoting other types

- i. sorcerer
- ii. used the drum, an ecstatic
- iii. name related to the name of a god

	i	ii	iii
niei'te	+	0	-
kiemdesniei'te	+	+	-
kāirve	+	0	+

Fig. 1.

of 'sorcerers', 'diviners' etc. The examples are from Yokanga (IpTer), Kautokeino (IpN) and Gällivare (IpL).

### 3.1. Yokanga, 1914 (Ter Saami)

During his journey in the Kola Peninsula in 1914, Toivo I. Itkonen collected Ter Saami words in Yokanga for two weeks in July (Itkonen 1958, xv-xvi). Among them there are three words which in Finnish are translated as *noita*, the Finnish equivalent to Saami *noai'de*: *niei'te*, *kiemdesniei'te* and *kāirve*. The differences between the words are, according to Itkonen's translations, that *niei'te* (= *noai'de*) means 'sorcerer', *kiemdesniei'te* 'drum-, big, ecstatic sorcerer' (*kiemdes* is the Ter Saami word for the Saami drum), and *kāirve* is connected with the god *Kārva*, but also used as invective. Although it is a little uncertain, as the information is rather summary, the differences in sense between these words could be presented in a table such as Fig. 1.<sup>9</sup>

It is unknown whether there were other words for 'sorcerer' in this dialect, but these three words provide, after all, an idea of distinctions that were made.

### 3.2. Kautokeino, mid-19th century (Northern Saami)

After the revolt in Kautokeino in November 1852, the eighteen-year-old Lars Jacobsen Hætta (1834-1897), one of the leaders, was imprisoned and brought to the Akershus fortress outside Kristiania. During his time in gaol he wrote an account of the religious and moral conditions in Kautokeino before the Læstadian revival, devoting one section to a presentation of different types of *noai'de*'s. One could of course question whether the young Hætta had a full knowledge of the subject, but his text shows that he in spite of his youth, had a clear comprehension of the meaning of at least some words denoting different *noai'de*'s.

<sup>9</sup> The tables and graphic representations have been inspired by the reading of Staib 1980. In the tables + means 'yes', - 'no' and 0 'no information available'.

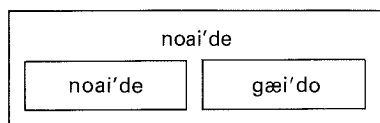


Fig. 2.

- i. could do evil to persons and things
- ii. could kill
- iii. diverted evil of other *noai'de*'s

	i	ii	iii
noai'de	+	0	0
borânoai'de	+	+	0
guwlar	+	-	0
juovsâhæg'gje	0	0	+
gæi'do	-	0	0

Fig. 3.

First, he distinguishes between two main types: *noai'de* and *gæi'do* (Hætta [about 1860] 1982, 16). The word *noai'de* is used both as a comprehensive conception and as the name of one of the types. In a graphic representation this would be as in Fig. 2.

The main difference between the two types was, according to Hætta, that a *noai'de* could do evil to another person, something that a *gæi'do* could not. But the *gæi'do*'s could perform wonders. "They could change themselves into animals or landareas, take burning coals in the fist, and rub them into scraps in the palms of the hands without burning their hands etc." (Hætta [about 1860] 1982, 19). Hætta even mentions that a chemist and druggist that came to the Finnmark was regarded as a kind of *gæi'do* and consequently called *stuorâ-* or *oai'vê-gæi'do* 'the big or principal *gæi'do*' (Hætta [about 1860] 1982, 20).

The *noai'de*'s, on the other hand, could do evil, and the strongest of these could even make another person die and were called *bor're-* or *borâ-noai'de*'s 'eater- or eating-*noai'de*'s' while lesser ones, who could harm persons and property but not kill, were called *guwlar*'s or *goanstâ-šæg'gje*'s. A third group was according to Hætta the *juovsâhæg'gje*'s, who's task it was to divert the evil of other *noai'de*'s (Hætta [about 1860] 1982, 16f.).

The distinctions between the different types are thus, according to Hætta, due to their different attitudes to and capacities concerning *baha* 'evil'. The distinctive features of the meaning of these words could then be summarized as in Fig. 3, and in a graphic representation the relations between the terms could be sketched as in Fig. 4.

### 3.3. Gällivare, 1948 (Lule Saami)

A different character appears in the different types of lpL *nâi'tē* that Johan Fankki has presented in a manuscript entitled *Mui'htalus tâlutj nâitij pirra*

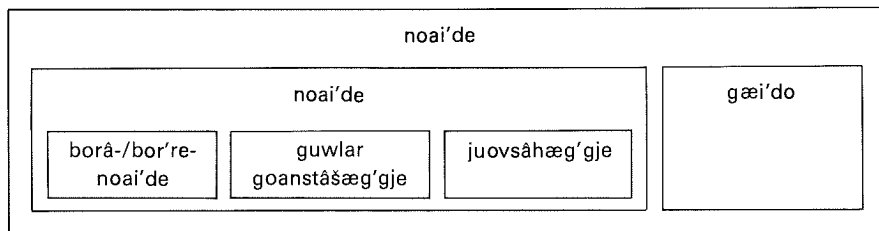


Fig. 4.

- i. wicked
- ii. frightened people with the help of the departed
- iii. committed to the devil

	i	ii	iii
<i>piedjē-nâi'tē</i>	+	+	-
<i>sâvvē-nâi'tē</i>	+	-	-
<i>'frimurar'-nâi'tē</i>	+	0	+
<i>tivvō-nâi'tē</i>	-	-	-

Fig. 5.

'A story about ancient *nâi'tē*'s', which is kept in the Dialect and Folklore Archives in Uppsala (acc. 19885). He distinguishes between four types.<sup>10</sup> The first, the *piedjē-nâi'tē* 'sender-*nâi'tē*', was according to Fankki the worst. When this type of *nâi'tē* became angry he negotiated with the dead at the cemetery and then sent their spirits to frighten people and drive them out of their mind (ULMA 19885, 1). The *sâvvē-nâi'tē* 'wisher-*nâi'tē*', on the other hand, did not go to the cemetery or use the departed, but delivered curses on those he became angry with. In other respects he was, as Fankki states, "nearly the same kind of *nâi'tē* as the *piedjē-nâi'tē*" (ULMA 19885, 2). A third type was called "*'frimurar'-nâi'tē* 'Freemason-*nâi'tē*' ('*frimurar*-' is Swedish). Fankki says that this *nâi'tē* was wicked and had committed himself to the devil so that he could not become free (ULMA 19885, 3).

The *tivvō-nâi'tē* 'a *nâi'tē* that put right' was different. His task was to divert those spirits of the departed that the *piedjē-nâi'tē* had set on a person and he could also put other things right (ULMA 19885, 1f.).

Here the distinctions between the two first types are due to different attitudes to the departed and the third had surrendered himself to the devil. The fourth one, in contrast to the other three, was not wicked. To summarise in a table, the result would be something as in Fig. 5.

<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that I present the four types in a different order to Fankki.

### 3.4. *Some concluding remarks*

If we compare the three examples, it is clear that the terminologies differ, but also that there are certain similarities. One obvious distinction drawn both in Kautokeino and in Gällivare is between the wicked and the good *noai'de*. This can be compared with Fellman's information that the Saamis divided their *noai'de*'s into two groups, those that released men from sorcery and those that used their magic to harm other people (Fellman 1906, 28 f.), a Saami equivalent to the distinction between the so called "black" and "white" shamans among some Siberian peoples (cf. Eliade 1972, 184–189).

Another similarity is that the different types are classified in terms of strength, although the criteria differ. The *noai'de* that is most powerful is in Yokanga the one who uses the drum to attain ecstasy, in Kautokeino the one who can kill and in Gällivare the *noai'de* who is assisted by the departed. It seems as though different elements of the shamanistic ideology, as it is known from the earlier sources, have been preserved in the different regions.

## 4. Change of reality and change of meaning

In the same way as the importance of spatial differentiation in the study of Saami culture has been stressed by Juha Pentikäinen (Pentikäinen 1973), it is also important to be conscious of temporal differentiation. The changes are not sudden, but gradual (although of varying rapidity at different periods and in different regions). In addition, the Saami religion that we meet in the sources from the 17th and 18th centuries was in the process of change. There is certainly no "pure" Saami religion to draw conclusions about from the available source material.

It is important, to emphasize both the difference between internal and external understandings and the change in the internal Saami understanding of the word *noai'de* (cf. Bäckman 1982, 122 f.):

In pre-Christian Saami society, where shamanism was an important (maybe the most important) element of religion, *noai'de* was the word used for the outstanding religious functionary, the shaman. The *noai'de* was, in a state of ecstasy, able to make journeys to distant places and to the worlds of the gods or the departed to achieve help in times of crisis; he was curer and diviner and could also function as sacrificial priest (Hultkrantz 1978).

From outside, on the other hand, even Saamis in general were looked upon with great suspicion and considered as 'sorcerers' (cf. Nesheim 1970 b). From the 18th century the sources began to focus on the *noai'de*,

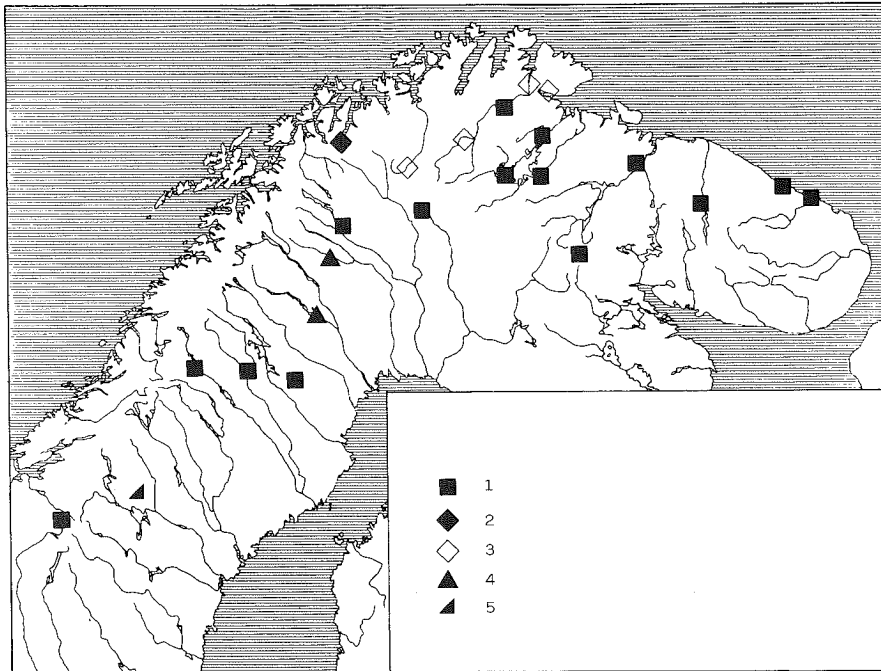


Fig. 6. Atlas Linguarum Europae. Premier questionnaire. Answers to question 503, la sorcière 'witch'. 1 = *noai'de* (cf. 2.3.1); 2 = *noai'dëak'ko* 'old *noai'de*-woman'; 3 = *noai'dëak'ka* '*noai'de*-wife'; 4 = *lpL kuopas* (cf. 2.3.2); 5 = *lpS ruvtege* 'female phantom, witch'.

Source: FU Archive of Atlas Linguarum Europae, Saami department.

whose activities were regarded as 'sorcery', whilst he himself was seen as the 'sorcerer' *par préférence*.

The other aspect is the change in the internal Saami view of the *noai'de*. The pre-Christian Saami religion, with its special anthropology and cosmology, was a necessary prerequisite for the *noai'de*. Without this context, the *noai'de* could not function and only some minor elements of curing and divining could survive the religious change. This change of reality changed the meaning of the word *noai'de* in Saami consciousness. The new meaning came in accordance with the outside understanding of the meaning of the word, and *noai'de* became, in the postshamanistic terminologies, one term among many others for 'diviner', 'sorcerer' etc.

This change of meaning has continued. An interesting example of the current state of this change is illustrated by the answers to question 503 (la sorcière 'witch') in the first questionnaire of Atlas Linguarum Europae. The

Saami correspondence to the word, explained as “a woman that practices a secret, unpermitted and dreadful magic, calling together the departed and the evil spirits” (Weijnen et al. 1976, 84), is in most of the dialects *noai'de* (cf. Fig. 6)! It seems then that this word, in the process of change of meaning, may now also be used for women.

There are also, however, examples of other changes in meaning. Lagercrantz (Lagercrantz 1939, 529) noted for instance that lpL *nâi'tē* as a secret word was used with the meaning ‘clock’ in Tysfjord in the phrase lpL *kallēn nâi'tē?* ‘what time [is it]?’.

Furthermore, and this is the crucial point, these changes of meaning involve risks for the student of both shamanism and postshamanism, as they bring into focus the question of the availability of different sources. The tendency for words used for phenomena in the old religion (and thereby in shamanism)—as far as we know them—to be Finno-Ugric and for words used in the magic of postshamanistic time to be loans is certainly a warning against drawing over hasty conclusions on Saami shamanism from later sources, but does not mean that we can be sure that there were no loanwords in the shamanistic terminologies. The negative evaluation of the *noai'de* in the earlier sources, makes it even more difficult to interpret the role of the *noai'de* in pre-Christian Saami religion.

Finally, there is the general problem of the relation between the (religious) terminology of shamanism and the (magic) terminology of postshamanism.<sup>11</sup> I have stressed the religious roles of the *noai'de* as shaman in contrast with the *noai'de* as diviner in the magic of postshamanism, and, in a way, the word *noai'de* may be said to bridge the gap between religion and magic, as it is found in both areas. The terms of *noai'dēvuottâ* are then, valuable not only in the study of Saami religious changes, but should also be taken into consideration in the discussion of the definitions of religion and magic.

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Archive of Atlas Linguarum Europae, Saami department.

<sup>11</sup> The best treatise on Saami magic is still in my opinion the surprisingly sympathetic chapter on this subject in Lars Levi Læstadius' *Fragmenter i Lappska mythologien* ('Fragments in Lappish mythology': Læstadius [1840–1845] 1958, 88–126).



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# Čuorvvot

BY NILLA OUTAKOSKI

The roots of the Laestadian movement have been sought by theological scholars principally in Lars Levi Laestadius' own experiences and in those religious movements that influenced and continue to influence people in the area of his ministry. Among such movements mention may be made of Readers, the Wiklund movement and Herrnhutism. The Saami aspect has entirely, or almost entirely, been neglected. Nevertheless, it would be natural to include this aspect in studying Laestadianism when examining the phenomena occurring within a certain people's region. To my way of thinking, it is even less defensible to overlook Laestadius' background with his Saami family connections, who for many generations worked as clergyman among the Saamis as religious officials, and his linguistic background and publications in the Lappish languages, one of which was his own creation, Kotalappish. Neither is it justified to neglect his penetrating studies of Saami traditions; his work *Fragmenter i Lappska Mythologien* (Laestadius 1959) is only a sample but also, far exceeding what is contained there, is the information found in his sermons. In the above work he notes that information about earthly spirits, fairies or whatever name is used of them were not unreliable: "Another event related to the same subject has been told me by reliable persons [...]" (Laestadius 1959, 63). Laestadius cannot be separated from his Saami background without the path to one aspect of his sermons, namely the Saami aspect, becoming obscured or entirely impossible to follow. Of his sermons 58, loosely speaking, contain some Saami tradition and of these the main part of six are based almost directly on Saami tradition.

Despite the fact that Lars Levi Laestadius was so familiar with Saami traditions, it seems clear that, in his revivalist movement, he was much more a receiver than a giver. A large part of the movement's arsenal was already known among followers of the movement or its successors who traded with the Saami peoples (Haetta & Baer 1958, 11), which was known and influenced the life of the nomadic Lapps of Karesuando and Kautokeino. Laestadius provided the movement with an ingenious combination of old and new and pierced the racial barrier that separated the Kota Saamis from those who were firmly settled and from new settlers. Were it not for the fact that the fell dwellers had their own revivalist movement, it would

be impossible to explain the phenomenon of how the Laestadian movement spread like wildfire first among the mountain Saamis and then among the new settlers, who were either Lapp-speaking or at least in part originally by occupation Saamis.

It can be agreed, however, that no revivalist movement can spread rapidly without earlier groundwork even if, as in this case, it is borne in mind the route of the nomadic trails from the Arctic Ocean to Finland and Sweden. Between Karesuando in Norway, Karesuando in Sweden and Enontekiö in Russia there existed very lively links based on history, religion, language and joint nomadic wandering (Qvigstad & Wiklund 1909, 54, 55, 64, 65). In addition to living together in the iron areas, nomadism continued jointly up to the borders of the iron areas (Qvigstad & Wiklund 1909, 90, 93). In addition to this, many of the Kautokeino Saamis passed the winter months in the south on both Russian and Swedish territory before the closing of the border (Qvigstad & Wiklund 1909, 519, 94).

Reference was made above to the roots of the Laestadian movement in an earlier local movement. Information about this movement is limited but reliable and even quite detailed. Lars Jakob Haetta (1834–1897), one of the leaders of the Kautokeino religious rising in 1852, wrote while in prison from 1856–1863 an important volume of memoirs, *Mui'talusat* (Haetta & Baer 1958). In it he tells about a religious movement that had flourished in the Kautokeino region quite a long time before, in about 1765, called the Čuorvvot, the shouting callers (Haetta & Baer 1958, 11 ff.). Even after the movement had passed its peak, its influence among the people was considerable and both the Čuorvvot themselves and those who had turned to a better life through their influence continued to make an impact on religious life about the turn of the century. Although Lars J. Haetta says that, from then on, “The darkness of sin began once more to rise [. . .]” and “drunkenness [. . .] rose to a peak” (Haetta & Baer 1958, 13), nevertheless it is clear that the temperance ideal maintained its position. A sign of this is the fact that in 1842 the elders of the parish proposed a ban on the transport of drink in their area and—admittedly after a demonstration—succeeded in putting it into practice in the spring of 1851 (Smith 1938, 212). What the origins and early stages of the Čuorvvot movement were we do not know nor does it fall within the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the Swedish clergy worked for a long time in the Kautokeino congregation and they were well acquainted with the Lapp language (Grape 1853, 89 f.).

Of interest in this connection is the fact that there are many similarities between the Čuorvvot and Laestadian movements both in external forms and also in focuses of attention in their published sermons. Mention has

already been made of temperance. The Čuorvvot were, like the Laestadians, externally vociferous preachers in all places (Haetta & Baer 1958, 11). Fits of swooning and visits to the other world (Haetta & Baer 1958, 10) also bear witness to, in the first case, links with the Laestadian movement and, in the latter, influences from the period of Lappish witchcraft. Both movements were critical of unconverted clergymen (Laestadius 1843; Haetta & Baer 1958, 11). But the most striking similarity was the absolute, public sermon of the law and repentance, criticism. It was present in Laestadius' sermons even before his conversion (Thulin 1949, 74) and had obviously reached the ears of those who set store by Čuorvvot ideals even from Kautokeino some tens of years for "it was their custom to spend each winter at Enontekiö in Swedish Lapland and attend divine service at Karesuando church throughout the winter" (Quigstad & Wiklund 1909, 91). For those who had been to Kautokeino Pajala church offered an alternative possibility (Qvigstad & Wiklund 1909, 58). The Karesuando Saamis, on the other hand, all spent the winter to the north of Pajala church (Qvigstad & Wiklund 1909, 159). Among the Saami populations of Kautokeino-Karesuando the Čuorvvot religious revivalist movement must obviously have had a strong impact several decades before Laestadius began his preaching. In the movement's external features and customs and ideals there were many similarities with corresponding characteristics of the early Laestadian movement. In looking for the roots of Laestadianism it is not possible to ignore the Čuorvvot and the groundwork it did when studying the reasons for the rapid spread of the Laestadian sermon and the Laestadian movement. The Čuorvvot, the shouting callers, the most Christian of the Saamis obviously smoothed the way for Laestadianism and made it possible for its wildfire spread.

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# Ethnoastronomical Perspectives on Saami Religion

BY BO SOMMARSTRÖM

... language is not (as is commonly thought) a system for transferring thoughts or meaning from one brain to another, but a system for organizing information and for releasing thoughts and responses in other organisms. The materials for whatever insights there are in this world exist in incipient form, frequently unformulated but nevertheless already there in man. One may help to release them in a variety of ways, but it is impossible to plant them in the minds of others. Experience does that for us instead—particularly overseas experience.

With these words of Edward T. Hall (Hall 1977, 57) I should like to stress the difficulty facing any scholar trying to interpret information given by Saamis about the pictures on some of their shaman drums (of which only some seventy have been preserved). Louise Bäckman has summarized the problems by emphasizing that “the Lapps found themselves in an emergency situation and in a time of upheaval” when they were asked for explanations of the drum pictures: “it is almost impossible for posterity to decide whether the answers really covered the ideas” (Bäckman 1975, 38 ff., 143). A number of the pictures seem to give expression to a syncretistic religion with features of Christianity (God, churches, priests, crosses) mixed with inherited Nordic and Saami aspects but these may also be seen as calculated elements in conformity with the extant pictures of secular authorities. Bo Lundmark, in his thesis on the Saamis’ concepts of the heavenly bodies—in spite of his awareness of the difficulties mentioned, has nevertheless managed to extract much that is new with the help *inter alia* of the drum pictures, thanks to the fact that he patiently and critically weighed the scanty and unreliable explanations of the pictures against other richer source material (Lundmark 1982, 39–46). In this context he has used statistical methods to support certain hypotheses, such as the one that the boat-like motif on the drums is connected with Saami offerings in birch-bark boats at Christmas time and more generally with the moon cult. Particularly interesting from my point of view is the fact that he also thinks in terms of positioning, i.e. emphasizing how significant it is that this boat symbol “occurs almost without exception [...] on the upper field of the drum”, which is important since “this positioning coincides remarkably clearly with the symbol of the moon on the drums where this is represent-

ed” (Lundmark 1982, 73). But unfortunately this material is still scanty and unreliable in terms of source criticism, as has been strongly emphasized by another recent Swedish scholar of Saami religion with his comment “Pictures without comment from the artist are fragile material, which can easily lead the interpreter dangerously astray”, an attitude that acquires particular force in that the statement is preceded by an unusually thorough and comprehensive review of the source material (Mebius 1968, 13).

Aware of these underlying difficulties in interpreting the pictures on the Saami shaman drums I have nonetheless tried to make progress, partly by extending the material to include the humble “handle drums” (Sommarström 1965; Sommarström 1969), partly by a phenomenological study of material comparable to the rhomb-cross sign of the sun on most of these drums (Sommarström 1967), and most recently (Sommarström 1985) through a preliminary account of my observation that at least some of the figures found in the space between the central sun sign and the edge on some fifty drumskins occupy positions *within certain quadrants* like similar figures in our traditional western star charts.

The present study continues the theme of the last named article by making a similar comparison of the pictures on the edge and the central figure complex (the sun sign). As the analysis has been extended, it has also become possible to adopt a new position with regard to the overall picture. This has led to observations that the *zodiac* can be discerned more or less clearly in the mass of constellations, that the positioning is decided by orientating the drum in relation to the height of the sun and thus to the Saamis’ calendar, to the seasons and to the cardinal points. It is moreover probable that the drums were connected, at least indirectly, to a commonly held idea about the natural elements and their connection with people’s basic temperaments. In other words: the similarity between the Saamis’ “magic drums” and the astrolabes found among the European neighbouring peoples has in my opinion been further reinforced, provided one means by this the *basic pattern* of the figures and their arrangement in a holistic system which we could regard as a psycho-cosmogram. It is even possible that the Saami shaman, *noai’de*, if he peered from underneath, through the semitransparent drumskin, could understand the horoscope diagram with its reversed constellations/signs as was used by his colleagues in the rest of Europe—as a theistically sanctioned cosmological projection, in contrast to the natural reproduction by the Saami drum of the apparent anti-clockwise rotation of the stars once every twenty-four hours.

As in the immediately previous article I must once again stop at a preliminary account of my analysis designed to show that the ethno-astronomical principle may be a justifiable assumption.





*Fig. 1. GUOB'DÁBÁK'TE, precipice named after the bowlshaped type of divination drum (guob'dá, here turned upside-down). It is situated on a mountain ridge between the Small Lule and the Pite rivers in the middle of Swedish Lapland. In front of it is Parka, a large reindeer herders' spring-and autumn (now also summer) camping ground for several herding units (sii'da). The last known shaman connected with this place was probably "Unnatj", whose real name was Pehr Olofsson Kukkuk (1770–1858). He made offerings on the top of the precipice. His drum is said to have been hidden in the crevice which is Y-shaped like the regular drumstick used by the Saamis; a pendant from this drum is said to have been found here (Pirak 1937, 167ff.). Lars Pirak, personal communication, 1986.) — This elevated place must have been a suitable point of departure for trance journeys to the *Upper Worlds*, for the benefit of the many families gathering here in ordinary reality. (Author's photo.)*

The prerequisite is a willingness to accept, that this may be one of many natural acculturation phenomena arising from contacts between the Saamis and their neighbours among the Nordic peoples, which at the time when the magic drums were collected (the 17th and 18th centuries) became greatly intensified for fiscal reasons and because of increased political interest in the Arctic area. Many details of the research data are still unclear and can doubtless be interpreted more successfully than I have managed, as anyone



Fig. 2. BASSEUK'SA, "Holy Doorway", or GANIUK'SA, "Spirit Doorway" as this 25 m wide cave entrance was called in olden times, is one of the most renowned sacred places of the Saami people. In the 17th century Saamis described the principal deity here as being a stone in the shape of a "large bird"; it is not known whether it was placed in this cavity, or below in a small cave where also other *siei'de* stones were offered to in later times with fat, bones and antlers of reindeer. A certain Biei've ("Sun") Niila, who may have been contemporary with the aforementioned Unnatj, also used to go to the left side of the opening and there whirl a bull-roarer around his head; the sound was "similar to bird wings" and returned as an echoe "after two hours" from the unknown depths of the interior (Lars Pirak, personal communication 1986; a relative of his has inherited the instrument). Maybe it was the *gadnihah* (sing. *ganii*), "the small people below", who gave the answers to Niila's questions. The precipice here is dangerous for men and reindeer who seasonally migrate along the Small Lule river. — The offerings and divinations here halfway up the Tarrekaise mountain seem to have been of a rather mundane character—*rites de passage* at a hole for shamanic journeys in the *Middle Worlds* where spirits appear close to the surface. (Author's photo.)



*Fig. 3. LÁHPE-GIER'GE, cracked stone containing a den, between the lakes of Tjeggelvas and Faleshaure in the Upper Pite river. The opening is only 55 cm high and inside is a hearth of stones. This den could have been used by "Spiro junior", a rich and parsimonious reindeer herder who moved between this region and Balvand in Norway around the beginning of this century. Hundred years before another rich reindeer herder, Liuta, and his wife used spirits shaped like *baer'jasah* (cloth pieces for smoke-openings of tents) to keep their herd together (Pirak 1937, 174 ff.; Lars Ranberg, about the probably identical figure Liuko, personal communication, 1960). A personality more closely bound to the Tjeggelvas region was a great shaman called Anna Vuolla, who must have lived a very long time ago, as his or her skeleton (which is androgyne) is lying under rocks on a small islet and not buried in a churchyard. One of the sacred places in the vicinity consists of a cracked cliff which possibly has been used for magnifying sound waves, from a shaman's iron staff with rings found here. — A crack in the surface of the Earth would certainly be a good place from which to start spiritual journeys to the *Underworlds*. (Author's photo.)*

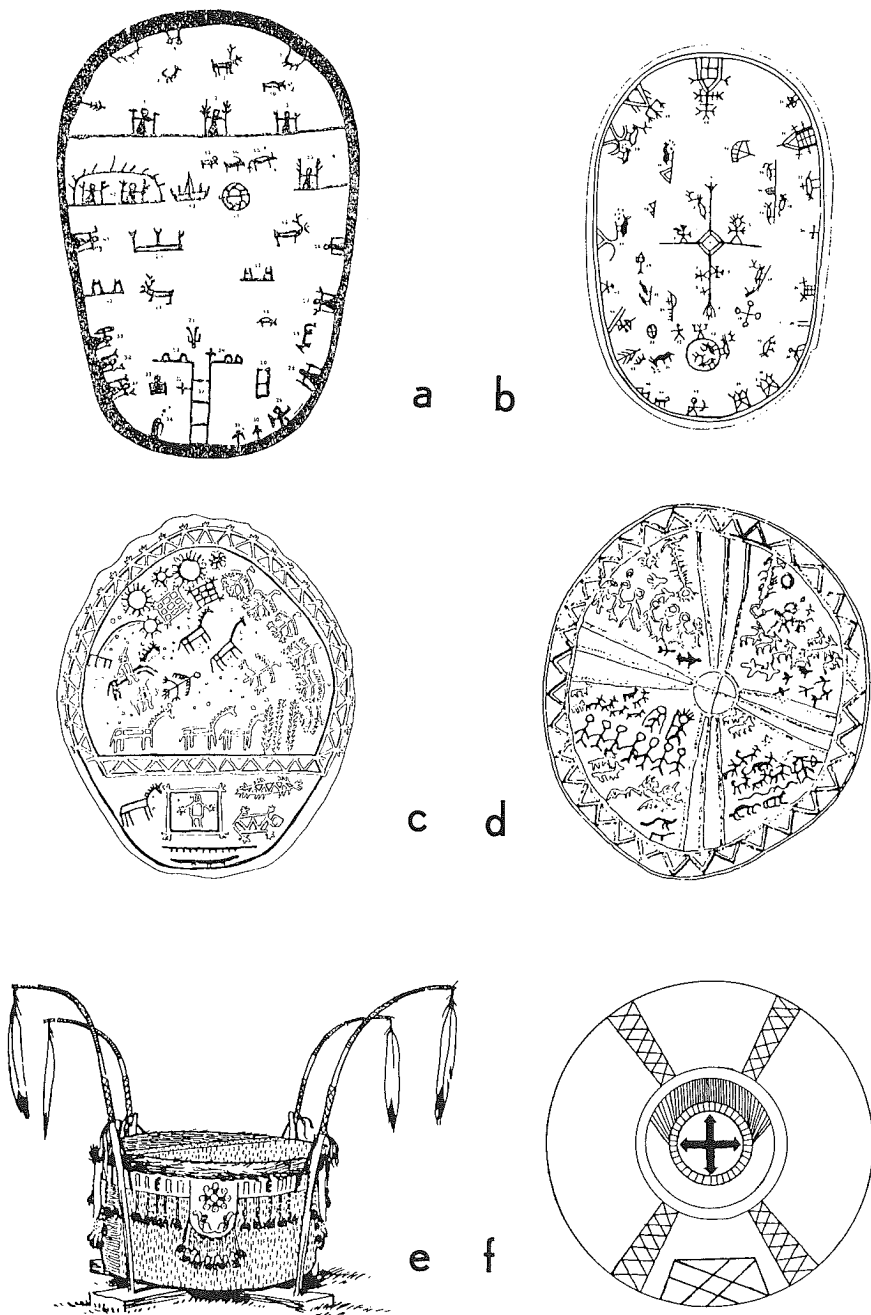


Fig. 4



*Fig. 5.* Siberian shaman with his drum in a tent, photographed by the Swedish explorer Sten Bergman during a visit 1922 to the Tungusic Lamut people in Kamchatka, Eastern Siberia. Note the fringed headdress which is like a blindfold keeping his eyes shut off for facilitating the state of trance. In a similar way the Saami shamans could have used the *rab'da*, a piece of cloth around their ordinary headdress, according to a note by H. V. Rosendahl in connection with his purchase of a magical, drum-like instrument 1890 (cf. Sommarström 1965, 125; Sommarström 1969, 94). (Photo: The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm.)

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*Fig. 4.* Vertical and horizontal projections of the “worlds” visited by shamans in states of trance. In order from top to bottom: Saami, Siberian and Indian drums. The left column shows the Upper, Middle and Lower realms, whereas the right one reflects the work of penetrating through the entrance to each of these major realms drumhead reproduced after Ivanov by Joan Halifax: Shaman. The Wounded Healer, shamanic journeys in general. (*a–b* after Manker 1950, drums 64 and 30; *c* a Teleut drumhead reproduced after Ivanov by Joan Halifax, Halifax 1982, Fig. p. 35; *d* a Beltir drum from Altai, after Ivanov, in Sommarström 1967, Fig. 2 b; *e* the Chippewa Dream Dance Drum in hanger (always placed with the middle stripe going east-west), after Mason 1938, Fig. p. 110; *f* a Beaver Indian shaman’s drum with “the world of four quarters and the two inner supernatural worlds”, after Ridington & Ridington 1970, 52, Fig. 1.)

may see by applying my tentative model chart (Fig. 12) to the raw material, the 72 drumskins with pictures, of which 50 comprise the main object of this study.

One argument in support of the ethno-astronomical interpretation is that it must have been an advantage for the noai'de when he told the fortunes of other Nordic people (who had a great and all-embracing respect for his knowledge) to share a common frame of reference with them, the heliocentric cosmogony which became increasingly established during the 17th century. This does not preclude other sorts of interpretations for the individual pictures but is concerned in principle only with the disposition of the picture surface, at least for some of the figures. In this light, one may easily compare expressions of syncretism between Christianity and other local religions and shamanistic concepts, for example the wool pictures of the present day Huichol Indians of Mexico (Negrin 1984; Hellbom 1984). In both cases the underlying visionary technique of the shaman is certainly not changed, but on the other hand changes are produced in the cosmological and religious system of ideas which he uses together with his "clients".

Neither does an ethnoastronomical explanatory model exclude a psychological hypothesis based, for example, on Jung's theory of archetypes (e.g. Mansfield 1981). This particular perspective is already embedded in the heart of astrology, not least in the classic astrological systems developed parallel with astronomy, which were gradually accepted by the Christian Church and used regularly in the immediate vicinity of the noai'des as late as the 17th century (e.g. Champeaux & Sterckx 1966; or Kenton 1974, 19f.).

### The solar system on the drumskin

If it is a correct interpretation that at least some of the figures which hover more or less freely between the centre and the edge of the 50 drums which have a round or (mostly) rhomb-cross sign in the middle represent constellations (Sommarström 1985), a natural follow-up question is whether the central figure is also astral, or represents the sun and the other planets. There are sufficient statements in the source material to confirm that the sign stands for the sun, Biei've, but unfortunately there are all too few explanations of the actual composition of the complex, which often comprises the true form: a rhombus (or in rare cases a circle) with normally cross shaped rays or arms to which are attached several anthropomorphic figures, reindeer or elks etc (Manker 1950).

The source material is of hardly any help at all in this respect. Randulf's interpretation is, in the light of our hypothesis the most interesting one for understanding the totality, and we therefore quote his description from 1723

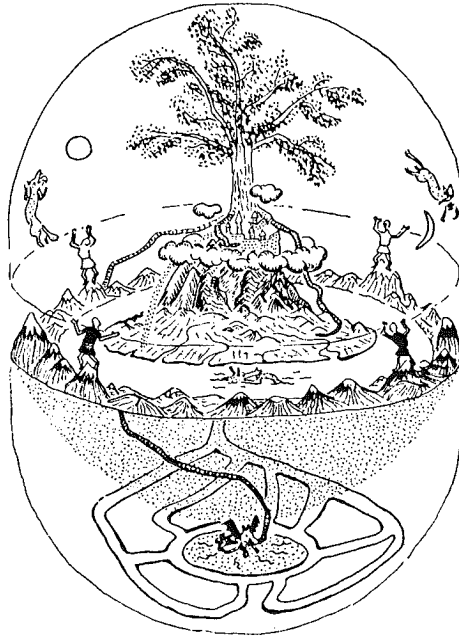
after Ernst Manker's translation in *Die lappische Zaubertrommel*: "Ist *Paive* oder die Sonne, welche sie, in Hinblick auf ihren Lauf rund um die 4 Teile der Welt sowohl als ein auf einer Ecke aufgestelltes als auch auf einem Hohlfuss stehendes Viereck abgebildet haben. Es geht ein Weg von der Erde [zur Sonne], um zu bezeichnen, dass ähnlich wie ihre Gebete auf der Erde diesen Weg entlang zur Sonne gehen, so auch das Licht, die Wärme und Fruchtbarkeit diesen Weg entlang hinunter zur Erde kommt, wenn *Waralden Olmay* oder Saturnus das zulässt. Insbesondere beten sie die Sonne an, wenn sie entweder auf der See sind, wie es die See-Lappen zu tun pflegen, und die Sonne untergeht, oder wenn sie allein, weit weg von den anderen im Hochgebirge sind und es dunkel wird, so dass sie nicht mehr sehen und den Weg zu ihren Rentieren oder Koten finden können. Dann fallen sie auf die Knie und bitten die Sonne um ihr Licht, und versprechen der Sonne ein Opfer, wenn sie ihnen helfen will, welches Versprechen sie auch unbedingt halten" (Manker 1950, 64).

This piece contains several noteworthy items of information of which I shall now only consider three. Firstly, the statement that the Saamis depicted the sun as square because of its (annual) course "round" the "4 continents" of the world; it is a view of the sun which is not merely the usual naturalistic one of the "planet"/the star "an sich", but rather a geometric symbol for its apparent cycle in relation to our earth. It is, in other words, identical amongst other things with the graphic representation found for example in the envelope-shaped horoscope picture occurring during the period in question (and incidentally right up to the 20th century), where the four corners of the rhombus indicate the four seasons or the intersections of the ecliptic seen in a time perspective (positions of the sun). The sides thus connect the "ascendent", the *Medium Coeli*, the "descendent" and the *Immun Coeli* to use the terminology of the astrologers. At the same time, however, Randulf speaks of the sun's more obvious properties of light, warmth and fertility, but the chronological aspect is the most prominent here and the one mentioned first. After this the relation of sun to earth is described as being dependent on *Waralden Olmay*, "the Lord of the World", who is also in this context equated with Saturn. But this planet god is not directly associated with the sign of the sun, and is not normally one of the figures on the latter, but stands outside. One cannot then, as a matter of course, see a resemblance to the envelope horoscopes, which are more schematically composed of 12 "houses" in the form of triangles shaped by the division of the basic rhombus into other quadrangles. For the shaman, however, the more important objects seem to have been moved towards the sign of the sun. Manker summarizes this in the following passage: "Die figuren auf den Strahlen des Sonnenzeichens weisen eine

Reihe mythologischer Gestalten und Motive auf, die in dieser oder jener Hinsicht mit der Sonne in Zusammenhang gesetzt worden sind. Dazu gehören die Wettergottheiten Horagalles (Tiermes), das Gewitter, und Bieggolmai, der Wind, die Jagdgottheiten Leibolmai mit oder ohne Wild (dieses Jagdmotiv wird manchmal nur durch eine Elch- oder Renfigur dargestellt), die drei "Feiertagsmänner", Ailesolmak, usw." Lundmark has also dealt with this central sign in "The sun on the drum" and also adopts the view that these individual parts represent nature gods (Lundmark 1982, 39 ff.). For my own part I should like to add the observation that the figures have been grouped on the arms of the cross *by category* in the following manner: the two weather gods, Tor (Horagalles), who is responsible for very bad weather (thunder and lightning), together with Bieggolmai, who represents wind, rain and snow, that is the more "normal" types of weather, balance each other on the ends of the horizontal arm; the mysterious, hitherto unexplained holiday figures (literally either "holy" or "saints") are positioned on the lower end of the vertical arm and the hunting symbols on the upper end. By analogy with the first-named pair one could interpret these as a pair of opposites, "Sundays and weekdays", holiday and working day, protected by the "holiday men" and the hunting god, respectively.

The information about sun worship provided by Randulf in this context does not really have any direct connection with the utilization of the drum. On the other hand, one may posit a link here with other source data from Saami drum owners who claimed that they needed their drums to find their way home to their tents (Sommarström 1967, 146), that the drums were their "compasses". It is not easy to understand what they might have meant, but of the possible interpretations I should like to suggest the following. In the absence of ordinary landmarks (streams, long branches or anthills on the south side) out at sea or on the bare mountain or in rain, fog or snow, perhaps beating the drum could send the owner into such a trance that he became extra sensitive to a hidden sun—or starlight or other signs of nature. Another explanation lying near to hand would be that beating the drum was a form of communication with other Saamis, the instrument being used as a telegraph with a radius of several miles (as far as I know, there is no evidence at all of such a function, which is otherwise well known e.g. in Africa). A third possibility could have been to use the surface picture of the drum as a simple yet adequate *astrolabe*, which it resembles when one combines the signs of the zodiac and other constellations with indications of time and space: the hours of the day, the four cardinal points. I shall attempt below to make such an interpretation sound feasible, but I should first like to comment on the sign of the sun in another perspective.





*Fig. 6. YGGDRASIL, the old Nordic World Tree, an Ash. This symbol of the living Universe unifies the “worlds” of Asgard, Midgard and Niflheim, each with three sub-realms, thus nine worlds in all. The sky is held up by four dwarfs, the sun and moon chased by two wolves, the earth encircled by the World Serpent biting its own tail, and one of the three roots gnawed by the dragon Nidhöggr in Niflheim, the Lower World. (After Branston 1980, 73, Fig. 8.) — Odin hung himself in Yggdrasil “in order to learn the secret of the runes of wisdom”; he has described this vision quest in a song in Havamal, which is part of Verse Edda. He there refers to shamanic experiences, for instance “I’m aware that I hung/on the windy tree,/swung there nights all of nine; / [. . . ]/ myself an offering to myself / [. . . ]/ down to the depths I peered/to snatch up runes/with a roaring screech/ and fall in a dizzied faint! / [. . . ]/ I grew and joyed in my growth;/from a word to a word/I was led to a word/from a deed to another deed” (Branston 1980, 115, after a translation by B. S. Phillpotts).*

Most of the central figures have the shape of a *tree* with the roots at the bottom, a crown at the top, and the horizontal arm representing its branches. At the same time, they have (with a few exceptions) a rhombus at the intersection between the two arms, or the trunk and the branches. This rhombus may be regarded as the cross-section of the tree trunk (or the pole). The sun sign in its entirety could therefore be seen as the *tree of the world viewed from above (or below!) and from the side*, not a particularly unusual way of drawing. It seems quite natural, moreover, to compare the

Tree of the World with the Nordic Yggdrasil and the cosmology connected with it, which has perhaps influenced Saami religion in other respects (see e.g. Reuterskiöld 1928), at least secondarily as Karsten has claimed (particularly with regard to the thunder god, Thor among the Nordic peoples, Horagalles i.e. old man Thor among the Saamis, Karsten 1952, 34ff.). It is in any case remarkable to find the following links between the Saami drum pictures and the mythological figures of the Viking period (e.g. Branston 1980, 76f.; Brate, Noreen and Wisén in *Nordisk familjebok* 1904–22).

1. *The tree as centre of the world and principle of organization*: the square cross tree in c. 50 of the 72 (73) extant drums and the world tree Yggdrasil (or Läräd) of the Nordic peoples with branches which “spread far and wide over every land” (Branston 1980, 80); Roger Cook is one of many scholars who has combined ideas of the world tree and similar Axis Mundi concepts, for example in the form of a diagram of the mandala type (Cook 1974, 10, fig.) The tree or the pole as a symbol of the cosmic centre is often connected with the Pole star, around which the stars rotate once every twenty-four hours.

2. *Three goddesses of destiny at the roots of the tree*: Sarakka, Juksakka and Uksakka, the three helpers in childbirth, appear as border figures at the bottom of the lower right quadrant of the drumskin at the base of the rhomb-tree; they correspond to the three “Norns who dwell round the Well of Urd” according to *Völuspá*, who explains that they “every day take of the water of the well and sprinkle it over the Ash to prevent its limbs from withering or rotting”—their names are Urd, Verdandi and Skuld.

3. *Three holy figures of the underworld*: 3 Ailekes, “Holy-day people” or “Holy ones”, who stand by the lower part of the rhomb-cross tree, normally two on one side and one on the other; similarly, on the lower side of the tree, apparently at three different levels and in the underworld, there are also in Nordic mythology three beings—they are each rulers of a spring: Urd over the spring of Urdar in a world of gods under one of Yggdrasil’s roots (Urd, the personification of fate, is at the same time the chief of the three Norns mentioned above), and then Mimer, the personification of Memory, over the spring bearing his name, under another of the tree’s roots in the land of giants, and Heli at the Hvergelmer spring in the kingdom of the dead, Niflheim, under the third root, furthest down in the underworld with the dragon Nidhögg gnawing at its root.

4. *The close relation between the tree and birds*: the thick lines on the right side of the drumskin may represent the Milky Way and the Saamis—among other names—have called this Lodderaddares, “the bird path”; the Nordic myths relate that the two original swans were given life at the spring of Urdar under Yggdrasil, and there is also an account of “an eagle roosting

in the boughs of the Ash Tree, wise beyond all knowing, and between his eyes sits the hawk called Vedrfölnir"; both the Saami and the Nordic versions agree very well with the fact that the Eagle and Swan constellations are situated in the Milky Way near the centre of the Northern firmament—moreover perhaps the Nordic peoples were referring to the Milky Way when, speaking of Yggdrasil, they said "on the side it rots".

5. *Snake creatures* to the left of centre: a number of drumskins have zig-zag figures on this side, either above or below the arm of the cross there, i.e. relatively near the rhomb-cross tree; the Nordic myth, as we have said, mentions the dragon Nidhögg, "the Dread Biter", as the monster that gnaws Yggdrasil's third root deepest down in the underworld, in a nest of snakes and moreover that "A squirrel, by name Ratatoskr, darts up and down about the tree bearing spiteful tales between the eagle and the Nidhoggr"; star charts show a veritable nest of snake-like beings in the corresponding place: the constellation of the Dragon, the serpent with the Serpent-bearer, the Hydra and possibly also the Unicorn.

6. *Deer on trunk and branches*: one or more reindeer or elks stand on the horizontal and/or vertical parts of the rhomb-cross tree, and sometimes next to it "in a free state"; Snorri Sturluson describes how "Four stags browse over the branches of the Ash and nibble at the bark"; the pictures of quadrupeds on the star chart may also be considered to lie behind this, particularly the animal pulling the Chariot (Auriga).

7. *The tree, the goat and the deer, together with the god of death*: on the right side of the drumskin on the "bird path" (the Milky Way) there stand in several cases a goat and one or more reindeer and just by them is a horseman (Rota, the god of death, who has been associated with Odin) who takes the souls to Jabme-aivo, the kingdom of death, over a bridge; this corresponds to the Nordic myth about a goat "Heidrun who stands on the hall roof/of Odin/ and browses Laeradi's (Yggdrasil's) branches whilst the deer Eiktyrner does the same"; on the right-hand side of the Pole star we find Capricorn, Aries and Pegasus, the latter identifiable with Odin and Rota (cf. Branston 1980, 80; Karsten 1952, 65; Sommarström 1985, 150).

8. *Bridge of death*: the above-mentioned bridge, over which both the Saami and the Nordic death gods carry the departed to the realm of the dead (on Odin's part the more "heavenly" Valhalla for those who have fallen in combat); the Nordic peoples had a name for this road or bridge, Bifröst, over which the gods rode every day to the spring of Urdar to hold council in heaven under the third root of the ash. But the thunder god Thor comes from another direction and has to wade over several rivers to get to the same council (e.g. Branston 1980, 85). If one tries to find constellations that are models for the death god and the bridge, Pegasus—as has already

been suggested—lies close at hand, as does the line connecting the two Pisces, or the jet of water from Aquarius's pitcher, to exemplify ideas rather like that of the bridge (that Thor, like the constellation of Hercules, happens to be on the opposite side of the firmament supports this comparison to a certain extent).

The purpose of the above summary presentation of the similarities between the central signs on the drums and the myths around the world tree of the Nordic peoples is, as I have suggested, to indicate the possibility of some influence of certain nuances, perhaps in both directions. The subject is far too broad and intricate (cf. e.g. Eliade 1964, Ch. 8, especially 269 ff.) to allow for more than a brief sketch to show that it is certainly not yet exhausted, in spite of many attempts, more recently including those of Lundmark. Likewise it is probable that one can extract more from circum-polar comparisons, when the contents of the Saami drum pictures have been further scrutinized.<sup>1\*</sup>

There is much to suggest, however, that the cross tree on the Saami drums may be understood in the same way that Branston has interpreted the Nordic Yggdrasil, the guardian tree of all the world (Branston 1980, 81 ff.): "The most important clue here seems to be that connecting Yggdrasil with childbirth, with the creation of life, especially when we remember that Yggdrasil is an ash and the first man (who came from a tree) was called Ash. Yggdrasil then is a symbol of generation [...]". This power has the result that "the nine worlds", the Cosmos, will remain until the day when the tree falls and everything ends (Ragnarök)—among the Nordic peoples the reason for this was a "secret"; among the Saamis it was explained by Favna (the star god, Arcturus) with his bow (the Plough or Bear, presumably the Great Bear) shooting down the Pole star, according to the Saami Johan Turi in his book *Muittalus samid birra*, 1910 (reviewed in Sommarström 1967, 138). But the Tree is not only the Tree of Life but also the Tree of Knowledge, particularly knowledge of magic skills. Odin hung in Yggdrasil for nine days as a "sacrifice to himself" to learn the wisdom of the secret runes, until he finally fell into a trance; Yggdrasil was also called Odin's Horse and Mimer's tree, a relationship described in the myth by Odin sacrificing one of his eyes at Mimer's spring under the tree to attain

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<sup>1</sup> Ernst Emsheimer and Krister Lindén have kept me continuously informed about studies in Russian on Siberian shaman drums and cosmology. I have been convinced that this comparative material could be analyzed pretty much along the same lines as I have now used for the Saami drums.

\* The congress on "Shamanism in Eurasia" held 1981 in Budapest, with a report three years later, is of a special interest for the theme of my present article (finished before I could see that report, except Andreas Lommel's review in *Anthropos* 1985. Lommel 1985, 262 ff.). In his

contribution "Cosmic Models and Siberian Shaman Drums" J. Jankovics interprets the paintings on the Uralic peoples' drums as "star maps" (an idea that he had presented already in 1979 in a symposium article) Jankovics 1984. This concept, and his observation that the more southern Altai peoples' drums even show zodiac constellations, are close parallels to my own interpretations of the figures on the Saami drums (first forwarded in 1980 at a symposium on "Pre-Christian Saami Religion" in Stockholm, later published in 1985, and then continued with a second part, first read in a tentative form at another symposium on Saami religion in Åbo 1984, a final version of which resulted in the present article during 1985). A third major similarity is that the central cross-figure on southern drums is related to the quaternary principle based on the calendar (solstices and equinoxes) as well as on the cardinal points. The fact that some Siberian drums have paintings for temporary tasks on the upper side of the drumskin, and a representation of the universe painted on the underside, may account for clockwise or anti-clockwise arrangements of zodiac constellations—see our Figs. 8 and 12, and main text pp. 212, 235. Jankovics himself makes similar comparisons between Siberian and Saami drums regarding their interpretations (e.g. 151 for astrology, 152 for drums as "compasses").

The paintings (and handles) of the "magic" drums can be used as keys for opening the doors to the basic structure of the cosmologies of shamans and their societies. With or without pictures, the drums are potential spirit power containers as well as consciousness transformers and vehicles for the shamanic journeys into other "worlds". When painted (permanently and/or temporarily), their pictures mirror or symbolize different sides of "reality", for instance astronomical or geographical perspectives, together with corresponding spiritual qualities. Being real symbols, the pictures had to be orientated in space and time according to ordinary conventions, as well as to the general belief system of each society.

However, the practical use of the pictures was different between the Saamis and the other Uralic peoples. The former let some kind of object move around on the vibrating skin and point out appropriate figures for fortune-telling and other kinds of divination. The latter played "pitch and toss" with the dipper-shaped drumstick thrown on the ground (a method of which the Saamis have had some reminiscences down to our times), without involving the figures on their drums directly.

For other purposes—far-seeing, time/space orientation, curing, sacrificing, witch-craft—the drums (with or without permanent and/or temporary pictures) were used extensively in both groups, but seemingly with some additional differences between the Saamis and other Uralic peoples respectively. Firstly, among the Saamis *many persons* "though not all use this drum for divination" (Schefferus 1956, 177, citing Samuel Rheen), so it seems as if there were more shamans with them than further East. However, according to another contemporary statement, a lot of these drummers were more like laymen and not really shamanic: "They do not have a noticeable power spirit ["spådomsanda", of their own] and cannot orally communicate with such, like others do, but a [non-personal] spirit "speaks" exclusively through his drum and shows the place, where he can obtain game and such things" (Schefferus 1956, 177, this time citing Nicolaus Andrae Lundius). These persons were rather *mediums* sensitive to influences from powers who made them operate by means of drumsticks and pointers. Is it a pure coincidence, that their drumsticks, as well as some of their pointers, are Y-shaped like the typical dowsing rod (the earliest Nordic references to such being from the 16th century)? Ordinary shamans (*noai'des*) did possess power spirits who could for instance be sent away (with the help of drumming) to find out "what happens to their wives, children and reindeer" irrespective of the distance to their home cots (Schefferus 1956, 174, after Lundius) or what happens at the market place in advance before they themselves arrive there (Schefferus 1956, 173). This disposition plus the mastering of his own personal spirits, and of spirits unconsciously used at divination by laymen, made such a person acknowledged as a "mountain lord" or "mountain king", i.e. a *noai'de* (Schefferus 1956, 173, after Lundius). Some specially gifted persons had such an intimate relationship with their power spirits, that they were not exclusively depending on drums (even if they possessed such), at least not for clairvoyance; "these are the most successful ones" (Schefferus 1956, 153, 173, referring to Johannes Jonae Tornaeus).

further magic knowledge. This has been linked with Odin's role as god of the Heavens, the Sun god; similar connections of tree/trance, tree/sun are found on the Saami magic drums with the rhomb- cross in the middle. The possible link is reinforced by the fact that the bark of the tree is used for the red colour for painting the drum figures, and that the wood for the drum must be taken from a tree which has grown "with the sun", and that the same anti-clockwise movement was required at least for certain hunting predictions when the pointer was started from the middle of the rhomb-cross tree (according to Rheen and Niurenus, quoted in Schefferus 1956, 174). Particularly Niurenus states clearly that the arms of the rhomb- cross show the four points of the compass "as a guide to the drummer and the hunter, where he should that day wend his way" and moreover what game he would manage to catch, when certain of the animal figures on the skin of the drum were indicated by the pointer.

The skin of the drum has, in other words, been *geographically orientated* with the help of the painted central sign, the rhomb- cross tree. But how? And in what way, then, is a possible projection of the firmament compatible with a map of orientation for the earth, where naturally a bear is a bear and not a constellation, and the remaining reality nearest human beings is seen quite clearly.

When the present study was begun (in 1980) and certain fairly vague resemblances between drum figures and a number of constellations appeared evident, it was necessary to test these assumptions by searching for a method with which to organize the mass of figures. I quite simply extended the arms of the rhomb- cross to the edge, upon which the whole picture surface became divided into four equally large fields. The quadrant system thus produced became the frame of reference to which the individual figures could be related, since one could now easily see in which quadrant (or at least pair of quadrants) they were mostly located. The positional tendencies could thus be observed and measured in relatively fixed numbers and when the frequencies were high there were grounds for comparing the relevant figure more closely with the corresponding constellation on a star chart. This was also done for some of the figures which occur "freely" on the drum skin between the edge and the central figure (Sommarström 1985). The corresponding analysis, although with different results, has now been completed for the complex of details on the central rhomb- cross sign, as follows below; after this the same method of study is applied to the figures around the edge before a total analysis can be made in an attempt to answer the questions outlined above.

The 41 drums with a central cross figure and the 9 examples with the T shaped division of the picture area (the latter with a less centrally placed

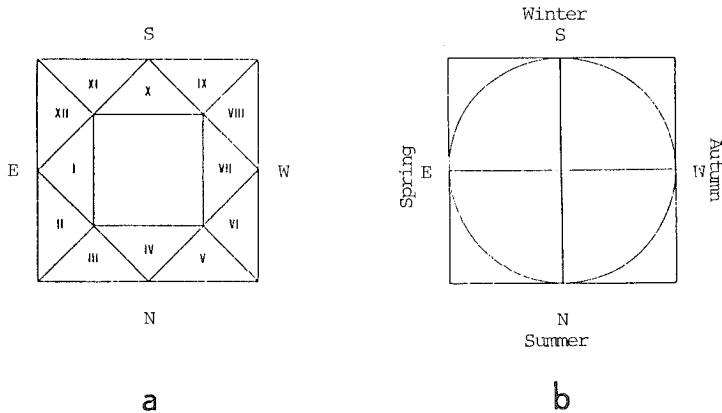


Fig. 7. Geometrical structures of macro-micro-cosmic relationships. *a* The traditional square “envelope” type of horoscope, consisting of a table with 12 “houses” or divisions of time for various human qualities and circumstances to be combined with the actual positions for sun, moon and the planets. *b* The quaternity principle, a symbol of wholeness as well as a way of showing mundane time-and-space orientation. The yearly course of the sun is represented by the crossed lines of the spring and autumn equinoxes and summer and winter solstices respectively. The high points of the seasons and the four cardinal points roughly coincide in this model which is also part of the astrological technics. Note the order of solstices/cardinal points, which is an astrological abstraction (as if seen “from above”), and reversed in comparison with “natural” astronomical views (as for instance in Figs. 12 and 13–18). Spring equinox, East, and the zodiac sign of Ram (Aries), all joined to the left, with the corresponding star constellation nearby. (After Schwabe 1951, Abb. 53 and 2.)

cross-like figure) all largely display the following more or less common features.

The middle part of the cross is shaped like a *rhombus* except in 8 cases (nos 2 and 50 with only a crosscut, and 6, 15, 16, 36, 51, 52 with a circle at the point of intersection); the figure moreover is a more or less *tree-like* cross with a *root* and *crown* (complete exceptions are 3, 12, 19, 29, 36, 49), and has *elks* or *reindeer*, *people* and *plants* in the rhombus and/or on the arms of the cross in varying numbers (with the possible exception of 36).

A *reindeer* occurs in 18 of the *rhombi*, *cross*= a human? figure appears in two rhombi (45,5) and in two circles (6, 51), a more anthropomorphically shaped *person* in the rhombus in no. 17, a *dot* in the rhombus (9) and in the circle (52), together with a unique rectangle with “horns” and a central *dot* inscribed in the rhombus of no. 19. It is more common that a *reindeer* or *elk* appear on one or more arms of the cross: single ones are found in 18

examples, 2 in 8 examples, 3 in 12, 4 on 2 drums, but they are missing in 7 or 8 examples (9, 36, 45, 5, 17, 47, 48, possibly 49, 50, 51, 52).

The human-like figures can be divided into two groups: those which stand on the three upper arms and those which have been designed in greater detail (in many cases with accessories), and those generally executed in more stereotype fashion on the lower arm, normally regarded and designated as a group. A single figure may be noted on 3 drums, 2 on c. 13 examples, 3 on about 18, 4 on roughly 7, 5 on 3, 7 on 2, and 16(!) on one example (no. 29) where all however consist of simple small crosses (except for one cross in the central rhombus and a three cross group on the lower arm). The group of several figures on the arm of the cr. pointing downwards is in several sources called *Ailesolmak*, "the Holy or Holy-day men", or the saints; they were regarded as protecting the weekends (Friday, Saturday and Sunday respectively). The figures are three in number in at least 26—i.e. about half of the cases, and this corresponds to standard source information that they should be three in number. In 7 cases there are only two figures, several cases are unclear and several lack this group of people on the lower arm (21, 32, 41, 45, 46, 154, 5, 17, 47, 49, 51, 52).

The *plants*, finally, are not so prominent as the other figures on the cross. They play the more subsidiary role of twig or staff in the hand of a human figure on the left-hand arm of the cross, or of projecting branch or top branch on the upper arm (where it moreover alternates with the rather similarly shaped elk's antlers or even a whole elk). In some examples (8, 11, 12) the crown of the tree has been topped by a building. No. 14 has, in the corresponding position, a figure which is difficult to interpret (see Manker 1950, 261, no. 14:4) but is perhaps influenced by the elk.

### The border figures

The number of figures beginning at the border line (which is heavily painted and often double) varies greatly, among other reasons because many of the figures have become partly or completely indistinct or perhaps obliterated (in his lengthy analysis of the drum pictures Manker has put question marks at the corresponding places on the drum skin). Some drums have anything up to 30 border figures, others have only one or a couple (remaining?) while most of them lie between these two extremes. Nevertheless, there are some drums with more common frequencies (29 of 50 drums with the central figure), and most of these are gathered in an area *between 14 and 19*: 4 examples have 14 border figures, 5 examples have 15, the same number 16 and also 5 examples have 19 border figures. No less than 7 drums have 18



figures, and 8 have 17 on the border. Other numbers of interest are 22 and 26 (on three drums each).

The general impression of the border figures is that they are fairly stereotype compared with the free figures between the border and the central figure. This impression is formed by the fact that when one compares the 50 examples in question, one soon notices a certain regularity in the positioning of the figure types; the actual depiction of these types is completed in a highly individual way, and it is therefore difficult to distinguish between, for example, houses, tents, turf-huts and altars and even churches. The latter are distinguished by one or more crosses but these crosses are also found with other figures, designated as graves or sacrificial altars (Manker 1950, 303, interpretation of 28:33), Saami deities (Manker 1950, 303, interpretation of 28:29) etc., a range that depends much on the fact that crosses also represent people.

One border figure which is nearly always easily recognizable, and which as a rule is restricted to the lower left-hand (3rd) quadrant, is the *njalla*, the meat store on a pole with climbing log leaning against the store. The "njalla" was and is a type of storehouse above all for meat, and it is placed on a pole so that the wolverine and other animals will not be able to get at the contents. Above all, the *njalla* at the spring and autumn home was filled with meat from the early reindeer slaughter before the rutting period in the latter part of September, so that there would be a reserve supply on returning the following spring—thus it was not necessary to carry meat from the winter's main slaughterings. The *njalla* is thus principally connected with the early autumn slaughter in *September* (Manker 1947, 157), and if this time link lies behind the positioning of the *njalla* figure, then it should be in the 3rd quadrant assuming that the curves on the right hand side of the majority of the drums correspond to the Milky Way, Johan Turi's "Bird Path" or Year mark, which would coincide with the monthly division on an ordinary star chart of the astrolabe type (e.g. Björn Hedvall's *Astrokarta*). This is also the case, as has already been stated, but it can be shown more clearly as follows: of at least 33 observable *njalla* figures on the 50 drums in question not less than 29 of them are in the 3rd quadrant (1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 16, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 154, 5, 17, 47). Three of these (11, 16, 32) actually have double figures, i.e. two *njallas*. Nr. 38 shows a person going up the steps on his way to the store itself. Two more *njallas* (13, 31) are on the border between the 3rd and 4th (upper) left quadrants, and only two deviate from the main position in the 3rd quadrant: in 34 the *njalla* is in the 4th and in 51 in the 2nd quadrant.

*Njalla* was also the name of one of the Saamis' own constellations, which was also called "Aaron's staff". It is mentioned in later times together with

the Milky Way (Dalvegäinos), the Plough/Bear (Sarva) and the Pleiades (Lovosj) as the most important constellations (Pettersson 1979, 84). At least the *njalla* among the border figures may be astral, provided that it really represents the *njalla* constellation, as well as the Milky Way, which is both a border figure and a figure in the central zone.

Two other constellations may also be distinguished as being particularly emphasized, in that they are relatively large and sometimes complicated, and by their positions at either end of a straight line through the middle of the rhomb-cross; this line corresponds to the line across the middle of the oval drum. When the drum is held horizontally, an often magnificent sacrificial platform with i.a. an elk and a bear appears at the "front" end. With the "Milky Way" on the right, this platform (there are several others) has a position corresponding to the constellation of Ara, "the altar", which is depicted as an altar for burnt sacrifices on old star charts (e.g. Apianus 1540, see Fig. 10). Its antipole and the opposite end of the central line is a figure, normally resembling a reindeer pen, a round enclosure with one or more reindeer inside. I have previously pointed out that it should in this case be a milking pen, where the reindeer cows were gathered at least once a day in former times, when the reindeer were either quite tame or were wild reindeer hunted or captured in pits amongst other places (Sommarström 1985, 152f.; cf. Manker 1950, 310). This figure on the drums has a position corresponding to that of Orion on the opposite half of the star chart; Orion is represented as hunter or warrior with a club and sword and three stars as a belt. Orion has been known from earliest times as a marker of the seasons, e.g. "[...] when Orion rose at dawn it was taken as a sign of approaching summer; in the evening, as a sign of winter and storms [...]" (Orion 1982, 583), together with the neighbouring Sirius. The myth of Orion played the role of a link between heaven and the underworld (cf. "the sign of the underworld", Manker 1950, 43: 583), between gods and mortals and between mortals themselves, in multifarious *rites de passage*. If the constellation is positioned behind the drum picture, which resembles an enclosure for milking the reindeer cows during the short summer period, then it is well-chosen as a mark for the summer solstice.

I will not consider any of the other figures in greater detail. It is, above all, important to see the border figures as a whole, together with the "freer" figures further in on the drumskin and the central complex of figures. It will be apparent that certain functions are common to the pictures on the edge and the "free" pictures, and that thus there may sometimes be overlaps (a typical example is "the Milky Way"). At the same time it seems that all the border figures nonetheless have a special function as a basis for computing time.

## The orientation of the magic drum

The starting point of the study was that the thick lines with figures, which in the drums with a rhomb- cross sign in the centre occur on the right-hand side in practically every case (according to Manker 1950), may correspond to our galaxy, the "Milky Way". If a number of the other drum figures are also connected with the star constellations, as we have tried to suggest above, it should be possible to use a magic drum of this kind purely practically as at least an approximate star chart or astrolabe (a star chart with an ecliptic with which at any given point of time one can read the position of the stars and planets in relation to the horizon).

Why should the shaman need to orientate his drum at all? The answer is that he had to co-ordinate his instrument as well as himself with "ordinary" reality before he could set out on journeys to the other "non-ordinary" reality (in Castaneda's terminology; see Harner 1983, who for his part prefers the terms Ordinary state of consciousness and Shamanistic state of consciousness; a survey of this is also given in Hultkrantz 1985, 511). Regardless of whether the shaman intends to make his way to the heavenly, earthly or subterranean sphere, he must begin from a place he himself has chosen as "anchored in reality"; it may vary but must be one which he "really" knows: for a heavenly journey it may for example be the smoke hole of his tent, or a tree-top, for an underground journey it may be a tree root or a hole in the ground, and for a spiritual excursion into "the real reality" on earth he must chose a starting point which is for him "suitably" high. (Almost anyone can experience this who has the opportunity to take part in so-called shamanistic exercises or genuine shaman journeys, according to Harner 1983, *inter alia*.)<sup>2</sup>

Before we proceed from the above assumptions to test the possible applicability of the Saami magic drums as astrolabes, some basic elements of astronomy and astrology should perhaps be introduced. Here I largely follow an account in Mann's standard work. "The conventional horoscope represents the elliptic and the 4 angles are called Ascendant, Midheaven-/Medium Coeli/, Descendant, and Lower Midheaven/Immun Coeli/ respectively." "The horoscope is always oriented with the ascendant (east) to the left and the descendant (west) to the right [. . .] South is at the top of the page, while north is at the bottom [. . .] The four cardinal points in the plane

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<sup>2</sup> Michael Harner once showed his copy of a Saami drum to a man, who belongs to one of the large North Saami kins. He turned the drum slowly, tapping different parts of the skin while listening attentively to the sounds. Then he said: "This is East". (Personal communication, June 1986.) Is this a matter of personal speculation by this modern Saami, or does this event reflect some sort of traditional knowledge?

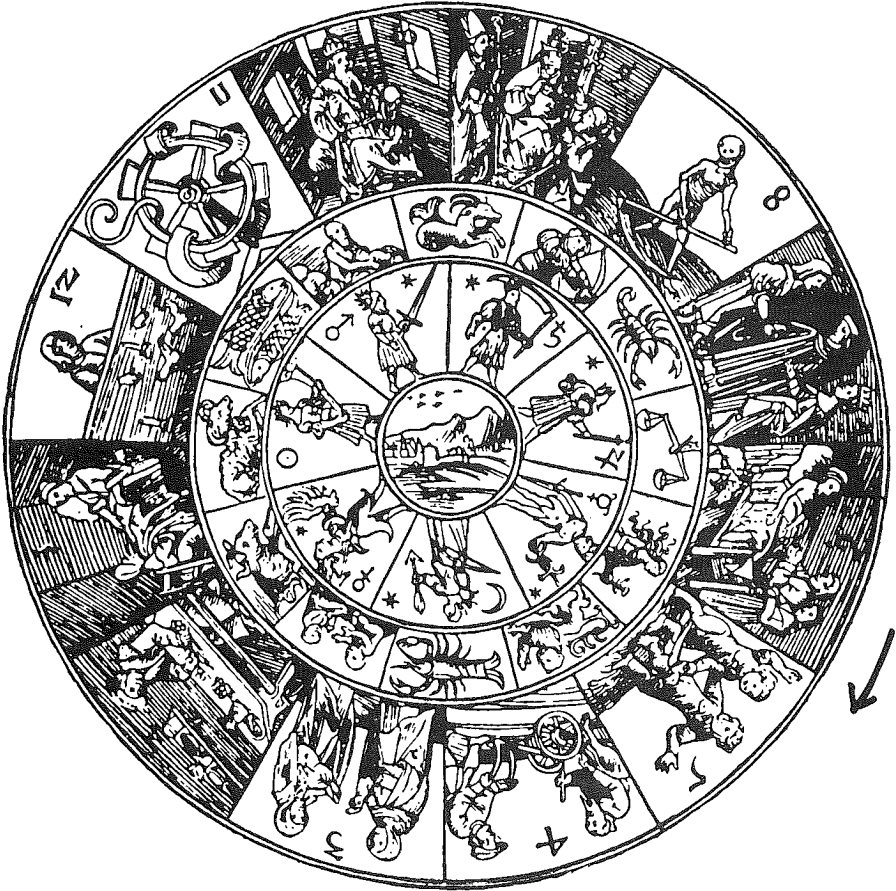


Fig. 8. Human activities "typical" for the 12 months and "houses" in combination with the 12 signs of the zodiac, and the 7 planets who govern the psyche of the individual. Note the clockwise direction of rotation, which is the rule for Western astrologers (cf. e.g. figs. 9 and 10). The Saami shamans' zodiac-like star constellations are set in a more "natural" counter-clockwise order as seen from the earth, according to our model chart (fig. 12) and its application on drums with central cross-design (figs. 13–18). (European woodcut, 1515; after Kenton 1974, Fig. 22.)

of the ecliptic are north, south, east and west points equivalent to  $0^\circ$  of the astrological signs Cancer, Capricorn, Aries (these last two interchanged by me for better accuracy) and Libra. There are correspondences between these two systems. The four cardinal points correspond to the four seasons and important hours of the daily cycle. The ascendant is equal to the vernal equinox and sunrise; the MC to the summer solstice and noon; the descend-

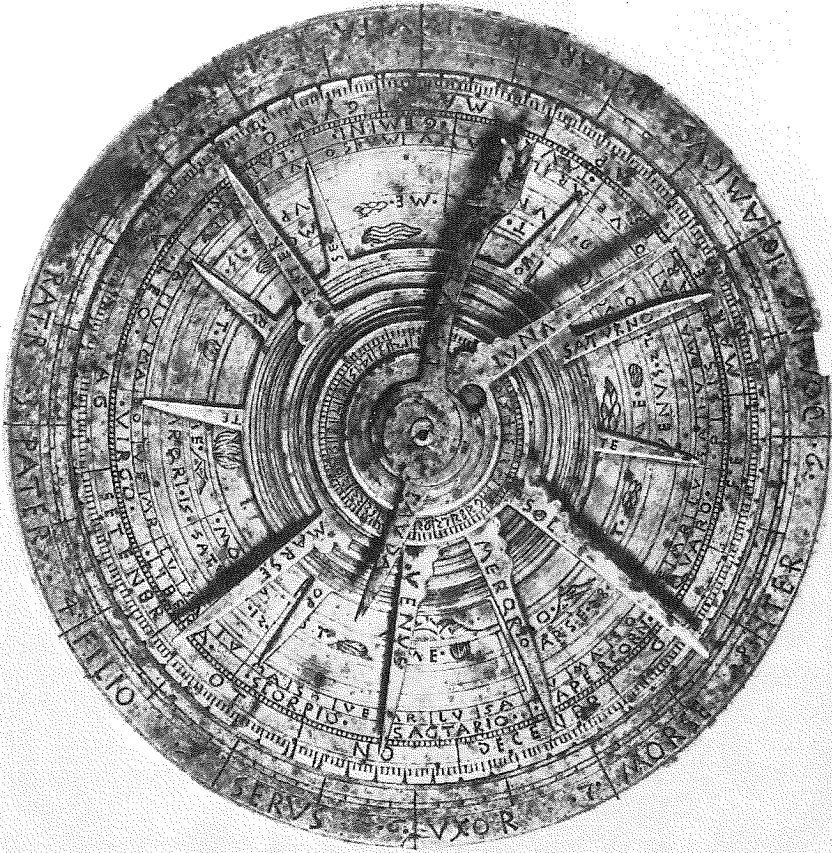


Fig. 9. Astrolabe of brass for “instant” horoscopes (European, c. 1450–1500). With this special type of astrolabe the medical doctors could quickly calculate the proper time for treatments. Each movable arm represents a planet (including the “dragon’s head and tail”) and can be turned to point at the relevant zodiac position. The outermost circle contains the 12 “houses”. (Kenton 1974, Fig. 52.)

ant to the autumnal equinox and sunset; and the IC to the winter solstice and midnight” (Mann 1979, 60 f.).

A. T. Mann makes the following comment on the four part relationships in time and space: “The combined division of the zodiac by the ASC-DES and MC-IC axes produces a division by four, a *quaternity*. The quaternity is extremely important in psychology, religion, astrology and mathematics.” And he cites Carl Jung’s views in *Psychology and Religion* (p. 167): “The quaternity is an archetype of almost universal occurrence” and that it



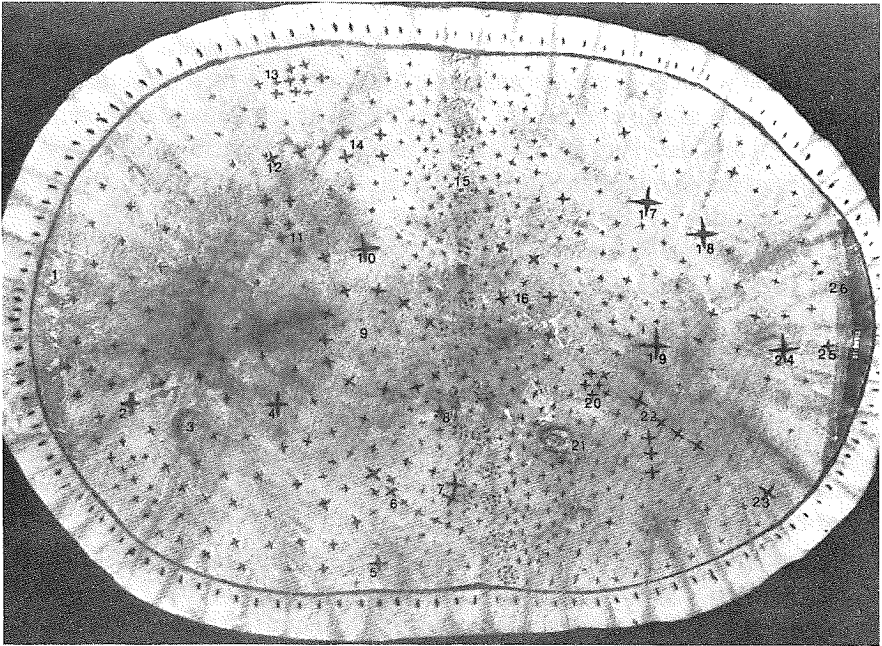
Fig. 10. Astrolabe of cardboard for astronomical use, one of a series bound together in the book "Astronomicum Caesarum", published 1540 by one of the foremost pre-heliocentric astronomers Peter Apianus. Another famous astronomer of the same century, Tycho Brahe, had a copy of the book and both probably used these instruments for their astrological tasks as well. The main disc contains the zodiac constellations and can be turned around with the protruding pointer (here to the left) to positions in relation to the outer circle (on the octagonal board below), which is divided in the 12 zodiac signs and the 360°-scale. The sacrificial Altar (Ara) is a constellation of the Southern hemisphere near the constellation of Scorpio; the quite disproportionate size of the Altar here might have some religious significance (cf. the similarly large sacrificial altar at a corresponding place on the Saami drumheads with central design, at the time of the winter solstice).

“constituted an essential psychic mechanism in the search for wholeness”. Mann also points out as examples of this that “Most spatial orientation systems and models of the universe use four points in their structure. The cardinal points of the compass, [...] the faces of the square representing Earth, [...] and the religious systems of many pre-Christian cultures are all examples of the orienting faculty of the quaternary” (Mann 1979, the section on “Quaternities” 71 f.).

This division, as mentioned previously, is one of the bases of the astrological systems, which have used both round and rectangular graphic aids for their calculations. The rectangular “envelope horoscope” was the dominant one from Roman times up to the beginning of the 20th century (see e.g. Schwabe 1951, 53, 54); it is this form which I believe has contributed to the occurrence of the rhomb- cross sign on the Saami magic drums. And the most obvious four-fold division in the context of the calendar and annual cycle which the Saamis could have been in close contact with must have been *the four solstices-equinoxes*.

The second step in our continuous study of whether the drum pictures were organized according to a cosmological system meant that a test had to be performed to see whether the fourfold division of the picture areas produced by the rhomb- cross also had an equivalent in the relation to the seasons and solstices-equinoxes. I avoided the more complicated horoscopes and used Björn Hedvall’s admirably simple “Astrochart” of the northern firmament, produced for school use, and which is divided precisely by lines joining solstice-equinox points on a circular line round the firmament, connected with the twelve months and the 24 hours of the day (Fig. 12). I decided to turn the chart so that the Milky Way came on the right-hand side, as on the Saami drums, in positions which corresponded to solstices and equinoxes. I then followed the instructions for the chart, which run as follows:

“1. Stand facing south. 2. Turn the chart so that the name of the present month is right at the bottom. Then the chart is orientated around 6 p.m. 3. When using it later than 6 p.m. turn the chart anti-clockwise as many hours as have passed from 6 p.m. to the time of use. The chart is then orientated for that occasion. 4. Hold the chart overhead and read it from beneath.” I then obtained the following 4 alternative explanations for the fact that the Saami drum pictures have the Milky Way on the right-hand side: they were positioned at the spring equinox (nowadays on 21/3) at 6 p.m., when the sun sets and night and day are of equal length, or at the autumn equinox (now on 23/9) at 6 a.m. when the sun rises under the same conditions; the problem, however, is to find what natural phenomena in the heavens could lead the Lapps to an orientation of this kind (which in southern cultures



*Fig. 11.* Star map painted on skin, one of the items in a sacred bundle used in ceremonies by Skidi Pawnee Plains Indians, long time before the Field Museum acquired it in 1906. A round brass object representing the earth went with this chart of the heavens. Several star constellations have been identified, e.g. the Milky Way (across the middle) which is called the Path of the Departed Spirits, who walk to the Southern Star. The Pawnee “were obsessed with the sky—particularly those of the Skidi band who were, in a sense, the astronomers of the tribe” (Von Del Chamberlain 1982, 11, 185 ff, Fig. 47). — Not all Saamis, who used magic drums for divination, were acknowledged as true shamans, i.e. possessing own spirits, good medical skill, or more than average knowledge of astronomy. The poor execution of the designs on many drums rather suggests that the owners were ordinary laymen, the masters of households, with only elementary shamanic techniques.

with their refined methods of calculation and other conditions have led to the situation where the spring equinox has become the time for the basic orientation of the astrolabe). The next likely alternative is to position the chart in accordance with the summer solstice (now on 21/6) at 12 midnight or the winter solstice at 12 noon, positionings which also show the Milky Way on the right-hand side of the heavenly sphere. In choosing between the two, one must for reasons of practical orientation take the following factors



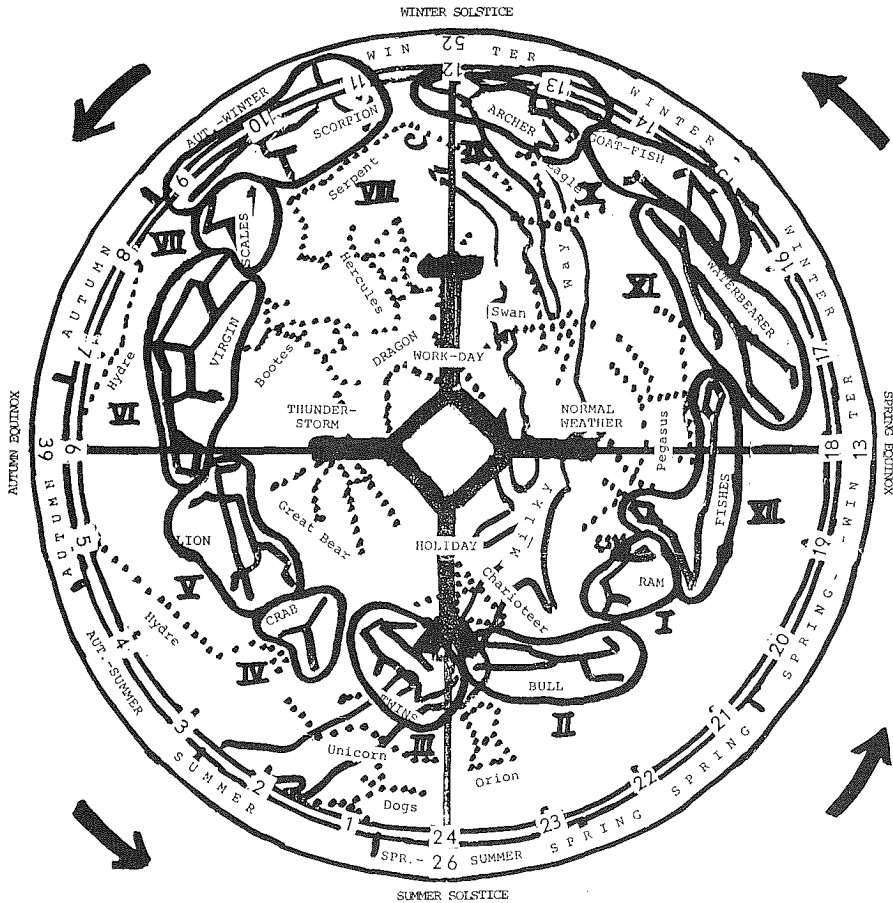


Fig. 12. MODEL CHART for interpretation of Saami drums when used as "astro-labes". The 12 star constellations of the zodiac (continuous lines) run counterclockwise, which is the natural impression when the sky turns around (making a complete circle during 24 hours). At one common kind of divination "soft" drumming moved a pointer (which could have several forms, e.g. rings or a toad-figure of brass) around the figures painted on the skin. The central design (here conventionalized and with very tentative sub-features) is a cross-tree with intersecting rhombus representing the sun according to the Saamis, which suggests the sun's yearly course with resulting orientation in time and space: hours, or rather 3-hour-intervals as by the ancient Saamis; weeks in 13 four-week-periods, and seasons, in a second circle with clockwise direction; the 4 cardinal points (with South at the top and East at the Autumn equinox) are opposite to those of the sky (after which the constellations have been orientated). The Milky Way (continuous lines) has been the most decisive feature for the construction of this model. Solstices and equinoxes are according to the modern calendar, for convenience's sake, but were earlier at the time of the drums. The Winter Solstice, for instance, was on December 11 at the beginning of the 18th century, and most of the preserved Saami calendars started the year between this date and December 24, apparently a mixed system (Granlund & Granlund 1973, 16-29; Jansson 1974, 125).

into account: at midsummer in the northerly Saami districts the sun is up all night; in the farthest north it never sets but makes a sort of "curtsey" at midnight, which could be a suitable choice of time to observe how the constellations are then positioned at the different points of the compass. The problem with this alternative, however, is that the sky is so bright that it is difficult to observe the stars and classify them more exactly. The latter alternative—the winter solstice—seems to me to be the best; at about 12 noon during this part of December the sun is up for only about an hour and can therefore be easily observed in relation to the points of the compass and, what is important in the present context, in relation to constellations which can be observed in the daytime immediately before and immediately after the sun appears. One can say that the solar clock and the stellar clock coincide. In addition to this, the constellation of Orion stands practically in the south, as does the neighbouring bright star Sirius; both are among the most common direction markers in different cultures for the purpose of calendars, and appear in the south at the summer and winter solstices and the spring and autumn equinoxes—although they ought to shine most brightly in the winter.

There are two more arguments for the assumption that the drums were orientated to depict the night sky at the winter solstice. I shall now quote from an 18th century source which is probably not widely known: Per Alstadius's account of conditions among the Saamis during the first half of the 18th century. Alstadius had been a priest for 30 years in the Lappmarks, particularly in Kvikkjokk; his expertise in Saami culture has admittedly been called into question on the grounds that he never really learned the Saami language (Jansson 1974, 125), but he should nevertheless be regarded as able to stand for his opinions which he published in the journal *Lärda Tidningar* in 1750 under the title "Astrophysica Lapponica". Alstadius claims that this is an "Architectonic notion which Laplanders possessed in bygone times of the natural power of the heavenly bodies and their influence down here on the earth" and which Alstadius himself had learned from "the reports of old men and from personal experience". He largely restricts himself to the way the Saamis counted time, and begins with the periods of the day which were counted in three hour spells: beginning from midnight to 3 a.m. and then from 3 to 6 a.m. etc. The Saamis originally had no system for counting months, but followed a system with  $4 \times 13$  weeks (see Granlund & Granlund 1973, 22, 29), which was the basis of the calendar sticks which constituted the Saamis' almanacks (in bone and wood) until the 18th century. But Alstadius points out that they nonetheless celebrated the new moon, which corresponds in practice to counting months; in the beginning of the 18th century the Saamis therefore had, in

addition to the old system, the time system borrowed from the Nordic peoples. "The years were begun from the winter solstice and also divided for the number of months into four seasons, which were each marked and celebrated by three days of sacrifice, smoking, prophesying and every kind of joyful manifestation, in accordance with what the season and the circumstances required and the occasion permitted. The first season began in *Momento Solstitii Brumalis* and lasted until *Momentum Aequinoctii vernalis*, during which time *Elementum Aëris* was held prominent as *Maxime regnans* and the issue brought forth at that time inclined to *Temperamentum Melancholicum*. The second season was calculated from *Momento Aequinoctii vernalis* and lasted until *Momentum solstitii Aestivalis*, during this time *Elementum Terra* was *maxime regnas* and the issue brought forth inclined towards *Temperamentum Sanguinicum* as *maxime regnans*." It goes on in the same style and states that the third quarter has fire as its element and the choleric humour as its temperament, whilst the fourth quarter had water as its element and phlegm as its temperament. The equivalent coupling of the calendar with nature and human beings is widespread and it seems that the system just described could have been taken over directly from the Nordic neighbours—although this does not prevent the Saamis from having had a similar psycho-cosmological system previously. But the question is whether the system described with the seasons, the four elements, and man's basic mental characteristics, also applied to the drums, was present in some way at least in the consciousness of the *noai'des* when they practised divination with the help of the drum.

The details provided above should in any event offer support for the idea that the drums were orientated after the winter solstice: it would be natural to begin in time from the Saami new year, i.e. the winter solstice. And in this case the time for the position of the stars follows, as it were, automatically: it becomes 12 noon.

The star chart or astrolabe, which is reproduced here after the 16th century astronomer and astrologer Apianus (Fig. 10), has been orientated after the spring equinox (now 21/3), where another greater chronology has also been provided: "Christi Geburt" in the year 0 (together with scales for 7000 years backwards and forwards in time respectively!). But Christ's birth is celebrated at Christmas every year, and it is conceivable that the Saamis combined the old calculation of the new year with Christmas.

The above discussion has brought us to the third stage of the study, where the border figures have been interpreted as possible markers for the divisions of the day and the year; in short, the chronology which converts the Saami drum into an instrument comparable to an astrolabe. Space does not permit the presentation of all the results in the present context, but the

reader is referred to the results given as a tentative model (Fig. 12); this may be used as a "pointer" when looking for analogies on each individual drum, partly all the drum picture surfaces with such figures encircled as I, for my own part, thought I could identify preliminarily partly with the twelve constellations of the Zodiac, partly with some other constellations (Figs. 13–18).

Orientation in accordance with the four cardinal points is part and parcel of the system based on the four points of intersection of the ecliptic, as with the seasons and other time markers. Thus if one of the factors in the system is unknown, say for example the point of the compass when one is surprised by fog and unable to see the sun, or at night and cannot orientate oneself by the stars, it should be possible to determine the direction exactly, as one naturally knows which month one is in and has a fairly accurate idea of the time of day at which one got into difficulties. One simply takes the drum, turns it until one gets the relevant month (or the corresponding group of weeks) according to the border figures against one's body, then turns it once more so that the drum is as many hours (or thirds of three hour periods) clockwise or anti-clockwise as one is after or before the time of the day at which the drum was originally orientated, i.e. 12 noon (if my calculations above are correct). Suppose that it is about 12 midnight on one of the nights round the summer solstice (nowadays on 21/6). *The front part of the drum should then point towards the south!* This whole hypothesis could explain the complaint of the old noai'des that they were deprived of their equivalent to the "compass" of the Nordic peoples, the magic drum.

### The ethno- and archaeoastronomical importance of the magic drum

It has been necessary to consider the technical questions in such detail, that there is no space in this context for a fourth stage in the study, to include the Saami magic drums in a larger comparative study of phenomenological character. The preparatory work has been completed and is considered in

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*Figs. 13–17.* Tentative interpretations of possible *zodiac-like arrangement* of some of the figures on Saami drums with central cross motif. (Other possible star constellations have been proposed in Sommarström 1985.) The drums are numbered according to Ernst Manker's system in his *Die lappische Zaubertrommel*, where he gives his explanations of all individual figures which he had been able to perceive, giving question-marks to the many obscure traces. The *zodiac* constellations (I–XII) of real star maps are shown in the MODEL CHART, fig. 12.

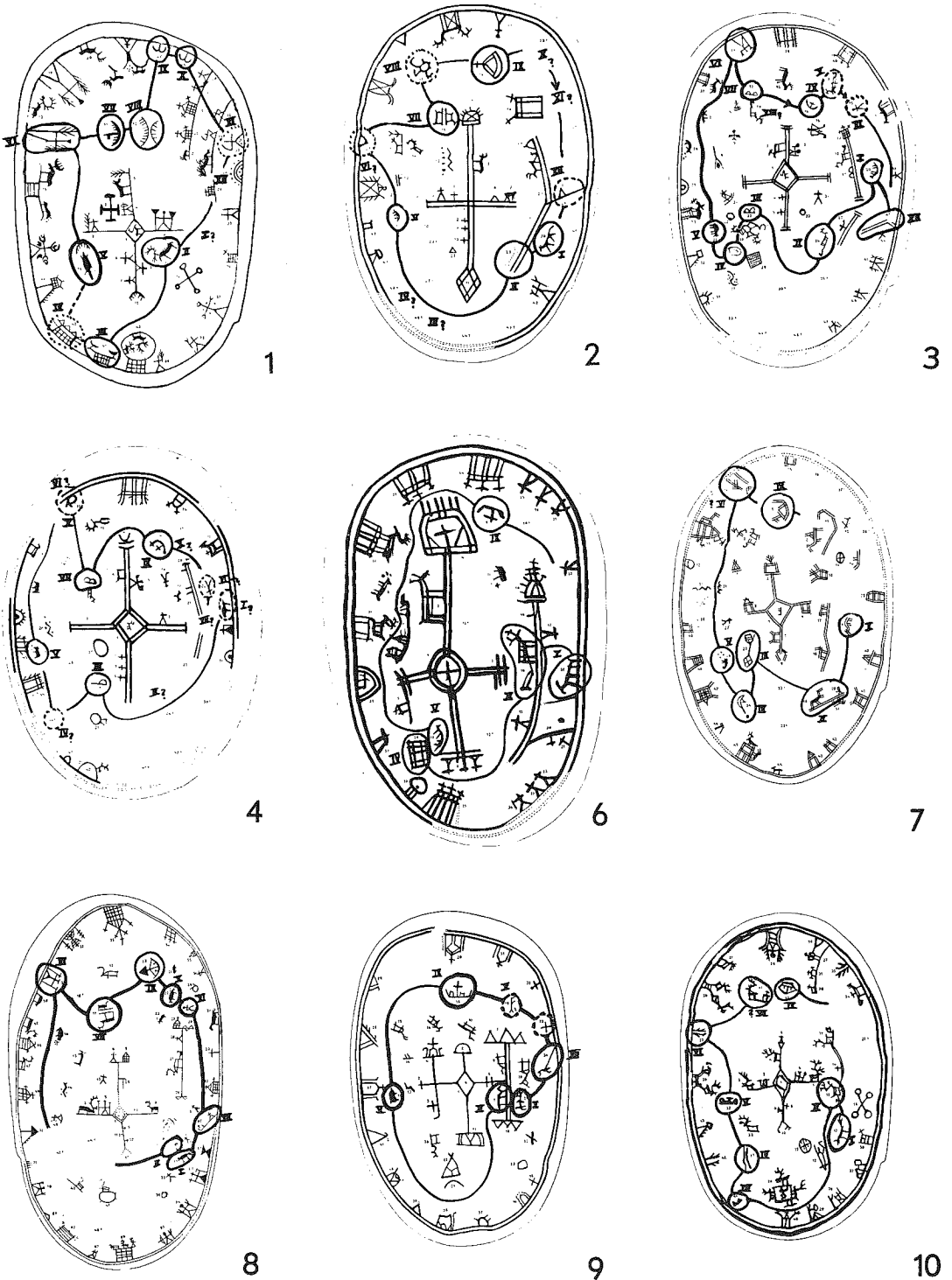
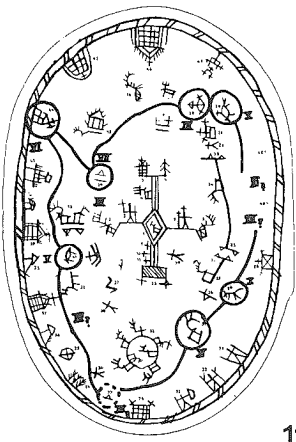
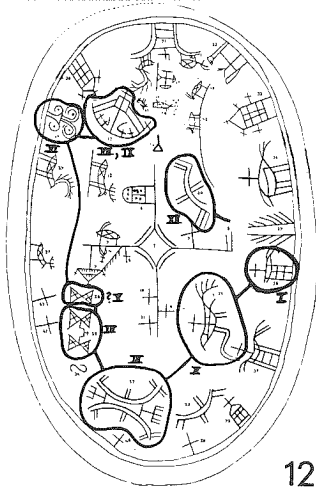


Fig. 13

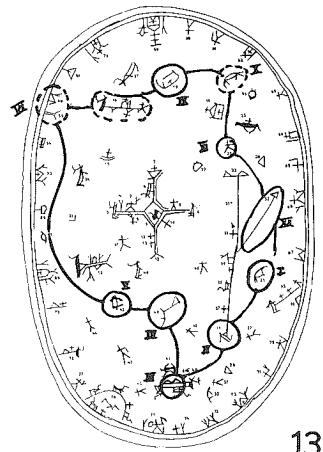
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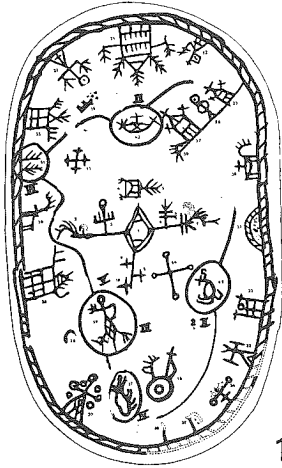
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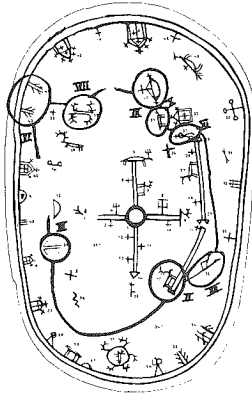
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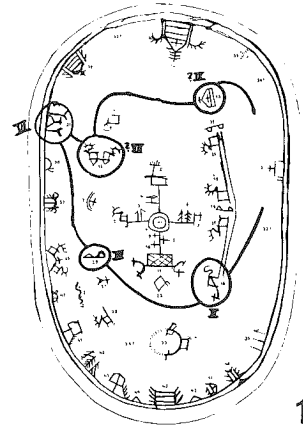
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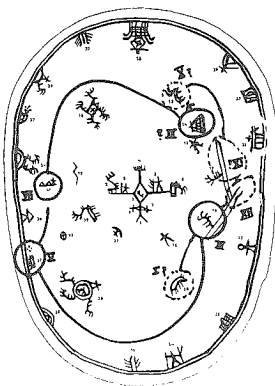
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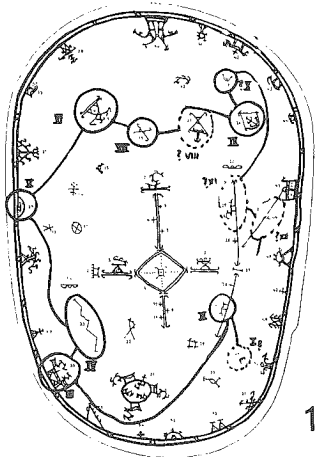
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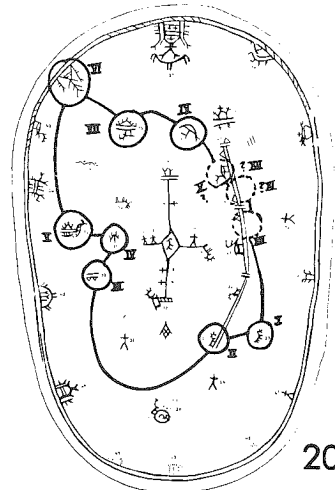
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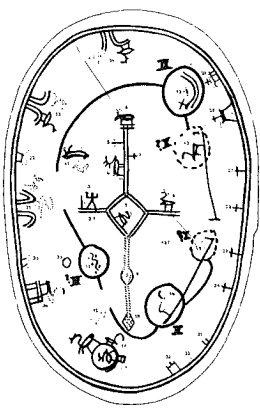


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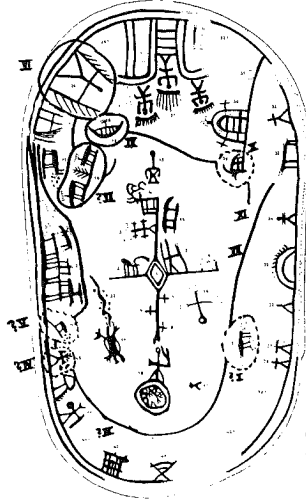


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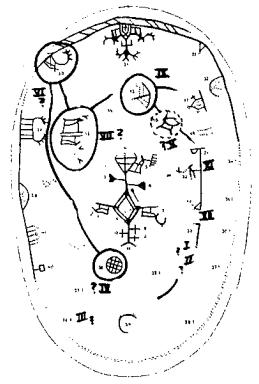
Fig. 14



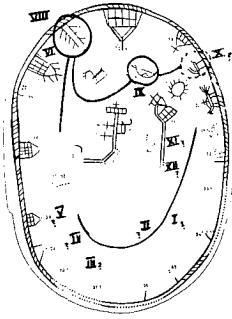
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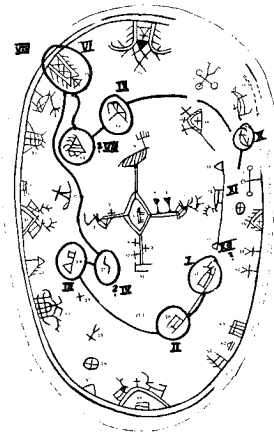
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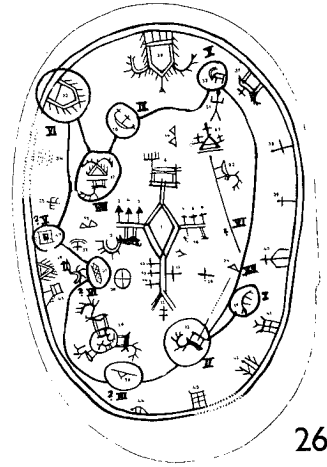
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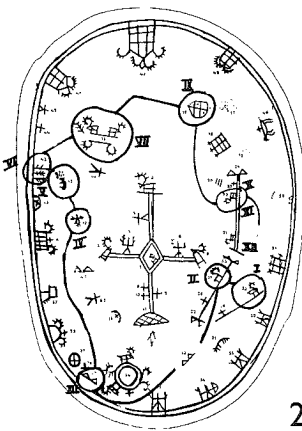
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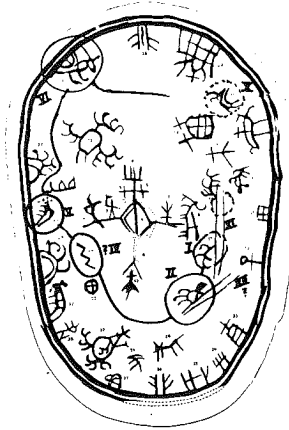
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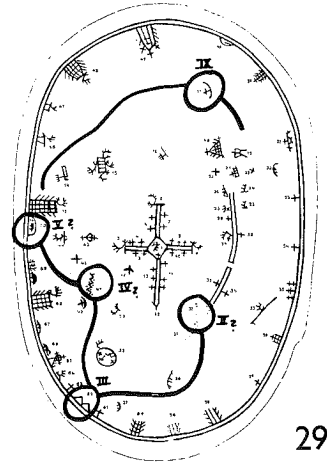
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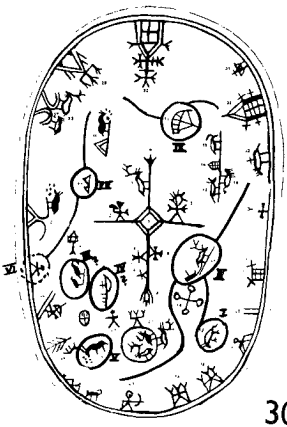


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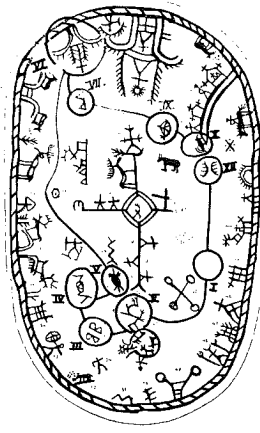


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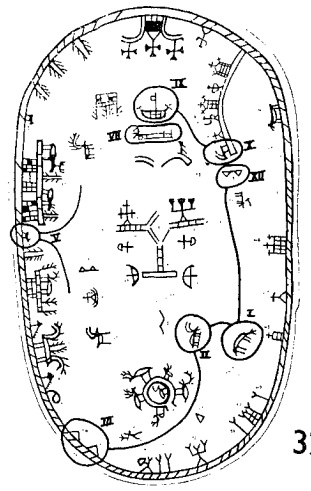
Fig. 15



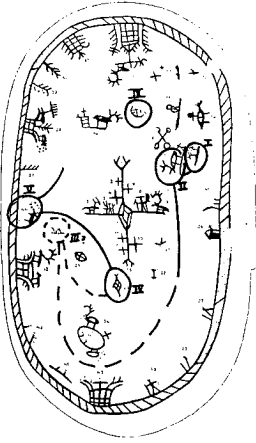
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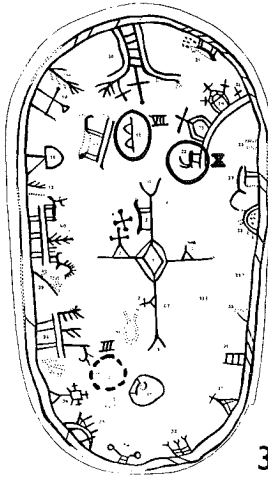
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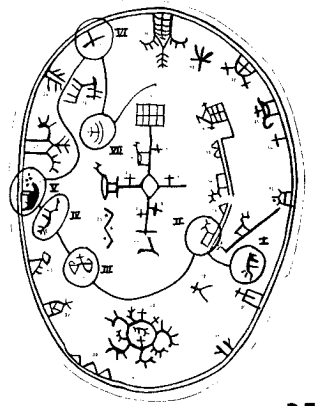
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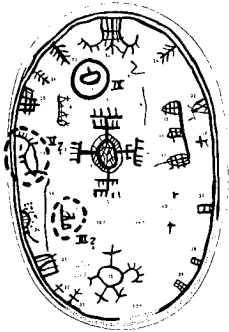
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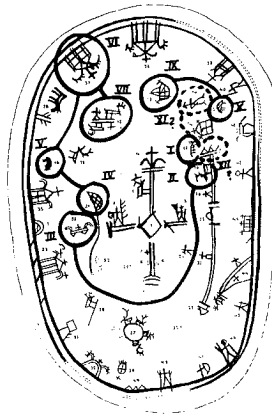
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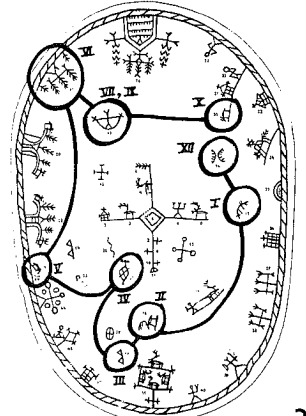
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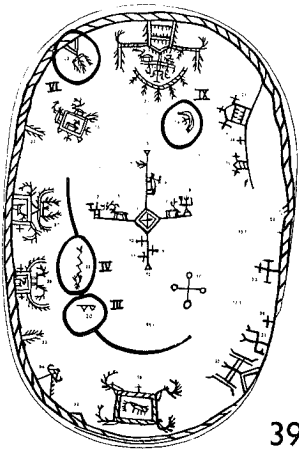
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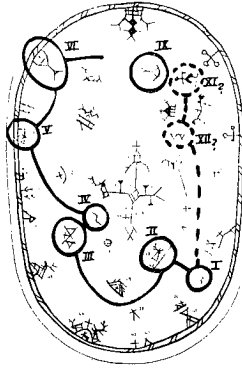
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Fig. 16

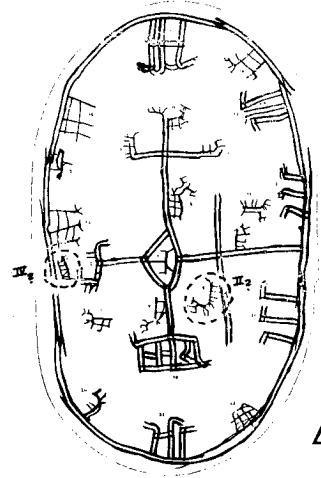




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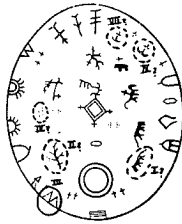
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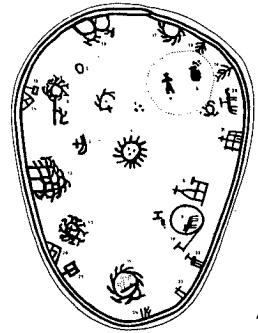
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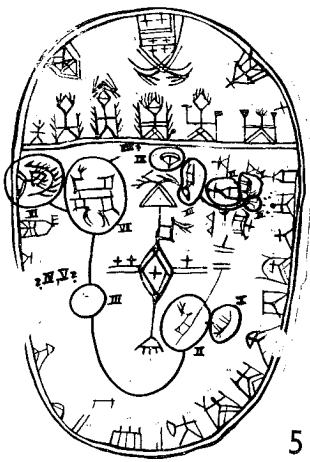
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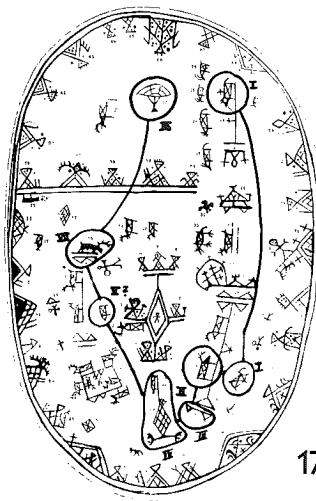
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Fig. 17. Drum no. 42 added to show a central motif with round sun design.

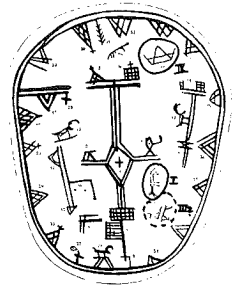
introduction to my part study "Pointers and clues to some Saami drum problems" published in *Arv*. With the increasingly richer and more detailed knowledge of the functions of drums and Shamanism in the rest of the world it may be fruitful to devote further study to the Saami drums and their role in Saami religion. It may then transpire that one side effect is an increased "cognitive relativism" as a counterweight to the still dominant "cognicentricity" of the West, to quote the anthropologist Michael Harner. And he continues: "The time may be ripe for unprejudiced analyses of SC with scientific methods and in OC terms" (Harner 1983, 16. SC=shaman's state of consciousness, OC=ordinary state of consciousness). He is beginning to find a response since increasing numbers of academic institutions, generally medical or psychological, are collaborating in experiments with shamans (still mainly in the United States). Shamanistic methods and



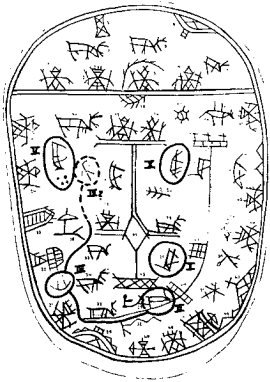
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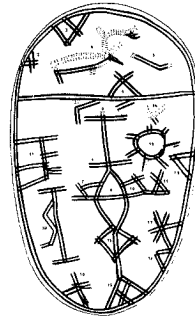
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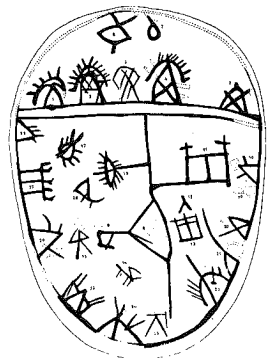
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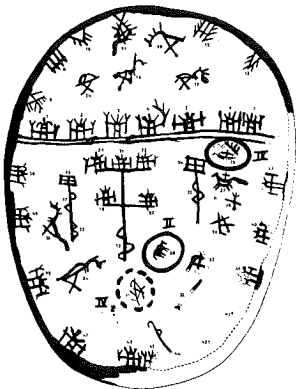
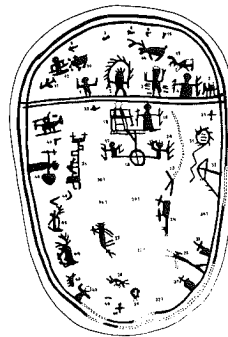
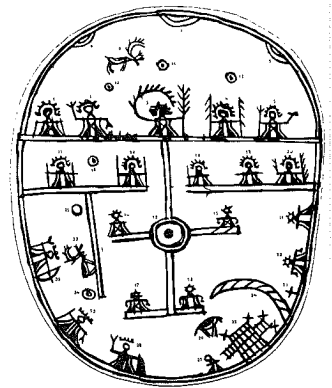


Fig. 18

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*Fig. 19.* BOAZOI, reindeer, was the dominant feature of the old Saami nomadic subsistence and culture. This was naturally reflected in the sphere of religion, where the reindeer was the main sacrificial animal, either in complete shape or partially as fat, antlers, etc. The shaman, *noai'de*, used the skin as drumhead, and made the drumstick and sometimes also the pointer of bone from antlers. The reindeer is frequent among the red-painted figures on the drumskin and is seen in different positions, also in the rhombus of the central cross-design. As *sarves*, reindeer bull, it served as one of the principal power or guardian spirits of the shaman, sometimes even as his alter ego. When he entered another state of consciousness with the help of drumming, his reindeer vision must have looked as real as in ordinary life. (Author's photo.)

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*Fig. 18.* Drums with combined vertical and horizontal world perspectives, with or without recognizable influences from zodiacal concepts.

popular medical methods without shamanism to "maintain and create health and preserve a balance between people and the surrounding environment" (Harner 1983, 11) are now being spread from original populations in the form of course-based instruction under the leadership of Indian shamans, or similar people (see e.g. Gruber 1985), with the help amongst other things of psychocosmograms. These are more or less based on the traditional Indian "medicine wheels", which were included in the Sun Dance system of the prairie Indians (e.g. Hultkrantz 1973; Storm 1972, 4 ff.). Such ethnoastronomically related aids may perhaps provide an impulse for deeper study of our unfortunately so fragmentary picture of the experiences of the Saami noai'des. The little we know about Saami SC has recently been considered by Louise Bäckman, who reproduces details from a couple of extant descriptions of "soul-journeys", one from the 17th century (by Nicolaus Lundius), another from recent tradition (through Lars Pirak; Bäckman 1982, 125 f.). Both accounts are in complete agreement with shamanic "journeys" in a state of trance, even a light one, according to Harner's descriptions (Harner 1983, e.g. 73) and with the experiences which participants in his courses in Shamanism for westerners have obtained in a trance-like state caused by the effects of drumming, song and dance. Relevant to these "journeys" into the subconscious is the fact that perception is heightened, that egoconsciousness is present the whole time and ensures that the programme for the journey which the shaman has prescribed is carried out. The purpose is generally to strengthen one's own and other People's life force, amongst other things with the help of so-called power animals (with which one can become one), to cure sickness by fighting against the "virus" spirits, to increase one's knowledge of e.g. medical plants and to predict events (Harner 1983, *inter alia*).

Finally, the relatively new scholarly alignment, known as archaeo-astronomy, should be included as an alternative for enriching our knowledge of Saami religion and shamanism. In 1973 Elizabeth Chesley Baity provided a first comprehensive survey of this interdiscipline, and equated it with the similarly merging and comparable alignment "ethnoastronomy". Since then, much has happened in both respects in different parts of the world, but where the Saamis are concerned, it remains to prepare a plan of action as a basis for systematic inventories in the Saami areas. Experiences from prehistoric stone settings, for example, in the forms i.a. of rings, cairns, stone blocks as landmarks for calendars, can also prove relevant in the Saami areas—in any case the possibilities should be tested. In addition, one can perhaps obtain ideas from studies of e.g. the so-called medicine wheels of prairie Indians, a form of stone ring which, like the drum, can take one far into another reality: a reality which is increasingly beginning to lend

itself to descriptions in terms of the humanities and the natural and social sciences in an *interdisciplinary* manner.

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# The Threat from Without

## *An Examination of Defensive Ethnic Folklore*

BY LASSI SARESSALO

Folklorists and scholars of comparative religion at the University of Turku have, by means of field work, been collecting material on Lapp folklore and contemporary folk belief ever since the 1960s (Saressalo 1981, 100–105). The present author also had a chance to take part in this work in the early days of his research career. One of the most exciting types of narrative material encountered in Lapp communities, and at the same time one of the most heterogeneous in its themes, comprised recollections, stereotype legends and tales that had already become anecdotes about a supranormal being called a *staalo*. Subsequent analysis of the field material at the university and comparison with earlier information on Lapp folk belief revealed that the narrative material was merely, 'disjointed material only loosely connected with the older and more genuine' *staalo* tradition. This 'true' *staalo* tradition was mostly to be found in older folkloristic literature, fairytale and legend indexes and anthologies. We came across the *staalo* tradition of Talvadas, the village around which our field work centred, as disconnected variants from which we could only guess at the existence of an old corpus of tradition, for the tradition had virtually died out. But even this encounter with the old folk motifs aroused this young researcher's interest and raised the question of what this folk material really was.

In his article "Lappalainen kansanrunous" (On the Folklore of the Lapps) T. I. Itkonen says that the most important being in the Lapp belief tradition is the *staalo*. He also mentions that this element of the tradition represents the very essence of all that is Lappish in the corpus of Lapp belief tradition (Itkonen 1963, 550 ff.). Having subsequently gone through Lapp folklore material in various folklore archives, I would agree with a later claim made by Itkonen — that in most cases the folklore we have been accustomed to regarding as Lapp in fact consists of local, regional or social variants or Lapp ethnic ecotypes of international or rather supranational folklore motifs. But we may find in the *staalo* tradition, uneven, confused and unclear though it is, certain basic elements that seem to be specifically Lappish.

The study of folklore has long been interested in this particular item of

Lapp folklore; it has been the subject of dozens of articles, though views have concentrated on two distinct points of reference. Research has shown the Lapps' *staalo* as a being reflecting historical contacts "mellan samegrupper och gamla vikingar och röfvare som satte sig ner i ensliga skogstrakter och oroad Lapparne", as Lars L. Læstadius wrote to his friend Jacob Fellman (Fellman 1906, 160 f.). This historical explanation enjoyed the support of such members of the older generation of *staalo* interpreters as Friis, Qvigstad and Sandberg (Friis 1871; Qvigstad & Sandberg 1887). The greatest step in the analysis of the contacts and conflicts between Lapp communities and outsiders and their reflection in the *staalo* tradition has perhaps been taken by the Swede, Rolf Kjellström. Drawing on both oral tradition and the results of archaeological-ethnological research he has proved that the main phenomena of at least the western *staalo* tradition are tied up with the historically verifiable conflict between the Lapp communities dependent for their livelihood on the wild deer and the Viking-age hunters pushing northwards into the fells (Kjellström 1976). Kjellström's view also incorporates interpretations of certain *staalo* motifs from the eastern Lapp area. These feature a large, bearded man who, clad in furs, armed with a knife and accompanied by a dog, comes into physical contact with the Lapps in his fight for existence. The idea points straight to the Birkarlar, Russians, Karelians, Finns and Kvens who fought among themselves for possession of the territories inhabited by the Lapps from the Middle Ages onwards, the Lapps always being subordinated to the stronger parties. Kjellström's explanation has been supported most recently by Erich Kasten in his ethnohistorical research (Kasten 1983, 23 ff.). The second explanation seeks its interpretation via the universal explanations of mythology and folklore. Scholars have seen in the *staalo* the basic elements of arctic religions which have in the narrative process of tradition turned phenomena of an assumed original Lapp religion into more stereotyped narrative figures, confusing them with popular figures in different genres of neighbouring cultures (see Itkonen 1946, 87 f.). In this way, it is possible to view the *staalo* tradition as a phenomenological ecotype, Lappishness being represented only by the concept itself, to which the motifs brought by cultural contacts have been attracted.

A third explanation has also been put forward. The *staalo* has been sought in man himself, the motifs interpreted via the premises of psychoanalysis, chiefly by means of evolutionary theory of the mind, arriving at the profound mysteries of the human soul in the interpretation of motifs. This developing research approach is represented by Eliel Lagercrantz (Lagercrantz 1950). The *staalo* seems to be a sufficiently exciting and versatile phenomenon to produce more and more interpretation models. It



will never be fully analysed, and there will always be room for creative imagination.

My own starting point in the interpretation of the *staalo* is modest. It is not my intention to seek a new explanatory model for the origin of the phenomenon, nor to cast doubt on the views already put forward. I simply intend to try to explain why the *staalo* tradition is in fact still alive, why such a belief, admittedly in weakening form, still exists in rational Lapp society.

My title for this article uses the concept 'defensive ethnic folklore'. The meaning of folklore itself hardly needs further explanation. But the meaning of ethnic folklore is already a broader question in need of more precise definition, especially since we are dealing with such a heterogeneous culture as Lapp culture as a whole. The view that the Lapps all embrace a homogeneous overall culture is of course out of date. The Lapps may be divided on ecological, economic, regional, linguistic and social grounds into a number of component cultures each with their own history, their own ethnically coloured identity and their own symbol system (Saressalo 1982, 59-64). For this reason the study of Lapp culture in general should return to local investigations, analyse the specific features of local cultures, seek local ethnic populations and only then attempt broader cultural generalisations. The researcher is faced with this situation when attempting to specify the Lapp image, the Lapp identity from within, esoterically. If, on the other hand, he seeks an overall image from without, by placing Lapp culture at a distance and viewing it as part of, say, North European culture, his point of reference is different. In this case analysis starts with the features that make Lapp culture "as a whole" different from other cultures. What is it that unites the Lapps but distinguishes them from others? The result is certain fundamental cultural elements that are "proto-Lappish" or which Lapp culture has "ethniced", adapted to its own use and accepted as its own symbols. These common Lapp symbols are few in number, but they are all the more forceful and ones which the entire heterogeneous group has for cultural or minority policy reasons been able to accept as common (Mosli 1983, 21).

And we, as representatives of other cultures, have at the same time accepted these elements as Lappish. This strategy of exoteric Lapp identity symbols has also been exploited by the Lapp movement in the fight for its cultural existence, though it has at the same time to some extent had to generalise phenomena from different component cultures in ethnicising its symbolism. Such ethnicity symbols are language, costume, the weighting of the occupational structure, the 'joiku' singing tradition, the tendency towards organisation, marked external cultural features, but there may also

be basic values deep in the world of tradition that can only be understood by someone living within that culture. The ethnic symbolism at this level comes out in e.g. oral tradition and its hidden meanings.

Of greatest importance in ethnic folklore are the recognised and unrecognised elements that are used when founding identity on tradition. For the aim of ethnic identification is to note and know the cultural features that a) connect me with people like me and b) separate me from people who are not like me. If and when we understand ethnic identity as being the same as the concept 'social belonging', the features separating 'us' from 'them' become more significant than those 'we' have in common. This constant process of comparing 'us' with 'them' calls for stereotype images of ourselves and others. These images are assimilated by anyone growing up within a culture at the enculturation stage, the stereotypes are there ready in the collective tradition of the community, they are neither appraised nor doubted. The same collective tradition also provides ready behaviour models for possible confrontation with others, ready examples of how members of the community have handled similar cultural clashes before. And tradition also provides ready models and images of 'others', even though they may never be needed. Any group that wishes to remain in existence culturally must be prepared in advance for cultural confrontation with others. Without a strong ethnocentric value charge of this kind, aimed at the preservation of cohesion, the group will disintegrate under the pressure of the constant cultural assimilation process (Saressalo 1983, 195–201).

Every group and each of its members thus needs an opponent, a contact partner in order to identify itself. This opponent may be fact or fiction. We can all name both concrete and fictive comparisons in our own culture. What about the Lapps?

If we examine Lapp cultures, different groups separately, we see that there are so many of these contact partners used in the identification process that they do not constitute a clear, uniform system for use in comparison. The coast Lapps have a completely different contact and comparison world from, say, the Pite Lapps. The Skolts meet totally different people from the Southern Lapps, the cattle breeders have a different comparative system from the reindeer breeders. This being the case, it is necessary to choose some other means of comparing these groups. In order to find some uniform basis for cultural comparison in different situations, it is possible to take as the point of reference the oral tradition, folklore and its main themes and basic ideas, and in this way to find a solution — a sufficiently unconcrete object for constructing a comparison on a different basis. This point of reference is a situation with only two components: us (who know ourselves) and them, anyone not one of us

but a sufficiently general concept to provide potential for local variations.

The ethnocentric values of ethnic folklore provide a model for this generalising comparison. 'They' are a potential danger, are unknown, strange, a threat from beyond the fells. They are sufficiently common for the group's ethnic feeling. It is here that we find tradition, folk tales, describing the community's traditional enemies, describing the threat from without, engendering preconceived ideas, conflicts and even war.

There are no periods of former greatness in the history of Lapp culture. The Lapps have never had an empire, they have never conquered others' territory, they have never engaged in systematic warfare against other peoples. For this reason Lapp tradition lacks an offensive ethnic folklore proper with emphasis on aggression, power, violence, heroism and an acceptance of the ideology of subordinating others. On the contrary.

Lapp folklore is familiar with a tradition in which strangers are always threatening the Lapps' existence, plundering their territories, burning and destroying. The Lapp has always had to fight against alien powers, to give in or to outwit the great and powerful enemy. We are well familiar with the international legends of foes and their Lapp ecotypes, the "tšudi" stories (Rausmaa 1973, 91-104). This genre is still living narrative tradition in, for example, place names. But are these place names and the legends explaining them the reason why this tradition has been preserved? Or must we look for the explanation for the preservation of these folk motifs in the present day, now that 'their' economic strivings and desire to get 'back to nature' are encroaching on the everyday world of the Lapps? It is here that defensive tradition steps in to reinforce the Lapps' identity.

Maybe we will no longer come across the crafty Lapp who leads his enemy to his death, who sends him headlong over the cliff, who leaves him to die on a deserted island or who drives him into the foaming rapids (Qvigstad 1925, 54f.) But we may find the same basic attitudes and the same goal in telling toady's legends, anecdotes and jokes. Today the enemy are southerners, those in authority, researchers, tourists and women. In the actual telling situation we find the same tendency, the same mood as in the old stereotype legends of foes: the motifs constitute a certain type of tradition element approaching a myth, repeated in a socially ordered context, that gives the narrating community a chance to feel secure and independent in its own sphere.

We see the same basic set-up in the *staalo* tradition. Regardless of whether the *staalo* stories are historically justifiable, of whether they are fictive or mythical, they undoubtedly tell of a fundamental conflict between a Lapp and 'others'. That the *staalo* motifs are as heterogeneous as they

are, that they occur in so many genres, that the *staalo* has attracted so many different beings representing an outside threat proves that the tradition is one of ancient standing. That we find the *staalo* tradition only among the Lapp population of Fenno-Scandia again proves that it has had and still has a major function in the defensive ethnic tradition of the Lapps.

The fact that the *staalo* itself is such an inexplicable and vague phenomenon is mainly a problem for researchers and really has nothing to do with the esoteric identity image of the narrative community. The man-eater, devil or giant in the fairytale may, in a different context and in another area, become a vague, threatening being, a ghost sent to plague a Lapp, a zealous wrestler in human shape, mighty and strong. In the next case, the *staalo* may be a fictive defender of norms who frightens children, who metes out punishment if the yard is not swept in time for Christmas. It may be just a presentiment of something that exists beyond the safe area.

In the Lapp tradition the *staalo* represents an outside threat that cannot be directly concretised. If foes are regarded as concrete enemies that may be defeated in physical combat or that can be made to look ridiculous, a *staalo* is more mythical, more supranormal, more vague. One basic feature of the *staalo* tradition is that it only appears as one party to a conflict. The stories about the Lapp who succeeds in driving away a *staalo* threatening the community, to outwit the stupid giant or to kill him with his own weapon come close to the myth of the beginning of time when a Lapp managed to secure his existence and defend his community against an outside threat. Without the proto-Lapp battle against evil, the community would not have had a chance to exist, the right to live in its area, as the community does nowadays.

I began in the village of Talvadas on the river Teno, along the border between Finland and Norway, deep in the land of the Lapps. The material collected in the village contains a host of associations with commonly known fairytale tradition, general comments and beliefs on the existence of the *staalo*, its appearance and doings, and a threat to norms. The main *staalo* motif known in the village is, however, the story of the battle between a *staalo* and Stuurra-Jouni. In the world of the present-day narrator Jouni represents the historically recognisable but sufficiently remote proto-Lapp, who was a wild deer hunter and a good story-teller. The legends about Stuurra-Jouni appear in several different variants. One of them tells how someone from Varanger sent a *staalo* to attack Jouni. In keeping with the structural nuances that are a vital part of the story, Jouni nevertheless manages to kill the *staalo* and thus to save himself and his community. That the sender came from Varanger is no wonder: for it was to Varanger that people went for their annual shopping and fishing, and it

was here that they met 'others'. Another Stuorra-Jouni variant tells how he met a *staalo* on Ailigas fell, the most notable local landmark. Battle commences in accordance with the established ritual pattern, but the *staalo* manages to escape, it comes down Ailigas on skis so that only its ski tracks remain. And these tracks are still there, to remind you that one of the first people in the region was victorious in battle, drove the menacing *staalo* away and thus secured the rights and safety of the Lapp community at Talvadas, on the river Teno. Herein lies, to my mind, the fundamental message of the *staalo* tradition.

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# Nordic Influence on Saami Folk Belief: the “Buttercat” (Smørkatt)

BY MAGDALENA TATÁR

The past few years have witnessed the publication of many works on Siberian-Arctic shamanism in both the original languages and in translation. This has made it necessary and possible to review our opinions of shamanist and/or Nordic elements in Saami folk beliefs and their relationship to Siberian-Arctic and Nordic cultures. But we must avoid any romanticism as Louise Bäckman has noted. As a striking example in this regard I can cite a recently published article on Nordic influences in Saami religion, in which the caption under a picture of a wooden sculpture read: Saami idol from Ostyak region (Johansen 1982, 129). This was done without any mention of the comprehensive historical-ethnogenetic literary figures of human beings originating from east and west of the Urals and without any explanation of how the Saami people reached the Ostyak region. We must note, however, that some ideas may be typical and genuine both in Siberia and in Europe; cf. e.g. Ränk's book on the *Ruto* (Ränk 1981). What I intend to speak about here is a Saami superstitious belief, namely the *smørkatt* “buttercat”, which is without doubt a Nordic loan in Saami tradition.

J. Wall's recent book gives a detailed description of the woman who steals milk according to Nordic and western European tradition. Concerning Saami traditions, he cites (Wall 1977-78, 2, 61 f.) Læstadius' material from Karesuando, Fjellman's material from Utsjoki (Enare) and others from Troms and Finnmark in Northern Norway. I would like to mention here Ravila's material from Enare, which was unknown to Wall (Ravila 1934, 87 ff., 115). He concludes that the “buttercat” is doubtless a Nordic loan among both the Saami and Finnish peoples. He also mentions some Estonian data, to which I can add a similar Vadya tradition from a folklore text about a vindictive women who dried up a cow's milk (Ariste 1977, 86 f.).

In December 1983 I heard from a mountain Saami, a 73-year-old farmer residing in Karasjok, the following about the “butter cat”:

In olden days before this time there were people who sold themselves or half of their souls to the devil for a considerable sum of money. They made a “butter cat” in order to get more milk. The “butter cat” looked like a ball

of yarn. It stole cream and butter from the neighbour. The neighbour could not understand what had become of his butter. But he soon discovered that people who had only a few cows had a lot of butter. He chased after the "butter cat" and if he could capture it, the person who had sold his soul to the devil would die. This tradition existed among both the mountain Saamis and the Saamis who had settled down in the villages, but it was unknown among Norwegian people (!) according to my informant. I annotate to this narrative, that the form and function of the "*smørkatt*" together with the way in which it could be disabled is in line with the Nordic tradition. This milk-stealing creature, which might be a hare or any other animal, is often a cat, particularly in northern Norway. It is a common Nordic tradition, too, that the animal is identical with its master, and because of that the master must die when the animal is killed. This link between the master and the animal is closer in northern Norway than anywhere else. Woman, animal and devil are linked to each other in the Nordic tradition, too, but the tradition that the master sells his soul to the devil is found only in Karasjok. It is clear, however, that people must pay for the devil's assistance. This theme is well-known in Europe in other connections. In fact, there is a typical European tradition according to which a sorcerer has his witchcraft or knowledge by virtue of a contract with the devil. What differs from the Nordic tradition is that, in this case the master can be a man, too, and not just a woman. This has parallels in Finnish folk beliefs where both *Wuoren Eukko* "the old man of the mountain" and *Pirun-emäntä* "the devil's wife" are linked to the milk-stealing creature (Wall 1977-78, 1, 104). Some data from Enare may also be connected with this—according to the Saami people in Enare, it is the forest demon, the *gorrēmâš*, which milks cows grazing in the forest (Ravila 1934, 89 f.).

It is actually possible to take a step further back into the history of this tradition. According to some information in Norwegian materials, the "butter cat" is in reality a ball of hair formed in the stomach of the cows, i.e. aegagrophiloe (Grambo 1979, 3, picture). I believe this was the object that was later portrayed as a ball of yarn, or a sack sewn of hair and nails, etc. The cat has an important role as a magical animal for the Kolta Saamis as well as the northern Saamis. It possesses the magic power to give them hunting spoils (Itkonen 1946, 235). This must be a later variant of the original Nordic version about the cat which gives wealth, i.e. butter for his peasant master and game for a hunting master. Sociologically, it is very interesting that this custom is very common among the Saamis but unknown among Scandinavians, as my informant believed. This is a perfect example of how a minority adapts a custom and retains it longer than the majority culture, in which the custom dies out. Thus, it may happen that the

majority society regards customs that actually originate from their own society as specific customs of the minority. For example, in Norway the "butter cat" is called *finn kula* "Lappish ball". Names like this are connected with the reputation of the Saami people as sorcerers.

Finally, I intend to point out a wider context. Milk production, newborn children and women in confinement are the most protected objects in magic. Wall's book gives the impression that the milk-stealing creature is specific to western Europe and unknown in eastern Europe where the Mediterranean "evil eye" seems to be more prevalent. But this is not quite true. There are a few records of the "butter cat" in eastern Europe, which is often called by different names, e.g. the midwife, a kind of sorceress, who may take the shape of a cat (cf. English "hellcat") and want to eat butter; she takes the butter from the milk through a spiked thing or she vomits cottage cheese, etc. (Dömötör 1981, 129, 131, 160, etc.).

The structure of this tradition appears better when it is examined in just one population. The archaic Hungarian group of the Székelys in Bukovina had more connections with the east, and fewer with the west, than other Hungarians. There are similar ideas among them about milk-stealing, diabolical women, as in western Europe, but no devilish animal is connected with milk-stealing. On the other hand, this tradition contains not just cow's milk, but mother's milk too, which can be stolen like cow's milk. Departing visitors cast some hair from their clothes or fur-coat in the direction of the mother's bed and her newborn child saying: "I do not need your milk nor your sleep" (Sebestyén 1972, 189f.). This is the only occasion hair is mentioned in connection with milk-stealing. Otherwise, a ball made of cloth, bone, hair or leather and tied up with hemp-yarn or hair was used to bewitch people or animals. This object is identical with the butter-cat ball even if it is not called so, and its use is much more widespread. For example, it is used when meeting ghosts of unbaptized children (around Szeged in Hungary, Sebestyén 1972, 185f., 476). The name *guruzsma/korozsma* is connected to the verb *kuruzsol* "To practise quackery, magic" and is probably of Slav origin. So, even under other name, it is the same magical traditions, possibly in older form than that found in Scandinavia. On the other hand, there is a very widespread idea about taking the best part of nature's riches, e.g. the fat of the soil (Bálint 308–310); this is a close parallel to the butter in milk.

Magic connected with milk production is remarkably infrequent among nomadic and indeed all, peoples in Siberia in spite of the fact that milk products are the main source of nourishment in summer for people on the steppes, and is a sacrificial and ritual drink, as e.g. koumiss. Although the ball of yarn has some magical qualities (e.g. a woman took her daughter and



maid-servant on a journey in the form of two balls of yarn, Černecov 1935, 9–111), it plays no role in a person's becoming rich. Balls of hair found in the body of reindeer are the animal's master spirits and are a lucky sign for hunting, etc. among the Yakuts (Gurvič 1978, 486). On the other hand, people in Siberia tried to influence their prosperity too, but they wanted to ensure primarily the fertility of wild animals. The Voguls, for example, carved a stick during a ritual dance in order to get fishes for the following spring (Černecov 1971, 83–94). The use of hair to ensure fertility appears in the Siberian-Arctic area too, e.g. making animal of hair or wood is documented very early among the Finnish people. In the Kalevala *Mielikki* made a bear of wool and hair, which fell from the sky into the water. The belief that the bear had fallen from the sky—which is the case here, too, indirectly—is, on the other hand, typical among the Ob-Ugrian people as well as some other people. Cf. the Evenki tradition: the shaman steals some hair from an elk and spreads it over the hunting territory. It was believed that the individual hairs would turn into elks (Anisimov 1958, 29).

It seems that peoples in Siberia and the Arctic were more interested in the production of meat and fertility of their livestock and other animals. It is perhaps a consequence of their history, originating in a hunting/fishing way of life, before they learnt a nomadic life with livestock. They used other methods, different from European ones, even if they wanted to cure a cow's udder; for example, the south-Siberian Turks drove the cow over some stones crossing a river. The stones were the path of the shaman, they believed. Afterwards they gave the cow's first milk to a dog, and took the cow for recovered (Radloff 1907, 558, no. 31). The *smørkatt* "butter cat" is a clear European tradition, but not an isolated one: it is connected with other magic methods on our continent.

I would like to mention here two comments, which came after my paper: L. Bäckman said that these aegagrophiloes were often decorated with embroidery and worn as an amulet. Prof. Korhonen said that people wore them on their arm as a protection against rheumatism. I am grateful for these interesting remarks.

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# Die Samen in der UdSSR

## *Historischer Überblick und Gegenwart*

BY TATJANA LUKJANTSCHENKO

Die ersten schriftlichen Angaben über die Kola-Samen gibt es im Bericht von Otar, der sich auf das IX. Jahrhundert bezieht. In den russischen Quellen erscheint die Benennung „Lop“ seit dem Ende des XIV. Jahrhunderts. Seit dem XV. Jahrhundert beginnen die Angaben über die Lappen in verschiedenen russischen Urkunden zu erscheinen, wie z. B. in den Nowgoroder Kanzleibüchern die Erwähnungen von „Dikoi“, „Leschei“, „Lop“ und „Lopljany“ etc.

In dieser Periode, d. h. seit dem Ende des I. Jahrtausends und der ersten Hälfte des II. Jahrtausends nahmen die Kola-Lappen ein bedeutend größeres Territorium als heute ein. Sie besiedelten weite Gebiete des heutigen Kareliens, wovon die Toponymik sowie die in verschiedenen Quellen vorhandenen Erwähnungen der „Lopskie pogosty“ in Saoneshje, d. h. dem Lande nördlich vom Onegasee, zeugen. In südöstlicher Richtung erstreckte sich das Territorium der Lappen bis zu den Ländereien des Klosters Murom. Die östliche Grenze der Niederlassung der Lappen verlief wahrscheinlich zu jener Zeit westlich vom Fluss Mesen.

Nach ihrem Wirtschafts- und Kulturtyp waren die Lappen in der ersten Hälfte des II. Jahrtausends hauptsächlich Renjäger, Elchjäger, Pelztierjäger; auch waren sie Fischer an den Binnengewässern und an der Meeresküste. Sie trieben auch wahrscheinlich ein wenig Renzucht. Man verwendete Rene als „Mantschiki“ bei der Renjagd, um die Tiere anzulocken. Man kann sich denken, dass schon in dieser Zeit die Zucht von Transportrenen sich zu entwickeln beginnt, zuerst für Lasten und später für Gespanne.

Wie es verschiedenes Material bezeugt, konnte man bei den Lappen zu jener Zeit eine Teilung in zwei Gruppen entsprechend den Gebieten ihrer Niederlassung und ihren wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Besonderheiten beobachten. Eine Gruppe stellten die Küsten-Lappen oder See-Lappen dar, die in der Nähe der Murmansk-Küste der Barentssee wohnten. Sie unternahmen nur kürzere Wanderungen und hatten eine Neigung zum Meeresfischfang. Die andere Gruppe stellten die Wald-Lappen dar, die die südlichen Wald- und Wald-Tundragebiete besiedelten. Die Lebensweise dieser

Lappen war viel unsteter. Ihre Hauptbeschäftigungen waren die Jagd und der Fischfang in den Binnengewässern. Wahrscheinlich begann sich gerade bei dieser Gruppe die Renzucht zuerst zu entwickeln. Man kann feststellen, dass eine ähnliche Teilung in Küstengruppen und Waldgruppen auch anderen Völkern der arktischen Zone Eurasiens eigen war, wie z. B. den Nenzen und Enzen.

Um die Wende vom I. zum II. Jahrtausend stellten die Lappen, die die Halbinsel Kola und Karelien besiedelten, wahrscheinlich recht wenige verwandtschaftliche Kollektive dar, die ein unstetes Leben führten und mit anderen Völkern wenig Kontakt hatten.

In den Quellen werden drei territoriale Gruppen von Lappen erwähnt, und zwar die „*Terskaja Lop*“ der östlichen Bezirke der Halbinsel Kola, die „*Kontschanskaja Lop*“ der westlichen Bezirke der Halbinsel und die „*Leschaja Lop*“ von Karelien.

Aber schon in diesem Stadium kann man von den Kontakten der Lappen mit anderen Völkern sprechen, die zuerst hauptsächlich den Charakter von Tauschhandel trugen. So kann man seit dem XII. Jahrhundert von den Kontakten der Lappen mit Russen sprechen, die in den Norden eindringende Nowgoroder waren. Ungefähr in dieselbe Zeit fallen die ersten Kontakte der Lappen mit Kareliern. Viele Jahre lang bis zum Jahre 1326 fuhren die Norweger zu den Lappen, die die Küste der Barentssee besiedelten, um Steuern einzutreiben<sup>1</sup>. Am Angang des II. Jahrtausends fanden wahrscheinlich auch Kontakte von Lappen im Osten ihres Areals, d. h. irgendwo im Mesen-Becken, mit den westlichen Gruppen der Samojuden statt, die damals aus Sibirien in den europäischen Norden eindrangen. Die Folge aller dieser Kontakte war, dass die Lappen die Schusswaffe, Kleidung aus Tuch sowie einige andere Besonderheiten in Wirtschaft und Kultur einführten.

Im Laufe des XV.–XVI. Jahrhunderts vollzog sich eine verstärkte Kolonisierung des Territoriums der Halbinsel Kola mit Russen. An der Tersk- und Murmansküste entstanden die ersten russischen ständigen Siedlungen. Wahrscheinlich begann schon in dieser Zeit die Vermischung der Lappen mit Russen. Ein solcher Prozess vollzog sich zum Beispiel im Bezirk Ponoj, dort wo im Frühling der Fang von Fischen und anderen Meerestieren betrieben wurde, an dem ausser den Russen, die für diese Zeit aus verschiedenen Orten kamen wie „*Dwinjane*“, „*Kolmogorzi*“, „*Saoneshane*“, auch Lappen teilnahmen. Gegen Ende des XIX. Jahrhunderts waren die Lappen von Ponojskij Pogost von den Russen völlig assimiliert.

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<sup>1</sup> Im Jahre 1326 unterschreiben Norwegen und Nowgorod einen Friedensvertrag, in dem die Norweger die nördliche Küste der Kola-Halbinsel als russisches Territorium anerkannten.

Aber die übrigen Gruppen der Kola-Lappen schlossen bis zum XX. Jahrhundert ziemlich selten Ehen mit den Angehörigen anderer Völker.

Nach dem Material des XIX. Jahrhunderts kann man Niederlassungen von Kola-Lappen schon nur noch auf der Kola-Halbinsel beobachten. Aus dieser Zeit gibt es viele Beschreibungen des Lebens und der Lebensweise der Kola-Lappen. In dieser Zeit erscheinen auch ernsthafte wissenschaftliche Werke, von denen vor allem die Monographie des bekannten russischen Ethnographen Nikolaj Charusin *Russkije lopari* zu erwähnen ist, die im Jahre 1890 erschien. Das Buch von N. Charusin, das eine ausführliche Beschreibung der Wirtschaft, der materiellen Kultur, der Bräuche und des Glaubens der Kola-Lappen damaliger Zeit enthält, hat bis in unsere Zeit nicht an Bedeutung verloren.

Am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts bildeten die Kola-Samen drei Wirtschafts- und Kulturgruppen:

1) die Küstensamen wohnten an der Küste der Barentssee und an der Weissmeerküste. Ihre Hauptbeschäftigungen waren Dorschfang und Lachsfang in den Flussmündungen und Netzfang von Meerestieren an der Küste. Die Renzucht spielte bei ihnen eine Nebenrolle.

2) die Samen, die in östlichen Innenbezirken der Halbinsel wohnten. Ihre Hauptbeschäftigung war zu damaliger Zeit die Renzucht. Eine untergeordnete Rolle spielten der Fischfang an den Seen und Flüssen sowie die Pelztierjagd (Fuchs, Marder, Eisfuchs u. s. w.)

3) die Samen, die in den westlichen Innenbezirken der Halbinsel Kola wohnten, bildeten eine besondere Gruppe. Ihre Wirtschaft gründete sich gleichermassen auf Fischfang und Renzucht. Eine Nebenrolle spielte die Pelztierjagd.

Die ganze samische Bevölkerung der Halbinsel Kola bestand, nach den Angaben von N. Charusin, am Ende des XIX. Jh. aus 17 samischen Gruppierungen (Lowosero, Jokanga, Semiostrowje, u. s. w.), die wahrscheinlich territoriale Vereinigungen vom Typ der Nachbargemeinde darstellten.

Die Gesellschaften hatten ständige Siedlungen – *pogosti* (Winter- und Sommersiedlungen) und ausserdem noch einige Frühlings- und Herbstplätze, zu denen verwandte Familien zum Fischfang fuhren.

Die Gesellschaften besaßen Jagd- und Weideplätze, und die Familien besaßen Fischfangplätze, wobei ihr Besitzrecht für bestimmte Plätze periodisch überprüft wurde.

Am Ende der 80er Jahre des XIX. Jahrhunderts erschienen auf der Halbinsel Kola die Komi-Ishemzen die mit ihren Renherden vom Petschora-Fluss kamen. Die Komi bekamen von der samischen Gesellschaft Lowosero die Erlaubnis, sich in ihrer Winter-Pogost niederzulassen.

Später entstanden Komi-Siedlungen an den Flüssen Ponoj, Iwanowka und Krasnoshelje.

Die Kontakte der Samen mit den Komi, die nach der Kollektivisierung besonders intensiv wurden, spielten im Leben der Samen, und zwar in der Entwicklung ihrer Renzucht, des Renstransports und der Tuchkleidung eine grosse Rolle.

Das XX. Jahrhundert hat grosse Veränderungen in das ökonomische, soziale und kulturelle Leben der Samen gebracht. Das ist vor allem auf die Arbeit zurückzuführen, die der Sowjetstaat seit den ersten Tagen der Errichtung seiner Macht auf Kola durch Hilfe für die angestammte Bevölkerung und Beseitigung ihrer ökonomischen und kulturellen Rückständigkeit geleistet hat.

Eine grosse Rolle im Leben der Samen und für die Verstärkung ihrer Kontakte mit anderen Völkern spielt die Kollektivisierung und die Vereinigung der Einzelwirtschaften zu Kolchosen, die gewöhnlich hinsichtlich ihrer völkischen Zusammensetzung gemischt waren (es vereinigten sich Wirtschaften der Samen, Komi, Karelier, Russen, u. a.).

In den 20er Jahren begann auf der Halbinsel Kola eine intensive Entwicklung der Industrie – Bergbau, Elektrizitätserzeugung, Fischereiwirtschaft u. a. – was einen grossen Zustrom von Menschen aus verschiedenen Gebieten des Landes hervorrief. Dieser Prozess vollzog sich dann besonders intensiv in den 50er bis 60er Jahren und er dauert immer noch an. Das Resultat: Das abgeschlossene und isolierte Leben der Samen nahm ein Ende. Die Verbindungen der Samen mit Nachbarnvölkern wurden stärker, und es begann ein Prozess der Annäherung der Kulturen.

Die gegenwärtige Zahl der Kola-Samen beträgt nach der Volkszählung 1979 1900 Menschen. Sie leben vorwiegend im Bezirk Lowosero bei Murmansk. Das Hauptzentrum ihrer Niederlassung ist die Siedlung Lowosero. Ihre Hauptbeschäftigung ist die Renzucht, der wichtigste Wirtschaftszweig der Sowchose „Tundra“. Ausser den Samen sind in der Renzucht auch Komi und Nenzen beschäftigt.

Die Kola-Samen leben unter den Bedingungen enger zwischenethnischer Kontakte. Trotzdem verliert sich diese kleine Völkerschaft nicht in den grösseren benachbarten Völkern, sondern entwickelt ihre Kultur weiter.

So wurden zum Beispiel in der Renzucht, die heute ein staatlicher Wirtschaftszweig ist, einige traditionelle Verfahren der Samen beibehalten oder weiterentwickelt (der Gebrauch von Zäunen, die Bevorzugung, Rentiere zu Fuss und nicht von Narten aus zu weiden u. a. m.).

Trotz einer starken Verbreitung der russischen Sprache als Sprache des zwischennationalen Verkehrs in allen Sphären des Lebens – im Familienle-

ben, in der Produktion, im Gesellschaftsleben – bemühen sich die Samen, ihre Muttersprache zu erhalten.

Samisch wird heute hauptsächlich als Sprache im häuslichen Leben gebraucht. Aber in den letzten Jahren verbreitete sich sein Anwendungsbereich etwas weiter. So hat zum Beispiel der lokale Rundfunk begonnen, einige Sendungen in samisch auszustrahlen. Es wurde eine samische Schriftsprache geschaffen. Man hat auch angefangen, Samisch in den Schulen zu unterrichten. Es wurden Sammelbände mit Gedichten der samischen Dichter O. Woronowa und A. Bazanow herausgegeben. Das Volkslied- und Tanzensemble in Lowosero singt samische Lieder in samischer und russischer Sprache.

Bei den Samen erhält sich das ethnische (nationale) Selbstbewusstsein, d. h. das Bewusstsein der Zugehörigkeit zu ihrer Nation oder, wie man sagen kann, die samische Identität.

Bei den Kola-Samen vollziehen sich auch andere Prozesse, die für die Völker der UdSSR charakteristisch sind. Es ist bekannt, dass für das ganze Land eine allmähliche Zunahme der Stadtbevölkerung im Gegensatz zur Landbevölkerung typisch ist. Bei den Samen, die Anfang unseres Jahrhunderts praktisch nur auf dem Lande wohnten, beträgt zur Zeit die Stadtbevölkerung über 20%. Das sind hauptsächlich die Mitarbeiter im Schulen, medizinischen und anderen Anstalten, Abkömmlinge aus national-gemischten Ehen, die Städter geheiratet haben.

Wie bei anderen Völkern der UdSSR sind bei den Samen Migrationsprozesse zu beobachten, und zwar nicht nur in der Richtung aus dem Dorf in die Stadt, sondern auch über das Murmansk-Gebiet und sogar über die Grenzen der RSFSR hinaus. Während Anfang des Jahrhunderts ausserhalb des Murmansk-Gouvernements weniger als 0,3% Samen wohnten, wohnen dort heute fast 20% der Samen.

Zum Abschluss kann man sagen, dass für das gegenwärtige Leben der Kola-Samen ebenso wie für andere Völker der UdSSR folgende Prozesse charakteristisch sind: auf der einen Seite die Verstärkung der Migration, die Zunahme der Stadtbevölkerung, eine Verbreitung der russischen Sprache, auf der anderen Seite die Erhaltung der Muttersprache und der nationalen Identität sowie eine Verstärkung des Interesses an ihrer traditionellen Kultur. Man kann behaupten, dass die Kola-Samen eine grosse ethnische Festigkeit aufweisen und sich als Ethnos erhalten.

# A Comparison of Some Gigantic Characters in Iroquois and Saami Traditions

BY THOMAS McELWAIN

## Summary

A comparison of similar narrative figures in presumably unrelated cultures may contribute to the discovery of blind spots and new areas of reflection in ethnographical description and thus indirectly contribute to a better basis for comparative studies. The lack of money and precious metals in the Iroquoian repertoire shows contrasting concerns between Saami and Iroquoian tradition, suggesting new directions of reflection on the Iroquoian material, namely in terms of hunting and warfare luck in the context of guardian and helping spirits. The stereotyped simplicity of the Iroquoian material in contrast with the variety of the Saami material suggests 1) the superimposition of a heavier load of concerns and values on the Saami figures and opens for reflection the possibility of an archaic *Stallo* who more purely represents the interaction between the human and the natural world in terms of guardian and helper spirits; and 2) the possibility of approaching the Saami material from the point of view of local repertoire and concern in order to reduce false problems of complexity.

1. The Iroquois as a subject of circumpolar research
2. Method
3. Case one: stories of humans appearing in the form of a bear
4. Case two: Stone Coat and *Stallo*
5. Some similarities and contrasts

### 1. The Iroquois as subject of circumpolar research

The relative complexity of Iroquoian society and culture compared with those of other peoples in the eastern Woodland area, and indeed in North America as a whole, has been for generations the object of speculation. Native American cultural complexity gave rise to the most astounding theories among Europeans, some of which, despite their lack of foundation in the evidence, remained current until the present century. Among these is the idea that native American populations have their origins in the ten lost



tribes of Israel. The presupposition behind this is of course the idea that such cultural complexity could not have been produced by ignorant savages, and must therefore have derived from a civilization familiar to the new-comers.

The problem of cultural complexity is the root of the major theory behind mid-century Iroquoian and Cherokee studies as well (Symposium 1951). It was not so much neo-evolutionary theory that buttressed the popular local diversity studies of the early 1950s. Rather, they presupposed the diffusion of northern and southern culture traits. Thus the new evolution came onto a ready field, and the two theories joined in explicating the local diversity observed in twentieth century Iroquoian cultures and which the discussion of diffusion of northern and southern traits was insufficient to elucidate fully.

Iroquoian cultural complexity has been classically examined in terms of northern and southern traits. It has been assumed that important features in Iroquoian culture and religion are cognate with similar features in the boreal hunting societies. Much of the culture of such societies is shared throughout the circumpolar area, so that through such traits the Iroquois touch on circumpolar research. There is therefore at least a formal justification for including the Iroquois in circumpolar studies, although the Iroquois may not be studied exclusively from that point of view.

Two traits have been chosen for the present study as examples of motifs that have been considered northern in the classical study of Iroquoian religion. These motifs are bear sorcery and stone giants. These are obviously chosen with a view to comparison with Saami traits. For similar characters do exist in Saami lore, the first in the bear sorcery complex and the second in the well-known *Stallo* figure.

## 2. Method

The focus of the present paper is above all methodological, despite the fact that I shall not contribute to a sharpening of comparative theory as it has been developed to the present. Rather, I shall suggest a rudimentary beginning toward a technique which has another end in view, that of applying comparative method to local, descriptive problems rather than to generalization.

The purpose of comparative theory is to generalize from bodies of tangent descriptive material. It tends to produce both generalized explanations of cultural phenomena as well as to chart descriptively cultural boundaries on the one hand or to place cognate motifs within a cultural continuum. I do not intend to impeach this noble aim of science. Rather, I suggest that comparative feedback may enhance descriptive work of a

single society. Since comparative studies are dependent on the quality of such descriptive work, from which the evidence for all comparative generalization must be drawn, the technique should be seen as obliquely contributive to comparative studies.

There is a more scientific motive behind this suggestion than the mere reticence of a scholar specialized in the study of a particular society to approach comparative generalization. This motive rises from the pragmatic problem of finding comparative studies in many cases not only irrelevant to but at times inconsistent with the ethnography of some particular society concerned. It seems that the lack of feedback from comparativism into the description of particular communities produces ethnographies with limited usefulness in developing generalized theory. The divorce of descriptive ethnography from comparative theory, which is a constant danger as theory becomes more sophisticated, weakens the material evidence on which theory is based.

I therefore presume to draw conclusions from the Iroquoian material (using Seneca data) which may be turned back on the Saami material by a competent scholar in that area. The conclusions as well as the problems, and this latter is of utmost importance, will be induced from the Saami material. This is precisely the technique that I suggest. It will effect two results. The first is a kind of control on the received data, in this case the Iroquoian material. In other words, blind spots in the accumulation of data may be revealed. The second result is a stimulus to fresh interpretations of the received data. The initiating stance is a humble one, but when returned on the Saami material, may produce unexpected results.

For the formal requirements of controlled systematization, my work on narrative material has greatly depended on the idea of thematic slots (Dundes 1964), which is of course a rather mechanical formal theory. I have focused on the selection among slotted alternatives (McElwain 1978, 97-101), considering that the selection of one motif over another is not fortuitous, but may be associated with specific local, individual, and situational factors. The mechanism for the selection of motifs is reminiscent of the theory that has developed from von Sydow's concerns (Ward 1976, 348, 349).

This technique may now be applied to a selection of Saami and Iroquoian material.

### 3. Case one: stories of humans appearing in the form of a bear

There are at least three similar story configurations that seem to form a part of the bear sorcery complex in many parts of the circumpolar area. The first

that may be mentioned is the story of the child taken in and cared for by the bear. In the Iroquois material this configuration may include a range of concerns from stepmother difficulties (in which the child is rejected) to the origin of shamanistic societies. My cursory review of Saami material showed more of interest for the two following configurations (Qvigstad 1927–29).

The second type is the encounter with a human transformed into a bear, which in the story results in fear. This configuration is largely lacking in the classical collections of Iroquoian narrative, but I have found it to be of widespread importance in the repertoires with which I am familiar on the Allegany, Cattaraugus, and Tonawanda Reservations and on the Grand River Reserve. It is not lacking in the Saami literature, and I suggest that this reveals a difference in ethnographical sources for the two peoples. A good deal of Saami narrative data is mixed in with other ethnographical matters (e.g. Manker 1960; Collinder 1949), while the Iroquoian material is traditionally strictly separated (Curtin & Hewitt 1918). Hewitt's texts give no inkling of their association with medicine societies, although he could hardly have been ignorant of them, so that Parker's revelations of such societies were unexpected news to the non-Indian world (Parker 1909). Collections of native American texts seem to be in mimicry of the King James version of the Bible, and there is a concern for creating a canon of native tradition. This concern seems to be less evident in the Saami material. I suggest this as an explanation for the suppression of this kind of story in Iroquoian collections.

Narratives of fearful encounters with sorcerers reveal a concern with the extension and maintenance of that personal power which is sorcery. The concerns are probably functionally similar among the Iroquois and the Saamis. No doubt the telling of such stories is an act of sorcery in itself, for it gives the narrator an aura of power, a suggestion that to cross him may trigger unpleasant encounters. Given the beliefs of the society and even the fears of those outside the society, narrative is often the only act of sorcery necessary to extend and maintain one's personal power.

Among the Iroquois it has been noted that such stories are told in the context of a concern for traditional values and generational roles. They function to guard young people from socialization into white society while at the same time allowing the symbiotic relations of participation in the economic world common to both. They preserve the hold of tradition and elders.

The third story configuration is the encounter between human and sorcerer in the form of a bear in which the human is rewarded for unexpected kindness shown to the sorcerer. This is the most conspicuous point of

contact between Saami and Iroquoian traditions. Besides showing a concern for elders as in the second configuration above, it reveals the ambiguous relationship of sorcerer to society. The love–fear complex is of course typical of all sorcery, as evidenced by the mere fact of transformation or metamorphosis.

Some Saami and Seneca versions of this kind of story are slot for slot identical. A human is living or camping in an isolated place in winter-time. An injured or hungry bear appears and the human gives it aid, food, or shelter. The grateful bear turns out to be a sorcerer who rewards his benefactor.

There is one alternative that shows a contrast between the two traditions. The Saami reward of money and precious metals is found to contrast with the Iroquois reward, which is invariably well-being in the form of hunting luck. The contrast is mitigated by only one instance in Seneca lore, a very recent story in which a dog leads a man to money. This story is of course structurally, thematically completely different from those of the bear sorcery complex and the *Stallo* tradition.

#### 4. Case two: Stone Coat and *Stallo*

A second northern narrative motif in Iroquoian tradition is the Stone Coat. It is another gigantic figure reminiscent of the Saami *Stallo*, despite a good many differences between the two. It will not be surprising when someone publishes in the pseudo-scientific press a theory of common origins for the Stone Coat and *Stallo* among the Vikings.

The characters contrast in narrative in that *Stallo* is somewhat diffuse, whereas the Stone Coat is heavily stereotyped even when it appears as a lesser figure in a story. When it is among the leading characters of a story, the story will always fall into one of two configurations, a hunting story or a warfare story.

Perhaps one of the reasons for considering the Stone Coat a northern trait has been Hewitt's etymology of the Seneca word for it, *kę:nq:skwa*? He sees the word to have come from a word meaning to glare or glitter, which could be applied in true Iroquoian fashion to either ice or chert (Curtin & Hewitt 1918, 63, 64). The word is indeed, from Hewitt's point of view, an apt Seneca translation of *Stallo*, the steel-man, from the berserker's glittering armor. The original intention would have been ice-clad and be in reference to a god of winter, but this was changed, first through punning and later through confusion, to stone and a being altogether separate from the winter god appeared. This spurious evidence for the kinship of Stone Coat and *Stallo* must be relinquished in the light of Chafe's more recent and

convincing work in which he successfully analyzes the word to mean "it used to eat skin" (Chafe 1964). The word is indeed reminiscent of the word for stone (ka?skwa:a?) at least to an English-speaking person who may easily overlook the glottal stop and vowel length, both of which are phonemically significant in Seneca. The only trait remaining to the Stone Coat which suggests its northern origin is the fact that it is often associated with hunting but never with agriculture.

The Stone Coat is characterized by enormous size in some cases, permitting him to carry bear carcasses like squirrels hanging from a belt, and by stone clothing. It may be associated with flight in a stone boat (here another theme for a popularizer looking for evidence of extraterrestrial travel). Hewitt refers to a tradition that people can become Stone Coats by covering themselves with pitch and rolling in the sand (Curtin & Hewitt 1918, 64).

Stone Coats figure only briefly in some stories of the Curtin and Hewitt collection. An interesting episode in number 48 is a flight from a pursuing Stone Coat in which a Thunder-being plays the crucial role in saving the hero. In another case (Curtin & Hewitt 1918, 330) Doonongaes finds a Stone Coat sharpening chert knives in order to eat him. He discovers the Stone Coat may be overcome with a basswood club. On page 444 two Stone Coat women eat two boys and die giving birth to them.

Stone Coats play a leading role in a number of stories in the same collection. Among the hunting stories are found number 12, in which a lone hunter is chased by two Stone Coat women; number 85, in which a Stone Coat woman found tasting a child remains to help the hunters, taking to eating beavers instead of humans, and ends up by killing her own husband and aiding the hunters against his avenging brother; number 86, in which a Stone Coat offers hunting luck if one of the party will marry a Stone Coat, which hunter wins a race with the rival Stone Coat lover and thus gains hunting luck; and number 87, in which the best-known theme is developed in the flight from a Stone Coat, the hiding in the top of a tree and the stealing of the magic finger which is exchanged with the Stone Coat for hunting luck.

Warfare stories are included in the Curtin and Hewitt collection in which Stone Coats are given a leading role. These are number 67, in which a Stone Coat woman eats a girl and steals a boy who are rescued by their storm goddess grandmother with her relatives who are attacked by a band of Stone Coats who are defeated in a typical ravine massacre; and number 88, in which a party of Seneca Indians on the warpath are challenged by Stone Coats who are defeated by the Creator in a ravine massacre.

Tricks are played on Stone Coats in most narratives, and these are generally meant to be amusing. These include crossing a stream to avoid

Stone Coats, hiding in a stream, climbing a tree (because of their armor Stone Coats cannot look up), snatching the magic finger from the perplexed Stone Coat, and leading the Stone Coat to fall into the river and be drowned. The Stone Coat is a marginal character in the story of the Potent Boy, but here too the tricks and results are interesting. The boy hides meat in an eat-all contest with a Stone Coat and thus wins through deceit, and finally in a contest of kicking a log into the air, the log comes down, killing the Stone Coat. Both of these tricks are of course fabulous recourses in traditions outside North America, but the result is typically Iroquoian: the boy gains hunting luck in the form of the fallen Stone Coat's dog.

Hunting luck is obtained by two means. The most widespread motif is the contest or chase, in which the Stone Coat always challenges, always loses, and always rewards the antagonist with hunting luck. The second motif is hunting luck gained from the generous offer of a Stone Coat. The Stone Coat is usually overcome by an accident in returning the finger, by cutting off the head bet in a contest, or by a basswood club or spike.

The latter means of overcoming the Stone Coat is shared with stories of the warfare configuration as well, although it is typical of the warfare encounter that the Stone Coat is overcome with the aid of some wind god. This story type thus shows the triangular relationship in the human acquisition of power or luck through the action of a guardian wind spirit (which is benign but powerless to aid directly) over a helping spirit (which is neutral or antagonistic, but able to give aid when forced to do so). The Stone Coat can be seen as a potential helping spirit, despite the indications that it may have a human-like ontology seen in cooperation, marriage, and pitch and sand origins.

It is now appropriate to turn to the *Stallo* figure for a general description. It seems impossible to find so clear and simple a stereotype for this giant character, despite some striking similarities with Stone Coat, such as a predilection for beaver meat. The figure is difficult to summarize, and presents a confusing array of traits and motifs (Manker 1960, 226, 303). I suspect that this is suggestive of a different kind of source problem than that found in the Iroquoian literature. Stories with a similar figure with the name *Stallo* are brought together indiscriminately from many narrators and localities. The problem of conflicting narrative situations produces a false complexity, which might not appear in precise studies of a limited range within narrator repertoire and specific narrative situation. If this paper contributes to *Stallo* research, this suggestion of local limited studies in view of careful comparison is likely to be the most important contribution. No doubt all that can be said about the multiple origins of the figure, as well as about generalized characterization, has already long since been said.

Some characteristics seem to be widespread. The ruthless, amoral character of *Stallo* tales is apparent (Manker 1960, 225, 226, 304). *Stallo* is an eater of human flesh, with a preference for Lappish children (Manker 1960, 225, 304). He is almost always defeated (Manker 1960, 303).

The deception practised by the Lapps on *Stallo* and his family is of extremely diversified character and the same motifs may be found to appear in the most distant bodies of folklore. *Stallo* is overcome by luring him into a boiling cauldron, onto weak ice, off the edge of a cliff, by deceiving him into eating his own children (a motif reminiscent of the Iroquois bear-lover story where the unfaithful wife is deceived into eating the entrails of her lover), and by luring him into running naked towards the winter moon. *Stallo* may be aided by a powerful dog, and even resurrected (another motif common to the Iroquois but missing from the Stone Coat stories) (Manker 1960, 304).

The macabre destruction of genitals, both those of *Stallo* and Saami alike, is typical of some tales with motifs of an amazing variety, such as the biting off of testicles by a dog, cutting off of testicles with a knife, vaginal penetration with a knife, and burning with hot broth (Manker 1960, 304).

Some relations between Saami and *Stallo* seem to have no purpose greater than mere antagonizing. This is exemplified in the Saami habit of setting off the alarm to *Stallo's* beaver-nets (Manker 1960, 305).

Marriage deceptions seem to be important in the *Stallo* repertoire (Manker 1960, 304). The thwarting of *Stallo* by means of a dressed log is a motif found among the Iroquois as well, but again not in the context of gigantic figures. This is again indicative of the greater spectrum of values and variety of concerns which *Stallo* as a narrative figure is forced to carry. Both Stone Coat and *Stallo* do carry a similar semantic load, however, one that has been described as profane because it has no connection apparently with ritual.

Unlike the Stone Coat, *Stallo* is found only alone or with his family, never in a larger society (Manker 1960, 305). The larger society of Stone Coats is at least implicit in hunting tales, and explicit in tales of warfare. The matter of sex roles has been ignored in this study despite the fact that it is a key to the meaning of Iroquoian narrative of hunting, where male and female roles are essential. In this we find a contrast with the Saami material, and an important one too.

## 5. Some similarities and contrasts

The similarities between Stone Coat and *Stallo* are evident. They appear in perhaps similar genres. They are both giants. They are both anthropomor-

phic. They are both eaters of human flesh, as well as beavers and other game. They are both the object of tricks. They both lack cunning. They are both channels of acquisition, and as such express ambiguous relations to the informant society. Finally it seems that they are both always defeated by the informant society.

Despite the many similarities there are significant differences between Stone Coat and *Stallo*. For the Iroquois Stone Coat is an other-than-human being, the origins of which are not stated, except for Hewitt's one nineteenth-century note. For the Saami, the origins of a *Stallo* are discussed and seem to be diffuse. There is a range from a clear metamorphosis from the Saami human to *Stallo* on one hand to a clear other-than-human figure on the other.

Intra-group contest of individuals within Saami society is a striking aspect of some Saami tradition which is lacking in the Iroquois material.

The Iroquois material can be easily arranged into two types with few exceptions, the one with a concern with hunting luck and the other with warfare. The Saami material relating to *Stallo* seems more diffuse, suggesting the expression of a greater variety of concerns.

The Iroquois material refers overwhelmingly to relationships between human hunters and warriors with other-than-human beings, strongly suggesting a helper spirit character. What is acquired from the Stone Coat is precisely what is expected from a helper spirit. The Saami material has an overwhelmingly human character, suggesting that *Stallo* is expressive of a conflict-symbiotic relationship between two human societies. What is acquired from *Stallo* is varied, but often tends to be the things acquired from people, not gods. Precious metals, gold and silver, are often introduced. Since Saami society has shared the Iroquois concerns for hunting, fishing and gathering, the differences are a little surprising. It may be that the patterns of herding and centuries-long symbiosis with non-Saami societies may be associated with the differences in concerns.

For me as a student of Iroquois narrative the Saami material has served to clarify the particular configuration of the Stone Coat tradition through a comparison of similarities and contrasts. The other way around, I cannot pretend to have accomplished anything in the way of Saami research. Nevertheless, the Iroquois material may stimulate some clarification of the following points in *Stallo* tradition.

The contrast of money and precious metal reward (already noted in bear sorcery) with hunting luck in Iroquoian tradition may suggest the areas of concern most closely revealed by *Stallo* stories, as well as other figures in Saami tradition.

The clear Iroquois human: helping spirit: guardian spirit triangle may



suggest aspects of archaic *Stallo* tradition that remain obscure at present because of the complex and diffuse character of the Saami tradition. Because of the overlapping of subsistence concerns in the two societies, there may be at precisely that point *Stallo* material that has been overshadowed by Saami and non-Saami conflict and symbiosis. This is suggested by Manker's plea that *Stallo* symbolizes, more than human ethnic conflicts, the struggle of the little Lapp against the stern forces of Lapland and victory over them (the makings of guardian and helping spirits) (Manker 1975, 214).

The bumptious amorality of the *Stallo* tradition is striking to the student of Iroquoian narrative, who is accustomed to the interaction of human and giant to result in the expression and reinforcing of traditional values. It is fairly obvious that *Stallo* represents a series of superimpositions of traditions and concerns. It appears that the amorality and ruthlessness are to be associated not with the relations of Saamis to natural forces, but with the narrative moral breakdown resulting from contact between hostile human societies. In that case the human aspects of *Stallo* would be superimposed on an archaic non-human figure resembling more closely the Iroquoian Stone Coat than Vikings or berserker. In this sense a comparison with the Iroquoian material suggests a reversal of some of the earliest *Stallo* origin theories, a question that may now be fruitless.

On the other hand, the emphasis on conflict and symbiosis speaks to my mind for a *Stallo* who may well symbolize those bumbling and witless Finns and Swedes who grow so tall because they stay green so long, and whom the little Lap may not always overcome, but whom he likes to think he can generally outwit.

Stone Coats, for all we know, may be real giants.

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# Contrary to Nature: Inuit Conceptions of Witchcraft

BY DANIEL MERKUR

The omission of witchcraft from the programme of the history of religions proceeds by tacit agreement. The omission is, of course, a result of theological wishful thinking that refuses to acknowledge the social fact that witchcraft and Satanism are integral, minority components of the Christian religious tradition. In the last century, the prejudice of the pulpit was secularized as an academic dichotomy between religion and magic. If the fallacy of the dichotomy has since been recognized, the underlying ethnocentricity has not been addressed. A distinction is now tacitly made between socially licit and illicit magico-religious practices. Providing only that they are socially licit, magico-religious practices are "holy"; and historians of religions have been astonishingly—in some cases, alarmingly—agile in their discoveries of holiness even in such practices as human sacrifice. By contrast, socially illicit magico-religious practices are passed over in embarrassed silence, as though they were not part of the historical record.

Anthropologists ordinarily define witchcraft from a sociological perspective in terms of socially illicit magico-religious practices. Because functionalism is used to show that witchcraft is socially beneficial despite its illicit status, the anthropological reduction of witchcraft is apologetic in function. Moreover, it neglects the underlying problem. Definitions of witchcraft as socially illicit magico-religious practices presuppose that cultures have criteria for differentiating some magico-religious practices as licit, but others as illicit.

The present contribution to the phenomenology of witchcraft will depend for its data on the traditional conceptions, rites, and folklore of witchcraft among the Inuit (Eskimo) of Canada and Greenland.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the inadequacies of ethnographic literature preclude extension of the discussion to the Alaskan and Asiatic Inuit, beyond acknowledgement of the fact that witchcraft was traditionally practised by them.<sup>2</sup> Again, it is impossible to

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<sup>1</sup> The only previous essay on the topic, Petersen's "The Greenland Tupilak" (Petersen 1964), addressed only part of the topic in part of the area of its distribution.

<sup>2</sup> Nunivak I. (Lantis 1946, 201, 252); Lower Yukon and Kuskokwim (Nelson 1899, 428f.); Little Diomedes I. and Asia (Hawkes 1928, 141 ff.); St. Lawrence I. (Murphy 1974, 65 ff.); Pt. Hope (Rainey 1947, 279); North Alaska (Spencer 1976, 309 ff.).

assess the extent to which the Inuit witchcraft complex consisted of mistaken beliefs that other people practised witchcraft.<sup>3</sup> However, most of the data derives from informants who had either practised witchcraft or been taught how to do so.

A phenomenological definition of witchcraft may be obtained through recognition of its position within Inuit religion. Like many native North Americans, the Inuit epitomized their religion in the concept of balance.<sup>4</sup> The Polar Inuit understood religion to have the function "to keep a right balance between mankind and the rest of the world" (Rasmussen 1929, 62). "We observe our laws in order to keep the world up, in order to keep the earth in balance. For the powers which we do not know must not be offended" (Rasmussen 1938, 68). The Netsilik Inuit expressed themselves similarly: "We are careful about the forces that keep mankind and the earth in balance" (Rasmussen 1931, 500). The idea of balance implies that human endeavour has its counterweight in the mysteria immanent in the world.

Inuit religion may consequently be divided into three main sections. Traditional observances, consisting of both requirements and prohibitions, surrounded the hunt and the disposal of animal remains, human birth, menses, and death. Most of these observances were incumbent on women. Furthermore, there were amulets to ward off malicious ghosts and other spirits, magic songs to accomplish various ends, minor sacrifices in propitiation of various numina, and feasts of different sorts. All of these measures were prophylactic in purpose, since they were designed to maintain the balance of the world. Together with religious experiences and folklore, these measures comprised the religion of Inuit laity.<sup>5</sup>

When sickness, famine, or mishap occurred, the Inuit turned to those among them who knew the remedial measures that had to be taken in order to restore the balance of the world. The *angakut* of the Inuit have been called sorcerers, magicians, conjurers, devil-doctors, witch-doctors, jugglers, charlatans, frauds, humbugs, and other unpleasant names. Kroeber

<sup>3</sup> Carpenter (Carpenter 1953) and Hippler (Hippler 1973) have studied the persistence of the fear of witchcraft among the Aivilik band of Iglulik Inuit, despite the extinction of the practice of witchcraft in post-contact times.

<sup>4</sup> By contrast, Hans Mol (Mol 1982, 126) has recently asserted that "the essence of Eskimo religion from the social-scientific point of view is its dramatization of existence and the ever-present lurking breakdown of wholeness, regardless whether that wholeness pertains to nature, society, and the individual or, more often, to all three at once". I am resistant to the concept of "wholeness" which, so it seems to me, is a romantic notion that is currently fashionable in native North American studies. The Inuit were concerned with maintaining their often precarious place within the ecocycle. Unlike Western scientific ecologists, the Inuit did not entertain fantasies of controlling their environment as a whole.

<sup>5</sup> For general accounts of Inuit religion, see: Weyer 1932, Lantis 1950, Birket-Smith 1959, Hultkrantz 1965, Mol 1982.

first applied the term "shaman" in 1900, and "shaman" became standard for academic purposes after Rasmussen adopted the word in the 1920s. Unfortunately, insensitivity and intolerance have remained typical of most Christian missionaries, and today's increasingly Christian population of Inuit have been made ashamed of their heritage through ignorance that shamanism and witchcraft were two separate syndromes in traditional Inuit conception. The traditional circumstance was otherwise. Shamanism was a socially licit and responsible practice that included the detection and annulment of witchcraft. With the exceptions of the training of novices and rare ecstasies for personal reasons, the whole of the Inuit shamanic complex was concerned with the restoration of the balance of mankind and the numina.<sup>6</sup>

The third great division of Inuit religion was the witchcraft complex. Importantly, a magico-religious practice was illicit because it was witchcraft, and not vice versa. In cases when West Greenlanders were entitled to avenge grievances by killing their enemies, it was socially licit to use material weapons, but illicit to resort to witchcraft (Rink 1974, 53f.). H. Rink suggested that "its secret origin and traditional teaching, and not the immediate intention of it in every single case, constituted the evil of witchcraft" (Rink 1974, 53f.); but a review of Inuit witchcraft practices discloses a deeper source of malignancy.

From western Canada to eastern Greenland, dialectic variants of a single term, *ilisineq*, denotes "witchcraft". West and East Greenlanders also referred to *kusuineq*, a single act of "black magic". For them, only the habitual practice of *kusuineq* constituted *ilisineq*. In all Inuit groups, a witch, *ilisitsoq* (plural, *ilisitsut*), might be either male or female, and might or might not also be a shaman. Like shamanism, witchcraft was taught in secret, and payment was made for the teaching. Unlike shamanism, both the practice of witchcraft and the identities of witches were kept secret. When shamans diagnosed illness, famine, or death as results of witchcraft, they attempted to frustrate the witchcraft, before discovering the witch's identity. Particularly if they were also shamans, known witches might be left unpunished, as social outcasts, because they were feared too greatly to be challenged. Otherwise, known witches might be killed with communal approval.<sup>7</sup> East Greenland represents an exception to this pattern. Virtually every East Greenland adult practised at least some *kusuineq*, and special

<sup>6</sup> On Inuit shamanism, see Merkur 1985.

<sup>7</sup> Netsilik (Rasmussen 1931, 299); Caribou (Rasmussen 1930, 50); Iquluk (Boas 1901, 135; Rasmussen 1929, 143); Polar (Rasmussen 1908, 155; Feldstead 1932, 100); West Greenland (Rink 1974, 41; Birket-Smith 1924, 455f.); East Greenland (Holm 1911, 100ff.; Thalbitzer 1941, 606-612).

shamanic seances were held in which known witches were forced, on pain of death, to confess and thereby to abdicate their powers (Holm 1911, 102).

Several types of witchcraft consisted of deliberate violations of the traditional observances of the religion of Inuit laity. Necromancy involving violations of death and burial taboos, was perhaps the simplest practice. A person might take a belonging of an enemy and use it in order to interfere with a grave, while pronouncing the intended victim's name or speaking a magic formula (Rasmussen 1929, 143; Holm 1911, 101). In other cases, parts of corpses might be taken from a grave and brought into contact with the intended victim or his or her belongings (Balicki 1963, 385; Rink 1974, 50f.; Holm 1911, 101; Thalbitzer 1912, 643; Thalbitzer 1941, 612f.). Implicitly, the ghost would seek revenge in the normal fashion for the violation of its mortal remains, but it was intended to be misdirected from the offending witch to the witch's victim.

Analogous practices depended on violations of the rituals surrounding the hunt. A piece of sealskin might be placed in a person's path, while magic words were spoken (Boas 1907, 517; Thalbitzer 1912, 643). The hairs of a dead dog might be placed in a person's boot-soles and kayak (Thalbitzer 1921, 427). A person might be fed the neck part of a seal while the bones were still in it (Thalbitzer 1941, 615). In all cases, disease would result, implicitly because the animal's ghost would seek vengeance.

Witchcraft practices that were intended to spoil a hunter's luck typically combined necromancy with violated animal ceremonialism. The witch might take part of a hunter's catch, such as a bit of skin, blubber, or meat, and place it in a grave (Birket-Smith 1924, 456; Holm 1911, 101; Rasmussen 1931, 299; Rink 1974, 50f.; Thalbitzer 1941, 613). Alternatively, part of a corpse might be smeared against a hunter's weapons (Holm 1911, 101). In either event, game animals would avoid the hunter because their souls cannot tolerate graves or anything connected with death (Rasmussen 1931, 299).

Another type of witchcraft depended on the closely related practice of amulets. In ordinary circumstances, Inuit animal ceremonialism aims to cause the departure of the slain animal's ghost, lest it turn malicious and seek vengeance. By contrast, an amulet depends on preserving the link between an animal's remains and its ghost, while acquiring the latter as a helping spirit.<sup>8</sup> The amulet ideology is indicated in a tradition from Repulse Bay in the central Canadian Arctic that tells of a man who prepared arrows

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<sup>8</sup> Nunivak (Lantis 1946, 200); North Alaska (Rasmussen 1929); Netsilik (Rasmussen 1931, 269); Iglulik (Boas 1901, 159; Rasmussen 1929, 150); Baffin I. (Boas 1901, 143; Boas 1907, 485); Labrador (Hawkes 1928, 135f.); West Greenland (Rink 1974, 52; Birket-Smith 1924, 447f.).

from caribou-antlers in a special fashion which made the arrows impossible to extract once they were embedded in his enemy's flesh (Boas 1907, 550 f.). Because the use of antlers for arrows did not violate animal ceremonialism, it was only the special preparations that constituted the witchcraft.

The Inuit have an extensive belief in the magical efficacy of words. A *serrat* (plural, *serratit*) is a magical formula of traditional character and is regarded as spiritual property. A parent may teach it to a child. Otherwise a *serrat* must be bought or traded for another. A *serrat* whose function was to cause harm—e.g., to kill, or to cause disease—could be directed against a victim by repeating the latter's name when pronouncing it. In at least many cases, no further activity was necessary in order to perform witchcraft.<sup>9</sup> A variant practice involved the mere thinking of evil against an enemy (Stefansson 1913, 295 f.; Stefansson 1921, 413 f.). Here the thinking of words substituted for the speaking of words. The breath-soul was the effective agency of witchcraft in both events (Merkur 1983).

A further type of witchcraft consisted of stealing a person's soul. The symptoms of soul-loss that were attributed to witchcraft include paralysis, insanity, disease, and death.<sup>10</sup> It is unclear whether witchcraft through soul-theft was a practice reserved for shamans, but there are several references that shamans performed this act by means of their shamanic powers.<sup>11</sup> Presumably, they sent their helping spirits to steal the victims' souls on their behalf.<sup>12</sup>

A remarkable instance of shamanic activity was witnessed by the missionary Petitot. Once, when Petitot had offended a shaman, the shaman went into a trance, angrily waved a stick surmounted by a ball in a ritual, circular motion, and chanted violent commands to his helping spirit. The shaman gradually worked himself up into a frenzy that was intermittently attended by momentary convulsions. To Petitot, he seemed to have assumed the identity of his spirit. When he broke his ceremonial wand, he seized his knife and flourished it before the missionary. By now the other Inuit present had become infected and taken up the shaman's chant. They seized their knives and beat them against their thighs and left palms in

<sup>9</sup> Netsilik (Rasmussen 1931, 291 f.); Caribou (Rasmussen 1930, 50); Iglulik (Rasmussen 1929, 163 f., 200 ff.); Polar (Holtved 1967, 176); West Greenland (Rink 1974, 50).

<sup>10</sup> Lower Yukon (Nelson 1899, 422); North Alaska (Spencer 1976, 310 f.; Mackenzie (Stefansson 1913, 56, 295); Copper (Jenness 1970, 95); Netsilik (Balikci 1970, 233 f.); Iglulik (Boas 1901, 135, 159; Boas 1907, 512).

<sup>11</sup> Netsilik (Rasmussen 1931, 299); Iglulik (Rasmussen 1929, 143 f.); Polar (Rasmussen 1908, 156; Freuchen 1961, 224; Malaurie 1982, 61 f.).

<sup>12</sup> I have found only a single instance of witchcraft through spirit intrusion, and Stefansson (Stefansson 1921, 439 f.) convincingly suggests that the shaman's activity was inspired by Western sailors' notions of magic.

rhythm with the chanting. At last, as the shaman's knife passed only an inch from Petitot's face and the other Inuit were on the verge of attack, the missionary, who, in his own words, had 'remained calm, cold, unmoved, even contemptuous', touched the shaman gently but resolutely and said 'Look, that's enough'. Feigning indifference, Petitot turned to read a book. The shaman's nerve broke. He abruptly stopped chanting, lost control of his helping spirit, and was instead possessed by it for some minutes until his trance ended (Petitot 1981, 63 ff.). This shamanic feat, mesmerizing others into committing murder, is among the types of interpersonal control that the Inuit classify as a form of witchcraft.

Over half of the ethnographic literature on Inuit witchcraft pertains to creatures called *tupilak* (plural, *tupilat*). Deriving from the verb 'to harm', the noun means 'harmful being' (Petersen 1964, 78). It was not necessary to be a shaman in order to fashion a *tupilak*, but esoteric instruction was required. Petersen offered several possible points of contact with other aspects of Inuit religion. Most convincing was his link between the *tupilak* conception and the amulet (Petersen 1964, 88). Something more was also involved, however.

The Inuit of Pt. Hope, on the northern Alaskan coast, used the term *tupitkaq* in reference to ordinary amulets that were worn on the body or on the clothing (Rainey 1947, 272).

The Inuit of the Mackenzie River delta, in western Canada, have a tradition concerning an old couple who fashioned polar bears out of the blood of slain polar bears.<sup>13</sup> The artificial bears functioned as pets, hunting on behalf the couple (Jenness 1926, 42). The conception here is intermediate between an amulet and a *tupilak*.

The Copper Inuit, in the western part of the Northwest Passage, employ the term *tupilek* to refer to a shaman's helping spirit (Jenness 1970, 191).

The Netsilik, in the eastern part of the Northwest Passage, may make a bear out of snow and bring it to life by placing bear's teeth in its mouth. The artificial bear will then cause disease, accidents, or even death to occur to the enemy of its maker. A variant describes the manufacture of a *tupilak* from a bear's skull (Boas 1901, 153; Boas 1907, 517; Rasmussen 1931, 288 ff.; Balikci 1970, 234 f.). Another variant pertains to snow men (Boas 1907, 507). A further Netsilik variant is a partial account of the actual witchcraft practice, rather than its popular conception. Shamans might make a doll out of lamp-moss or a snow-beater. The doll was placed inside a bag. A magic formula was pronounced. The bag was struck, and something

<sup>13</sup> The myth may intend bears made of snow; the Greenlanders considered snow to be "the blood of the dead" (Petersen 1964, 84).



inside it would move about 'just like a dog'. Struck twice more, the bag disappeared and the doll ran off. It had a human or a canine head, and sometimes the legs of a caribou (Birket-Smith 1945, 138). A further account asserts that a tupilak is an evil spirit, round in shape and filled with blood, that can cause sickness (Balikci 1970, 226). The description presumably reflects laity's view of seances in which a shaman will destroy a tupilak that only he can see and later display its blood on his knife and clothes. The shaman's own understanding is probably indicated in a further variant. Shamans engaged in witchcraft could use very small human souls, about 5 centimetres in height, to cause misfortune and death. They gave instructions to the souls and sent them to enter their victims' bodies (Balikci 1970, 198).

According to the missionary Turquetil, the Caribou Inuit, who dwell inland west of Hudson Bay, made a tupilak with the head of a bear, the body of a wolf, the wings of birds, the tail of a fish, etc. Life was given to the artificial monster, which was then sent after a victim (Turquetil 1929, 64). Rasmussen noted, however, that the conception was less significant among bands dwelling further inland. Tupilat were there rumoured but neither fashioned nor seen. According to rumour, a tupilak could change size, from that of a fox to that of a caribou, and vice versa. It breathed fire that caused people who saw it to become blind. It would attempt to attack a village, but a shaman's helping spirits would chase, kill, and eat it. The only shaman who claimed to have seen one described it as having a human head with a dog's snout, a hairy body, and the legs of a fox (Rasmussen 1930, 60).

Late nineteenth century data on the Iglulik, on the western shores of Hudson Bay, indicate variant conceptions of the tupilak. It might resemble a bear. It might instead resemble a walrus with human head hair. Amulets were used by laity to drive a tupilak away, but a shaman might send his helping spirits to kill it. The tupilak's blood became visible at the end of the invisible combat (Boas 1901, 153; Boas 1907, 506 ff.). Further information concerns snow men that laymen both built and cut to pieces with knives after shamanic seances. The term *tupilak* pertained to the spirits of the snow men (Boas 1907, 512). In the 1920s, Rasmussen found that the practice was obsolete. The term *tupilak* had come to denote an evil spirit. However, witchcraft conceptions had apparently influenced the conception of evil spirits. A tupilak could not come into existence on its own, but it could instead be created by a shaman. A tupilak could cause game to vanish in the district, and anyone other than a shaman who saw one would die. However, a shaman in seance might engage in a battle with a tupilak that only he could see. He used a snow knife made from walrus tusk, and always

attacked by holding the knife in his left hand. After the battle had ended in victory, the shaman displayed his hands, which were covered with the tupilak's blood (Boas 1907, 508; Rasmussen 1929, 143 f.).

The witchcraft practice had disappeared still earlier on Baffin Island, where Boas found that the term *tupilak* was applied to a human ghost under certain conditions. Should the death taboos be violated, a ghost could not go to an afterlife realm and consequently turned malevolent, seeking vengeance against those whose taboo violations condemned it to wander the earth. Such a ghost was called a tupilak and caused heavy snowfalls, misfortune, sickness, and death. When a tupilak was discovered, all the local shamans held a common seance in which they stabbed the tupilak with their knives. Their purpose was to cut away the impurities that had attached to the ghost through the taboo violations. The shamans thus released the ghost to proceed to the afterlife realms. Their knives, which were covered with blood, were shown to the laity in witness of the combat (Boas 1901, 131). The Baffin Islanders simultaneously conceived of this same type of tupilak as a human ghost that had violated taboos during its mortal life and was now undergoing purgatory in the Sea Mother's house on the sea bottom, prior to its entrance into the paradisaal netherworld (Boas 1974, 590). The idea of purgatory was, of course, the result of syncretism with Christianity.

In the conception of the Polar Inuit, in northwestern Greenland, a witch made a tupilak out of the bones of various animals, which were covered with turf and clots of blood and brought to life by means of a magic song. A tupilak would attack the witch's enemy while the latter was at sea, either by capsizing his kayak or by allowing itself to be harpooned and killed. A person who killed a tupilak would lose his strength and become a cripple. A famous case late in the nineteenth century involved Tateraq, who harpooned a seal only to discover that it had human chest bones and other bones from various animals. Tateraq soon fell ill and later became paralyzed. His father, the shaman Sorqaq, lost considerable public esteem, and the manufacture of the tupilak was popularly ascribed to Sorqaq's rival, the great shaman Kritlaq, who had led the immigration of Baffin Islanders in 1856–59 (Rasmussen 1908, 155 f.; Freuchen 1961, 224 f.). By the 1960s, the witchcraft practice was extinct (Holtved 1967, 176). However, the legend of Tateraq lived on as the belief that a witch who was not killed in the proper ceremonial manner would be reborn as an animal that resembled a seal-walrus that had been made by a witch. A hunter capturing such an animal would become sick and later be paralyzed (Maurie 1982, 61 f.). Apparently, the Polar Inuit employed the tupilak conception to explain freak, malformed animals that hunters occasionally killed.

In the late eighteenth century, Niels Egede recorded that some West Greenlanders had seen:

an Angekok (shaman) sitting at the beach, and he had a half sleeve, which he packed with hair, nails, grass and moss, and he furthermore mumbled over it, and when he had gone away, they went there and saw that the half sleeve began to crawl, and when they had run away, out of fright, the Angekok came at once saying: go forth and become a Tupilek i.e. a ghost! and it immediately jumped into the water; this they thought he sent out, when he wanted to take the life of someone (Birket-Smith 1924, 456).

In this instance, the shaman employed sleight-of-hand to demonstrate his power over a tupilak. The laity regarded the tupilak as an animated, material being, but the shaman considered it to be a spirit.

In the late nineteenth century, the West Greenlanders maintained that witches might make bears and reindeers that they sent to destroy enemies. However, the term *tupilak* was reserved for the more common conception of an artificial creature, serving the same function, that was made from various animals' parts. A tupilak could assume the shape of any of its components (Rink 1974, 53f.; Rink 1905, 285f.). In addition to the animal bones and skins, a piece of the clothing of the intended victim, or a piece of game that had been caught by the intended victim, was incorporated into the tupilak. The tupilak was brought to life by means of a magic spell. It was then given nourishment. The witch seated himself on a rock on the sea shore, concealed his face, and then dangles the tupilek between his legs. This makes it grow, and when it has attained its proper size it glides away into the water and disappears (Nansen 1893, 285). It subsequently attacked its intended victim at sea.

Petersen noted some early traditions tending to suggest that a tupilak would head northward to an afterlife region in the polar wastes, once its commission had been completed (Petersen 1964, 84). Like the Polar Inuit, the West Greenlanders would conceptualize a freak, malformed sea animal, not as an abnormal, natural creature, but as a tupilak (Petersen 1964, 91–100).

The East Greenlanders alone among Inuit groups were more devoted to witchcraft than to shamanism. Every adult practised at least some *kusineq*, and witches were more numerous than shamans. Most shamans were witches as well. Due to their richness, the ethnographic data on the East Greenland tupilak can be treated here only summarily. As elsewhere, a tupilak might be made from the bones of a single animal or, more commonly from the remains of several animals of different species. A complete skeleton had to be reconstructed. Turf, moss, or seaweed leaves might be used for flesh; an old bed skin, a kayak sleeve, or an old mitten for skin. A

bit of clothing or part of the catch of the intended victim was incorporated in order to direct the tupilak. Once the materials were collected, they were assembled in the vicinity of water, by using only the thumb and the little finger of the right hand. The joints were put together by blowing (a technique also used in shamanic healing). Once the complete tupilak was assembled, a series of magic songs was sung in order to animate it. It would waken to life in a weak and hungry condition. As a result, it would gain strength by suckling on the sexual organ of the witch, male or female. The witch would then tell it the name of its victim, and it would go on its way. It could assume the shape of any of its constituent animals, but it was always very thin and lacking in blubber. It would have no further food until it killed, after which it would feast on its victim's entrails (Holm 1911, 100, 102f.; Thalbitzer 1912, 642ff.; Thalbitzer 1921, 485ff.; Rasmussen 1938, 160ff., 164, 170f.; Petersen 1964, 74f., 81).

A tupilak might attack its victim in any of several ways. Most frequently, it assumed the shape of a sea animal and allowed itself to be harpooned. Because the bladder at the end of the harpoon line would magically adhere to the kayak, the tupilak would drag the kayak and its man down into the sea when it dived. The kayaker's corpse would later be found to have blood in the corner of its eyes, due to the kayaker's terror at the sight of the monstrous creature. Under other conditions, a tupilak was invisible. Only a shaman could see it. Moreover, he could see a link, invisible to laity, that stretched from the tupilak to the witch who had made it, as though it were a line or cord. A layman who saw a tupilak would immediately die of fright. Once a tupilak had done its harm, it ceased to exist (Rasmussen 1938, 159, 165, 170).

A tupilak could be killed only rarely, and only by a shaman. During the seance, the laity could see the shaman attempt to harpoon the tupilak in mid-air. The harpoon would shatter into fragments on impact, but reappear whole immediately that the shaman touched it once more. The harpoon had bits of the tupilak's feathers and flesh on it. However, in the end only a shaman's helping spirits could kill a tupilak. The spirits of falcons and hawks were favoured for the task, and they positively enjoyed eating the creatures (Holm 1911, 100f., Thalbitzer 1921, 487ff., Rasmussen 1938, 128f., 160, 164f., 167f.).

If a prospective victim had sufficiently powerful amulets or magic formulae, a tupilak might be afraid to attack him or her. As a result, the tupilak eventually became so hungry that it would turn against its maker and kill him instead. Failing to kill, a tupilak might drive its maker insane (Rasmussen 1938, 165, 169f.). The manufacture of a tupilak was done in secret, but it was often an open secret (Petersen 1964, 76). A person slowly succumb-

ing to an increasingly severe illness was thought to be under the attack of an invisible tupilak. If a shaman disliked the person, he or she might diagnose the patient as a witch who had made a tupilak that had turned against its maker. In such a case, the patient would be plagued by his or her neighbours until he or she confessed real or imaginary acts of witchcraft during a seance held for the purpose. With each confession, the power of witchcraft was lost. Consequently, each confession deprived the tupilak of power, and the person healed (Holm 1911, 102; Rasmussen 1938, 128; Petersen 1964, 76).

Noting the discrepancy between the visible, physical forms that a tupilak may assume and its otherwise invisible, metaphysical character, Petersen postulated that the conception has undergone historical development (Petersen 1964, 73 f., 86 ff.). In my own view, Petersen has been misled by the esotericism of the topic. Several East Greenland informants have provided first person accounts of the manufacture of tupilak (Thalbitzer 1912, 642 ff.; Thalbitzer 1921, 485 ff., Thalbitzer 1941, 613 ff.; Rasmussen 1938, 163 f.). Evidently, the manufacture of a tupilak was an important rite. Indeed, one shaman used to put tupilak in the water torrents that came down the mountains during the springtime melting of snow in order to provide them with mobility (Holm 1911, 101). When compared with the ideology surrounding the manufacture of amulets, the meaning of the rite becomes implicit. A tupilak binds together, as a single being, the spirits of a variety of different animals that would otherwise not cooperate with each other. I suggest that the physical binding of the bodily parts is a ritual precondition for the metaphysical binding of the spirits. The further aspects of the tupilak conception are consistent with violations of animal ceremonialism. The animals' ghosts seek vengeance and are misdirected by the witch against the intended victim.

As we have seen, all Inuit witchcraft practices depended on conceptions belonging to the religion of Inuit laity and/or the shamanic complex. Whether through omissions or commissions, neglect of traditional religious observances was within the normal course of expectable events. However, the interior logic of Inuit religion also accommodated deliberate practices that similarly disrupted the balance of the world in order to achieve goals that could only be attained in that manner. These deliberately disruptive practices, which comprised the third great division within Inuit religion, were the phenomena of witchcraft.

In most cases, an act of witchcraft depended on a deliberate violation of a traditional observance. Because the witch used a bit of clothing or part of the catch of the intended victim, the ghost that would avenge the breach of taboo was misdirected from the actual violator toward an innocent victim.

Once misdirection is understood to be the intent of acts which, since Frazer, have been misunderstood to depend on a 'principle of contagion', several further matters fall into place. Witchcraft recoiled against the witch whenever it was frustrated in its aims, because the frustration of witchcraft involved the identification of the witch. The secrecy of witchcraft—and the maker of a tupilak concealed his face once the creature was animated—concealed the witch's identity from the avenging ghost as well as from the community. When a shaman or anyone else discovered the identity of the witch and alerted the spirit, the ghost was re-directed against the actual taboo violator. For this same reason, the confession of witchcraft appeased the ghost, as did the confession of any unintentional breach of taboo.

Two witchcraft practices cannot be fitted into this pattern: malicious uses of magic formulae, and malicious uses by shamans of their helping spirits. Because helping spirits were commanded by means of magic formulae and magic songs, the practices shared a common basis in the breath-soul that pronounced the words. Importantly, we need not rely on reconstructions of implicit ideology on this topic.

The term *sila* refers to the air or atmosphere, the collective breath-soul in which all human breath-souls participate. *Sila* is also the numinous source of song and the knowledge of traditional observances. One of the most powerful of Inuit deities, *Sila* commands the winds and the storms. Always conceived as a personification of the idea of the atmosphere, *Sila* is conceived still more generously by Alaskan and Greenland Inuit groups. As the personification of the idea of the physical cosmos, *Sila* is the order or structure informing the cosmos (Merkur 1983).

The natural course of events proceeds, in an Inuit phrase, *sila maligdlugo*, 'according to *Sila*'. It is according to *Sila*, 'nature' or 'the world order', that the sun rises in the east and sets in the west, that people are born as infants, grow to maturity and die of old age, etc. Participating in the natural order is a ritual gesture. Because the sun, when seen from the Arctic, moves across the southern sky from left to right, a clockwise motion of the left hand, as when thrusting a knife, is, for ritual purposes, *sila maligdlugo*, "according to nature" (Petersen 1966–67, 262). Ritual motions 'in the direction of the sun' are typical of shamanic practices. For example, an Iglulik shaman who attacks a tupilak with a walrus knife must hold the knife in his left hand, never in his right (Rasmussen 1929, 144).

The contrary, counterclockwise motion, made with the right hand, is *sila agssordlugo*, "contrary to nature", and Petersen notes that the ritual motion occurs in a tale of witchcraft (Petersen 1966–67, 262). Further

instances may be adduced. Petitot asserted that, when the Inuit mesmerized by the shaman were preparing to attack, they "beat their thighs or the palm of the left hand" with their knives (Petitot 1981, 64). In other words, they held their knives in their right hands, preparatory to an attack "contrary to nature". In West Greenland, a person who finds a round hole in his clothes, because a witch has cut a piece to use against him or her, must cut off the piece around the hole, wave it in "the direction against the sun" and throw it away. The witchcraft will then recoil against the witch (Birket-Smith 1924, 456). This reversal of witchcraft presumably depended on bringing the evidence of witchcraft to the attention of the offended spirit; the counterclockwise motion indicated that witchcraft had been done with the missing bit of clothing. Again, in East Greenland, a tupilak is made with the thumb and little finger of the right hand. The left hand is not employed at all (Thalbitzer 1921, 485). Petersen suggests that "the direction of the ritual appears to be decisive for [differentiating] black and white magic" (Petersen 1966-67, 262).

Because counterclockwise ritual motions were specific to witchcraft, the expression "contrary to nature" may be understood to epitomize the Inuit's own appreciation of witchcraft. Whether witchcraft depended on deliberate violations of traditional observances, on malicious uses of magic formulae and songs, and/or on ritual motions, witchcraft proceeded "contrary to nature". Without exception, the rites of Inuit witchcraft were rites of Inuit religion that were made unnatural, or contrary to Sila, through the alteration of one or more features. For this reason, I propose to define witchcraft as special practices, together with the beliefs and folklore surrounding them, that are believed to be innately disruptive of the balance between mankind and the numina.

Because it is contrary to nature, witchcraft is innately anti-social. The disruption of the balance of mankind with the numina is not the private act of the witch against a victim, but a danger for the entire community. It matters not at all that witchcraft may be employed in order to further otherwise licit goals. The purpose of witchcraft can be socially licit; the methods of witchcraft are anti-social. Witchcraft is a contravention of the magico-religious order, an abuse of the metaphysical powers conceived by religion. It is religion used to evil purpose. Neither sacred nor secular, it is distinctly unholy.

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