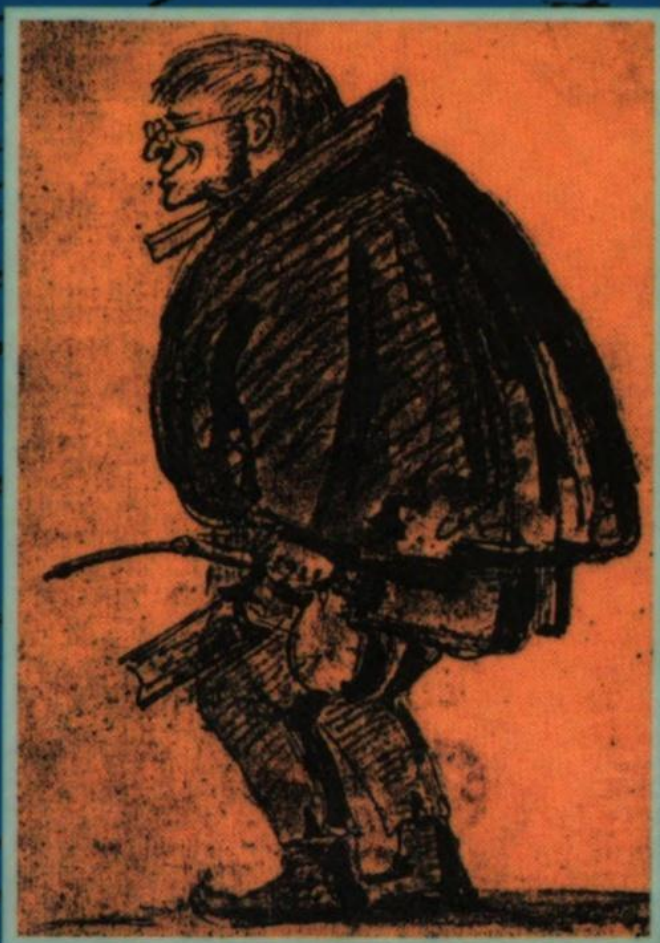


Fragments of Lappish Mythology



Lars Levi Læstadius

Edited by Juha Pentikäinen

Fragments
of
Lappish Mythology

Picture on the cover:

Caricature of Lars Levi Læstadius by G. A. Hüttling

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Back cover:

Divination Drum whose figures Læstadius interpreted in

Part 1 of his *Fragments of Lappish Mythology*

Drum image from Leem: *Beskrivelse over Finnmarkens Lappar*

Lars Levi Læstadius:

Fragments of Lappish Mythology

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Edited by
Juha Pentikäinen

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With an Introduction and an Afterword
By Juha Pentikäinen

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Translated by
Börje Vähämäki

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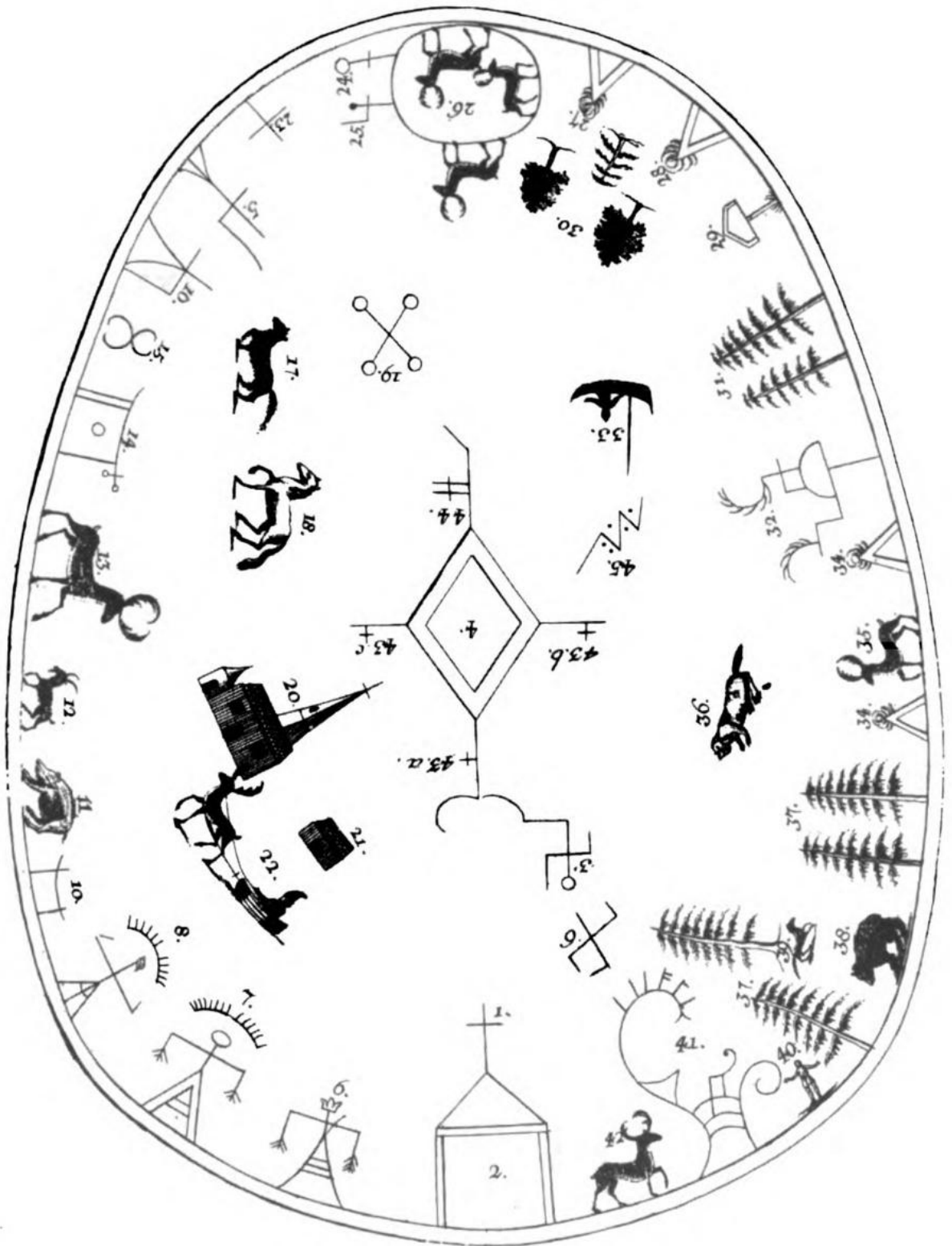


Lars Levi Læstadius (1800–1861)
(Pentikäinen, 1995)

Fragments of Lappish Mythology

By Lars Levi Læstadius

Pastor in Karesuando, of Torne Lappmark,
Member of His Majesty's Science Society of Upsala;
Corresponding Member of His Majesty's Hunters Society, and of the
Botanical Society of Edinburg.
Member of the Royal French Honor Legion.



The *noaide* drum figure Læstadius refers to in the text. Taken from Leem's *Beskrivelse over Finnmarkens Lapper* (1767).

Acknowledgements

My thanks to Professor Börje Vähämäki who, with financial support from the Finnish Literature Information Center, has translated Lars Levi Læstadius's *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* from the original Swedish, first published in 1997. In 1998, Vähämäki's warm interest in his — and my — childhood home region Ostrobothnia resulted in a volume entitled *Exploring Ostrobothnia*, which appeared as a special issue of the *Journal of Finnish Studies* (Volume 2, Number 2, December 1998). The interest raised by my two articles in the *Journal*, "Religious Movements in Ostrobothnia" and "Lars Levi Laestadius Revisited," inspired us to publish the whole mythology in English.

The introduction to this book has been revised to reflect new research conducted in Paris in 2002 on the circumstances surrounding the original fate of Læstadius's manuscript. A warm thank you for the French part of the project to my colleague and collaborator for more than a decade, Tarmo Kunnas, Professor of Comparative Literature at the University of Jyväskylä. Bicycling in France, as well as on the roads in the Satakunta home province of Oskari Jalonen Society, we have had time and opportunity to ponder many thoughts. The research trip which began in La Rochelle with the long history of French Protestantism and Huguenot wars was concluded in our archival research.

With the support of the Finland Institute of Paris we were able to secure research licenses to three central libraries and archives of Paris, where the virtually unopened papers of "La Recherche Expedition 1838–1840" are deposited. This research allowed us to offer answers to the puzzling question of why France wished to forget this Expedition which had, after all, been extensively planned. Professor Lars-Erik Drijvenes from the University of Tromsø refers, quite correctly, to the Expedition "as one that France forgot". Some other questions which had occupied my mind for many years were if any parts of Lars Levi Læstadius's mythology was translated into French and why did the work remain unpublished although the scientific communities in France, Hungary, Sweden, and Finland were aware of its existence?

Acknowledgements

The Royal Expedition took place in the spirit of Schefferus, Acerbi and other explorers, through whom Central and Southern Europe on the 19th century was more interested in Lapland and Ultima Thule than for example in Finland. Along with the romantic enthusiasm an erroneous image of Læstadius spread across continental Europe. The image depicted Læstadius as a priest who, wearing a top hat and traditional Sami clothing, preached to people in the midst of icebergs in the Spitzbergen. Although Læstadius indeed was a member of the expedition that sailed on the *La Recherche* corvette, he never set foot on the Spitzbergen. Nor did he board the corvette, except in Hammerfest where he arrived too late for a dinner on the corvette; he came only when the expedition members were already resting, recovering from that very dinner he had missed. Læstadius wrote about this in newspapers much to the chagrin of Count Crove and other Scandinavian expedition members (Archives de la marine 23.1.1839).

If one rides a bicycle along the Muonio-Tornio River from Karesuando to Haparanda, as did *La Recherche* No. 2 research group in August 2002 (Toimi Jaatinen, Tarmo Kunnas, Marja and Juha Pentikäinen, Antero Raevuori), one begins to comprehend the meaning of the river and the forest in the lives of human beings. Along the river were also the main points of Læstadius's life's work. Læstadius had served as the guide for the *La Recherche* Expedition across the tundra from Kåfjord to Karesuando, where he wrote his entire mythology in a small hut. The fast-flowing Muonio River splits the dwarf birch covered tundra from Karesuando to the Muonio basin. In 1848, Læstadius accepted the office of pastor of the Pajala parish in the district of the Kõngänen iron works. This is where he gathered his last plants in 1860. Læstadius died before he was to move into the new parsonage, finished in 1861. He was originally buried in Kõngänen where the current local inhabitants still can point to the location from where Læstadius, along with others who had been buried in Kõngänen, had been moved to the Pajala church cemetery founded in 1869.

I wish to also thank my student, Lic. Theol. Risto Pulkkinen, who translated the book from its original Swedish into Finnish and assisted in the English language edition with the photographs and bibliography. Pulkkinen's dissertation on Carl Axel Gottlund (to be published in 2003) has uncovered new information on Læstadius's time in Uppsala and has elaborated on how the world views of these two dissident and peripheral mavericks formed and encountered each other in the 19th century. In addition to Pulkkinen's own comments, the article includes the remarks of Mag. Theol. Ulla Lehtonen who has been responsible for its Latin texts.

Acknowledgements

I thank my two students as well as Dr. Theol. Nilla Outakoski and the Scandinavian research team studying Sami Folklore (Harald Gaski – Vuokko Hirvonen – Lena Sergejeva) who offered background support and cooperation and whose first publication was the *Lappish Mythology* in Swedish. The Nordic cooperation, particularly involving the Norwegian and Swedish Science Academies, has inspired new ideas on shaping Læstadius's profile as a researcher; I wish to thank, in particular, Inger Nordal (Oslo), Bengt Jonsell (Stockholm) and Håkan Rydving (Bergen). The first results of our project, started in 1999, were published in 2000 in the volume *Lars Levi Læstadius: botaniker – lingvist – etnograf – teolog* illuminating in a Nordic perspective the career of Læstadius as a scientist. This book was published jointly by the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters, Oslo 2000, and The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, Stockholm 2002.

I dedicate this book, written in honor of Lars Levi Læstadius's life's work, to my parents Veikko Adolf (1909–1992) and Kaino Helena Pentikäinen (née Liakka, 1910–1996), who took me on a trip to Lapland and Læstadius's paths for the first time in 1949 about which journey I wrote my first composition in school. The field work which my eldest brother Samuli Pentikäinen and I first initiated in 1959, continued until the seminar when these acknowledgments were written.

At the conference “Lars Levi Læstadius, The Unknown” held at FinnFest 2002, Minneapolis, Minnesota, August 9, 2002.

Juha Pentikäinen

Translator's Foreword

The philosophy behind my translation of *Fragmenter* from the original Swedish, as was also the case with Risto Pulkkinen's translation into Finnish (2000), has been guided by two objectives: (1) to reflect with precision Lars Levi Læstadius's text, and (2) make the text as accessible to the reader as possible. Risto Pulkkinen describes the initial dilemma as follows:

As Juha Pentikäinen points out [...] Læstadius ended up having to finish off prematurely [...] his project involving the mythology of the Sami, which fortunately, however, was in its advanced stages. This is evident from references to which the author does not return, and e.g. from the promise [...] that he would deal thoroughly with the Lapps' "rune-staffs and calendar principle" — which, however, is not included in the final manuscript. (2000, 17).

It is obvious in the linguistic and stylistic properties of the manuscript that Læstadius really had lost interest in the project by the time he obtained a copy of the manuscript to Fellman's *Mythology* (See Pentikäinen's *Introduction*). The sentence structure in the *Addition* chapter, which comprises the fifth part of *Fragments* and consists exclusively of his comments on Fellman's manuscript, is considerably more convoluted, much more unfinished, and indeed harder to follow than any of the other parts.

One reason Læstadius did not put the finishing touches to the manuscript is the fact that it was originally to be translated into French and published in France. Læstadius apparently left it to the translator to edit and provide stylistic unity to the manuscript, or perchance he expected to work with the translator in the final polishing. In any case, the consequence is a set of exceptional challenges for his translators, even in 2002.

One big question I have grappled with is the distribution of the older terms *Lapp* and *Lappish* and the newer term *Sami*, which is the only term accepted for current texts. My decision has been to use *Lapp* and *Lappish* when reflecting older, typically 18th and 19th century texts. The modern text in the *Introduction* and the *Afterword* uses *Sami*.

I have attempted to standardize certain names, terms, spellings and references; Læstadius would e.g. often spell the same name in three or four different ways while clearly referring to the same phenomenon. In place names I strive to use spelling that reflects the language of the country, e.g. Finnish

spelling of *Tornio Lapps* (pro Swedish *Torne*). Læstadius's sentences are generally long and sub-clauses and intermittent main clauses are abundant which makes the sentences often 5–7 lines in length. Sentences have, therefore, frequently been divided into shorter, more accessible, and hopefully clearer units. Læstadius's intent was obviously to capitalize Sami terms. Like Pulkkinen in Finnish, I also make some attempts to keep true proper names separate from appellative nouns, capitalizing only the former. All non-English words and passages have been represented with italics. I have adopted virtually verbatim the scholarly note apparatus which was added by Risto Pulkkinen for the Finnish translation. Læstadius himself used footnotes sparingly and, instead, made extensive use of commentary preceded by *N.B.* (*Nota Bene* 'please note') or *Anmärkn.* ('Note'). These comments were in essence his notes, but always incorporated in the text immediately following the item he comments on. The endnotes in each part are, therefore, adopted here from Risto Pulkkinen's Finnish translation.

Finally I wish to concur with Pulkkinen's comment (2000: 18), only exchanging on line five the word "Finnish" for "English":

Læstadius's text is, nevertheless, not particularly difficult to translate. The character of a draft text, which is the cause of general difficulty in conceptualizing the text, is counterbalanced by the lucidity and logical consistency of Læstadius's thinking: The clarity of thought often transcends even difficult linguistic expressions and has helped in the shaping it into the mould that Finnish requires.

In making the ultimate necessary stylistic choices, I have been dictated by a degree of ambition to reflect Læstadius's style. While Læstadius was a man of great learning, his writing style (except for syntax) was precise and "simple", particularly in the area of the lexicon. The translation, therefore, aspires to lexical simplicity, sometimes perhaps at the expense of stylistic elegance.

I wish to thank Professor Emeritus Richard Impola who has actually translated considerable parts of the book, Ms Karine Wanderpass for her help with the translations from French, and my wife, Professor Varpu Lindström, for her many valuable suggestions for improving formulations, helping to clarify remaining convoluted passages, all while conscientiously proofreading the entire manuscript. I am indebted to Professor Juha Pentikäinen, who has provided many valuable clarifications and recommendations along the way to a final version. Any shortcomings are, however, mine alone.

It has been a privilege to be a part of the process of bringing Læstadius's versatile genius before the English-speaking world.

Börje Vähämäki



The church in Karesuando where Læstadius was parson (1826–1849)
(mv/ Marmier, 1999)

Introduction

“During my entire Scandinavian journey I have not learned as much from any one as I learned from Lars Levi Læstadius at the Karesuando parsonage.”

(*Unpublished journal of Antal Reguly, Karesuando, July 16–19, 1840, The Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Science, Budapest*).

Lars Levi Læstadius (1800–1861) is best known as the founder and mentor of the religious revivalist movement called Læstadianism with hundreds of thousands of followers in Finland, Norway, and Sweden as well as in North America. This book, however, concentrates on Læstadius as a scientist, a linguist, a botanist, zoologist, philosopher, ethnographer, and most of all, as a mythologist. *Lappish Mythology* was originally written in 1838–1845 by Læstadius, a Sami pastor in Karesuando, the northernmost parish in Sweden. It remained as an incomplete and unknown manuscript until 1997 when it was finally published in Swedish. The King of Sweden invited Læstadius to join a research project planned by the French Admiralty. Læstadius participated in the La Recherche expedition of 1838–1840 to northern Scandinavia as a scientist and as a guide for the expedition.

This introduction serves a twofold purpose: First it introduces the reader to the unknown Læstadius, his inner world, and the Sami people. Secondly, it questions why Læstadius’s *Lappish Mythology* was not published as intended in 1845 and then traces why the manuscript remained “lost” for a century and a half. The Afterword offers further analysis of Læstadius’s *Lappish Mythology*.

The Unknown Læstadius

Key to the Inner World of Læstadius and the Sami People

Lars Levi Læstadius has over the last 150 years earned a solid reputation in Finnish and Scandinavian church history. He is known as a religious leader. Since mid-nineteenth century, the religious revivalist movement(s) that are

named after him have had a profound impact on the Evangelical-Lutheran churches in the northern parts of the three Nordic countries of Sweden, Finland, and Norway. In the 1860s, the religious movement reached North America where immigrants established Læstadian congregations.

The starting point for Læstadianism is generally considered to be in 1845 when L.L. Læstadius's sermons acquired a new character. This was as a consequence of his personal conversion experience in Karesuando where he had been preaching for some twenty years. Scant attention has been devoted to the roots of the folk revivalism that swept over Scandinavia in the 18th century. Læstadius describes in his autobiography how he was well acquainted with the revivalists already as a youngster and hoped that his spouse would come from "the milder kind of fanaticism" (*från det mildare slaget av svärmeriet*), an expression that refers to the more moderate branch of the reader movement led by Rev. Per Brandell. The pre-Læstadian religious movement in northern Scandinavia deserves more attention because it in part explains both the rapid spread of the Læstadian movement and also some research problems which are associated with Læstadius's name. These include e.g. the escatologically oriented Shouters movement of the Finnmark Sami, which was a strong influence behind the Kautokeino ecstasy of 1852, and about which Lars Hætta and Anders Bær, who were imprisoned for the Kautokeino events, have given valuable historical information in their Oslo prison memoirs (1993).

The revivals within the Readers movement that started in Sweden in the 1700s, and from which grew the religious movement which was named Læstadianism for the first time in 1875, have in some ways become fateful for Læstadius. A considerable part of all that he accomplished in other fields of life has been forgotten — or rather explained away — not so much to polish his image as a revivalist leader as to nullify his scholarly merits. The criticism of his learned opponents started when Læstadius gained fame as a religious leader. The extensive biographical-historical literature about Læstadius has pronouncedly been written from the religious perspective (See Raittila's and Rydving's biographies, 1867 and 2000 respectively) despite the fact that the role of a revivalist leader landed on Læstadius's shoulders relatively late in his life.

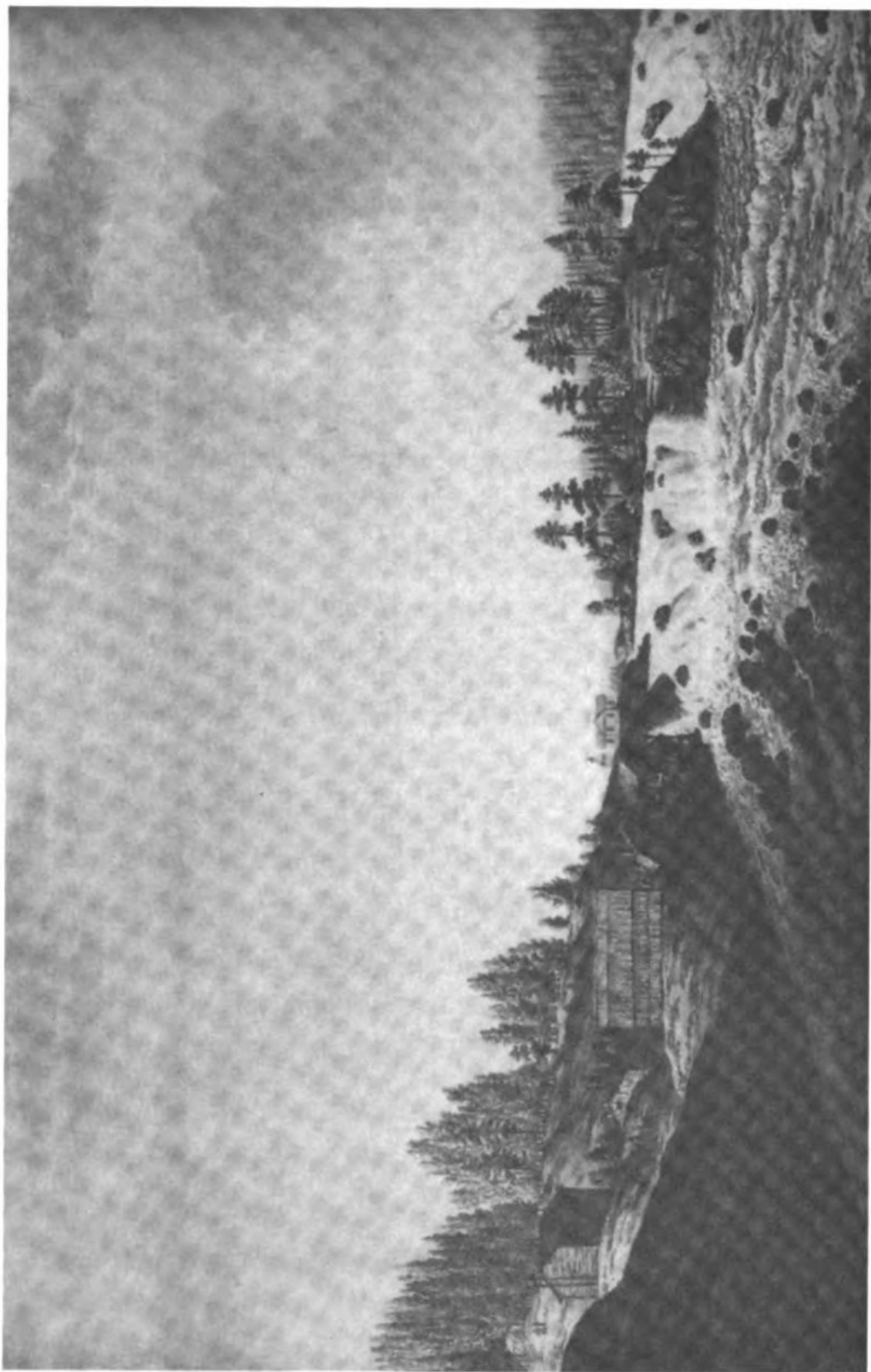
This is particularly true in relationship to the subject matter of his *Lappish Mythology* which deals with the least well known of his many roles: Lars Levi Læstadius as ethnographer, as mythologist, and as mythographer. I will aspire to make a distinction between these three roles; as an ethnographer he took notes in order to describe the antiquity of the Sami, as a mythologist he gathered folk tales in order to write a system he

called a mythology, and as a mythographer he finally, with the mythology as his point of departure, attempted to write their own history. In the case of the Sami people, as with many other peoples without a country, this history was remembered and transmitted orally. In oral history, the boundary between myth and history is like a line drawn in water. It is interesting to note from documents preserved in the archives of France that the mythological work by Læstadius that is published here for the first time in English was written both as a history and as a mythology. Læstadius contemplated writing it already in 1833, but the manuscript was actually written in 1838-1845.

Læstadius wrote his work in the midst of his research field, in the parsonage of Sweden's northernmost congregation Karesuando, alone, far away from the scientific centers of the time, away from archives and libraries, working as a researcher priest. Although Muonionjoki River in 1810 divided the village of Karesuando, that earlier had belonged to Enontekiö, into Sweden and Russia respectively, this did not prevent interaction across the border. Læstadius was both the parson of his congregation which consisted mostly of Sami and the visiting pastor of the entire northern Lappmarks of Sweden. He had "visited each and every corner and *kota* of Swedish Lapland," as he explains in his "Reminder to the Reader".

When reading *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* one must not forget the difficult circumstances in which it was written. Læstadius was the father of 12 children and lived in a one-room parsonage, in the midst of poverty, illness, and deaths of three of his children. At the same time, he also wrote *Crapula mundi* (1843) while undergoing his own religious crisis that ultimately was to catapult him as the leader of northern revivalism. Typical of Læstadius's work method was that he not only studied the mythology of the Sami, but also with all his heart lived along in their "inner household" — as he so aptly called the inner landscape of the mind — the religion of the Sami.

As the revivals continued, Læstadius became a mythical figure. Within the movement mythical stories about him emerged, and he contributed to these by his own writing and preaching. At first, the oral stories about Læstadius circulated only within Sami culture, but later spread to the Finns, Swedes, and Norwegians. The Læstadian myth formation in the early stages — in 1840s and 1850s — appears to have happened according to Sami models. The myth about "the Order of Grace" shows how the early Læstadian revivalism tended to strengthen Sami identity.



Köngänen rapids and waterfall. (mv/ Marmier, 1999)

The significance of *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* in helping to understand Læstadius's life history and the progression of his research is increased by the fact that the religious crisis that radically changed Læstadius's life occurred in 1844 in the midst of his mythological research. A letter that Læstadius sent to his Finnish colleague, the parson of Utsjoki congregation, Jacob Fellman, in December 1845, provides strong evidence of the feverish process under way within him as well as within his congregation in 1844-1845:

Immediately, as I hasten to express my most respectful gratitude for the loan of the manuscript and some other writs — which I hereby return — I wish, with reference to an earlier letter, to explain that I can no longer undertake to take any further action in regard to this deserving manuscript, since my attention has turned in another direction and it has been consumed by other matters, which pertain to religion, and which appear to me much more significant than the mythological ones. (Fellman 1906, II, 7)

The Life Cycle of Lars Levi Læstadius, 1800-1861

Lars Levi Læstadius was born in Jäckvik in the southern part of Swedish Lappmark on January 10, 1800, and died in Pajala on February 21, 1861. His life cycle can be divided into four periods. Each of them is distinguished by different physical, social and cultural environments, as well as special roles, tasks, and specific interests. Each period is also associated with distinctive personal, social, cultural, and religious identities.

The periods in Lars Levi Læstadius's life are:

1. Childhood and youth, first (1800–1808) at home in Jäckvik and then in his half brother Carl Erik Læstadius's vicarage in Kwickjock (1808–1816) until Carl Erik's death, formed an ecological and cultural foundation for Læstadius that he built on as a natural scientist and as a person who experienced the Sami identity as his own.

2. Studies in the high school of Härnösand and at the University of Uppsala together with another brother, Petrus Læstadius — who later became a journalist and a Lappologist — with whom he shared an interest in botany and ecology and even conducted some research expeditions (1816–1824) that, during the student years, extended beyond the Lappmarks to central Norway and even as far as Skåne in Southern Sweden.

3. Clerical work after his ordination in February, 1824, as vicar first of Arjeplog, then of Karesuando, and also as visitator of the parishes of

northern Sweden (1825–1844) and active scientific work as botanist and zoologist, ethnographer, theologian, and philosopher. He undertook several scientific expeditions, including as a participant in the La Recherche expedition 1838–1840.

4. After his personal conversion — dated 1844 on the basis of his autobiography and correspondence — serving in his roles as the founder and leader of the religious movement that carries his name as revivalist preacher, as education and temperance speaker, organizer of people's education, newspaper editor, first in Karesuando until 1849, where the Sami formed a majority, later until his death (1844-1861) in Köngänen (Kangis) in the Finnish-speaking parish of Pajala on the Swedish side of the Torne River Valley.

Læstadius's life is full of ever new challenges that he meets by tackling them both in his personal life and in his writings. Lars Levi Læstadius was both open and diligent as a writer and preacher. His literary remains in several different languages are extensive and versatile. (Rydving LLL, 13–32)

Læstadius does not avoid expressing in his writings his opinions about fellow scholars, clerical leaders, people whom he knew, and his own experiences. The vicissitudes of life are told in his autobiography *Ens ropandes röst i öknen* 1852–1854 [The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness] in great detail, including his love adventures and passions. The life cycle of the father of 12 is also divided into segments along with his own and his children's illnesses and deaths. Læstadius states in several publications, sermons, and letters that he has become acquainted with death. How he experienced the presence of death is expressed in a letter to his wife, Brita Kajsa Alstadius, written while in Stockholm seeking a cure for impending blindness and fearful that he would never see his wife again:

My most tenderly beloved wife!

As I have loved you in life so I still love you now on the brink of death. This is perhaps the last time I can write to you, and I do so to bid you farewell. You see, I have been struck by a serious illness that is reminiscent of cholera. But if we were not to meet again in this life, my wish still is that we will once meet each other on Zion's Hill by the King with a crown of thorns; there we will together look at him and rejoice in New Jerusalem. Tears of happiness are rolling down on the stationery at this moment. The only advice I can give is: "The Lord will seek out his sacrifice."

May the Lord be with my beloved friend and may he comfort you. May he refresh your heart and may he help you carry your cross: Farewell and bring greetings to all Christians from their dying teacher. Farewell!

Læstadius's letter employs the same metaphors of death as are revealed both in his sermons — the mystical experience of Christ's death on the cross on the breasts of the "Blood Elder" — and in the ancient Sami worldview in which the boundary between life and death is like a line drawn in water and where dreams and the experience of a presence are central elements of the world of experiences. Læstadius's own death was soon canonized both within the family and in the circle of Læstadians. It became a sacred story, that was kept current in sermons and in letters by the "Elders" where the movement spread in Scandinavia and across the Atlantic. According to legend, he spent his last days on a bearskin on the floor, until his stomach cancer wore him out altogether.

Læstadius's Four Scientist Profiles

Despite his office within the Swedish Evangelical-Lutheran church, Læstadius appears to have been also constantly active in many scientific fields and in many scientist roles. Together these roles form the unique whole which this remarkable man's life history and personality represent. Already in his life time he, as well as the revivalism he led, were the subject of passionate debate. Læstadius participated in the debate e.g. with his periodical *Ens ropandes röst i öknen* [The voice of one crying in the wilderness] that he published in 1852–1854. The arguments for and against continued beyond his death and, indeed, divide opinion still today. Many seem to have had difficulty keeping Læstadius the person and his attitudes toward Læstadianism separate. Many have also found it difficult to realize how the same person, Lars Levi Læstadius, performed scientific and religious activities. He was versatile but surely not, as this book will bear out, so divided as a person that he would "just like that" in a moment in 1844 have "sacrificed the cultural person in him to religion" as chronicler of Swedish Lapland, Sten Selander, who writes from a mostly botanical perspective, would have us believe (1948, 156–158):

He was after all not only a revivalist preacher but also a botanist — of the Swedish scholars he was perhaps the one to have received an inheritance from Linnæus's brilliant "botanical eye." Before his arrival in Karesuando he accompanied Wahlenberg on his journey to Skåne. The purpose was to create illustrations for Palmstruch's book *Svensk botanik* [Swedish botany]; some of its most beautiful plant pictures were in fact drawn and colored by Læstadius. Above all, however, he did wander across the Lule Lappish fells as a young student [...] Læstadius's natural science career was, however, soon discontinued; at the age of 26 he was summoned to be vicar of Enontekiö

congregation — that is what the parish was called at the time. Læstadius could not, however, abandon his beloved botany. Most of what we know today about the flora of northeastern Sweden we have him to thank for.

It is incomprehensible how such a highly educated and talented man as Læstadius could survive year after year in absolute mental solitude, among reindeer thieves, drunkards, and smugglers who had drifted into complete decay. It is easy to understand why his handwriting over the years became ever more sloppy and difficult to make out and that his botanical activity degenerated into a monomaniac invention of new “forms” — “forms” that no subsequent botanist has managed to identify. This is the background against which the crisis from which suddenly, in 1844, emanated an entirely new Læstadius: a fanatical revivalist preacher, who in a rough, coarse language painted for his listeners the wages of sin, all the anguish of Hell. That was a language the listeners understood; only now the Læstadian revival could commence. Læstadius sacrificed his whole life in order to save a few hundred down and out wilderness dwellers. He succeeded in this only after having sacrificed his whole old self, the cultured person within him.

Characterizations such as the one offered by Selander are common in the Scandinavian literature describing Læstadius. Therefore, a re-evaluation of Læstadius’s scientist profile and identity is much needed. Recently, the Scandinavian conferences held in honor of his 200th anniversary, where representatives of the sciences and humanities have examined Læstadius’s scholarly life’s work, have indeed further defined more precisely his researcher profile and its significance. Læstadius was even recommended for membership in the Science Academy of Sweden for his botanical accomplishments, but the recommendation was supported only by three members and so fell through. On January 10, 2000, The Royal Academies of Science in Norway and Sweden decided in an authoritative meeting of the science and humanities department of the Royal Swedish Academy of Science on a joint publication (Oslo 2000) in which Læstadius’s scientist profiles are examined in detail. They can be divided into four main groups:

1. The ecologist and botanist. Læstadius was a well-known ecologist and botanist with great expertise on the North. He is mentioned as Carl von Linnæus’s most talented successor as an expert on Arctic nature who, in 1821 and subsequent years, assisted professor Johan Wahlenberg on his plant collection journeys across Sweden and who was invited as an expert on several international Arctic expeditions. His herbarium, which he sold to Mr. Gaimard, the leader of the French expeditions to the Scandinavian North, the Spitzbergen, and Greenland in 1838–40, included 6700 plants. The Science Academy of Sweden in the Museum of Natural Science in Stockholm holds an extensive collection of Læstadius’s plants, drawings,

and other notes, to which he kept adding until his death. His botanical and zoological literary remains and bibliography are a testament to a lifetime of scientific work starting from the first notes he made as a schoolboy in 1816, through several publications, until his last findings in the vicinity of his home dated in the last year of his life in August, 1860. An indication of these last findings is seen in Hüttling's drawing (see picture in the cover of this book) which depicts Læstadius with a botanical collection spade.

2. The theologian and philosopher of religion. As far as theology and philosophy of religion is concerned, his familiarity with the texts of the psychology, philosophy and theology of the period of Enlightenment was remarkable; cf. the Raittila's Læstadius biography, and the bibliography of Lars Levi Læstadius's literary work, and the works cited by Læstadius in his *Fragmenter*, collected by Dr. Nilla Outakoski (in the appendix of *Fragmenter*, NIF 1997). From the standpoint of theology key publications are his pastoral dissertation *Crapula mundi* (the World's Hangover, 1843), the three-part *Dårhushjonet* (The Madhouse Inmate, written before 1851), the religious writings and sermons published in Postillas in Finnish, Swedish, and Sami. *Dårhushjonet* offers a continuation from the perspective of the psychology of religion to the musings about the spiritual life natural to human beings. He had earlier written on the pages of his *Mythology* about religious experiences (particularly in Parts 2 and 3).

3. The Lappologist. As a Lappologist he was a philologist who in the course of his career learned to speak three Sami languages, Lule Sami in Kvikjock and Fell Sami in Karesuando in addition to the Pite Sami he learned from his mother. He also developed a suggestion for a grammar mainly from "what he had heard at home" based on Pite and Lule Sami. Because it was too difficult and differed too much from earlier orthography his "Kota Lappish" or "Kota Sami" was not adopted by others but remained his private project. As Håkan Rydving has shown (2000), Læstadius was the founder of the first Lule Sami written language and, as a religious author writing in Sami, he was also the founder of Lule Sami literature.

4. The ethnographer, mythologist, and mythographer. Of special importance in this book is his least known work specialty as Sami ethnographer, mythologist, and mythographer. His posthumous work, *Fragmenter i Lappska Mythologien*, appeared in its entirety in Swedish in 1997, in Finnish translation in 2000, and now in 2002 in English as *Fragments of Lappish Mythology*.

Lars Levi Læstadius's Hushed Sami Identity

The question about Læstadius's Sami roots and his Sami identity still remains one of the least addressed questions in the vast "Læstadiana" literature. In fact, it has been deemed to be in some way inappropriate to ask questions of this kind. Many of Læstadius's works, particularly the *Mythology* and the story of his life, show that he was a man whose 'cultural mother tongue' and 'specific' identity was Sami. He may well be considered to be the most well-known Sami of all times, albeit he terms himself "half Sami" in Carl Axel Gottlund's Journal (*Muistokirja*, 1821). He may, of course, be compared to Anders Fjellner who studied at the University of Uppsala at the same time as Gottlund and Læstadius. Compared to Læstadius, Fjellner was "wholly Sami" because he was the son of a reindeer herding Sami.

The term cultural mother tongue discussed in this paper refers to his first oral language through which he experienced, interpreted, and re-interpreted the world around him. Læstadius was a man who remembered and felt in the way of the Sami. As an ethnographer, he was an expert in listening to the oral traditions mastered by people he knew. As an ecologist, he was able to observe and listen to the nature around him. The deep knowledge of the language of nature merged with the oral traditions told and sung to him and with his own numerous religious and spiritual experiences. All this surely became blended into a harmonious whole in his mind, reflected and re-interpreted by his life history and his career as a scholar of several disciplines. In his time, there were not many who shared this complex and vast knowledge and his experience. That certainly was the cause of much conflict about and around him.

Lars Levi Læstadius was born into a bilingual family. His father descended from a Swedish family that settled in the southern part of the Southern Sami regions of Sweden. The family had produced clergymen in several generations before Lars Levi Læstadius was born. L.L. Læstadius's mother was Southern Sami. The woman Lars Levi married in 1827, Brita Kajsa Alstadius, also had Sami ancestors in several generations. The *Mythology* reflects oral traditions from both families.

We may conclude that Læstadius's mother tongue was Southern Sami, although the home language in the Læstadius family with its Swedish father, turned out to be Swedish. What is most important here is the fact that — besides the spoken language — in his childhood Lars Levi Læstadius had an opportunity to become deeply acculturated to so many essential elements of the Sami world view, life style, and mentality that his

'cultural mother tongue' became and remained one that he shared with the other Sami in his Southern Sami environment. Læstadius expressed this part of his religio-cultural identity programmatically in his 1843 pastoral thesis, *Crapula mundi*, chapter 18, in the following manner:

But I, Læstadius, if there is some measure of godliness in me, if some faith in God, if some patience in adversity, then I surely did not learn those virtues in schools, but in my father's home and at my mother's bosom where I have absorbed whatever religion and faith I may have. For I am forever indebted to the example, tears, and nightly sighs of that happy time for everything I have been taught about religion and faith.

Læstadius thus equates religion and mother tongue, which is learned as if in a mother's lap. Lars Levi Læstadius himself was a *homo religiosus* who believed in the supernatural world and also experienced it in a typically Sami way. During his later career as a revivalist leader, he blended this knowledge about Sami ethnic religion into his sermons in such a unique way that his Sami audience could often quite well identify themselves with the roles of various supranormal beings.

As Nilla Outakoski has shown, many of L.L.Læstadius's sermons were filled with names and concepts from Sami mythology and the Sami supranormal world, albeit often with new, Christian meanings. For example, the *maahiset* 'humanlike beings who live underground,' that in Sami were known under a multitude of names (*kadnihah* or *gufihtar*, etc.) were given a different character: they were no longer in their positive role as helpers for the Sami and in the shape of beautiful, alluring women; instead they were portrayed in negatively charged descriptions as the hidden-away children of Adam and Eve who stole children and exchanged them for their own, etc. The listeners, who were told that they themselves were unconverted *maahinens* or *äpäräs*, did not seem to have registered this change of valuation — or even been interested in it. For them the most important thing was that the terms remained the same. A common statement, that I have heard repeatedly in my field work among the Sami since the 1960s and which may be heard even today, is a strong statement referring to Læstadius's many Postillas with his sermons about the *maahinen* ('earth spirit') and other Sami supernatural beings: "This must be absolutely true because even Læstadius spoke about it."

Læstadius's close interaction with the Sami was understandable, because except for his student years and the last years in Pajala, he lived in Sami regions, in different Lappmarks of Sweden. In 1999, I recorded oral traditions of several elders in Kvickjock who explained that the Læstadius

brothers had played in Lule Lappish, with their friends (e.g., Sami pastor Johan Mäarak). Lars Levi Læstadius himself worked most of his career as a minister of the Sami. The visitation protocol from 1834 states, e.g.: “the pastor between January and February visits every Lapp who belongs to his congregation, in their *kotas*”. He was fluent in Sami, particularly the Lule Sami of the Kivickjock region before he learned Finnish. He became fluent in Finnish only in Karesuando and was able to communicate with new, Finnish-speaking settlers who were then settling in the territory in increasing numbers. Upon moving from Karesuando to Pajala he switched his language of sermons from Sami to Finnish. When Finnish became the language of his sermons as well as his Postillas, a process started during which Finnish finally became the *lingva sacra* of Læstadian revivalism wherever it spread. In my fieldwork among Finnish and Scandinavian immigrants in North America (starting in 1972), I have observed how the Finnish language has been retained among Læstadian families to the fifth or even sixth generation. It is customary still today to hold at least one sermon in Finnish every Sunday despite the fact that all listeners would understand English better in the North American Scandinavian immigrant churches. Their language has been studied e.g. by Norwegian scholar May Lunde (1983).

The Theses in *Crapula mundi* 1843

In his activities as a pastor, Læstadius’s identity was to represent the remote Swedish periphery against the “dead” centers of the Swedish Lutheran State Church such as Uppsala, Stockholm, and Härnösand. At the same time, he served as a manifestation of “low church” attitudes of protest against the bishops and other leaders of the Church.

In his pastoral thesis, *Crapula Mundi* (1843), as well as later in the three-volume religio-philosophical work, *Dårhushjonet* (‘The Madhouse Inmate’), finished before 1851, published *in extenso* in Swedish in 1949–64, and in Finnish in 1968, he criticized sharply the rationalism and the “dead” doctrines he found in the teachings of the bishops and the other high religious leaders in the hierarchical centres of the Lutheran Church of Sweden.

When Læstadius arrived in Härnösand to defend publicly his pastoral thesis *Crapula mundi* in 1843, his performance was quite revolutionary. The first ten out of a total of twelve theses were written in Latin in accordance with the custom of the period, but the last two theses he wrote

exceptionally in Finnish (No. 11) and in Lappish (No. 12) respectively. The first part of the theses was directed against the Swedish theological rationalism of Enlightenment:

I. The knowledge about general concepts which is attainable by us mortals is not absolutely true.

II. If it is true — as mathematicians claim — that *materia* is divisible into infinitely small units, it follows that the distance between any two separate points is infinite.

III. Because the immortality of the soul cannot be proven with certainty, it remains a matter of faith.

IV. No one can be obliged to do what is impossible.

V. The handbook entitled *Nya svenska handboken* ('The New Swedish Handbook') is, not without reason, criticized by many, because, according to the handbook, to receive the baptism is to be placed under obligation to do what is impossible. Therefore, the words which are included in the exorcism: Children... etc., must be deleted and in their place be inserted the words: "*Children, do you want to be baptized into this faith, and on the basis of this faith through God's mercy abstain from all intentional sin?*"

Thesis XI, which dealt with temperance, was in the Finnish language for a specific purpose; the sale of liquor in his Sami territory was the business mainly of Finnish-speaking traders and new settlers:

"XI. The friends of temperance go astray when they speak more about temperance than about Christianity."

The Sami statement, however, was the most revolutionary of all:

"XII. A Lapp is a man of better quality than a new settler or a Non-Lapp."

The last two theses must be interpreted against Læstadius's Sami background and identity. Læstadius's faith, which essentially emphasized the vital, pure, natural primal force inherent in "Samihood" appears to have physical, universal, and social dimensions of human cognition. His fight against the "brandy monster" at first represented more a defence of Sami identity against the foreign element that spoiled the original nature people and nature religion than a temperance movement motivated by religion, which it later became. Læstadius's criticism is directed against merchants who imported to Lapland products that were alien to the authentic Sami way of life. He felt that such merchants destroyed the poor Sami, who possessed a genuine Sami temperament, by selling liquor to them.



Jukkasjärvi altar piece depicting "Mary of Lapland"
(Photo Risto Pulkkinen)

Sami Identity in Læstadius's Doctrine of Sacral Succession

Sami identity plays a crucial role in the doctrine of the so-called "Sacral Succession" or "Order of Grace," which is one of the distinctive features of Læstadian teaching. What becomes manifest here is the very essential element in both Lars Levi Læstadius's *Postillas* and his successors' sermons: the mythical doctrine about the continuous chain in the work of the Holy Spirit between holy people on earth.

The Læstadian mythical doctrine starts from Jesus Christ himself, who before his Ascension left the 'power of the keys' to Peter and through him to the early pure, nuclear Church. Soon after St. Peter, who had been recognized as the first Pope of Rome, suffered the death of a martyr, the first true Catholic Church became corrupted. Since this corruption of the Catholic Church, the message disappeared and became the property of persecuted underground churches until the next link appeared in the German Reformation. Martin Luther occupies a central, almost mythical, position in Læstadian teaching as the man who brought the hidden truth back into the open. His message, however, disappeared again in the dead doctrine of the Church and was finally revealed and transmitted through L.L. Læstadius to the "painfully delivered (firstborn) Congregation in Swedish Lapland". It became its difficult duty to undergo the extremities of the last time of Visitation; the eschatological reasoning of the strongly felt opposition from the side of the Swedish Church and society.

The central core of Læstadian mythical and eschatological reasoning is that there has always been, and still is today, a small pure nuclear congregation inside the established churches: *ecclesiola in ecclesia*. It thus became the main function of the true believers, from Jesus' disciples to present day "awakened Christians", to preserve this tradition: to missionize the world and to proclaim the forgiveness of sins. According to Læstadius, humans are completely sinful, but may find salvation through conversion and absolution, which then is orally proclaimed by the true congregation of the believers.

Of particular significance here is the fact that there was an important Sami link *before* Lars Levi Læstadius in this mythical sacral chain carrying the absolute truth along from the apostles Peter and Paul through Martin Luther and Zinzendorff to the beginning of Læstadianism. The mythical link, a woman called 'Mary of Lapland,' was presented by Lars Levi Læstadius as his true spiritual mother. Læstadius writes in his autobiography published in his journal *Ens ropandes röst i öknen* ('The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness', that appeared between 1852–54

and the name of which refers to the role of John the Baptist with whom Læstadius identified himself) about two visits to Åsele, where his “being born again” is to have happened. The first one was in 1844, the second one the summer of the same year:

On January 10, 1844, my birthday, there was a get-together of Southern Sami ministers in a special room of Åsele vicarage. I had certainly not taken more than a glass of punch then, but it made me feel quite badly, and it is for this reason I know from my own experience that the unclean spirit of alcohol drives away the Holy Spirit, from where it has started to work in the human heart. I am not, therefore, surprised that many awakened individuals experienced anguish in their conscience for taking one drink of liquor offered by some well-meaning drinking friend. It is precisely this anguish that arouses in most people disgust toward all alcoholic beverages, and it serves as an excellent cure against liquor; it is the last intense struggle with the “dragon” of alcohol. This requires, however, that a person has come far enough on the road to awakening that the Holy Spirit, the one who gives a better feeling, can get the upper hand. In the opposite case the unclean spirit will win and all spiritual anxiety vanishes with one drink of liquor. That is a common experience in our region.

This is how Åsele became a mythical place which meant “the beginning of visitation time” for the Læstadians. The key factor pertaining to “the sacred space” was that Læstadius had an opportunity to meet a Sami woman there who belonged to the “more moderate branch” of the Northern Swedish religious movement, which had risen from a popular revivalism with a Herrnhutian and Pietist background. The movement was called “*läseriet*” (‘The Readers’) and was led by Rev. Per Brandell, Pastor of Nora. When this woman — whom Læstadius called “Maria” in a private confession in the sacristy of Åsele church — opened her heart to Læstadius, the minister listening to her (= L.L. Læstadius) suddenly had his own experience of “being born again.” The conversion story is quoted below in Læstadius’s own words:

In the summer of 1844, I came to Åsele in my capacity of visitor. Here I met some readers of a most gentle kind. Among them was a Lappish girl by the name of Maria, who opened her whole heart to me after she heard my altar speech. This girl had had experiences with the order of God’s Grace of a kind I had never heard of before. She had wandered long distances in order to find the light in the darkness. During her wanderings, she had finally arrived at the home of Rev. Brandell in Nora, and when she opened her heart to him, he resolved her doubt. Through him she came to find living faith. And, I thought, here now a Maria sits at Jesus’ feet. And only now, I thought, only now can I see the road which leads to life. It was hidden until I had my talk with Maria. The simple stories of her wanderings and experiences made such a deep impression in my

heart that I, too, saw the light. During the evening I spent in Maria's company I had a foretaste of the joy of heaven. But the ministers in Åsele did not know Maria's heart, and even Maria felt that they were not of the right flock of sheep.

Although nothing, strictly speaking, was mentioned about absolution in this verbal description, Læstadian mythical tradition has given her a special place as the last link in the mystical holy chain just before Læstadius. The life-historical and eschatological meaning of this encounter as an event of transcending death is revealed by Læstadius's own statement: "I will remember the poverty stricken Maria as long as I live and I hope to meet her in the brighter world beyond the grave" (see also EO, p. 116).

A dogmatic interpretation of the document reveals that a religious conversion according to the common Lutheran-Læstadian pattern had taken place. In Læstadius's own life-historical retrospect, this meeting brought to an end the long-lasting spiritual development, that can be followed throughout Læstadius's painful personal life history: He was a man who had suffered severe illnesses, lost 3 of his 15 children at birth, etc., and who at the same time had felt that the religious message he proclaimed as a minister was no longer exactly what he himself believed in. One clear sign of this inner process was his comment, written at the end of his sermon on the Sunday after Epiphany in 1843:

Tämä saarna on [...] ensimmäinen kova saarna, joka on Karesuanussa kuulunut. Mutta ej silloin vielä ollut heränneitä. (Miettinen 1942, 31)
[This sermon has been given in Karesuando [...] and is the first severe sermon heard in Karesuando, but there were no awakened [parishioners] yet].

Many elements of the doctrinal emphases related to Lars Levi Læstadius's gradual conversion may indeed be seen in his sermons and read about in his other literary works. Some of them had already been "as if defended" by his theses in *Crapula mundi* (1843):

“VI. The conversion of an adult person cannot take place without the person knowing it.

VII. The person who has become converted is, therefore, capable of remembering the crucial moments of his conversion.

VIII. It is man's capacity for thought (*intellectus*) that rebels against God's word, not his mind (*ratio*).

IX. The subject of faith is to be sought in the heart.

X. Religion consists of these three parts: faith, love, holiness.”

There is no doubt that a historical meeting between Læstadius and a Sami woman really had taken place in Åsele. The uneducated Sami woman's name was, however, not Maria but Milla Clementsdaughter; a woman by that name had been known as an active member of the group of the more moderate “Readers” (*läsare*), which Læstadius mentions in his account.

In the biography and mythology of the Læstadian movement and in *belles lettres* the event has become slanted. What is mythically essential here is that Lars Levi Læstadius needed to have a Sami woman as his spiritual mother and also that the story became a mythical tradition transmitted by his followers as well. Why she was called by the name of Maria, is mythically related to the biblical narrative. “Lapland's Maria” as mythical prototype became, more precisely, the sum of at least four biblical figures: those of St. Mary, Mary of Magdala, Mary of Bethany — Martha's and Lazarus's sister (Luke 10:38–42; John 11:2, 12:3) — and the sinful woman, who washed Jesus' feet with her tears and dried them in her hair. (Luke 7:37–38).

The myth emphasizes the Sami identity of the early Readers: the last link in the sacral succession of grace before Lars Levi Læstadius, was a poor, uneducated Sami woman. This myth, at the same time, explains the great initial success the Læstadian revivalism achieved among the Sami. The revivalist message soon, in the course of a decade or two, was transmitted into all Sami regions, from the Torne River Valley in Finland-Sweden, over the reindeer herders of the fell tundra country, on the borders between the countries to reach the Sami and Kvaen (‘Finnish-speaking people of Finnish origin in northern Norway’), fishermen on the Atlantic coast of Finnmark. This happened immediately prior to the great migration wave in the 1860s from the ports of Finnmark's coast to the North American continent.

The immigrant ships of the first northern Scandinavian migration wave included both Sami and Finns. A considerable proportion of them were Læstadians. They established the first Finnish North American ethnic church in 1872, in Calumet of Upper Michigan. The congregation's first name, “Salmon Kortetniemi Association,” adopted after the first signatory to the registration application, was later named the Apostolic-Lutheran Church under which name North American Læstadianism is generally known (Pentikäinen 1998, 105–108). The Sami and Kvaen origins are still

seen in the Apostolic-Lutheranism that continues Læstadius's legacy in North America. The first leaders in the New World were Læstadius's daughter Margareta and Juhani Raattamaa's son Pekka, both became central figures in the early mythology of North American Læstadianism.

Tracing the Lost Manuscript

How was Lars Levi Læstadius's *Mythology*, written between 1838 and 1845 in the small rooms of the Karesuando parsonage, ultimately found and published? Searching for the "voyage" of the manuscript has been like a captivating detective story. The manuscript fragments have traveled in different parts of the world. Carlo Ginzburg has coined an expression for such work, "research that interprets traces." Mapping the past for example in archaeology, history, or religious studies is at best exactly that. In this research paradigm details are important; some small detail, which in isolation may appear insignificant, may offer a new angle and a new hypothesis or theory. In determining what details are clues, the researcher rests on the experiences of an entire lifetime. This is what I have done in my attempts to disentangle the "Lappish Mythology", to understand why it was written, whose mythology it was, and why it remained unpublished for over 150 years.

When reading the *Mythology* it is important to keep in mind that it was actually written to record Sami history. The Sami are Europe's northernmost indigenous people, a people in Fennoscandia about which various sources use different names: *fenni* (Lat. Tacitus), *finn* (Scandinavian sagas), or *saami* (ethnicity). At the beginning of the third millennium, it may come as a surprise that Lapland and the Sami were, until the 19th century, better known in continental Europe than was Finland and the Finns. For example, when Jacob Grimm, in his lecture in 1845 to the Berlin Academy of Science, mentioned as a news item the great people in the north, the Finns, who had their own epic, *The Kalevala*, Johannes Schefferus's *Lapponia*, published in 1673, had been translated into all major European languages by 1683. Læstadius's *Mythology* belongs to this same research interest mapping and writing the history of the northernmost corner of the world, Ultima Thule, which research began already with Herodotos and Tacitus.

In unraveling the mystery of Læstadius's manuscript, there is good reason to follow the 1840 travel account of a Hungarian ethnographer, Antal Reguly. He wrote it "on location" at the very time the manuscript for Læstadius's *Mythology*'s Part 1 was completed. Reguly was also the first to peruse Part 1 of

this book which now, finally, appears in English. Reguly's letter to Mr. Kilpinen from Vaasa, dated November 21, 1840, offers additional information about the linguistic dimension of his stay in Karesuando:

I lived with Læstadius for two weeks learning as much as I could. The result is that I am still in Finland. Lappish comes much nearer to Hungarian than Finnish. I decided to learn it as much as possible because it is impossible for me to return to my home country without achieving at least some advantage for my future research.

From the point of view of ethnographical research it was a happy historical accident that Reguly happened to meet Læstadius during the most active period of Læstadius's ethnographical career. After concluding his tour as the Sami guide of "La Recherche" expedition of the French Academy in 1838–1839, Læstadius settled down to write a Sami mythology, the dream he had expressed for the first time already in 1833. After finishing Part I of the manuscript, "*Gudalära*," The Doctrine of Deities, Læstadius allowed his guest to copy extracts of the text. Reguly had to first promise "not to publish them before they had been published in French or in another civilized language."

Læstadius's faithfulness to Joseph Paul Gaimard's and Xavier Marmier's "work order" is evident from the fact that he considered it prudent to have Reguly send to France a declaration, written in Swedish and signed by Reguly. This pledge (Bibl. Nat. 3304 p.355) merits publication as an important historical document, as it reveals how Læstadius viewed his undertaking in 1840:

I, the undersigned, have at Rev. L.L. Læstadius's parsonage been able to use all the books, manuscripts, and oral information available concerning the Lapps' ancient and current conditions, especially as it pertains to mythology. Since, however, the afore-mentioned Rev. Læstadius has entered into a separate agreement with Mr. Gaimard and Mr. Marmier (delegates of the so-called French Scientific Expedition) to write, commissioned by them, a *Lappish Mythology*, one part of which is now ready in manuscript form and since such a work can only find a market with Europe's Antiquity audience, Rev. L.L. Læstadius has permitted the undersigned to partake of his materials on the condition that the *Lappish Mythology* to be published in no way be anticipated with descriptions or excerpts. For this reason I pledge not to publish, in any language, the notes on *Lappish Mythology* I have made here until the manuscript is published *in extenso*, either in Germany, France, or Sweden, and, should I not honor my pledge, I would consider myself to have abused the hospitality and to be required to make up to the future publisher the damage such premature publication might cause. Karesuando, 22 July, 1840. Antal Reguly.

The teachings Læstadius afforded Reguly were likely both methodical and useful when Reguly embarked upon fieldtrips to the Finno-Ugric linguistic

relatives to the lands of the Ob Ugrians. Reguly's journey to Karesuando is an important stage in the origin of the research paradigm for Northern ethnography.

The rich materials from Reguly's Nordic and even Siberian travels remained unpublished in his life time. Upon Reguly's death, the journal including the notes of Læstadius's text, ended up among the papers of a writer by the name of Laukas and from there to The Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Science and Letters, where they were copied for the Finnish Literature Society. Reguly's journals with their notes and comments have remained unpublished in Hungary as was confirmed by Vilmos Voigt, Professor of Folklore at the University of Budapest, in his Reguly-Læstadius lecture on January 25, 2000 at the University of Helsinki.

Since Reguly had written dozens of pages of Læstadius's text in Swedish, its existence became known to the scientific world a century and a half before its *in extenso* publication: *Fragmenter i Lappska Mythologin* in 1997.

Reguly's diary with the corpus of Læstadius's *Mythology* text is in the library of the Hungarian Academy of Science and Letters. Interestingly enough, it also contains Sami texts recorded from Brita Kajsa Alstadius, Læstadius's wife, — a testimony to her skills in Sami, often questioned by church historians — as well as from Anders Fjellner, "a Lappish born teacher and minister living in Maunu village in Karesuando." This paragraph indicates that Læstadius had facilitated a meeting between Reguly and the author of the Sami epic.

Besides mythology and Lappology, Reguly and Læstadius discussed such topics as botany, — Læstadius's special expertise —, minerology, geology, directions in psychology, the problematic position of Finland inside Russia, and hierarchies of estate and their relations to Finnish peasants. Reguly diligently wrote down the bibliographies of the Lappological texts he encountered in Læstadius's library, including grammars written by Rask and Stockfleth, extracts from *Åbo Tidningar*, statistics on Lappish territories, life style, morals, etc. Reguly summarizes the significance of his visit in his letter to Mr. Kilpinen:

I have never discussed with anyone else as much as I have with Læstadius. I learned a lot; his speeches were like treasures I had long been seeking and longing for. His every word sometimes solved questions I have been uncertain about. How foolish our education at home may be! How much I have learned.

La Recherche — The Arctic Expedition France Wanted to Forget

Læstadius's mythologist ambitions were set in action by a surprise invitation which arrived from France via the King of Sweden for Læstadius to participate in the La Recherche expedition 1838-1840 planned by the French Admiralty. Its destination was the North Atlantic and Scandinavian islands, including Faroese Islands, the Spitzbergen, and Iceland. It would take place on a corvette of the same name with Joseph Paul Gaimard, a physician and zoologist, at the helm. Læstadius was one of five Swedish delegates of the expedition. The others were Naval Lieutenant C.B. Lilliehöök, who was responsible for the astronomical and magnetic measurements, Physicist P.A. Siljeström, Zoologist C.J. Sundewall, and Liaison Officer, Count U.V. Gyldenstople.

The prestigious composition of the expedition is listed in the monumental account of the expedition *Voyages en Scandinavie, en Laponie, au Spitzberg, et aus Feröe* written by Xavier Marmier (p. 3 Les Membres):

Each of us likes to remember that the King of Sweden and the King of Denmark welcomed our expedition project in a kind manner. They wanted to show us their interest in it by contributing to our trip distinguished men whose special expertise can only be of great help for the great feat that we wanted to accomplish and for the country we were about to explore. As physicists there were C.B. Lilliehöök, the Swedish Royal Navy Lieutenant, professor of physics at the Artillery School of Marieberg; P.A. Siljeström, professor of physics; E.G. Meyer, Captain of Civil Engineering in the Norwegian Army, Officer Attaché of His Majesty, King Charles-Jean; Count U. von Gyldenstolpe, Captain of the Artillery, Liaison Officer attached to the office of Army General, Count Brahe. As zoologists, MM. Chr. Boek, professor of physiology at the University of Christiania; C.J. Sundevall, professor at the University of Lund; H. Krøyer, Member of the Royal Society of Sciences in Copenhagen. Finally, as botanists, J. Vahl, from Copenhagen and L.L. Læstadius, member of the Royal Society of Sciences in Uppsala, pastor in Karesuando, Lapland.

The remarkable weight of Scandinavian delegates is confirmation that the objectives were considerably more scientific than those of earlier expeditions to the North, that had been motivated by colonial goals, the objective of drawing a map of the north from the perspective of the expedition initiator, or private Sami exoticism (cf. Drijvenes 1992).

J.P. Gaimard prepared the list of delegates to the La Recherche expedition very carefully. Læstadius's name enters the deliberations in 1838. It is interesting to look at the wording of the documents in the French National archives and to note how Læstadius was referred to. Gaimard's letter (from Trondheim 3 July, 1838, the French Navy archival code is

5JJ187) to Louis de Freyimet presents Læstadius after the Swedish research team, as if a last special case:

Lapon: M. Læstadius, pretre lapon — excellent botaniste, né menne en Laponie. Il nous attend à Hammerfest. C'était laien certainement le meillem guide que l'on peut, nous donner pour visiter les contras qu'él habite depuis si longtemp sur lequells il a publié des memories fort estimés dans le Actes de l'Academie des Sciences de Stockholm.

[Mr Læstadius, a Lappish priest — an excellent botanist, and himself even born in Lapland. He will wait for us in Hammerfest. He is absolutely certainly the best guide that can be given to us when we acquaint ourselves with the regions where he lives and has lived for a long time and about which he has published highly valued studies in the annals of the Science Academy of Stockholm.]



Corvette used by La Recherche Expedition (1838–1840) (mv/Marmier, 1999)

This letter of recommendation repeats almost verbatim Berzelius's statements about Læstadius in his letter to Gaimard on May 12, 1838. A Count by the name of Charles de Morney writes to Paul Gaimard on May 18, 1838 that Læstadius's job description included the role of guide:

M. Læstadius, curé de la Paroisse de Karesuando, vient encore de reservoir l'invitation de conduire ceux qui pourraient avoir l'intention de visiter la Laponie suédoise.

[Mr. Læstadius, who is the parson of the Karesuando congregation, has recently received the invitation to serve as guide to those who intend to visit Swedish Lapland.]

Enthusiastic about the results of the first trip, Gaimard writes 13 November 1838 to Germany to Alexander von Humbolt himself: "In Karesuando I have purchased from Mr Læstadius, a very beautiful collection of Lappish plants from Muonionniska."

The documents show that Læstadius was accepted as a participant on the basis of recommendations from Stockholm, not only as a botanist, but also as a "Lapp." He was well acquainted with the region, which was valuable when the French expedition trekked on land. Following the end of the Corvette's journey in Hammerfest, the members wandered across the tundra of Finnmark Lapland to the Muonio and Torne River Valley. The corvette was to pick them up from Haparanda harbor at the mouth of the Torne River Valley. Læstadius was undoubtedly a good choice for the expedition about the efficiency and *modi operandi* of which he has some critical comments. For example in the correspondence from 1838–1848, which found its way to the French archives Læstadius criticized the activities of the expedition at the same time as the members praised him. The French were annoyed that Læstadius had published his critical opinions in a Norwegian newspaper, a translation of which was sent from Scandinavia to France. Victor Lottin states in his 23 February 1839 letter to Gaimard (Archive de la Marine):

Mr. Læstadius has written several articles for a little Norwegian newspaper. These articles are not very kind towards the expedition. Something must have happened between him and the other members of the commission. Mr. Lilliehöök has kindly translated them for me orally. About our stay in the Spitzbergen, Læstadius says that the corvette was protected in a place surrounded by high mountains that were not reachable. He said as well that zoologists could study what the sea offered by fishing whereas the botanists, entomologists, etc., couldn't conduct any research there. Moreover, one of them almost died when he was climbing a mountain.

He talks about the dance and the ball in Hammerfest that cost at least 100 Norwegian Kroner and about our trip on the steamboat during which we all slept

because we were tired from the ball. Then he mentions the dinner you paid for all the travelers and, as he came down too late, he couldn't find a seat and yet someone found him a meal and a glass of champagne.

After that he talks about our stay at Mr. Crowe's place. According to Læstadius we didn't like the meal and, therefore, we insisted on drinking the abundant wine we had been carrying with us.

Then follows something about your travel in the inner regions of the country. According to him, we never had time to stop to pick up a plant, and the commission didn't even have a thermometer to make observations with. The cemetery of Enontekiö, where you gathered a collection of bones, would represent the best results of the expedition.

Then some details about the calculations that you have followed. All this seems to be only criticisms and is written in a dull way.

We have been really surprised by such a thing from a serious man like Mr. Læstadius. We believe that answering him would make these articles known and so they wouldn't stay hidden in a paper nobody reads.

But Mr. Crowen is not happy about it at all and wants to write to Mr. Læstadius. Mr. Crowen speaks very highly of you and he reiterated to me that it's been an honor to know you, and that Læstadius's letters reveal someone who does not have manners. Most of the facts are completely wrong. Mr. Crowen insists on denying them and testifying his annoyance to Mr. Læstadius.

This criticism is probably the reason why the next trip in 1839 guided by Læstadius along almost exactly the same route but with other members, took place in a less warm atmosphere.

The fact that Læstadius is the target of a derogatory remark about a "Lapp" in Lottin's letter is also an important document revealing his Sami identity in the eyes of the French expedition.

According to the 1839 expedition's French delegate, Mr. Robert, Læstadius's article had the consequence that Læstadius was not well received: "Mr. Læstadius's prejudices about us may change some of the itinerary. We will not make a very long stop in Kautokeino, which is a remarkable place high up and without vegetation, and we will not stay in Karesuando longer than absolutely necessary."

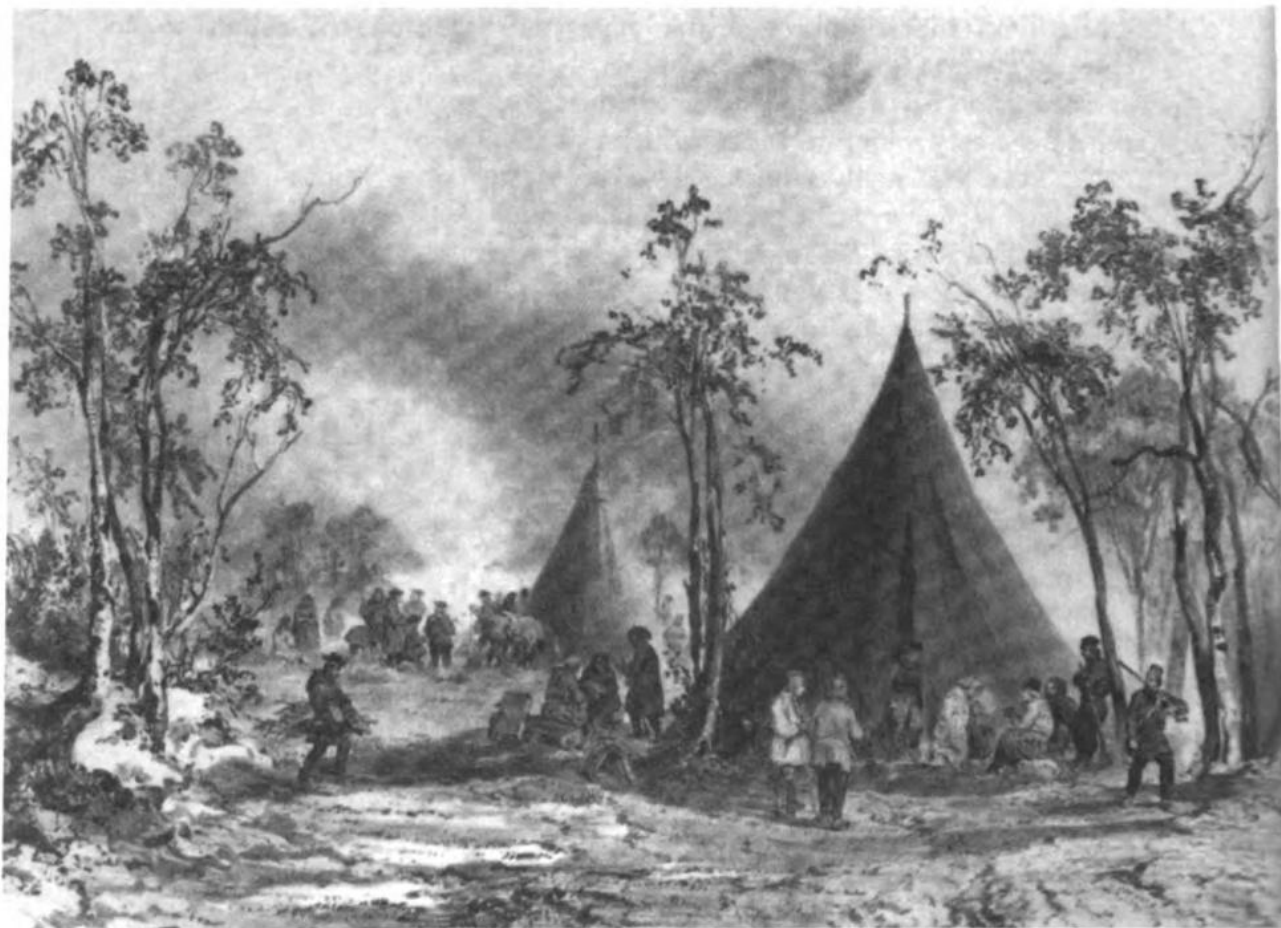
The following document among Gaimard's papers dates the events of the journey:

I left Sonekop on the 18th of April 1839 accompanied by Matt. Liliehöök and Sevalet. Thirty three reindeers that carry the provisions and the working tools are taking us rapidly through the icy plains of Lapland. We visited the villages or *gaara* of Kautokeino where we experienced 25.2 degrees Celsius below zero during the night between April the 20th and the 21st, and Karesuando where we were warmly welcomed by Rev. Læstadius.

Then the icy river bed of Muonio presented us with a better route and we could stop at the *gaara* of Muonio-Niska and Kolari.

M.A.F. Biard in turn writes to Gaimard on September 10, 1839:

Læstadius was the only “foreigner” who has guided us. He has specialized exclusively on his botanical hobby, which he has to send to the museum, and they also fill the gaps in my own collections. He mentions the compasses that our stupid guides do not use. Læstadius knows the Lappish circumstances rather well, but we will still continue our journey the day after tomorrow.



Members of the La Recherche Expedition (1839). (mv/Marmier 1999)

Læstadius's Role in the Work of the International Expedition

Results of Gaimard's Expedition were published between 1843–1855 as a twenty volume series, *Voyages de la Commission Scientifique de Nord*. Among the names of the authors of the volumes on natural science and botany, Lars Levi Læstadius's name is mentioned along with the French and other Scandinavian scholars. The series also includes Xavier Marmier's (1809–1892) account of his travels to Swedish Lapland and to Finland —

an abridged version of Marmier's 800 page opus appeared in Finnish translation by Marja Itkonen-Kaila in 1999.

Marmier's book is based on his journal notes. On the Finnmark trip he was accompanied also by Ole Ollsen a Norwegian Sami guide (*Voyages*, pp. 352–353):

I met again my Lappish friend Ole Ollsen. He meets me with a guilty look on his face and tells me that he has sinned. He sold us, last year, live reindeers and the reindeers were by now probably dead, because we did not have in our country the kind of food they need. I assured him that his reindeers were in good health and seemed to feel less guilty. Then I asked him how many reindeer he still had. "You don't have enough money to pay for them," he answered. "Whatever it is, tell me." "No, let's not talk about it." And he walked away looking proud. A superstitious fear prevents Lappish people from giving away their wealth. It seems that by saying aloud the number of reindeer they have, they are afraid of provoking the jealousy of evil spirits and of attracting some bad spell to their reindeer herd.

Marmier's book includes an excellent description of Læstadius's role as travel guide from Finnmark's Kåfiord to the parsonage in Karesuando. It illustrates Læstadius's gift for story-telling (*Voyages*, pp. 358–361):

While the pastor of Karesuando told the story, our men went back to their tents. Only our guide stayed with us. He was listening carefully to the stories he used to hear during his childhood. A deep silence surrounded us. We could hear only from afar the sound of a bell dangling on a horse's neck and the murmur of birch branches swinging in the wind. As the sparks of our campfire flew out as rockets, our tent stood in the shadows, in this gloomy forest we all, lying on the ground around the storyteller, were looking like an Arabian assembly listening to one of Antar's traditional tales.

That was one of our best stops. The day after we woke up to rain; the uninhabited fields of Lapland opened wide in front of us. At that moment, we had to bid farewell to the green smiling enclosure that we had found, again close to Kåfiord, to say farewell to the light birch branches reaching out in the breeze, to the alders hanging on at the edge of the lake, and to the receding paths in the moss in the depth of the forest. We would no longer meet on our way the quiet rural life, the beautiful white heifers that you see run to the pasture, the flocks of sheep scattered as snow flakes on the hillside, and the shepherd's hut opened at the edge of the small valley. Here we are in the wilderness of the mountains. Here we find no trace of human life, no path, and no dwelling place. We only perceive far away a huge plateau covered by reindeer moss, yellow as sulphur; towards the north, mountains covered in perpetual snow, glittering like a glacier, and much farther a solitary lake, where half parched rushes bow down with the wind in a sorrowful murmur, where the white partridge and the wild duck stop their race in a raucous scream. Dark fogs shroud the horizon, and from time to time, the sun gives a pale light through the clouds.

All the ground has been lifted up by the winter frost, soaked by the snow, watered by the rain. The summer is not long enough to dry it up, and no

vigorous plants can put down its roots. Sometimes we walk on slabs of rock that are broken up and dissolved by the cold, sometimes we walk on humid and shaky lumps of earth that tremble under your feet as they do in Iceland, sometimes we are in large marshes where our horses sink up to their trunk. Our guide goes first, bores the ground with a staff and measures the depth of the water.

The shape of mountains and the waterways serve him as indications. But sometimes he stops, hesitates, calls another guide to him. We can see them both seeking each other's advice, looking for a bend and making a sign; then the caravan starts moving again, following them.

In this region, where there is no land under cultivation, the everyday walk cannot be determined by the traveler's needs but by the rare strips of land where a little grass grows for the horses. It happens that we have to walk from seven to eight leagues before we stop and when we arrive at one of these stations, there is nothing but the high grass of a marsh and no trees can be found either. To make a fire, we have to pull up the long roots of the dwarf birches lying on the ground, that give lots of smoke but very little warmth. Reindeer skins used to cover ourselves with are soaked with water. We sleep on the humid ground, in a wet tent, and we wake up the next day numb with cold. Often at the end of August, a white frost suddenly covers the ground and the horses get nothing to eat. During these moments we felt more pity for them than for ourselves. We could see them without a pasture, shivering with cold, still obeying to the bridle that guided them, struggling up the steep slopes, going with no fear to the marsh sludges, the same way as the excellent horses that took us to miry lands of Skalholt or to the sliding rocks of the French Pyrenees.

One feature that set the La Recherche expedition apart from earlier ones was the emphasis on the comparative objectives, on cultural history, and social sciences. The architect of the program for this part was Xavier Marmier whose special responsibility it was to cover the questions of "*ni race humaine, ni langue, ni traditions, ni histoire*" ['the human race, language, traditions and history']. He took Læstadius as his assistant on the land portion in Lapland. Marmier's travel account contains a potpourri of Stallo stories by Læstadius, e.g. (*Voyages* pp. 355–356). Since the texts Marmier published in French are almost word for word the same as in Læstadius's *Mythology* Part 4, it is clear that they have their origin more in Læstadius's text, which then was already completed and which Marmier copied during his trip, than in notes taken by the camp fire. This conclusion is supported also by Marmier's notes from his journey to the North in 1838. They are deposited in the University of Paris' Nordic Genevieve Library that Marmier was the director of. The sections of this material that were crossed out or corrected in Karesuando and that I was able to examine in 2002, reveal that Marmier had verified his notes together with Læstadius, obviously during the expedition's first stop in Karesuando in 1838.

Marmier's journal reveals that Læstadius, in addition to a scholar, was also a storyteller, *homo narrans*, who remembered a remarkable number of traditional Sami stories and had the ability to tell them in a captivating manner. Marmier describes vividly how Læstadius lodged, hosted, and entertained his French visitors in the Karesuando parsonage in 1838. He had gone there ahead of time to prepare to celebrate their arrival with a feast (*Voyages*, p. 370).

The same happened on the corvette members' next trip in 1839, which included "a mandatory stop in Karesuando at Pastor Læstadius's home." Læstadius was no longer as enthusiastic about participating in this expedition. There is a less than flattering description of the visit to Læstadius's parsonage by an expedition member and lady companion, Léonie d'Aunet (Marmier 1999, 31–36, 46, 50, 194–195).

Of the expedition's projects, the study of Sami mythology that Gaimard himself had solicited from Læstadius, was not completed. The request was surely inspired by Læstadius's thorough knowledge of Sami folklore and religion, which was more than apparent to the expedition members. The *Mythology* is mentioned in the revised division of labor of the La Recherche expedition under Læstadius's name for the first time in a 21 September 1938 letter to Gaimard from Ume (Ms. 3895, p.312):

Mr. Læstadius, pastor in Karesuando, is to explain to me in detail this mythology he probably knows so well because he has studied it so long. We don't want to undertake a task that he does better than us.

The Vicissitudes of the Manuscript of *Fragments of Lappish Mythology*

The *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* — as Læstadius entitles his text — comprises five parts of which Part 1 and the "Reminder to the Reader" were dated May 8, 1840. The progression of the work becomes evident from the papers of Gaimard's expedition and Gaimard's correspondence 1841–1857 (Ms. 3306, p. 164):

Mister Baron, I inform you of all our matters, would you forgive me, you, our northern providence. We will start the printing of the mythology of the Lappish people written by Mr. Læstadius as soon as the 2nd and the 3rd parts have arrived. What he sent wasn't enough I'm told by the translator (Marmier) for a full or even a half volume...



Members of the La Recherche Expedition gathered around Læstadius who was also a captivating storyteller (mv/Marmier 1999)

Gaimard's appreciation of Læstadius and his expectations for his work are apparent in his efforts to somehow reward Læstadius. Already on March 4, 1841, Gaimard recommended to Dr. Boeck that Læstadius be awarded a Medal of Honor of The Legion of Honor of France (Bibl. Nat. 3303). It should be noted that Læstadius was the first Scandinavian to receive this honor.

The next three parts of the *Mythology* were completed in November 1844, and finally the "Additions" on May 1, 1845 after Læstadius had had an opportunity to compare his manuscript with that of Jacob Fellman, parson of Utsjoki. Fellman's attempts to have his text published were unsuccessful. The publisher of the *Kalevala*, the Finnish Literature Society, did not give permission to print it, and so Fellman's text — including the references to Læstadius — appeared only in 1906, in Swedish. Then, at the latest, the Finnish scientific community had to be aware of the existence of Læstadius's unpublished *Mythology* manuscript. Yet, there are still no real signs of strong interest in it.

The underlying reason for the faint interest was probably the fact that the revivalist movement, known since 1875 as Læstadianism, began to spread. It was better known in Finland's national romantic atmosphere of the late 19th and early 20th century than its founder. The expectations about a mythology written by a revivalist leader and a pastor in Swedish Lapland were probably not very high, particularly as it seemed that Fellman, in his 1906 publication, had already covered the main topics.

Læstadius's project was known in Finland during the so-called *Kalevala* process of the 1840s. Læstadius corresponded actively with tradition scholars Elias Lönnrot, Carl Axel Gottlund, and M.A. Castrén, who were all criticized in the foreword to his *Mythology*. Læstadius directed his sharpest criticism at his fellow student at Uppsala University, Gottlund. Læstadius was undoubtedly aware of Gottlund's desire to be invited to the La Recherche expedition. The French National Archives holdings include a letter to Gaimard dated 17 January 1840, that Gottlund wrote in Latin and in which he expresses his wish to become a delegate of the expedition. He also proclaimed that they could gather *runos* and charms in Finland (Bibl. Nat. 3304).

Læstadius's manuscript was conveyed to France by Professor Carl Jacob Sundevall, the Intendent of the National Museum of Natural History in Stockholm. Judging from archival collections, Læstadius appears not to have written directly to Gaimard, but the communication happened through Sundevall whose French was more proficient. The correspondence between Sundevall and Gaimard on September 2, 1842, indicates that since 1838,

Læstadius had sent 4000 plants to France. The same letter also deals with the continuation of the *Mythology* work, for which on January 1, 1844, Læstadius is noted as having received a prize of 100 rixdollars. (Ms. 3305, p. 122, Stockholm 2 September 1842):

...about 14 days ago I received a letter from our Læstadius with a big packet containing about 2700 pieces and plants which he asked me to send to you. So I sent them to the minister living here and he will have the kindness of sending them to the Navy minister and to you. Læstadius asks me about the packets containing 4000 copies and plants and the map of Lapland that you bought from him in 1838 and that we lent to Consul Davey. He thinks that these packets might have got lost and asks me to give him some information about them, but I haven't had any answers here and, consequently, I have to turn to you with these problems. Without a doubt, one should be able to describe for him the situation of the plants in case you don't remember. It would be a great shame indeed if such a large number of species were lost.

Læstadius has asked many times from his other acquaintances here to get some information about the packages, but obviously nobody has found out anything. Læstadius also sent me a manuscript of the first part of the Lappish Mythology so that I can deliver it to you. I also sent it to the French Minister, Count Monnay, at the address of the Ministry of the Navy. When you will be able to write to me, I would, with great pleasure, receive your answer that these things have arrived.

Læstadius is doing well and says that he keeps on working on the Mythology. He has a few monographs, observations and plants as well that he could give for the large publication in case if you would like them. There is a monograph with numerous species of Cochkarin that you can find in Lapland.

Mr. Poret's letter 27 February 1845 (Ms. 3305, p. 263):

Dear Friend,

I'm still preparing the packet for Sweden, would you be kind to send to me everything you might have for our friend Mr. Sundevall, I will send someone to get it. Is there still something ...at the Navy?

Mr. Sundevall has told me that he handed over 3 copies of issues 1-4 and 7-12 from Læstadius. But Mr. Sundevall has never returned the 3 copies of issues 1-6. It would be of great help if it were possible for you to obtain all the copies for Mr. Sundevall.

Sundevall writes (Sundevall, Stockholm, Ms. 3305, p.248):

...Læstadius has written to me that he got the 100 rixdollars that you and Mr. Liljeström sent and that is why he is ready to send the second and the third part of the *Mythology* of the Lappish people. I hope you will receive it with the mail I will send toward next spring.

On December 16, 1843, Sundevall reported to Paris (Bibl. Nat. 3305) about Læstadius's successful dissertation defense before the Härnösand

Cathedral chapter and about the forthcoming manuscript of the *Mythology* (Ms. 3305, p. 201, Stockholm 16 December 1843):

...occasioned by previous letter, I have asked Læstadius to send the rest of his work on Lappish Mythology soon but he's unable to do that at the moment. This fall he has been in Härnösand to finish the exam to become a pastor. Pastors in Lapland are given the prerogatives to pass the exam and become a priest (*Pastores ecclesiae*) in front of the Bishop and his Consistory. As a well-educated man, Læstadius took advantage of this, but is now thinking of leaving Karesuando to go to the civilized parts and for that he had to take the exam.

I've heard some remarks from several persons that they have never had such an examinee in Härnösand, member of the French Legion of Honor, well-known botanist, etc. After that the Consistory sent him to do visitation in the Lappish villages during the winter and so he will come back only in the spring. As he may move to another place, the rest of the *Mythology* will not be completed before the end of the year.

The Norwegian and Swedish plants Læstadius had collected in 1845 are displayed with a catalogue compiled by Læstadius himself (In Paris, 13 January 1845, p. 256):

There were only 15 plants left as the boat carrying them sank...

On October 1, 1845, Sundevall considers it necessary to bring to Gaimard's attention the fact that a discussion about Læstadius had been conducted in church circles in Stockholm which presented his opinions, for example about Gravallius, as expressed in his *Mythology* as quite questionable. It was recommended that Læstadius's text should be carefully examined before publication. (Sundevall's recommendations in his letter of 10 December 1845 to Gaimard. Ms. 3305, p. 299):

Some propositions to Mr. Gaimard:

The author, a little bit too fiery in his defense of the Lappish people, names in an indelicate way the name of a pastor well esteemed here (Gravallius) and he writes that the real Lapps would seem to be the ones in Sweden, which seems not to be justified, neither for the work nor for the collaborators. I was thinking then that we could erase some names and a few exclamations without really changing anything and so it would have precisely the same meaning as before but a little bit shortened. Here is what could be deleted from the text:

a) In a speech to the assembly of Stockholm's Society of Priests we recently heard words like *om ån, util...*

b) From my experience that wouldn't affect at all...

c) As far as the claim of Christianity in paganism as well as paganism in Christianity is concerned, I'm afraid that is laughed at. It is much more present in different places in Lapland than in large cities and villages.

You can include in it of course Stockholm, and you can't find in that place more corrupted manners among Lappish people than anywhere else in the heart of what you call civilization. In general, you have to admit that you shouldn't accuse Lappish people of having beliefs as much as the inhabitants in the countryside or so-called civilized people: In Sweden, they are not allowed to have pagan beliefs about devils, specters, and trolls, nor beliefs in witches that can see the future in the cafe etc. After such changes, the meaning would be precisely the same without the expressions that are in my opinion, quite ridiculous or impolite. In haste.

The information about the church circles in Stockholm as conveyed by Sundevall may well have meant the end of Læstadius's publication project. The correspondence ended, yet Parts 2-5 did arrive in Paris. They were included together in J.P. Gaimard's collection from 1845 onward until the collection was sold when Gaimard died in 1858.

I have nevertheless sent some other things. I hope that you will before long receive the manuscript of the second part of the Lappish Mythology written by Mr. Læstadius which included some observations that I've made. — I have also sent paintings by Count Adrosen of the Scandinavian plant ptarmigan (*Lagopus mutus*) (Ms. 3305, p.300)

Part 1 of the manuscript, that Reguly had also copied, remained in France in the possession of Xavier Marmier. His job was to translate the Swedish text into French. The text that arrived was, however, not considered long enough to make up one volume, and so it was left to wait for continuation. Since Læstadius's *Mythology* is nowhere to be found in the libraries and archives of France, except for the above-mentioned *Stallo* stories, it appears that even Part 1 of the manuscript was never translated into French by Marmier. He traveled all over the world and was exceptionally active in his homeland. When the continuation parts arrived on Gaimard's desk in Paris, the *Voyages* publication undertaking was nearing its end. Part 1 of Læstadius's *Mythology* thus remained in Marmier's possession, finally ending up in the little town of Pontarlier where Marmier moved toward the end of his life. Marmier willed his archive to the library of Pontarlier.

How Were the Fragments of the *Mythology* "Found"?

At the time of Marmier's death in 1892, Part 1 of Læstadius's *Mythology* was in Pontarlier's library in Marmier's un-catalogued collection. There it

was “found” in 1933 by Eero K. Neuvonen who, at the time, was working in France and who later became chief librarian of the University of Turku. After Gaimard’s death, in France the location of Parts 2–5 of Læstadius’s text were unknown until they unexpectedly “were discovered” in 1946 across the Atlantic Ocean in the manuscript archives of Yale University.

Swedish librarian, Olof von Freilitz, informed Björn Collinder, Professor of Finno-Ugric Languages at the University of Uppsala, of the find. On his behest the manuscript was microfilmed and deposited in the ULMA Dialect and Folklore Archives. Rev. Harald Grundström, distinguished scholar of Southern Sami, worked with the material in Uppsala. When perusing his un-catalogued literary remains in the ULMA collections, I found the material that Grundström based his Swedish edition of the *Mythology* manuscript in 1959. Grundström describes the adventures of the manuscript. The collection which Gaimard’s estate had sold to antiquarian bookshops had ended up in the library of the French Count and bibliophile Paul Edouard Didier Riantin (1836–1888). Later, Yale University bought the collection to form the foundation for its Swedish library.

Grundström explains his own editorial principles which reveal that his publication is not Læstadius’s text *in extenso*, but an edited version of it:

Fragments of Lappish Mythology is Læstadius’s largest scholarly work, with the possible exception of his theological-philosophical work entitled *The Madhouse Inmate*. It comprises 636 written pages 14x20 cm. A large portion of the work consists of quotations from the books mentioned in the introduction (“Reminder to the Reader”) and of Læstadius’s own reflections here and there. Since all quoted works are available in print, and since Læstadius’s own observations are of little significance in this context, the undersigned editor has not considered it necessary to present all quotations *in extenso*, but has been content with short summaries in these paragraphs and references to the sources as well as later writings on the subject. These abbreviations have been placed in brackets as have also the additions and the text explanations. Since Læstadius includes in the concept of mythology everything that “belongs to the common folk belief about supernatural beings and events,” I have considered it appropriate to include it here, as it is of value from the perspective of folk life research. (Grundström in Læstadius [1840–1845] 1959, pp. 16–17).

Despite Grundström’s careful editing, it seems important to publish this English language volume, as was the case with the 1997 Swedish version, *in extenso*. Quotations from and reflections on older literature cannot be excluded. Source criticism is notoriously both the philosopher’s stone and the stumbling block of Lappological materials; publishers of texts have

quite carelessly copied materials from each other and translated them to other languages (Pentikäinen 1968, Rydving 1993). It is difficult to identify any writer of Sami studies of the 19th century who would have been more sharply critical in relation to the use of sources than Læstadius. It is vitally important to the reader of *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* to recognize the basis for his source criticism. Læstadius's own comments, with which the book abounds, are part of the philosophy of science and the theological discussion of the times; they also illuminate the researcher's religion and personality. Included are, in addition to mythology and folklore, Læstadius the researcher's multidisciplinary perspectives, which bring together the observations and conclusions of the ecologist, botanist, and zoologist in relation to his own Sami experience.

The reawakened Sami research of the end of the 20th century casts new light on the portrait of Læstadius as a scholar. My Sami student, Nilla Outakoski, has in his dissertation (1991) compared in interesting ways the images of the earth spirit, *Maahinen*, in the *Fragments* and in Læstadius's postillas. In 1994, he published a Finnish translation of information he compiled from various texts from different archives that was also called "Fragments of Lappish Mythology."

Why Was Læstadius's *Mythology* Forgotten?

There are many complex reasons why Læstadius's *Mythology* was forgotten for 150 years. Some involve world and domestic politics, some the commissioning of the work and why the results of the La Recherche expedition, established with French funds, were forgotten in their own country. King Louis Philippe, who had spent part of his youth in Lapland had sponsored the expedition project for which Gaimard had designed the initial plan in 1835 (Bibl. Nat. 3303). The expedition was part of the foreign policy of the Kingdom of France. Its foreign delegates were chosen on the recommendations of the Kings of Denmark-Norway and Sweden respectively. To the extent that the journey extended to the Finnish side, Gaimard secured permits from Undersecretary Reh binder with the support of Professor of Meteorology, of the University of Helsinki, Johan Jacob Nervander (Bibl. Nat. 3304). With funds approved by the Royal Admiralty, the expedition was carried out during 1838–1840 onboard the corvette named "La Recherche" which had already sailed the northern seas. Its Lapland project can be explicitly read in Marmier's letter to Gaimard in

which Marmier illuminates his research program for 1839–1840 (Archives de la Marine):

When I return to Hammerfest we still have an important trip and study to make. You will once again travel through Lapland accompanied by a draftsman, a botanist, and a geologist. You have often had an occasion to observe how Lapland can deeply interest people and how little still is known about it. It is now time for us to depict the country as it is, to stop presenting incomplete sketches that have been made of it in the past, and to correct the research results.

Lapland to me means two things. Firstly, the old Lapland, the origin of its inhabitants, its primitive mythology, its customs, its intellectual and physical state, and the characteristics of its language. Secondly, modern Lapland, whose history begins at the time when the nomadic tribe converted to Christianity. The modern era also includes the changes in the nature of moral and spiritual attitudes that the evangelical doctrine has accomplished in the Lapps, their current customs and their social circumstances. I will serve as an interpreter myself.

It is interesting to note that Marmier does not mention Læstadius's name in the "Lappish" program, although it concerned the very special disciplines for which Læstadius had been selected.

When Louis Philippe's royal house began to crumble during the 1840s, falling finally in 1848 in the feet of the revolution of the Second Republic, the La Recherche expedition project fell off the social agenda and the results of the entire expedition became buried in the National archives of France.

The reason the manuscript of the *Mythology* that had been explicitly commissioned from Lars Levi Læstadius and was paid for was never translated into French, is first of all, caused by the initial delay in the completion of the manuscript. A further complication was the fact that it was completed in several steps during 1840–1845. Part 1 was not considered large enough to warrant publication as one volume, and when Part 2-5 arrived in 1845, its publication was no longer among Gaimard's priorities as twenty volumes of *Voyages* had already been published. Also the historian of the expedition, Xavier Marmier, because of his many other commitments, did not have time to translate the complete Part 1 into French, translating only what he needed for his own journal.

In addition, Lars Levi Læstadius endured difficult family circumstances during the first half of the 1840s while in the midst of his own religious crisis. The progress of the publication project was further slowed down by the criticism Læstadius had launched publicly in 1839, because of his conflict with the second expedition, and finally, by the letters which around

the middle of the 1840s were sent from Stockholm to France by Swedish research members of the expedition, in which Læstadius and his text was criticized for lacking in critical judgment. It is also apparent that the correspondence of Sundevall, who had earlier held Læstadius in high regard, turned negative because of information that trickled down to Stockholm from the periphery of northern Sweden and was propagated in church circles about Læstadius's new role as a radical revivalist leader.

Spurred on by the hitherto unresearched correspondence of 1838–1848 in the French archives, some of which is quoted in this introduction, we may now ask whether Læstadius's own compatriots at home in Sweden destroyed his reputation as a scholar to the extent that his *Mythology* was not considered worthy of publication in France in the late 1840s nor anywhere else for over 150 years?

This book is dedicated in honor of Læstadius's life's work. In my view, he and his writings, cannot be understood independent of his Sami background. It was part of his childhood identity and was strengthened further during the years of his youth in Kvickjock. His spoken Sami language is Lule Sami on which he also based the written "Kota Lappish" he developed, in which language he wrote and preached until he also learned Northern Norwegian Sami or Mountain Sami in Karesuando.

Læstadius's *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* is first and foremost a voyage of discovery for anyone who wishes to understand Læstadius's personality and his life's journey as a researcher and a leader of a religious revival. The book also provides a basis for understanding the "inner household of the Lapps" — Læstadius's own appropriate characterization of the landscape of the religion and soul of the Sami people. *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* helps us discover the hitherto unknown Læstadius as a part of the northern dimension, which he experienced as a representative of the Sami people, researched as an ecologist and ethnographer, and reinterpreted as a preacher. "The inner household of the Sami" is presented in a manner which could be told, understood, and interpreted only by a scholar who personally felt and wanted to share the sentiments, experiences, and identity of the Sami. At the same time, the work offers new insights into Læstadius's own life history during a time of crisis that resulted in a fundamental shift of focus from mythologist to leader of religious revivalism.

Juha Pentikäinen

Fragments of Lappish Mythology

Part One: Doctrine of Deities and Concomitant Mythological Objects.

Reminder to the Reader

The notes on Lappish Mythology contained in this work, are rightly called fragments, since most of the ancient pantheon of the Lappish people was presumably lost following the introduction of Christianity. At present, the Lapps know their gods only by name, and even the names are forgotten in many areas. Yet they still hold considerable amounts of false beliefs and superstition, like vague notions from ancient forgotten times. This is no wonder as one still finds among ordinary Swedish country folk in some remote forest regions almost as much superstition as among the Lapps. It is only just over 200 years since the Lapps began to adopt Christianity and still a century ago there were pure pagans in Lule Lapland, whereas the Swedish peasantry has had Christianity for almost 1000 years. Still one encounters among them numerous superstitious views which undoubtedly originated in pagan beliefs, such as *vittra*, *underboninga*,¹ troll women, *bjäran*, etc., of which examples will be given in this work.

For the extant accounts of the ancient pantheon of the Lapps we are indebted to several diligent priests in Lapland and Finnmark, who at the request of the Antiquity Collegium in Stockholm and the Mission Collegium in Copenhagen collected and recorded every piece of information they could find on the pagan religion of the Lapps. But alas, it was not possible for these priests to uncover everything this topic encompasses. Firstly, they were not fully versed in the language; secondly they were in effect obligated to persecute the very persons who were privy to the secrets of the Lapps and from whom they may have learned the most important knowledge had they proceeded more gently. One must not imagine that the majority of the Lapps were fully versed in all witchcraft. It was the exclusive prerogative of the *noaides* (soothsayers) to know these magic secrets, which have given the Lapps notoriety wide and far. These *noaides*

which have given the Lapps notoriety wide and far. These *noaides* ('mager', 'soothsayers' or 'magicians' (*Trollkarlar*)) were held in high esteem by the Lapps and were in fact the wise ones or the priests of the people.

But since these through their alleged or real magic skills represented the greatest hindrance for the rapid spread of the new faith among the populace, it was natural that they would be hated and persecuted by the priests, who saw the *noaides* as the Devil's instruments. It was, therefore, nigh impossible for the priests to learn the *noaides*' secrets; still today, the Lapps are quite reticent to divulge information about their superstitions. Least of all shall such knowledge be passed on to the pastor. Only as a child or through the stories of settlers can one overhear certain things of the kind.

Because the first pastors in Swedish Lapland persecuted the *noaides*, we have not received much information about the original Lappish pantheon. However, on the Norwegian side of the border, the priests appear to have treated the *noaides* more gently, and consequently our most important knowledge about the gods stem from there.

All this information, however, is not deserving of full credibility. Close familiarity with ancient and present day Lappish conditions is necessary to separate what is true from what is false in the authors' data. The present author was born and raised in Lapland. He has perhaps more than anyone else crisscrossed all regions of Lapland. Yet he readily admits honestly that there is still much in the inner household² of the Lapps that he does not presume to be able to assess with certainty.

How much less credibility is then deserved by authors who, as strangers, and with preconceived ideas and prejudices, have visited the country? Their accounts must be based on information from persons who are as unfamiliar with the inner affairs of the Lapps as the traveler himself. One must not assume that those Swedes and Norwegians who live in the neighborhood of Lapland and Finnmark know the inner affairs of the Lapps although they are in yearly contact with the Lapps. Even priests in Lapland and Finnmark are not very well acquainted with the Lapps's beliefs and conditions, unless they were born and raised, or spend long periods of time in Lapland, and visited the Lapps in their huts (*kota*). It seems some newer authors base their stories of Lapland on such unreliable data as mentioned above and, therefore, their works abound in errors, misconceptions and unfounded claims. Such authors include e.g., Zetterstedt, Blom, Rosenvinge, Brooke, etc. The most credible authors in this field, and who will be discussed here, are the following: *Johan Schefferus* was the first writer to exercise a degree

of critical judgement when writing about Swedish Lapland. His works *Lapponia* appeared first in Frankfurt in 1673 size 4^o³; the second edition in 1674, and the third edition in 1677, also in Frankfurt. These editions were written in Latin, but according to Lönbom's praiseworthy foreword to *Johannis Tornei⁴ Lapponia*, Schefferus's work was translated into English and published in Oxford in 1674. The same year the entire book was also published in German, and a revised version in said language in 1675. Schefferus's work was translated into French by one P. Lubin and printed in Paris. All this information is given by Lönbom.

Schefferus followed good manuscripts and can be considered a fairly good authority of his time on the parts of Lapland he described. According to said work by Lönbom, all pastors in [Swedish] Lapland⁵ at the time were requested by His Majesty's Antiquity Collegium to collect and record everything that could merit remembering concerning the Lapps' customs and living practices. The pastors duly sent in reports to said Collegium, each covering his part of Lapland. It is a pity that some of these manuscripts seem to have disappeared. One might possibly have been able to ascertain who among these pastors knew the Lappish language and customs best. Judging from the quotations Schefferus gives, Samuel Rehn appears to have been the most reliable and comprehensive among them.

Tornæus, whose manuscript Lönbom published in 1772, acquainted himself rather well with the conditions of the Lapps in Tornio-Kemi Lapland. Still errors are found in his text, for example on p. 55 where he erroneously states that naming reindeer is based on age. Tornæus's manuscript was used by Schefferus and thus dates from before 1670.

Gabriel Tuderus's report on Sodankylä, Kuolajärvi, Kitka and Maanselkä Lappars, in Kemi Lapland, idol-worship, superstition, etc. was written around 1670, but appeared in print only in 1773 on Lönbom's initiative. This text, which Schefferus apparently did not use, contains important contributions to our topic.

Pehr Fjellström's account of the Lapps' bear hunt and the superstitions accompanying it was printed in Stockholm in 1755. This author reveals considerable familiarity with Lappish customs and living practices. His account of the Bear hunt is the only complete description we have on the subject and enlightens us about Lappish mythology.

Pehr Högström's description of the part of Lapland that belongs to the Swedish Crown⁶ was printed in Stockholm in 1747. "Of all descriptions of these places this is probably the most complete," says Lönbom in his fore-

word to Tornæus's above-mentioned work. Those who know Lapland must concur with Lönnbom's testimony that Högström's account is not only the most complete, but also the most reliable of all, both old and new works about Lapland. Högström does not serve up balderdash; he seeks no Don Quixote adventures in Lapland. He tests matters before giving voice to an opinion. Such a man should have been in Lapland a century earlier when paganism was in full bloom. One would then not have to grope about in the dark for the meaning of the figures on the Shaman drum or the meaning of the figures in the Lappish Calendar, which older authors have briefly touched upon, but not completely explained.

In chapter 11 of his description, the author deals with everything related to the idolatry and superstition of the Lapps; but the times when Högström lived and worked in Lapland, did not allow Högström to entirely acquaint himself with the *noaides'* mysteries. This is so because firstly, Christianity had gained the upper hand to the extent that most of their ancient doctrine of deities had fallen into oblivion; secondly, the earlier pastors had so frightened the Lapps that they dared not reveal what little of their old beliefs was left. The author refers to this clearly in paragraphs 28 and 34 of said chapter. Thus, only in round about ways, from settlers and such persons, did the author receive information about the Lapps' superstitions. And such is the situation to this day. Those who would deal comprehensively with the mysteries of the Lapps should have attended "*noaide school*."

Among the younger authors *Petrus Laestadius's Chronicle*⁷, printed in Stockholm 1831-33, as well as [*M.A.*] *Sjögren's* notes about Kemi Lapland, printed in Helsinki 1828 stand out. All other authors, who only visited Lapland and in their works included one reference or other concerning the superstitions of the Lapps, lack credibility, as far as I have been able to ascertain. — I have not had the opportunity to consult Holmström's attempt at an account of the oldest inhabitants of Lapland, the Lapps, etc⁸. included in "Publications of the Royal Agricultural Society of the Province of Westerbotten"⁹ [in Swedish] in 1829. Judging from *Zetterstedt's Resa genom Umeå Lappmarken*¹⁰ ('Journey through Ume Lappmark') (printed in Örebro 1833), and the statistical data included in Engström's *Resa genom Södra Lappmarken*¹¹ ("Journey through Southern Lapland") (printed in Calmar 1835), Mr. Holmström seems not to have much to say about Lappish mythology. *Lindahl's* and *Örling's Lexicon Lapponicum*¹², printed in Stockholm in 1780, includes numerous interesting articles concerning Lappish mythology.

Norwegian authors who have had dealings with the Lapps have recorded Lappish mythology more thoroughly than the Swedish and Finnish authors. It is well-known from history that Norwegians had contacts with the Lapps much earlier than did the Swedes. The Lapps' witchcraft was known to the Norwegians well before the introduction of Christianity to Norway and appears in the writings of Islandic authors under names such as *Seid*, *Gan*, *Finnekonst*, etc. But except for the few Norwegians who had their children schooled by famed *noaides*, to learn the skills, many likely did not know what the skills involved until the Danish Government at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century began to send missionaries to Finnmark. The Missions Collegium in Copenhagen had directed the missionaries to submit reports about the pagan religion of the Lapps, and hence from that time more detailed information has been gathered about the notorious "*Finnekonst*."

It can also not be denied that the Lappish mythology is much richer in content in the writings of those Norwegian authors who managed to penetrate into the inner household of the Lapps thanks to their more comprehensive language skills. Yet the same comment can be made about them as about the Swedish authors, that they are not all equally credible. For some never managed to penetrate through the wall that prejudices, way of living, and language have erected between Norwegians and Lapps. Others did not spare efforts to make Lappish mythology grander and more systematic than it could possibly have been in the mind of the *noaide*.

We wish to list some of the Norwegian authors who seem credible, according to the criteria on which the present author bases his judgements.

In *Erik Johan Jessen's* dissertation on the pagan religion of Norwegian Finns* and Lapps (included at the end of Leem's description of Finnmark) the author mentions that the information conveyed in this work is taken from reports submitted to The Mission Collegium in Copenhagen from time to time by missionaries in Finnmark. Since Jessen's dissertation thus is a summary of the missionaries' reports it becomes necessary to examine when, in what parts of Finnmark, and how long each of these missionaries stayed in those regions in order to evaluate their competence in Lappish mythology.

Blom mentions in his "journeys", p. 186, that the first to make serious conversion work in Nordland and Finnmark was Mr. Erik Bredal, who during Fredrik III's era was banished from Trondhjem¹³ in the wake of a Swedish invasion. This Bredal is said to have lived in Trondenäs in Senjen,

which at the time lay in the Trondhjem diocese. Bredal is rumoured to have visited the Lapps in their homes.[†]

As Jessen does not mention the names of the missionaries by whom the reports about the superstitions of the Lapps were submitted, it is not possible to know whether Bredal submitted any report; neither is it known whether he had command of the language.

Thomas von Vesten has truly been one of the most diligent missionaries in Norway, which is evident for example from his letter to the Swedish clergy of 1723. In this letter, which Lönbom had published in 1773, the author presents an entire list of Lappish deities, but because of the publisher's lack of competence¹⁴ in the language, the Lappish names have been spelled in the strangest ways, which renders the text less than useful. From this letter, as well as from the 7th issue of *Budsticken*, one learns that von Vesten visited the Norwegian coast from Trondhjem to the Kola region, and that he made those travels on several separate occasions, during which he made efforts to convert the pagan Lapps to Christianity. It is likely that the dissertation Leem included in his *Beskrifning om Lapparnes forna Gudalära* 'Description of the Ancient Doctrine of Deities of the Lapps' is written by von Vesten, although Leem records the author of the dissertation as Anonymous.

Högström cites von Vesten as the author of a mythological work, but does not indicate if and when it was printed. The dissertations written by von Vesten which are included in the 7th Volume of *Budsticken* do not deal with mythological entities.

Almost a contemporary of von Vesten or slightly later was *Morten Lund*, a missionary in Alten and Hammerfest. From him is extant a Lappish translation of Luther's minor Catechism, printed in Copenhagen in 1728. As Mr. Lund obviously knew the language, one must surmise that he spent an extended period of time with Lapps. Whether he submitted any report to the Mission Collegium is not known.

Lennart Sidenius has, according to Ganander's testimony, authored a report on the pantheon of the Lapps and sent a copy of the manuscript to pastor Johan Tornberg in Juckasjärwi on October 17, 1726, who in turn delivered the manuscript to Dean Henrik Forbus on January 1, 1728. From this manuscript, Ganander, according to his own testimony, has taken the facts about Lappish mythology, which he included in his *Mythologia fennica*¹⁵ of 1789. This report by Sidenius corresponds closely to the anonymous author quoted by Leem. Ganander also indicates that Sidenius's manuscript corre-

sponds well with another Danish missionary's, Jöns Kijhldal's report. (This author is unknown to me).

The anonymous author Leem had published in his classic work reveals considerable familiarity with the Lappish pantheon. However, Leem notes that the anonymous author's data most prominently deal with the Trondhjem and Helgeland Lapps, because the Finnmark Lapps would not acknowledge all the mythological entities the anonymous author lists. The anonymous author is most likely von Vesten.

After these older missionaries who have illuminated Lappish mythology, *Knut Leem* emerges with a thoroughness of analysis and a clarity of writing which set him apart from all others and places him on par with Högström in Sweden. Leem was a researcher who not only evaluated what others before him had said about Lappish superstition, he sought himself during his ten year tenure in Finnmark to penetrate the Lappish mysteries and can, therefore, be considered a classic authority in his field. Concerning that which deals with the Finnmark Lapps, Leem is without doubt the most reliable. It is therefore inconceivable why some newer authors, such as Zetterstedt, Blom, Brooke, Rosenvinge, etc., who after all wish to be seen as credible authors, will bypass these classic authorities and so gladly treat the general public to balderdash. The crazy Acerbi and his cohorts are not even worth mentioning.

Yet concerning Leem the same complaint must be made as was made about Högström that he lived and worked at a time when Christianity already had gained the upper hand. The Lapps of Leem's era had already forgotten a large part of their superstition. They had grown guarded in divulging information and that which still remained of their ancient pantheon they must naturally have considered shameful to reveal. Yet Leem learned most of what could be found out at the time. His extensive book was printed in Copenhagen in 1767, in large Quarto format with text in Danish and Latin.

These are the most prominent authors of Lappish mythology. I regret that I have not had the opportunity to consult Hammond's *Nordisk Missions Historia*. I have also not had access to Rev. Fellman's *Lappish Mythology*, which I am told has recently been written by the aforesaid Rev. Fellman, and according to a letter from Mr. Gottlund, has been submitted for evaluation to the Finnish Literary Society, and which has not yet to my knowledge been published.* I assume Mr. Fellman's *Lappish Mythology* will contain approximately the same as the present work, if he, perhaps has had better opportunities than have I to study the relevant authors. What still exists of

ancient Lappish superstitions among the Lapps I believe I know as well, and perhaps a little better, than Mr. Fellman.

For purposes of comparison and to establish whether the Lapps might have borrowed certain mythological entities from neighboring peoples, I have also consulted *Norrske Sagn*¹⁶ by Andreas Faye, printed in Arendal in 1833; *Ordbok öfver Nordiska Mythologien*¹⁷, printed in Nyköping 1815 (auth. anonymous) and *Handlexicon i Gamla Classiska Mythologien*¹⁸, by F.G. Gruber, Stockholm 1834. It is regrettable that several learned native Finns, while enthusiastically studying Finnish mythology, have not yet published their views concerning their ancestors' religion and pantheon; they have not even offered a summary or draft of a Finnish mythology, for which they do possess good materials in the large collection of Finnish runes (*runos*) which lately have been collected and partially published. (Among those knowledgeable in Finnish mythology, especially C.A. Gottlund, Dr. Lönnrot and M.A. Castrén deserve mentioning). I have thus not had any other authority to rely on except Ganander's *Mythologia Fennica*, which appeared in Åbo in 1789. This scholar, however, receives a rather modest mark from today's greatest authority in the area, which is confirmed by the following excerpt from Carl Axel Gottlund's¹⁹ letter, dated Kuopio 4 August 1839."

"In that context [reference to Læstadius's earlier letter to Gottlund], you mention among other things that you have taken on, in addition to many other things, the writing for the French, a *Lappish Mythology*, which occasions you to turn to me with a request for information in numerous questions as you assume that the mythologies of the Lapps and the Finns are closely related to each other. I have to confess that you have turned to the wrong man; not because I would wish to consider my own judgement inferior to that of others: on the contrary, I base my claim upon all my knowledge and experience."

"But if with the word mythology, one is to understand what the Romans and the Greek meant with that term, i.e., not only a pantheon but science of divinity or faith of objects of human worship etc. then I have to say as I did already 22 years ago and as you will likely have read in *Svensk Litteratur-Tidning*²⁰ in 1818, in which I deal extensively in a review of Rüh's: "*Finland och dess invånare*" (*Finland and Its Inhabitants*)²¹ with the mythology of the Finns (which consists of the fact that they do not possess one); and since that time my views have not changed."

"Everything that Ganander, Petterson²³, Rüh's and others have written about it is utter nonsense. In any case: the Finns do not in their language

have words meaning *church, temple, worship, sacrifice, altar, priests, etc.* The very word *jumala* (God) is not an appellative noun, but a proper name, and cannot as an adjective be construed with or alongside other proper names. They do say *Jumala-Isä, Jumala-Poika* (instead of *Isä Jumala, Poika Jumala, etc.*) but that is not Finnish and against the nature of the language, brought in by Chistianity. This alone ought to convince you to some degree what the foundations of Finnish mythology are like.”

The old legend about the *Jumala* temple and the image in Biarmaland is, as the language and the story reveals, simply a political warrior poem, a legend with no basis in history. But if one with the word mythology understands, not worship of nature, but nature poetry, personification and mystification of nature, yet without worship, then the Finns possess a rich mythology. This is actually fantasy or poetry which if, on the one hand, it had inspired poets, artists, painters, sculptor, etc. to great art, and, on the other, become the source of superstition among the people, then in time a mythology might have emerged, similar to the Greek and Roman one. This process and the development of religious and moral concepts was, however, interrupted by the advent of Christianity and never reached a culmination point in Finnish poetry.

“You are not satisfied with a Finnish mythology which consists only of nature poetry. Therefore, you will study Ganander and people like him and learn what you can from them: Between you and me, all his explanations, interpretations and learned comments are pure rubbish. Only Finnish runes (songs) may serve as a basis for study and deserve to be read, yet not as psalms, hymns or articles of faith.”

“Whether the Finns in pagan times believed in the immortality of the soul, in punishment and rewards in another world, etc., nothing certain can any longer be stated. Only what can be concluded indirectly from their proverbs and ancient sayings of wisdom you can obtain from the essay on old Finns’ teachings of wisdom that I published in the first part of *Otava*.²³ A German translation has now appeared from Bruckhaus in Leipzig which one Sederholm in Moscow commissioned after an excerpt had appeared in 1835 in *Morgenblath*, which Cotta publishes in Augsburg.”

That was Mr. Gottlund.

I suspect that not all Finnish mythologists share Gottlund’s views. But since I do not have access to the secrets of Finnish mythology or, as Gottlund terms it, nature poetry, I will not venture to engage in extensive discussions on this subject. Instead, for the purpose of illustrating Lappish mythology, I offer only the following:

With the term mythology I mean a general popular belief in supernatural beings and forces. All ideas of supernatural beings and phenomena, which are not part of the general folk belief, but pertain only to fantasies of individuals, do not, according to my simple mind, belong in mythology. If, however, a poetic painting, a frightened imagination, or a ghost story becomes integrated into general folk belief, it also enters the realm of mythology.

If we then consider Roman and Greek mythology in light of this distinction, we will soon find that the innumerable number of mythological objects included — which according to the calculations of some mythologists reached 7000 — consisted of deified and metamorphosed human beings, who then belong to mythology only insofar as people in some city or rural area believed in their divine or supernatural powers and transformations. The mere number of such objects proves that they cannot all have been the object of general folk belief; only those who *ex professo*²⁴ studied the writings of the poets could keep track of these objects. If we separate the deified humans from the genuine mythological objects, the extent of the Greco-Roman mythology is considerably diminished, while its content, in view of the poets' free flight, is always rich in bold creations. Probably the poets themselves did not believe in the reality of their creations. Much less then could all, perhaps not even one fourth of their fantasies, become the object of general folk belief. Only such object which had temples or were worshipped, invoked and believed by the people in some other fashion, can be considered genuinely mythological.

If we apply these distinctions to the comparison of Finnish mythology, by Gottlund called nature poetry, to other nations' mythologies, we will soon discover that its content cannot only be poetry. There have to be truly mythological beings, such as *maahiset*, a kind of humanoid beings living under the surface of the earth; *manalaiset*, the souls of deceased humans; *äpärrä*, the ghost of a murdered child. All of these are still, at least in Northern Finland, the objects of general folk belief.

Furthermore, Gottlund has himself in his dissertation of Tacitus's judgement²⁵ of the Finns, admitted that there existed among the Finns veritable sorcerers²⁶ (*noaides*), who have advanced so far in the art of sorcery that they have killed each other using it. Did this happen through nature poetry, I wonder, or through mystification or personification. He mentions in the same treatise that the wizards made terrifying grimaces to each other when meeting. But they did not kill each other with grimaces alone, did they? If it did not happen with natural magic, then at least some kind of

exalted imagination must have been part of it. It is exactly this power of imagination, which may adversely affect the functions of the human body, I consider to be the creator of the true myth. It differs from all forms of poetry in that it believes in the reality of its own creation.

This kind of exalted imagination is found in children and in persons suffering from weakness of the nerves, particularly among women. It is more commonly found among brutes and savages than among the educated. Therefore, myth belongs intrinsically to the common folk. This imagination is most advanced among those who live alone in the forest, which likely is a result of the isolation, desolation and emptiness that surround the hermit's hut. The soul is always active; but in the uneducated the mental power is not directed inward as in a thinker or a poet; it is directed outward toward external objects. What images might then not appear in the lonely wanderer's soul as he finally lies down by the log-fire in the desolate forest? Must not the dark figure of which he dimly sees a glimpse in the deceptive morning fog be a troll, which upon closer scrutiny turns out to be a grey rock? Must not the howling of a wolf, the hooting of an owl, or the rustle of the weasel among the dry leaves come from strange beings on and under the earth? Those who have tried to sleep alone in the forest on a gloomy autumn night very soon experience the strange magic power that the woods in conjunction with desolation possesses to rouse fantasies. It will no longer seem odd to them why the mythology is exceptionally rich in the most remote regions where you encounter so many gnomes, *vittras*²⁷, and trolls with all their peculiar epithets and shapes. In larger cities one has no time to listen to the fir ghosts and trolls. One is continually surrounded by people. If one hears some strange sounds from an attic or wine cellar the suspicion is immediately that there are thieves. The bustle of people walking back and forth on the streets quickly brings an end to ghost stories.

The situation is completely different in a remote forest district where you seldom see people, where nothing happens, and where the natural surroundings command the solitary hunter's or herdsman's attention. The slightest sound of a bird, a hare, a rock rolling down a hill immediately arouses the lonely wanderer's attention. If he cannot at once explain the source of the noise or the deceptive apparition, he will assume something inexplicable or supernatural in the phenomenon. His frightened imagination paints dreadful horror images. He believes he is witness to ghosts, trolls, and evil beings around him. This appears entirely natural and I believe it would happen to any human being if placed in similar circumstances.

The magic power with which wild nature, combined with desolation, affects the power of imagination of humans is to my simple mind the basis for genuine myth. The solitary wanderer recounts his visions with grave face. It then becomes a legend among the people and the simple people believe the tale to be true. Then the myth is born. Such a myth is to my mind not poetry, but it can be a marvellous subject matter for poetry, if the poet adopts a poetic attitude and gives it nobler color, i.e., turns it into real poetry. Mythology has always given poets wonderful material for songs, but the poet will not confine himself to writing the myth in its original form. He recreates and embellishes with additions of his own, which makes it difficult, perhaps even impossible, to distinguish the original myth from the poetic ornamentation. The Finnish rune, too, has its measure of poetic ornamentation that does not belong to the myth, only to the poem. As Ganander determined the rune to be the foundation of his mythology, Mr. Gottlund may well be correct when he points out that Ganander has often erred when he has attempted to explain the rune as myth. No impartial examiner can deny that myths have served as the basis for runes.

In contrast, Lappish mythology is relatively free of poetic ornamentation. The Lapps have nothing that compares to the poetry of other nations. Their songs stay, as Blom expressed it, "within a fourth or a fifth and is most repulsive to the musical ear." This holds true only for the uninitiated; when one gets used to the songs of the Lapps one does not find them unpleasant in the least. Perchance neither Blom nor Zetterstedt (who also condemns their songs) ever heard anyone other than drunken Lapps *yoiking*²⁸ (singing). The late conductor Haeffner in Upsala has said that the songs of the Lapps are sublime. N.B. As an inarticulate sound of nature or as the purest expression of an inner feeling it can occasionally be called sublime when performed by a female voice in the echoing forest.

But otherwise, and even though as music it can be said to "stay with a fourth or a fifth," one must not imagine that it lacks variation. There are distinct sounds for sorrow, and others for joy, different modulations for courage and for cowardice. Every animal has its own song in Lappish with words added which describe the animal's temperament. Every prominent person has a song dedicated to him or her, which reflects the person's mannerisms or special modes of being. These songs are as unchanging in modulations as they are innumerable. Although the improvised words associated with the song are not completely lacking in poetic elevation, one cannot detect the slightest sign of rhythm. Furthermore, I have observed Lapps as enchanted or inspired by their songs as someone of the Phosphorist school,

which proves that they are not as emotionless as some later scholars have advocated. (Zetterstedt's Journey 2, p. 56). Lappish poetry is not, as stated above, related to their mythology. The mythology is always presented in prose form. Naturally, the prose tale can be decorated with additions, but the additions are not poetic in nature. They are incidental in nature. Consequently, one hears the same tale told in different forms in different areas of Lapland. The basic idea is, however, always the same.

The Finnish runes are completely different. The poet or rune singer is the one who has given the myth color. Nothing can be removed or added without ruining the entire content. Not a single verse can be left out without being missed. In such cases, the rune or song presents the original myth as it was conceived in the rune singer's brain. But the original myth as it existed in the common folk belief, the poet cannot reproduce, because of the rhythm. The difference then between prose and poetic mythology, is that additions to the former are done by many, to the latter by one single person, i.e., the poet.

I picture the emergence of mythology approximately in this fashion. What Mr. Gottlund says concerning the word *Jumala*, that it is a proper noun, I view as being the case with the word *Iehovah* itself. God can never be construed as a common concept, hence also not its name. Thus *Jumala* denotes a certain object (individual) in the same way as *Väinämöinen*, *Ilmarinen*, etc. Each refers to individual mythological objects. That Finnish lacks a word for church, temple, worship, etc., proves nothing of that which was to be proven. The Lappish language also lacks words which would refer to such concepts, yet it is well known that the Lapps had their *passe* sanctuary, that they crawled on four feet before the idol *Seite*, and that they sacrificed large piles of reindeer antlers to their idols, etc.

I wonder whether the Finnish word *pyhä* ['holy, sacred'] does not refer to a place or object purified for some deity? Why else would we encounter *Pyhä Ouda*, 'a sacred forest', far into Finnmark unless it is simply a translation of the sacred places of the Lapps. I wonder also whether or not the Finnish word *kumartaa* ['bow down'], refers to some kind of bowing before the gods?

Mr. Gottlund wishes generally to elevate his pagan ancestors above other pagans. He wants to acquit them of all idolatry and superstition. He wishes to make them into veritable nature philosophers and nature poets, but I am afraid that Old Adam or, better yet, Old Erik had as much his finger in the matters of the Finns as of other nations. The fact alone that they had their *noaides*, 'wizards', *luvut*, 'readings' or 'spells' or 'charms', their

loitimiset, 'secret cures', etc., proves that the people believed in supernatural powers. Mr. Gottlund mentions in his afore-mentioned work on Tacitus's views of the Finns that the *noaides* were believed to be in contact with the Devil²⁹ and that they (the wizards) were no less feared than revered by the people. All the worse. It proves that the ancient Finns believed in the existence of a mighty evil being, that through the wizards could do good or evil deeds.

Mr. Gottlund does claim in *Otava* 1, p. 31–32 that the art of divination belongs to a later period. But since he applies what Tacitus calls "*incantationibus dediti*" to the Finns, one must conclude that the practice must have flourished already in Tacitus's days. He cannot then claim that Roman Catholicism is the source of the practice of sorcery. But where have the Finns learned the art of sorcery? And how could they have gained such a reputation for their sorcery if the people did not believe in it? Even if the wizards did not themselves believe in the power of their own magic (i.e., if it all happened through natural means that they purposefully kept secret) the people did believe that it happened with supernatural means. This very folk belief in supernatural powers and deeds is sufficient proof of the existence of a Finnish mythology.

Mr. Gottlund also wishes to explain away the entire story (included in Sturleson³⁰) told by *Thorer Hund* about the god of the Bjarmians who is called *jumala*. Since this belongs to history, not mythology, I cannot determine whether it is true or false. I cannot agree with the conclusion that it is a "political warrior poem" because the entire story about Thorer Hund's journey to Bjarmaland is so meticulous and rich in detail that it does not appear to be a fabrication. Men of learning apparently do not yet fully agree on the geographic location of Bjarmaland. Some claim it is situated in the area of Archangel. But one possibility is of course that Bjarmaland was located on the Kola peninsula. If that were the case it would make *jumala* a Lappish deity. von Vesten mentions in his treatise from 1717 (published in *Budstikken's* 7th Volume, p. 13) that one Lappish village at the far edge of the Nordfjället fell (in Lappish *Nuorta Tunturi*) on the Archangel side is called *Bjarmiri*.³¹ Mr. Emanuel Kohlström, missionary in Enontekiö Lapp region has informed me that his father, the late Rev. Mathias Kohlström, was known to have seen a large stone idol³¹ in the Aviovaara region, currently known as Karasjoki. If that is true, one may reach the conclusion that the Lapps may have brought in idols from foreign nations, because no examples of stone carvings by the Lappish have been found. Germany is *Saxan maa* in Finnish, and the Lapps in the Tornio Lappmark and further

north call Germany *Saxa ädman*. This suggests that the Saxons were the first Germans to visit and come in contact with these northerly countries. It is possible that they, either themselves or through Norwegian adventurers, brought to the Lapps in Finnmark some *Jumala* idols carved in stone. But the *Jumala* idol in Bjarmaland appears to have been wooden, judging from the fact that the neck was cut off and the whole *Jumala* fell over when *Thorer Hund*'s companion tried to chop off the chain around *Jumala*'s neck.

Since Mr. Gottlund claims that the ancient Finns had no idols (about which there should be stories extant if such idols have indeed existed), it is probable that what *Thorer Hund* and his foster brother destroyed was a Lappish God. The fact that the word *Jumala* sounds more Finnish than Lappish is of little consequence as it is well known that the Lappish dialect of the Kola region is more Finnish than Lappish.

I hereby conclude my remarks concerning Finnish mythology, which I am unable to evaluate as long as its domestic scholars disagree among themselves. For purposes of comparison, I have to use it as presented by Ganander and in the runes or songs I have been able to consult.

Because of the scarcity of sources, I have not been able to provide many comparisons to the mythologies of foreign nations. I will, therefore, present Lappish mythology as it is described in the afore-mentioned sources and based on the modest experience I have gained. I have never made mythology my main object of study. As a child I have heard much about Lappish traditional practices and as a university student I wrote excerpts from Leem. I would most likely not yet have embarked upon writing these "fragments" unless some delegates of the so-called French Scientific Expedition had urged me to. It gives me great pleasure if I herewith can be of service to those interested individuals and to scholars of cultural history in general.

If I can find a publisher and a translator for this work, it will be continued with the following parts: The doctrine of sacrifice, the doctrine of divination and the study of fable. The study of fable will include a selection of the legends of the Lapps.

Karesuando in Tornio Lappmark, 8 May 1840.

L.L.Læstadius

Endnotes

¹ *Vittra* and *underboninga*: A community of beings belonging to Swedish folk belief; goblin or troll-like beings who lived beneath the earth or in hills and about whom are told tales which are very much like those told about Finnish and Lappish *maahiset*. *Vittra* is a plural form; the singular form is *vitter(-)*.

² *Inre hushållning*; Læstadius's own term, with which he seems to refer mostly to matters belonging to the traditional beliefs and worldview of the Sami.

³ Refers to old paper sizes; the size of a page was roughly equivalent of today's size B4.

⁴ Læstadius writes *Johannes Tornei Lapponia*; it refers to Schefferus's informant's, Johannes Tornæus's, description published in book form in 1772 with a foreword by Swedish Historian Samuel Lönnbom.

⁵ Swedish Lapland was divided into Lappmarks with the great river valleys as boundaries, e.g. Tornio Lappmark, Lule Lappmark, etc. *Lappmarken* is mostly translated as "Lapland" in this book.

⁶ *Beskrifning öfver de till Sveriges Krona lydande Lapmarker, etc.* (1747).

⁷ The *Chronicle* or *Journal* has two parts; its notes are from 1830 and 1831–1832 respectively.

⁸ Holmström: "Försök till en berättelse om Lappmarkens äldsta inbyggare, Lapparne etc."

⁹ *Westerbotten lähn* i.e., Province of Västerbotten is across Gulf of Bothnia from Österbotten in Finland. The names western and eastern bottom refer to these areas having been sea bottom.

¹⁰ Ume Lappmark begins as far south as the latitude of the city of Umeå.

¹¹ *Södra Lappmarken* 'Southern Lapland' overlaps at least partly with Ume Lappmark.

¹² 'Sami (or Lappish) Dictionary.'

* Most Norwegian, Danish and Icelandic writers refer to the Lapp with the term *finnar*, and to the Finns in turn with *Kvaens* or *Bjarmians*, etc. "Lapp" appears in historical Swedish documents only after Sweden conquered Finland. This is evidence that the Swedes borrowed the term from the Finns, who indeed have known the term "Lapp" from ancient times. According to Finnish runes a "Lapp" with his arrow shot down "Väinämöinen", the oldest deity of the Finns. Therefore, the Lapp was a contemporary of Väinämöinen. It is probable that the Swedes did differentiate between a Finn and a Lapp before St. Erik's crusade. They saw them as one people and thus called the Lapps *skridfinnar* 'Gliding Finns' because of their skill in the art of skiing. Maybe the reason the Finns later were called *finnar*, which term originally applied only to Lapps was the fact that Swedes confused *finnar* and *skridfinnar*. Ordinary modern Finns continued to be called *kvaens*, which is nothing other than *kainulainen* pronounced in Geatish fashion. This in turn referred to a Finnish tribe whose descendants still live in modern *Kainuu* in Ostrobothnia or actually in the province of Kajaani, as well as in Alakainio [Nederkalix] and Yläkainio [Överkalix] which are located in Norrbotten in Sweden. The Lapps also know their own name *kainolats*, which according to Lappish etymology should mean 'someone who handles a rope.'

I am convinced that Tacitus's depiction of the *fenni* people applies better to Lapps than to Finns even though Gottlund in his work *Försök att förklara Taciti omdömen öfver Finnerne* ['Attempt to explain Tacitus's statements about the Finns'] published in Stockholm 1834) tries to prove the opposite. Thus, for example, Tacitus's words *victui herb* ['plants were the nourishment' — Linkomies 1952; here plants mean something others than grain.] cannot be ap-

plied to old Finns because these, even according to Gottlund's testimony, knew burn beating agriculture and did not need to eat grass as the Lapps. We know that the latter still today eat grass, i.e. species of *Angelica* [väänönputki], *Rumex Acetosa* [suolaheinä], *Rhoeum digynum* [probably hapro], *Sonchus alpinus* [probably sinivalvatti], and the leaves of *Epilobium augustifolium* [maitohorsma] and *Ribes rubrum* [punaherukka]; these plants were partly eaten raw by the Lapps such as the stems of *Angelica* and *Sonchus*, partly boiled and mixed with reindeer milk. Cochlearia [kuirimo] is also a species that Norwegian Sea Lapps use as such or mixed with fish liver oil. And Tacitus's words *Sola in sagissis spes, quas inopia Ferri ossibus asperant* ['The only hope is in the arrows, which for lack of iron they enforce with points of bone'] do not apply to the Finns who knew iron and other metals. But the Lapps do tell how their ancestors have used the bills of loons (*Columbi Septentrionalis*) as arrow points.

What do Tacitus's words *in aliquot ramorum nexu contegantur* ['sheltered by tied together poles from bad weather'] then mean? Mr. Gottlund has admitted that the Finns had dwellings or houses. Tacitus could then not have said about them that they had a *nexus ramorum* as shelter. But of the Lapps' *Laudnje kâdte* we can say that it is a *nexus ramorum* consisting of raised poles with birch or spruce branches protecting against the wind. The use of tents belongs to later times. According their own tales, the Lapps began to use *Ädnan kâte* or 'earth pits' only in conjunction with the raids by *Tsuudi* and Karelians. Everything Gottlund presents about Finns and *Finnkonst* ['Finnish practices'], etc. from Danish, Norwegian and Icelandic writers applies only to Lapps from where '*Finnmarken*' has got its name. Anyone who reads the history impartially must find that these writers did not mean Finns but Lapps when they talk about the people in Finnmark. Furthermore, these Danish-Norwegian-Icelandic writers have here and there spoken of *Kvaens* and it is nowadays well proven that the Norway's *Kvaens* are the same people that the Swedes call Finns. The fact that the Norwegians called the Finns *Kvaens*, even in antiquity, can be best proven by the name *Quenængern*, a fiord in Finnmark which got its name from the *Kvaens* at a time when *anger* ['bay or fiord'] was still in active use in the language.

¹³ Læstadius uses this form; "Trondheim" is also in frequent use.

† Here reference is probably made to Sami who live on the shore, i.e., so-called *sjöfinner* [Sea Sami]. Except for Koutokeino, Karasjoki and the region around Porsanger fiord, the other parts of Nordland and Finnmark offer few places that are conducive for the reindeer to spend the winter. Hence most reindeer Lapps (Lapps with reindeer herds) have spent their winter on the Swedish side of the border. These have always been considered Swedish subjects (including Koutokeino and Karasjoki until 1751).

Moreover it follows that those Lapps with whom Norwegian missionaries had dealings with were mostly Sea Lapps, who due to their interaction with Norwegians and German merchants already long ago have advanced ahead of their brothers, the Mountain Lapps, in culture, which then is reflected in their mythology; one finds among them Lappish, Catholic and ancient Geatish concepts pertaining to a doctrine of deities mixed and confused. Separating that which is true from that which is false in the mythology of the Norwegian Lapps among the data the writers present, i.e., differentiating between genuine Lappish beings from alien ones is no simple matter.

¹⁴ Læstadius refers here to an editor or a typesetter, not von Vesten himself.

¹⁵ Ganander's *Mythologia Fennica* was first published in Finnish translation in 1995 under Juha Pentikäinen's editorship.

* After the above had been written and the entire manuscript was ready, Mr. Fellman has kindly sent me parts of his manuscript, but since he intends to publish it and requested it back soon I did not have time to make lengthy excerpts from it. There was not much in the part of the manuscript which I got to borrow that properly belong to Lappish mythology and what pertains to the later parts of my work I hope to be able to read in printed form.

¹⁶ 'Norwegian Tales.'

¹⁷ 'Dictionary of Nordic Mythology.'

¹⁸ 'Handbook of Classical Mythology.'

¹⁹ Carl Axel Gottlund (1796–1875) was an author, scientist, and a versatile supporter of the Finnish cause, lecturer in Finnish language at the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki 1839–75. He and Læstadius were fellow students in Uppsala. — Gottlund's letter cited here was written from the perspective of Schellingian Romanticism. Læstadius's philosophical outlook can be considered vitalist and he never adopted the romantic worldview, at least not in the speculative form (Gottlund represented).

²⁰ 'Sweden's Literature Magazine.'

²¹ German Friedrich Rüh's book *Finnland und seine Bewohner* (Berlin 1809) Swedish translation appeared in 1811–1813.

²² Gottlund probably refers to the learned Christian Isaak Peterson from Riga, who e.g. translated Ganander's *Mythologia Fennica* into German. (Reval 1821)

²³ Gottlund's *Otava* I–II was a scientific–literary reader in Finnish, 1828–1832.

²⁴ Means 'professionally.'

²⁵ *Försök att förklara Caj. Corn. Taciti omdömen öfver Finnarne, etc.* is written in a somewhat "Rudbeckian" spirit to elevate the ancient Finns spiritually above the old civilized people. — See also Læstadius's long note above.

²⁶ Læstadius says *Trollkarlar*, which has been translated here and throughout this book (relatively) consistently using the term *noaide*.

²⁷ Læstadius uses here, redundantly, a double plural.

²⁸ Læstadius writes *jöika*.

²⁹ Læstadius's *Hin Håle*.

³⁰ Snorre Sturluson (1179–1241), Icelandic poet and historian, compiler of the *Edda*.

* *Budsticken* is a Norwegian periodical, which was published 1820–1826. It offered statistical studies of Nordland and Finnmark, including von Westen's article cited above.

³¹ The question mark in brackets Læstadius's.

Fragments of Lappish Mythology

Part One: Doctrine of Deities

§ 1

Since the Lapps have never had educational institutions nor been literate they could never become such great philosophers that they by means of thinking alone could come to recognize only one God. Neither could they, for the same reason, become naturalists, rationalists or Deists. A measure of strength of thought is required to be capable of knowing such a result in religion. But the feeling for religion or belief in the supernatural was as much alive among the Lapps as among other peoples. Likewise, one cannot claim that their doctrine of deities was more unreasonable than those of other pagans. They did have idols, but they were only to represent a deity. At the utmost, the most foolish might have believed that some divine power emanated from the sacred idols themselves. Sacrifices were used, but it is less probable that they sacrificed humans. In their worship they were fervent and the slightest violation of accepted practices was to be expiated with sacrifice.

Belief in an afterlife appears to have been common among all Lapps. Associated with that notion was the concept of punishment and reward in another world. In their belief in the resurrection of the dead, the Lapps have gone much further than the Greek and the Romans. For the Lapps believed that humans as well as animals would receive new bodies in another world. If the Greek heroes made journeys to the realm of the dead, the Lapps were not unfamiliar with such journeys either. In more important ceremonies, every renowned *noaide* or soothsayer Lapp had to undertake a journey to the realm of the dead, not in body but in spirit. If the Greek had their oracles, the Lapps were not lacking theirs. Their *noaide* drum was their oft-consulted oracle. This briefly is the content of the mythology of the Lapps.

§ 2

Since humans think in terms of time and place and one idea always gives rise to another, I have here presented Lappish mythology as a kind of sys-

tem. An alphabetical approach would lead to too much loss of coherence and an alphabetical index at the end serves the same purpose as an alphabetical order of presentation. It is, therefore, not implied that mythological entities would have come about in the order the system presents them. It is after all likely that evil or injurious beings appear first in the imagination, and that fear of them gives reason to imagine good deities, who are the opposite of and superior to the former. The entire mythology appears to be but a struggle between good and evil powers, as, likewise, the struggle between good and evil within man himself is the axis around which man's whole life revolves.

Since the doctrine of deities among the Lapps is described much more exhaustively by Norwegian-Danish writers than by Swedish ones and Jessen's aforementioned treatise is based on information from several missionaries, I have deemed it best to base my presentation on his work and for each individual mythological entity or phenomenon append statements from the others as well as my own observations.

§ 3

Ranking and Classifying Lappish Gods. The *noaides* presumably did not divide their gods into classes. Yet the missionaries' accounts occasionally include a ranking order of sorts, which insofar as they rely on statements by *noaides* can serve as a basis for the classification in order to better become aware of relationships.

"The deities of the Lapps," states Jessen, "were grouped into three classes: high above, above, and on the earth," to which can be added a category 'below', and such mythological beings which while not designated or worshipped as deities were still considered supernatural beings and played a vital role in the mythology.

Sidenius, according to Ganander, divided the Lappish deities into four classes: high above, above, on the earth, and below. The Anonymous scholar referred to by Leem observes the same classification principle. The Swedish writers, who generally recognize fewer deities, do not mention the high above one. They do, however, mention several earthly deities which for the Norwegians remained unclear. This, of course, is a consequence of the fact that the deities of the Lapps were different in different Lappmarks.

§ 4

Radien or the highest god. The gods high above include first *Radien Atzhie* who was the highest and greatest of all gods. He is described standing with a simple cross above *Radien Kiedde* (No. 2 of the figures on the drumhead, p. 8 above). Here reference is made to the *noaide* drum Jessen has described and had engraved in copper. He remarks about the same drum that it had been provided by Thomas von Vesten in Trondhjem because all specimens of divination or *noaide* drums that had been deposited with the Mission Collegium in Copenhagen and held in safekeeping in the royal Waysenhuus archive had been lost in the Copenhagen fire of 1728. The figure on this drum is present also in Leem's description and appears to have been taken from a specimen belonging to Helgeland Lapps¹.

Radien Atzhie was believed to reign with limitless power over heaven and earth, over all other gods, and over the Lapps themselves. That is why they gave him the name *Radien*, which means 'might' and 'power', and further added the word *Atzhie*, which denotes 'source' or 'origin'." (Jessen *ibid.*).

§ 5

There is nothing unreasonable about the idea of a supreme god who reigns over everything. It appears in all peoples' mythologies, and is a necessary result in the evolution of human ideas. It proves that thought itself ultimately falls back on a supreme power from which everything emanates.

It can no longer be ascertained whether the name *Radien* originally was Lappish. It is probable that it was taken from Helgeland's Lapps, because the *noaide* drum on which *Radien* is marked with a cross appears to have belonged to Helgeland's Lapps.

Both Sidenius, von Vesten, and Leem's Anonymous spell it *Radien*. They testify that *Radien* is the highest and mightiest among the gods uppermost in the starry sky.

Except for Lindahl and Öhrling, none of the Swedish writers seems to have known *Radien*. Lindahl has (in *Lexic. Lappon.*²) quoted the name *Radien*, and it is possible he heard it mentioned in Lycksele Lappmarks. I have never heard it mentioned in Jockmock and Arjeplog, nor does Högström cite it.

§ 6

Jessen is of the opinion that *Radien*, depending on how the Lappish informant pronounced it, means 'might and power'. If Jessen is correct, the word could be derived from the verb *raddit*, which means 'reign, *possidare*, *dominare*³'. However, *raddit* is not originally a Lappish word but borrowed from the Swedish verb *råda* 'reign' in the same fashion as Finnish got its *raadi* from Swedish, *råd*, 'senatus', 'magistrates', and *raadia* from the same *råda*. According to this derivation *Radien* would not be a genuine Lappish deity, but a borrowed one. The word and the deity would, however, turn out to be Lappish if derived from the Lappish word *radje* or *raje*, which denotes 'border, *terminus*'. In that case *Radien Attje* would mean 'Border Father'. NB. What in Leem's orthography is *Atzhie* is the same as *Attje* referred to by Lindahl and Öhrling, and it means 'father'.

§ 7

The Anonymous in Leem states that "some Lapps differentiated between *Radien* and *Zhioaarve Radien*, according to which the latter would be subordinate to the former. The function of this *Zhioaarve Radien* is to send down the soul to the mother womb at the moment of conception. The female *Madder Akka* receives this soul from *Radien*, but immediately passes it on to her daughter *Zarakka*, who makes a body grow onto the soul.

This distinction is not known to any other writer. Jessen ascribes this act to *Madder Attje* and it is possible that *Zhioaarve Radien* and *Madder Attje* are the same entity. NB. *Zhioaarve*, according to Lindahl and Öhrling's spelling *tjårwe*, actually means 'horn,' '*cornu*'; it is a metonym for 'might' or the expression 'best of its kind'. The richest Lapp in the parish is usually called *Tjårwe*.

§ 8

"*Radien Kiedde*, figure No. 2 on the drumhead, was said to be a son of *Radien Attje*. He was presented as an edifice whose two rows of pillars on each side represented his two hands, with which he could do and rule over everything. So sacred was *Radien Attje* among the Lapps that they did not dare call him by any other name. Even his only son, *Radien Kiedde* was obligated to revere and honor him as something sacred. *Radien Attje* does

not actually create anything himself. On the other hand, he worked through his son with such power that the latter creates everything. These two have command over everything, over all other gods, deities of the sky, of the earth and the nether world alike. *Radien Attje* was even believed to rule over *Radien Kiedde*, and through him made everything happen. Yet *Radien Kiedde* did not perform anything on his own accord, but his power depended on *Radien Attje*." (Jessen *ibid.* p. 11).

One can, however, have serious doubts whether this idea is originally Lappish. It seems to me that the story of *Radien Kiedde* reveals too much familiarity with the first chapter of the gospel of John. *Kiedde* is not mentioned by anyone else but von Vesten and Jessen. It is, therefore, hard to know from which region of Helgeland or Trondhjem the story emanates. *Kiedde* means 'meadow' or 'grass growing heath,' where the Lapps usually put up their tents and milk their reindeer. The meaning that Jessen ascribed to *Radien Kiedde* appears even alien. The fact that *Radien Kiedde* was represented on the drum in the form of an edifice, would seem to indicate that *Radien Kiedde* was seen as a dwelling for *Radien Attje*, which according to the Lapps could not be placed in a better location than on a grass-covered field. The subsequent transformation of *Kiedde* into the son of *Radien Attje* would appear to have originated in the informants' acquaintance with Christianity.

§ 9

Sidenius mentions two additional deities with similar names, *Radier* and *Rariet*. These do, however, appear either to be synonymous with *Radien* or reflect different pronunciations or perhaps an orthographic error.

"*Radier* resides uppermost in the sky somewhat below *Rariet*, whose function it is to send down the soul to the human embryo in the mother's womb. (Sidenius, according to Ganander). From the observation that the same duty is said to be performed by *Madder Attje*, *Tjårwe Radien* and *Radier* one can conclude that they all refer to the same being. When one finally brings together all information about *Radien*, *Radier*, *Rariet*, *Radien Attje* and *Radien Kiedde* as well as *Tjårwe Radien*, one can draw the following conclusions:

1. All these names are taken from Helgeland Lapps,
2. They originally denote one and the same object/entity,
3. They do not appear to be genuine, i.e., they are not originally Lappish judging by the names, which are derived from Swedish or Danish. Except

for the figures which appear on the *noaide* drum, there is no mention that the Lapps created any statues or idols of these deities. The afore-mentioned *Madder Attje* will be dealt with later.

Note. *Radien Gudde*, mentioned in von Vesten's letter is apparently a typographical error and is to be read as *Radien Kiedde*. *Alskin* in von Vesten's letter is most likely also a typographical error and is to be read together with the preceding *Radien*. It should probably be *Attje* since *Alskin* is a name that appears in no other writer's texts. *Veralden Olmai* in the same context is according to von Vesten synonymous with *Radien Kiedde*. *Veralden Olmai* means 'man of the world' and is evidence that the name is from Helgeland, since *verald* comes from Swedish *verld* and does not appear in the Finnmark dialect.

§ 10

"Next in rank after *Radien*," says Anonymous in Leem, "is *Ruonaneid*. She resides uppermost in the astral realm not far below *Radien*. *Ruonaneid* is the deity of the fells, which first become green in spring. She makes new grass grow as food for the reindeer. In order to assure excellent first verdure for the reindeers, the Lapps were in the habit of sacrificing to this deity in spring." Sidenius (according to Ganander) offers the exact same description of this deity, but he writes it *Rananeid*, which undoubtedly is the correct spelling. Jessen also writes *Rananeid* but he does not include her among the inhabitants of the uppermost realm, but mentions instead (on page 63) that *Rana Neid* was the Flora of the Lapps which produced grass and herbs on earth. Neither von Vesten nor the Swedish writers know this deity at all.

There is obviously no doubt that *Rananeid* was a genuine Lappish deity, but it is difficult to know where the Lapps got the word *Rana* from, as it apparently does not have a meaning in Lappish. Lindahl and Öhrling have made notations of *ranot* and *ranom* for the southern Lappmark dialect, but these words clearly come from Swedish *rån* 'sprite' and *råna*⁴[pl.]. Ganander's *Mythologia Fennica* includes *Rauni* as *Ukko*'s (Thunder's) wife and the deity of spring verdure. *Rauna* is also a quite common female name in the northernmost Lappmarks, but it is usually considered a contraction of *Ragnild*. In Scandinavian mythology *Ran* is said to be *Ägir*'s wife and the goddess of the sea. Since *Rana* does not have any meaning in Lappish it is likely that the word has been borrowed either from Finnish *Rauni* or the Geatish *Ran*. The latter alternative probably holds true since *Rana Neid* ap-

pears to belong to Helgeland's rather than Finnmark's Lapps. *Neid* denotes 'maiden' and indicates that *Rananeid* was a female deity.

§ 11

"The second class of gods or deities of the sky include *Beiwe* and *Ailekis Olmak*. *Beiwe*, 'the sun', is represented by a quadrangle, figure No. 4 on the drum. From each angle of the quadrangle runs a line called *Beiwe labtje* (the sun's reins, i.e., rays). There were four of these reins and they signify the sun's power of affecting all four directions of the wind." (Jessen *ibid.*).

"The gods which reside lower down in the air include the Sun, *Peiwe*. White creatures were sacrificed to her⁵ in order that she may shine well, and on Midsummer's Eve a porridge called sun porridge was eaten." (Leem's Anonymous).

"The Lapp places the Sun among the gods which reside lower down in the air. They sacrificed white creatures to the sun to ensure that the Sun would shine well and promote grass growth. And they ate porridge on Midsummer's Eve in honor of the Sun. They also sacrificed to the Sun to cure various illnesses, particularly imbecility." (Sidenius *ibid.*).

NB. A misunderstanding caused Ganander to write "the Sun is rumored to promote white creatures." Sidenius probably intended to say that white creatures were sacrificed.

"The sacrifices to the Sun, prepared according to the directions of the drum, included *jubste*, 'porridge', (actually 'gruel'), which both men and women enjoyed to her honor on Midsummer's Eve. Before the meal they knelt down and worshipped the Sun in order that she would spread merciful rays on their reindeer and other animals. In the same fashion and with deep devotion they prayed to her after the meal that she grant them a summer of abundant milk and their reindeer good conditions." (Jessen p. 18).

The same writer also mentions a *Sola Neid* (the Sun's daughter) who was also honored with sacrifice. She appears to have been added at a later time.

§ 12

The truth about the worship of the Sun can no longer in our time be determined with any certainty. All Norwegian writers agree that the Sun indeed was the object of worship among the Lapps. Even von Vesten testifies to this.

NB. *Pare*, as his letter reads, is a typographical error; it is to be read *Peiwe*.

Schefferus has also heard it said that the Sun was one of the deities of the Lapps, and Högström states that it was not practised in his time, but the Lapps had told him that it had been customary in ancient times.

This testimony by Högström is to my mind critical. One must, therefore, believe that the Lapps really worshipped the Sun, even though I have not encountered any kind of superstitious practice that would be related to ancient Sun worship. Yet still today much attention is given to what is or happens with the sun (clockwise) or against the sun (counter-clockwise) [still today the concepts of “clockwise” and “counter-clockwise” in Finnish are *myötäpäivään* and *vastapäivään* and in Swedish *medsols* and *motsols*, respectively. English translator’s note]

As far better civilized peoples have elevated the Sun to the status of a god, it is no wonder that the Lapps, who most need the light and warmth from this celestial body, have honored her with some form of worship.

§ 13

Three of the Lappish *Ailekis Olmak* deities, i.e., ‘Sacred Days’ men stand on the Sun’s afore-mentioned *Labtjeh*⁶ (reins or rays). Because of their sacredness, these men were marked with a cross. On the first *labtje* or rein (marked No. 43 on the drum) stands *Burres* or *Sodna-peiwe-ailek*, the deity for Sunday, which day is considered the most powerful and most splendid day on which to hold *noaide* mass. (NB. *Noaide* mass here refers to sooth-saying or the actual act of beating the drum with all concomitant ceremonies; these are dealt with further below). On the second *Peiwe labtje* or sun rein (marked No. 43 among the drum figures) one can see *Lawa-Ailek* or the deity for Saturday, which would be the most powerful after Sunday. On the third *Peiwe labtje* (marked no 43, c in the drum figures) we find *Frid-Ailek* or the Friday deity. Friday was also considered an excellent day for divination. However, this day was considered less sacred than the two others.” (Jessen).

“On Friday and Saturday cutting wood for fuel was prohibited, as it was believed that *Ailekes Olmak* on these days would be angered and blood would ooze from the first cut given a tree with the axe.” (Jessen).

“In honor of the three *Ailekis Olmak* some Lapps celebrated Friday, Saturday and Sunday, although other Lapps claim to have held Friday sacred to honor *Zarakka*, Saturday to honor *Radien*, and Sunday in honor of the three

Ailekis Olmak. If a Lapp worked on these days in any fashion it had to be atoned with sacrifice to the above-mentioned deities." (Leem's Anonymous).

"*Aklikes Olmai* were three Lappish gods in the lower regions of the air in honor of whom Saturday and Sunday were held sacred. Most of the Lapps have considered sacred: Friday for *Zarakka*, Saturday for *Radien*, and Sunday for *Aklikes Olmai*. Therefore, when the Lapps have ventured to work on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, they have atoned with sacrifice." (Sidenius, in Ganander)

NB. By mistake and because of unfamiliarity with the language Ganander wrote *Aklikes* instead of *Ailekis Olmak*.

§ 14

This whole story about the three *Ailekis Olmak* reminds me very much of papacy. None of the Swedish writers know anything about them, yet there exist in the language words such as *ailles*, *aileg*, and *ailestattet*, etc., which refer to 'something sacred', 'reserved for gods', 'what was not to be divided into parts or broken to pieces, but was to be kept whole and and flawless.' (Lindahl and Öhrling Lexicon under *ailles*). In middle Lappish dialects *Aileg* also means a 'holy day', 'holiday' or 'Sunday'. Otherwise there are no examples of the Lapps in ancient times having celebrated any holy day any given time, except certain sacrifice celebrations and those days which were devoted to divination or the drum. In their language they do not even have a word that would mean 'month', or 'week' (*Manno* and *Vakka* are apparent loanwords). Only two days of the week have genuinely Lappish names, i.e., *Kaskavakko*, 'midle of the week,' i.e., Wednesday, *Perjetag*, 'Friday.' I cannot determine whether the names of these days are loaned in from Finnish (*keskiviikko* and *perjantai*) or vice versa, as even Gottlund himself has not embarked upon an investigation of the name *Perje*, which can hardly be derived from Frey.

Arka, Sw. *örkdag*⁷ (might not this word come from *örk*?) 'workday', nowadays stands in opposition to *Passe*. To the ancient Lapps, however, *Passe Peiwe* is said to have meant the day on which they sacrifice to *Passe*, a deity of which more will be said later. But such a *Passe* day could not have occurred as frequently as our Sunday. So much less likely then is the thought that the Lapps kept three days a week sacred.

The idea of the three *Ailekis Olmak* is presumably taken from Catholicism, from the worship of saints, All Saints' Day, etc. The three *Ailekis*

Olmak, therefore, according to my simple way of thinking, are a vague representation of some Roman Catholic Saint icons, further confused by diffuse concepts of trinity. It is apparent in the entire Norwegian Lappish mythology that the Lapps in that region absorbed much from Catholicism, which was unavoidable in Helgeland and in the vicinity of Trondhjem.

§ 15

The deities which we, in accordance with the reports of Norwegian Missionaries, have described so far can be considered to be less genuine or originally not Lappish. Jessen is also of the opinion that many of these deities have been borrowed from Christianity, such as *Radien Attje* and *Radien Pardne*. Some Lapps had also *Jubmel Attje* ('God Father'), *Jubmel Pardne* ('God's son'), and *Jubmel Ailes Vuoigenis* ('God, the Holy Spirit') on their drum, but these did not enjoy as much respect as their ancient idols. (Jessen *ibid.* p.17). We now come to a class of gods, which carry a more Lappish stamp.

§ 16

"The third class of gods is made up of the deities who reside lower in the air. Among these, *Madder Attje* is the highest under the heavens, close under the Sun. Others, such as *Madder-Akka* and *Hora Galles*, dwell in the middle air section. Yet others dwell lower in the air, i.e., closest to the earth. They include the many *Akka* gods, such as *Zar-Akka*, *Uks-Akka*, and *Juks-Akka*." (Jessen *ibid.*)

"*Madder-Attje*'s sign on the drum is some times a little circle, some times a triangle, occasionally even a hexagon. On the drum at hand (the figure of which has been cited many times in Leem) *Madder-Attje* is marked with a man who lies flat on his face. Some times he is located by *Radien Kiedde*, nearly across from the Sun in such a way that a line runs from *Madder-Attje* to the uppermost "rein" of the Sun⁸. Others place him attached to the Sun's rein. According to Lappish *noaides*, *Madder-Attje* together with the Sun was believed to contribute to the giving of life to creatures of all sorts, and he derives his power from *Radien-Kiedde*." (Jessen *ibid.*)

§ 17

No one other than Jessen mentions *Madder-Attje*, from which fact we can conclude that he must have had access to more manuscripts than those we now have in printed form. As noted above, Leem's Anonymous ascribes the same activities to *Tjärwe-Radien* as Jessen does to *Madder-Attje*. This is probably explained by the fact that the same mythological entities had different names in different areas. *Madder-Attje* means 'first father, progenitor' and the idea seems rather natural. One must, naturally, imagine for the human race a progenitor, who could not be placed lower than the place indicated here. Having imagined a first father, it is also quite natural to imagine a first mother, *Madder-Akka*. She, being a woman, had to take a lower position in the sky, because among the Lapps the woman is subordinate to the man. It appears strange, however, that *Madder-Akka* did not have any sons, only three daughters: *Zarakka*, *Üksakka* and *Juksakka*. Since these four deities are extremely closely tied together one cannot divide their personalities into separate categories. Their story must be told as one whole.

§ 18

"From the fourth and lowest rein (see drum figure) runs a straight line to *Madder-Akka* who is *Madder Attje*'s spouse. This *Madder-Akka*'s dwelling is in mid-air. *Madder-Attje*'s power to give life to all creatures under the Sun was, therefore, possible. *Radien Kiedde* received from *Radien Attje* the power to create souls and spirits. As soon as *Radien Kiedde* had brought about a soul he sent it to *Madder Attje*, who on orders from *Radien Kiedde* brought it to his wife *Madder-Akka*. This was done in the following fashion: *Madder Attje* opened his belly, and brought the soul with him. He then traveled around the Sun along its reins, and then continued his journey from the lowest rein along a cross line (on the Drum figure) straight to his *Madder Akka*, who in turn received the soul and created a body around it."

"If the body was to be male, *Madder-Akka* sent it on to *Uks* or *Juks Akka* (No. 24 in the drum figure), also called *Stauk Edne* or *Stilko Edne* who is *barnemoder*⁹ (mid-wife?). If the body was to become female *Madder-Akka* left it with *Zarakka* (No. 23 in the drum figure) in order for her to provide it with a female nature. Regardless of whether the child was brought to *Juksakka* or *Zarakka*, the latter brought the child (the spirit) to the woman who was to bring the child into the world. This event was so well performed that

the evil gods, *Fudno*, *Rutu*, *Paha Engel* or *Mubben Olmai*, were unable to obstruct the process.” (Jessen *ibid.* pp. 14–15)

§ 19

One must admit that the process that precedes the birth of a human being into the world is confusing to say the least. It does seem logical though from the perspective that it is centrally concerned with the fact that evil spirits and forces constantly persecute and try to harm human beings, and this is the case even before the fetus is ready to be born. Judging from the many round-about ways the newly created soul had to travel, and through how many beings, before it reached the birthmother, the *noaides* probably thought that evil spirits have a fine sense of smell. The *noaides* were likely thinking of how many roads they had to tread when trying to divert their enemies *Pädnak Njunne*,¹⁰ *Tsuudi*,¹¹ and Karelians from their trail. That is how I imagine the origin of the strange soul’s journey in question. The idea is indeed odd, yet one must see it as genuine[ly Lappish]. This I conclude from the fact that, to my knowledge, no such conception among neighboring peoples about how humans come into this world has been demonstrated. Jessen is in this matter, as he is in many others, the most complete and comprehensive. Thus his information is presented first. I will now, to facilitate comparisons, relate the testimonies of the other writers about the so-called *Akkas* and their roles.

§ 20

Other *noaides* claimed that *Radien Attje* and *Radien Kiedde* were one and the same, i.e., *Jubmel*. But *Radien Attje* had a wife by the name of *Sergve-Edne* (more correctly *Sierg-Edne*) whom he had given the power to create souls. She would then immediately bring them to *Madder-Akka*, who was to create a body onto the soul. Otherwise all breeding of animals was left to *Madder-Zar-Uks* och *Juks Akka*. (Jessen, *ibid.* p. 15). This account informs us that the *noaides* were, in fact, not very much in agreement in their understanding of the roles of the various gods or deities. None of the other writers beside Jessen mention *Sergve-* or *Sierg-Edne*. I consider it superfluous, therefore, to embark upon an investigation into the mythological meaning of this name. *Sierg-Siedga* or *Sädga* actually means ‘willow (*Salix*)’, *edne* means ‘mother’.

§ 21

“The Gods who dwell on earth also include *Madder-Akka* who with her three daughters assists women. She is sacrificed to in the hope that she will let her daughters assist women. Some claim she gives a helpful hand in matters herself.”

“*Madder-Akka*’s first daughter *Zarakka* gives the child’s soul a body in the mother’s womb after *Radien* has given the soul, and this *Zarakka* has to suffer pain herself alongside the mother who gives birth to the child. For this reason, (says the writer¹²), some Lapps during his time ate and drank the body and blood of *Zarakka* as well as the holy sacrament. Women, particularly pregnant ones, worship this *Zarakka* most diligently. For successful child birth they enjoyed porridge in her honor.

Madder-Akka’s other daughter’s name was *Juks-Akka* who could transform a daughter into a son in the mother’s womb. She was the object of diligent sacrifice, because the Lapps would rather have boys than girls because the latter could neither hunt nor shoot.”

“*Madder-Akka*’s third daughter’s name was *Uksakka*. She is considered a midwife; she receives the child at birth and protects it from misfortune. She also helps the women during menstruation. For these reasons she too is offered up sacrifices.” (Leem’s Anonymous)

§ 22

The idea of the activities of the *Akkas* is somewhat different in this account than in Jessen, which leads us to conclude that they come from another source.

Sidenius’s account of *Madder-Zar-Juks-* and *Uks-Akka* corresponds precisely to that of Leem’s Anonymous, except for the fact that *Juks-Akka*’s activities are ascribed to *Uks-Akka*. This confusion is probably due to a typographical error, or then Ganander has not paid close attention to the manuscript. He says: “*Uksakka*, *Madder-Akka*’s second daughter, was worshipped by the Lapps so that she would transform a daughter to a son in the mother’s womb; that the Lapps have sacrificed to her because they considered boy children more useful than girl children, who were unable to shoot.” Etc.

If Sidenius is someone other than Leem’s Anonymous, I must point out that I consider Anonymous’s account to be the correct one, because the name *Juks-* or perhaps *Juoks-Akka* means that she had something to do with

bows and hunting tools. It was presumably this goddess of hunting who “transformed a daughter to a son in the mother’s womb.”

§ 23

Uks-Akka means ‘door wife’, ‘door woman’, *Dörakäringa* in Westerbotten dialect, a kind of female Janus who was believed to dwell in the vicinity of the door. Country folk in Norrland still say “*Dörakäringen* blows out the candle.¹³” Since the women’s place in the Lapp *kota* (‘hut’) is by the door, where they also must give birth to their children, it is natural that *Uks-Akka* should act as midwife. What is strange, however, is the fact that Jessen believes that *Uks-Akka* and *Juks-Akka* are one and the same being. He says (ibid. p. 21) that “*Uks-* or *Juks-Akka* has got her name from the bows (*juks*), which were placed by the door.”* This deity guarded the entrance and exit. Therefore, at each meal a little food and beverage was sacrificed to her, but no distinct ceremonial sacrifices were defined for her.

It appears that Jessen had not used the Anonymous’s manuscript or then he was led to mix *Uks-* and *Juks-Akka*, likely confused by contradictory information in the missionaries’ accounts. It seems to me that these were distinct individuals.

§ 24

Lindahl and Öhrling write the following about *Juks Akka*: “*Juks Akka, una ex filiabus Deæ Madder-Akka, cui curæ esse infantes, prisca Laponnes sibi persvaserant.*” [*Juks Akka*, one of the daughters of the goddess *Madder-Akka*, about whom the Lapps believed that infants were under her protection.] It almost looks as if Lindahl and Öhrling held one of the Norwegian author’s text and wrote this paragraph without giving any thought to the derivation of the word. If the Lapps themselves gave the Norwegian writers the interpretation that the name refers to their bows, then it must not be written *juks* but *juoks*, the latter of which according to Lindahl’s very own orthography means ‘bow’. In contrast, *juks* means ‘the straps with which the Lapps fasten their skis to their feet’. If it is the case that the goddess got her name from *juks*, which also belongs to the hunting words, the name is to be written *Juks-Akka*. If, on the other hand, the name comes from the word for bow, as Jessen claims, it must be written *Juoks Akka*.

§ 25

It is not easy to explain where *Sarakka* got her name from. Some write this name with an *S*, others with a *Z*. von Vesten writes *Sader-Akka*, but his orthography is not much of a guide, since it appears that the publisher of his letters mangled the Lappish names. Lindahl and Öhring propose that *Saret* means 'to create' and Högström remarks (p. 179) that the word *Saragads* was used in some Lappmarks as an appellative noun for Creator. One could, therefore, conclude that *Sarakka* received her name from *Saret* in which case *Sarakka* would mean 'creating woman' or 'female creator.' This explanation gains additional credibility from the example Lindahl and Öhring cited under the word *Saret*: *Naute le mo Sarakka Sarem. Ita me formavit Sarakka*, ['This is how Sarakka created me.'] from which it appears likely that *Sarakka* was considered the actual creator, or that she was the one who created a body for the soul given to her (as Anonymous and Sidenius have indicated), although Jessen ascribes this act to *Madder-Akka*. Lindahl and Öhring also state:

"*Sarakka*: birth goddess whom the ancient Lapps worshipped and from whom they wished for a happy and beautiful birth. Even nowadays a happy and easy birth is referred to as: *Sarakkan edne nuolei* [*Mater Sarakkæ ligamina solvit*¹⁴] i.e., Mother *Sarakka* delivers from shrouds, etc.* One must note about this translation that the word *nuolei* probably does not mean *ligamina solvit* ['deliver from shroud'] but rather *lingebat*, 'licked' and metaphorically *adoptavit* 'take into one's care'. *Nuolei* is in reality past tense of the obsolete Finnish verb *nuolia*; the Lappish word *njallot* is a corresponding case¹⁵.

§ 26

Lindahl and Öhring say about *Madder-Akka*: *Mudder-Akka olim Dea gravidis inferviens*, etc. Since they have written *Mudder-Akka* in no less than three places it cannot have been a typographical error. Yet *Mudder-Akka* cannot be the correct spelling, because *Mudder* sounds more German than Lappish. Lindahl must have been hard of hearing or read wrong when he wrote *Mudder-Akka*.

If we suppose that the Lapps borrowed their *Madder-* (which would be more correctly spelled *Maadder*; von Vesten writes *Mader*) *Akka* from some other Finnish tribe, then Tacitus's comment about the Estonians¹⁶,

matrem deum venerantur, ['They worship the mother god'] could be applied to the oft-mentioned *Madderakka*, who undoubtedly is a very old deity among the Lapps. Here I am only guessing, of course; since I am unfamiliar with the mythology of the Estonians I am unable to offer anything but a hypothesis in this case.

§ 27

Högström mentions *Sarakka* only in passing when quoting von Vesten. In contrast, he talks about a *Viros-Akka*, called *Viran Akka* by Tornæus, the meaning of which is said to be 'the Livonians' Old Woman¹⁷.' It is true, that *virolainen* in Finnish means Livonian, but I cannot comprehend what reason the Lapps could have had to deify an old woman from Livonia. Ganander knows nothing of any *Viran Akka*. He only briefly mentions a *Viran kannos*, who promoted the growth of oates.

Tornæus states about *Viran Akka* that "a renowned *Seita*, the so-called *Viran-Akka*, i.e., 'the Livonians' Old Woman' once stood in the middle of Tornio Lappmark. All Lapps in the surrounding regions have sacrificed to her. *Birkamen* once tossed her far away from her place since she was nothing but a tree stump. She soon, however, returned to her place again. Now it has rotted away. (Tornæus p. 16)

I have included this *Viran-Akka* among the other *Akkas* because it is likely that she was worshipped instead of, or in addition to, the others in the eastern Lappmarks, which border on Finland. Tornæus has not informed us what *Viran-Akka*'s activity or function was.

§ 28

These *Akkas* still live in the memory of Lapps. *Sarakka* is a very familiar name among them. In Kautokeino there still exists a Lappish family by the name of *Sarak*. Also, a younger reindeer bull that has been chased away from the herd by the strongest bull is referred to as *sarak*. I have heard a vague legend in southern Lappmark about a stone on which some sort of rune-writing supposedly had been carved, which, according to an old Lapp's explanation, was said to contain the following line: *Sarkkam, Sarkkam, mijap vaivaisit teki powti kâlmâ tjuote japeh mangel tulwe*, i.e., ['My *Sarakka*, my *Sarakka* has brought us miserable here three hundred years after the Flood.'] This story was related to me by my father who heard it

from his ancestors, who for many generations served as pastors in *Pite Lappmark*. Whether this legend emanated from the Lapps is uncertain. It deserves to be told, if only as evidence of the fact that *Sarakka* has been familiar to the Lapps.

§ 29

Because the *Akkas* played such a vital role in Lappish mythology some examples of what kinds of sacrifices were offered to them is in order.

“During meals the *Akkas* were honored by sacrificing water and spirits, but particularly a kind of porridge. *Sarakka* was the most distinguished among the *Akkas*.” (Jessen *ibid.* p. 16.).

“*Sarakka*, who was also referred to as *Sarag-Akka*, had her place by the hearth. She was offered beverages as sacrifices. She was invoked often in all of their activities. They sacrificed to her without consulting the drum. She even had her own temple, represented by No. 28 on the drumhead.” (Jessen *ibid.* p.21).

NB. The author does not say whether these temples were located in nature or if they only existed on the drum. I think it most probable that the idea of a temple was borrowed from the Christians, and that the temples he refers to consisted of either an enclosure surrounded by reindeer antlers or some other kind of wooden-fenced enclosure with a tree stump or stone in the middle. The Norwegian writers rarely mention that the deities listed would have been represented in images.

§ 30

“Birth-givers drank *Sarakka*’s wine before giving birth and enjoyed her porridge after delivery together with other women present. Some put on a feast in *Sarakka*’s honor.”

“In said porridge they put two wooden pins, one split in two, on which three rings were hung. One pin was black, the other white. These pins were placed under the bow for two or three days. If then it was discovered that the black one was gone it meant that either the mother or the child was to die. If the white one had disappeared both mother and child would live. The porridge was not eaten until the drum had been consulted.”

Sarakka was offered roosters, hens, reindeer calves, and bitches as sacrifice, but only women were allowed to eat them.”

“The sacrifice to *Madder-Attje* and *Madder-Akka* was determined by drumming. *Madder-Akka*, in her capacity of protector of the female gender, was held in greater esteem than *Madder-Attje*. The latter was also honored with a temple.” (Jessen *ibid.* p. 16)

§ 31

“Except for roosters, no male animals were allowed to be sacrificed to *Sarakka*.” (Jessen p. 48).

“What was sacrificed to *Sarakka* was enjoyed only by women.” (Jessen p. 49).

“They believed that *Sarakka* would strengthen their women and children.” (Jessen p. 68).

“Pregnant women drank to *Sarakka*’s honor and enjoyed *Sarakka*’s porridge.” (Jessen, p.44)

“Children were re-baptized in *Sarakka*’s name; the Lapps enjoyed *Sarakka*’s flesh and blood.” (Jessen)

“In the same context, they asked for forgiveness for having to go to *Jubmel kare* ‘God’s table’.” (von Vesten, *ibid.*)

NB. The ideas of baptism and eating *Sarakka*’s flesh and blood are no doubt borrowed concepts.

§ 32

“During the sacrifice to *Sarakka* and other gods, a tree stump called *värromuor* ‘sacrifice tree’ was erected. This stump was placed with the root, which represented the head, pointing up, and the trunk, which signified the body, below.” (Jessen, *ibid.*).

If it indeed was the case, as Jessen seems to have understood it, that such a stump was erected even for other deities at the actual sacrificing ceremony, it would follow that the Lapps did not attribute any divine power to the stumps as such, but instead the stumps possessed the power given to them by the deity to which the sacrifice was being offered. This is an important piece of information in the Lappish doctrine of deities, because there is a great difference between worshipping a tree stump and worshipping through a stump that represents a presumed spiritual being conjured by imagination and ascribed divine or superstitious powers by believing. In the

former case it is the stump, in the latter an imagined spiritual being, that is being worshipped.

We cannot, however, support Jessen's opinion, when he believes that the stump was made especially for each sacrifice event. We know well from Swedish writers that the stump, once carved, was left to represent the deity in question as long as it could resist the teeth of time. Yet the image was renewed often enough when it had suffered some visible damage, even if it had to be daubed with blood or grease and polished and tended to with birch or spruce branches, etc. What has now been said about sacrificing etc. rightly belongs in the doctrine of sacrifice, of which more will be said later.

§ 33

"One of the oldest and most respected deities was *Horagalles*, who is represented on the drum (drum figure No. 9) with a double hammer. He was also called *Horan-Galles*, *Horan-Orias*, *Hores-gudsk*, and *Attje-Gadze*. These names mean 'servant of the father of might'. He was actually a counterpart to Thor. This is why some Lapps called him *Turaturros-podnje*. Like *Madder-Akka* this mighty man lived in middle air. Whenever an animal was cursed he was to be appeased through *juoiging* (that is what the Lappish song is called) and beating the drum as well as with sacrifices to undo the curse. He could even harm other humans if so instructed by *noaides* and even avenge wrongs the latter had suffered. If he did not find the person in question, or if he was counter-cursed, he would turn his damaging powers against the *noaide* himself, who in that case had to offer him many sacrifices. This in turn has made many so poor they have become beggars. *Horagalles* was also able to promote the growth of grass and the upkeep of the reindeer. He is imagined to be tied down, and must be released in order to be able to exact anything." (Jessen p. 19-20).

§ 34

It is no wonder that such a majestic phenomenon as thunder should become the object of respect and admiration by the simple masses. Most pagan peoples have placed thunder among their mightiest deities. Thunder has even left many visible marks in its wake. No wonder then the Lapps considered it a great and mighty deity.

Jessen's explanation of the meanings of the names cited above (§ 33) seems to be based on a rather free translation, when he suggests that they mean 'servant of the father of Might.'

Galles, which is more correctly written *kaalles* (Lindahl and Öhrling write *kalles*), means 'hero', 'very strong and respectable man.' *Hora* appears to be an onomatopoeia or imitation of the sound of thunder; *hurri* ['hazelhen'] (Tetrao *Bonasia*) got its name for the same reason, i.e., from the noise of its flight. The Finnish language has a verb *huran* [lat.] 'murmuro' ['rumble, rattle']. One Lapp family in Karesuando is called *Hurri* and a man in Juckasjärwi who has a very loud and thundering voice is called *Huru Jussa*.

Horagalles then means 'rumbling hero', or as they are called in Swedish *dunderkuse* or *bullerbas*. *Horan* is a genitive form of *Hora*. *Orias* is not easy to find a derivation for, because there are so many similar-sounding words both in Lappish and in Finnish. If, however, the letter *o* here is to be pronounced like the Greek *w*, or Finnish *u*, as is probable, the word *Orias* has its closest root in Finnish *uros* which also means 'respected man,' 'hero' (see Renvall's *Dictionary*) with which even the Lappish word *Ores* 'male' etc. is closely related.

Gudsk, more correctly written *kutsch*, is a kind of adjectival suffix which, when added to a noun, adds the meaning of something 'aged', 'former,' 'that has been'. For example, *kaalleskutsch* means 'former(ly) hero, who at present is either weakened by old age or deceased and *Jamikutsch* means 'the deceased.' *Horeskutsch* signifies the former *dunderkusen*, with reference to the Thunder god's presumed old age, the long intervals during which he does not make noise, etc. The explanation of the name *Attje Gadse* we will save for the later context where *Gadse* appears more often.

Toratoros — or *Turatoros podnje* — is likewise an onomatopoeia, i.e., imitating the rumbling of thunder. The word seems to be made up of *Turat* (N.B. *u* must here be read as a Greek *w*) and is presumably borrowed from Swedish *Thordön* and from *Uros*¹⁸ 'hero', and *Podnje* 'old man.' *Turat-Uros-Podnje* thus becomes 'The Old Man Thunder,' which seems to have been one of his honorific names.

§ 35

Sidenius (in Ganander) calls the thunder god *Torden* which is approximately the same as Swedish *Thordön*. He states: "The Lapps feared it like a God that most often gets angry, splits large blocks of mountains, fells trees, and kills cattle and people. Thunder rumbles often in Lapland due to the tall

fells. When she in her wrath has made herself heard in the air, they have promised her sacrifices, a promise they have kept.” (Sidenius, in Ganander)

Leem’s Anonymous mentions “*Horan Galles*, who is often angered, and who not only splits blocks of mountains and fells trees but also kills people and cattle. That is why the Lapps offer *Horan Galles* sacrifices in order to appease him when he rumbles in the air.

Another of the Thunder God’s names is *Tiermes*, which we find in Schefferus and Sidenius. The latter adds that “*Tiermes*, who was a Lappish supreme god, who rules thunder, *Thordön* rainbow, and reigns over the health and life of human beings, and also over weather and wind, over sea and water, was offered sacrifices to persuade him to still the storm over the sea.” (Sidenius, in Ganander)

There is no doubt that *Torden* is borrowed from Swedish and taken from the Helgeland Lapps or the Trondhjem region, but it is more difficult to explain where *Tiermes* has come from. Schefferus presumably encountered *Tiermes* in southern Lappmark or Jämtland. Going all the way back to *Hermes*, as does Ganander, is the last resort for an etymologist. The word is rather to be derived from *terme* or *tierme*, Finnish *törmä*, ‘elf’s hill,’ ‘*ripa altior prærupta*’. The propensity of thunder[lightning] to strike in hills, may have inspired the Lapps to name the thunder god *Tiermes*, i.e., ‘the hillman’ or ‘hill digger.’¹⁹

§ 36

The most common name for the god of thunder in Middle Lappmark is *Aija* ‘grandfather,’ *Aijek* ‘the little grandfather;’ *Atjekatsch* ‘the little father.’ These names appear to be in use mostly in Swedish Lappmark and signify the respect they feel for thunder. *Attje* and *Aija* are the greatest honorific titles Lapps can bestow upon a highly respected person. Out of respect for the bear they have named him *Pould-Aija* ‘hill grandfather.’ The priest is usually called *Attje* ‘father.’ *Attje* and *Aija* are thus names given to the thunder god as an expression of reverence.

In Tornio Lappmark, thunder is called *Pajan*, i.e., ‘the blacksmith,’ from the Finnish word *paja* ‘smithy.’ Perhaps thunder in these Lappmarks was called *Pajan* in reference to *Ilmarinen*, who was a blacksmith and quite well known in the Lappmarks which border on Finland. The name *Ilmaris* is found even in Leem, but is without a doubt an adopted name.

§ 37

Högström relates the following curious story about the names *Aija*, *Aijek* or *Atjekatsch*:

“I have observed among my Lapps that they see it [thunder] as a separate being from God and, furthermore, as one who is both good and evil because *Perkel* gave it its nature and created it inside a rock in order that *Jubmel* not find out about it. But having learned about it, *Jubmel* or God went there, fetched him from there and brought him up. And because this *Thor Gubbe* is the child of the devil and God’s foster child, he is both good and evil. His mission first and foremost is to kill all trolls and evil spirits, but also their *Seites* — of whom more will be said later — are often attacked by him. He does so, according to them, with his bow (the rainbow), which they call *Ajan joksa* ‘Grandfather’s bow.’²⁰ And since he does humans good in so far as he destroys evil beings, they find it necessary to recognize that he must be included among their ancient idols regardless of the fact that he also may hurt them, particularly when he disturbs their sacred sites.” (Högström p. [177–178]²¹)

§ 38

This story about the origin of the god *Thor*, is probably not very old nor as genuinely Lappish as one might assume based on the nature of the story. *Perkel* is a being who is not found in the Lapps’ oldest legends. *Thor*’s persecutions of trolls etc. belongs rather to Scandinavian folk belief. Furthermore, the Lapps’ trolls were creatures that neither they nor their *Aijek* had any reason to persecute, and it seems probable, therefore, actually more than probable, that this story is borrowed from Norway.

§ 39

Högström recounts further: “Otherwise I have heard the following story about the same being from other Lapps: When a girl had sat down at the base of a tree, the devil came and asked her to put dry, pitchy wood pieces inside the fur coat she had under the head²². But when she had lighted the firewood and noticed that the man had horns, she got frightened and wanted to flee. She could not, however, evade his violence, and subsequently became pregnant and gave birth to a son who cried incessantly and was restless. God came

and took the child up with him to heaven. At the same time he asked whom he wanted to be helpful to, his mother or his father. The child replied that he wanted to be helpful to his mother and persecute his father and his entire family. That is what he continually does: races through the air, splits mountains, and puts trees on fire when they (the trolls) hide under them." (Högström p. 178)

This story does not appear to be originally Lappish either. It smacks too much of papacy and the numerous stories about the devil which were told among the Swedish and Norwegian common folk. I doubt that the Lapps could have imagined any evil spirit with horns. But via papacy the Devil has been given both horns and cloven hoofs.

§ 40

The following can be added about reverence for the thunder god: "No female or gelded reindeer was to be sacrificed to *Horagalles*. No woman was allowed to eat of the sacrifice offered to him." (Jessen *ibid.* p.48)

Linneus also recounts the following anecdote relating to this subject. "When thunder rumbles our timid Lapp usually takes refuge under a birch tree, as did emperor Tiberius under the crown of the laurel as if this could protect him against the wrath of the rumbling Jupiter. I have attempted to find an explanation to why he does this, but have not found one." (Lin. Flor. Lappon.²³, p. 262)

The reason why Lapps usually stand under a birch tree when thunder is particularly loud is probably the fact they had found that it strikes pines and spruces more often than birches, which may have its natural reasons.

Whether any Lapp today considers thunder a distinct being cannot be determined with full certainty. It is a fact, however, that some do respect thunder highly. In Lule Lappmark thunder is believed to have a wedge, called *tjuolonis*, with which he is thought to cleave trees and other objects.

§ 41

Since the word *jubma* in Lappish means 'roar', 'rumble,' and it is especially used about thunder rumble: *Atjekatsch jubma*, 'Thunder rumbles,' one is inevitably led to think that *Jubmel* (God) is derived from this *jubma*. Finnish *Jumala* can similarly, and most naturally, be derived from *jumisen*, *susurrans tons*.²⁴ (Renvall's *Dictionary*, p. 131)

It is my opinion that since nothing in nature so strongly calls forth respectful images of a mighty supernatural being as thunder, this majestic force of nature must have given most peoples reason to formulate an image of a divine might which image is given such a mighty and majestic appearance.

This idea is so much more convincing as the reason for the phenomenon was completely incomprehensible until recent times, both for the learned and the common folk. I find it totally unnecessary to go to Hebrew, Greek, etc. in the derivation of those words, particularly as one can find the root word nearby, even among words that are still in active use in the language.

§ 42

What could be more natural than, for example, that *Jubma lä almen* ('The rumble is in heaven') changes to *Jubma l'almen* through faster pronunciation and the hiatus of the two vowels. This is not merely a guess, but something that is being said still today. *Jubmal' almen* 'the rumble is in heaven'. Could this *Jubma* really be anything other than a large, mighty supernatural being taht made noise up there and occasionally, in an instant, split mountains and cleaved even the strongest of trees into splinters? And must not this power, according to the way an uneducated mind thinks, soon merge to become one with the rumble itself, so that the cause of the rumble gets the same name as the rumble. Thus *Jubmal Almen* 'God is in Heaven'.

§ 43

Above all, we must not forget our own childish ideas about the derivation of these and similar words. Upon hearing thunder for the first time, a child must inevitably imagine a large, sublime, supernatural and powerful being that generates such rumbling. I have seen the same happen to many an adult person among the common folk. Therefore, *Thor*, who is nothing but an imitation (onomatopoeia) of the sound of thunder, must be a large and powerful being, i.e., the strong *Asa Thor* banging with his hammer. It is still said in many parts of Westerbotten: *Thorn* (i.e., thunder) *går, höres, dâner*, ['walks', 'is heard', 'rumbles',] etc. In other words, *Thorn*, which actually was to signify the cause of the rumble, has here come to mean the rumble itself; the same has happened to *Jubma* in Lappish. That which originally referred to the rumble ultimately came to signify the cause of the rumble,

but the cause, that which generated the rumble, could not have been anything other than God himself.

§ 44

That *Jubma* should give the Lapps their first reason for the concept of a powerful supernatural being appears to be well in line with the evolution of human ideas. The savage, uncivilized human being must inevitably imagine a real living being as the cause of the awe-inspiring rumble. It follows then that *Jubmel* will be most naturally derived from *Jubma*. It seems more than likely that *Jubmel* was the first deity the Lapp could imagine. Its kinship with *Jumala* of the Finns appears to confirm this. It can hardly be doubted that *Ibmel*, *Immel*, *Jubmel*, *Jummel*, and *Jumala* originally denote the same being. If one assumes that the Finns and the Lapps originally were the same people, then *Jubmel* and *Jumala* must have originated at a time when there were only minimal differences between these two peoples. If, on the other hand, one assumes that the Lapps and the Finns are not of the same race then one must have borrowed *Jubmel* or *Jumala* from the other. In either case, *Jubmel* must be very old, since he is one of the few deities these peoples have in common.

§ 45

It follows from the nature of things that *Jubmel* originally denoted only one object, whose name must be a proper noun. Logic dictates that a proper noun can become an appellative noun as soon as the image of one single object can be applied to several, i.e., the image becomes a concept, and the word that denotes the concept becomes an appellative noun. This is not merely a supposition but a theorem, which can be proven. It follows then that *Jubmel*, which originally denoted one single object, for example the Thunder God, over time became an appellative noun as soon as people adopted other gods alongside the original Thunder God to which the image and the name of *Jubmel* could be appropriately applied. The word, which first denoted one single object, finally denoted a concept thus becoming an appellative noun.

§ 46

Jumala could become an appellative noun the same way. Even though *Isä Jumala*, *Poika Jumala*, etc., as Gottlund correctly remarks, are un-Finnish, it is possible to say *Isä on Jumala*, *Poika on Jumala* ('the Father is God', 'the Son is God') etc. In these sentences the predicate²⁵ *Jumala* is already an appellative noun since it can be attributed as predicate to different subjects. The proper nouns *Jubmel* and *Jumala* have thus become appellative nouns the same way as *Cæsar*, having originally been a proper noun, over time became an appellative noun. It is a clear logical truth that this word now denotes a concept.

As soon as *Jumala* or *Jubmel* became appellative nouns, the original Thunder God had to receive a distinct name, because *Jubmel*, which had come to denote several objects could no longer denote only one object, just as *Cæsar*, who after Julius's days came to denote emperor, no longer could denote one unique person. Similarly, the word *Jumala* can now again become a proper noun as it, after the introduction of the Christian religion, denotes one unique object. It appears that the Lapps' story of one supreme god refers to this. Högström states that "the Lapps in his days recognized one supreme master above all, whom they call *Jubmel* and they considered this *Jubmel* the head of the good natural forces." (Högström *ibid.* Ch. 11 §§ 3–4).

§ 47

If it is true that one of Schefferus's informants had got the story about *Jumi* or *Jumo* from the Lapps, then even this concept is related to the original Thunder God. This is so because regardless of whether one reads *Jumi* or *Jumo* the word must be closely related to *Jubma* or Finnish *Jumina*, *Jumia*, etc., which all denote 'rumble,' 'thunder' or 'loud noise.' This is why even the insect larva which in Swedish is called *väggsmed* 'wallsmith' (*Callidium Violaceum*) is called *jumi* in Finnish: it is because of its tapping sound in the wall.

It is then not necessary to derive *Jumo* from the fabled *Yme*²⁶. Neither do we in our derivation of *Jubmel* need to rush all the way to Greek, when, as already stated, the root words for these names are still in use in the language. In a word: According to etymological criteria *Jubmel* is originally a Lappish deity and logical criteria tell us it must have been their oldest God. This is so because the notion of an object whose name applies to many

objects, must be older than the objects to which the name of the first-mentioned object refers. Thus the notion of *Jubmel* must be older than those objects, which carry the name *Jubmel*, precisely as the image of the individual named *Cæsar* must be older than the individuals who subsequently were given the name *Cæsar*. This may suffice about *Jubmel*. We will now move on to other deities.

§ 48

Sidenius includes among the deities located lower down in the air also *Bjeps-Olmai* and *Gissen-Olmai*. Jessen, however, places *Bjeps-olmai* in *Fudnos-Aimo*, i.e., 'the Devil's world or Hell'. Ganander has simply adopted the name *Bjeps Olmai* from Sidenius, while Leem's Anonymous says that "*Bieg-Olmai* is the god of weather and wind, water and sea. He was offered sacrifices in order that he still storms over the seas."

Jessen adds "that storms and rough weather have their place in *Funos Aims* (Hell), while *Biegs Galles* ('the weather hero') with his shovel (*kåiwo*) hurled hale, tempests, winds and storms." (Jessen p. 66).

If this deity is a real mythological being and not just a representation of the wind, it has probably belonged to the seashore Lapps. None of the Swedish writers knows anything about him. In his letters (*Bref*, *ibid.*) von Vesten writes *Bier-Salmal*, which is a typographical error and must be read *Biegs Olmai*. *Gissen Olmai*, which is more correctly spelled *Kiesse-Olmai*, means 'the summer man', and is a name that appears only in Anonymous and Sidenius. N.B. *Biegs-* or *Bjeps-Olmai* is most correctly spelled *Pjegg-Olmai*, from the word *pjegg* 'weather,' 'wind' and *olmai* 'man.'

§ 49

We now come to the class of deities who dwell on the earth. Sidenius places the *junkars* highest among them, but the other Norwegian writers are unfamiliar with them. It is possible that Sidenius got the name *junkars*²⁷ in Salten, or perchance he took it from Schefferus. According to Swedish writers both *Stor-* and *Lill-Junkare* ['Big and Little Junker'] belonged to Lule Lappmark. Both Tornæus and Högström mention them and the name *Junkar* is not altogether unknown in this Lappmark.

With Sidenius as his source, Ganander states that "*Junkare* was a Lappish idol which was worshipped as a deity who promoted hunting and trapping.

He was called upon to help by a large rock or tree stump, where all Lappish families brought reindeer blood and antlers in his honor. (N.B. This probably means that the image of *Junkare* was smeared with blood²⁸). He was prayed to with the names *Stor-Junkare* or *Lill-Junkare*." (Ganander, following Sidenius)

We cannot very well doubt that the *junkars* have been the object of worship by the Lapps, but it remains totally incomprehensible to me where they got the name *Junkare*. It is not Lappish. According to Lindfors's *Dictionary*, *Junkare* in ancient times is supposed to have meant *Juvenis Ge[ne]rosus*, "perhaps even prince, similarly to how *False-Sture* was called *Dal Junkaren*."²⁹ It is even more impossible to determine for what reason the Lapps should have got such a *junkare* among their deities. It can be considered a certainty that the name is borrowed.

§ 50

Tornæus has the following to say about *junkare*: "Tornio and Kemi Lapps know nothing of *stor-junkaren*, Pite and Ume Lapps hardly knew of him either. As far as I know, *storejunkare* has been found in Lule Lappmark only on Gråtræsk hill. This became known as a bailiff travelled in the area with his entourage: They had as their guide a Lapp, who drove the axe into the ice as they came to a certain hill and took from there premonitory signs in honor and reverence of *storjunkare*, who, he said, lived in the hill. To the bailiff's question what good *storjunkare* does them, the Lapp answered: When we row and fish in this lake he stands on the shore with a small gun in his hand; when we row he stands in the boat and when he sees a bird floating he shoots it and gives it to us. He is a tall, handsome man in black *junkare* clothes, but the feet are like bird's feet. Thus spoke the Lapp." The story reveals clearly that both the name and the clothing are borrowed. But for what reason? It was probably originally a fraud perpetrated by *Birkamen* who may have wanted to lure the Lapps to come there and bring sacrifices. They used a carefully stuffed effigy of *Junkare* in the manner mentioned above placed at the foot of the afore-mentioned hill. Incidentally, Gråtræsk is a name, which I have not heard mentioned in Lule Lappmark. Perhaps Tornæus confused it with the Gråtræsk of Arvidsjaur, which is located in Pite Lappmark.

§ 51

About *Junkars* Högström says the following: "I have hardly wanted to believe that any people these days would worship logs and rocks, until I saw such abominations with my very own eyes in Lule Lappmark. At the parsonage in Jockmock are kept three such humanlike idols, carved from roots with an axe. They were confiscated in 1738 from a Lapp in Kaitum who later confessed before the district court that he had bowed and knelt in worship before them. He called one of them, the largest one, *Stor-Junkare*. Whether the other two, which were smaller represented his wife, children or servant is unknown to me." (Högström *ibid.* §8)

There is thus no doubt that the Lapps in Lule Lappmark really had a *stor-Junkare* and *small-junkars*, but the reason why this alien name entered their doctrine of deities, cannot be further disentangled.

§ 52

Leib Olmai and *Tjatse Olmai* appear to have been more Lappish in nature. *Leib Olmai* was a kind of forest sprite who protected the forest animals." (Jessen p. 64).

"*Leib Olmai* was the god of hunting. He was offered prayers, sacrifices and kneeling, every morning and evening." (Leem's Anonymous)

"*Leib Olmai* is one of the Lappish deities who lived on earth. He was a god of shooting, and trapping of animals and birds. The Lapps give him sacrifices in order that they may have success in shooting and in capturing birds." (Ganander, following Sidenius)

§ 53

The name *Leib-Olmai* comes from the Lappish word *leipe* (*Alnus Incana Willd.*), a tree that is quite common in Lappmark and Finnmark. It appears to have been a kind of sacred tree to the Lapps, because its bark had many uses for them. The juice of the boiled bark was used as medicine for a variety of skin ailments. When chewing the bark from this tree a brownish red juice emerges with which the Lapps treat the skins from the reindeer's head and legs. The women would spray the juice of the chewed bark at their husbands when they had felled a bear and the dead bear was also to be sprayed with it. The juice from the chewed bark was also used to draw the figures

on the famous divination drum, etc. *Leib-Olmai*, therefore, really means 'alder man', i.e., '*alnus incanæ vir*³⁰.'

The actual reason for the metaphoric meaning (hunting god) of this name, was probably adopted from the aforementioned custom of spraying the returning bear hunters and the dead bear itself with an alder bark concoction. Then either the bear hunter or the bear or both were called *Leib-Olmai*. Anyway, the spiritual representative of the sprayed alder bark man, was given the same name, and that is how the hunting god came about.

§ 54

"*Tjatse olmah* was a sea sprite who was the protector of the fish." (Jessen p. 64)

Leem's Anonymous writes *Kiöse-Almai* and reports that he was offered sacrifices for good luck in fishing. von Vesten mentions *Gjase-Almai* and Ganander, following Sidenius, writes *Kiase-Olmai*, adding that he is the god of the fishery, who sends the fish to the hooks or the nets. N.B. According to Lindahl and Öhrling's orthography, it is to be written *tjatse-olmai* which means 'water man'. Presumably only the Fisher Lapps on the Norwegian coast worshipped *Tjatse-Olmai*. The Swedish writers are not familiar with this deity. It is uncertain whether this *tjatse-olmai* corresponds to the Swedish *sjö-rå*, or the Norwegian *drauen*.

§ 55

We now come to deities that were known all over the Lappish areas. Because they were generally worshipped they still exist in the Lapps' imagination. Among these one might mention *passe*, 'a kind of sacred thing', which is known in all Lappmarks, even in Finnmark, although the Norwegian writers, for example Leem, mention only *passe-pareh* ('sacred mountain').

Passe is not related Swedish *Brese*, *Bjesse* or *Basse*³¹, which Rudbeck imagines in his *Atlantica**. The name simply comes from the Lappish word *passet*, which means 'to fry.'

One must imagine that there was a time when the Lapps for lack of cooking vessels had to cook their food over a fire. This method is still quite useful, and is used generally during travel when one cannot bring along cooking vessels. The Lapps probably never knew how to work metals. If they had known the art of melting and making useful household objects of

iron they would not have had to attach the bill of a loon to their arrows, a practice of which their own tales give credible testimony.

They do have names for iron *ruowde* and copper *veike*, but these words originally referred to the ores, although they today refer both to the ore and the processed metal.

In contrast, they do not have a word for 'pot', 'pan' etc. *ryto* in southern and *pata* or *paathe* in northern Lappmark as well as *pannu* are all loaned in from Swedish.

§ 56

Kiebne, 'kettle', appears to be the first metal vessel to be introduced to the Lapps. I use the word "introduce" on purpose as three vessels were introduced to the Lapps by foreign peoples. It is not likely that the Lapps themselves knew how to manufacture kettles. *Skalo*, a kind of metal cooking vessel with a narrow bottom and opening is mentioned by the Lapps to belong to Karelians and occasionally in feuds taken from them. Hence the vessels are called *karjel-skalo*, i.e., 'Karelian kettle'. *Nibe*, 'knife' and *ak-sjo* 'axe' are probably borrowed words, likewise *silba* 'silver'. *Riggasah*, 'the chain on which the Lapps hang their kettles or pots over the fire' is presumably borrowed from Swedish *ring*. *Kaskam* 'steel' appears to be purely Lappish and is together with *kiebne* the first metal object the Lapps have named themselves. Yet they mastered the art of fire-making, probably well before steel was used. *Rissja* 'sulphur' is also Lappish.

§ 57

When the Lapps cooked their food over open fire, it was natural that what they sacrificed to the gods had to be cooked. Thus *passe*, which actually is a present participle form of *passet*, came to mean 'something one cooks and dedicates to the gods'. Over time even the place where the cooked sacrifices were gathered came to be called *passe*, i.e., 'sanctuary'. And thus *passe vare* 'sacred mountain', and *passe vuowde* 'sacred forest, etc. were born. In time it became clear that the gods did not eat the cooked sacrifices, but they were spoiled or were eaten by birds of prey. (N.B. For quadruped beasts the sacrifices were placed in a structure called *luowe*). Then they began to sacrifice things that would not rot or be eaten by birds of prey, i.e., antlers and bones. The place where such things were brought was still

called by the same name. This is approximately how I imagine that *Passe* and its name originated. *Sed alii aliter.*³²

§ 58

Among the Mountain Lapps such a sacred place, *passé*, was situated on some high mountain in the vicinity of their autumn and spring stations. The Forest Lapps had their sacred places in some marked spots in the forest. Antlers from wild as well as herd reindeers were gathered there in large amounts. Wild reindeer's antlers were sacrificed in veritable piles and still one can in many places see where a *seite* has been." (Tornæus, *ibid.* p. 15) Nowadays one rarely finds marks of these antler heaps, because already a long time ago settlers have boiled them for glue, and the rest have mouldered away.

In the middle of the antler heap, which was placed in a kind of enclosure, was most often placed an idol representing the deity. If this idol was made of wood it was called either *stor-junkare*, as was the case in Lule Lappmark, or *viron-akka*, like in Tornio Lappmark. But if the idol was of stone it was called *seite* or *säite*.

§ 59

Högström describes what the wooden idols that represented Lappish deities were like:

"I have also time after time in many places on my journeys observed such idols by their sacrifice platforms. (N.B. The word platform refers to the wooden structures on which the Lapps placed what they sacrificed to the gods. The platform consisted of four or more logs three or four ells³³ (= 6–8 feet) long, perpendicular to the ground on which split logs or boards were placed horizontally like the benches of a sauna. The wooden idol then stood either on or next to the platform of which I shall speak later. They (these idols) were nothing more than roots, mostly of a birch stump, which they had turned up-side-down and with an axe shaped a head. The trunk or the stump represented a body with feet. These either stand permanently in their place, and are being visited annually with sacrifices when the Lapps happen to stay in the vicinity, or are mounted every year, most often in the fall, in the same places where they slaughter their reindeer bulls before the

utting season. They were also erected on large hills and knolls, where they were visited and honored by a larger number of Lapps.”

“One can see from this that there must have been deities of many kinds. Some were considered local gods, which the Lapps have erected for themselves in some special circumstances. I have noticed that they occasionally may do harm to each other’s sacred places, which I witnessed in 1742 when a fierce conflict arose between two Lapps because one had smashed the antlers and bones that the other one had brought to his platform.”

“I cannot state with certainty whether all wooden idols mentioned above are called *stor-junkare*, but I cannot deny having seen them made in a variety of ways during my travels.” (Högström Ch. 11, §8)

Wooden *seites* do not have any particular shape, but are simply tree stumps or a post placed up-side-down, separated and devoted for worship.” (Tornæus *ibid.* p. 15)

§ 60

Seite is described by Högström in the following manner:

“In the places in Lule Lappmark where I have visited, stone idols are particularly common. Whether they too represent *stor-junkare* or some other deity is unknown to me. But I have not heard the Lapps call them anything other than *passe*, i.e., the actual sites; the stones are called *säite*. I have not discerned any particular shape of humans or animals in the stone idols; they seem to have the shape nature herself has given them. Yet they do seem to tend to have particular shapes in that they have petrifications, are lumpy and bumpy.” (Högström *ibid.* §8)

“The stone *seites* do not have any given shapes, neither made by nature nor by hand, but are ordinary greystones, some black, ugly, uneven, hollow, the way they are when lifted from water.” (Tornæus *ibid.* p. 18)

§ 61

If I am not mistaken the stone *seite* itself consisted of mica schist (slate) with garnets inside as well as chunks of soapstone and hornblende. When such stones were located by water the softer minerals were worn away by water and sand. Thus appeared numerous holes and figures, which may then resemble reindeer, sheep, horses or humans, etc. Occasionally such cavities might resemble, for example, human hands. Since the simple Lapps could

not imagine any natural reason for such formations they decided to erect such stones and treat them as sacred. It is possible that the Lapp in these shapes saw traces of the cattle of nether world beings, which gave them even greater reason to consider them sacred.

§ 62

“Some Lapps hold the belief that these stones are alive and are able to move about. Over time many such stones had been erected in the same place. They are generally located in hill slopes, on points and shores of lakes, on islets in the midst of rapids or other sacred places. No one knows who has placed them there or when they have come there.” (Högström *ibid.*).

The stones were presumably erected in ancient times, and if any of them were erected later the Lapp was careful not to talk about it.

“The *seite* stones which were worshipped by the whole village (the whole district) were erected in high, well respected places, while *seites* worshipped by individual persons were placed on beautiful grassy meadows.” (Tornæus p.14)

§ 63

Högström also mentions that “The Lapps do not want to show these sanctuaries to strangers because they fear that the deity might resent it and cause some harm to be done to them; they have related to me numerous examples of people who out of curiosity have come too close to or touched such stone gods and consequently have lost their health, etc.” (Högström *ibid.* §9)

It is not unusual for Lapps to show respect for the ancient sanctuaries still today. If someone happened to come too close to or passed by such a stone in inappropriate dress, and the same person subsequently got some ailment it was seen as a consequence of disrespect toward *passe*. One such example occurred still in 1814 to a Lappish lad in Kvickjock. He had borrowed a pair of shoes from a woman who accidentally happened to come too close to a *passe* with these non-sacred shoes. Soon thereafter his legs became lame and the Lapps widely believed it to be punishment for having desecrated *passe*. No sacrifices or promises are, however, offered *passe* today insofar as I have been able to learn.

§ 64

Högström writes further about these *seites* that the might of the stones is usually measured by the number of worshippers they have. If sacrificing to them ceases they also lose their power and can no longer do good nor evil. It is not difficult to find such weakened and discarded gods." (Högström *ibid.*). They would naturally cease sacrificing to the god when circumstances were such that no help was forthcoming.

They sacrificed both living and dead things to these wooden and stone gods. In distress the Lapp usually mentioned the name of the sanctuary and the god to which it was devoted and pledged something appropriate to the nature of his distress.

The sacrifice institution is still in fresh memory among the Lapps. They no longer offer sacrifices to *seites* or *passes*; instead they pledge sacrifices to churches, sometimes to several churches at once as if to test which church has the most power to help. The pledges to the gods were religiously honored; they had to be administered regardless of how costly they may be. (cf. Högström §19) Much attention was also given to the quality of the sacrifice itself. What is pledged to churches is to be given in kind, even though the church would be just as satisfied with the value of the sacrifice in money. (Cf. Sjögren about Kemi Lappmark)

§ 65

"As far as the stone gods or the so-called *seites* are concerned the Lapps appear to have considered them more sacred than the wooden ones. Some of the *seites* and often a large area around them were fenced in. (Högström *ibid.*). This reminds one of Balder's grove. The Bjarmians' God whose name is *Jumala* also had a grove. If I remember correctly Schefferus describes fences made up of antlers. When Norwegian writers speak of Lappish temples, I believe they simply mean such groves or enclosures with concomitant things, which were the real *passé*. The Lapps most likely did not have any other temples.

§ 66

If someone shoots squirrels, birds, or other animals within the area belonging to the deity's spirit, he must take the feet, the head, and the wings and

sacrifice them to the stone, the rest he gets to keep. In such places it was customary to lift the stones and put spruce branches under and around them. The Lapps do this with bared heads, crawling on all four similarly to how they even otherwise go to offer sacrifices. Then he can tell from the stone's weight whether it is favorable or not." (Högström *ibid.* § 19).

Under and around such *seites* they strewed and arranged neatly fresh spruce branches, and in the summer green leaves. When they had paled and dried, they placed fresh ones in their place and decorated the whole space. They came there at certain times and also when they met with adversity or misfortune; they dressed up in their finest clothing³⁴, and offered prayers and devotion." (Tornæus p.15)

§ 67

From the following one can conclude that the Lapps attributed considerable might to these wooden and stone gods: "From the fact that they make pledges to these stones when either people or cattle fall ill, I conclude that they believe them to have in their power health and illness, life and death. But based on an account by a certain Lapp, who admitted that when moving he inadvertently went too close to a *seite*, I also conclude that they could bring evil things. He walked across the point where the *seite* was so close to it that he himself ended up on the path leading from the stone (*si diis placet*³⁵) to the point across from it. Upon realizing this, he pledged reindeer bulls, female reindeer, sheep, goats, etc. as sacrifice. He could, however, not appease him therewith; wolves came at night into his reindeer herd and caused him considerable damage." (Högström, §10)

Högström also mentions *Stuoramus Passe*, which means 'the highest of sanctuaries.' This allows one to conclude that some sanctuaries were more, other less sacred. *Stuoramus Passe* was probably the sanctuary of the whole district, since the might and reputation of the *seite* were augmented by the number of worshippers. The less sacred *passes* probably belonged to families and were inherited.

§ 68

One can conclude from the following that some of these *seite* stones were not particularly large: "As far as sacrificing is concerned it consists of three things. Firstly, a stone which they call *Zeit* or 'sprite'.³⁶ Secondly, next to

the stone stands erected a tree resembling the keel of a boat that they call *Hyden venet*³⁷, i.e., 'the devil's boat', also called by the name *lista Murit* (is to be read *Liste muor*), 'begging tree.' Thirdly, the service or worship itself, which they call *Rucce* (must be read *rukos* or *rukkuse*) 'worshipping humility and honor', which happens through inquiries and drawing lots. When a Lapp embarks upon this honor worship he removes his hat, places the stone on his hand and addresses his god using the following phrases: "I now touch you with utmost humility in your sacred place. I place you on my hand and ask of you..." (whatever it may be in each case). While in his prayer mentioning all kinds of things and asking for them one at a time, he at the same time tries to feel whether he can lift the stone up with his hand. If he is unable to lift the hand and the stone becomes heavier and heavier, he has no hope of receiving what he is asking for that time."

"He therefore asks for something else, then a third thing and a fourth and so on, asking for all kinds of necessities, be they wealth or something else. If he finally happens upon the thing his god wants, the stone, however heavy it may be, becomes so light that the hand rises up from the ground. But as long as the idol does not want to answer, the hand remains heavy however small the rock may be. When he has received the desired answer he says: "You are my god" or "Oh, I see, my god." When the worshipper has thus received what the lot gave him, he again asks what god wishes to have as sacrifice. When the idol announces that he wants this or that, the worshippers get it for him, be it a lamb, female elk, or a wild reindeer, a goat, living or slaughtered. (Tuderus *ibid.*)

§ 69

This account shows that the ceremonies in *seite* worship were somewhat different in Kemi Lappmark, which is a consequence of the great distance between the Lappmarks. In Lule Lappmark, Inari is known only in name, and the Tornio Lapps know the adjacent parishes as far as Jockmock, but not farther. Lapps rarely communicate with each other across the land, but rather along the rivers. Therefore, their languages, customs, dress, and way of living differ greatly.

It is odd that none of the Norwegian writers know *Passe* and *Seite*. *Jessen* and *Leem* only mention *Passevareh* 'sacred hill'. It appears, therefore, that these deities primarily belonged to the Swedish Lappmarks. The Forest Lapps probably worshipped *Seite* most. They in turn did not have much

contact with the Mountain Lapps, except for the time of the year when their dwelling places came closer to each other.

§ 70

I have already explained how *Passe* came to mean 'sacred.' We might add that *Passe* also means 'holiday', actually *passe peiwe* 'the holy place's day' in reference to the sacrificing performed during certain days. *Pasatis* 'a holiday celebrated in late November' in honor of *Passe* also got its name from this. The month of November within which the holiday or sacrificing occurred was called *Pasatis Mano*. It is less likely that this name (*Pasatis*) would come from *pasat* 'wash.' The Lapps were not in the habit of washing themselves, least of all in winter.

It is more difficult to derive the word *seite*. In Lappish it is a root word without meaning. In Finnish I find no other word than *siitä*³⁸ 'beget', 'breed' which in Lappish is *säiteje* '*pariens, concipiens*' (Cf Lindahl and Öhrling, *Dictionary*). If *säite* then were a contracted form of *säjete* it would mean 'the breeder', 'begetter', but this derivation is uncertain. It is not likely that it means 'sprite' as Tuderus suggests. It is even less likely that it comes from the Greek word *Zeus*, which has been proposed by some older writers. It is more likely related to the ancient *Seid*, which according to Scandinavian mythology means the art of witchcraft. Or have the Scandinavian peoples perhaps obtained their *seid* from the Lappish word *seite*? — Some places are still named for the ancient idol, for example *seite tjålme* in Pite Lappmark [?]. Even the name *Seite kallo* '*seite stone*' is not unknown among the Lapps, yet they are well aware that their ancestors worshipped such stone gods.

§ 71

The Lappish underground deities in the 4th and last class are included first. Their *saiwo*, *saiwo-olmah*, *saiwo-neidah*, *saiwo-lodde*, *saiwo-guolle* and *saiwo-sarwah* all existed under the surface of the earth. It has been an old belief among the Lapps that beings much like themselves have dwelled inside the fells they call *saiwo* (marked No. 41 on the drum) or *passe vareh*, and in the realm of the dead under the earth, called *Jabma-aimo* (No. 14 in the drum figures). These (netherworld) beings had sources of livelihood similar to their own and even domestic animals. The difference was that the

being who lived in the fells and under the earth were happier than humans on earth. Hence the Lapps considered *saiwo-olmah*, who lived inside the hills, a noble and rich people well versed in witchcraft and magic. In contrast, the Lapps considered themselves poor and wretched people who needed the protection of the former. The Lapps claimed to have visited *saiwo* often, interacted with *saiwo-olmah*, danced and *yoiked* (sung) with them, and seen their men, women and children. They could even enumerate their names. Some gave the impression they had spent weeks with *saiwo-olmah*, smoked tobacco with them, consumed liquor and other treats with them. That is why every male Lapp owned from 10 to 12 of these *saiwo* beings as if as guardian angels." (Jessen *ibid.*).

§ 72

There is no doubt whatever that the belief in underground beings has been and still is as common among Lapps as among neighboring peoples. Yet it appears the doctrine of *saiwo* was more developed than the doctrine of the underground beings among other peoples. Jessen has probably misunderstood his informants when he confuses *saiwo* with *Jabma Aimo*, which in the imagination of the people seem to have been clearly distinct. *Jabma Aimo* was the realm of the dead, while *saiwo* was the world where the underground beings had their dwelling. In *Jabma Aimo* were real spirits, i.e., the souls of the deceased. *Saiwo* on the other hand had half spiritual, half material beings. Since these play an important role in Lappish mythology we wish to present the doctrine of these as comprehensively as space allows.

§ 73

"The inhabitant in *Saiwo* included men, women and children, 4-5 living together. The married ones lived in one place, the unmarried ones in another. In addition to these people, there were livestock in *saiwo* as well, far more beautiful than that of the Lapps." (Jessen, p. 24)

Saiwo olmak 'men of the hills' were of service to all people, but particularly to those who had inherited them, bought them from other *noaides*, or acquired them through diligence in the art of divination. These *saiwo-olmah* gave advice at many occasions, both during sleep and through *myran*

(divination?³⁹) on the divination drum, with belts, guns, stones, and horse bones.” (Leem’s Anonymous)

This paragraph by Anonymous appears quite obscure to me. He says that *saiwo-olmah* gave “advice,” i.e., oracle answers during sleep, that is *saiwo-olmah* appeared in dreams. Another method of retrieving *saiwo olmah*’s advice happened through *myran*. If I am not mistaken this *myran* means soothsaying or the very act through which the *noaide*, using certain gestures, signs and techniques, attempted to ascertain how something would transpire. At least it seems impossible to imagine this act differently, since the writer mentions that *myran* occurred not only on the drum but also on other objects. Presumably the *noaide* did not have the drum along on his journeys and had to divine *saiwo*’s meaning with certain techniques on other objects. I assume that *myran* was performed in this fashion, because some signs and gestures are still used today to divine the results for example of a bear hunt, a beaver hunt, etc.

§ 74

“Since the Lapps considered the inhabitants of *saiwo* to be real beings, they formed unions with them whereby the Lapps sought help from *saiwo*. *Saiwo* were to become their guardian masters who were to give them luck in their endeavors such as for example in fishing, hunting, etc. They would save the lives of humans, help getting to know everything and avenge wrongs suffered by the Lapps. In turn the Lapps promised to serve *saiwo* with their lives and property.” (Jessen p.27).

“*Saiwo* was passed on as inheritance, and they were bought and sold. Therefore, parents divided these *saiwo* between their children. When one received many *saiwo* as dowry, it was considered a happy marriage. If the parent died before dividing *saiwo* among their children, the latter had to acquire the *saiwo*’s support through sacrifices.” (Jessen p. 26).

How this passing on of inheritance was actually executed is not easy to understand, because the writer has not explained it. The writer has clearly indicated earlier that the Lapps had names for the inhabitants of *saiwo*. One must then imagine that the children were given *saiwo* men and women enumerated by name. But it seems more probable that the Lapps had marked certain reindeer in the name of *saiwo*, as being of a better race, and that these reindeer were divided among the children. Since these reindeer were as if dedicated to *saiwo*, and bore the name of *Saiwo*, they were also considered to thrive better than other reindeer. Therefore, those who

received these reindeer were also believed to reach a closer connection with the *saiwo* to which the reindeer were devoted. This will be easier to understand from the following, where *saiwo-vuoigna* and *saiwo-sarvah* are described.

§ 75

“Every Lapp was to have in his *saiwo* three creatures who would be present any time he called for them; first, a bird, which was called *saiwo-lodde*; second, a fish or a serpent which was called *saiwo-guolle* or *guarms* (No. 45 in the drum figures), and third, a reindeer called *saiwo-sarva* (No. 42 in the drum figures). All these animals were referred to with a common name *saiwo-vuoign*.” (Jessen p. 24)

N.B. *Saiwa-lodde* means ‘saiwo’s bird’; *saiwo-guolle* ‘saiwo’s fish’; *saiwo-sarva* ‘saiwo’s reindeer bull.’ *Vuoign* actually means ‘spirit’ or ‘the air that humans breathe.’ That explains the metaphor of life and ultimately of an individual (life), in which sense the word is used in this case. All these names are genuinely Lappish, and we have nothing to complain about them.

In the *noaide*’s imagination these animals appear to have been spiritual representatives of the animals, i.e., such which belong to inhabitants in *Saiwo*. Thanks to his close relationship with *saiwo* the *noaide* had received the right to use the underground animals as his private and uncontested property.

§ 76

“The birds (i.e., *saiwo-loddeh*) were of variable sizes, like swallows, sparrows, grouses, eagles, swans, wood grouses, serpents [?] and hawks. Some were speckled white and black, some had black backs, white wings and a gray abdomen; some were pink, others black, gray and white. Their names are: *Alpe*, *Brudnehark*, *Habik*, *Fietnaalegonum*, *Gierkits Gisa*, *Molk*, *Gaasa*, *Varrehauka*, *Maaka Rippo*, *Suorek*, *Staure*, *Paiwo*, *Jap*, *Lainöer*, *Paimatz*.

These served their masters by accompanying them when they *yoiked* (sang magic songs), showed them the way when they traveled and gave them hunting gear when they were going hunting. They brought them information from far-away regions, and helped them look after their reindeer and other

possessions. When they were of this kind they were called *saiwo-loddeh*, of which some Lapps had many, others only few. When, however, the *noaide* used *saiwo-lodde* for the purpose of inflicting harm on other people, which was not uncommon, the birds were called *vuornes-lodde*. The *noaide* could also travel long distances on the back of a bird." (Jessen, p.25)

Appendix to §76. "*Saiwo lodde*, 'the hill's bird' shows the *noaide* the way during his travels. The *noaide* usually also sends out this *saiwo lodde* to harm some other *noaide* or others against whom he holds a grudge." (Leem's Anonymous)

"*Saiwo ladde* 'hill animal' appears to show the way when the *noaide* is about to make a journey and the *noaide* uses *saiwo lodde* to harass other people and *noaides* when they are angry." (Sidenius according to Ganander)

N.B. Anonymous translates *saiwo lodde* as 'hill bird' but this translation is as inappropriate as 'men of the hill'. Ganander has distorted the meaning even further by translating *saiwo lodde* as 'hill animal'. If one were to say magic bird one would come a little closer to the truth.

§ 77

It would undoubtedly be interesting to know what birds are understood under the names quoted. In Swedish Lappmark they were, however, largely unknown. Leem has included only *Alpe*, which is said to mean '*s[n]ösparv*', i.e., 'snow bunting' in Norwegian. A large number of these names are probably magic names known only to the *noaide*. It also seems apparent that neither Jessen nor the writers he followed had quite discerned the pronunciation of the *noaide*'s words. Thus *Habik*, for example, should be *Hapak*, which means 'hawk' (*Falco Gyrfalco* L.⁴⁰). *Paimats* ought to be written *Poimats* (*Falco Lagopus* Lin.). *Gaasa* is a Lappified name of the Swedish *gås* (*Anser Segetun Nils*) 'goose'. *Brudnehark* appears to be *Cinclus Sturnus* Lin. and *Kierkits Saxicola Oenanthæ* Lin. Some of the names belong to birds found only on the Norwegian side and their Lappish names are unknown to me.

§ 78

Most peoples have attributed to some birds the ability to forebode what is to come, for which reason Rome had the important office of the Augur. But the Lappish *noaides* considered natural birds to be insignificant and, therefore, chose the semi-spiritual representatives of these birds in *saiwo* be-

cause they were believed to possess a nobler and higher nature. It was not difficult for the *noaide* to use these birds in his service since he often made trips to *saiwo* and stayed in close contact with the inhabitants of this realm. The *saiwo-loddeh* were thus not natural birds; they were brought from *saiwo* itself and it was no wonder if the *noaide* through them was able to harm his enemies.

In the same way these birds were feared because they were seen as foreboding or even inflicting misfortune. It is natural that one sought some antidote to prevent the magic arrows from these ill-boding beings. It was commonly believed, and that belief seems to be embraced by some Lapps still today, that those who on an empty stomach heard the ill-boding crowing of the spring birds would inevitable encounter evil, or come to suffer some misfortune. Those who were surprised by the crowing of a magic bird was said to be *paikatallam*, which means 'in shit'⁴¹, i.e., they were subject to the evil that was foreboded by the bird's cawing. To prevent imminent misfortune one quickly consumed some refreshment as soon as one had opened one's eyes, and this breakfast was called *lodde-pitta*, which means 'bird bite'. i.e., the mouthful that was to thwart the ill-boding power of the bird.

This belief in the ill-boding call of spring birds is still common among many Lapps. It is therefore considered important not to go out on an empty stomach. Some are so cautious that they place a piece of food under their head in order to have easy access to it when they open their eyes.

All spring birds are not considered ill-boding. It is also of no consequence if one hears the calling of such birds for the second and third time on an empty stomach. One is especially to beware of the first time in the spring when such a bird appears that it does not get to caw over one on an empty stomach.

§ 79

This opinion undoubtedly originates with the afore-mentioned *saiwo-loddeh*, which were believed to be sent out by *noaides* to harm people. It is perhaps, therefore, not out of order in this context to mention which birds were considered the most ill-boding.

One of them is a smaller bird of the hawk family, which was called *gvuoddalvis*, i.e., 'the carrier' in Lule Lappmark. This bird is reported to bring a message or presage a person's death. This happens by the bird taking into its mouth something belonging to the dying person, for example a

piece of string or something from the clothes worn by the person whose death it forebodes. (The bird often looks for such remnants in places where the Lapps have had their tents.) With such a remnant in his beak he flies to the graveyard and imitates the dying person's voice with a lamenting sound. Someone who hears this sound will not only recognize the voice, if he happens to know the poor soul, but the bird can be made to land if one asks what she is carrying. It is, however, not advisable to let the bird land on a person, but one should instead crouch under a thicket or a fallen tree and let the bird land on it.

§ 80

What sort of bird may be involved, whether it is real or imaginary, is impossible for me to determine as I have not been able to see one alive or dead. According to descriptions, it is supposed to be a little larger than a thrush, have a yellow bill and red feet. Some have a green bill and bright yellow feet. All of them have claws, but the color of the feathers is said to be variable. If it is a real bird, as my informants assure me, one is to look for it among the smaller hawk-like birds of prey.

The cuckoo bird (*Cuculus Canorus*) is considered a very menacing bird. He is believed to forebode a person's death if he sits down on a Lappish hut to call, and if this happens on an empty stomach. If the cuckoo bird sits and calls in a tree under which a person is sitting, the person shall live as many years as the number of the cuckoo bird's calls.

The loon (*Columb. Septemtrionalis*) is also an ill-boding bird if he gets an opportunity to call above one whose stomach is empty. Likewise the crow (*Corvus Cornix*), the swan (*Cygnus*), the goose (*Anser Segetum*), etc.

§ 81

"The fishes and snakes, which were called *saiwo guolle* or *guarms* were of numerous names, sizes and colors. The louder the *noaide* could *yoik* (sing magic songs) the larger was the serpent, even up to three fathoms. He served to inflict harm on his master's enemies, and on his back the *noaide* could go the *Jabma aimo* (Hades)." (Jessen, p. 26)

There is also a *saiwo guolle* who shall guard *noaide's* life when he is off to *Jabma Aimo*. *Namma-guolle* 'name fish' is a kind of fish-like sprite, who protects a person's name. When something bad happens to a person he is to

be baptized anew with the magic name of his grandfather or father and *namma-guolle*⁴² is the protector of that name.” (Leem’s Anonymous)

Saiwo-guolle ‘hill fish’ protects the soul of the Lappish *noaide* when he journeys to *Jabma Aimo*, either to fetch someone from his family, father or mother, back up to herd the reindeer 1, 2, 3, 4 years or longer, or then to bring back a sick person’s soul.” (Sidenius according to Ganander)

§ 82

The idea of *saiwo-guolle* seems to be closely related to *saiwo lodde*. Since there were birds in *saiwo*, there must also have been representatives of fishes in *saiwo*, which further were superior to natural fishes. As it is said that *saiwo guolle* was to protect the *noaide*’s soul upon his descent to *Jabma Aimo*, this probably means that the *noaide* in spritual form crawled into a *saiwo qwuolle* and took on its form. The idea that people were magically turned into fishes is found even in the legends. It is not uncommon that the serpent is also called a fish. In the legends the serpent appears often under the name *Sjuda-qwuolle*, i.e., ‘hissing fish’ and occasionally the serpent is called *Kukkes-qwuolle*, i.e., ‘the long fish’. The *noaide* presumably used this kind of fish for the purpose of bringing harm to others. In many places people still hold the serpent in great respect. I have also heard it said, even among the Finns on Tornio River, that some serpents are not natural but supernatural serpents or serpents which have been incited by *noaides* to attack people. *Tomtormen*, which is mentioned in Norrland, is most likely related to this as well. *Tomtormen* is, however, considered a kind of protective being and must not be disturbed. But a serpent who lies by the stairs and lurks for people going in or out is thought to have been incited by a *noaide*.

§ 83

It is probably most appropriate here in the context of magic serpents to mention something about the supernatural beliefs the Lapps and even the common folk in Norrland hold concerning natural serpents. It is said that when the serpents gather in the spring to play and mate, each larger flock of serpents has a serpent king who is very large and white in color. This serpent king holds a small, flat and white stone in his mouth and plays with it; he throws it up and down and receives it in his mouth like one catches balls.

If one can get possession of this serpent stone it can bring him anything he wants. It is, however, quite dangerous to engage in a serpent game to obtain the stone in the air when the serpent throws it up, because as soon as the serpent king loses his stone the entire swarm of serpents falls in the throngs of fury and will pursue the robber relentlessly. It is completely impossible for him to escape, because the serpents bite themselves in the tail and roll around like hoops on a barrel. Not even the fastest of horses can escape.

Many stories are told about this. One man had, for the purpose of getting to the stone without endangering his own life, lit three large fires around the mating serpents, but the largest serpent had pursued him all the way to the third fire. As I travelled in Åsele Lappmark in 1824, one of my drivers showed me the actual place where his father out of curiosity had touched the fatal serpent stone which he found lying by a path in the forest. He had to let go of it, however, for although he saw no serpents at all at first he was suddenly surrounded by serpents and had to let go of the stone and flee.

§ 84

It is quite impossible for me to determine whether any of this folk belief is based on something real, because while I have seen mating serpents dance I have never seen the serpent king nor have I heard any natural scientist speak of any such thing. It was, of course, easy for the *noaides* to acquire a serpent stone. It is rumored that the late Reverend Kohlström in Muonionniska acquired one from a *noaide*. The serpent stone is usually no larger than an egg of a swallow, white with red spots like fine porphyry. Presumably they have taken stones that were polished by water and claimed them to be serpent stones.

An old book, entitled *Francisci Redi Experimenta*, printed in Amsterdam in 1685, contains numerous tales about the power of the so-called serpent stones to cure several illnesses. The author, who probably was a physician made several tests with such serpent stones but found them to have no effect. The author offers several illustrations of serpent stones imported from East India, where the inhabitants in the region of Ganges reportedly commonly believed in the magic power of the serpent stones. He cannot, however, tell whether purported serpent stones actually came from serpents or whether they were natural stones. The author only mentions that some of these stones, according to accounts by travelers, had been found in the belly of serpents, according to others in the heads of serpents. It is probably not

impossible that some petrification might occur in some individual serpents in the same way as bladder stones or pearls are formed in the bodies of some animals. And I do not know where the common folk otherwise could have come to believe that serpent stones exist, a belief that extends all the way to India. I am also reminded of a pioneer in Lule Lappmark in the village of Pewawre who had two serpent stones, but at the time I saw them I did not undertand to ask where he had obtained them. Later I have heard that he supposedly captured them himself in a serpent mating dance which do occur in the area of Pewawre. The man was, it turns out, a little *noaide* who could enchant the serpents and the wasps with some kind of charms. It was consequently no challenge for him to catch serpent stones. He enchanted the serpent so that the latter later lost all his power to inflict harm. He twirled the serpent around his hands, put the serpent inside his shirt, etc. Just like Fransiscus Redu, he tells about some magicians among the inhabitants of India. But this writer claims that the magician previously had removed the venom from the serpent by letting it bite into some rotten tree, a mushroom or the like. Whether *noaides* in Lappmark practise the same kind of tricks I do not know. I can also not tell what species of serpents exist in Lappmark. But I do know with certainty that both people and animals have been bitten and suffered swelling and aches from them.

I have, however, seen with my very own eyes how wasps are enchanted. It is the only magic I have seen in my entire life. I was then a 12 or 13 year old boy. There was a pioneer's farm-hand in Kvickjock (Lule Lappmark) who had learned the trick from the pioneer in Pewawre. He recited and mumbled something that I did not understand or pay attention to. But the end sum was that the wasps became docile like lambs. He tore the wasp nest into pieces without the wasps doing him any harm. They seemed to be totally *Schack matta*⁴³ 'checkmate' ('dead'). They crawled on their legs unable to fly. What tricks he may have used I really don't understand, but he insisted himself that it happened through enchanting alone.

I remember another belief or superstition about serpents. It is said that the serpent seeks to get to water after it has stung a person. If it does not find water within a given period of time, its bite has no effect.

From the above-quoted writer (Redus) it is clear that belief in the serpent's miraculous power was not restricted to Lappmark. I wonder whether this belief does not originate in India like so many other beliefs that belong to the supernatural (magic) beliefs of the Lapps and the Finns.

Incidentally, snakeskin is a part of the Lappish art of healing and is considered a diuretic. Even the snake fat is used as ointment for arthritis, etc. Snakeskin in liquor is given to mothers in childbed and when one wishes to

enchant someone to fall in love, something from a serpent is included in the enchanted drink. It is also commonly believed that the serpent will not die until the sun sets even if it has been cut to pieces.

If you put the serpent on an anthill, then the feet it had before it betrayed Eve will become visible. If someone who has been stung by a serpent blows three times in the mouth of someone suffering from toothache, the toothache will disappear, etc.

§ 85

As far as the afore-described *saiwo-qwuolle* is concerned, some of the ancient superstition is still extant. There are in all Lappmarks certain smaller lakes in which the fish are especially shy. They will not allow themselves to be captured by a seine if there is the slightest noise during the pulling of the seine. Such lakes are usually called *saiwo*, i.e., 'magic lakes'⁴⁴. The water in these lakes is so clear that one can see bottom at 10 fathoms depth. It is cold even in summer, but warm in winter, i.e., warmer than other icy water so that in shallower areas some blind ice-hole may be caused to appear. This has its cause in the springs which feed into the lakes. It is commonly believed that such lakes have a double bottom, while the real situation is that the bottom is full of holes caused by the spring veins which swell there although the hole may not always be visible.

This water, despite being clearer than other inlake water, is heavier than other snow and rain water because it contains small amounts of dissolved minerals. From physics it is known that what is called sound travels stronger and faster through a thicker (denser and heavier) medium than through a thinner one. It is also commonly known that fish sense noise heard above water. This would seem to be the natural reason for the shyness of the fish in such lakes; they cannot tolerate the slightest noise. It is thus possible to see the seine full of fish when one may have the end of the seine quite near, but at the slightest sound from a word, for example, that the fisherman lets out, every last tail-fin disappears as if by magic.

§ 86

A fish which does not tolerate any noise whatsoever is called *saiwo-qwuolle* and the lakes in which such fish live are called *saiwo*. The fish found in such lakes are large and fat. They may include white fish (*Core-*

gonus Laveretus), perch (*Perca Fluviatilis*), burbot (*Gadus*), salmon trout⁴⁵ (*Salmo Trutta*), etc.

When fishing with seine or a rod in such lakes one must go about it very quietly. No noise is to be heard, not a word uttered during the entire time of the fishing; everything must be done with signs and hints. Real experiments have been done which prove that the fish in these waters do not tolerate any talk. I have attempted to explain above the natural reason for this. At the slightest sound the fish disappears into their familiar secret holes in the bottom and thus disappear from the seine.

I wish to confirm with an example that this really is true. It happened not long ago that two settlers here in Karesuando went to some mountain lake to fish with seine. One was old and believed in the strange ability of the underground being to make the fish magically disappear in *saiwo*. The other one was young and did not believe in anything, but made fun of this pagan false belief. Neither of them could, of course, comprehend the natural reason for the shyness of the fish in these *saiwo* waters.

§ 87

Now it so happened that the catch for these two men was rather meager in the profane waters that were not *saiwo*. The old man said he knew of a small lake which absolutely would be full of fish, but mentioned also that it would not be worth the bother to go there because his companion could not keep quiet. Oh, said the other, if it is only a matter of being silent, he would surely be so quiet that not a sound would be heard from him. The old man insisted on unconditional quiet and the other one promised and off they were to *saiwo*. The seine was thrown in the water and they began to pull. They could see already as they reached the side of the seine that there were fish in it, but when the opening came closer the other one forgot his promise of silence and uttered some inconsequential word. Zip, the fish disappeared from the seine and when the entire seine was on shore there was not a tail-fin to be seen.

“Didn’t I guess as much”, the old man said annoyed and wanted to leave right away. The other one who wanted to see whether the old people’s belief had any basis in reality wanted to continue and persuaded the old man to throw the seine in the same water again, and he promised to be quiet. Now he kept his promise until the opening of the seine was clearly in hand, but then he let out a word as he thought it impossible for the fish they could see

in there to find a way out. But the old man turned out to be right; the seine came to shore empty.

Now the old man complained that it is not worth the trouble to pull the seine with someone who could not keep his mouth shut. He did, however, reluctantly allow himself to be talked into throwing the seine in the water for the third time. Now not a word was uttered before the seine was completely on shore. It was full of large and fat white fish, and from that time onward even the disbelieving seine companion had to be convinced that the fish in *saiwo* do not tolerate any talking.

§ 88

Many similar examples could be cited but I consider them superfluous as it is a commonly known matter, at least in Norrland and, (1) that there are certain lakes from which the fish do not let themselves be taken if some noise or sound is produced during the seine fishing, (2) that the water in such lakes is much colder and fresher in summer than the water in other, neighboring lakes. That is why the peasants in Alkula for example (which belongs to Över-Torneå) usually filled their drinking vessels with fresh water from a brook which runs from such a *saiwo-vesi* (magic water). It follows then (3) that the temperature in such lakes depends on the spring veins in the bottom which feed them, (4) the water in such lakes is both clearer and heavier than the water in other lakes, (5) the natural reason for the shyness of the fish is that sound travels easier through a denser medium, (6) the fact that the white fish, which is shy even by nature, can disappear from the seine-sweep because of one single word uttered by the fisherman, has natural reasons.

For the simple Lapps this phenomenon sufficed to place both the water and the fish under the influence of the invisible beings that lived in *saiwo*. The following proves even the water in such lakes was considered sacred:

§ 89

“*Saiwo-tjatse* was a holy water that ran from *saiwo*.” (Jessen *ibid.* p. 29). “The women drank of *saiwo*’s water.” (*Ibid.* p. 44) “In the beginning when the *noaide* wishes to get the *saiwo-olmah* beings in his service, he first strengthens himself with *saiwo tjatse* ‘hill water’ (more correctly ‘magic water’) and later when he is about to enter feuds with other *noaides* he will

once in a while get a strengthening drink of *saiwo tjatse*." (Leem's Anonymous) "Mountain women initiated and strengthened *noaides* with *saiwo tjatse*, when they were off to fight each other and test their strength." (Ganander according to Sidenius).

Even today people like to drink *saiwo* water in the summer because it is quite clear, cool and good-tasting. The above-mentioned writers have not indicated from where this *saiwo tjatse* was obtained. It seems probable though that it was obtained from lakes of the kind that we have described above.

§ 90

As far as I have been able to learn most Lapps on the Swedish side have imagined the inhabitants in *saiwo* as a kind of *sjö rå* 'sea sprites' although not quite in the sense the Swedes use this word. Consequently many lakes have been named after *saiwo*, but I know of few hills that carry this name. This appears to be corroborated also by Högström who says about *saiwo*:

"Like the Mountain Lapps and those who have reindeer generally sacrifice antlers and bones and even anoint their gods with reindeer blood so have these Fisher Lapps their sacred stones, guiding and guarding deities by the lakes they call *saiwo*. In addition to other acts of honoring these deities they anoint them with fishfat, which, they believe, will cause there to be more fat fish in these lakes than in others. The sooner they grease their stones the more and the fatter fish they presume to get." (Högström, p.193)

§ 91

"*Saiwo-sarvah*⁴⁶ were used to fight with other *noaides*' *saiwo-sarvah*. The result of this fight (between two reindeer bulls from *saiwo*) also decided the owner's fate." (Jessen p.26)

"The *noaides* also have their *sarvah* which they have acquired the same way as *saiwo olmah*. These *saiwo sarvah* are being egged on by their owners to fight and this kind of duel between *saiwo sarvah* is of crucial importance for their owners. If the *saiwo sarvah* belonging to the one *noaide* butts the antlers off the other, then the *noaide* who owns the latter loses." (Leem's Anonymous)

"*Saiwo serwa* is a 'hill reindeer' that the Lapps put up against other *noaides*' *saiwa-serwa* and they fight hard against each other. The Lapp who

owns the reindeer that loses its antlers or its head (in the struggle) becomes ill and dies after some time." (Ganander according to Sidenius).

None of these writers has explained whether the reindeer bull in question belonged to the underground reindeer and was acquired by the *noaide* or whether it came from the *noaide*'s own reindeer herd and was only branded in the name of *saiwo*. We prefer to assume that it was the *noaides*' natural reindeer bulls that did the butting and that they were only devoted to *saiwo*, while they, of course, in the imagination of the *noaides* could be seen as originating in *saiwo*, similarly to the birds and the fish.

§ 92

When we summarize everything that has been related about *saiwo* above the main facts appear to be the following: The Lappish *noaide* imagined a kind of people who lived in *saiwo*, i.e., in a world which could not be seen by everyone, either in a hill or a lake, in one word under the surface of the earth (Ganander has most likely not understood the matter correctly when he places *saiwo* among the celestial deities). This underground people was in every respect happier than the Lapps above ground, but they (the *saiwo*'s men) were engaged in the same activities as the people above ground. In *saiwo* were reindeer, dogs, birds, fish, insects, serpents. In a word, the entire living nature was represented in *saiwo*. Just as no fish was as fat and delicious as *saiwo-qwuolle*, so were all other animals' properties in proportion thereto, each according to its nature. The *noaide* alone knows the art of capturing *saiwo-qwuolle*, and he alone could become the owner of *saiwo-sarvah*, and command the other animals living under ground.

§ 93

As an appendix to the story of *saiwo* I have rendered above, it will probably not hurt to cite some examples of the kinds of underground beings which still live in the imagination of the common people.

In Lule Lappmark and parts of Pite Lappmark people still know a kind of underground beings that in Lappish are called *kadnihah* which corresponds to *saiwo-neidah*, i.e., '*saiwo*'s maidens', known on the Norwegian side. I do not know what *kadnihah* actually means. *Saiwo* can probably be said to have no other meaning than what follows from the description of *saiwo*. Both words are root words in Lappish without further

derivations. Presumably every object must have its name and this may have come about by chance.

Kadnihah are, as indicated, a kind of people living underground who occasionally reveal themselves to people in red dress. They have long hair which reaches down to their waist and which resembles green linen. These too possess reindeer, dogs, etc. Both language and dress is Lappish. People have even learned their song which is called *kadniha-vuolle*. Let us now see whereupon this belief is based.

§ 94

A youngster in Lule Lappmark claims to have seen *kadnihah* by Lake Parkijaur. It so happened that, while he was walking up a hill, he suddenly became faint and fell as if in trance during which he heard a most beautiful Lappish song. Immediately thereafter he saw two *kadniha neidah*, i.e., underground maidens, wonderfully beautiful, clad in the afore-mentioned red dress. The maidens disappeared a few minutes later into a crevice in the hill and the song went silent. The whole splendor was gone. With great delight he looked at them, with undescrivable longing he saw them disappear from his eyes. Still many years later he was visibly moved when talking about this event. The underground maidens had made an indescribably beautiful impression on his mind. Say, was it a dream or an ideal of female beauty that his imagination conjured for his soul? — I know the youngster quite well. He is now a middle-aged man, but was then the hired hand of a settler.

§ 95

Another example: About 70 or 80 years ago it so happened that a Lapp village consisting of 7 *kota* units had set up camp north of Tjåmotis, a new settlement belonging to Jockmock parish in Lule Lappmark. It was the time of year when and the market court sessions were held in Jockmock. Since all the older people had gone to the market, the young people left behind let themselves loose with games and play on a little lake, which lay quite close to the tents the Lapps had erected. Only one older Lappish woman was present and since she knew that the inhabitants in the hill across the lake did not tolerate any such racket, she warned the youths but in vain. Evening came and everyone went to rest, but no sooner had the noise settled in the Lappish *kotas* before *kadnihah* started to make their own noise. The clank

of bells, human voice, barking of dogs, the whimper of reindeer herds set in motion was heard. It resembled a large moving-train of Lapps with their reindeer herds. The Lapps' own dogs rushed out from the tents, and began to howl, cry and bark. Fright and horror filled everyone's mind. The aforementioned old Lapp woman rose from her bed and looked out the *kota* door. There she saw the underground horde in the moonlight pushing straight toward the Lapps' tents. There was no time to lose. She immediately wrapped herself in a lambskin fell inside out and went to meet the underground horde and began to negotiate peace. She promised penance and repentance on the part of the youths. With great effort she was able to make *kadnihah* turn around and averted thus the danger of being trampled down. But it became silent after that day and the youth kept quiet. Nothing more was heard. — The story of this adventure is common in the whole district and I saw the Lapp woman who negotiated with *kadnihah* while I was still a child in Kvickjock. It was the mother-in-law of Erik Ersson Alstadius in Njawe⁴⁷.

§ 96

In the Tornio river region the Finns' underground beings are called *maahiset* (plur of *maahinen*). NB. *Para*, which Andr. Faye in his *Norske Sagn* considers the underground beings of the Finns, is an entirely different being. *Maahinen* comes from *maa* 'earth' and means 'earthly' or 'located in the earth.' This is a completely different being than *Maanalainen* about which more later. *Maahinen* reveals itself to the Finns in the same way as *kadnihah* to the Lapps, the difference being that *maahiset* have cows and Finnish clothing. The following is an example of this:

Some 30–40 years ago an old settler in the village of Kuttainen in Kare-suando parish in Tornio Lappmark had as usual gone to a fishing lake named Paitasjärvi to fish with seine. One day during his stay at this lake he went into the forest to cut himself a few poles on which he intended to hang up fish to dry. While he was in the midst of this work two girls in red dresses appeared, came quite near him, and invited him to follow them to their home. He asked who they were and where their home was. They said they lived quite nearby. As they reiterated their request that he follow them the old man replied: "No, wait a minute, I don't have time yet, I must first lop the twigs off my stakes." Then the two maidens disappeared and only then did the old man realize that they were not natural maidens. This man, who was usually referred to as *Jatko Ejä*, died a few years ago. I knew him quite well. He was an honest and quiet man.

§ 97

I have been told by credible persons about another event belonging to the same topic, but have not had the opportunity to consult the actual eye witnesses.

A few dozen years ago a Lappish family who, as was its custom, had migrated out onto a fell peninsula protruding into the Norwegian sea, lost an eight year old child. The child had walked out of the hut and disappeared extremely quickly and could not be found even though the parents spared no effort in looking for the child. The parents finally abandoned all hope of ever seeing the child again, dead or alive.

About a week later some herdsmen had found the child on the other side of the fiord. The child was already shy of people and the shepherds had trouble catching up to it as it ran like a hare between the bushes. They also had trouble getting the child to eat anything after it was brought back to the house. Having regained its composure the child had said that it had had a good time in the company of very fine and beautiful folks and that it had been well kept and seen many strange things, etc. But it did not know how it had ended up on the other side of the fiord.

§ 98

We can probably not completely doubt that this information is correct as it was confirmed by several eye witnesses. The child disappeared in one place and was found on the other side of the fiord. How the child managed to cross the fiord without the help of human hands seems very peculiar indeed. Those who know the conditions in the fiords must surely consider it physically impossible that an eight year old could cross all the rapids and precipices alive. One possible explanation would be if an eagle had lifted the child above and across the fiord, as this king of the birds has strength enough to carry considerable weight. Maybe the child suffered vertigo and thus became confused. The eagle can well simply have let go of his prey nicely on the other side of the fiord at the sight of people. I don't consider it impossible that a Lappish child can live for a week on berries, sorrel, and the like. This explanation of the story is, however, pure conjecture. The widely held belief among the common folk is that the child was abducted into the hill⁴⁸ by underground beings and thus ended up on the other side of the fiord.

§ 99

Yet another story to illustrate the common folk's belief in underground beings:

Master Emanuel Kohlström, a missionary in the imperial Russian part of Enontekiö, Lappmark has related the following story. There is an islet in Jerisjärwi, a large and good fishing lake within Muonionniska parish, where the fishermen usually dried their nets. Close to this islet lies another small islet that is historically and physiologically [*fysiologiskt*] distinct. One beautiful day Master Kohlström, together with some other fishermen from the Finnish nation, had landed on this islet to dry their nets and steal some rest in a fishing hut erected there. While he and the other fishermen lay in the hut, they all at once heard the clanking of reindeer bells, which they felt came from the small islet. Since they knew that there were no reindeer in the entire region at that time of the year, they all went out to see what it might be. They did not, however, see anything nor was there any clanking. One of the fishermen then remarked that they had surely not heard natural bells because already some time earlier there had been *oknytt*⁴⁹ on the little islet. (N.B. *Oknytt* is what is said in Westerbotten about little hauntings that can be heard. *Oknytt* means that something strange has been heard or seen, i.e., haunting.)

They were thus reindeer bells from underground.

§ 100

At the time when Kohlström and his companions heard the reindeer bells it was not yet known what actually existed on the little island. It was subsequently discovered that there is an old graveyard of which not even the legends have had anything to say. It had happened that a corpse had to be temporarily buried, which in these sparsely populated regions is quite common when someone dies during the season of isolation. When they began to dig a grave for the corpse's temporary burial, they found a large number of human bones in a well-timbered grave. Since neither the legends nor old documents had left any account of there having been a graveyard, it is probable that it was built before the introduction of Christianity. We shall presently attempt to explain the connection between the reindeer bells they heard and the graveyard.⁵⁰

§ 101

Further to the report on reindeer bells, I will relate a few anecdotes that involve underground beings. The old sheriff Granström in Jockmock in Lule Lappmark explains how he was often confused by such clanking when he was looking for his cows. He claims to have heard the bells close nearby but when he went in the direction of the sound there was nothing there. It is quite a common belief in Norrland that the underground beings have cows and that one can even become the owner of them. In Tåsjö (the northernmost parish in Ångermanland) people said that they had cattle of the *Vitterkona* breed. One can obtain such cattle if one throws steel over them. But a *vittra* cow must not be milked more than two pails at a time lest it become spoiled. The so-called abscess⁵¹ (*Panaritium*) or as the common folk in Norrland say *råka ut för ondt* 'meet with evil' is believed to be caused by *vittra* (that is what the underground people is called in Ångermanland). I have had discussions about *Vittra* with several peasants in Ångermanland and found them fully and firmly convinced, not only that *Vittra* exists, but that she could inflict harm on people if her ways were crossed. If horses and cows fall dead or otherwise waste away, it is believed to be *Vittra*'s doing; some call it *trollskott* 'the work of magic arrows'. [Translators note: *trollskott* is the common term in modern Swedish for lumbago, in Finnish *noidannuoli*.]

§102

In Westerbotten the underground people are called *Underboniga* "undergroundling."⁵² I heard innumerable stories about them in my childhood, about how people were taken into the mountain, etc. I am not quite certain, however, whether *trollkäringa*⁵³ 'troll woman' is the same kind of being as *underboniga*. There seems to be a small difference between them, because *trollkäringa* was always represented as an angry and deformed being of human form. She is described as a veritable fury. Yet *Underboniga* do not do evil deeds against people unless harassed. This can be seen in the following story.

One night a peasant woman in Lule parish (if I recall correctly the event was to have taken place in Sunderby) was called upon by an unknown male person to assist his wife at childbirth. The old woman followed the man and when they had walked a short distance from the farm they came to the end of some stairs and soon they stood in a house underground where a woman lay suffering in childbed. The delivery proceeded well with the help of the

earth woman, who was sent home a while later with gifts that the underground man put in her apron. He also directed the old woman to move the location of their cow-shed because it stood right above the underground people's dwelling and caused much disadvantage for them, etc. Finally, he escorted the woman home and disappeared. She threw the things she had carried in her apron into the fireplace because she thought it was coal. But in the morning when the woman's husband woke up to make a fire he was mighty surprised to find a whole pile of silver coins in the fireplace. He asked the old woman if she had been out stealing during the night. She then recounted what had happened and the cow-shed was moved. This event is said to have occurred quite some time ago.

§ 103

I have heard several similar stories about *underboniga*, but have not really committed all of them to memory. The main aspect of all these stories, is the fact that *underboniga* do not tolerate the sign of the cross (and so it is not allowed to tie the swaddling-clothes in a cross on the underground children.) The underground people have some sort of ointment which makes them invisible, but which, if put on the eyes of mortals, makes them see the underground beings. If one gets a call to serve as midwife (which happens quite often) one must help the woman in distress but not accept food and drink as it then will become difficult to come back up. If someone is taken to the mountain, he must beware not to accept anything that is offered. The *underboniga* must in that case release the one taken into the mountain within three days.

I have not undertaken any investigation into the origin of the *underboniga*. I have heard, though, that they are supposed to have been created by our Lord. According to Faye's *Norske Sagn* it is believed in certain areas of Norway that the underground beings are fallen angels. Others believe that they are descended from Adam. "One day Eve was busy washing her children. Suddenly she was called upon by our Lord. She then hurried to hide those children who had not yet been washed. Our Lord asked whether she had all her children there. She replied yes. Then Our Lord is reported to have said '*What you have hidden from God shall also be hidden from humans.*' The hidden children thereby became the underground beings." (Faye *ibid.*) The tale is skillfully crafted and shows how resourceful the common folk are in making up stories.

§ 104

I have also heard another tale about *trollkåring* 'troll woman'. It is skilfully crafted in its own genre and seems to prove that this being in the imagination of the common folk is distinct from the underground beings. An old soldier in Skellefteå parish had once lost his way during a squirrel hunt and could not find his way home. Finally he came upon an old cottage for herdsmen and set up camp for the night. He made a fire and began to cook the day's catch in a kettle he had brought with him. Now a *trollkåring* enters the cottage and asks the soldier: "What is your name?" "My name is Self." And suddenly he took a ladleful of hot broth and threw the boiling concoction in the face of the *trollkåring*. She began to scream and wail woe-fully: "*Self burned me, Self burned me.*"⁵⁴ "*If Self has burnt you, Self will smart.*" A voice from the nearest mountain answered. It came from the *trollkåring's* comrades. With such cunning the soldier had baffled the trolls and diverted their revenge away from himself. But the *trollkåring* said when she left: "Self recognized me, Self burned me and Self shall sleep until next year."⁵⁵ [translator's note: A proper translation of the word *Sjelfver* should be "Myself" and "Yourself" respectively, as English adjusts to the grammatical person and number, while Swedish adjusts only to number (*själv ~ själva*). The use of *Sjelfver* as a proper name works well in Swedish, but not in English].

Upon finishing the meal, the soldier lay down to sleep. When he awoke in the morning and began to dig around in his bag of provisions he found it full of mould but could not comprehend how that had happened until he found his way back to his people. Only then did he learn that he had been gone for a whole year.

§ 105

If I could recall all the tales I have heard about *underboniga*, *vittra* and *trollkåringa*, several books could probably be filled with such true stories. But the samples I have provided will likely suffice to prove that the Lapps' *saiwo-olmah*, *saiwo-neidah*, *kadnihah*, the Finns' *maahiset*, the Westerbotten people's *underboniga*, *trollkåringa* and the Ångermanland people's *vittra* are identical. People in Norrland talk about the transformation of humans into animals, birds, or fish and this metamorphosing was not uncommon in Lapland as seen from the following tale.

A man had once caught a salmon in a magic lake of the kind described above. The salmon lay still in the boat for a while, but all of a sudden he heard a voice from the nearest mountain: *Carin, what are you doing there?* And presto, the salmon jumped into the lake. It was an enchanted woman transformed into a salmon. "Running wolf" was not uncommon in Lappish mythology. It was no small trick the *noaide* could do to another *noaide* to let him "run wolf", i.e., the whole man was transformed into a wolf and humans in the guise of a wolf were considered seven times worse than other wolves. This belief is not completely rooted out among the Lapps. As late as 1823, I heard Lapps in Arjeplog talk about a *piellokis*, i.e., 'bell wolf' or 'a wolf with a bell around its neck'. To their mind it was not a natural wolf but an enchanted human in the guise of a wolf. Everyone feared him more than death itself.

A Lapp had told Högström that he had slain and skinned a wolf that had a belt knife and a tobacco pouch under the skin. That then was an enchanted Lapp who had "run wolf." Not long ago a Lapp here in Enontekiö was about to become a wolf. He had run naked from Enontekiö to Maunu three miles in the middle of the coldest winter. Upon arrival in Maunu he threw himself in the bed between a man and his wife. "Had I not gotten to lie between you," he said, "I would have turned into a wolf." If this was not very true, at least it was [quite funny]."⁵⁶

§ 106

Another well known mythological being in Norrland and Lapland is *bytingen* or *bortbytingen*⁵⁷, which, since it is considered to be related to the underground beings, is most conveniently introduced in this context. *Bytingen* is in Lappish called *målsotis* which means 'changeling'. It is believed that the underground people take human children from above ground by switching. The greatest danger of children being switched is before they are baptized since the underground beings do not tolerate the sign of the cross or its name. To prevent such switching some are in the habit of placing an ABC book under the child's head; others place steel there. The belief in *målsotis* does not, however, appear to be ancient among the Lapps, nor is it very common. The concept of changeling is probably borrowed from neighboring peoples. Among the Swedes, however, belief in these beings appears to be ancient.

The reason for this belief seems to be the fact that infants exposed to draft or placed on the cold ground were apt to get cramps which then made

their facial muscles became deformed. It was then believed that underground beings had snatched away the real child and put their own deformed one in its place. Such an occurrence is reported to have happened in Arjeplog not very long ago in which a careless childminder had put down the child on the ground while she picked berries. Upon her return the child was already changed. A changeling cries almost incessantly, is most restless, and does not live long.

§ 107

The commonly known *maran* is not altogether unfamiliar in Lapland. In Lappish it is called *täddalmis*, i.e., 'nightmare' and those who are *maruriden* 'ridden by *maran*' are said to be *täddatallat*, 'be pressed down', 'haunted by nightmare.' In Finnish *maran* is called *painiainen* [*painajainen*]⁵⁸ 'nightmare'. The Lapps naturally imagined that it was the work of mean evil spirits (witches) who either as themselves or in the guise of other beings attack people in their sleep. Some declare that it happens while they are awake. They claim to see clearly and to recognize the wretched witch, how she enters through the door and sits astride the person. If one can move a finger or utter a word one is immediately rid of her.

Not only humans are afflicted with *maran*; even horses are subject to her. Once a man whose horse was often "ridden by *maran*" decided to sit in ambush waiting for the trollwoman. She came inside the stable, and the man who awaited her whacked her in the back with his axe. *Maran* made off and the following day it became known that one of the neighboring women had developed a nasty wound. So goes the tale. The doctor says that *maran* is nothing but pressure on the brain.

§ 108

Another monster that has not yet fully disappeared from the folk's imagination is the so-called *baran*, also called *bjäran* or *bäran*. In Finnish it is called *para*⁵⁹, occasionally *voikattu*, i.e., 'butter katt'. This monster is not unknown among the Lapps, but the idea seems to be borrowed from the Swedes. *Baran* was put together from rags (Zetterstedt was told that there had to be nine kinds of rags). The old woman who creates this monstrosity promises herself to the devil and pricks herself in the little finger of her left hand, letting a few drops of blood seep into the bundle accompanied by the

words "The devil will give you life." And so the monstrosity is ready. Now the woman must tell *baran* what it is supposed to bring, such as butter, milk, etc.

Once it happened that a woman was occupied with this kind of work and asked a hired hand in the house to leave the room so as not to witness what transpired. The hired man realized what her plan was and climbed up to the attic right above the woman's room to stand in wait and to listen to what happened below. When *baran* was ready and was already given life, it asked "What shall I bring?" The hired man, who heard the question, said "Shit." *Baran* subsequently brought home so much of that substance that the old woman must almost have drowned in manure. *Baran* leaves behind some waste that resembles butter churned from colostrums, and is called *bärardynga* 'bära dung', but further south it is known under the name *trollsmör* 'troll butter'. If this *bärardynga* is burned in a fire of nine kinds of wood the old woman must come forth regardless of how far away she may be. Incidentally, *trollsmör* is a species of mushroom (*Æthelium Flavum* or *Mucor Unctuosus*, Linneaus), which grows rapidly on the floors of musty cow-sheds, rotting tree stumps, and other similar places. The common folk who cannot comprehend the rapid growth of the mushroom have, therefore, thought themselves to have reason to imagine it as the excrement of some supernatural being. On the other hand, envy has made people imagine that the blessing of the barn, which as a consequence of sensible operation of it and is present in one but missing from the neighbor's barn, is the result of secret magic tricks. But the actual idea of *baran* is as old as papacy. The name is probably taken from the Swedish word *bära* 'portare', 'transfere', [Latin for 'carry', 'transport'] because *baran* was believed to bring butter, milk, and other blessings from the neighbors. The Finnish *para* was probably borrowed from Swedish *baran*. While the Lappish have a concept *vuoja kattu*, it appears not to be original in the language. Schefferus offers an illustration of *baran*. It resembles a bundle of rags the size of a fist. Some attach a tail to the bundle.

§ 109

The Swedish so-called *sjö rå*, *skogs rå*, *tomtegubbar* etc. do not really have counterparts in Lappish mythology, unless these beings are actually synonymous with *underboniga*, *vittra* or *trollkäringa*. If I have understood the common folk of Norrland correctly, they differentiate between *skogs rå* and *vittra*. *Skogs rå* is attributed greater power and authority over a larger

territory, etc. The Swedish *sjö rå* appears to be exactly the same being as the Norwegian *draugen*. As I have understood the matter, even *näcken* is a kind of *sjö rå*, i.e., a far mightier being than *underboniga* and *vittra*. Swedish *skogs rå* and *sjö rå* probably have their counterparts in Finnish *maan-haldia*, *vedenhaltia*, and even Lappish *ädman-halde*, although this word is known even in the northern part of Arjeplog despite its being loaned in from Finnish. Finnish *tonta*, which word even the Lapps imitate, probably comes from Swedish *tomt*, *tomtegubbe*, a being believed to reside in old farm sites. The Finns on Tornio River almost equate *tonta* with the devil, and the Lapps appear to share that conception of this being. It appears more than probable that the Finns and the Lapps borrowed *tonta* from the Swedish *tomte*. The description Zetterstedt gives of *tomten* is not genuine, but rather borrowed and adapted from the Lapps' *pädnakjunne* ['one with a dog's muzzle'], who even has only one eye in his forehead.

§ 110

The part of Lappish mythology that deals with the immortality of the soul and life after death is an important element of the common folk belief. It shall reveal to us that the ancient Lapps not only believed in the immortality of the souls but even the resurrection of the dead or the renewal of bodies after death. — The Norwegians tell us the following:

“The Lapps recognized two states after death. One was the happy state and was called *Saiwo-Aimo*, *Jabma-Aimo* or *Sarakka-Aimo*; the other was called *Mubben Aimo*, *Rut-Aimo*, *Fudnos Aimo* and *Tjappes Aimo*.” (Jessen, p.29); A third place was called *Radien Aimo*.” (Jessen, p.30)

“The Lapps believed that they would go to *saiwo* after death and enjoy the greater bliss the more they honored them with *yoiking* (song) and drumming while alive.” (Jessen p.28)

“At a certain distance under ground is the realm of the dead, *Jabma Aimo*. There the ruler is death's mother, *Jabma Akko*. There the dead shall receive a new body instead of the rotted one above ground. They will receive the same might and reputation they enjoyed while living. But those who are deep down in the earth or closer to the abyss stay in *Rota Aimo*. They will never, like the other dead people, get from there to *Radien* or *All-fadren i Stiernhimlen* ['the Father of All in the Starry Sky'].” (Leem's Anonymous)

“*Iabmi Aimo*, 'the Valhalla of the Lapps' or 'Gripnir's halls'⁶¹, the Finns' *Tuonela* and *Manala* or 'Death's abode' were a little distance under

the earth. When someone dies, the Lapps say that the soul has gone to *Jabma Aimo*. They also believe that the soul went to *Jabma Aimo* when someone became ill. From this they conclude that the body wishes to follow it and dies. All the dead in *Jabma Aimo* are equally as powerful as they were in life and are given a new body in place of the one that has rotted in the ground.” (Ganander according to Sidenius)

§ 111

Aimo actually means state, ‘*status temporis et loci*⁶², *hinc, ævum tempestas, distantia, condito, vita*, etc. [‘state of time and place, [for example] on this side, eternity, point in time, weather, distance, station, life, etc.⁶³’] (cf. Lindahl and Öhrling, *Dictionary*).

Saiwo Aimo thus would mean ‘the world of the underground beings’; *Jabma Aimo*, ‘the world of the dead’, i.e., Hades; *Sarakka Aimo*, ‘*Sarakka*’s world’; *Mubben Aimo*, ‘the Devil’s world’, *Tjappes Aimo* ‘The Black world’, i.e., ‘the dark world’, etc.

The other world is also called *Tuonan ilme* from the Finnish *Tuonela* or perchance Finnish *Tuonela* comes from Lappish *Tuonan ilme*.

Endnotes

¹ See picture of the *noaide* drum on page 8 of this book.

² ‘Lappish (Sami) Dictionary.’

³ Læstadius often uses Latin words to clarify his text. They have been separately translated only when deemed necessary.

⁴ Risto Pulkkinen in a note to his Finnish translation of this book suggests ‘robbery’ and ‘rob’ as translations for *rån* and *råna*; this is an error based on accidental homophony [English translator’s note].

⁵ In Swedish *till henne*. Here we use female “she.”

⁶ The suffix “h” (occasionally “k”) denotes plural in Sami.

⁷ In original text *örkdag*. The old and now obsolete Swedish word for ‘workday, everyday’ is derived from the verb *yrka* or *örka* ‘to work; (>modern Swe. *yrke* ‘profession’).

⁸ No. 3.

⁹ *Barnemoder* means literally ‘childmother’; Læstadius found the word confusing. He suggests it could mean ‘midwife.’

¹⁰ ‘Man with dog-like face,’ Fi. *Koirankuonolainen*. About *Pädnak-Njunne*, see Part 4 §§ 2–3.

¹¹ Enemies according to Sami tradition, see Part 4 § 20.

¹² Læstadius refers to “writer” because the quote is from Leem’s Anonymous.

¹³ Original: “dörakäringa blåser ut ljuset.”

Fragments of Lappish Mythology: Part 1: Doctrine of Deities

* This statement does not seem to hold water. The bow, just like guns, were sacred objects which women were not allowed to touch. A custom of placing the bows by the door — in such a way that women could not avoid passing by them — does not seem to be compatible with Lappish views. Still today there are some who believe that a gun will be ruined if a woman happens to step over it.

¹⁴ The quote translated from Latin.

* There is of course the verb *nuollet* or *nuollat* ‘to let go’ but I have never heard it used in the sense Lindahl suggests.

¹⁵ Læstadius’s text toward the end of this paragraph becomes opaque. Ulla Lehtonen and Finnish translator Risto Pulkkinen believe the difficulty is due to the complex web of proniminal references across from one translated section to another (passages translated from Latin and Sami).

¹⁶ Tacitus referred with the term *Æster* to a tribe living on the south eastern shore of the Baltic Sea from which the current Lithuanians and Latvians are descendants.

¹⁷ Livonians are a small Baltic Finnic people that used to live in Latvia and Kurland. Today Livonian is spoken by only a few dozen. The language resembles Estonian.

¹⁸ Læstadius has interestingly enough included the Finnish word “*uros*.”

¹⁹ Læstadius writes *Backaren* or *Backgräfvaren*.

²⁰ The original says *Storfadrens båge*.

²¹ Page number missing in Læstadius’s text.

²² It was apparently raining and hiding the pitchy wood pieces under the coat prevented them from getting wet.

²³ Linnæus’s ‘Lappish plants book.’

²⁴ Refers to a buzzing or humming sound.

²⁵ Modern grammatical terminology predicative or predicate noun.

²⁶ *Ymer* or *Ymir* was the primeval Giant in early Scandianvian mythology. After he was killed, the universe was created from his body; cf. Ganander 1789, 26.

²⁷ *Junkkari* is a word that has not entered the English language; in quotations the Lappish words are used.

²⁸ Læstadius’s comment.

²⁹ Daljunkaren (d. 1528) was a rebel from Dalarna in Gustavus Vasa’s time who purported to be the son of Regent Sten Sture, the Younger (1452–1520).

³⁰ ‘Greyalderman’

³¹ The word means ‘hero’, ‘real man’, etc.

* *Atlantica*; the main literary work Olof Rudbeckius’s the Elder’s (1630–1702). He was the most recognized representative of the extremely nationalistic and often imaginative “Rudbeckian” writers of history.

³² ‘But others in other ways.’ Therefore, not the only explanation possible.

³³ An “ell” is about 2 feet or 60 cm.

³⁴ The original text: *utfriade sig (utfirade?) [med högtidskläder...] Utfirade* and the questionmark added in brackets by Læstadius.

³⁵ Lat.: ‘whether it please the gods.’ This represents a general prayer formula in the religion of ancient Rome; Högström probably used it in the ironic sense.

³⁶ Original text: *rd*. Cf. Læstadius’s criticism, § 70.

³⁷ Original: *Blåkulla båt*.

³⁸ Should be *siittää*.

³⁹ Comment and questionmark in brackets from Læstadius.

⁴⁰ Questionmark Læstadius’s.

- ⁴¹ Original text: *nerskiten*.
- ⁴² Names written differently.
- ⁴³ Original text: *Schack matta*. 'check mate.'
- ⁴⁴ *Trollsjöar*; the first part of the compound word, *troll-*, has been translated either 'magic' or 'noaide' in this book.
- ⁴⁵ Original text: *borsting eller Laxöring (Salmo Trutta L.)*
- ⁴⁶ The suffix *-h* represents plural.
- ⁴⁷ A relative of Lars Levi Læstadius's wife Brita Alstadius.
- ⁴⁸ *Bergtaget*; i.e., to have become "taken" by *maahiset (cadnihah)*, or enchanted into invisibility. (cf. §102)
- ⁴⁹ *Oknytt*, 'untied,' 'open,' 'opened' < modern Swedish *knyta*, 'to tie')
- ⁵⁰ Læstadius refrains from offering this explanation.
- ⁵¹ The abscess in a finger or toe, e.g. as a consequence of an infected wound.
- ⁵² Actually 'those living under (the earth)' sometimes translated as "underground."
- ⁵³ Could also be translated "noaide women" but that might be misleading; they are according to their own description some kind of goblins, as Læstadius actually calls them in § 104. He uses the term *håxa* when speaking about "noaide women" (§ 107).
- ⁵⁴ The play on words does not work (as well) in English. See note in text.
- ⁵⁵ Original text: "...åt åre." (i.e., next year).
- ⁵⁶ The portion within bracket missing in original text; added by conjecture.
- ⁵⁷ Original text: *Tryckaren*.
- ⁵⁸ Læstadius follows Ganander's practice. *Gripnis salar* would likely be *Grimners salar* or *Grimnis salar*, 'Grimner's halls.' *Grimner* was an epithet of *Odin* which was inflected variously in Old Norse. *Grimner's Halls* could in fact refer to the same as *Valhalla*.
- ⁵⁹ Lat.: 'the space of time and place.'

Fragments of Lappish Mythology

Part Two: Doctrine of Sacrifice

Reminder to the Reader

I now present the last parts of Lappish mythology for the reader's perusal. They are based primarily on the same sources as the preceding part. The author has selected from among them, striving to test the information and weed out whatever is likely to be faulty. How easy it is, under the sway of prejudice and fancy, to misunderstand the very simplest of accounts! Among other examples, this can be seen in one derivative writer, who recently gave an account of ancient and modern Lappish superstitions to the Stockholm Ministerial Society on the 31st of October, 1843. The writer, field pastor C.O. Gravallius, in his talk, "A Sketch of the Swedish Missionary Society's History," chose excerpts in the manner of Schefferus, which shows him to be more adept at conjuration than any who have written earlier of Lappish wizardry. He says, for instance (p. 25): "Although the *noaide* drum is now silent, nevertheless the divination drum still bangs here and there on the fells of Lapland." It would be nice to know just where it bangs! I myself was born in Lapland, grew up in Lapland, now live in Lapland, and have also traveled extensively around all the parishes of Lapland, and have not succeeded in seeing that remarkable drum¹, much less in hearing its sound. Twenty years ago, there was indeed talk that a certain Jockmock Lapp named *Unnats* had a *noaide* drum. I asked him if he still had it, but he said he had already given it away long ago. It is not possible for any Lapp nowadays to use a drum so secretly that other Lapps would not get an inkling of it and spread word of it. One traveler reported that a certain Lapp in the parish of Stensel recently had a drum, but it was common knowledge that it was merely a curiosity and not for actual use. To the extent that I know the Lapps, I believe that if one of them were to become known as a *noaide* drummer, the other Lapps would

scorn him as much as the new settlers. [Between the lines: Some settlers within the borders of Lapland have said as much in the same research paper.]

Earlier the same writer says (p. 26): "The Lapp still sacrifices in complete secrecy for the success and increase of his reindeer livestock." How does the writer know that? I, who live in Lapland, have never heard of any such sacrifice. Instead, the Lapp is commonly known to sacrifice to the church, which has already been mentioned in the previous book. Although all Lapps are baptized Christians, we are forced to be of the opinion that a pagan Christianity prevails in many places here.

This statement is more applicable to Stockholm itself, at least insofar as customs are concerned. Let anyone say what he wishes about Lappish paganism, certainly no writer can demonstrate so much corruption of manners among them as among the refined riffraff of Stockholm. This holds true even with regard to drunkenness: I can assure you that in a year a raw Mountain Lapp drinks less than half as much as a Swedish sailor. But in Stockholm it is no sin to get oneself drunk. Only the so-called friends of temperance labor fervently against the use of alcohol — but if one of these temperance enthusiasts happens to get drunk on port wine, he is not therefore condemned. He is not regarded as a worshipper of idols, although it says in the catechism that "their belly is their god."

In general — permit me to say it — as long as the Swedish riffraff still believes in its fairies, goblins, witches and other such, still seeks cures from its wise women, asks their fortunes of tea leaves, etc., let not our grandiloquent preachers flatter themselves with the delusion that only they and their listeners are enlightened by Christian doctrine, and that the Lapps wander in darkness and in crass servitude to idols. In Upland, particularly in the vicinity of the capital city, it is a common belief that all the children left at the Freemason Children's Home are slaughtered and salted as food for the *hundturks*.² No Mountain Lapp would be so simple as to believe such nonsense.

The esteemed and highly educated writer appears to have his own modern prejudices when, in writing a draft history of the Swedish Missionary Society, he is totally silent about the man who has been most active on behalf of that society and seems to have been its most effective agent, while others have reaped the glory. Perhaps the writer felt himself to be an honorable Lutheran in silencing the truth and leaving in darkness a man whose merits as regards the Swedish Missionary Society have been highly remarkable, but who, unfortunately, became the object of hatred and persecution by the inquisitorial ministers of Stockholm.³ I am not a close acquaintance of the writer and have had no dealings with him. However, distorting the truth, whether it be out of hatred, fear, or self-serving, bears poor witness to the truth and purity of the

matters he has been pursuing as current secretary of the Swedish Literary Society. His error-ridden presentation of Lappish sorcery is, in truth, forgivable, since he has no true knowledge of the general nature of the Lapps and their home customs.

Since the suspicion still prevails that the Lapps continue to be superstitious and to worship idols — when even learned men are not free of them — perhaps it is permissible to cite an excerpt from an article by the enlightened Norwegian Pastor Deinböll in *Budsticken* 5, 95-98, in which appear the results of research during those years. In it the author Rosenvinge, who served as judge of the Salten district, speaks of the Lapps' superstition and worship of idols in the same spirit as the field pastor Gravallius. The research, written up in the 1790s, appeared in the *Budsticken* periodical in 1824. In reference to Rosenvinge's research, Pastor Deinböll writes as follows: "What the writer here and on preceding pages presents regarding the superstition of the Lapps or the Norwegian *Finns* can at best be said only about the beggar Lapps, and not totally even about them. These wander around the area without any particular means of making a living, trying by every possible means to earn the bare necessities. The temptation is also to judge them too severely if they are viewed — as the writer seems to have done — only with regard to the situation in which many of them are met, in the marketplaces. There, sad to say, they are unable to control their inordinate thirst for hard liquor. But if one visits the Lapps in their own dwelling places and takes the trouble to inform oneself of their true nature, one will gradually find oneself forming a more favorable view of them and coming to acknowledge that they are a good-natured, peaceful, God-fearing, moral, and reasonable people who are content with little. On these grounds I [Deinböll] have come to know them as a people whose good qualities far outweigh the weaknesses, which one must admit they have. As a result of their natural intelligence and their capacity for learning, through better educational institutions and profitable books written in their own language, this people will in time achieve as high a level of education as the Finns, who are in many ways akin to the Lapps, already have. It cannot be true that the Lapps of Norrland who were the subject of Rosenvinge's research writings were as inclined to worship idols as the writer describes them to be. One after another, missionary preachers from many populated areas had already spread the Christian belief among those Norwegian Lapps. Nor can this be said of the Swedish Lapps who go with their reindeer from Lule and Tornio to the shores of Norway."

Pastor Deinböll then lists briefly the measures which the Swedish government, beginning with the time of Gustavus I, has embarked upon for the enlightenment of the Lapps. On that point, he writes accordingly: "It is thus

probable that by 1790 paganism had disappeared and Christianity generally spread among the Lapps." It seems that the writer of the previously described research [Rosenvinge] is mistaken in believing such accounts, which go far back into a lost antiquity. In my opinion, Pastor Deinböll's conception, unbiased and based upon many years of experience, is correct and plausible, rather than that involving the external, crude, and obvious worship of idols. The more refined worship of idols, I fear, is found in other places and not restricted to Lapland alone.

I will present my own ideas of the misconceptions and the superstitions the Lapps still have in their appropriate contexts. From these the reader may discover that this people, still so close to a grey paganism, lives less in superstition than the peasantry of more enlightened lands.

Endnotes

¹ Gravallius thus makes a distinction between the 'noaide drum' (*trolltrumma*) and the 'divination drum' (*spåtrumma*). Læstadius himself from now on uses as his favored term (also Tornæus's) *spåtrumma*. This is Læstadius's conscious choice, the motivation for which is to be found in this chapter's § 17 and the following chapter's (doctrine of divination) § 10. In this translation, however, we have kept the term *noaide* drum.

² See explanatory note 2 in § 4.

³ Læstadius may mean the representative of *herrnhuter* pietism, *Efraim Starea*, who founded the predecessor of the Swedish Missionary Society, *Svenska Missions-Sällskapet i Göthenborg* [Swedish Missionary Society of Göteborg] 1829, six years before the founding of the Missionary Society. Cf. Bengt Sundkler: *Svenska Missions-sällskapet 1835-1876*.

Fragments of Lappish Mythology

Part Two: Doctrine of Sacrifice

§ 1

Before the reader can understand Lappish sacrifice, he must necessarily visualize their way of life. In the preceding §§, I have mentioned that the Lapp's older habitations were shelters made of boughs; these Tacitus seems to have described using the term *nexus ramorum*. At that time, when there were no iron tools, bough shelters were perhaps the only kind of houses which the Lapps could succeed in building. Although the Lapps have a word for flint, nothing appears in their stories which would justify an assumption that their cutting tools were made of flint in ancient times. Nor are there deposits of flint in northern Sweden. However, it is possible that the Lapps had cutting tools made of other species of rock.

The type of bough dwelling which we have just discussed was covered either with moss, in which case it was called *tarfe kâätte* 'moss *kota*', or with sod, in which case it was called *laudnje kâätte* 'sod *kota*'. When the Lapps came in contact with the northward-pushing Germanic tribes, they obtained axes and other iron tools, it was not difficult to exchange the boughs for boards; then they got the name *laudekâätte* 'board *kota*'. The last mentioned was framed of thin logs, with a 4, 8, or mostly a 6-cornered bottom of two or three layers. Whether the structure itself was made of boughs or vertical poles or boards, it always preserved its original conical shape. To protect against rain and leaks, either brush, poles, or boards were placed on the outside, two or three layers of birch or spruce bark, with sod or moss as roofing. The place for the fire was marked off by an oval of stones placed in the center of the bottom or floor of the *kota*. From there the smoke rose up and out through a smoke opening in the very top of the *kota*. Around the fireplace on the floor were spread spruce, birch, pine, or dwarf birch boughs, and over them were laid reindeer hides.

During the days of the Tshudi and the Karelian raids the Lapps had to leave their dwellings and crawl into crevices in the earth, of which underground lodgings still to be found in Finnmark are a reminder. We are not told

why the Lapps had to leave their earlier dwellings during the era of the Tshudi and Karelian raids. It seems probable, however, that the enemy could spot their earlier dwellings from a distance, since they were above the surface of the earth; thus the Lapps had to dig themselves into the earth. From these pits in the earth there are still remains resembling cave-ins with a diameter of from approximately 4 to 6 feet. They were dug into large sandy hills, and since the smoke hole itself was at the surface of the ground and could be covered with sod, it was indeed difficult for the enemy to find the Lapp dwelling. The enemy could be standing very close and yet be entirely unaware of people living there. Their stories tell of one such hole in the ground being discovered when a Lappish wife shouted to the people in the nearest pit: 'Lend me a soup ladle!' It can be concluded from this that nearby pits were joined by underground passages. Apparently the entrance to such a pit was not close by, but some distance off in the slope of the hill; from this quarter it was much more difficult for the enemy to rush suddenly into the underground dwelling. With the exception of Högström, I have seen none of the old writers tell of these holes in the ground. The Lapps call them *ädnam kåätte* 'earth kota'.

§ 2

It is difficult to ascertain the time when the Lapps began to use tents and felt *kotas*. They seem finally to have realized that the holes in the ground afforded no security when the Karelians had become more cognizant of how they were made. Thus the Lapps judged a quick retreat to be a surer means of salvation, which may also have given them cause to move to the Mountain ridges and to the areas of the Arctic Sea shore, which were difficult to access for Karelians coming from Finland. Moving such a distance would have been impossible if they had been living in earthen pits. Schefferus, relying on Buræus and Olaus Magnus, relates that the Lapps used hide and pelts for their tents, and occasionally birch bark, which is probable, since the Lapps themselves were unable to weave any sort of cloth. Birch bark used for tents had first to be made soft and pliable by boiling (Schefferus p. 179). When the Lapps, by trading with neighboring peoples, were able to get wadmol, felt, and coarse linen, they began to use them as well for tents. Nowadays all the nomad Lapps use tents, while the fisher Lapps use a sod and board *kota*, except for those of Finnmark, who use the holes in the ground.

§ 3

§ 3

There were two doors in all the pictures of lodgings. First there was the ordinary secular door, which was so situated as to provide the widest possible field of vision; then there was the smaller secret door opposite the ordinary one. The part of the dwelling closest to the secret door was called the *påssjo*, which was bounded by two pieces of wood laid parallel. They were laid from the fireplace to the secret door so that they took up 6 to 8 square feet, or 1/6 of the entire *kota*. The secret door itself was called the *påssjo raike*. This *påssjo* was a sacred area, which no woman dared to approach, and the secret door itself was sacred. No woman dared go in and out by it. Only a man could crawl in or out through it on his way to a sacred activity, for example, going to or coming from a sacrifice or going to hunt or coming from hunting. All sacred objects such as *noaide* drums, hunting implements, game, all objects destined for sacrifice, etc. had to be brought in through this same secret door. There was much ado about this secret door among the first ministers in the Lappish regions once they had learned about the superstition connected with it. Gabriel Tuderus in particular was much worked up about it, calling it the devil's hole or '*Sanctum diabolorum*.' In many locations in Kemi Lappmark, he had the opening nailed shut, but the superstitious Lapps tore it open again. Everyone who has written about the Lapps tells of this secret door.

§ 4

It is not easy to explain what may have led the Lapps to this superstitious notion of the *påssjö*. Presumably they too needed to have in their lodging a *lararium*¹ or *sacellum*² like the Greeks or Romans for the sake of home worship. A hole or opening down in the bottom of the dwelling is actually necessary because of the smoke, which would remain inside without it. Even nowadays it is necessary to open the *påssjo raige*, the draft hole, when smoke builds up inside. Tuderus translates *påssjo raige* with the word 'reindeer opening' (*poroaukko*). He is most likely wrong in this, for it is difficult to derive the word *påssjo* from the word *pååtsoi* which means *poro*' (*Rangifer*). Rather the word may come from the drawling pronunciation of the word *påssso* meaning 'blower' or 'blowing', the present participle of which is *påssot*. In Lindahl and Öhrling's Lappish Dictionary *Påssjo-akka*, i.e., *Påssjon eukko*, is the goddess of the *Påssjo* or the draft opening, just as *Uks-akka* [Finnish *Ovieukko*] is the goddess of the ordinary or profane door. As only a draft opening this *påssjo raige* would not need to have been large enough for

that everything the woman touched was unclean. Thus that which was sacred should not be conveyed along a path polluted by woman. A woman was regarded as unfit to touch everything the Lapps held sacred, his hunting gear, etc. because of her contagious uncleanness. She could not come near the *påssjo* nor approach it outside the *kota*, for in so doing she would have desecrated the path leading to the sacrificial platform.

Some Lappish women still observe this custom by not circling the *påssjo* on the outside, actually observed unconsciously more as an old custom than out of superstition. Nowadays the Lapps customarily keep their mattresses and dishes in the *påssjo*, since it is the most fitting place for such stuff.

§ 5

Some distance from the *påssjo* space, about some fathoms⁴ from the *kota*, the Lapps had their altar or sacrificial platform, which Högström has described best, but which Schefferus and Leem also mention (the construction of this platform has already been dealt with in § 59 of the preceding part). In Lappish, the word is *luowe*. Living on the treeless fells, they were unable to build sacrificial platforms of wood. In its place they had an inaccessible rock or crag which was protected from dogs and wild animals. This is probably why both Norwegian and Swedish writers mention so many sacrificial places. Lapps who lived in the forest were able to build their sacrificial platforms almost anywhere, but on the treeless fells, they had to choose a location suitable for their purposes. Since they could not change it from year to year, it became more permanent, and thus more esteemed and traditional.

Antlers, bones, etc. were sacrificed, according to what the deity to whom they sacrificed was believed to want. Schefferus had a picture of such a sacrificial platform (p. 105). It looks like an ordinary sauna bench set up on four poles. On the platform is an image of Thor or the god of thunder, the stump of a tree with the thickest part turned upward. On the same platform can be seen reindeer antlers and a dish with food sacrificed to the idol. A Lappish man is depicted as kneeling in worship before the platform. Leaf trees etc. grow around the platform. Högström (ch. 11 § 17) mentions that the image of the god was most often set on the ground beside the platform. He also says that when sacrificing, the Lapps decorated the platform with spruce or birch-bark twigs; the trees around the platform were also trimmed of their limbs. I have already mentioned in the previous part (§ 57) how the Lapps got the idea for the construction of the sacrificial platform; that is, to guard the sacrificial offerings from dogs and other carnivorous animals.

§ 6

Jessen calls the image of the god or the tree stump representing the god the *väärro muor*, 'sacrifice tree' (p. 47): "They took a roughly four-foot birch stump about two feet wide and shaped it to approximately the same shape as the god on the drum." "*Väärro-muor* was in the shape of the god to whom the sacrifice was intended. This was said to be so that each god would identify his sacrifice." The Lapps prepared such an image for every sacrificial ceremony whenever they were far away from their regular images of the gods. (For more on the subject, see the preceding part, § 32.) Probably only the provisional idols were given the name of *väärro-muor*, but not the original or permanent ones, which had their own places and areas. These were allowed to stand untouched so long as they could resist the teeth of time. According to Samuel Rhen's information, these permanent idols were called *muorra-jubmel*, if they were of wood, and *kiedke-jubmel* if they were of stone. — Two birch branches were placed on either side of the *Väärro muor*; the tops of the branches were tied together, and they were called *kieldemuor*. (Jessen p. 47). *Kieldemuor*, the form used by the writer [Jessen], would mean 'forbidden tree,' in the Finnmark dialect, probably in the sense that a person without a function was forbidden to touch it. — On the other hand, written with a *j* [*kjeldemuor*], it could mean the whole area's sacrificial tree. It is hard for me to decide which is correct, since the writer did not reveal the word's meaning. "The *Väärro muor* was cut so that root end of the tree could represent the head and the other part the torso. This tree was set up in connection with all sacrifices to *Zarakka*, *Saiwo* and *Jabmeke* so that the root end was usually above and the trunk below." (Jessen p. 48.) "When sacrificing to *Radien attje* or *Radien kiedde*, the trunk was above and the root end below."

§ 7

Schefferus, Högström and Tornæus know nothing further of the *väärro muor*, so that it is uncertain if the Lapps of Lule-Tornio knew the idol under discussion by that name. Tuderus tells of a sacrificial tree which the Kemi Lapps had near the stone god *Zeite*. It resembles the keel of a ship, and was called *Hyden venet*, which, according to Tuderus's translation, is *Blåkulla båt*. *Hyden* or *Hiiden venet* is Finnish and really means the boat of *Hiisi*. I think it likely that Finnish farmers out of ill will have given the aforementioned boat keel that name. Tuderus, you see, observes almost immediately afterwards that the tree was also called *lista murit*, which, given the writer's inadequate

knowledge of the language, is likely to be an error in transcription; it should more likely be read as *liitte muorah*. Leem's comment (p. 428) confirms this as the proper reading: "Rods which were moistened with the blood of sacrifices were called *liet-muorah*."

This *liet muorah*, or more properly, *liitte muorah*, cannot possibly mean 'boat of *Hiisi*,' but can be better translated as the 'tree of atonement' or 'tree of unification,' *coagmentum, connexis, commissura, iunctura*⁵, according to Renvall's dictionary. From this the Lapps have borrowed the word *liittet*, 'to join together,' a word which is in use only in the Kemi and Tornio Lappmarks, as well as in Finnmark, unless *liktet* 'to reconcile, atone' is the same word, although I assume that this word — which is in use only in the southern-most Lappmarks — is a barbarism borrowed from Swedish (from the word *förlika*, which also means 'to reconcile'). Whatever the case may be, the tree Tuderus mentions cannot possibly represent any *Blåkulla*'s (Hell's) boat. Högström indeed mentions that the Lapps of Gällivare and Jockmock sacrificed little boats or ships to the lord of Christmas by hanging the boats up in trees during the season. But he also observes that this custom was probably borrowed from the ships of Catholic times that one still sees here and there in Swedish churches. Furthermore the lord of Christmas himself is a borrowed concept among the Lapps. Tuderus has arrived at the explanation that *Listamurit* means 'tree of trust,' but the words themselves provide no basis for this. Whether the Finnish word *lista* is written with one or two vowels *i*, it still means nothing more than 'cornice' or 'wooden slats.'

§ 8

"The Lapps' usual sacrificial time was in the fall when they had slaughtered *kitan åssen*. Otherwise they sacrificed as the drum directed and decided." (Jessen p. 45). *Kitan åsse*, 'spring's portion,' here means the meat which the Lapp saves until the spring. That is, the Lappish custom was to slaughter a whole bunch of ungelded bucks in the fall before they began to lose weight in the rutting season. The meat which they cannot then enjoy they bury in the ground or keep in a storehouse for the spring, since reindeer are lean in the spring and unfit for slaughter. But it often happens that a lynx visits the Lapp's food supply at that time and destroys everything. Thus he has reason to seek to pacify his god with sacrifices when in the fall he slaughters the aforementioned buck reindeer for his spring food. Högström also says (Ch. 11 § 17) that this regular sacrifice was carried out in the fall during Autumn Matthew. Schefferus, supported by Samuel Rhen, with an addition from the

Lapp *Spirri Nils*, testifies that on this occasion the Lapps prepared a new wooden idol for themselves: "Fourteen days before Michaelmas they chop out a new wooden idol for themselves." This means that they made for themselves a new sacrificial tree described above. The regular Autumn Matthew does not prevent the repetition of the same sacrificial celebration. This may happen during *Pasatis mans* (November). Gelded buck reindeer and does which have been barren that year have the best meat at that time of the year and so they are slaughtered for winter food before there is time for them to grow thin. Then another slaughter celebration is naturally called for, and as a consequence, a new sacrificial observance *passen*, that is, in honor of the holy day. That is where November got its name: *pasatis mans*.

§ 9

"In the sacrificial circumstances, this procedure was followed. When the *noaide* had determined with the aid of the drum, to what god the sacrifice would be directed, and which animal this god demanded, the sacrificial animal was distinguished from the herd by marking its right ear. The animal marked for sacrifice had to be completely flawless." (Jessen p. 50). The writer speaks of the sacrifice in general terms and does not explain what kind of mark was made on the sacrificial animal's ear. Schefferus, following Samuel Rhen, writes that a white, red, or black thread was affixed to the animal's ear always according to the characteristics of the god to which the animal was dedicated. Rhen has also related how they sought to determine whether or not the idol desired the sacrifice. A swatch of hair was plucked from one side of the reindeer's neck and fastened to a bunch of rings on the drum. Gravallius says that the hairs were attached to the rings with the juice of certain herbs, but Rhen does not explain how they were fastened. Gravallius goes on to say: "It was considered a good omen if the hairs shook free when the drum vibrated and the rings shook, and stopped on the image of some god nearby."

But the matter cannot be understood in that way, for Rhen, whom Schefferus cites (p. 118), says specifically that it was considered to be a sign of the idol's willingness if the ring to which the hairs were attached settled on some idol's mark on the drumhead and did not shift from it until that idol had been promised a sacrifice. It is evident from all of Rhen's information that he studied all matters carefully before he wrote down his accounts. Thus if Gravallius has followed some older writer than Schefferus, he has been led astray by wrong information from less trustworthy writers.

§ 10

After these preparations, the “bleeder⁶ had to fast and bathe every part of his body so as to be ready for the sacrifice. When the day dawned for the sacrifice, the bleeder, the man who offers the sacrifice, and the invited guests set out for the site of the sacrifice. The bleeder was wearing his best clothes, and had a brass chain around his right hand. He also had a sash, which ran from his left shoulder to his right hip in the fashion of knightly orders.” (Jessen p. 50). “The Lapp who was to perform the sacrifice wore a kind of white scarf which ran over his shoulders and thence around his head and he carried a wreath of flowers. A similar wreath was wound around the sacrificial animal.” (Leem p. 445). Swedish writers do not indicate how the Lapps were dressed for the sacrifice. Only Tornæus (p. 15) mentions that Lapps were decked out in their finest clothing for such events. It is no longer possible to determine what each of the sacrificer’s special adornments signified, since the writers have given no explanations of them. Jessen (p. 52) says only: “When the sacrificer was asked why he was adorned with so many rings and chains, he answered that it was a sign of his readiness and his humility toward the gods.” Högström mentions another precaution which the sacrificer had to observe when going to a sacrifice (Ch 11 § 21): “When a Mountain Lapp goes to sacrifice, he must tie up his dog. If a dog gets loose and treads on the sacrificer’s footsteps, beasts of prey will immediately attack his reindeer. If there are no beasts of prey nearby, his dogs will take their place and bite, drive, and kill his livestock.”

§ 11

“An initial precaution for the sacrifice was that no woman could have anything to do with it. Only the *noaide* was allowed to perform it.” (Jessen p. 46.) “No one of the feminine sex was permitted to sacrifice.” (Samuel Rhen, in Schefferus p. 109). “A woman could not tread on a man’s footsteps when he was on the way to a sacrifice.” (Högström, Ch. 11 § 20). A woman could not come near what was sacred nor to the sanctified place, nor could she circle it. If a woman coming from the fell had passed the image of the idol on the right, on the return trip she had to pass it on the same side, even if that required a detour of ten leagues. Otherwise both her health and her life would be in danger.” (Högström, Ch. 11). “Women do not dare look at them (*passe vareh*), but cover their faces. A man should not go to the *passe vare* with an

article of women's clothing with him." (Leem p. 443). Cf. Part 1 § 62 and the addition to it.

Note. Although a woman, as unclean, could not take part in the men's sacrifice, she could sacrifice to her own feminine deities, as will be shown below.

§ 12

At the place of sacrifice the sacrificial animal (if it was a reindeer) was stabbed with a sharp knife either into the heart (Samuel Rhen, in Schefferus p. 112) or into the neck in such a way that it fell and died in a few minutes. (Jessen p. 51). Both ways of killing a reindeer are still in use. The reindeer does not emit a sound when it is killed. However, if the reindeer does on occasion make a sound just at the moment when the Lapp delivers the death thrust, this is considered a good omen. Then the Lapp says, *roukati vuorbew*, 'he grunted good fortune.' A reindeer's grunt is almost like a pig's.

"When the sacrificial animal had been killed, it was skinned and the internal organs removed. (The blood nearest the heart was taken into a dish so that the idol's image could be daubed with it. (Samuel Rhen, Schefferus p. 112)). The dismembered animal was put into the sacrificial pot and cooked. When the pot had boiled for a half hour, the *tamen kaarre* (see below) was prepared while the rest of the meat was still cooking. When the meal was ready, all the guests of the sacrifice fell to their knees and blessed the meal. They also asked the god to whom the sacrifice was dedicated to receive the sacrifice favorably and be of help in the matter in which his help had been requested." (Jessen)

N.B. Norwegian writers do not tell from where the blood with which the idol was daubed was taken. Samuel Rhen observes — with absolute correctness, I believe — that it had to be blood from nearest the heart. When the reindeer is stabbed in the heart, most of the blood accumulates in the chest cavity. When the reindeer's chest is opened, it is still the custom to take the finest blood that flows from it separately for the making of blood sausage and other foods. This blood does not congeal easily; when cooked it changes to a very fine fibrous mass. This skill is totally unknown to butchers and women street vendors, since in the whipping stage they mix the finer blood with the coarser and it cannot be easily separated later. Thus among other peoples one cannot get as delicious blood sausage to eat as among the Lapps. Their sausages resemble more of a finely-fibered meat than clotted blood. This so-called heart's blood is called *suolle* in Lappish and the sausage made from it is called *suolle-marfe*, i.e., 'sausage made from fine blood.' (See Petrus

Læstadius's *Journal*, Part 2, p. 35). The sacrificer of finer blood stirred the dish so that the god's images and the articles associated with them could be daubed with it.

§ 13

"Then the bleeder took the meat and said: *taat lä N. N. pjergo* ('this is N. N.'s meat), after which the guests did the same. When the guests had eaten the front quarters of the sacrificed animal, the hind quarters were sent home for use there. Then the bleeder and the guests took a gulp of the meat soup and said: *taat lä N. N. kare* ('this is N. N.'s drink'). After the meal they fell on their knees again and asked that the god to whom the sacrifice had been intended be merciful to them and not scorn their sacrifice." (Jessen p. 52).

N.B. The writer tells here of a ceremonial sacrifice, which happened under known conditions and where guests were in attendance. Samuel Rhen also writes of them (Schefferus p. 114.): "On some sacrificial hills they sacrifice live reindeer, which they slaughter there, at the same time offering a sacrificial meal to their friends. They cook and enjoy the meat, and call this the *Storjunkare* feast. They eat especially the meat from the area of the neck and the head. The hide they leave at the said sacrificial hill for a few years." This is mainly the same information that Jessen provides. None of these writers is able to tell us under what circumstances and in what deity's honor these sacrificial feasts were organized. Rhen tells us that it was called the "*Storjunkare* feast", and it seems as if the Lapps general sacrificial observance in Luleå was held in honor of *Storjunkare*, whether it was held at the time of Autumn Matthew, as Spirri Nils and Högström have told us, or on the 14th day before Michaelmas. I, at least, am completely unable to explain why the Lapps at said sacrificial feast ate only the front quarters of the reindeer, and not the rear quarters. Nor do I believe that any of the Lapps know why, since the entire sacrificial ceremony has now sunk into oblivion.

§ 14

"When the sacrificial animal had been slaughtered and cut up, the bleeder had to separate the nose, the eyes, the ears, the brains, the lungs and a bit of meat from every limb. The genitalia which differentiate the sexes could not be neglected, if the sacrificial animal was a male. When all the rest was cooked and the guests had enjoyed it, the performer of the sacrifice or the bleeder

gathered up all the bones and arranged them in a natural order, then put them into a kind of birch-bark coffin. Into the same coffin were also put the parts which had earlier been set aside (and pieces of meat from all the limbs). Then the sacrificer dripped and brushed the coffin and its contents with blood that had been set aside. Finally everything was buried ceremoniously in the earth under the image of the idol to which the sacrifice belonged. Only then was the sacrifice considered complete. This bone dish was called *tamen-kaarre* 'paste goblet'." (Jessen p. 47). "At the same ceremony, the image of the idol was anointed with blood. Different kinds of crosses were painted on it, but the eyes were marked with the blood of the sacrificed animal." (Jessen p. 47). When the sacrificer was asked why all the bones were gathered up and settled so carefully in the *tamen-kaarre*, he said it was done so that the god to whom the sacrifice was addressed would revive the animal sacrificed to him in *saiwo* — but in a more ideal form than that in which he had lived as an animal. The *saiwo* animals, which some claimed to have seen, were believed to be exactly those kinds which had been sacrificed to the gods." (Jessen p. 52).

Swedish writers have not arrived at a clear understanding of *tamen-kaarre* and its meaning. Schefferus points to Spirri Nils's words (p. 111): "They slaughter their reindeer near the tree god. Then they take all the bones of the reindeer and they anoint the idol all over with blood and reindeer fat and then bury it in the earth with the bones." These words Schefferus translates into Latin as thus: *Prepe Idolum ligneum mactant rengiferum e quo exenta omnia legunt ossa: tum senvine adipeque simul ejus totum inungunt Idolum, postremo Rangiferum uno Com ossibus defodiunt in terra.* ['They sacrifice the reindeer near the wooden idol and gather up all the bones taken from it; then they anoint the whole image of the idol with the reindeer's blood and fat. Finally they bury the reindeer bones and all in the earth']. Högström (Ch. 11 § 22) has corrected Schefferus's faulty translation indicating that Spirri Nils did not mean that they had not buried the sacrificed reindeer but the idol's image along with the reindeer's bones. Nevertheless Högström is of the opinion that this happens only with sacrifices to gods of the nether world. Samuel Rhen also relates (Schefferus p. 118): "They gather up all the bones and make a coffin, in which they bury the bones in the ground." Schefferus seems to understand that this happens only with reindeer sacrificed to the dead. However, the significance of burying the reindeer's bones is likely to be just as Jessen suggested, whether the sacrifice was meant for gods upon or under the earth. Högström says (Ch. 11): "I have found all kinds of images, made in the shape of reindeer as well as many other kinds of sacrifices dug into the earth and covered over. I have also seen them buried only in snow and covered with twigs and trees. It seems as if such sacrifices were dedicated to those

who govern under the earth just as they bury some and correspondingly hang in trees those whose realm of reign is on the earth and in the air.”

§ 15

What has been said is probably sufficient regarding the Lappish sacrifices in general. We can now get down to details which must be taken into consideration in differing situations.

It has already been mentioned that the Lapp had to crawl in and out through the back door on his way to and from a sacrifice, as all the writers have known and written. Högström adds one more thing that the others do not mention: “Another thing I remember having heard in connection with sacrifice: when a Lapp is on the way to or from a sacrifice, he cannot even speak.” (Ch. 11 § 22). It is uncertain whether this rule applied at all times and under all circumstances, or was observed only when the Lapp was sacrificing alone, without a guests. Brushing the idol’s image with blood and fat was the practice in all sacrificial situations, and all the writers tell of it. The practice of impaling a piece of meat on a willow switch and hanging it near the image of the idol was probably not observed in all sacrificial situations. It belongs to individual details, which will be dealt with in their own contexts. — Let us now mention briefly the sacrifices dedicated especially to each deity, observing the same organization as in Part 1.

§ 16

Different writers describe the *noaide* drum in slightly different ways. The drum may perhaps have been made in slightly different ways in different parts of Lapland, but the basic form was probably much the same in all Lappish areas. Leem (p. 446) says that “the *noaide* drum had to be made of wood that the sun had never shone on.” Samuel Rhen (Schefferus p. 123) adds: “The Lapp’s drum is made of either spruce, pine, or birch. In any event, the tree from which the drum was made should have grown in a secluded place clockwise and not counter-clockwise.” That means that the tree which provided the material for the drum could not be twisted in a counter-clockwise direction. Undoubtedly a twisted or curly wood was sought for the drum, or some other growth that was tough and would not crumble easily. Perhaps it is just for that reason that the *noaide* drum has gotten the Lappish name of *kåbdes* from the word *kåppe*, ‘hollowed out,’ *excavatum quid* (‘something which

is hollowed or carved out'), since the bowl-shaped drum must be hollowed out on one side and made convex on the outside, if it doesn't happen to have that shape naturally. Tornæus is the first to have confused the Finnish word *kannus* with the proper Lappish name *kåbdes*. That is why Schefferus and others who followed him have believed that the Lapps called their sorcerer's drum *kannus*. Since *kannus* does not appear even in the central or southernmost of the Lappmarks, but *kåbdes* everywhere in Lapland, it is clear that *kannus* is Finnish. The etymology of the word, however, is difficult to explain. Therefore, *kannus* appears in Renvall's Finnish dictionary just as *kåbdes* is in Lindahl and Öhrling's Lappish dictionary.

§ 17

The *noaide* drum, as has been said, is bowl-shaped and had an egg-shaped or sometimes round rim. On the outer side of the bowl were carved a few triangles, squares, rhombi, or other figures. Lower down on the outside was carved out a shaped hand-grip by which the drum was held firmly in one hand. On the outside of some drums⁷ were carved oval openings which did not go through the drum but were so carved so that straps or perhaps brass rings or other tinklers could be attached to them. This was most likely their purpose, and not that of permitting the passage of sound. Gravallius says, in the passage cited (p. 18): "The regular *noaide* drum differed somewhat in shape from this so-called divination drum. It was smaller than the other and there were six openings in its side, which when temporarily closed gave rise to sounds like those of various ghosts⁸, of owls, and other such singers of the night." This information is totally wrong, for as we look at the place from which Gravallius has derived this poetic embellishment, we find something quite different. They are probably Wormius's words, which Schefferus has repeated in his book, and which Gravallius has translated completely wrong, changing their meaning. Wormius writes: *Tympanum Lapponicum, quod ad* modulus pulsato varia explorant, et magican hiam** (excercent, ex ligno Constant ovali excavato, pedali longitudine, decem unciarum latitudine, cui sex insculpta foramina, et manubrium quo commode sinistra teneri possit, dum dextra pulsatur. ['The Lappish drum, which they beat rhythmically to clarify different things and to practice their *noaide*'s tricks, is carved from wood. It is oval in shape, a foot long⁹ and ten inches wide, and has six carved openings and a hand-grip, which can be held conveniently in the left hand while they beat with the right.'])

This description of the Lappish *noaide* drum is as simple and easy to understand as one might expect from an investigator as keen as Wormius. He thus describes five (externally) carved openings. He would not have used the word *insculpta* but rather *perforata* if he had observed that the holes bored into the drum were visible on the inside of the bowl. But since these six perforations were carved only into the outside surfaces, he could not have chosen a better word than *insculpta*. Thus they were not holes made through the bowl of the drum, which when closed or opened could give off "sounds like those of various ghosts⁸, of owls, and other such singers of the night." The holes were merely carved into the exterior of the drum like eyelets onto which something could be fastened. I can find nothing in Wormius's words on which to base an assumption that the Lapps made a distinction between the 'divination drum' and the '*noaide* drum.' The same drum was used in divination as in sorcery, although the shape and size of the drum in different Lappish areas does vary. Leem (p. 466) observes that the Lapps of Finnmark used the lids of casks and painted bowls in the place of drums. Tornæus says of the Kemi Lapps that 'they have given away such large and broad drums that they could not take them away; they did not fit into the *ackia* (Lappish sled), but had to be burned on the site.

§ 18

When this bowl-shaped wooden device had been finished in this fashion and the designs, apertures, and other distinctive features placed on its convex surface, a chamoised reindeer hide was stretched over the carved part up to the edges. The hide was tacked onto the outside under the very edge of the bowl, not with tacks but with wooden pegs; it could also be stitched on with thread made from reindeer tendons, in this case the thread was drawn through the holes which had probably been bored around the edges of the bowl with a thin awl. (Schefferus p. 124). The writer Schefferus asserts so, saying he himself has seen some drums fastened with wooden pegs, others with reindeer tendons. Since he has had the opportunity to carefully check and compare several *noaide* drums, there is no reason to doubt this information. The fabric of the drum must naturally have been very tightly-stretched and springy, so that it would perform in the desired way. Olaus Petri (Niurenus) has related (Schefferus p. 134) that the Lapp heated the drumhead by the fire before use in order to make it more springy. No writer has told us whether the hide tanned or was merely chamoised. It was probably only white and smooth on the upper surface.

§ 19

With coloring made by boiling alder bark, all kinds of figures were painted on the tightly stretched drumhead, which varied, however, in different Lappish areas. Samuel Rhen gives the following description regarding the Lule Lapps: "They draw one or two lines on the center of the drum, on which they draw the idols they serve the most. First there is *Thor* with his retinue and then there is *Storjunkare* with his; these stand on the first line. Below that is a line drawn halfway. On it are drawn Christ and some of his apostles. Above these lines are drawn birds and some of the celestial bodies, such as the moon and stars. Close below these lines is drawn first the sun as the central planet; on him they put a large bunch of brass rings whenever they want to use the drum. Underneath these lines are drawn all kinds of the world's animals: bears, wolves, reindeer, otters, foxes, snakes, and then lakes and rivers as pictures show them." The writer also has two pictures of drums with their accessories. Judging from the designs on the drums, Lapps do not appear to have been master sketchers.

§ 20

Tornæus describes a Tornio Lappish *noaide* drum as follows: "Perhaps as with Apollo's prophecies, the devil did not have the power to give clear answers. For this purpose the devil created another instrument, which they themselves call the *quoubdas* and *kannus*, that is, the Lappish drum, more properly the *noaide* drum. It is made of wood, is oval in shape, and covered with a chamoised reindeer calf's skin. All kinds of figures are painted on its top with red alder-bark color. First it is divided into three areas by lines drawn upon it: at the south end is Norrland and below it the Tornio Valley. There is a church, a minister, an overseer and others, who are traveling in Norrland; then there is a straight road to Tornio. With the aid of these they see and divine what is happening there, how long it will be until some priest or overseer or some other person of stature is sent to them. They say they are not malefactors since they never do anything bad and do not predict bad things.¹⁰ On the north side are painted Norway and the places and things that belong there. In the center is Lapland, which as a larger area is given more room on the drum. All kinds of animals one sees in Lapland are painted there: [they answer such questions as] Where are the herds of wild reindeer traveling? Where is the lost tame reindeer? Will the reindeer calves survive? Then there are wolves, bears, foxes and all kinds of wild animals; [as well as] good fishing spots and places to drag a net. A sick person is painted there: Will he

get well? Is the woman lying in childbed going to succeed in giving birth? Death: Will this or that person or the one lying in sickbed die, etc.”

From this description one can see that everything a Lapp needed was painted on the drumhead, but in such rough sketches that only a Lapp could know what each picture meant. The writer does not mention if any idol or ‘*Viro*’s wife’ was painted on the drum, but these deities’ pictures could scarcely have been lacking there, although the writer did not explain the matter very clearly. On the Lule Lapps’ *noaide* drum, only their deity is pictured, as one can see from the figure.

§ 21

Leem describes the *noaide* drum which comes from Finnmark in the following way: “A drum which resembles a bowl has been found in Finnmark, the bottom of which has two oval openings cut into it. To either end was tied a fox’s ear, muzzle, and claw.’ From this I conclude the meaning of the holes cut in the sides of the drum: they were made so that one could hang different kinds of markers such as bear’s teeth, ears, claws, etc. ‘From the drum itself there hung by a tendon the claws and bones of different animals such as goats.”¹¹ (Olaus Petri, Schefferus p. 136). The writer seems to speculate that bones were hung on the outside of the *noaide* drum; I think, however, that they were teeth, perhaps even bear’s teeth, which can still be seen hanging as adornments on Lapp pouches and belts. Continuing, Leem says: “The drum-head itself was painted with an alder-bark concoction, and was divided into five sections by lines or strokes, each section having its own sketches. In the first was a man called *Ilmaris*, which means storm or violent weather.” (N.B. *Ilmaris* is a loan word from the Finns, whose weather god was *Ilmarinen*.) Next there was a manlike figure, *Tiermes*, which means *Tordön* (actually ‘Hill Being’ or ‘Hill Maker’). He could bring mild or nice weather. Third was the figure of an animal known as *kådde* (wild deer). On another section of the drumhead was a circle with a line on it. This figure was called *Peiwe* ‘Sun’; it was the sign of good weather. Next there was the figure of a person, *Ihmel-Pardne*, ‘God’s Son’, who could save one from sin (a borrowing). Third was *Ihmel-Attje*, ‘God the Father’ (imitated). Fourth was a church and fifth was a human figure, which was called *Engil*, or Holy Spirit (loan). With every human figure there was drawn a staff, *junkar sabbbe* (junker’s staff). In the third section there appeared first a human figure called Mary’s sister. Next there was a female figure called *Maria Ihmel Edne* (‘Mary Mother of God’), who was expected to help in childbirth. Third were three figures, which were

called *Joulo Peive Herrah* ('Lords of Christmas'). In the fourth section was a circle representing the moon. It was asked to help in getting clear nights. Second was a *manneulmuk*, 'traveler,' third was the picture of a church and fourth the figure of a man standing near the church. In the fifth section was a woman's figure, meant to indicate the Devil's wife in bonds. Second was a man's figure, the Devil, who represents illness. Third was another man's figure hovering in the air representing the Devil, and fourth, a picture resembling III (=Roman numeral 3), which was supposed to mean hellfire. [Fifth] a circular figure which was called *Helvet-tarve-keune* ('hell's tar pot'). Sixth was a rectangular figure, which represented hell itself. All of these figures on the *noaide* drum, or most of them, are later additions borrowed from Christian belief.

§ 22

For the purpose of drumming the Lapp had a drumstick made of reindeer bone, which Schefferus and other Swedes have called a hammer. According to Leem's information, the proper name in Lappish is *ballem*. Schefferus does indeed believe that the Lapps called the drumstick a hammer, but the question is probably one of his or his informant's being misled by the external appearance of the drumstick, which resembles a hammer. Swedish writers say it resembled a Latin 'T' — as Tornæus says — it had *forma tau*.¹² Schefferus has a picture of the drumstick (p. 125). It was made of reindeer horn, apparently from a wild deer. It is perhaps from over the forehead. Both the hammer part and the handle were in the same shape as the horn when it grew on the reindeer's forehead. Wormius says the drumstick was some six inches in length. At the end of the drumstick was a hole or an eye, to which rings or other tinklers were attached, as one can see in the aforementioned picture. With this drumstick, the Lapp beat his drum.

§ 23

The most important item among all these paraphernalia was a triangular, sometimes rectangular or round, piece of brass or copper with small holes at the edge or corners into which were fastened a whole heap of brass, copper, or silver rings. This device lay loose on the drumhead when the Lapp struck the drum; the omens were interpreted according to the way the piece with its rings moved slowly over the painted figures on the drum. Olaus Magnus and

many writers after him have called the piece with its bunches of rings *rana aerea*¹³ probably because the rectangular piece with its four bunches of rings resembled a frog. Its name, however, indicates that the Lapps themselves did not have a frog in mind, when they set the piece on the drumhead. Tornæus says that they called it *arpa* in Tornio Lappmark. This word is Finnish, and it means Swe. *lott* "lottery ticket", for which reason the same writer translates it into Latin *index*,¹⁴ by no means a poor translation in my opinion. Jessen calls the device *veiko*, probably on the basis of the information he received from missionary preachers' manuscripts. *Veiko* is Lappish and means 'something made of brass,' inasmuch as it is not kin to the Finnish word *veikko*, which means *vad* ['appeal'¹⁵] (*sponsis*). Lexicographers Lindahl and Öhrling observe that brass was then of greater esteem among the Lapps than gold or silver when it was a question involving their superstition, such as rings used as amulets etc. The Lapps apparently believed that brass was a metal which could oppose curses, charms, and the influence of evil spirits. Thus brass rings were used on the *noaide* drum as if they were magic wands. Although Tornæus says that the '*arpa*' was all kinds of iron, copper, brass, and silver links *in formae ranae reptantis* ['in the form of a crawling frog'], the rings were mainly brass, as Samuel Rhen attests. Schefferus also says he has seen one piece to which the rings are attached made of bone. It was triangular in shape, like the Greek capital letter *delta*." (This apparently was the oldest practice, when the Lapps did not yet have metal.) Norwegian writers call the aforementioned Finnish *arpa ringen* ['the ring']. Perhaps some Norwegian Lapps used only one ring instead of many.

§ 24

Olaus Magnus has imagined that the *arpa* or the already oft-mentioned copper piece with its rings represented a frog or a snake. Schefferus, however, had already corrected this misconception. (p. 124):

(Translated from Swedish translated from Latin): "Olaus Magnus had mistakenly used the word 'anvil' for something which cannot mean anything but 'drum', when he — Book III, chapter 17 — says: 'with the kind of hammer blows previously described, he got the copper frog or snake to hop on the anvil.' Ignorant of the subject, Olaus Magnus's illustrator has drawn two vignettes of an anvil, on it a leaping frog or snake, and a hammer. This does not go well with the nature of the subject; it makes no sense at all. The Lapps do not use an anvil but a drum, etc."

It is, therefore, inconceivable how Gravallius, in his speech to the Swedish Missionary Society, could repeat the same false information in describing the Lapps' *noaide* practice (p. 19): "Faraway events were divined as follows: The *noaide* went with his client and a couple of his assistants to some secluded place. There he set the copper frog or snake on a rock, and struck it hearty blows at a certain tempo with a hammer he had with him." Where Olaus Magnus has 'anvil' Gravallius has 'rock,' but neither Magnus nor Gravallius has taken the trouble to study Lappish *noaide* practices. They seem to be amused to concoct stories on their own where full information is lacking and then give them a fairy-tale gloss. There is some degree of certainty that the Lapps have never put any copper frog or snake on a rock or anvil, but the 'anvil' in use was precisely the drum, which Schefferus very correctly observes. The copper frog or copper snake was the piece with its rings which danced on the drumhead as the Lapp struck it with the drumstick. A Lapp could never have imagined that his '*arpa*' represented a frog or a snake. Rather, the *arpa* or *väiko* represented the sun, for all of nature was depicted on the drumhead, and the plate with the rings, according to the assertion of Samuel Rhen (Schefferus p. 136), was always placed on the mark of the sun when the drumming began. Thus it is evident that the movement of the piece over the drumhead represented the sun's movement through the entire galaxy pictured there. The bunches of rings affixed to the piece represented the rays of the sun. If the piece was rectangular, four bunches of rings were attached to it, and they represented, as Jessen's picture of the *noaide* drum show, the four main points of the compass. (see Part 1 § [11]¹⁶). On this drum, the sun is represented by a rectangle, from every corner of which runs a line; they represent *nelje Peive-lähtje*, that is, the four directions or the sun's rays setting out in all four directions. Schefferus has (p. 125) a round disc on the edge of which there are seven bunches of rings. According to the same writer, the piece could also be triangular, like the Greek capital *delta*. (but whether the piece was circular, rectangular, or triangular it represented the sun, as we have just shown). It was no frog or snake. The Lappish name may also point to this, for *väikko* can mean 'bright,' 'shiny' or 'gleaming.' It is derived from the word *väja*, 'shiny', which is still used about metals.

§ 25

"When the Lapp began some important activity, he first wanted to inquire of the *noaide* drum how it would go. Then he would put the ring on the drumhead and beat it with the hammer called *ballem*. The movement of the ring to

the striking of the drumhead was crucial: it was a bad sign if the ring moved counter-clockwise. It was a good omen if the ring moved clockwise. If the ring moved near *Radien*, *Junker* or other deities, it was also a good omen; if the ring wound up at the signs of evil beings, it was a bad omen.” (Leem p. 466).

In using the *noaide* drum, the Lapps were accustomed to explain the anger or favor of the gods as follows: If *veiko* or the ring went over the figures of *Jubmel Attje*, *Pardne* and *Ailes Vuoiganis*, and then back to *Jubmel Attje* and remained there in spite of much hammering, it was a mark of the gods’ favor. The anger of the gods, though, was shown if the ring, as previously, went over the figures of *Jubmel Attje*, *Pardne* and *Ailes Vuoiganis*, and then back to *Jubmel Attje* — but did not stay there, making three circuits back and forth before finally doing so, then they had to placate him with sacrifices. (Jessen p. 17).

Note. Regarding the names of the gods mentioned, we direct you to the Part 1, where they are discussed and explained.

§ 26

“How do the Lapps use this instrument? When the whole community is active *solemnis causa* [‘in a revered festival’] they, and especially the women, dress for the holiday in their best and finest clothing. When they have come together, *instrumenti peritus* (‘he who takes the drum’) falls on his knees, and the others along with him. He takes the drum in his left hand by the grip on its bottom. He has the *indicem*¹⁷ (which they call the *arpa*), loose on the top of the drum just *in centrum instrumenti* [‘in the center of the drum’]. It is made of all kinds of links of iron, copper, brass, and silver links *in formam Ranae reptantis* (‘crawling frog’) [‘in the shape of a crawling frog’]. Then he has in his right hand a bone hammer in the shape of the Greek small letter *tau*, *forma T* (T-shaped). He holds the drum high in his left hand and begins to beat it softly on all sides of the *indicem*, upon which it begins to move slowly on the drumhead, going to some side of it. Then he begins to beat it harder until the *index* [indicator, that is, *arpa*] comes to some such *signum* [sign], from which he wants to know something. Then he assumes that he has come to the right spot. If that does not happen, it means that things will go *contra* [contrarily] and his *propositum* [plans] will not succeed.

The whole spectacle is accompanied with a loud singing in which the *praesentes* [those present] join in: ‘Thus we beg, thus we beg’ etc. *Sed quem adorant?* [But whom do they pray to]. It can hardly be anyone but their forest

god *seita*. For if they locate the wild reindeer by divination and find them, they immediately inquire of the lots in the same way how the sacrificial idol wants to be rewarded for having led them to the wild reindeer. This is known to all who have dealt closely with the Lapps. A close acquaintance of mine has seen in the parish of Inari of Kemi Lappmark how they divined by such *noaide* tricks what sacrifice the idol wanted for his service and how the lot fell on a dog: the dog was killed at once and with it they *sollenniter* [ceremoniously] went to the idol." (Tornæus, pp. 18–19).

§ 27

"For *noaide* practices, another kind of drum is made, called the *kannus*. It is surfaced with reindeer skin, and different kinds of figures are painted on it with the juice of alder bark and blood: fish, lamb, fox, marten, otter, bear, and other animals. There is a *consilium diabolicum* ['diabolical meeting'] on it, and different caves of Hiisi¹⁸ where the devil and his crew practice the most extreme lewdness. The drums are so named and marked that their community's idol's place is on the right and those of other villages on the left. When the Lapp seeks some help with the aid of this instrument devised by Satan, he first begins to *laula* or *sjunga* 'sing'. The song is, of course, made up of words yet unknown to me. He continues this *laulande* [singing] until the *arpa* instrument stops at a certain place, whether on a lamb, buck, goat, or some other figure. This tells him whether things will go well for him. He is also, as a consequence, to sacrifice to the idol the same animal on which the *arpa* has stopped. But since he does not know exactly where he is to sacrifice, he begins to beat the drum and sing again, until the *arpa* marker stops on a spot that designates a certain god; then he is on the spot that corresponds to the place of sacrifice." (Tuderus, *ibid.*).

One observes that the writer was not particularly knowledgeable about the *noaide*'s art. But his information about the procedures and obligations associated with sacrificing with the aid of a drum does agree with that of Tornæus and others.

§ 28

From what has already been said, it is clear that the Lapp used the magic drum as an oracle. He always asked it for advice when anything important was at hand. The question is almost the same as prophesying with cards, the

use of a magic wand, or other such things. But one must not think that every Lapp who owned a magic drum was a *noaide*.¹⁹ Nor did a true *noaide* need a drum in order to practice his craft, if ever he had such a skill. It merely helped to increase the power of a *noaide*'s imagination, and perhaps some of them used it to cover up their conjuring tricks. To those who were not indeed *noaides*,²² the drum was a necessary household adjunct, for the gods were believed to make their will known through it. To what has already been said about the *noaide* drum, I would like to add Samuel Rhen's statement: "Wishing to know their good and bad luck in advance, they place the bunch of rings bound together on the figure of the sun. If the rings move around to the right with the drumming, that is, clockwise, it indicates good fortune, health, and well-being to people and other creatures of nature, both near and far. If, instead, the rings do not travel in the right direction — around — clockwise, it means misfortune, illness, and all bad things." (Schefferus p. 141).

Undoubtedly the rings' movement in the proper direction or where the drum beater wished was very much dependent upon his skill in manipulating the drum. When inept drummers did not understand a trick, that already made it a *noaide*'s trick, which a skilled charlatan could use to his advantage when requested, especially when soothsayers,²¹ according to Leem's comment, did not practice their divination talent free of charge. Schefferus also comments on the basis of information he received — albeit without indicating the source — that the drummer did not beat the drum in one spot, but all over the drumhead. It is clear from this that he who could manipulate the drumstick skillfully was able to make the bunch of rings travel wherever he wished.

§ 29

But it was not only the will of the god regarding the sacrifice which was searched out via the drum. The drum was also questioned when the Lapp intended to move, was going hunting, when someone fell sick, etc. Olaus Petri says (Schefferus p. 141): "Planning to go hunting, they heated the drum at the fire to make it taut. They put the frog at its center and made it jump with rapid hammer strokes until it settled on some animal shape painted [on the drumhead], pointing either east or west or north or south, or came to some previously mentioned line. By this the drummer-hunter knows which way he is to go that day and what kind of animal, fish, or bird he is to get."

"When they divine before the trip or search out what is to come through the agency of the drum,²² and the ring hits the sign of dawn, then the trip is to begin in the morning. If the ring hits the sign of dusk, they should set out in

the evening. If they take prediction markings along the way, and the ring falls on the sign of dusk, they should continue on their way throughout the night; if, however, it falls on the sign of dawn, they should rest until morning." (Jessen p. 62.)

Note. Norwegians and Danes called the drum *runbom* and prophesying with the drum *runa*. The word *runa* in this meaning may be derived from pagan times when he who was able to *runa*, that is, write poetry, was considered a sorcerer. The Finnish *runo*, and *runoja*, are probably borrowed from the same word *runa*. von Westen calls the *noaide* drum *kåbdu* or *Cum Comme*; the last one sounds like French. The first word should be *kåbdes*.

Lapps considered the *noaide* drum sacred; it and its accessories were kept in a loon-skin bag. (Samuel Rhen, Schefferus p. 132; Schefferus reads 'in lambskin'²³, which cannot be a correct reading.) "No woman of marriageable age could touch this sacred object. They said that if a woman of that age happened to walk along the road the drum had been carried over within three days, she would either die immediately or some other misfortune would befall her. But if in case she was forced to go along a road over which the drum had been carried, she would have to give a brass ring to the drum." (Samuel Rhen, Schefferus pp. 132–133). Tornæus, Högström, Leem, and other writers assert the same, and to avoid such a calamity, not only did the drum have to be carried through the back door of the *kota* and be kept in the *Påssjo*, but also during a move 'it had to be carried by the last man in line' (idid.) or for greater surety, 'the Lapp himself had to carry the drum along a side road that no other person traveled.' Ibid.

Note. When the first priests in Lapland discovered that the drum was carried in the last person's load, they were always on hand to check the last *ackia* ('sled') when the Lapps passed the church during their moving trip. If a *noaide* drum was there, it was confiscated. But the Lapps in turn soon discovered how to guard their drum.

§ 30

The reader now knows the main things about the *noaide* drum and its use in connection with sacrifices. I will now return to the sacrificial ceremonies. In that connection, for the sake of clarity it is perhaps best to mention the sacrifices they directed to different gods.

Those who have written on the subject do not mention any special sacrifices to *Radien*. From Jessen's earlier mention of the *Radien Attje* and *Radien Kiedde* sacrificial tree, it appears that something was sacrificed to *Radien*.

For sacrifices to *Rananeid*, see Part 1 § 10, for sacrifices to the sun, Part 1 § 11. Samuel Rhen says: "They sacrificed to him"²⁴ young and especially female calves." (Schefferus p. 116).

"To the sun and the moon, they were not permitted to sacrifice male or black animals." (Jessen p. 48). To *Beiwe* (the sun) white animals were sacrificed, and also flax and tow, but to his *Väärro-muor* they brought a spinning wheel in place of *Kiedde muor*. It represented the sun's course and its rays. Probably the old Norwegians also sacrificed flax to the sun, of which the old verse still reminds us: *Lowa, lowa lin: Gud lad Sola skin.*²⁵

Note. Apparently only the coastal Lapps sacrificed flax and put a spinning wheel as the sign of the sun, since the Mountain Lapps did not have spinning wheels. For *Väärro-muor's* and *Kiedde muor's* signs, see ahead § 6.

"They sewed a white thread through the ear of the reindeer as a sign that the sacrifice belonged to the sun." (Rhen, Schefferus p. 116).

"When a buck reindeer was slaughtered, they took a small piece of meat from all its quarters and placed them in a withe half the width of a barrel hoop. This they hung high on a platform in the back of the *kota*." Rhen (Schefferus *idid.*) indicates sacrifices to the sun in this ceremony. "The most important bones they set in the form of a circle on the platform. (Rhen *ibid.*). Schefferus also reads this ceremony as sacrifices to the sun.

"Sacrificing to the sun and the moon, they put both their images on the side of the tree, the top of which was shaped like a serrated circle, and it was anointed all over with blood." (Jessen p. 47).

"When the sun appeared after seven weeks' absence, they anointed their door." (Leem p. 505).

"No woman dared eat of the Sun's sacrifice, but members of both sexes ate of sacrifices to *Radien Attje* and *Radien Kiedde*." (Jessen p. 49).

§ 31

Sacrifices dedicated to *Akka*-gods have been treated in preceding sections (§ 20 ff.); since these *akkas* are quite unknown to Swedish writers, there is nothing to add to the subject. Leem says in one place (p. 430): "*Seimestebme* means the sacrifice of liquor or something to some guardian spirit of the home"²⁶, such as the spirit of the fireplace, the threshold, etc. Moving from one place to another, they poured a little milk or soup on the ground."

This sacrifice was undoubtedly made to the *Sarakka* and *Uksakka*, whose place was on the threshold. See the preceding part, addendum 12. I have not heard the word *Seimestebme* in Swedish Lapland, nor is it in the Lappish dic-

tionaries; thus I can say nothing more than Leem does. "No male animals could be sacrificed to *Sarakka* with the exception of a rooster; and only women ate *Sarakka*'s victims." (Jessen pp. 48, 9).

§ 32

When a Lapp began a sacrifice to *Storjunkkar*, *Aijek*, or a *seita*, he first had to ask the drum for advice. Of this Leem's Anonymous relates as follows: "Wishing to sacrifice, the Lapps take the victim to *Storjunkare*. One of them drums and the others, men as well as women, sing in unison the following song: *Maiide siäk kak tun stuora passe seide?* that is, 'What do you say, great holy god? Will you receive the sacrifice I mean to give to you?' During the song the name of the mountain where the animal is to be sacrificed is spoken. If *Storjunkare* accepts the sacrifice, the ring lies motionless on the drumhead where *Storjunkare*'s picture is painted. If *Storjunkare* rejects the sacrifice, it is offered to *Thor* and they sing: *Maiide Aikik Ietti, maiide werro* i.e., 'What do you say, Father God? (meaning *Thor*) Do you receive the sacrifice?' If the ring now stops at *Thor*'s picture, the animal is sacrificed to him." (Schefferus p. 109).

Note. Anonymous has rightly understood the Lappish, or the Tornio Lapps' dialect words, although they are written somewhat differently from the way they are now.

§ 33

Those who have written on the subject have not related what special sacrifices were offered to the gods *Thor*, *Tiermes-* or *Hora Kaales*.' Schefferus and Jessen mention that no female or gelded animal could be sacrificed to this deity. (Schefferus p. 111; Jessen p. 48). The sacrificed animal's antlers and bones were placed on the sacrificial platform which has been mentioned earlier. *Thor*'s image, which was of birch, was provided with a hammer in [the god's] hand, and it was anointed with the heart blood of the sacrificial animal and with reindeer fat. This image (*väärro muor*) was made anew for every sacrifice. Before it there was placed a birch-bark case or container in which was a piece of meat from every quarter of the sacrificial animal. As Samuel Rhen relates, in accordance with Schefferus: "On top of *hora gallesin tamen kaarre* they put something which represents a large hammer, and with that he is to drive off the bad *noaides*²⁷ and other goblins." (Jessen p. 47). Of the

Hora gallestin sacrifice, no woman could eat. (Ibid. p. 48. See also the Part 1 § 33 ff.)

Note. It may well be that the Swedish Lapps did not bury the bones of animals dedicated to *Tiermes* and other above-earth gods since they put the bones and antlers on a sacrificial platform.

§ 34

Schefferus writes of the Lapps' sacrifices to *Storjunkare* as follows: "If they intended to sacrifice to *Storjunkare*, they generally slaughtered a buck reindeer, they first drew a red thread through its right ear (according to Samuel Rhen, whom he follows almost verbatim in this), and then it is tethered in back of the *kota* in the place where *Thor*'s sacrificial animals are customarily tied. Then the buck reindeer is butchered in the same way as a sacrifice to *Thor*, and the blood is taken from as close to the heart as possible. The man who performs the sacrifice takes the animals antlers, head, and neck bones, along with his feet and hoofs to the hill sacred to *Storjunkare*, for whom the sacrificial animal was slaughtered. When the Lapp approaches the stone deity there, he first bares his head reverently, kneels, and performs other demonstrations of respect. Then he anoints the god with blood and fat from the sacrificial animal. The antlers he places behind the god. That is how Samuel Rhen explains it, and Anonymous adds that the sacrificial animal's penis is tied to the right horn, and a red thread is placed on the left horn, on which there are little bits of tin and copper." (Schefferus p. 112).

"Similarly they take a piece of meat from every quarter of the sacrificial animal and place them on an untwisted withe made in the shape of a ring, which then can hang before the antlers." (Samuel Rhen, Schefferus p. 115).

"During the year, the Lapp must demonstrate respect for *Storjunkare* by spreading fresh spruce boughs under these during the winter, and leaves and vegetation during the summer." (Ibid., p. 115; Tornæus, p. 15; Högström, 11, kpl. § 19).

Högström corroborates (Ch. 11 § 22) what Schefferus relates here, based on Rhen's information, about the great reverence the Lapps felt toward this idol. "The most pitiable thing is to see the Lapp on his way to a sacrifice. Approaching so near that he sees the dwelling place of the god, he takes off his hat and begins to bow and scrape. Coming even nearer, he begins to crawl on all fours until he reaches the rock. Then he leaves his sacrifice there."

§ 35

What has been said here of sacrifices to the *junkares* also applied to sacrifices to the *seitas*, although those who have written most about the *seitas* — Tornæus, Tuderus, and Högström — are not very knowledgeable regarding what sacrifices were dedicated to this deity. Tornæus and Tuderus say the Tornio and Kemi Lapps sacrificed to the *seita* all kinds of animals, such as reindeer, he- and she-goats, lambs, dogs, etc. according to the directions of the drum. (Tornæus. pp. 18–19. Tuderus, *ibid.*). Also Spirri Nils has given Schefferus the information that the Lule Lapps sacrificed cats, dogs, chickens, and other animals to *Storjunkare*, which they generally bought in Norway. (Schefferus p. 110). But there is no mention of whether these animals had to be male or female. “Huge heaps of reindeer antlers were sacrificed to *Zeite*.” (Tornæus, *ibid.*). Högström assumes that the Lapps regarded the *seita*²⁸ as much more sacred than the wooden gods. (§ 29. Cf. Part 1, § 66 ff).

Note. Högström also mentions (§ 19) that the Lapps sometimes sacrificed other animals besides reindeer, such as he- and she-goats, lambs, cats and roosters. These are animals which, regardless of cost, one must obtain from rural areas. However, the writer does not mention what deities such animals were sacrificed to. Presumably they were sacrificed according to the directions of the drum to both *junkares* and *seitas*.

§ 36

Those who have written on the subject have not explained very accurately how sacrifices were dedicated to the *saivo*. Jessen indeed says (p. 26) that the Lapps sacrificed to the *saivo* in the same way as to other gods, and that the drum determined the victim to be offered, but he is not clear on the ceremony performed in that context. Högström (p. 19) relates that the Lapps sacrificed birch-bark boxes filled with foodstuffs and fat to the *saivo*, and that fisher Lapps in particular smeared *saivo* pictures with fish fat; they thought that the fish in these holy *saivo* waters would by these means grow bigger and fatter.

Jessen relates further (p. 44) that pregnant women and witches drank the *saivo* water (see Part 1 § [89])²⁹ and Högström says that a fisher Lapp, when he went fishing in the *saivo* lake, did not use the main door, but he went through the back door (*påssjo*); he carried the fish caught in the *saivo* lake through the same door. A woman was not allowed to walk across a man's footprints when he went fishing in the *saivo* lake nor could he be accompanied by a woman when fishing in these holy lakes. In seine fishing his assistant had to be a man. A Lapp was not allowed to say the name of God (that is,

the Christian God) when fishing in *saivo* lakes. The fish that was caught there either had to be cleaned on the lake, or had to be taken in through the back door to the *kota* (to be cleaned there). When a Lapp went fishing in the above mentioned lakes, he had to tie up all his dogs and the dogs were not given the bones of the fish caught there until they had been rinsed in cold water, etc.

§ 37

Almost all of those who have written about the Lapps' superstitions tell about their sacrifices to the dead. Schefferus writes in the following way: "In addition to the three chief gods they also have smaller and in a way lesser ones as I have pointed out earlier, namely the spirits of the dead and 'Christmas folk.' The Lapps do not give the dead new names to substitute for the ones they had; instead they call them *sitte*. These are not worshipped with the aid of images as are *Thor* and the *Storjunkare*, nor are statues set up to them. They are worshipped only with certain sacrifices. At such times they use drums to find out if the deceased desire a sacrifice. They beat the drum in the usual way, singing, *Majte werro Jabmike sitte?* that is: 'What kind of sacrifice do you want, dead ones?'"

When the ring has indicated what animal the dead want, a black string is drawn through its right ear. Frequently quoted writer [Samuel] Rhen writes that a black thread was sewn through the right ear of a reindeer that was to be sacrificed to the dead. 'Anonymous,' who also mentions the song referred to earlier, writes that the string was tied to an antler, and that it had to be wool. "A black wool thread had to be tied around the antlers of reindeer and animals that were sacrificed to the dead." "When the consecrated animal has been marked in this manner, it will be slaughtered. The animal's meat is eaten, with the exception of pieces taken from the heart and the lungs. These are both cut in three pieces and skewered on three sticks over which is poured blood from the sacrificial animal. The pieces are then buried in the ground. Information recalled by Anonymous." "They took a piece of the heart and the lung and cut them in three parts and put them on three skewers. They lave them with blood and they bury them in the ground in a coffin shaped like an *ahkio* 'reindeer sled' (Schefferus p. 117–118).

§ 38

Högström has rightly pointed out (Ch. 11(?)³⁰ sect. 3[0]³¹, note f) that Schefferus is mistaken about the meaning of the word *sittes* when he assumes that

it corresponds to the Latin word *manes* 'the deceased'. Concerning these words *Maite veron Jabmekah sittih*, *Jabmekah* means *manes* [the deceased] while *sittih* means *poscunt* [demand]. We have no comment on what Schef-ferus, transmitting information given to him by Samuel Rhen and Anonymous, says about sacrifices to the dead. Högström also relates (§ 30) that Lapps have been in the habit of sacrificing all manner of things to the dead; they have placed tobacco, an axe, a few dry sticks, and fire-making supplies in the coffin; when they traveled near places where some of the bodies of Lapps lay unburied, they had thrown them a piece of tobacco. Leem confirms this when he tells us, "Some put food in the coffin of the deceased. In the olden days they also put a bow and an arrow there. The reindeer that had hauled the body to the grave was slaughtered and eaten, but its bones were dug into the ground." "Most often the reindeer that has hauled the dead one to the grave is eaten at the funeral, and its bones are dug into the ground." (Högström, *ibid.*)

In a man's grave they placed an axe, a bow or some other tool. Beside a woman's [body]³² they placed scissors, a needle or such. For three years whenever they passed the grave they threw tobacco or something that the deceased had liked when alive on the ground, so that he or she would grow again in the other world.' (Jessen 71).

§ 39

It is by no means untrue that there are superstitions associated with the dead. Even though sacrificing is a custom that is disappearing, there exist some remains of the old superstitions.

"Otherwise, too, they have strange ideas regarding the dead. I have noticed that in part while observing the way they wrap up the deceased in a winding sheet. They are very particular about getting the corpse wrapped up entirely. They imagine that the soul will slip away if the body is not well swathed. We can also consider it part of the old superstition that in some places they would bury the dead in the clothes that they happened to be wearing when they died." (Högström, Ch. 11 § 30).

"The reindeer that had pulled the deceased was not harnessed any more" (*ibid.*). This custom may still be followed in some locations.

However, all customs that are still followed as part of normal life, and which have been passed on from parents to children, cannot be called superstition. Just as a Lapp does not understand changes in fashions, neither does he try to deck out a corpse in fine array. Another custom is mentioned by

Samuel Rhen (Schefferus p. 312): “When a person dies, the Lapps move away the same day.” Leem says (p. 499): “After they carry the deceased out, they move away.”

As Rhen relates, the swathing of the deceased still applies (Schefferus ch 1): “The wealthy deceased are wrapped head and all in serge. The poor use old wadmol.” Schefferus adds that the deceased is dressed in his best clothes; that may have been the custom among the Jämtland Lapps.

§ 40

Samuel Rhen (Schefferus p. 130) tells of another, more terrifying custom which survives only as a vocabulary item: “When the deceased is placed in the coffin, the deceased’s husband, wife, father, or children has to give a brass ring to the person who handles the corpse. He or she will have to hold this ring in his or her right hand until the body has been buried so that nothing bad may happen to him or her (the person who handles the corpse).” Schefferus adds that the brass ring was regarded as an Amulet or a way of defending against the evil that might be the consequence of handling the corpse. The ring was called *sjeello puot*, which has now come to mean ‘corpse stole’ or the stole³³ that the preacher bear during the funeral. The origin of the term is not the word soul, *siello* or *sielo* as Lindahl and Öhrling claim even though the term *sjeello puot* during the Catholic era may have acquired the meaning *själa bot* ‘healing of the soul’ or ‘repentance’. A Lapp could hardly have known about the word ‘soul’ before getting in contact with Swedes and Norwegians (Lapps’ soul was *hägga* i.e., ‘life,’ or *vuoigna*, *vuoiganis* ‘spirit’). When we compare what was said above with what Jessen writes about *namma skjello* (more of that later), which also is a brass ring, we notice that *sjeello* — or as Jessen spells it *skjello* — refers to something that is shiny and bright. This, in turn, had something to do with the state a soul was judged to be in, and therefore *sjeello puot* may actually mean ‘against brightness’ or ‘bright against brightness’ that is, a bright ring against a bright soul. What is later said about *namma-skjello* will support this interpretation of the word.

§ 41

Everything else that Schefferus’s sources say about Lapps’ sacrifices to the dead, Jessen, Högström, and Leem have, for the most part examined in their own works. According to information provided by Steuchius, Schefferus re-

lates (Schefferus p. 315): "They put in the coffin an axe, a flint striker and flintstone. I have asked what the axe and the flintstone would be needed for. The Lapp answered that they believe the dead one, as he rises up on the last day, will need light in order to find the way to the dwellings of the blessed, and if there are trees standing on his way, he will hack them down; using an axe and fire the dead will enter heaven unhindered." (Schefferus p. 315).

But Schefferus considers that this is only a distortion of the Lapps, after getting some notion of the Christian heaven. The same writer also quotes the following lines by Olaus Petri, "They secretly bury fire-making supplies and a bow and an arrow beside the deceased, believing that he or she will resume his former way of life after the resurrection." This is not a bad explanation of the matter: a Lapp who expected to get a new body in the next life could hardly imagine engaging in anything other than his favorite occupations there, and for those he obviously needed a bow and arrow, a flint striker, etc.

§ 42

The reason why Lapps sacrificed so much to the dead has already been presented in the preceding part (§ 129). It was the belief that the dead wanted to have their living relatives with them. A Lapp therefore had to pacify his or her dead relatives with sacrifices so that they would not yearn for the spirit of the living. Of course, it may also be that a Lapp, with smaller sacrifices, merely wished to show gratitude and respect to his departed relative. Much stranger is the idea that the dead relatives were supposed to be very concerned that some of their descendants bear the name of the departed. This belief caused children to be re-baptized. If a child got ill or was restless and cried a lot, it was re-baptized and given a new name. This was done in the belief that the dead relative who wanted his or her name to be preserved in the child plagued the child until it was given the name once borne by the dead relative. Norwegians have written much about this matter, and the main points about it are the following.

§ 43

"The Finnmark Lapps had the custom of re-baptizing their children with a juice of alder bark (this was boiled out of alder bark, *Alnus Incana Willd.*) and to give their children names their ancestors had had. If the child got sick he or she was baptized again and given another name. A child could therefore

have several names in addition to the baptismal name. After such a re-baptizing the child was given a portion of *nåide påråmusta* 'noaide food', and *nåide jukkamusta* 'noaide drink'." (Leem p. 499).

"One of the dead told the expectant mother the name of the baby in a dream. Then it was said that the dead would be reborn in the child. If this did not happen in a dream the father or the friends had to find out the baby's name using the drum, or they had to ask the *noaide* about it." (Jessen p. 33).

"After the preacher had baptized the child it was re-baptized in the name of *Sarakka* with a new name that had belonged to one of its ancestors. The child was allowed to carry that name until he or she met with an illness; then it was re-baptized in a so-called *saiwo-namma*. Therefore a Lapp could have been baptized as many times as he or she had been ill." (Jessen p. 34).

"In addition, they could be *noaide*-baptized or *saiwo*-baptized; thus being dedicated to the service of these deities. The first (*Sarakka*) baptism was performed by a woman who was not the child's godmother. Most of the time it was done by the mother of the child herself, in this case she was called *risem edne*. She would give the child a *skjello*, that is, a brass plate, ring, a belt buckle or something else (made of metal). *Addå Namma*-baptizing (the re-naming baptism) was always performed by a woman who in this case was called *laug-edne*. Under her supervision water was first heated, and in it were placed two birch-tree branches, one of them as it had grown in the tree and the other bent in the shape of a ring. Then she would say to the child, 'You shall grow up to be as fruitful, as healthy as the birch from which this branch was taken.' After that she would throw a ring, disc, a silver belt or a spoon or something else (made of metal) into the water. What she threw was called the *namma skjello*. At this juncture she would say, 'Thus I throw the *namma skjello* into the water: you child shall be as shining and handsome as this *skjello* is.' Then she would baptize the child and say, 'I baptize you in the name of the deceased N.N... You shall enjoy the same joy and happiness as this deceased one had in life.' Finally the *lang-edne* would say 'You are baptized in the name of the deceased; we'll see how well you shall do with it.'" (Jessen pp. 35–36)

"After the ceremony was over, the *namma skjello* was attached to the child; if it was a boy the *namma skjello* was placed in his hand, if it was a girl, the *namma skjello* was attached to her chest. This ring or *skjello* was considered sacred, and a weapon against sorcery. At a riper age the boy's *skjello* was affixed to his drum, where it would be of great benefit. Sometimes a child was bathed in a brightly scrubbed copper cauldron, in which case there was no other *skjello* than the copper or brass cauldron, which would become the property of the child. In addition to the difference de-

scribed above was the essential difference between the *same* baptism and the *åddå-namma* baptism: that in the *same-namma* baptism the child was baptized to *Sarakka*, but in the *åddå namma* baptism to *saivo*. In conjunction with both these baptisms they had to make a sacrifice to *Sarakka* as well as to the deceased one in whose name the child was baptized (with its new name.) When a person got sick, one of the sick person's deceased relatives in *Jaabma-aimo* had got angry because the child had not been baptized in his name. Therefore the sick person had to be baptized again in the name of the deceased one who was believed to be responsible for the illness." (pp. 37–39.)

§ 44

It would seem that Jessen himself had been present at occasions where a child was re-baptized because he has been able to describe even the minor details. Many readers may wish to have the Lappish terms mentioned in the preceding section explained and translated. *Saiwo namma* means 'saivo name' or a name dedicated to beings in the other; in a *saivo* baptism the child was dedicated to them. Those who got the *Nåide* baptism would be initiated to become *noaides*. *Risem-edne* means 'undressing mother' or the mother who undresses the child. It derives from the Finnish word *riisua* 'undress', *riisuminen* 'undressing'. *Laug-edne* is 'bath-mother or mother or a woman who gives a bath, or washes.' *Namma-skjello* is the 'name-ring.' It is the token or symbol of the name. I would prefer to spell it *sjeelo*; but Jessen's intent, presumably was to clarify the way it is pronounced, similar to the Swedish word *skel*, in which 'k' could be exchanged with 'j'. The word is not found in any dictionary, and I am not quite clear of its actual meaning. *Same-namma* means Lapland-name. It is the name that was given by the Lapp himself. *Åddå namma* means 'new name', etc.

The practice of baptizing and re-baptizing a child was by no means invented by Lapps: both baptizing and re-baptizing are borrowed from Roman Catholicism. There is no information about this baptism in Swedish Lapland. Samuel Rhen has, however, told Schefferus that "Lapps often change their children's names, and if a favorite relative dies, they will soon name one of their children after him or her." Tornæus, too, tells us the following, "When a male child becomes ill, they give him another name, different from the one given at the Christian baptism." Yet nobody has been able to say if it happened by way of re-baptism. It is possible that it happened in the manner Jessen has described, by placing a brass ring or another piece of metal in a bath

container, and later on affixing this ring to the child as an 'amulet' as Blom has correctly related in his travel description. (Blom's *Journey*, p. 182).

You still see Lapps wearing bunches of brass rings in their belts. The child's parents have added to it one ring after another as the child grew older. Yet no Lapp has admitted, not to me anyway, that these rings are intended to protect against witchcraft or evil spells.

It is likely that the many silver *maljer*³⁴ (round buttons with holes) with leaf patterns and *stjernor*³⁵ (small rectangles and squares), which women wear on their breast and in their belts, are of the same origin because, according to Jessen a girl-child's *namma-skjellos* were exactly the kind of metal pieces affixed to the chest in connection with the re-baptism or after it. Otherwise it is not known where the Lapland women have gotten all the silver trinkets that they wear on their breast and their belts.

§ 45

I have something to add to the information given in part 1 (§ 134) concerning sacrifices made to *Ruotta*. At that same time (at Christmas time) they would hang birch bark containers which were either square or cone-shaped high up in trees. These were mostly carved on two sides and placed in the shape of a cross. In these containers they put a piece of everything they ate on Christmas Eve or Christmas morning. Meat was excluded; they usually held, cheese, milk and also fish. If they had flour, they made a cake the size of a rixdollar coin, filled it with milk and cheese, and then baked it on a fire. The same cake was put into one of the containers mentioned above, with two wooden sticks thrust about half an ell deep at its side as if for shovels. This was hung beside the hut and left there. Together with other birchbark containers it is dedicated to the aforementioned *Ruotta*. (Högström [Ch. 11,]³⁶ § 16).

"When sacrificing to *Rutu* the Lapps took branches from pine trees (as a *kieldemuor*)." (Jessen p. 47).

§ 46

None of the older writers has made any mention of whether black animals were sacrificed to some deity, or if they were sacrificed, to which of them. But if there is some truth in Rosenvinge's article (see foreword to this part), and if Lapps did buy black animals for the purpose of sacrificing them, I as-

sume that *Ruotto* was the deity who was presumed to be most pleased if the sacrificial animal was black.

Rosenvinge, whom I mentioned briefly at the beginning of this chapter, writes as follows (*Budsticken* 5th , issues 95–98): “About the time in the fall when Lapps take their reindeer back to the borders of Sweden, they show up in villages and buy at very high prices sheep, goats, cats, and geese, in short all kinds of domesticated animals that they use as sacrifices. When they go to the mountains they tie them securely in rocky dens and caves as food for their *Odin*, whom they believed would be appeased and thus guide them well on the journey. And if on the following year when they come back they find their sacrifice still preserved, they consider it good luck. Recently people have discovered their plans for these animals, and they rarely manage to buy them. A few years ago a Norwegian from the parish of Otofén discovered the Lapps’ secret in an unusual way. A Lapp came to him in order to buy a certain kind of animal. He particularly fancied a milch cow which the Norwegian didn’t want to lose. But when the Lapp finally offered him 12 *dalers* in Swedish money — which was twice as much as a cow costs in the fall — he accepted this advantageous offer. A couple of days later the farmer happened to go a little way into the hills in order to chop wood. At a certain valley along the way he heard the moos of a cow. Approaching, he found his own cow tightly tied and weak from hunger at the entrance to a cave. He brought it home and kept quiet about the matter. A year later the same Lapp came by again and bought the same cow for 12 *dalers* and left for the mountain. The farmer kept an eye on him and found his cow in the same condition and at the same place as the year before. So he brought it home unharmed. This trading came to an end only when the Lapp, on his last journey, lost his way in a blizzard and was killed.” This was said to have happened in the 1790s. But Pastor Deinböll has already challenged the writer (church registry keeper Rosenvinge) in the same journal and shown that there cannot have been that much ancient idolatry remaining among the Lapps in the 1790s. I cannot but agree with pastor Deinböll. There is further reason to. Considering the present relations between the Lapps and the new settlers in Swedish Lapland, it would have become immediately known if actually such flagrant idol worship had been evident so close to our time.

The parish of Ofoten is located [in Norway] approximately across from Gällivare, and therefore the buyer of the black cow might have been one of the Gällivare Lapps. Flagrant paganism, it is true, remained longest in Gällivare where the industrious Högström still came in contact with obvious pagans in the 1740-50s. And it is true that the Gällivare Lapps are still the most uneducated in all of Swedish Lapland. Still, Rosenvinge’s story presents their

idolatry as too outrageous — as I said earlier — to have been kept so secret that nobody on the Swedish side or in the Gällivare region itself was aware of it.

Otherwise, Rosenvinge's information is accurate concerning the fact that Lapps preferred buying black animals before returning to the Swedish side, and they still do. However, Lapps do not buy these animals in order to sacrifice them to their gods. They buy them because of their black pelt. It is fashionable in both Lule and Pite Lapland to edge reindeer skin coats with a strip of black sheep or goatskin. They don't think it is proper to edge a dark reindeer skin with a white strip. This is the real reason why black sheep and goats are so sought after. Besides, they prefer to buy the animals alive because they think that sheep and goat meat tastes better than ordinary reindeer meat; that is also the reason why their most valued guests are served smoked sheep and goat meat.

§ 47

Schefferus has acquired from Samuel Rhen the following information about sacrifices to the so-called *Joula-Herra* ('Christmas Lord'): "On the day before the Christmas feast — which is also called the celebration of Christ's birth — or on the day itself, they perform a superstitious sacrifice to the honor and profit³⁷ of the Christmas folk, whom they believe to be moving about in the woods and mountains around them. The sacrifice is performed in this manner: on the day before Christ's birthday they usually fast or at least do not eat meat, and from the foods that they do eat, they take a little piece and carefully preserve it. They do the same on the festival day when they eat exceedingly well. They put these morsels of food in a box made of birch bark which looks like a boat with a sail and oars, pour some fat over it and keep it for two days. Then they hang this boat full of pieces of food in a tree behind their *kota* at the distance of a spear's throw [in order to serve a meal] to the Christmas folk who wander around in the surrounding mountains and forests."³⁸ (Schefferus p. 118).

Högström tells about the same custom in a somewhat different way: "I have seen many proofs that they have the custom of sacrificing to the so-called Christmas-Lord small ships and boats, particularly in connection with a promise they have made. These boats, which are 12 inches³⁹ or at most an ell long, are hewn with an axe out of pinewood. They have masts and crosses here and there and they are smeared with reindeer blood. They usually make such boats right before Christmas when the reindeer are slaughtered, for they smear the boats with blood. I have seen them fastened in tall spruce trees, not

hanging but resting on branches of these trees which have been forced together. Signs of the cross have been made here and there in the spruce trees, and they have been smeared with blood to a considerable height," (Högström ch. 11 § 15).

Högström did not discover the reason for preparing these boats, nor what they were supposed to represent. Schefferus believes that Christians first came to the Lapps on boats, and that the Lapps make these boats to commemorate that event. This is only a guess on Schefferus's part. I feel that the boat-building, Christmas-Lord, and Christmas folk are borrowings.

When the Christmas moon (*Bisse måno*) began to shine, no woman dared to spin nor any man do any noisy work, and when the moon rose for the first time, a ring was placed in the smoke-hole of the *kota* (*kåtareppa*) so that the moonbeams could get in.' (Jessen p. 81).

§ 48

The preceding sections have delineated the major topics of the doctrine of sacrifice. I will now add additional subject matter which cannot be linked with any known deity.

"I have observed that those sacrifices a Lapp makes which are owing to some emergency situation or are a consequence of some vow, become more costly to him in the long run than the sacrifices he regards as his annual duty.

If humans or their animals are sick, are not thriving, or have met with some other adversity, a Lapp makes a promise to some known god (whom he personally trusts the most or to whom the drum guides him. The promise can also be made to several gods. He promises to sacrifice one thing or another if his wish comes true and he escapes the threatened evil. In lesser cases, such as a reindeer's illness or failure to thrive, he will usually promise no more than reindeer antlers and bones. If, for instance, a reindeer falls ill, a Lapp will promise, if the reindeer recovers and stays alive, that he will slaughter it within a certain time. He will also promise that he won't break or lose any bones but will preserve all for the god to whom the promise has been made, and whom he believes is able to help him. What a Lapp promises in this way, he will faithfully perform. As he slaughters this kind of reindeer, he will not break the bones, but cuts them apart joint by joint and preserves them. If one of the dogs happens to take one of them, it must be killed and one of its bones sacrificed in place of the reindeer's." ([Ch. 11] § 18).

As a kind of extension of this sacrificial custom, Lapps nowadays are in the habit of promising sacrifices to the church if they face some kind of emergency. This, too, has been mentioned above (Part 1 § 64).

§ 49

“Lapps believed that the sacrifices were not acceptable to the gods if during such festive occasions all the ceremonies were not performed conscientiously and in the exact way that they had learned of old. Therefore, a *noaide* had to teach the children everything that was part of the sacrificial ceremony.” (Jessen p. 53)

“Sacred mountains (*Påsse vareh*) were respected. Lapps knelt and prayed on them. They made yearly trips to these sacred places, and if they did not always perform a sacrifice, they at least touched the bones that had been sacrificed earlier. They did not want to live near the sacred mountains for fear their children’s crying and noise would create a disturbance. When they traveled near these mountains they did not think it proper to sleep because that was viewed as a lack of respect and a profanation of deity. They didn’t dare to speak in a loud voice near such a mountain nor to shoot birds or other animals there. If they were wearing blue clothes they took them off when they passed the sacred site.” (Leem p. 443). The same writer gives a long list of holy mountains, cliffs, lakes, etc. In addition there are numerous places that have been named after the word *Seita*, which leads us to conclude that this deity was generally worshipped in Finnmark.

§ 50

As an addendum to the study of sacrifices it may be appropriate to mention some superstitious customs that can be traced back to Lapp conceptions of their deities and the supernatural, but for which there was no place in the preceding sections.

“When the women menstruated, they had to remove their collars and belts because of *Sarakka*.” (Jessen p. 78).

“When a woman’s menstruation was over, she washed her head in a pot, cleansed it with flour, and baked a cake out of that flour. Only women were allowed to eat that cake. After intercourse a woman carefully checked the star that was closest to the moon. According to the distance of the star to the moon, they judged whether or not the child would be born alive.

A man was not allowed to put a handle on an axe in a house where there was a pregnant woman.

A woman in childbed was not allowed to have any knots in her clothes.

Only after she recovered was she allowed to move out of the room where she had stayed. She would get rid of the clothes she had worn during the birth. The longer the baby was breast-fed, the happier it would become.” (Leem p. 494).

“Women were not allowed to eat the head of a reindeer. If a man or a woman had some trouble in some part of his or her body, he or she did not want to eat that part of a reindeer.” (Leem p. 500). (If I am not mistaken there were many other parts of a reindeer that a woman was not allowed to eat. As we no longer know the reasons for these differentiations, there is no reason to waste space enumerating a whole host of horrifying customs.)

The practice of taking the position of the stars into account has been related both by Rhen and Högström. (Schefferus p. 296 and Högström ch. 10 § 12).

§ 51

“Wherever there was sickness in animals the Lapps would move away from that location (where the infection first appeared), because they imagine that the location itself is some secret cause for the illness.” (Leem p. 500). “They imagined that a wolf had the power to cast a spell on the gun so that it couldn’t hit the mark.” (Ibid. p. 504). A horse and a wolf may not be created by our Lord but by the devil.’ (Högström [Ch. 6 § 5.]). ‘Playing with fire was believed to cause reindeer calves to be born blind.’ (Leem p. 504).

“If a drop of milk from a doe’s udder fell into fire, all the does got a pain in their udders.” (Petrus Læstadius *Periodical*, part 2, p. 342). “If you throw chopped wood indoors with the chopped or thinner end first, reindeer calves will have breech births. A calf was sacrificed for a child when it was still in the womb; as the child was being born, a dog was sacrificed, and after the child was born an animal was sacrificed by burying it in the ground with a hood⁴⁰ on its head.” (Leem p. 428).

When a person bathes in a spring because of bad itch, he or she has to place a pin or a small coin in the same spring as a sacrifice to the spirit of the spring. The Finns in Tornio Valley hold that belief.

§ 52

Healing cures. Cure for headache. A headache will be cured when you take a frog out of a mossy spring and slowly wipe your face with it. Told by a woman from Pite Lapmark.

Cure for toothache. A splinter is taken off the northern side of a spruce tree; out of that is taken a needle-size wooden stick, and the teeth are picked with that stick. Then the pick is placed back in the splinter and the splinter is placed back in the same spruce tree; thus a toothache is cured. Told by the same woman.

Cure for throat infection. Shoe-stuffing grass of the eldest or the only daughter is slowly heated in a fire and placed on the throat inside a piece of cloth. That will cure the illness if the sufferer is a man. If the sufferer is a woman one must take the shoe-grass of the eldest or the only son and do the same. (Ibid.).

Cure for boils: *Autse muoran kidna*, that is, the outer bark of nine different kinds of trees is placed on the boil, and the boil will disappear. (ibid.). If a person who has toothache picks his or her teeth with a bear's penis (*penis ursus*), the toothache will disappear.

Cure for a skin disease.⁴¹ You must trace around the diseased spot with the point of a needle or with a piece of burnt bread; in addition, you must say a charm and spit. I do not, however, know what the charm is.

The way to shrink a boil, to stop blood from flowing, etc. is to recite a charm and spit and hold a thumb over the spot and press on it. I do not know the charm to be recited. Even though I have in my childhood seen such wonder cures, I did not learn the content of the charm. I did not want to learn the skill.

§ 53

Lappish customs relating to killing a bear are closely related to the sacrificial customs, and therefore it may be reasonable to introduce them here. In addition to other writers, Pehr Fjellström has provided a thorough description. This respected and industrious teacher was the pastor of Lycksele, which is a part of Ume Lapmark. He has translated many Christian books into the Lappish language, and his research on bear hunting was printed in Stockholm in 1755. I will include some parts of it here in addition to material by other writers on the same topic.

First of all the writer gives us information about the bear from the naturalist's point of view. He also tells us about ways of hunting it prevalent in Lapland. Among these is the rather important piece of information (p. 8) that "nobody has killed a female bear which has living cubs because as soon as it smells a human it will abandon the cubs — whether they are big or small — and eat them."

Then he repeats Samuel Rhen's information which appears in Schefferus, according to which a Lapp who has made a circuit around a bear will invite his closest relatives and friends to a kind of party as the moment for the kill approaches. There they beat the drum in order [to get the bear].⁴² But the writer, Fjellström, observes that drumming the bear was no longer the custom in his time. This does not, however, mean that drumming of the bear could not have been a custom 50–60 years earlier when Schefferus wrote his book. The writer considers the drumming to be pointless once the bear has been circled. "Because if the purpose of the drumming was to inform others about the location of the bear, it could take place only when the bear had not yet been circled." — But this is not quite accurate, even though the bear had been circled, there was much to be done before the bear's den could be found inside the circle. The Lapp might be asking the divination drum to give him an answer to that.

Note. For the benefit of those readers who have no idea how a bear is hunted in the Scandinavian North, it may be best to explain what is meant by circling a bear. It is well known that a bear is an animal that does not need any nourishment in the winter; it merely lies in its den and sucks its paws. In the fall, old and cautious bears habitually go to their dens before the first snowfall. Occasionally it happens that the snow surprises the bear before it has had time to crawl into its winter den, and therefore the Nordic hunters usually look for its tracks. When they see the tracks, they will know that the bear is not going to go very far before it will lie down to sleep, and they will not follow the tracks any farther, but make a circle around the mountain or area where they think that the bear will make its den. If the hunter, after walking around the circle, notices that the bear has not gone outside the circle, he will make another circle around it. The diameter of the inner circle is much smaller than that of the earlier one. For example, if the diameter of the first one is half a league and that of the inner one fourth of a league, the hunter can make a circle around the same area up to the point where the presumed bear den will be at the center of a small circle, the diameter of which may be $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{2}{8}$, or $\frac{1}{8}$ of a league. This is called circling the bear. The hunter makes a careful note of the location and leaves the bear in peace until the time when there will be more snow. Then he can get the bear on skis when

the snow is hard enough to carry its weight even in the event of the bear's escaping from his den before it is killed.

§ 54

Fjellström further observes that Lapps do not refer to a bear by its proper name while they are getting ready for a bear hunt. They use special, secret words for the bear itself and everything associated with it: "They show great respect for the bear, they consider it as the most sacred of animals, and therefore it is called *passe vaisje* 'sacred game', *puoldekats* 'little man of the hill', *puolda-pådnje* 'hill-man', *puold-aja* 'old man of the hill' *puoldossek*, or rather *puoldussek* 'mountain-scab, or rather hill-scab', or the same as *puoldtsuobbo* 'mountain toad', or rather hill-toad, *ruemsek*, properly *rumsek*." This is one of the mystical names of the bear which Fjellström was not able to translate, and those words are not found in the Lappish language dictionary: it may be related to the Finnish word *runsu*, *slarfvor* 'a rag; pl' *trosor* 'a piece of fabric'; pl.', *båss* 'straw bedding', which refers to the bear's habit of making himself a bed out of all kinds of forest debris and *tarfok*, 'moss gatherer', which comes from the fact that a bear gathers bear moss (*Polytrichum commune* Lin.) out of which it makes for itself a soft bed, etc.'

Leem adds, "they never call the bear by its own name, *qvuwotja*, so that it will not harm their cattle but they call it by the name *muodd-aja*, 'fur-coat Grandpa'." (Leem p. 502). In Lule Lappmark the bear is called *muoddekis*, 'the furry one'. The hunters' term for an old male bear is *änak*, a female bear is called *estev*, a young bear which its mother no longer allows to nurse is called *tsabmek*, 'the whipped one' because a bear weans the cubs by hitting and whipping them.

§ 55

Not only the bear itself was honored with various kinds of respectful names; there was also a special language, formulated for bear hunting, which was used and understood only by experienced bear hunters. Fjellström remarks, for example, that the bear song, which ordinarily is *juoikem*, was *siggem* in bear hunting. In ordinary language 'ear' is *pelje*, but in hunting language it is *auros*. Eye, *tjalme* is *naste* in hunting language. Skin, *nakke*, correspondingly was *låtek*; heart, *vaimo* was *jalos*, etc. Bear-hunting language was like Arabic to the uninitiated, and as well versed as Fjellström was in the Lappish language, he was not able to translate many of the words in the hunting lan-

guage. This kind of new language, which lacks both etymology and grammar, is very difficult to translate, which in itself is proof of its creators' inventiveness. Leem, like Fjellström says that Lapps used a special language incomprehensible to others when they hunted bear. For instance the word 'to cook' was in ordinary Lappish language *vuossjet* but in hunting language *guordestam*. As we see, the language of Lappish bear hunters was really 'abracadabra', and was probably understood only by old and experienced bear hunters.

§ 56

According to what Lapps have told us, this bear-hunters' language and all the strange and clownish bear-hunting activities are based on the following story. (Lycksele Lapps told it to Fjellström, p. 13)

"Three brothers had an only sister whom they hated so much that she had to flee to the wilderness. Totally exhausted she finally arrived at a bear's den and crawled into it to rest. A bear also came to the den, and after they became better acquainted, he took her as his wife and had a son by her. When after some time the bear had grown old and the son had grown up, the bear said to his wife that, because of his advanced old age, he did not want to live any longer and that he wanted to make tracks on the new-fallen snow this fall so that his wife's three brothers could see his tracks, circle him, and kill him. Even though the wife did everything she could to stop him, the bear was not to be persuaded. He did as he had said so that the three brothers could circle him using his tracks. In addition, the bear ordered that a piece of brass be placed on his forehead. This was to be a sign to distinguish him from other bears, but also to prevent his son, who was off somewhere, from killing him.

When a deep snow had fallen, the three brothers started off to kill the bear, which they had circled earlier. Then the bear asked his wife if all the brothers had been equally nasty to her. The wife answered that the two older ones had been worse, but that the youngest one had been somewhat kinder.

When the brothers arrived at the bear's den, the bear sprang out and attacked the oldest brother, biting and wounding him very badly. The bear himself was not wounded, and he went back to his den. When the second brother came, the bear attacked him too, injuring him in the same way as the previous one, and went back to his den. Then the bear asked his wife to put her arms around his waist, and after she did so, he walked away from the den on his hind paws, carrying his wife. The wife ordered her youngest brother to shoot the bear, and he did.

The wife sat down a short distance away and covered her face because she could not endure seeing the bear shot and now skinned. However, she opened one eye in order to look. This may be the origin of the custom that forbids any woman to look at the bear except with her face covered and through a brass ring about which more is told below.

After the three brothers had gotten the bear, and all the meat had been placed in a pot to be cooked, the [bear's] son arrived. They told him they had shot a strange animal with a brass piece on its forehead. He told them that the animal thus marked was his father and therefore claimed a share of the bear equal with the hunters'. They, however, kept refusing, whereupon the son threatened to bring his father back to life if he didn't get his share. He struck the bearskin with a whip and said, 'My father! Get up! My father! Get up!' Then the meat started boiling so rapidly that it seemed to be jumping out of the pot, and so the brothers had to give him a share. This is probably the origin of the custom that (if Schefferus is to be believed) a killed bear is immediately pulled away from the camp and hit with a soft branch. The piece of brass found in the forehead of the bear may have given rise to the custom of decorating all the implements needed in bear hunting with brass spoons and rings."

§ 57

Fjellström further relates that the bear's wife is said to have taught her brothers all the ceremonies to be observed in the bear hunt, and that otherwise they would not be able to overcome such a fierce creature. According to Samuel Rhen and Anonymous in Schefferus, the hunter who had made the circle had to be the first to approach. After that came the drum beater, who, guided by the drum, was to help find the den, and after him the bravest hunter, who would strike the first blow against the bear, etc. The one in the lead would carry a stick or a branch at the end of which was a brass ring. (Schefferus p. 232; correction by Fjellström p. 9).

"After the bear is killed, they immediately drag it away from the camp and beat it with a branch or a soft twig; hence the expression: 'beating a bear with a twig'." (Samuel Rhen, Schefferus p. 233; Fjellström p. 15; Högström Ch. 11 § 32).

"After the bear is killed, the bear hunters strike up a song. He who has the branch in his hand is the conductor (leads the music). The song begins with these words: *Kitulis puorré i skada (tackamiss) sábbi jala saiti*, 'Thank you

very much! You did not damage a ski pole or a spear.” (Schefferus’s Anonymous).

Note. It often happens that a bear knocks a ski pole from a hunter’s hand with its paw, which is disastrous because the hunter is then rendered defenceless. That is the reason why the bear song started with the words cited above. The custom of hitting the bear with a twig originates, in Fjellström’s opinion, in the above story in which ‘the bear’s son hit the bearskin with a twig.’

§ 58

“When the bear has fallen, all who have been involved put their skis over the animal as proof that they have defeated it, and also because — if this is not done — a bear might become so arrogant as to run over their skis. Then they twist a willow branch and put it as a ring in the bear’s lower jaw. The best of the bear hunters then ties a belt to it, at which he jerks three times, and in a strange voice sings an oddly worded song declaring that he is the winner. Some take a spear and shake it three times at the bear for the same purpose, singing the same song. Then the bear is covered with spruce branches, and left to lie there until the following day. This is done even when the place where the bear is killed is so close to their dwelling that it could be dragged home the same day and skinned.” (Fjellström, pp. 16–17).

“As they come to within hearing distance of their homes they start a song dedicated to this event, which lets those at home understand that a bear has been killed. Then all the women put on their festive clothes and silver decorations, after which they join the men in singing, welcoming both the men and the dead bear. That song is called the *sides* song. The man who acted as leader of the hunt will twist a soft branch, forming a loop at the end of it. This branch is *söive risse*. With it he will strike the outside of the dwelling three times and say: *söive álma* (*söive*’s man) if a male bear has been killed. If they have killed a female bear, he will say *söive neit* (*’söive*’s daughter’). Some also give these names to the bear slayer and his wife.” (Fjellström, p. 17).

Note. Neither *side* nor *söive* can be found in any dictionary but I would assume that *side* is a southern Swedish way of pronouncing *seide*; *söive* in turn may be the same as *saiva*. Thus the *sides*-song would mean a song in honor of the *seita* god. *Söive álma* and *söive neit* would refer to the bear’s sacred nature as an animal originating from *saivo*; *söive álma* is ‘*saivo*’s man’ and *söive neit* ‘*saivo*’s daughter’ or ‘*saivo*’s maid’, that is underworld man and underworld maid. It was also believed that a bear would be resurrected and

would get a new life in *saivo*. For that reason, in the bear-hunters' flowery language, a bear was referred to as *saivo álma* or *saivo neit*."

§ 59

After these preliminary ceremonies — Fjellström tells us — "all bear hunters will step into a *kota*, not, however through the usual entrance but through a *påssjo raige*. Also all the dogs that have participated in the hunt are let in through the same entrance. The women, who are now wearing their silver decorations and festive garments, cover their faces, all at the same time, with a broadcloth or linen covering. When they look at the bear slayers, they do not, however, have their heads covered, but every one of them takes a brass ring, holds it to one eye, and looks through it. At the same time they spit chewed alder bark at the faces of the hunters. The dogs which have participated in the hunt are also dyed reddish with juice from the alder tree bark. In ancient times the women had also used colored dyes and made signs of the cross on themselves with the alder-bark solution.

After this sprinkling the women decorate all the men with brass rings tied in strings and chains, which they tie to their neck and one hand and foot. All this is called *kaltek*. *Kaltek* is a bear-hunters' term, which is not in the dictionary. I don't know the meaning of the word either unless it has to do with what will be related later concerning the prohibition forbidding the bear hunters from having intercourse with their wives for four or five days. In that case *kaltek* means 'gelded'. The decorating of bear hunters with brass rings is in many ways reminiscent of what was told earlier about those who performed sacrifices" (§ 10).

"The twisted branch mentioned above is now left in the care of the *söive neit* 'the wife of the best bear hunter', and she will keep it inside a linen cloth until the bear has been cooked."

"After all this has been done, favorite foods are carried in. The bear hunters eat together, and the women eat together. Nothing more is done that day, but everybody goes to sleep, each wearing the decorations that he has got. They do not, however, sleep with their wives but each one separately; this will be done for three nights. Schefferus says that no Lapp can come to his wife for three days, and the one who has the branch and the ring (the one who circled the bear) is not allowed to approach his wife for five days and nights." (Fjellström p. 18-19).

§ 60

“On the second day they make preparations for bringing the bear home. Some of the bear hunters remain at home and build a new shed out of split planks which are then covered with spruce tree branches. This hut is called *quartek*. The other hunters bring the bear home. Also, the reindeer that is to haul the bear is decorated with strings of brass rings and chains fastened around its neck. When the men come home, the women sing: ‘Blessed are you who bear such decorations.’ Schefferus tells us that the men sing along the way as they bring the bear home: *i paha talkev ådtjo, i paha talkev faronis*, that is ‘He will not have bad weather, he will not bring bad weather with him’.” (Fjellström p. 19).

Samuel Rhen has another bit of information about the song they sang when they brought the bear home. He has not given us the Lappish words, but merely included the following translation:

Then they begin joyfully singing the bear song, which reads thus in translation: they thank God who has created this animal for their profit and granted them the courage and might to prevail over such a cruel and powerful creature.

It is a pity that the writer did not learn the words of the bear song. Only Tuderus has written them down, and his version is said to be the Kemi Lapps’ bear song. However, it is written in broken Finnish and it looks more Finnish than Lappish. In addition, Tuderus’s publisher has not known either Finnish or Lappish, and, therefore, has not been able to correct the gross mistakes in the original Finnish text. It is thus difficult to make out the song. Because Tuderus’s work is quite rare, and can be found only in antique book stores, it may be appropriate to repeat the Finnish bear song in the form Tuderus has published it. I have, however, tried to correct the most obvious mistakes.

§ 61

Tuderus writes: Secondly, as far as bear hunting is concerned, special songs have been made for that occasion. When a Lapp has shot a bear and brought the carcass into the village, he will worship it by singing thus:

1. *Mätsen dyris voitettu!*
2. *Tuo meil täytä tarveyttä!*
3. *Aitan vastan salihitie.*
4. *Tuo tuhatta tulesaya!*
5. *Sata sata salihixi.*

6. *Iulki tulin Jumalista.*
7. *Kansa saalin iloisasta.*
8. *Joka ilman ihmet, vaivat*
9. *Annon andoi: rahat radej**
10. *Koska tulen kotihin.*
11. *Kolme yötä ilon pidän.*
12. *Läpi laaxot, riivet**, vaarat,*
13. *Aja paha edelläsä.*
14. *Pärtäs? tuli vielä peitos ****
15. *Kunnioitan sua jälistänsä:*
16. *Wuosi; wikatell saalihisi,*
17. *Ett en unehok oikein virret *****
18. *Sitä vast viel toisti tule. ******

§ 62

In order to give the reader an idea of the content I have numbered the lines and translated them into Swedish verbatim and in the same order as they are in the Finnish text.

1. *Skogens dyra öfvervundna!* 'Dear defeated one of the forest!'
2. *Gif oss fulkomlig hälsa!* 'Give us perfect health!'
3. *För boden din fångst,* 'Take your catch to the storehouse,'
4. *hämta tusend, när du kommer.* 'bring a thousand when you come.'
5. *hundra, hundra till rof.* 'hundred, hundred as prey.'
6. *Upperbarligen kom jag från Gudarna.* 'Clearly I come from the Gods.'
7. *med fångsten ganska glad,* 'very happy with a catch.'
8. *Som utan under, utan möda.* 'as if without wonder, without trouble.'
9. *Gåfvan gaf, pengar förskaffade.* 'Gave a gift, provided money.'
10. *När jag kommer till mitt hem,* 'When I came home.'
11. *tre nätter glädje jag håller.* 'I'll celebrate for three nights.'
12. *Genom dalar, obanade berg* 'Across valleys, roadless mountains.'
13. *han driver den onda framför sig.* 'he drives the evil one before him.'
14. *Dina bloss kom ännu i skjul.* 'Your torches still came to the shed.'
15. *Jag hedrar dig efteråt,* 'I honor you afterwards.'
16. *Ett år, med lian ditt rof.* 'For a year with the prey of your scythe.'
17. *Att jag ej glömmer den rätta sången,* 'So that I won't forget the correct song.'
18. *derför kom ännu en gång.* 'therefore come once more.'

Note. These fragmented and obscure sentences may need some explanation. For instance in line 3 the poet asks the bear to come next time with a thousand others so that he will have his storehouse full of meat. The poet is referring to the common folk belief that the bear will be resurrected in *saivo* and will increase there a hundred- and thousandfold.

Lines 12 and 13 paint a picture of the bear walking in the forest. When a bear is either frightened or being teased, it really moves like a fiend so that the forest echoes after it. Because it is somewhat clumsy and awkward in its movements and because it is also said to have poor eyesight, smaller trees must give way before this noble animal.

In line 14, the bear's eyes are called torches because they gleam like two torches in the dark den. (Cf. § 59), in which bear's eyes are called "stars" in hunters' language. "Your torches returned to the shed" means: 'your eyes were closed.' In line 16 the poet intends to strike the bear's prey or food, i.e. bear reed (*Angelicha Sylvestris*) [Queen Anne's lace], but the bear hunter will mow it down along with other grass.

§ 63

Tuderus's own translation, which will be included here, appears to differ from the original text. It seems almost as if he injects too much of his own invention, or as if the song presented to him was different from the one transcribed.

1. You conquered forest animal
2. bring us perfect health!
3. and prey for our storehouses.
4. Bring thousands with you.
5. Fetch a hundred as prey!
6. Evidently I came from God
7. happy and joyful with my prey
8. which without wonder, without trouble
9. gave a gift and money.
10. Now when I get home,
11. I'll celebrate for three days.
12. I came joyfully, joyfully I traveled over valleys, mountains and hills.
13. Drive the red one before you.
14. Joyful the daylight appeared; that day will still come with joy.
15. I shall honor you henceforth.
16. Where must I go to catch you as prey now'
17. In order not to forget the bear dance,
18. to that end I shall come again.

As to this translation, one must note that line 12 (*Med fröjd jag kom, med fröjd jag for öfver, dalar, Berg och högar*) has no counterpart in the original. In the 13th line the Finnish word *paha* has been translated as if it were *punaista* 'red', but in the rhythm of the translation the same word has been trans-

lated with *sitä pahaa*. Line 14 contains nothing that exists in the original, and that is also the case with line 16. I don't consider it necessary to repeat Tuderus's rhythmic translation because it is even more different from the original than the prose translation is.

§ 64

When the slain bear has been brought with song and rejoicing to the Lapps' dwelling place, "it is brought into a hut or wooden shed that is decorated with rings woven out of Lappish shoe grass (*Carex Vesicaria* Lin.). The bear is placed lying there supine with a birch bark box or cone containing chewed alder tree bark under its nose. Before the bear is cut open its back is also sprinkled with chewed alder bark. Knives, axes, cups and all the dishes that are used on this occasion are decorated with brass (rings, plates, or discs). Also the bear's head is decorated with brass rings and chains." (Fjellström p. 20).

"There is no silence during the skinning; people sing about many things, such as where the bear has come from. Then they will sing poems about near or faraway places, lands, mountains, lakes, etc. Schefferus says (according to information provided by Samuel Rhen) that they sing *Ålmai påti Sverjis landest, Polandest, Englandist, Frankrikist*, i.e., 'The man came from Sweden, Poland, England, France, etc.' Schefferus says that such things are also sung when the bear meat has been boiled and two men carry it to the women. Then also the women answer by singing: *Ålmai påti Sverges landest, Polandest, Englandist, Frankrikist*." (Ibid.)

These words have undoubtedly been created at a later time because Poland, England, or France cannot have been known to the Lapps before the arrival of Christianity.

Fjellström says further: "They sing of the respect they are now demonstrating to the bear, and they ask that he tell other bears about it so that they, too, will surrender willingly. They sing of what they guess those in their everyday homes are doing. A correct guess is regarded as a good omen. The children tell of their activities — they are allowed to run between the bear hunters and the homefolk — but the women are not allowed to come close, not even to see what they are doing; only children, and girls not yet of marriageable age are allowed to.' 'No woman can, for one year, drive the reindeer that hauled the bear home nor can it be transported along a road along which a woman has walked. No woman is allowed to walk across the bear hunter's tracks nor along them as long as this ceremony lasts." (Fjellström p. 19).

§ 65

“When the bear has been skinned, to the accompaniment of singing, and its meat has been chopped and cut away from the bones — in such a way, however, that no vein or sinew, as they understand them, is cut — all the meat is boiled at the same time, if the pot they have is big enough to hold it. Otherwise the bear is skinned only enough to get as much meat as will fit into the pot, and skinning will be continued only after this meat has been cooked. The blood, which is drained from the bear as soon as a cut large enough for the purpose has been made, is cooked first of all; then a small amount of suet is added to it. When that is ready, it is eaten before anything else is cooked. The head is skinned last. The windpipe and all the innards are allowed to dangle from the head until the rest of the meat is done. When the head is skinned, the thin, hairless skin of the snout is peeled off. The person who skins the head will tie this skin on his face. Then the head and all the innards, which have been mostly cleaned, are lifted into the pot to be cooked, with the inner organs still dangling from the head, not having been cut loose.” (Fjellström, p. 22).

Schefferus writes: “As the bear meat boils, the bear hunters sit on two sides of the fire in a set order: no one is allowed to sit in another’s place.

First of all sits the one who circled the bear, next the one who beat the drum, and next to him the one who first shot the bear; on the left sit the woodchopper and the water carrier.” (Samuel Rhen, on Schefferus p. 236). Fjellström says that he does not know if this really happens in Southern Lappmark.

“Bear hunters must be careful to check that the pot won’t boil over and that no liquid will spill into the fire because this is considered a bad omen. The contents of the pot must not, however, be diluted with cold water nor must it be taken off the fire. The man in charge will send somebody to find out if something inappropriate is going on in the *kota* where the women are assembled during this solemn occasion. If no fault is found in the women which could have been the cause for the rapid boiling of the pot, the leader strikes up a song especially composed for this eventuality, and the seething pot begins to boil properly.” (Fjellström, p. 23).

§ 66

“The front part of the bear was boiled in a separate pot and the back in another pot, for a woman was not allowed to eat any of the front part, and of the

back part roughly only from the spot her hands would reach if she hugged the bear." Schefferus's assertion that "a woman is not given any part of the bear's back but only its front" is in Fjellström's opinion either a misprint or a misunderstanding; "It seems to contradict the primary cause for the superstitions associated with the Lapps' bear hunting." (Fjellström p. 24).

Note. The idea above seems to be based on an error in writing by Rhen, or else he has actually misunderstood the Lappish narration. Samuel Rhen has correctly observed that men ate the front part of the sacrificed reindeer and the home folk ate the rest; thus, since the bear was also considered a sacrifice, the same should apply to it.

"After the meat is cooked, it is divided between the men and the women. The Lapp who has the branch and the ring, as well as the drum beater, are allowed to do the dividing." (Anonymous and Samuel Rhen; Schefferus p. 236).

"Two representatives of the bear hunters are sent to take the women's share to the women's tent. They announce their approach by singing: *Olmai påti Sverjis landest Polandest*, etc., and the women answer in the same way. The bear grease is strained; all the dishes in which the grease is strained have to be fitted with brass. If only one bear has been killed, the container has to be fitted with one piece of brass, if more bears have been killed, the grease cup also has to be fitted with several pieces of brass." (Samuel Rhen, Schefferus p. 237).

As the representatives of the bear hunters enter the everyday *kota* with the women's share, "the women look at them through a brass ring and sprinkle chewed alder tree bark on them and on the bear meat." (Fjellström p. 25). Schefferus's Anonymous adds that women receive the representatives with this song: *Albmai, (mi) påti Svergis Landest, Polandest, Englandist, Frankrikist, kalka ruopsis laigit ruoidi tjatnat*, which means 'A red woolen cloth is placed round the thigh of the man who came from Sweden, Poland, England, France,' and the women proceed to do that. "They also look through the brass ring at the children who have been in the bear hunters' hut and say: *sjalest mo!* i.e., 'decorate me!' (or rather 'purify me'), because the brass ring is the symbol of purity." (Fjellström p. 25). "The woman either has to drop the first piece of bear meat through a brass ring or hold the brass ring in front of her mouth and put the first piece into her mouth through it." (Ibid.).

§ 67

"Last of all a bear's stubby tail which has been boiled in its grease without skinning, is carried to the women. *Söiwe neid* or the wife of the best bear

hunter, who has had the above-mentioned birch tree loop wrapped up in a piece of cloth, now takes it out. All the women and children present put a brass ring or a chain on it. After eating what there was to eat, and after sucking off all the grease stuck to the bear's tail fur, they tie the tail onto the same branch loop, which is now decorated with brass rings. This they hand over to the bear hunters, who preserve it together with all the bear bones."

After this all the women cover their faces. Then their husbands kiss them and thank them for allowing them to honor the bear undisturbed. Nothing more is recited at the table either when they sit down to eat the bear meat or when they leave the table, and no salt is used.

When all this has been done, the men go to the place where the bear was cooked. They rest there until they get the permission to come to their wives, which cannot take place without purification.

The purification is performed in this manner. "All the men who have been participants in the killing of the bear wash themselves with a strong lye made from birch ash. Then they run three times around the iron chains to which the pots of bear meat had been attached, through the real door to the everyday hut, and immediately out through the *påssjo* or back door. While they run, they imitate the sounds a bear makes (a noise that sounds like muttering and growling; one can still hear that sound from some old bear hunters). Then the wife of the man who shot the bear has to catch them with mittens on her hands and ask: 'how long,' i.e., how long is it going to take before the next bear is killed' They answer: 'Until next spring.' If the wife now says: 'It is too long,' they will then say: 'Let it happen this spring then.'" (Fjellström, p. 27).

§ 68

"The others run around the everyday hut. First, however, it has to be decorated with spruce branches (inside and out). Then they go inside the hut and run (three times) around the fireplace. Those who do not run around the hut go through the *påssjo*, run over the fireplace in the center, and out through the regular door, then roll over three times on the ground. Then they have to be caught in the manner described above." (Fjellström, *ibid.*)

Samuel Rhen says: "When after three days the Lapps are again permitted to go to their wives, one after another they take hold of the chain on which cooking pots are hung, then run three times over the fire and out of the *kota* door in single file. The women then sing: *tådna kalkah kunav ådjot*, that is, 'you'll get ashes.' Thus the men become purified in a way before they are allowed to go to their wives." (Schefferus p. 242).

Schefferus remarks that this ceremony means atonement for killing the bear: Because they believe that the bear's wife is sad and mournful over the bear's death, the Lappish women also pretend to participate in this sorrow and the bear hunters have to purify themselves with ashes.

§ 69

“Just as none of the bear's bones can be broken or cut, so are they not to be thrown away like the bones of other animals; they are collected carefully so that not even the smallest bone is lost. Then a bear-sized hole is dug in the spot where the bear was cooked. At the bottom of the hole they put very soft and fine birch twigs as a kind of bed. All the bones are placed in the hole, in the same arrangement as in a living bear. The piece of skin that was cut or skinned off the bear's nose and worn by the one who skinned the bear's head is now put in its correct place over the snout where it had been. The above mentioned stubby tail is also set in its proper place in the skeleton. The brass rings and chain links that the women had attached to the branch loop when they received the bear's tail are, however, taken away. These brass ornaments are preserved to become implements and decorations of the divination drum. The birch-bark cone that had been filled with alder-tree bark is also placed down in the grave beside the skeleton. Lastly the grave is covered with split logs the same length as the grave, over which they spread spruce branches so that no predator can disturb the bones. Some do not dig the grave horizontally but vertically as deep as the height of the bear. Then they place the bones (or the skeleton in a vertical position) in order, starting from the bottom and continuing upwards (proceeding little by little) to the head and snout so that the alder-tree cone is topmost. If some Swedish settlers, to whom the Lapps' ceremonies do not matter, have taken part in the hunt, the Lapps take just the bones that are their share and bury them properly, leaving empty spaces for the missing bones. When all the bones are in place, they address the bear, asking him to tell other bears about the great honors that have been accorded him so that they will not resist capture.’ (Fjellström, pp. 28–29. Cf. Samuel Rhen, in Schefferus p. 240; Leem p. 502; and Högström, Ch. 11 § 32.)

§ 70

Almost all writers tell of the ceremonial burial of the bear, which leads us to conclude that Lapps in general believe that the bear, like other animals, will

be resurrected in *saivo*. Högström remarks : “If a dog happens to get hold of or takes away one of the bear’s bones, the dog’s bone is taken instead. In some places it was customary to bury also, in addition to the bear’s skull and skeleton, a pair of skis, a plane, a knife, a piece of brass, etc. with which it would no doubt manage well in the other world. It is lamentable that these people — who are very doubtful about their own resurrection — nevertheless believe that the bear will be resurrected and will live in another world.”

The entire ceremony is concluded with target shooting at the bear skin of which Fjellström writes: “Up to now (while the other ceremonies were taking place) the skin has been in its place, covered with spruce tree branches, and with brass rings and brass chains on its head and neck. None of the women has been allowed, nor will be allowed, to see it until the next ceremony has been performed.

The skin is nailed onto a long pole and stretched to the sides with small sticks. It is then sprinkled with alder bark and placed on a snow bank, or leaning against a block of wood a short distance from the hut. Then all the women must blindfold themselves, and when they come out, a bow and arrow or an alder stick is placed in their hands. With these they must shoot (or throw the stick) at the skin as the target; they do not see it but are told in what direction it is. The woman who hits the bearskin is considered the worthiest, and it is surmised on these grounds that her husband will be the one to kill the next bear. If the woman who hits the bearskin is unmarried, this is considered an even greater honor for her; it is assumed that she will marry a great bear hunter. Then the cloth is taken from their eyes and all are allowed to see the bear through a brass ring. Only then are the mandatory ceremonies considered complete. The rings attached to the skin are not taken away until the skin has dried.” (Fjellström, p. 30).

Samuel Rhen has added the following: “The woman who first hits the bear-skin has to sew onto a cloth as many tin crosses as there were bears killed at that time; these crosses must be hung round the necks of all those who participated in the bear hunt. The Lappish bear hunters must wear these crosses until the sunset of the third day. In the same way they hang a sewn cross round the neck of the reindeer that has hauled the bear home, where it will have to stay until it wears off.” (Samuel Rhen, in Schefferus p. 241).

§ 71

Finally, Fjellström remarks that the superstitious ceremonies associated with bear hunting were beginning to be rare in his day, and that if a few followed the old ceremonies it was out of habit rather than superstitious belief. The last

ceremony of this kind that I have heard mentioned took place in Dunkjock in the 1780s. A minister's wife who was present took part in the game because her husband had participated in the bear hunt. Otherwise, all such ceremonies have ceased nowadays. I do not know of anything derived from the old superstitions if we don't consider the belief cherished by old bear hunters that the bear understands human speech. Some Lappish women believe that a bear is angrier towards a woman who is pregnant with a girl baby. If a bear should ever bother a woman, she can remedy the matter by lifting her skirt and displaying her organ to the bear. The animal will feel ashamed and go away. *Relata refero.*⁴³

Note. Leem comments on a matter related to what was mentioned earlier, which I overlooked as I was writing. I am adding it here so it can be compared with what Fjellström reports. Leem says (p. 502): "The dead bear is triumphantly carried home. The bear hunters spend three days in a tent especially made for this purpose. No woman is allowed to visit them during that time. After the bear meat is cooked, the women are handed some of it through the *påssjo* door, but nothing from its hind quarters. After the meal the bones were buried in the ground." This information of Leem's agrees with what Fellström says, except for the detail that women were not allowed to eat the back, as Samuel Rhen has also told us. It is very strange that the writers' information is contradictory in this regard, and one is led to think that customs and beliefs are different in southern and northern parts of Lappmark. It is impossible for me to decide which information is correct because most Lapps have forgotten the customs of their ancestors.

"The killer of the bear usually drives a brass nail into his gun or hangs around his neck some such token as a badge of honor either for having done such a deed or because of some superstitious notion." (Högström, Ch. 11 § 32).

"One who had killed a bear never allowed anyone to walk behind him." (Leem p. 502).

People still have a respectful attitude towards the bear. Its teeth are hung as decorations, or perhaps amulets, in belts and spoon bags. In northern Lapland people (not women however) generally wear bearskin neckbands with bear claws, which are considered more valuable than those without claws.

When a bear sleeps too long in the spring it can be awakened with the following verse: *Puold ajam! tjuodjele, tjuodjele; lasta lä stuores ko snjeratja pelje*, which means 'Grandpa in the hill! Wake up, wake up; the leaves are already as big as little rats' ears.'⁴⁴

Endnotes

- ¹ Lat.: 'a place of home spirits, home gods.'
- ² 'Sanctuary.'
- ³ Thus: 'of the 'blowhole', cf. above!
- ⁴ A fathom was three ells or about 6 feet.
- ⁵ All the words referring to 'joint' or the like are Latin expressions.
- ⁶ In the original: *Blodmannen*.
- ⁷ Means the bottom of the drum.
- ⁸ In the original the Swedish word pl. *gastar*, sg *en gast*, i.e., in Finnish *äpäpä, liek-kiö*, 'the wandering spirit of an unbaptized killed baby'.
- * *quod* is probably a misprint, should be *quo ad*; (note by Westman).
- ** *hiam* possibly *aim* (i.e., 'honor'); (note by Westman).
- ⁹ A foot measure used in Sweden and in Finland was half an ell or about a foot.
- ¹⁰ The Latin sentence above was translated by Ulla Lehtonen.
- ¹¹ Translated from the Latin by Ulla Lehtonen.
- ¹² The shape of the (Greek) letter *tau*.
- ¹³ Lat.: 'a bronze frog.'
- ¹⁴ One of the meanings: 'test stone.'
- ¹⁵ As in betting.
- ¹⁶ Number missing.
- ¹⁷ Lat.: 'pointer'.
- ¹⁸ In the original: *Blåkulle*.
- ¹⁹ In the original: *Trollkarl*.
- ²⁰ In the original: *Nåider*.
- ²¹ *Spåmannen* is here translated as soothsayer because Læstadius clearly did not mean 'a real *noaide*' but a swindler, or a 'charlatan'.
- ²² In the original: *Når de runede (spådde eller forskade ut på trumman)*. *Runa* is — as Læstadius later says himself — a Norwegian-Danish term for divining events with a *noaide* drum.
- ²³ Fi. *Kuikannahka*, Swe. *lommskin* 'loon skin'; Fi. *Lampaannahka*, Swe. *lammskin* 'sheepskin'.
- ²⁴ In the original: *henne*; the writer (Rhen) regards the sun as female.
- ²⁵ 'I promise, I promise linen; let God the sun shine.'
- ²⁶ In the original *lares* (Lat.).
- ²⁷ In the original *hexer*.
- ²⁸ Refers to stone *seita*.
- ²⁹ Number missing in the manuscript.
- ³⁰ Question mark by Læstadius.
- ³¹ Læstadius has § 38; the correct one is § 30.
- ³² Word crossed out.
- ³³ Liturgical cloth.
- ³⁴ *Malja* (Swedish) means 'ring,' esp. 'helm ring.'
- ³⁵ *Stjerna* (Swedish) is 'star.'
- ³⁶ Chapter number missing.

³⁷ Lat. *usus*. The word also means 'enjoyment' and 'the right to enjoy'; the Christmas folk had the 'right to enjoy' the holiday gifts. Ulla Lehtonen.

³⁸ Translated from the Latin by Ulla Lehtonen.

³⁹ One 'quarter' is one quarter of an ell, about half a foot.

⁴⁰ This may be meant to say that the sacrificial animal was buried with a cowl, also called 'lucky hat', on its head.

⁴¹ *Reform*, i.e. *ref-orm* or *rev-orm*; an infected wound which expands as a circle. The old dictionary meaning is *savipuoliainen*, but it has not been used in the Finnish translation of *Fragments* because of its oddness.

⁴² There is a gap in the manuscript here: ...björnens till[fångst].

* *radej* comes from the word *raadia*. The word is a barbarism and is probably derived from Swedish.

** the original is *rewret*; the word is neither Finnish nor Lappish.

*** the original is *Berthas tali wielä penthos*, which is nonsense. The line must be faulty. I have substituted *pärtas* for *Berthas*, which can be an abbreviation of the word *päretas* (your campfire) because, according to the Swedish translation there has been something indicating 'light' in the line.

**** the original is *Ettian urihok oiken wirret*.

***** original *Sitā vast viel tonsti tulla*.

⁴³ 'I am relating what I have been told.' A Latin expression which means that the writer is relating the information but is not guaranteeing its truthfulness.

⁴⁴ I.e. 'they are budding.'

Fragments of Lappish Mythology

Part 3: Doctrine of Divination

OR

A Brief Treatise on the Notorious
Practice of Sorcery among the Lapps.

§ 1

In this part of Lappish mythology, readers may expect the revelation of vital secrets, especially since many an unenlightened reader still entertains prejudices inherited from his father and imagines that the Lapps really were able to perform feats of sorcery. Some scoffers, who mock any and all belief in the influence of the spiritual world, may also wish to profit economically from the knowledge presented here by learning sorcery, and thereby improving their material condition. But the writer, who is not himself a *noaide* and has no desire to learn the art, is forced, after a thorough investigation, to bring forth truths which are difficult to explain away. This treatise does not deny the possibility of a true art of divination or prophecy or that certain individuals may receive messages from the spirit world into their bodies, whether by nature or through an affinity brought on by illness — although the laws of Moses sternly prohibit any kind of contact with the dead.¹ With this as a starting point, the writer considers any subject worthy of exploration and presentation, if only it reaffirm the faith of believers in this our materialistic age. Possibly the nascent certainty that spiritual knowledge continues after death can have little if any true influence on a person's moral transformation; for that something quite different is needed than the mere conviction that life continues after death. However, history does demonstrate that a general belief in a life after death is advantageous in a political sense, for it can hobble a person's wild lusts, which would rage horribly if people began to believe that humans died like animals. We have clear examples of this from chronicles of the French Revolution,

where the doctrine was espoused that a belief in the immortality of the soul was one of mankind's follies.

§ 2

In speaking of the institution of sorcery among the Lapps, we must differentiate sharply between the true *noaides* and the charlatans², the former indeed being rare, while the latter, who presented themselves as *noaides*, but could do nothing, was indeed a large group. Leem points out that the soothsayers, *nåideh*, were highly esteemed among the Lapps, and Jessen, (p. 54), that they were viewed as prophets, who told them secrets and future matters. They were the priests of the Lapps, who carried out sacrifices, and they were considered patriarchs, since they, under the direction of their superstitious whimsies, guided the people. It has already been observed (Part 2 § 28) that the soothsayers did not practice their art free of charge. And because of the respect and esteem it brought to its practitioners, the *noaide*'s art was all the more sought after. *Noaides* were feared more than death itself. Högström had already noted in his time that true *noaides* were very scarce (Ch. 11§ 24). "In the Gällivare congregation, in which there were some hundred Lappish families that I knew well, I did not learn the names of more than a couple who were considered able to do anything in this matter. I am not speaking here of those who practiced all kinds of spells and superstitions, for they are to some extent common, but of those who are considered *noaides* among the Lapps and who have through their sorcery been able to do either good or bad to their neighbors."

From this it can be noted that true *noaides* are very rare, but it does not follow that there are none at all of them. The same Högström, who later became a doctor of theology and the rural dean of Skellefteå, and who in his own time was a true thinker and philosopher — which is evident in the wise thoughts he had of God — attests with regard to the Lappish practice of sorcery (§ 26): "I do not deny that sorcery may exist among the Lapps as well as among other peoples, more among those who are less informed etc. But I believe that the Lord never has permitted and never will permit that these tricks be used as generally as is believed. For I cannot understand how any people could survive if there were practiced among it such flagrant sorcery as has been reported of the Lapps in this respect. They are seldom heard to harm one another through sorcery — but indeed they do so with punching and hitting. It is highly probable that there is now less sorcery in Lapland because they have generally found out that the biggest *noaides* are

generally the poorest devils of all. It is true that there are few who depend upon sorcery, and when one of them achieves something rare and remarkable, it is just as rare and remarkable there as among us. And since I thus have reason to believe that a large part of what has been related of Lappish sorcery has been based only on the loose reports and rumors of malicious people, I consider it an offense to their honor to accuse them of such evils to which one person or another may well be guilty, but toward which they soon feel the same sense of dislike as one of us does." From this statement of Högström, one can infer that he does not deny the possibility of true magic, although he does apparently indicate that the greatest part of the Lapps' renowned art of sorcery is merely a fraud. Therefore there is no cause to consider this learned man superstitious.

§ 3

There must be something true, something with a basis in fact, in what is related about the Lapps' ability to see into the future. First we will present some testimony to fix the reader's attention on a subject, which on the basis of the results of psychological research, deserves to be noted. Rev. Tornaeus, whom I have often cited, and who, because of his mathematical knowledge and other extraordinary learning, cannot lightly be accused of superstition, relates an incident which cannot easily be explained as a natural occurrence. He says, (ibid. p. 21): "Some years ago, a middle-aged Lapp brought me his divination drum, which I had long wanted. But he said: 'Although I am giving this away and do not intend to make another drum for myself, I will continue to see things occurring elsewhere.'³ Taking me as an example, he told me what had happened to me along the way, and it was all the absolute truth. 'What should I do to my eyes?' he said. 'I see whether I want to or not.' But I told the Lapp that everything he had said about the occurrences along the way was completely false. For I did not want the Lapp to be able to boast that there was any basis to the revelations he had gotten with the aid of the Devil."

The same Tornaeus gives another example, which is not as apparent, but which may bear witness to the writer's conviction regarding the Lapps' ability to prophesy. Having told of the large *noaide* drums which the Tornio Lapps had given up, he adds: "Among these Lapland *noaides* was an 80-year-old man who said he had learned his devilish art from his father at about the age of ten. The same man admitted that he had cast a spell over a certain farmer over a pair of mittens, so that the man had fallen into a rap-

ids and disappeared. He was sentenced to die and sent off to jail, but on the road to Pite he conjured himself to death. He was put into the sleigh in full health and well-being, but suddenly he just died, having said previously that he would never wind up under the executioner's axe.

§ 4

Another example, a little nearer our time, deserves to be related, although it does not attest to a *noaide*'s trick per se, but rather that the Lapps who practiced prophesying knew secret procedures unknown to the public at large. In the former Enontekiö, of which Karesuando forms a part (after the peace made with Russia in 1809), there lived some forty years ago, a certain Lapp who was widely known among his peers for his skill in prophecy. This Lapp came to visit the parish secretary, a man named Grape, one evening, and sat cross-legged near the hearth fire, as was the custom. Secretary Grape, who lived on the Lapps' migration route, carried on some amount of trade with them, and knew this particular Lapp very well. He had also heard other Lapps say that this man was famed for his skill in sorcery and so he began to harass him. He said: "Well, Antti. I've heard said that you're supposed to be a great *noaide*. Will you practice it a little so that I can get to see some of your magic tricks." The Lapp, who was not exactly willing to demonstrate his tricks for nothing, answered, with total calm: "My dear sir! Why are you teasing me? There is no emergency here to require use of my *noaide*'s skills." Grape still tried to persuade him, but in vain. He did not want to practice his art at all. As this Lapp and the Grape family sat by the fire and chatted, another Lapp entered, who also acted as a *noaide*, and sat opposite the others. When the latter had downed a few, he too began to pester the aforementioned old *noaide*, saying: "It is generally rumored that you are a *noaide*, but I'd like to see if it's true. Let's hold a sorcery competition." The other Lapp replied: "If you're a *noaide*, that's good. But there is no emergency here that demands such measures of us. So I ask you kindly to leave me alone." But the other would not leave him in peace, but continued to harass the old man until he lost his temper. — Then the true *noaide* rose, thrust his hand straight into the fire, shoved the burning logs aside, and took up a handful of glowing coals. He thrust them into his mouth and chewed on them so that fire and flames shot from his mouth. Then he sat down and said to the other Lapp: "Since you're a *noaide*, then do what I did." But the other Lapp was horrified and went out. Secretary Grape and his family witnessed the spectacle. His widow and the children still living

have related it to me.

§ 5

Biting burning coals is a quite ordinary trick among the old soothsayer Lapps, more of which later. One may ask whether this was merely visual deception or if they knew some secret trick to stop the fire from having an effect.

The same Lapp then went to Norway. There he met a few of his acquaintances who had set up as fishermen. They had caught a mess of fish from their fishing grounds and were planning to go home with their boat full of fish. Before leaving the place, however, they had bought themselves a few measures of liquor for a farewell celebration. When the Lapp joined them, they gave him a drink as well. He was reluctant to take it, although he was not one to spit in a glass. When they asked him why he had suddenly become so choosy, he replied: "You will suffer a huge misfortune on your way home. You are in danger of drowning when you are almost there." The fishermen snorted and paid no attention to him. However, they did sail very carefully, since accidents often happen in the Norwegian fjords when people sail them carelessly with a [fully] loaded boat. Finally one of the fishermen said, when they were within only a few stones' throws of their home shore, "That Lapp was useless as a soothsayer when he said our lives would be in danger on the way home; here we are almost home, and no accident has happened." But at that moment, a gust of wind came and capsized the boat; the fishermen barely managed to get hold of the keel and were saved. The soothsayer had been right. In this example there is a prophecy which is hard to explain. With regard to this type of prophecy, normal logic is of no help.

§ 6

I have heard another example of sorcery from reliable people, who were not themselves actually eyewitnesses; this sorcery involved revenge. At least with regard to the background of the happenings, there seems to be nothing incredible. 50 to 60 years ago at a fair, a certain merchant from Tornio became angry with a certain Lapp from Enontekiö and struck him so badly that the blood poured out. The Lapp threatened the merchant, saying: "You have bloodied my head today; your own blood will flow tomorrow." The

merchant paid no heed to that, but what happened? The following day he suffered such a hemorrhage that the loss of blood made him too tired and weak to continue the journey; the other merchants were forced to leave him in a village called Kuttainen. The merchant complained to a landowner in this farming village that a certain Lapp had vowed revenge on him for a few lashes with a cane. He asked the farmer what kind of man the Lapp really was, and if it was possible that the great loss of blood he had suffered was caused by Lappish sorcery. "Very likely!" said the farmer, a new settler who also knew the Lapp. "It is not unlikely." Then he began to wave a torch around the yard as if to drive away those spirits with the aid of which the Lapp was believed to have caused the merchant's aforementioned haemorrhage. In this story it is historically true that the merchant had beaten the Lapp, that the Lapp had threatened him or sworn revenge, that the merchant had suffered a bad haemorrhage the following day; those things had in fact happened. The rest of the narration the reader can judge for himself. The remarkable part lies in the prophecy itself: how could the Lapp know that a strong and healthy merchant would suffer such a loss of blood on the following day? A prophecy, which without reason or prerequisite explicable conditions was fulfilled to the last detail, requires interacting influences lying outside time and place.⁴

§ 7

When these happenings are compared to what older writers have testified about the *noaide* Lapps' abilities to explain future happenings and when one takes into account that they have been able to give a detailed explanation of what is happening or is going to happen in the most distant places, one is indeed tempted to believe that not everything which is said about the Lapps' skill in prophecy is without foundation. What happened in Bergen may serve as an example, an account which Schefferus has incorporated into his work from an old Norwegian writer, Petrus Claudi. He relates that in a work named *Bergens Publika Handlingar*⁵ a remarkable event is described in which a certain Lapp, at the request of a certain merchant named Delling⁶ told him everything that had happened to this clerk's master in Germany on a certain day and at a certain time. This account the merchant wrote down immediately, and later he found that everything was just as the Lapp had related. This account is less likely to be fictional, since it is confirmed by public authority.

Knowing what is happening in a distant place requires a force acting

outside of time and place. Swedenborg, a man famous for seeing spirits, has in many irrefutable examples confirmed the existence of such phenomena, which seem to have occurred among Lappish *noaides*. Swedenborg was not a seer by nature, but came to be burdened by this strange tendency through illness. He too saw spirits unwillingly, like the Lapp of whom Tornaeus writes. Swedenborg has also testified that such things are contrary to the organization of nature and are a burden to the seer. He says in one of his writings: "You assuredly believe that seeing spirits is pleasant, but pray to God to shield you from such sight." I know full well that thoughtless dilettantes and that those book-learned ones who are deep into objective speculation deny even the possibility of contact with spirits. But as long as psychology is in its present weak state, it is not proper to mock such matters which even the keenest of thinkers cannot explain, or to debunk historical facts for which even the most sharp-sighted physicians cannot find a natural explanation. The relationship between the spiritual and material world is secret and will remain so as long as the world survives. *A person cannot achieve direct knowledge even of his soul as a truly existent being separate from his body*: he can achieve full certainty of his soul's existence only by way of inference, and the conclusion still rests upon the unproven premise that thoughts are the product of the soul, and not of the brain's function.

§ 8

It is not the intention of these basics to persuade a reader that he should accept as truth everything that old writers have said about Lappish sorcery. But since there is so much in it that is very strange and inexplicable to ordinary comprehension, it is perhaps not a bad idea to present one more example that is tangential to the matter. In Ångermanland there still lives a Lappish woman who has become famous for her unusual knowledge of the human organism, which she has not learned through any study of anatomy and physiology. This woman, commonly known as Lapland Tiina, has performed many wonder cures on people whom doctors had already abandoned. She has demonstrated her skill most especially as an expert on diseases of the eye. Here is an example: Rev. Nordenson had lost his sight and none of the numerous doctors he had consulted were able to do anything. Then to his good fortune, he decided to go and visit Tiina the Lapp, and in a few weeks, the man had recovered his sight. Lapland Tiina had performed an operation that few doctors could have duplicated. When Rev. Nordenson arrived in Härnösand and met some of his acquaintances there, they were

dumfounded: how could he — known to be totally blind — see as clearly as anyone? He answered with only these Biblical words: "...one thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see."⁷

Lapland Tiina's fame spread all the way to Stockholm. Once a dealer in spices and knick-knacks sent for her. One of his eyes had begun to grow out of his head. None of the doctors in Stockholm could understand the reason for it, but Lapland Tiina said, as soon as she saw the man, that under the eye was an abscess which forced the pupil out of its place. She made for herself a special needle with which she punctured the abscess under the eye. A specialist was present on that occasion, and after the operation he asked Tiina if the man's eyes would now become sound. "Yes," she answered, "his eye will get better, yet I can see that in six months he will develop a cataract. But there is no reason to upset a patient with what I know in advance. Let him be happy with his sight as long as he has it." And it happened as she had said it would.

Another true occurrence. A certain Ångermanland farmer got an unbearable pain in one ear for some unknown reason. He went to a physician and asked for some remedy, but the latter knew only the usual prescription for an earache, which brought the man no relief. Then he went to Tiina and asked for her advice. After a moment's thought, she said that a grain of barley had gotten into his ear, adding that it was no easy matter to get it out, since it had already begun to sprout and thus had expanded considerably. However, she was willing to try to get it out of the ear if the man thought he could bear such rough treatment. She made herself a special pair of pincers with which she plucked the grain out of the man's ear, although he was on the verge of fainting during the risky procedure. Then Lapland Tiina showed the grain with its sprout and its slender roots to the bystanders. Probably it would have thrust its sprout through the ear if the man had not sought aid from Lapland Tiina in time. The strange thing is that the ear was swollen just as if it had closed, so that no one could see down into it, much less see the grain there. How then could Lapland Tiina know that it was a grain and not some other dirt?

The same Lapland Tiina also cured the educated daughter of a person from Härmösand of rickets or the English disease. But although in that case in addition to medication she used some little witchcraft techniques (probably sympathetic cures)⁸, I don't want to cast a bad light on people who would like to be considered completely averse to superstition — although the credibility in this case would in no way be diminished, since the young lady, whom no physician could cure, Lapland Tiina actually did cure. This both the family and the cured person herself have assured me of.

It is remarkable that an unschooled Lappish woman without previous medical schooling has been able to obtain such a deep understanding of the human organism and even more remarkable that she announces having gotten this skill from a woman in the realm of the dead, with whom she says she is in special contact, the very same relationship which is said to exist among true *noaides* (more of this soon). Lapland Tiina admits that this chthonic woman was in attendance at her baptism and so she calls her her godmother. Sometimes — when she has to deal with more difficult illnesses — she is in the habit of closing her eyes and thinking for a time just as if she were seeking knowledge of the type of illness and its cure from inside, and when she is questioned about it, she answers: “I’m asking my godmother.”

§ 9

Moreover there appears in certain Lapps a strange weakness of the nerves, or whatever one wishes to call this odd inclination of theirs; for some insignificant cause they lapse into a state of over-stimulation. This lends credibility to what older writers say about their *noaides*, namely that after some special strain on body and soul they sink into a kind of trance or magnetic sleep⁹, during which the soul in a state of rapture, as if free of its body, experiences the strangest fantasies. I don’t know whether this over-stimulated state is a result of their isolated life, their selection of food, or perhaps from an inherited tendency to bodily illness. But it is an actual fact that some Lapps, especially older women, are easily incited and prone to fainting. Tornæus says of this psychological phenomenon (p. 51): “It is known that most older Lappish women cannot withstand or endure any sudden movement or fright. If anyone angers them, says a contradictory word, points to or mocks them or takes hold of them, they immediately go wild, attack the man, tear his hair, hit him with a coal or anything they can lay their hands on. However respectable a man there may be present, they will brazenly display their genitals without inhibition; it is almost as if they were frenzied — which they actually are — for an hour or a half hour until they tire and sleep the wild nature out of themselves, and then they are like other people.”

Högström describes the same phenomenon as follows: Some Lapps frighten so easily that they faint at once or seem to lose consciousness; it is not known if this is out of timidity or because of some other characteristic. Not only has an entire group been found to have fainted in a church, but it

has happened that some have risen and begun to beat those sitting next to them. I have seen some of them act this way in their dwellings if a person shouts or if an ember crackles suddenly. Frightened in this fashion, they leap up suddenly, and it doesn't seem to matter if they happen to have an axe or knife in their hands; they strike out with it at whoever is near them. I have seen them imitating whatever strange things another has done; if someone has grimaced, pointed a finger, danced, or done something else, they will imitate his every act. And when it is all over they will ask if they have done anything inappropriate: they say, you see, that they are unaware of what they have done." (Högström Ch. 9 § 8).

Petrus Laestadius also speaks of the same phenomenon somewhere in his journal, but since this writer has no division into sections nor an index, it is difficult to find a place I have read some time ago. In Lappish, the phenomenon is called *keuvot* 'to be wild and out of one's head' or 'to act like a lunatic,' and a person who has such a tendency is called a *keuvalis*. Some Lappish women say that the tendency stems from their being frightened by the roughhousing of pranksters when they were young. Others do not know how they have come to be this way. They spout all kinds of indecencies and abominations during this ecstasy, but all of it unknowingly. They repeat everything that another has said before them as clearly as if it were a lesson they had learned, although in a calm state they might be more inept than ordinary people. A Lappish wife from Kvickjock was one of that kind. The pranksters teased her whenever she came to the churchyard. When they had taunted her sufficiently, she fainted. There was another Lappish woman — I think she is still alive — who sank into a kind of magnetic dream if she encountered some difficulty. In this state she would lie motionless, not so much as twitching a hand or foot, but with a flood of words pouring from her mouth. She spoke as though from the spirit of all sorts of incredible and incomprehensible things, as if she were in another world. They tried to prod her and lift her up, but all in vain; she neither saw nor heard what was happening in this world. Having recovered or awakened from her trance, she was very tired and weak and could barely return to her senses. This psychological phenomenon seems somehow typical of the Lapps, and therefore I wanted first to attest to these matters as a basis for that which will now be related concerning the Lapland *noaides*.

§ 10

Almost all those who have written about the Lapps of old relate that the old

prophetic Lapps, by way of a horrendous strain on body and soul, would sink into a trance or prophetic sleep, and that in this state they imagined seeing things or having revelations, which upon awakening they told to those seeking knowledge. Old Petrus Claudi already writes about the prophetic Lapp, who told the merchant Delling what his master was doing in Germany, saying that the Lapp was shouting and bellowing like a drunk, leaping and whirling around a number of times. Then he sank to the earth as if dead. After lying there some time, he recovered, and then related what Delling's master had done in Germany. (Schefferus p, 134–135).

In order to increase the power of the imagination and thus reach a state of ecstasy, all kinds of means were used, including the divination drum. But as has already been said, the true *noaide* did not need the drum in order to fall into a magnetic sleep. Nor did he need this drum to see what was happening in far-off places. One can almost see from the entire set-up that the true *noaide* used the drum partly to enhance the power of the imagination and partly — perhaps mainly — to conceal his art from the large flock of impostors, who also wanted to profit from his art, but could themselves do nothing, depending rather on the oracle of the drum. Naturally, in order to make some money, they imitated the true *noaides*, pretended to lose consciousness, etc.

§ 11

Leem relates: "When a sick person turned to the *noaide* for help, he [the *noaide*] first spoke thus to his *noaide* bird (*nåide-lådde*): *bette taal kåttjo to matkai* ('panic bids you to come'). Then he bade the *noaide* bird to fetch the *nåide gadse* (*noaide* spirit, demon). Then when the bird had summoned the *noaide* spirit, there were two kinds of beings present. Another grouping consisted of the *noaide* himself and of two women who were called *sjarak*; they were in ceremonial dress, wearing a kerchief but not a waistband. There was also a man present, who was called *mårro-åive*; he had to take off his hat and his belt. In addition, an immature [*halfvuxen*] girl had to be present. An invisible congregation, which only the *noaide* could see, consisted of the following demonic figures: first, *årja*, the leader, *nåide gadse*, then two invisible women, who accompanied *årja*, and who were called *rudok*."

Now when all the visible and invisible council had gathered, preparations were begun for the magical performance. The *noaide* took off his hat,

opened his belt and shoelaces, and put his hands to his face. With his hands to his sides, writhing back and forth, he began a song with these words: *Valamastit herke; sjaattjalit vanas* ('hitch up the male reindeer, launch the boat into the water'). Then the *noaide* tossed glowing coals out of the fire with his bare hands, but the coals could not damage him. He drank some liquor, struck his knee with an axe, threw himself backward to rest on his hands, and carried the axe three times around the aforementioned *sjarak*-woman. Finally he sank to the ground as if dead, then lay there stretched out during the long period of the ecstatic trance. During that time his spirit, freed of its bodily chains, made a journey to the underworld, seeing the *passevareh*-mountains with their underworld inhabitants. There he heard the *luodit*-song or the song of the *passevare*, the invisible inhabitants. During the *noaide*'s trance, the *sjarak*-women talked softly to one another (conjecturing) to which *passevare*-mountain the prophesier's spirit was hastening, and when these women, in repeating the names of different *passevare*-mountains, happened to mention the right one — the one where the *noaide*'s spirit was — he moved a hand or foot. The women went on discussing what the *noaide* was seeing on the *passevare*, upon which he, mumbling softly, like someone talking in his sleep, repeated the words he had heard in the invisible world. This mumbling is called *vuollet zâbme* ('soft whispering') in Lappish. Immediately upon hearing this mumbling, both women begin to sing in a high register until the *noaide* comes to and relates what is to be done. — Earlier, before the day for divining, the Lapp fasts.

§ 12

From this account of Leem's, we can see that the entire ceremony was aimed at increasing the power of the imagination. The *noaide* strove internally to raise his organism's level of performance; and if — as it is assumed — the true *noaides* knew of some secret substance that had a narcotic effect — which they took before the magic performance began, all the other tricks were intended merely to lead onlookers astray and confusing those not initiated into the art.

In the preceding paragraph (§) there are some Lappish words which belong to the language of sorcery and are thus not very easy to translate and explain. *Nâide lādde* was presumably the same as *vuokko* or *vuomis lādde*, which has already been mentioned in the preceding chapter, Part 1 § 141.¹⁰ Possibly *nâide lādde* here means the same as *saivo lādde*, hence 'under-

world bird, sorcery bird' (Part 1 § 76). *Náide kadse* was 'noaide's life' (see Part 1 § 138).¹¹ *Árja*, 'thrall' was the *noaide*'s underworld slave or servant. *Sjarak*, *márro*, *áive*, and *rudok* are the type of *noaide* words one cannot explain. It is worthy of note that the *noaide* fasted before the beginning of the magic rites. Jessen says: "For important procedures the *noaide* had to fast for a day." (Jessen, p. 60). They surely knew from experience that it is difficult to send spiritual powers into flight on a full belly.

On the subject of the Lapps' falling in trance, another short excerpt from Olaus Magnus can be presented, published by Schefferus (p. 135). Earlier (Part 2 § 24) I actually have noted the errors in this information. He says: "He (the *noaide*) goes into the room accompanied only by his wife and his assistant. By banging with the hammer in the manner described above, he sets the copper frog or snake to hopping around the anvil; he lets it move here and there, all the while mumbling charms. At this time he falls down in a state of ecstasy, lying there for some time as if he were dead. Meantime those we have mentioned as accompanying the *noaide* guard him carefully so that no living thing, mosquitoes, flies, or other animals, can get near him. Strengthened by the charms, his spirit, with the guidance of some evil spirit, seeks from persons far away, a certain token, a ring or knife, as evidence that he has completed his assignment or mission. Then he rises and explains the meaning of this token and of other relevant matters to the person who has paid for this." [From the Latin]

The only apparent truth in this information is that after this mystical striving, the *noaide* lost consciousness, or pretended to if he was an impostor. What is said about the ring which the *noaide*, upon waking, is supposed to have brought back from a far-off place as a sign that he has been there, we can attribute to the writer's lack of knowledge. For that reason Gravallius must also be considered unreliable, for he has repeated this fairy-tale information of Olaus Magnus and supplemented it — apparently — with his own additions: 6–12 (?)¹³ "after an hour — depending upon the distance from the place he is supposed to visit — the person who had lost consciousness awoke." Gravallius and other book-learned men should not, however, think that by elaborating fabulous tales to extremes with their own fanciful adornments and falsifications, they will be able to destroy that within the Lappish sorcery establishment which has been consistent with the truth. The subject is to be investigated from the proper perspective and those impossibilities weeded out, which such tellers of fairy tales, who know nothing of Lappish history from the inside, have perpetrated. When this is done, only pure historical truth will remain, and the sum of it is that true Lapland *noaides*, through the efforts of their own bodies and souls, by

increasing the power of their imagination, fall into a kind of magnetic sleep, which is conducive to creating the strangest fantasies. — Is there something unreasonable in this? — The simple mind cannot fully comprehend a realm or influence situated beyond place and time, since from start to finish it is rooted in a knowledge of place and time derived from sense impressions. The human mind, therefore, cannot think outside of time and space. Yet a person's inside has the components of an *existence* which is not of in place and time. He has an inborn sense of justice, a moral principle totally independent of place and time. He has a conception of a higher *existence* beyond place and time and a presentiment of a *coming existence* beyond time and place. He has, therefore, an inner possibility of a mutual influence outside of place and time, which possibility becomes a reality as soon as his true inner half, his soul or spirit, is freed from the chains of the body. But this statement does not obviate the soul's being freed instantaneously from these chains, that is, through a momentary mutual influence beyond place and time. Hence the following are sanctioned: visions, apparitions, existence as spirit, the freeing of the spirit from the visible world; thus also *noaides*, prophetic women (for example, Bileam; the woman of Endor)¹⁴ spiritual visions, colloquies with the dead etc. are accepted as true. Why then should this sanction be denied to certain prophetic Lapps only because such a relationship to the spirit world does not easily correspond to the [demands] of a petrified brain weary of sense impressions?

§ 14

I shall return again to the loss of consciousness by the *noaide* Lapps. I argue that this is not a matter of the soul's being completely freed from the world of the senses, but merely of a momentary influence beyond place and time. Thus it is not necessary to assume, as Gravallius did, that the *noaide's* magnetic dream lasted a whole 6 or 12 hours; communication with the spirit world requires only the length of time necessary for the reception by one of images shaped by the other. To make these images one's own does require some time. Judging by the examples I have mentioned earlier, a person in a state of enhanced imaginative power is able to receive a larger number of mental images than are required in an ordinary calm state. I have never heard a person speak as rapidly as the so-called *keuvolis*, or Lappish woman in a state of ecstasy; nor can one hear from any healthy person such senseless, intertwined ideas as from these women. Is time needed according to the distance, so that the *noaide* has to lie in his magnetic dream for a

shorter or longer time? It seems to me that an influence situated beyond place and time nullifies distance. Sitting in his Gothenborg boarding house, Swedenborg did not need a long time to learn that fire had broken out in Stockholm; he saw it the very same instant that the fire broke out. Thus he said to those who were dining with him at the boarding house: "Fire has broken out in Stockholm." I cite this as historical fact; those present cannot deny its truth.

So when we visualize in our minds the prophetic Lapp lying in his magnetic sleep, we do not have to imagine a specific flight, say from Bergen to Hamburg. The time required for the Lapp to get the information pertinent to Delling's master did not depend upon distance but upon his taking possession of successive imaginary pictures, whether the objects were to be viewed and interpreted by his own spirit, or whether his knowledge depended upon reports coming from the spirit world. It was Gravallius himself who lengthened the period of the trance to 6 and 12 hours, which would indeed be sufficient for a journey to the moon. Master Gravallius — or the *noaide* himself — should have observed that this flailing about in the air was conducive only to making himself ridiculous in the eyes of the audience. If we look at the passage from which he has taken his vast information on the "copper snake or frog" which was placed on a rock etc. and on the ring or the knife belonging to the individual from whom the *noaide* had received his charge, we observe that no period of time was assigned to the trance. Schefferus, who also cites this information of Olaus Magnus, has immediately below it the contradictory words of Petrus Claudi, which read: "He lies down, sends off his spirit and is like one dead, a dark gray in color. He lies thus for an hour or two, always according to whether the place where he must find out something is far or near." [From the Latin]. In this account the duration of the trance is at least shortened; but I think this too could stand further abbreviation. A person who has lain for two hours without breathing — should he possibly awaken from the trance — will not have much breath left in him.

§ 15

It is remarkable that several writers have given us the information that the prophetic Lapps did not breathe while in the trance. In addition to Petrus Claudi — whose Danish words Schefferus repeats in still another place (p. 136) "Petrus Claudi says they stopped breathing" — Schefferus's Anonymous has also related that they "fell and fainted." Peucerus also declares

(Schefferus, p. 138): "Having cried out to his god, the *noaide* suddenly collapses in a heap and becomes lifeless." He seems to be dead, as if his soul had actually left his body. He has stopped breathing and he doesn't seem to feel anything or to be able to move." Olaus Magnus writes: "He lies for a short time as if he were dead." Olaus Petri,¹⁵ Samuel Rheen, and all the others who have provided Schefferus with information seem to understand the matter thus, that the Lapp lay as if he were dead, without breathing. Tuderus writes: "Then he sinks into a trance and becomes just as if dead." Leem writes: "Finally he sinks to the ground as if dead, and during this period of ecstasy he lies full length for a long time." Thus on the basis of so many sources of information, one really must believe that not all the trances were pretended, but true; the use of external senses truly ceased, and the circulation of the blood checked to the extent that the function of the brain ceases just as when a person faints from the loss of blood.

What is also remarkable is what Anonymous relates regarding huge exertions by the *noaides*. He says: "They sing for a long time, until they lose consciousness and fall to the earth as if dead; *they strain so much that sweat pours from their face and from their entire bodies.*" This, like Petrus Claudi's observation, that "the *noaide* in his trance is dark blue if not black in the face" does indicate what has already been said, that the prophetic Lapp, through these horrendous exertions of body and soul, increased his organism's abilities to perform, raising his powers of imagination to an ever-higher state of sensitivity. Total paralysis and passivity of the brain, which closely resemble a false death, must follow as a consequence of this.

§ 16

At this point some scoffer who really hasn't condescended to strain his brain on psychological studies may ask where the *noaide's* spirit was during this trance period. My reply is that it doesn't much concern us, since it is in any case impossible to define a time and place under circumstances which are beyond time and place. — The Lapps themselves say that the soul of the *noaide* is in Hades or the underworld. Some say in "*jaabma aimo*" that is, in the world of the dead; others say "in *saivo*" that is, in that world which was considered to be underground. A people who are on the whole simple¹⁶ have their own psychological views, which are well worth exploring although they do not agree with the views of keen thinkers.

I have heard many Lapps basing a belief in the existence and immortal-

ity of the soul on dreams. “*Surely people have a soul,*” they say, “*since it moves and travels — in dreams.*” In a way this is Descartes’ famous formulation, “*Cogito ergo sum*”¹⁷ turned on its head. When a person’s conception of being cannot really be separated from that of extension, the wandering of the soul — as the Lapps envision it — becomes well-nigh impossible to conceive; for if the soul is viewed as a being, it cannot — in case we imagine it to be made up of some even finer matter than light — be thought of as a flying spirit which could travel so and so many leagues in a second.

But if we abstract all extension from the concept of spirit, little is left of a person’s *being*, separated from the body, but an idea. A spark of Logos¹⁸, which undoubtedly represents true *being*. With its essential being, where knowing is situated, it is not bounded by time and place. Its knowing is where it is thought to be, that is, nowhere and everywhere beyond place and time. In such a state all extension, all measures of length vanish. They are in fact no more than empty modes of thought wrought by sense impressions, which gradually settle into people’s imaginations just like fixed ideas. In the world of the senses, there is no absolute largest quantity, just as there no absolute smallest quantity. This means only that the subject who receives impressions from the outer world through the agency of his senses is in such a relationship to the world of the senses that the sum of the influences received, the mind-picture of the world, becomes what the senses yield. What follows is that the world of the senses must be absolutely the same as what the agency of the senses represents to us. A change in our sensing organs means an entirely different world to us.

If now this subject, which we shall call the soul, and which is able to receive impressions, comes into such a relationship to the outside world that it receives impressions from that outside world, what prevents this sensing organ from receiving impressions from another world?

From this perspective we should view not only the prophetic Lapp’s ability to receive impressions from the spirit world but by way of this person’s spiritual nature we can come to understand much that seems hazy in its presentation; for example, the Biblical expressions; ‘to be in spirit,’ ‘to have a revelation in dreams,’ ‘to conjure the dead,’ ‘to be in power over defiled spirits,” etc.

These theses cannot be proven just a little as the truth of Revelation can be proven. And what of human knowledge can be proven? Only mathematical truths, *which are based on certain correspondences in the sensory organs which receive phenomena from the outside world*, and the truths of physics, based on the same correspondence in the sensory organs. All else which is based on premises not founded in direct experiment is unprovable.

Thus we see one philosophical system after another collapsing in a heap like the tower of Babel, for as soon as the hypothesis or premise collapses, the whole system collapses.

§ 17

Let us now imagine that the *noaide*'s senses, through excessive strain on his body and soul, are so depressed that they cannot receive impressions from the world of the senses. Then the spiritual receptive mechanism of the soul, which, with the senses in a passive state, has become much freer to receive impressions, must truly be able to receive impressions produced by the power of its own imagination. It is able, as we know, to awaken imaginings and to shape fantasies. In the same way it receives impressions from such quarters as belong to the soul's own sphere as well as to the extra-sensory sphere. It is known that the sensing in dreams is often more vivid than in reality, and that things we cannot even think in a waking state are easily realized in dreams. In the state of *delirium tremens*²⁰, which results from a depressed state of the senses, it is easier for the soul to receive all sorts of impressions and perceptions which another person is totally unable to perceive. Granted that the soul's own power of imagination produces these perceptions, then the person in his heated state also imagines that he sees people whom he recognizes although he knows they are dead. It happened to a certain Muonionniska farmer when he became delirious after drinking for fourteen days. In this state he believed that he saw or imagined he saw spirits among whom were many of his acquaintances. He said that these spirits wanted to be re-baptized. But when the man had been without eating for several days and was also unable to sleep, he was tricked into eating salt fish and clabbered milk. This tired him and he fell asleep; then he no longer saw the spirits. From previous examples we can conclude that not all of the people he saw in his daze were merely products of his imagination. For you cannot call that which has a counterpart in reality a creation of the imagination. When Swedenborg said that a fire had broken out in Stockholm, it was not imagination, since it was actually true. What was imagined had its counterpart in reality. And when the soothsayer Lapp related to Tornaeus everything that had happened to him on his journey, this was not imagination, since the dean himself had to admit that it was so, although he did not want to admit it to the Lapp. Such true occurrences prove more, to my simple understanding, than hypotheses based on sense impressions according to which there are no spirits, and that if there were, a creature of the sense

world can have no direct knowledge of them. This is the true basic tenet of materialism. This statement is also an unproved hypothesis, and it has little meaning in the face of all the undeniable truths which contradict it.

§ 18

Let us turn from these discussions to the procedures involved in Lappish divination events. All writers do not describe these ceremonies in the same way. Olaus Petri has related that when the *noaide* is lying in his magnetic sleep, someone has to be near him at all times to stop anything from touching him in the belief that otherwise he would never wake up (Schefferus, p. 135). Olaus Magnus has the same information, that a follower of the prophetic old man had to watch him most carefully when unconscious so that no fly, mosquito, or other living creature could get to touch him (Schefferus, p. 135). Samuel Rheen and Anonymous offer slightly different information. The former relates that both the *noaide* himself and his men and women assistants sing (*yoik*) in clear voices, the men more gruffly and the women in a finer and softer voice. And when the *noaide* loses consciousness, the bystanders, both men and women, must continue singing in order to remind him of his task and of what he must learn from the spirit world. Otherwise, according to anonymous, his plan will never succeed (Schefferus, p. 138). Leem, though, has testified that the bystanders could not sing loudly when the soothsayer was in a trance, but were to continue the magical performance in a low, whispering voice.

These divergent testimonies merely bear witness to the fact that the ceremonies differed in different parts of Lapland. And since perhaps some old *noaide*, as the result of too great a strain, had fallen asleep forever, it is quite natural that the bystanders should seek to avoid this by singing etc. — just as though to affect his senses by way of sense impressions. Naturally this is just my assumption; I assume that experience had taught them to sing or use some other sense impressions to help his senses to regain their function. It is said that the same method can keep a person who has taken opium from falling asleep or that one who is apparently dead can be revived by tickling in a certain way. As for the rest, I leave the more precise explanation of this phenomenon to trained psychologists and physiologists, and merely declare as valid the knowledge that the *noaide* loses consciousness, faints or goes into a trance, and in that state he fantasizes, sees visions, or dreams.

§ 19

The information that the unconscious *noaide* should be protected from flies, mosquitoes, and other such was probably the fancy of some superstitious helper who was present. They probably feared that some other *noaide* could send such creatures to injure the one who was in a trance. I can find no other basis for this extreme precaution. Peucerus's information that the *noaide* must come to after 24 hours I consider hardly worth mentioning since the idea is not that he should relate what he had seen during those 24 hours. Schefferus, who provides this information based on Peucerus, has not presented the matter clearly enough (p. 240). In the same place, to judge by his citation of Olaus Petri's words, his intention seems to have been to say that the *noaide* would never have needed to lie in a trance for 24 hours. It may have been a question of his being able, within 24 hours, to clarify any and every matter inquired of him. I, at least, have thus understood the words of Olaus Magnus, adduced by Schefferus: "They may even be hundreds of leagues away seeking answers to any inquiry under the sun, and they do not want to answer [while they are in a trance]; this they can do in a journey of 24 hours."²¹ This means that a Lappish *noaide* could give an answer to the question presented within 24 hours. It does not, however, follow that he would have needed such a long time or even one fourth of it for the actual magnetic sleep. A Lapp generally needs some time to prepare himself for this important task (if his powers as seer have not developed to the extent that he can see while awake). First he must fast. Then he must choose suitable people as assistants. And it may be that the narcotic ingredients used by the less experienced took effect so slowly that the Lappish *noaide* really needed about half a day to begin his actual performance.

It is likewise remarkable that no one who has written on this subject has a clear knowledge of the secret itself. Almost certainly some old Lappish *noaides* have known some secret method to make their organism overly sensitive, a state to which very few have a natural tendency. And since most of the writers relate that the method had to be learned and that no one who had not been taught by a reputable *noaide* could become a *noaide*, it follows from the nature of the case that the *noaides* had some secret method which they carefully guarded both from the priests and all others not initiated into it. A general notion, both among the Lapps and the Finns, is that in any case the *noaide* absolutely must have some dealings with the dead. I have heard that if a person wishes to have someone fall head over heels in love with him/her one must take saliva from the mouth of a dead person.

This is mixed with some ingredient taken from a snake and with some other mixture, about which I have no detailed information. This, however, is apparently mere *hocus-pocus*, with which the real secret is concealed; it was undoubtedly something put into liquor or some other drink which the person to be conjured was tricked into imbibing. Perhaps the Lappish *noaides* knew something about ingredients to enhance love,²² since the common folk in the Northwest still speak of a love potion.

§ 20

Both Olaus Magnus and Olaus Petri state that Lappish *noaide* fetch some token from the place they have visited while in a trance. This is most likely tale-spinning, to be valued as one sees fit. Olaus Petri's words read thus: "To give more weight to their statements, they brought with them a knife, a shoe, a ring or some other object known to the questioner as testimony that the commission had been successfully fulfilled." This is probably the height of *hocus-pocus*.

I have actually heard a tale of what happened in Muonionniska 60 or 70 years ago, when the sheriff of this region made a journey to Russian Lapland and met some Lapps from the Kola area there; Tornaeus and von Westen say the most ill-tempered of all Lapps lived there. The sheriff of Muonionniska met a Lappish woman there, who must really have demonstrated an ability to conjure. The sheriff, to wit, had mocked their sorcery and said that they merely faked it in order to frighten people. Then the woman said that the sheriff would indeed get a demonstration of her ability and would vouch for it when he got home. At that moment, she went out, and then came back in within a short time. — When the sheriff arrives home, he finds his wife ailing. She asks him what in the world he has done to the Lappish woman since she, on a certain day and at a certain hour, has come to her with a goblet of blood from which she has tried to force the sheriff's wife to drink. Then the sheriff remembers that on just that day when the clock struck just that hour, he has teased the Lappish woman in Russian Lapland.

If this story is true, as my informant has assured me, it is a truly remarkable manifestation of *repræsentatio magica*.²³ That the woman herself in the flesh²⁴ should have traveled back and forth a distance of some 50-60 leagues in such a short time is against all the laws of nature. She may have

affected the senses or the sensing organs of the sheriff's wife and thus created an image in her mind so sharp that it seemed real. With regard to dreams and other psychological phenomena, it is clear that the soul's inner perception is as clear as and sometimes clearer than that based on external reality; such inner perception the perceiver himself cannot distinguish from actual outer perception during the time of perception. Insofar as the Lappish woman had this wonderful power which enabled her to project her knowledge outside of time and place, it was by no means impossible for her to get in contact with the sheriff's wife in a few minutes and bring to life said image.

Let this example shed light on the Lappish *noaide*'s ability to fetch some token from a faraway place. No article of faith is in question. Let the reader decide the matter however he wishes, on condition that anyone who denies genuine historical fact out of sheer stupidity or lack of psychological knowledge, be esteemed less than a four-legged beast.

§ 21

The above is probably enough of the Lappish *noaides*' ability to prophesy or of their clairvoyance. Something should, however, be said of the way in which the *noaide*'s art is taught. Tornaeus writes of it as follows (p. 20): "I can, however, reveal how they come to be *noaides*. Not all Lapps are of the same nature, nor are they equally skilled in methods of conjuration; not all of them necessarily know anything about it or care anything about it nowadays. But some come to be *noaides* by nature, and others by way of learning and practice."

He who by nature becomes ill *in pueritia* [in his boyhood] is said to begin fantasizing in his weakness. If he becomes more gravely ill a second time, he may see and learn more. But if he is taken on a third trip, it is the most difficult and life-threatening journey; then he may witness all kinds of fiendish visions and become fully knowledgeable in all conjuring tricks. This the *incantatores* [reciters of charms] have confessed to me, those who have given away their *noaide*'s drum and promised to abandon such pagan doings. But at the same time they say that even without the drum, those who by nature and through illness have acquired such an art, see things which are not present — whether they want to or not.

Tornaeus has related this on the basis of the Lapps' own confessions, and from it one can observe that the drum is not really necessary to a true *noaide*.

Tornaeus also mentions in the same place that some become *noaides* through being taught, but how the art is actually taught he did not learn.

§ 22

Jessen understands the matter in a slightly different way. He says (p. 54): “To young men who were candidates for sorcery the gods appeared at regular intervals, sometimes in the form of *saivo* people (*saivo-gadse*) and sometimes in dreams etc. The *saivo* people would themselves teach these candidates and sometimes took them to the *saivo*, so that *saivo* who had passed on could teach them there. Then when the candidate had been taught the matters pertaining to the sorcery establishment, he was dedicated to the activity in the following ceremony. — A meeting was held of several *noaides*. The oldest one sat with the candidate outside the lodging so that their feet were side by side. Then the young man began to *yoik* and chant charms (or sing *noaides*’ songs) to the accompaniment of the drum. If their *saivo* or *nâide-gadse* joined the company and walked over their feet into the tent so that only the young *noaide* noticed it and felt in his feet the *saivo* people moving and walking over them, while the old *noaide* did not feel the movement but only found a sign of the *saivo* people’s presence — then the candidate was immediately dubbed a *noaide*, and from that moment on everyone acknowledged him as one. From this moment on, the *nisse* or their *saivo-gadse* began to associate more familiarly with the young *noaide*, and from them he could choose as many guardian spirits as he wished.

§ 23

Almost all those who have written of *noaides* have related that they were the Lapps’ physicians. Jessen says (p. 59): “Since the Lapps thought that deceased friends caused them all sorts of illnesses and even death — either to bring them near or to punish them for some offense they had committed — they seldom resorted to ordinary medications; *noaides* had to make journeys to *Jaabma aimo* (the realm of the dead) to appease the angry ghosts and heal the sick. Since all the accursed or otherwise ailing turned to the *noaides* for advice, the *noaide*’s function was considered very crucial. Making the journey to *Jaabma aimo*, was a question of who had the strongest *dielle* or *dirri*. One could generally be a *noaide* about to the age of 50, for once his teeth were gone, he was really not good for anything.” The last

mentioned information still holds true in prevailing public notions. It is generally believed that a *noaide* who has lost his teeth cannot accomplish anything. On the other hand it is difficult to know what Jessen means by mentioning the Lappish word *dielle* or *dirri*, for which he gives no explanation. *Dirri* is indeed a certain bird, (*Sterna Hirundo L.*).²⁵ Perhaps it was considered a *noaide* bird, with the help of which the *noaide* made his journey to Hades.

Samuel Rheen (Schefferus, pp. 142-143) also mentions that the sick asked the *noaide* to sacrifice whatever he considered most fitting to the gods or to the dead. In this connection Tornaëus adds that the art of prophecy was considered permissible to those who had done no wrong to people or animals. On the other hand, those who had hurt another through sorcery were generally considered bad.

§ 24

In the decade of 1640–1650, there was in Lule a very famous Lappish *noaide* who still lives in the people's memory. He was called *Kutavuorok*, 'Six-Phase,' a name probably associated with his ability to assume six different shapes. This Lappish *noaide* was said to order the dead as he saw fit.

An equally famous case was that of Stina Groth. At the time she was married to Chaplain Alstadius, who had treacherously swindled many Lappish wizard drums into his possession to send them on to the Stockholm Ministry of Antiquities. Once Stina Groth was taken suddenly ill at the Jockmock fair, and she had to send for the Lappish *noaide* *Kutavuorok* to ask him how the illness would terminate. Having taken a drink of liquor, he began, as usual, to stimulate his faculties to the point of losing consciousness. Having awakened, he said to the invalid: "Your soul has gone behind Saggat Lake (near Kvickjock in Lule Lapland)." Although Stina Groth was very ill, she allowed herself to be taken from Jockmock to her home in Kvickjock. However, she died on the way — as the Lappish *noaide* had predicted — near Saggat Lake. *Kutavuorok* was the last of the famous Lappish *noaide* whom the stories from this Lappish area tell about, from which one can conclude that true *noaides* were rare.

§ 25

Not only have certain writers related how Lapps with the gift of sorcery have killed people and animals and caused disasters with their spells, but

also some of the common folk still fear the *noaides* and their harmful power to cast spells. Tornaeus and Tuderus were both of the opinion that *noaides* could really injure and even kill people with their sorcery, in which context it is well to remember the story told above about the merchant with the hemorrhage (§ 6). But I am forced to drop the question here. At most let's assume that with sorcery — as with *gan*²⁶, which I tried to explain in the first part — the damage was caused either in some natural manner or by affecting the power of imagination of the object of the damage. The kind of person who is threatened by someone rightly considered a *noaide* may easily become ill, fearing the power of the threat and its fulfillment. The will-power of the crowd of unbelievers who cannot cast themselves upon the protection of Providence is so slight that a *noaide*'s threat has more effect on their nerves than God's threat in the Word. We have seen and heard examples of it, how even the half-educated have a special reverence for everything that goes under the name of sorcery. And why is it that the *noaide* (according to Gottlund's observation in his book *Taciti Omdömen öfver Finnarne*)²⁷ demands that the patient believe in the effectiveness of his *noaide*'s tricks if they are to be effective? Of course the imagination must have a great effect. If a person can die of fear or joy etc., it is not very remarkable if one or two fall ill when threatened by some known *noaide*.

§ 26

Schefferus (pp. 145, 146) had corrected Ziegler's and Olaus Magnus's mistaken information on the *noaide*'s arrows. These, namely, had described the Lappish *noaides* as having lead arrows, which they shot into people and cattle. Ziegler's words, cited by Schefferus, read as follows: "They also made of lead finger-length *noaide*'s arrows, which they shot over any distance whatsoever at those on whom they wished to take revenge." Olaus Magnus has repeated almost the same words, from which it can be concluded that the writers have added much of their own, since they lacked information about the true state of affairs. Schefferus as well has had little success, when, without citing any source, he described *tyre*²⁸ in an odd way, when it undoubtedly means *barania*. Of it Schefferus writes: "That which, according to Peter Clausson, the Finnish and Norwegian Lapps can achieve with *gan*, other Lapps are said to do with what they call *tyre*. *Tyre* is quite simply a ball about the size of an apple or a walnut, which is made up of thin hair, animal hair, or of moss. It is smooth, very even, and very light, so that it seems all but hollow, and in color it is yellow, green, ash-gray, but mostly pale yellow.

Then the writer relates that he has gotten such a gimmick from Dalarna and adds: "The *tyre* is said to become live and capable of motion by various means, and the Lapps sell them so that the buyer can direct them at any person he chooses. Lapps themselves imagine and delude others into thinking that with the aid of the *tyre* under discussion they can direct at a person anything they want, such as a snakes, frogs, rats, and other such, with the intention of badly injuring the object of the attack. The *tyre* is also said to move as rapidly as a whirlwind or an arrow from a bow or a bullet, but if on its way it encounters some other living being — no matter what it be — that becomes the object of its evil deed in place of the original victim. Thus the *tyre* often misses its target and wounds something entirely innocent. There are many sad examples of this from our own time."

Since both the object and the information about it are from Dalarna, I have followed Schefferus's words here in case someone is able to cast light on whether the folk belief in these areas was really as Schefferus pictures it. Gravallius had also copied the information in Schefferus, adding that "to-day our Swedish common folk still toss something light into a little whirlwind spinning along the ground, something made entirely of light components." — Information about the Norwegian *gan* has already been written up in Part 1 of Lappish mythology.

§ 27

Finally I have reason to bring out something about what the old writers have said about charm knots, even though most of it seems pure nonsense derived from the superstitious beliefs of the Swedish and Norwegian common folk. Schefferus has been unable to obtain any information about charm knots from those writers best knew the Lappish *noaide* institution. Neither Rheen, Tornaeus, nor Jessen has anything about them. In this context, Schefferus has cited Ziegler, Olaus Magnus, Petrus Claudi, and Damianus à Goës. But none of them has been able to provide a single historical fact on which to base their information. So it seems that these writers have merely written down tales of wonder which have circulated among the people.

Ziegler's words about the charm knots read thus: "They tie three magic knots into a thong. If they open one of them, a gentle breeze begins to blow. If they open another, the wind blows more strongly, and if they open the third a violent storm comes up, just as they used to bring on lightning a long time ago." Olaus Magnus shifts the blame to the necks of the Finns

when he writes: "The Finns, along with their other pagan errors, have sold wind to merchants who have been forced to remain on their shores by unfavorable wind conditions. They sell them three charmed knots tied next to one another in a thong, informing them that if they open the first, they will get gentle winds, brisker winds if they open the second knot. But if they open the third, they will feel such stormy gusts that they will be unable to watch for and avoid reefs from the bow, or stand up on deck to reef the sails or tend the rudder in the stern."

Petrus Claudi says: "He (the *noaide*) can raise and awaken any wind he wants; he can especially raise the wind which blew when he was born."

For those who buy a wind from him, he makes three knots in a line. When he opens the first knot, he gets a moderate wind; if he opens the second knot, he gets a brisk wind. But if he opens the third knot, there will be a shipwreck and the loss of men."

á Goës has related that the *noaide* may stop a swiftly sailing ship. The only means against such treachery is to brush the rowers' benches and the passageways between them with a maiden's discharge." Schefferus adds to this (p. 145): For my part I am sure that "maiden's discharge" means her menstrual blood.

§ 28

No one has been able to say what material the charm knot was made of, and whether it was made in a person's or a reindeer-hide belt. Insofar as any conclusions can be drawn from present-day folk belief, the charm knot must have had something to do with the dead, and it was with their help that the winds were presumably raised. In my childhood I have heard stories of the aforementioned *Kutavuorok*, the prophetic Lapp. Once when wolves had scattered a rich Lapp's reindeer herd, *Kutavuorok* had fetched them all back together with a power related to the dead. He had asked the whole family to go to bed and sleep in total peace. He himself had lain next to the rich Lapp's oldest daughter. Then the Lappish *noaide* began to whistle; soon his servant spirits arrived with a strong rushing sound, so that *Kutavuorok* himself had to order them not to trample on the sleeping people. He ordered these spirits to bring the reindeer herd back, which also happened. Three times the people in the *kota* heard how the reindeer came close to the *kota* like violent weather. The third time the actual reindeer herd had reached the

kota. I tell this story as testimony to the common folk belief whose main content is that the *noaides* were involved in dealings with the dead and could command them in any matter they chose. It also follows from this that the charm knot — insofar as it had any power or effect — must undoubtedly have been made from some special material and probably contained something taken from the dead. There still exists a certain seaman's term which seems to indicate that some deceased woman will provide a good wind, when they say: "Blow, Kaisa." Sometimes the Norwegians' poor wretches of the sea³⁰ are seen to take a place to row in the bow; then one knows that the ship will travel at a good speed. — I will leave the charm knots with its winds to the care of its fate; those who have written of it have been unable to present any clear truths, so it is quite impossible to investigate the matter further. One can only admit the folk belief to have been such that the *noaides* were believed to achieve any kind of weather whatsoever with the aid of the charm knot described above. The *noaide's* power to stop a sailing ship in its course described by à Goës has its counterpart in common folk beliefs, a few examples of which I shall give here.

In the late 1650s there was in Arjeplog a priest named Herr Pehr (Noreus Fjellström). In those days the Pite Lapps were still quite wild. During the administration of Holy Communion, it could happen that a Lapp held on tightly to the chalice in order to drink more of the wine from it. To prevent this, Herr Pehr had to dole out the drink in a spoon. Among such wild creatures a blow from a fist or cane was often required. Once in a fit of rage Herr Pehr dealt one of the Lapps such a whack that the man fell into an eternal sleep. But since no one else was present, Herr Pehr, without further ado, buried the body in a pit behind the parsonage. In the spring Herr Pehr was obliged to move from Arjeplog to Silbojock with all his possessions. Since there was no cemetery at Arjeplog at the time, Herr Pehr decided to take the body with him and bury it in Silbojock in complete secrecy. So the body was put into a sled (with reindeer lined up to pull the load) along with other baggage. When the sled had traveled some distance to Hornava (a certain large lake), the last reindeer stopped dead and absolutely refused to move. The Lapp driving the sled went out to see what could be holding up the reindeer since it refused to budge. Freeing the load he found, to his utter amazement, the body in it. This then was the reason the reindeer refused to go on.

Another example. After the peace made with Russia in 1809 the church at Enontekiö was left without a congregation for the time being and had to be moved down to Palojoensuu on the Russian side of the border. Among the group that was transporting the dismantled timbers of the church was a

Finn who had been troubled by the dead in a dream on his way to Enon-tekiö. When he had fallen asleep in Kuttainen, he began to complain in his sleep. When the man next to him nudged him and woke him up, he said, "*If you had not awakened me, the dead would surely have killed me.*" When they reached Karesuando on their return journey, the horses stopped and refused even to stir.

The man whom the dead had troubled at Kuttainen said the place was full of the kind of church people who stopped the horses from going forward. Another said that he could see nothing. Then the first mentioned said: "Look through your armpit and the horses' collar bow and you will be able to see them. The man did so and really seemed to see all sorts of black people in front of the horses. He took up an axe, wishing to cut a way clear for them, but the aforementioned Finn said: "Leave it alone! You'll only hurt yourself." The common folk belief was that the dead did not want the Enon-tekiö church to be moved and therefore stationed themselves in front of the horses.

§ 30

There are still said to be *noaides* among the Finns and Lapps who can get a thief to freeze in place beside his stolen goods or to force him to return the goods. This is believed to happen by means of the *noaide's* sending the dead to attack the thief. Some years ago a woman set out to steal sleighs at the Kolar fair, but was held fast beside a sled and could not stir from the place. Some farmers, who knew the sleigh's owner, saw her standing there the whole day, freezing terribly, since the day was so terribly cold. So they asked the sleigh's owner what had really happened to the woman, since she was standing by the sleigh for the entire day. "Is that so?" he said. "Is she still standing there?" Then the owner went there, kicked the woman, and urged her to remember this sleigh jaunt the next time. — These are the main points which should be mentioned with regard to the Lappish *noaides'* establishment. — I myself have not witnessed a single example of what could be called sorcery, and there is likely to be very little of it nowadays. Besides, during the past winter of 1844 I have journeyed through all the Swedish Lappish areas and met Lapps at all the fairs, but nowhere have I heard talk of anyone who could be considered a true *noaide*.

In this congregation there is indeed one old woman who is said to be a *noaide*, but her predictions are especially problematic. Once when two servants of a bourgeois drove her out of the man's house, she began to *yoik*

and babble drunkenly. At the time, she threatened the shop clerks with these words: "*The dogs of Karesuando will not bark at you next year.*" It so happened that both shop clerks drowned that same year, but was this ability to see into the future on the woman's part, or were her words merely a whim of the moment? The common folk indeed believes it was prophecy. The same woman was kicked out of a settler's house on the Karesuando church hill for the same reason. Then she threatened that the "*settler would not die on the same hill where his house was now!*" This prophecy has not been fulfilled, but it may turn out to be so, for the same settler has been condemned to move his house to another place. This woman's premonitory sense seems odder when in the autumn of 1842 she was visiting one of her boys six or seven leagues from Karesuando, but still was able to tell the people of the house that I was lying ill in Karesuando, although at that time of the year, no one had traveled between Karesuando and the privately owned house where the woman was then. She is also accustomed to tell when an infectious disease is coming into the congregation and she seldom misses the mark; therefore this woman seems to have a strange sense of premonition.

§ 31

This is all I know of the notorious sorcery of the Lapps. It is also said that they can benumb snakes and wasps, stop the flow of blood, shrink a swelling and make it disappear: however, I believe that in the last analysis these things occur by natural means, although to a lay eye it does seem as if they occur through the casting of spells and spitting. At least to the uninitiated, it seems impossible that secret words alone, which are spoken in a certain awful state of the soul can have such an effect. The Finns are known to be even greater masters of such charms than the Lapps. I hope that Finnish mythologists will be better able to explain than I myself have been with regard to the Lapps, what is involved in these spells. If I remember rightly, Sjögren related in his book, *Anteckningar om Kemi Lappmark*,³⁰ how a Finnish farmer had learned a trick to catch foxes with spells. He himself had learned the words but had not yet tried them once until one beautiful day when setting fox traps he had an impulse to test how they would work. In the verse which had to be recited were also the words: "*The fox is mine, I am the Devil's.*" The farmer thought, as he recited the words, that they surely had no great meaning: he merely wanted to experiment with them, for he himself did not believe in their wonder-working effect. But

what happened? Barely had he recited the words and turned his back on a trap when a fox was already squalling in it. "Oh my," thought the farmer, "that's another one I've caught." He tried the experiment again, and every time he recited the pagan words, there was a fox in his trap. Can the reader guess what these words mean: "*The fox is mine, I am the Devil's.*" They mean nothing less than promising oneself to the devil. However, the man later regretted his actions when the initial joy over the foxes had diminished. He began to ponder the words more carefully and retracted them; the next time he set his traps he used no charm at all. He caught no more foxes, but he thought it best not to experiment further with the reciting of charms, for he guessed that there might be unpleasant consequences. I have related the incident as it was told to me, and I leave any conclusions to the reader.

§ 32

Thus I end my writing on Lappish mythology. Many readers will undoubtedly put the book down dissatisfied, for they are none the wiser with regard to the secrets of sorcery. But in my ignorance, I can do nothing. Since I'm not any kind of *noaide* myself, how could I teach sorcery to others? Readers may have different interpretations of what has been said, especially from the standpoint of psychology, but one had to try some method to make sorcery clearly understood. Our age is not taken with the supernatural. It wants a natural explanation for everything, either as myth or as psychodynamic effect or as visual error, and if there is no other remedy, it applies an unconditional *veto* to historical truth by saying: "this is a lie," it is merely imagination." I am not bold enough to regard everything brought forth regarding the Lappish *noaide* institution as a lie, and therefore I have been forced to assume that the matter has the basis for explanation presented herein in order to get a better grasp of the matter and get it to seem more natural — to suit it to the spirit of the times. If I have been in error, the matter can be remedied by having a modernist correct me.

On the other hand, there are different kinds of wandering swindlers, beggars and gypsies, who pretend to have a *noaide's* power to gain esteem and to earn a living wandering all over the land. They also know a few tricks to deceive the eye and use them to perform a little *hocus-pocus*. To the simple common folk it looks like magic. For example, if one sneaks a lump of sugar into a country grandma's churn, the poor grandma can churn all day without the butter getting any more ready. If one puts mercury into the dough, the bread will come out of the oven, and if one puts it into a pea-

soup pot, the bees will hop out of the pot. Can such things be anything but sorcery? If one rubs tobacco oil on a cat's nose, the animal will hop every which way and look as if a spell had been cast on it. If you stick a pin into a cow's rear, she will begin to kick and thrash about in the barn; remove the pin and the cow calms down. If you take a bit of snow and place it in back of the haft, then you can squeeze snow from a knife blade. Chew on a hemp or flaxen cord with a little salt in your mouth and let it dry; if you then put a gold ring on the cord and burn the cord with a candle or wood splint, the ring will remain suspended from the burnt cord. To the simple common folk this is pure magic, and from it derives their conviction that *noaides* really do exist. The common folk generally regard all tricks that deceive the eye as true magic. They believe that one who performs such tricks turns a person's eyes. Hence this ability is called *svartkonst* ('sorcery,' 'black magic'), and the performer who does it *svartkonstnär* [performer of sorcery tricks, of black magic], in Finnish, *silmänkääntäjä* 'one who turns the eyes.' I have already noted that Finns and Lappish *noaides* undoubtedly knew many tricks that worked in a natural way, which they shrewdly kept hidden from people; this kind of natural magic was of Indian and Persian origin, which are the original homelands of magic.

Endnotes

¹ 3. Moses 19:31

² In the original: *Charlataner*: Laestadius is recalling the French Revolution here.

³ In the original: *nimirum absentia (även frånvarande)*, that is, really absent.

⁴ In the original: *...förutsätter försättande utom tid och rum*. — A word which is difficult to translate, *försättande*, means 'having an influence, effecting a change.' In this connection it is most often translated into Finnish as 'having a mutual influence.' which best corresponds to Laestadius' thought.

⁵ Public archives of Bergen.

⁶ This Delling is the same as the bookkeeper mentioned further on (cf. § 10): thus the following sentence is not translated literally "of the bookkeeper for the business" but as "this bookkeeper's."

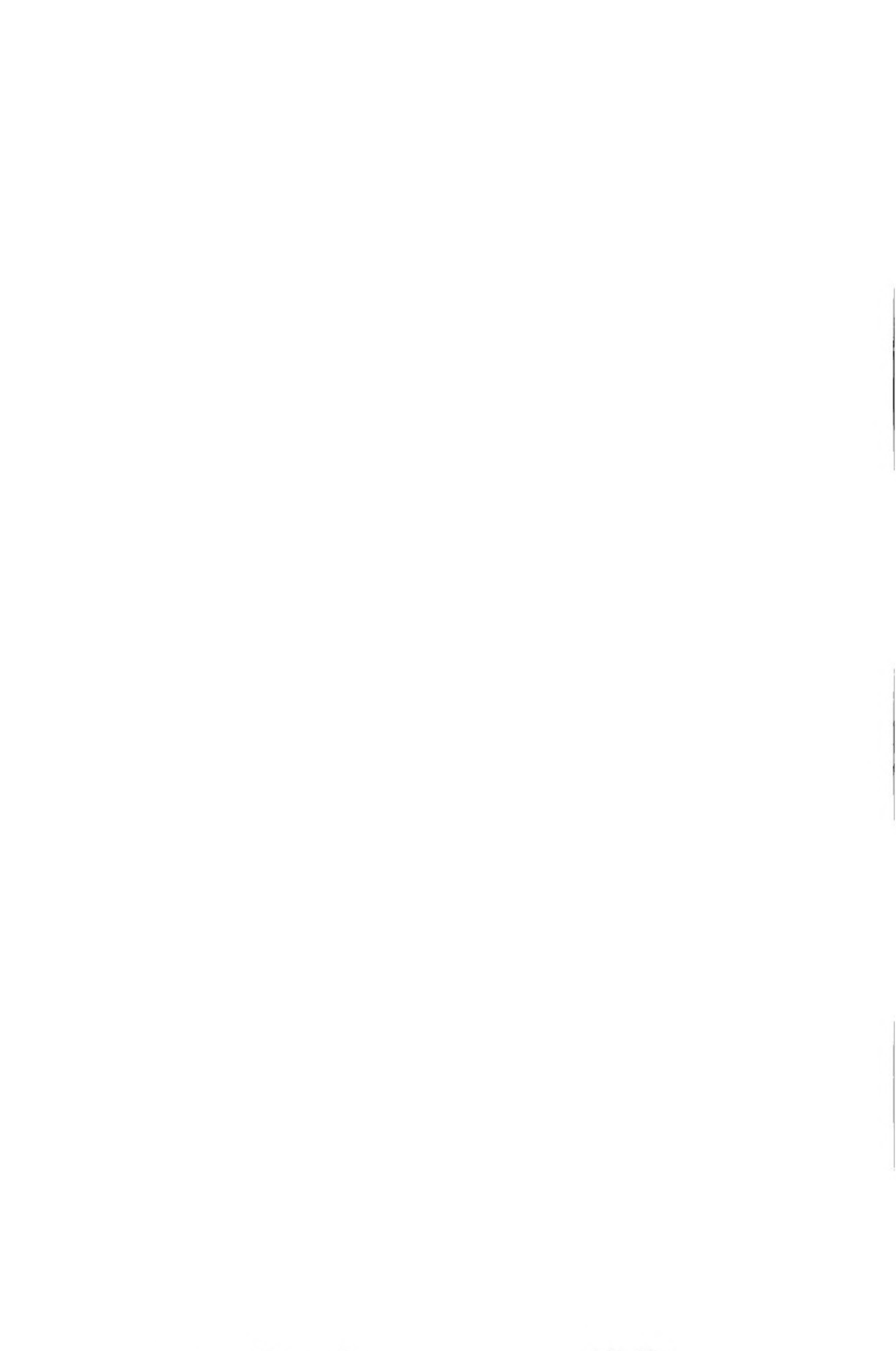
⁷ John 9:25.

⁸ Sympathy cure (*Sympathi Cur*) was a common name for "wonder cures which called on the supernatural" which "quacks" performed.

⁹ This term was used in Laestadius's time for the hypnotic state, especially of the type which the so-called mesmerists achieved by stroking and other means.

¹⁰ There is no such § in Laestadius.

- ¹¹ There is no such § in Laestadius.
- ¹² In the original: *Magen*, that is, 'magi,' 'wizard.'
- ¹³ The question mark in parentheses is Laestadius's.
- ¹⁴ Bileam was a "seer," related to the Moabites, who could "fall into a trance" and who blessed Israel (4. Moses 22–24, esp. 24.4). The witch of Endor summoned the ghost of Samuel for Saul. 1. Samuel 28: 7–20.
[English translator's note: a Biblical search indicates no mention of Bileam in Genesis or Exodus. The only reference to Bileam, a place name, is in 1. Chronicles: 69–71].
- ¹⁵ Olaus Petrus *Niurenus*, one of Schefferus's Latin text compilers.
- ¹⁶ Explanatory translation: only *den enfaldige* in the original.
- ¹⁷ 'I think, therefore I am.'
- ¹⁸ Theological term: the spirit of God.
- ¹⁹ In the original: *hypostas*. Laestadius here employs enhanced theological language. Hypostatic indicates a (lower) being, person. The prefix *hypo-* indicates something lower.
- ²⁰ *Delirium tremens*.
- ²¹ Translated from Latin by Ulla Lehtonen.
- ²² In the original: *aphrodisiaca*.
- ²³ 'Magical representation.'
- ²⁴ "*i Lebens grosse*."
- ²⁵ Lappish *tiira*.
- ²⁶ *Gan* was a name given by the ancient Scandinavians to Saami sorcery, see *Part 1, Reminder to the Reader*.
- ²⁷ 'Tacitus's conception of the Finns' (Stockholm 1834).
- ²⁸ Schefferus has confused *tyrä*, which pertains exclusively to harmful magic and *para* (Swedish *bära*, 'carry'), one who accumulates wealth by getting milk from his neighbor's cow. The former information from Dalarna probably from the Finns there; the latter probably a belief among the common folk both in Sweden and Finland.
- ²⁹ The Norwegians believed that the drowned became "poor wretches of the sea" (*draug*), since, lacking a proper burial, they belonged to the placeless souls.
- ³⁰ 'Notes on Kemi Lappmark'.
- ³¹ In this case the term *trolleri* is a somewhat more modern expression, which, however, it is nearly impossible to translate into English except as 'sorcery' or 'black magic.'



Fragments of Lappish Mythology

Part 4: Selection of Lappish Tales

§ 1

To the extent that some historical truth is believed to lie beneath tales and legends, they do not belong specifically to the realm of mythology; myth is a product of the imagination. But the line between tale and myth is often difficult to define, since mythological elements are often mixed into the tales. In this respect they are usually included in mythology.

Although the subject matter of Lappish mythology is not very diverse, as may have been imagined, the content of the tales is all the more rich. This is easy to understand with reference to a people whose tales constitute their history. Long winter evenings have been spent beside the campfire in the woods telling the tales that have passed from mouth to mouth and generation to generation. Though the winter evenings are long, still there are enough tales to fill the hours from seven to two. An old woman sits and relates in a sober voice what has happened in olden times; the curious young folk gather around her listening excitedly and closely. Not all the tales circulating among the Lapps are genuine, that is, they are not all of Lappish origin. Often one hears of kings, princes, princesses etc. which are a borrowing from neighboring peoples (Swedes, Norwegians, and Finns). Since tales of princes and princesses are much more detailed in the stories of the peoples mentioned, I find it quite unnecessary to present them in their Lappish form. Since that is so, I shall be content with those stories I consider genuine, that is, which are Lappish in origin. Nevertheless the little that I will present is scarcely a tenth of that which still lives in the memory of the people.

§ 2

One of the oldest subjects of Lappish tales is the being known as *pādnakjunne*, 'dog-snout.' The Lapps imagined people who had a dog's muzzle or

a folk whose noses had taken the form of a dog's muzzle, with which they sniffed out human beings. They ate people, and therefore it was dangerous to meet a *pädnaknjunne*. But the stories of this dog-like human being are rather vague and point to a distant antiquity, when the Lapps apparently lived as neighbors to real cannibals, possibly in northernmost Asia.¹ In later times the *pädnaknjunne* was confused with the *hundturk*², about which the Swedish common folk tell all kinds of stories. Originally the Swedes too had the idea that it sniffed out people, from which stems the saying "it smells of people here." The Swedish common folk's *hundturk* is probably to be equated with the Lappish *pädnaknjunne*, and the Finnish dog-snout has exactly the same characteristics as the *pädnaknjunne* and the Swedish *hundturk*. In the vicinity of Stockholm a saying still survives stating that all the children left at the Swedish Freemasons' children's home are butchered and salted as food for the *hundturks*. It is difficult to eradicate this ingrained erroneous belief of the Upland farmer, for he will argue than many have seen how it happens: "The children are put into a tub of lukewarm water. Their arteries are opened there, and they are left to drain dry. Then the bodies are salted in half barrels to be put on board ships." Has anyone ever heard such a story? And yet it is told near the focal point of civilization, there where the common folk are presumably more enlightened than elsewhere. But experience shows that the common folk are both raw and superstitious, as well as most immoral, right in the vicinity of the largest cities. One can seek in vain for such a coarse and horrendous belief among the Norrland common folk in their fresher environment,³ and its equal is hardly to be found even in Lapland. (cf. the *Reminder* to Part 2 of this mythology).

§ 3

If one wishes to seek the source of this mistaken idea or the subject of it, it must surely be hidden in the conception the common folk have of the corruption of customs in big cities — which is not a completely groundless thought. Many a soft-hearted mother who has been conscientious about her children's chastity has not been able to prevent her daughter from seeking employment in the city. But the simple country girl, who comes to the city a virgin, seldom leaves it unspotted. Besides the looser life style with its daily temptations, general opinion and her sister-servants' example are just the things for uprooting that last spark of chastity that the simple country girl might have had at home. What is more natural than for a country mother to tell her growing children such horrible tales of Stockholm life?

Undoubtedly they are able to shock every innocent into horror at such a fate should need force her into putting her child into the Freemasons' home for children.

I have heard only one clearly delineated story about the *pädnaknjunne*. The Swedes and the Lapps tell it quite similarly, and thus it is uncertain whether the tale is originally Lappish. This is how the story goes:

A girl had got lost and wound up in the home of a *Pädnaknjunne*.⁴ The wife was at home there. She bewailed the girl's fate, for her husband, the *pädnaknjunne* or *hundturk* would eat her up when he came home. The *pädnaknjunne*'s wife, however, tried to hide the girl under her clothing, but when the *hundturk* came home, he immediately began to sniff for the girl, saying to his wife: "It smells of people here." His wife sought to tell him all kinds of dodges, but she did not dare keep the girl near her any longer and let her out without his noticing, telling her to flee. Nevertheless the *pädnaknjunne* sniffed all over the house and since no one was there, he went outside. With his keen scent he was soon on the girl's trail. Hearing the *pädnaknjunne* coming after her, the terrified girl leaped down from the bridge and hid under it. That is how *Hundturk* lost track of the girl and she was saved.

Pädnaknjunne is described as a fairly big and frightening creature. Not only was his nose shaped like a dog's snout, he also had only one leg and only one eye in his forehead. He used a big, branchless spruce tree as a walking stick. That is how Lapps describe him. However, the Swedes' *hundturk* and the Finns' *koirankuonolainen* are described as an ordinary human being who had a dog's snout and the peculiarity that he was a glutton for human flesh.

Lapps do occasionally tell about a huge, misshapen, man-like creature whom they call *jeettanis* but I am afraid that both the name and the concept are borrowings from their neighbors. *Jeettanis* presumably means a giant because the Finns' *jatuni* is described as a creature that is like the Swedish giant. Lapps still point out huge, loose rocks that the giants have thrown there from distant mountains. Also, certain mountain-tops that happen to look like a human shape are believed to be giants that have turned to stone. In Tornio Lapland there are also places that are named after giants, such as *Jeettanis tjelke*, 'Giant Hogback,' *Jeettanis jänkä*, 'Giant Bog' etc. About a league down from Karesuando there is a big rock reaching into a river, which looks like a stone bridge. People believe that it was put there by a giant who wanted to make a bridge over the river. Therefore the place has got the name *Jatuniniva*, 'Giant Brook' and *Jatunisuando*, 'Giant Stillwaters.'

In many river beds in Lapland there are so-called giants' pots [trolls' churns], larger or smaller holes in the rock worn by water. Lapps do not, however, consider these holes to be giants' pots, but call them *kadniha pasatim kaarre*, that is 'underworld dwellers' or mountain women's wash basins.' As far as can be judged from the message and the contents of the tales, the *jeettanis* was not hostile to the Lapps. Rather, it was an object of admiration to the little people due to its great size and enormous strength.

According to Ganander, the Finns' *Kalevan pojat* were a family of giants. They probably were no ordinary people because one of Kaleva's daughters could take a man with a horse and a plough in her apron and ask her mother: "What is this dung beetle that I found on the ground; it's digging the soil down there?" The Kaleva wife is said to have answered, "Put it away, daughter. We have to go away from this county because things like that are going to live here." That was quite a maiden! She was able to carry a horse and a man in her apron and say that it didn't weigh more than a dung beetle (*Scarabaeus*). Such a maiden had to be at least twice as big as Arvidsjaur's big Lappish girl who looks like a giant woman or a mythological being from ancient times. She is now 21 years old, and on her travels abroad she has met only one man who is as tall as she is; she may be 6 feet 9 inches tall.⁵ All her body is well-proportioned and her looks inspire respect. She has acquired a settler's farm on the border of Lycksele and Arvidsjaur in Ume Lapland, and there she is taking care of her old parents. It may be difficult for her to find a husband because there cannot be many men who would dare to get together with such a gigantic woman. She is ordinarily good-natured and religious, but if she is teased, normal people don't weigh more than Lapland mittens in her hands. Besides her native language, Lappish, she speaks pure Swedish, and she always goes about dressed in the fashion of a Swedish country girl. They believe that her size is due to what happened to her mother during her pregnancy: she had become frightened of her own shadow as she was walking out in the moonlight. That is made even more believable by the fact that her parents and sisters are small; real dwarves as Lapps often are. Because Lapland, too, has had its own giants and giantesses, as proven by the stories, and because this giant woman will not be alive a few decades from now, my description of her seems appropriate. Last winter (1844) I had an opportunity to observe this huge woman, and by chance I also gave her Holy Communion.

§ 6

The Lapps' *stalo* or *stallo*⁶ had a greater resemblance to humans. He also liked to eat people and therefore had hostile relations with the Lapps. However big and strong *stallo* might have been, the small human often got the upper hand of him. He is imagined to be so clumsy and stupid that even little boys whom he catches easily dupe him. These little mischievous boys who had been caught by *stallo* are called *askovis* in Lappish. This is usually thought to mean the same as the Swedish *ask-fis*, i.e., a mischievous boy who sits in front of the fireplace stirring the ashes and plotting nasty tricks and shenanigans. It once might happen that a strong Lapp would challenge a *stallo* to fight a duel. If the Lapp won, he became the master of *Stallo's* property. This consisted mainly of silver, which was called *stallo-silba*. Some Lappish families still have some of this *stallo-silba*, which has been passed on as an inheritance from one generation to another. It consists of buttons and stars or buckles, which the Lapps wear in their belts. These silver objects are very different in shape from the ones in use nowadays. It also occurred that Lapps' sons married *stallo's* daughters or vice versa. Some time ago there was an old Lappish woman in Jukkasjärvi who traced her family to a *stallo* 24 generations ago. If we count three generations for every century, the *stallo* whom the Lappish woman claimed to be her ancestor, had lived about the year 1000 AD. From this and the content of the following tales, the reader may conclude that the *stallo* about whom the Lapps often speak, must have been old Vikings, Norwegian or Swedish raiders who had run away to Lapland and Finnmark and made a living there robbing the Lapps. According to Blom's tale about his travels, they still point out the burial mound of the famous Norwegian robber, Thorer Hund, in Nordland, near Trondenæs. There is still a Viking castle in the town of Tromsø and the present customs collector has his dwelling in it. According to Zetterstedt's account of his journey to Ume Lapland, such silver objects as ancient Geats or old Swedes had carried, have actually been discovered in that part of Lapland. — When the Lappish *stallo* stories tell about the *ruowde-kapte* or 'iron shirt' or 'iron coat' that the *stallo* was wearing we clearly have before us a berserker⁷ wearing a *jern-särk* and *brynja*.⁸ *Stallo* also had the noble custom that when he was beaten by a Lapp, he no longer stood up, but merely lay still and waited for the Lapp to fetch his axe or a knife to cut off his head. All this clearly refers to old Viking times and what we know about them; as Frithioff's tale says, "I won't prevent you, go and fetch your sword; I'll lie where I fell."

§ 7

Stallo and Patto Pådnje

“In Lule Lapland a short distance to the south there is a rock that had once been the Alakylä Lapps’ *Stuoramus Passe* (greatest shrine) — just as the rock of *Aran Áive* had been for the Kaitum Lapps — and on it is a big iron axe that, so they say, rust cannot consume. The axe came to be there in the following way. A Lapp of olden times by the name of *Patto Pådnje* had come there to do battle with a *stallo*, or giant, whom he had observed living there with his daughter.* Then the Lapp — when he was about to be beaten — had asked the rock to help him. But because the giant did the same, neither one of them gained the upper hand. Everything the Lapp promised to his helper, the giant also promised. Finally the Lapp promised the axe the giant had in his hand; at that moment he got the upper hand and the giant lost his life. Ever since, the axe has been in place on top of the rock. — In the fall of 1745 a Kaitum Lapp took the axe. It is said that he had promised to put in its place reindeer antlers and tail-bones, which he has probably done.” (Högström, Chapter 11 § 11).

In my childhood I have heard this story told in a slightly different way in the same Lule Lapland community of Kwickjock. It may be about a fisher Lapp who cast his nets in the lake every day. One day he found a big rock in his boat. The Lapp, who understood at once that it was a *stallo* who wanted to test his strength, pretended to be very angry about this trick and cursed the *stallo* — knowing he would be nearby — and threw the rock out of his boat, saying, “Damned *stallo*! If you had been here, you would have got this rock right in the skull.” It was his way of pretending that he was not very much afraid of the *stallo*. But the next day he found a bigger rock in his boat. The Lapp lifted it out of his boat just as he had done the previous day. On the third day the *stallo* had put such a big rock in his boat that only with difficulty did he manage to lever it out. Now the Lapp was as quiet as a mouse because he understood that this was a question of life or death. After the Lapp had checked his nets and come back to the shore, the *stallo* stood there and challenged him. A fight started between the two. But the Lapp felt that the *stallo* was the stronger; he started promising all manner of things to *passe*. The *stallo*, however, promised the same things or others of equal value, and therefore the Lapp’s promises had no effect. Finally the *stallo* promised the Lapp’s head to the *passe*: the Lapp sank to his knees. The *stallo* did not want to promise the entire Lapp to the *passe* because he probably wanted to make a good meal for himself of the rest of the

body. Then the Lapp jumped up and promised *passe* not only the *stallo's* head but also the rest of his body and even an axe. This promise was effective. The *stallo* was beaten and lay down quietly as the Lappish hero went to get the *stallo's* axe, then chopped off its head. But before the Lapp had time to fulfill the promise he had made about carrying the body and the axe to the *passe*, his family had fled from the *kota*, thinking, when he stayed away so long, that he had been beaten. It is uncertain whether this story is the same as the one published by Högström, but they seem to have much in common.

§ 9

Askovis swindles a stallo

A certain *askovis* had once somehow or other lost his way home and found himself near a *stallo's* dwelling place. This *stallo* had a house and sheep. Usually, when a *stallo* got hold of a young rascal, he would keep him in his house for a while to fatten him up and then eat him. So the *askovis* concocted a clever plot to make the *stallo* blind. He pretended to be very sharp-eyed and fooled the *stallo* into believing that he could see all kinds of strange things at a great distance by squinting. The *stallo* tried to squint his eyes in the same way but saw nothing. Then the *stallo* asked *askovis*. "Listen, my boy! How did you get to be so sharp-eyed?" "Well" said the *askovis*, "I let them pour molten lead into my eyes." "Why then, my dear child, pour some molten lead into my eyes," the *stallo* said. "I too want to become sharp-eyed." *Askovis*: "No, you won't be able to stand it, it hurts so much." "But I can," the *stallo* said, "I'll suffer anything as long as I become as sharp-eyed as you are."

Then, as if unwillingly, the *askovis* had to pour molten lead into the *stallo's* eyes. He asked the *stallo* to lie on his back. Then he poured lead first into one eye. The *stallo* moaned, but nevertheless he said: "Dear child, hurry up and pour lead into the other eye." The *askovis* did so. "Now," he said "You'll become blind for a while until your eyes fill with puss, but after that you'll have really sharp eyes."

However, the *askovis* now had to take care of the household tasks, because the *stallo* was blind. He took a fat ram from the *stallo's* flock and butchered it; then he took the *stallo's* old dog and cut off its head. In the evening he boiled fatty mutton for himself in one pot and dog meat for the *stallo* in the other. When supper-time came, the *askovis* ladled dog meat for the *stallo*, but he himself ate the fatty mutton. The *stallo* heard the *askovis*

eating his meal with a good appetite while his own teeth could hardly chew the tough dog meat. Therefore the *stallo* asked the *askovis*, "Listen, my boy! How come I am grinding my teeth, while you are smacking your chops?" This question sounds very childish in Lappish; it goes like this: *Koktes tån Pardnam vall snjaukah, ja mon ståuka ståukam?* The *askovis* mumbled something indifferent as an apology, and the *stallo* had to be satisfied with that.

When the promised sharp-sightedness did not materialize, the *stallo* came to realize that the *askovis* had deceived him and consequently wanted to trick him in turn to get revenge. To that end he asked him to go to the sheep shed and count the sheep. The *askovis* thought: Why not? He did go to the sheep shed, but the *stallo*, although he was blind, entered immediately behind him and took a stand in front of the door. Ahaa, thought the *stallo*, now I've got you in my trap. You won't get out of it easily. But the *askovis* did not panic. "Now!" he [the *stallo*] said "Let all my sheep out, but one at a time, and let my big ram out last." "Yes, yes," said the *askovis*, "So be it." He let the sheep walk out of the door one at a time between the *stallo's* legs. But he took the skin off the big ram and when the ram's turn came the *askovis* pulled the skin over himself and crawled out between the *stallo's* legs. "Ohhoh," the *stallo* said, "there is my big ram!" Finally the *stallo* said: "Come out now, my boy!" Then the *askovis* shouted, "I've already been out for a long time."

This is a variant of the story of Odysseus and Polyphemus in the cave.

§ 10

An askovis tests a stallo's strength

An *askovis* once got lost and came to a *stallo's* dwelling place. In his usual way, the *stallo* intended to make himself a good meal of the *askovis*. Because a *stallo* is in the habit of trying his strength with all before he attacks them, he said to the *askovis* that beautiful day, "Listen my boy! Where should we test our strength? Let's try butting our heads against a tree so we'll see which one of us drives his head deeper into it." "OK," the *askovis* said. Now the *stallo* rammed his head into a tree, making a deep pit in it. "Now you try," the *stallo* said. "No, I'll just wait till tomorrow," the *askovis* answered. Unknown to the *stallo*, he went and made pits in trees here and there, filled them with lichen and covered them over with bark so that the trees looked untouched. The next day the *askovis* said, "Now I'll try

to ram my head into a tree.” Then he ran into one tree or other, butting his head into them up to the ears. The *stallo* was stunned by his strength but he wanted to try again. “Let’s try throwing this spud (a javelin-like thick iron implement used to make holes in ice) into the air; let’s see which one of us throws it the highest.” The *stallo* threw the spud so high that it could hardly be seen and said to the *askovis*, “Now it’s your turn, my boy.” The *askovis* feigned reluctance and said, “If I touch your spud, I’ll throw it so high that it will get stuck in the clouds.” “No, my dear child, don’t lose my spud,” the *stallo* said then. So the *askovis* escaped having to show his strength with a spud.

Then the *askovis* started making withes. What are you going to do with those withes?” the *stallo* asked. “I mean to carry away your silver,” the *askovis* answered. “No, my boy, my dear friend, don’t do that.” “Oh, well!” the *askovis* replied, “If you fill my hat with silver, I’ll leave it alone. But otherwise...” “Yes, yes, my boy! You’ll get a hat full of silver.” Now the *askovis* went and dug a hole in the ground, struck the crown from his hat and placed the crown-less hat on top of the hole in the ground. Then he asked the *stallo* to bring enough silver to fill the hat. The *stallo* who had begun to fear that his life was in danger from the rascal, felt obligated to obey and fill the hat with silver, no matter how much it took. “Well! Now you must carry the silver where I tell you to,” the *askovis* said. The *stallo* had to obey. The *askovis* loaded the silver onto the *stallo*’s back, sat on top of it himself, and ordered the *stallo* to walk fast. The *stallo*, poor troll, walked so fast with the heavy load that he spat blood, and yet the *askovis* thought it was slow going. The purpose of this story seems mainly to mock the *stallo*.

§ 11

The askovis fools the stallo into leaving his house and home

An *askovis* had lost his way and wound up where a *stallo* dwelt. As was his custom, the *stallo* kept this *askovis* with him for a while in order to fatten him up. Then one beautiful day when the *stallo* thought that the *askovis* was fairly plump, he decided to make the latter into a steak for himself. He asked the *askovis* to go into the woods and find a stick of wood for a spit. The *askovis* went, but as he could pretty well guess what the spit would be used for, he brought only a few fresh and crooked willow branches back from the woods. “This won’t do,” the *stallo* said, “find a better spit.” Once

again the *askovis* went into the woods and came back carrying a few crooked willow branches. "Are there no better spits in the forest?" the *stallo* asked. "No," the *askovis* answered, "I don't find any better ones." "I see! Then I may have to go there myself," the *stallo* said. He stood up and got ready to go to the woods. But when the *stallo* was still at the door, the *askovis* asked (in Lappish, of course, because the *stallo* also understood Lappish): *Aijam, aijam, mastes tån enemusta palah?*, that is, 'Grandpa dear, What do you fear most of all?' *Sjudaqvuoolest*, the *stallo* answered; that is 'hissing fish.' (N.B. here "hissing fish" means a snake, a creature which the *stallo* was said to be very much afraid of). When the *stallo* was in the woods cutting a frying spit for the *askovis*, the *askovis* got a few strands of wool, wound them together, and tied them to the *stallo*'s sack of silver. He threw the willow branches that he had brought from the forest into the fire, where they began to hiss like snakes. When the *stallo* came home from the woods, the *askovis* said: *Aijam! aijam! Kula sjudaqvuolew!* that is: 'Grandpa, do you hear a snake hissing!' The *stallo* listened, and hearing the wet willow branches hissing in the fire, he took fright, thinking the house or the *kota* was full of snakes. Rising, he grabbed his sack of silver, intending to escape. But the *askovis* shouted: "No, don't you see, grandpa! Some of them have gotten hold of the sack of silver." The *stallo* looked at the sack and seeing the black threads the *askovis* had tied to it, he thought they were snakes wriggling in the sack. Then the *stallo* became even more frightened, threw the sack of silver away from him, ran out of the door and said: "Now I'll jump from one hill to another." Thus the *askovis* saved his life and got possession of a sack of silver.

§ 12

Pättja Pådnje takes revenge on the stallo

There was once a Lapp named *Pättja Pådnje*, who had many children. It so happened that his children disappeared one after another, and the poor Lapp didn't know what had happened to them. Finally he did find out. Namely, a *stallo* who lived close by had set a snare near a spring where his children used to have fun playing their games. The Lapp's children had been caught in the snares and fallen into the spring. The *stallo* had secretly taken them home and eaten them up. Now, *Pättja Pådnje* thought, this murderous conduct has to be revenged on the *stallo*. Therefore he dressed himself in an old, worn-out fur coat and pretended to be caught in one of the *stallo*'s

snares. When the *stallo* came by to check his snares and saw the Lapp lying in the spring covered with ice, he smiled and said; "*Ha! Ha! Ha! The ets pãres pãttja pãttatalai,*" that is 'The old man himself got fooled.'

The *stallo* pulled the old man out of the spring, lifted him onto his shoulders, and carried him to his dwelling. There he hung him up in the *kota* smoke hole (which is above the cooking fire) to thaw. Meanwhile the *stallo* started carving on a wooden trough he had been working on outside the *kota*, into which he was planning to put the old man's meat. The *stallo's* three sons were also standing there watching the *stallo* whittle the trough. The trough was just about finished; it needed only a little bit of smoothing with a work-axe, an iron tool that looks like a hoe. But this tool happened to be in the *kota*. Then the *stallo* said to his eldest son, "Go and get my work-axe from the *kota*." The boy went in and searched but did not find the work-axe because the old man hanging in the smoke hole had hidden it. Then the *stallo* said to his middle son, "You go and search for the work-axe; maybe you can find it better." This son, too, went in to search for it, but found nothing. Finally the *stallo* said to his youngest son who was just a little tyke: "You go and find the axe; you are sure to find it." The child, however, could not help looking at the old man, who was hanging from the smoke hole. When he saw the man winking at him, he ran quickly out of the *kota* and said: *Pãres pãttja tjalmeh vall jilladih*, that is, 'The old man's eyes are gleaming (are bright).' The *stallo* answered: *Paaja; suddamin læ the*, that is 'Then he is thawing out.' Now the *stallo* himself had to go into the *kota* in an attempt to find the work-axe. But meanwhile the old man had worked himself loose from the smoke hole and was standing behind the door with the work axe. Just as the *stallo* looked in at the door, the old man struck him such a blow on the neck that he collapsed and was left lying there. Then all the *stallo's* sons ran away.

During all this time the *stallo's* wife had been away from home. In the stories she is depicted as an angry and evil hag who sucks human blood like a vampire. She would suck the blood with a sucking tube which is called *ruowde pãtsa*; more about this later. In the tales, therefore, the *stallo's* wife was called in the stories *lutak* 'bedbug.' Sometimes she is called *ruttagis*, which is difficult to translate. The old man decided to take revenge on her as well. He dressed in the *stallo's* clothes, and cut up the *stallo's* body. Then he made a fire, placed a pot over it, and cooked part of the *stallo's* body in order to feed it to the *stallo's* wife. It is said that the *stallo's* wife was as stupid as the *stallo* himself, and near-sighted as well. Therefore, it appeared to her that the *stallo* himself was doing some cooking. At supper-time the old man scooped up some meat from the pot. He gave the hag a serv-

ing and told her that he had finally gotten a really good steak, the old man himself. The hag ate and tasted and finally said: *Koktes taatta maales njadda, the ko tattak eettja?*, that is ‘Why does this meat taste just like you?’ The old man answered: *Åh! Vaipå må tjetteram tsäkkaliv: the så taste*, that is ‘I got a cut in my little finger (when I put the meat in the pot) that’s why (the soup has the taste). When the hag had calmed down after this explanation, the old man first let her eat her fill; then he chopped off her head.

§ 13

The stallo steals a Lappish girl

There were two brothers who were called *Sådnåpaatsak*. They had an only sister who took care of the reindeer while they were out hunting. It happened one day that three brothers who were related to the *stallo* stole the girl and all the reindeer while the *Sådnåpaatsak* brothers were hunting. The Lappish girl had, however, been careful and had left a sign to her brothers so that they would understand where she had been taken. She unwound after her a ball of thread the other end of which was tied to the *kota*. After the ball of thread came to an end she threw reindeer droppings down from her lap along the way — she had gathered these droppings, which ordinarily look very much like sheep droppings. Now when the *Sådnåpaatsak* brothers came home from the hunt and found the *kota* empty and robbed of everything, they understood, thanks to these signs, that the *stallo* people who lived far in the west had stolen their sister and all their reindeer. Since to top it all, they did not find any food in the empty storage shed, all they could do was to go after the robbers and try to take revenge on them.

Towards the evening of the third day they came to the *stallo*'s dwelling. They did not dare to attack the *stallo* openly but climbed a tree near the spring where the *stallo* folk usually came to get water. This they did in the hope of meeting their sister. They assumed that the *stallo* would send her to get water. It proved to be a correct guess. Their sister came to the spring. It was a bright, moonlit evening. They signalled their presence to their sister by waving their hats or caps. The girl saw from the shadow that something was moving in the tree.

Now they gave their sister instructions on how to behave in order to help them achieve their purpose and free the reindeer herd. “When the *stallo* sets the cooking pot on the fire,” they said, “you must, after the meat has been boiling for a while, step on the firewood that is under one side of the

pot — just as if you were hopping over it — so that the pot will tilt a little, a bit of the broth will splash onto the fire, and some ashes will fly into the pot. The *stallo* won't eat food that has ashes in it, and he will surely ask you to carry all the soup to the dogs.

Instead, bring it to us because we haven't tasted God's gifts for three days." The girl did as the brothers had advised her. When the *stallo's* soup had been boiling for a good while so that the meat might well have been half done, the girl stood up, and seeming to jump over the fire, she stepped on the firewood so that a little broth spilled over, and some ashes fell into the soup. Then an old woman *stallo*, *lutak* — 'a bedbug' or the mother of the three *stallo* brothers — said: *Maina sih tal udne Lunje-ene helmeh vall sliptjasaddih? Par älläh Sådnapaatsakah qvuowtes taaine*, that is 'Why are that hoyden's skirts swinging so? Could the two *Sådnapaatsak* brothers be somewhere around here.' The old *stallo*-hag was well-nigh suspicious of the girl's sudden movements. However, the elder of the *stallo* brothers said: *Juopa littjih Sådpaatsakah qvuowtes tuoi tievai tuoken*, that is, 'The two *Sådnapaatsak* brothers are certainly many hills away from here' (that is 'far from here').

The hag had to be satisfied with that. The Lappish girl was told to take the soup out to the dogs, get fresh water, and put another soup on the fire. We can well understand that she took the soup to her brothers, who now gave her further instructions: "When the soup is ready and the *stallo*, after eating, is ready to go to bed, you must crawl to him and pretend to fawn and pet him until you get him to take off his iron shirt. (N.B. the eldest of the *stallo* brothers pretended to pay court⁹ to the Lappish girl). After you get him to take off his iron shirt you must secretly put it so close to the fire that it will get very hot. We'll take care of the rest."

The girl did as she had been told. Earlier she had been terribly afraid of her pretended admirer the *stallo*, but now, after supper, she pretended to be pleased with him. As the flames were burning lower in the fireplace she approached the *stallo* in bed, and the *stallo*, who felt flattered by this, said that finally the girl was beginning to feel at home.

The *Sådnapaatsak* brothers now came closer to the *stallo's* dwelling. The *stallo* had that same day tied up some rutting reindeer close to the *kota* in order to slaughter them the next day. The *Sådnapaatsak* brothers began clashing reindeer horns together, which in the *kota* sounded as if the reindeer were butting each other and were in danger of strangling in the reins. This roused the *stallo's* attention. He immediately asked his younger brother to go and separate the reindeer so that they wouldn't be strangled. He went, but the *Sådnapaatsak* brothers immediately cut his throat. It

happened so quickly that he didn't have time to utter a squeak. The brothers renewed their ruckus with the reindeer. Then the *stallo* said to his other brother. "That boy doesn't seem able to quiet the reindeer; you must go and help him." That brother went, too, and met the same quick end as the first. The rutting reindeer kept butting their horns. Then the *stallo* said, "It's strange that they're not strong enough to separate the reindeer. I'll have to get up and go there myself."

Now the *stallo* would have put on his iron shirt but it was hot. Therefore he had to go out without it. The *Sådnåpaatsak* brothers could not know if the *stallo* would come out through the ordinary door or through the *påssjo raige*, and therefore the younger *Sådnåpaatsak* settled in front of the *påssjo*. Thus the murder weapon would catch the *stallo* even if he were to come out through that door. The elder *Sådnåpaatsak* settled in front of the regular door. The *stallo*, who perhaps suspected a trap because his younger brothers had stayed so long, did not dare to go through the ordinary door but crawled through the holy door. The elder *Sådnåpaatsak* heard him and ran to help his younger brother. The *stallo* had, however, received a deadly blow and no longer moved.

The old crone, or *lutak* was lying down and sleeping all this time and did not know what had happened. The *Sådnåpaatsak* brothers now went into the *kota* pretending to be the *stallo*'s two younger brothers, whose clothes they had put on. When morning came the younger *Sådnåpaatsak* went to the *lutak*, and bent his head over her knee so that she could search for fleas on him. During this time they chatted about this and that, but the *lutak* had no reason to think anything other than that this was her youngest son. All of a sudden he — as if it were the kind of spur-of-the-moment idea little boys have — asked the *lutak*: *Ninnes! Kånes lä mo pårrasamus vielja silba?*, that is, 'Mother dear! Where is my eldest brother's silver?' The hag answered sneeringly and harshly: *Abe! Uvsa kull sjelma vuolen*, that is 'Under the threshold.' Now *Sådnåpaatsak* was again quiet for a while as if he were not thinking of anything. But at a suitable moment he again asked: *Ninnes! Kånes lä kaskalamus vielja silba?*, that is 'Mother dear! Where is my middle brother's silver?'

The hag almost lost her temper at such an ignorant brat and snapped in her snuffly voice: "As if you didn't know that." "Oh, I forgot," the boy said and then the hag said: *Abe! Kaska kull tääkkaka vuolen*, that is 'Under the middle beam' (or under the supporting beam; that refers to the logs the Lapp's dwelling rests on. The *stallo* folk probably had no other kind of house). Now the *Sådnåpaatsak* boy was again quiet for a while, but finally he asked: *Kanes lä mo eetjam kis silba?*, that is 'Where is my own silver

then?’ That made the hag so angry she fumbled for a switch to whip the smart-alecky kid who no longer knew anything. But *Sådnåpaatsak* did cajole the secret from her, just the one they wanted to know. The Lappish girl, who was sitting nearby, then said: “Just imagine, auntie, if you knew who you’re talking to...” “How so?” the hag said, “it can’t be a *Sådnåpaatsak*?” “Right,” said the girl, “something like that.” Now the hag began groping for her blood-sucking tube, *ruowdepåtsa*, intending to suck the *Sådnåpaatsak*’s blood at once, but it was too late. The sucking straw was gone. *Sådnåpaatsak* did not give her any time to think, and so the whole story came to a quick end.

§ 14

This story seems to be quite unique, and, what is more remarkable, it is so detailed that one is tempted to think that something historical is hidden in its background. At any rate the iron shirt mentioned takes us quite far back into the berserkers’ time. The Lapps must have had some contact with the ancient Vikings, especially on the Norwegian side, although that contact could not have been peaceful. The detail about the *stallo*’s eating people may have been added later in order to embellish the tale, in order to frighten children etc, or it may refer to a still earlier time when Lapps indeed lived among cannibals. Where else could the Lapps have gotten the idea about a people who ate human flesh. I have questioned Lapps closely about *ruowde påttsa*, but haven’t found out anything other than that *ruowde påttsa* was the iron suction pipe with which the *stallo* crone *lutak* sucked human blood.

§ 15

The stallo’s daughter runs away from her parents and marries a Lapp

There was once a *stallo* family with two children, one son and one daughter. It so happened that they ran short of food and therefore planned to pick one of their children to eat. But they couldn’t come to an agreement on which one to take. The *stallo* man, who wanted to save the boy, said to his wife: *Im mon juoksa qvuoddejam; im mon juoksa qvuoddejam*, that is, ‘Not my bow carrier.’ (or arms bearer). The wife in turn wanted to save the daughter and said in her shrill and nasty voice: *Im mon snaldo-pådnejam*,

Im mon snaldo pådnejam! that is ‘Not my distaff spinner (here we have to note that Lapps do not have a spinning-wheel, only a distaff). That was a charming discussion! The daughter, who was older, was standing outside the *kota* and heard the conversation. Finally she heard that her mother — as a member of the weaker sex — had to give in and so they were planning to sacrifice her (the *stallo*’s daughter). The girl escaped and came to a Lapp *kota*. They asked her who she was, where she was coming from, etc. “Whoo,” she said, “I am running for my life. My parents were going to eat me up. Would you be so kind as to hire me as a water-bearer?” (Note. Carrying water was the simplest chore among the Lapps). The *stallo*’s daughter then stayed with the Lapps, and after she grew up, she married the family’s son.

After this couple had been together for a year or two, the young Lapp, or the *stallo*’s bridegroom, started thinking that he would like to go and visit his in-laws and find out at the same time if any dowry was available. His wife tried to warn him about such a visit, saying: “If you go there you’ll most certainly be eaten.” But the man did not believe that the *stallo* folk would be such gluttons for human flesh, “I have a reindeer,” he said. “I’ll give them a reindeer to slaughter, so then they won’t need to eat us..” “Well,well,” the wife said, “we’ll see what happens.”

Then the young couple moved to the *stallo*’s home place with their herd and possessions, along with a small child that had been born to them. When they arrived at the *stallo* house, the in-laws received them well. The Lapp immediately gave the slaughtered reindeer to his father-in-law. The mother-in-law also seemed pleased by their arrival. She embraced her grandchild, who was lying in a birch-bark basket or *komsio* (Lappish cradle), and said to the mother “Dear child! May I take care of this one while you are setting up the *kota*?” The baby’s mother could not deny a grandmother the happiness of taking care of her own grandchild although she had a foreboding that something bad would happen. The bloodsucking *lutak* now went to her own *kota* with the baby, immediately broke its neck, and started eating. The *stallo*’s younger son, who had been born after the daughter’s elopement, and who was still a small child, saw what had happened. He also wanted to taste the flesh of his nephew and so began whining to his mother: *Ninnes! Ninnes! Vadde mungen Njeputjen tjalmatist*, that is, ‘Mother dear! Give me a bite of my nephew’s eye.’ The *lutak* answered in her snuffling voice, *Åska tå iteda åbbad nidtje läuloit suoskatittjah!* that is ‘Tomorrow you may chew on your sister’s breast.’ The baby’s mother, who was standing outside the *kota* listening, shoved her husband and said, “Now do you believe what I said? The old woman has eaten the baby, and they plan to eat us tomorrow

morning.” At that moment, however, there was nothing they could do.

After the young couple had got the *kota* ready and everything in order, the old male *stallo* and his eldest son went to the neighboring *kota* or house in order to hear the news and pass the time during the long winter night in talk of all sorts as Lapps are wont to do. Sitting there chatting and conversing of this and that, the *stallo* asked his son-in-law as if in confidence: *Kässes lä to kasatjamus naker*, that is “When do you sleep the soundest?” The son-in-law pretended not to understand the purpose of this inquiry and answered coolly, “I sleep the soundest when the sky is getting red in the morning. In turn, the son-in-law asked the father-in-law: *Kässes lä tokis kasatjamus naker?*, that is ‘When do you then sleep the soundest? *Kask i pali*, the *stallo* answered, that is ‘About midnight.’ After both the son-in-law and the father-in-law had thus found out the time when the other slept the soundest, the *stallo* and his son went back to their *kota* and the young couple remained in their own.

At about midnight when the *stallo* was supposed to sleep the soundest, the young couple got up and fled secretly the same way they had come. The man drove ahead with the reindeer herd, but the wife remained at some distance from the *kota* in order to see what the *stallo* folk would do when the sky turned red in the morning. She had, however, been careful to get herself a good driving reindeer so that she would be able to escape if she was in a hurry. It was a heifer, or a female reindeer that had never had a calf; such animals were considered to be the fastest and most enduring runners. The *stallo*’s daughter settled down with it behind a spruce tree she had felled across the road.

When the sky was turning red, the *stallo* came along, together with his older son armed with a spear, for he planned to stab both daughter and son-in-law to death. They ran at the son-in-law’s *kota*, which was still standing, striking wherever they thought the sleepers were lying. The boy even said, as he struck with his spear, *Taale maaka tsåkkai taale åbba tsåkkai*, that is, ‘I saw sister’s heart, I saw sister’s heart.’ Soon the bloodsucking *lutak* came with her pipe and shouted *Ålloti ti maanatjah malatjit kålkåtallo!* ‘Dear child, don’t let the blood leak out!’ The hag was probably planning to make blood sausage. But now the *stallo*’s daughter, who was at some distance behind the spruce tree, shouted: *Taale uin åbba tsåkke taanne*, ‘Look, sister’s heart is here.’ Then the *stallo* said: *Na juopa må taw*, that is ‘We could have guessed.’ The *stallo* and his wife started pursuing the woman; she was driving a *stanjakken*, a female reindeer that had never carried a calf. When the *stallo* saw that it was no use chasing his daughter he shouted after her: “Wait my child, I’ll place a treasure in dowry at the back of the sleigh!

Wait my child!" The daughter slowed down now and waited until the *stallo* was close enough to get hold of the back of the sleigh. Then she chopped off the *stallo's* fingers with an axe she had with her and drove off at full speed. The *stallo* who had lost his fingers turned and showed the stumps of his fingers to his wife, who was running after him. He said to the hag: *Pånne! Pånne! Kä!*, that is 'Look, my wife!' The *lutak* answered him: *Nå juopä må taw; ihtå kull taina naka; tipte må ets*, that is 'Yes! I understood that already; you're no match for her. Let me try myself.' Now the hag started running after her, shouting: "Wait! I have a fine treasure you'll get as your dowry! Just wait a little!" The daughter slowed down and waited until the hag caught hold of the back of sledge and then chopped off her fingers so that the treasure and segments of the fingers fell into the sledge or *ahkio*. Then she hit the reindeer with a whip and made it run at full speed. The *stallo's* old wife was heard shouting afterwards from a distance: *Tjaske, tjaske tuona hääppo mo kadsakaskosit!* i.e., 'Throw back the pieces of finger, you no-good slut from hell!'

Notes. *Tuona hääppo* actually means 'you tramp of hell'; it is derived from the word *tuon*, gen. *tuona* or *tuonan*, 'that' in connection with which the word 'ilme' (world) has to be understood. Thus the expression *tuonan ilmen hääppo*, 'tuon' that is 'the other world's' outcast; however, of *tuonan ilmen* there remains only 'tuona'. (Compare Part 1 § 111 where there is something about the Finns' *Tuonela*). It probably has the same origin as the Lapps' *tuonan ilme*, an expression still used in everyday language. I considered it best to leave the very naive expressions in Lappish which appear in this story as a memorial of the special quality of the pure *kota* speech. Perhaps in a few centuries Lappish won't exist, and then linguists may be happy to have some memoranda of ancient times.

§ 16

I have gotten all the preceding stories from Lule Lapland where the *stallo* stories are best developed. Petrus Laestadius has taken some of the *stallo* stories into his chronicle (p. 462) and the following story is from there as well.

The stallo is swindled trapping beaver

The *stallo* had once set up a net in order to catch beavers, made a fire in the forest close by, and taken off his clothes in order to rest. But he had tied a

string in the beaver net and fastened a sleigh bell at the other end of it. That he placed beside him near the fire so that when a beaver got caught in the net and started tugging it, the bell would start ringing and wake him up. Thus the *stallo* would be able to go and catch it immediately. One Lapp had seen this and when everything had been properly set in place, he went and tugged at the rope. The *stallo* dashed to the net and found nothing. But as he came back all his clothes had been burnt because the Lapp had meanwhile hurried there and thrown them into the fire. The *stallo* was annoyed at having dashed away so heedlessly that his clothes had fallen into the fire. However, he sat down again near the fire and warmed himself until the bell rang again. Then he again dashed to the net, but the net was as empty as it had been the previous time. Worst of all, the fire had gone out when he returned. Now the *stallo* began to freeze and in his agony he turned to the moon that was shining on the horizon. "Look, father, your son is freezing!" he shouted as he walked towards the moon. That did not help him, however, and he froze to death. (Petrus Laestadius Chronicles, p. 466-467).

§ 17

Two Lappish girls marry stallos

I have forgotten the beginning of this story but the gist of it is that two Lappish girls had married two brothers of a *stallo* family. One of these *stallo*'s wives had children but the other had none. The *stallo* brothers intended to eat up their own wives after a while. One brother said to the other: *Kåsses kåsses vieljam tådnå stainak rånota?*, that is 'When (do you plan to eat) your barren *vaadin*' (the childless wife is here called a barren *vaadin* or female reindeer that will never have a calf). The other brother answered: *The må the, ko tån mess aaltota*, that is, 'When you eat your *vaadin* and its calves, I'll also eat my barren *vaadin*.'

Here the wife who had children is called *vaadin*, a female reindeer who has calves. The aforementioned wives may, however, have understood this flowery language; at least the childless wife ran away and the other also wanted to do the same. She said, however, that she didn't have the heart to leave her dear husband. Now the *stallo* whose wife had run away started out after her. He had with him a dog who followed the wife's tracks. When the wife saw that the *stallo*, her dear husband, was beginning to catch up with her, she climbed up into a big tree. The *stallo*'s dog barked at her in the tree as if she were a squirrel. He urged on the dog and saying: *Håts! håts! Pän-*

nam: patta puoide palkan, 'Bark, bark, my dog (you'll get steak fat as your reward.')

Now the *stallo* took an axe and started cutting down the tree where his wife sat. Then the wife started shouting: *Pååttit, pååttit, pädna-katjah, käita ilä Attje, Edne pakka liemaw tjuokkat vaddam*, i.e., 'Come, come, dogs whose fathers and mothers have not given you warm broth to lap up.' Then came bears, wolves, foxes, lynxes, and all kinds of wild animals from the forest and tore up the *stallo* and his dog to bits. Some witchcraft was needed to save this wife from the *stallo*; but the other wife was eaten.

§ 18

All the above *stallo* stories are from Lule and Pite Lapland. In Tornio Lapland the stories about the *stallo* have already become mixed with other stories. Especially among Finnmark Lapps the *stallo* stories have taken on an almost mythological character. Among them the *stallo* is a troll-like creature that can be overcome only by witchcraft. Leem remarks that after a *noaide* has battled with a *stallo noaide*, he is ill and powerless for a long time. Dean Rhode's work *Statistiska Optegnelser fra Finmarken*¹⁰ (printed in Skien in 1842) has the following mention of the *stallo* (p. 212): "The *stallo* mentioned in Professor Keilhau's travel description (p. 12) is presumably some kind of leader of Lapland's dwarfs¹¹ and trolls, is described as an evil spirit who, however, appears in human shape, armed with a long knife. One who wants to kill him has to turn the knife towards himself because then it will hit the *stallo*. But if you hit the *stallo* with a knife, he will change into a chunk of earth and disappear." This story has been provided by Finnmark Fisher Lapps who probably got in touch earlier with the real *stallo* or the old Vikings. They learned to know them as ordinary robbers and not as cannibals, and therefore their *stallo* had to become a mythological creature or a real troll.

In Karesuando Parish one can hear one thing or other about the *stallo*, but the stories are obscure and incomplete. Still, it may be worth telling a *stallo* story that deals with a Lapp called *Ruobba*.

There was once a strong Lapp whose name was *Ruobba*; the name means 'covered with scabs.' This *Ruobba* got into a handscuffle with a *stallo* over some wicked deed the *stallo* had done. But *Ruobba* didn't dare trust to his own strength. He put his daughter in ambush and asked her to hit the *stallo* in the back from behind if she saw that her father was losing. The fight began, and when the girl saw that *Ruobba* was not getting the up-

per hand, she hit the *stallo* from behind with an axe, and the *stallo* fell down limp. Then the *stallo* shouted: "You were not alone." *Ruobba* also stabbed the *stallo* with his own knife, although the *stallo* asked that he would be struck with his own rusty knife; *Ruobba* was too clever for that. Namely, this knife of the *stallo*'s had the property that when it was turned against the *stallo*, the wielder hit himself. Thus *Ruobba* got the *stallo*'s property, which consisted of silver. From that time on it has passed as an inheritance from one generation to another and it may still be in the possession of the *Harju* Lappish family in Enontekiö parish.

§ 19

These are the chief Lappish *stallo* stories (*the stallo-soptsasah*). Out of them, the reader may form an idea of the Lapps' stories. Of course there is an endless number of stories, but, on the one hand, I can't remember them right now and, on the other, I do not consider it necessary to weary the reader with them since almost all of them contain the same basic idea. The same stories appear in slightly different variations in different parts of Lapland. Thus Petrus Laestadius has in his *Chronicle* a different version of *Påres Pättja* or the Old Man story. At its end the *stallo*'s wife has been left out, perhaps forgotten by the writer. In the story about the blind *stallo* whose dog was butchered by the *askovis*, the *stallo* says, according to this writer: "How come your teeth say *tjem, tjem* and mine say *tsam, tsam*?" According to another version of the Old Man story which I heard in Tornio Lapland in Jukkasjärvi, the *stallo*'s youngest son said, when he came out of the *kota*: *Pättja pådnats njirvotalla*, that is 'The old man is grinning in such an evil way.' The *stallo* is said to have answered: *Tântå, tatt njirvotalla njarvotalla, mutt i Jubmel lahje*, 'The devil snarls, not God's gifts.' These different versions prove that the story is very old, and the main theme is basically the same.

§ 20

The Lapps' *Tjudeh*- and *Karjel*-stories have the firmest basis in history. The Lapps have had real skirmishes with these people, and there are still signs of them everywhere in Lapland. The *Tsuuds* and the Karelians were enemy raiders who came to Lapland in groups of hundreds and robbed the Lapps' property. Because of these enemies Lapps had to crawl into earth excavations

and live in them. (See parts 1 and 2 of this mythology; compare Högström, Chapter 2, § 21).

The latest writers are not unanimous about the word *Tsud* and its meaning. Lindahl and Öhring have translated it as 'enemy'; but Sjögren finds fault in this translation and wants to prove that the Lappish language *tjudde*, pl. *tjudeh* means the same as the Finnish language 'war.' This, in my opinion leads to the same result, because the difference between 'enemy' and 'war' is not so great that one could not be derived from the other. More enlightening is Sjögren's remark when he points out that the *Tsjud* in old Russian chronicles are the same people as the Lapps' *Tjuder*. He says in his description of Kemi Lappmark (p. 7): "Both the similar-sounding name and the similarity of meaning in the Lappish and Russian usage prove this more than adequately.

Although there are in the Russian governmental districts of Aunus and Novgorod (with the exception of the Ingrian and Estonian border regions) Finns, whom the Russians call *Tjuder* to this day, and although we know that these [*Tsuuds* and *Lapps*] were one-time neighbors in the Aunus district, and that these same *Tsuuds* and the more powerful Karelians probably drove the latter (Lapps) out of their way, just as they were totally driven from Finland, there are, however, several historical facts which do not fit in with such a limited interpretation of the *Tsuud* name but which force us to assume that it did, among the Lapps, refer to Finnish peoples in general, as it did among the Russians in ancient times. The Häme people also persecuted the Lapps as did (not to mention even older times and circumstances) the Kvaens from their former dwelling places in Sweden. The Lapps, however, do not call them by their own name but use the general name *Tsuuds* to cover them as well. On the other hand it is not probable either that the actual *Tsuuds* — who are still called by that name — ever extended their raids to the Lapps' present dwelling places. This was done by Russian Karelians who, presumably from the beginning, were enemies of both the *Tsuuds* and the Lapps, who pushed between them, and who, of all the Finnish tribes, later became the strongest and most dangerous enemies of the Lapps.

§ 21

On the basis of Sjögren's statement it seems that there has existed a people whom Russian annals call *Tsuuds*, and that the name is still in use in the border region of Ingria and Estonia and in the governmental regions of

Aunus and Novgorod. We have all the more reason to depend heavily on this testimony of Sjögren's for the writer [namely Sjögren] is most thoroughly grounded in Russian chronicles and Russian literature. Here then we have a real, historical background for Lappish stories about their enemies, whom they called *Tsuuds*. Therefore we do not have to embark on any far-flung research about the meaning of the word. Nor can it be part of our plan to follow Sjögren into that critical field of history where he attempts to prove that the Lapps' and Russians' *Tsuuds* were the same people as the Greeks' and the Romans' Scythians. Then we could just as well bring up the ancient Swedish word *tiod* or *tjod* which phonetically resembles the Lappish word *tjud*. (According to researchers into antiquity *Tjod* means a people from which *svitiod*, *gautiod* etc. are derived. See Rühls.)

Sjögren is mistaken in assuming that the Lappish term *Tsuudi* also meant Kvaens and that the Lapps did not have a name for this Finnish tribe. I have demonstrated, in *Stats Tidningen* journal¹² (July 1836) as well as in the preface of this work on mythology that with the name *kainulats* the Lapps refer to the Finnish *kainulainen* which with fairly sound reason is considered to be the same as the Norwegian *quener*; the Lapps call by this name especially the inhabitants of Kalix who are a mixture of Swedes and Kvaens. However, we cannot be absolutely certain whether the branch of Finnish peoples called *Tsuudi* has persecuted the Lapps in their present dwelling places. Lapps themselves relate that their ancestors lived in holes in the ground because of the *Tsuudi* raids, and because these earth holes now have been discovered all over Lapland, it is probable that the *Tsuudi* raids did extend that far. From the content and the themes of stories we are able to conclude that the *Tsuuds* were the Lapps' enemies before the Karelians.

§ 22

Lapps call Karelians by the name *karjel* which presumably has been borrowed from the Finnish word *karialainen* or *karjalainen*. The name originally means 'cattle people,' and from that we can conclude that the Karelians were the first Finnish tribe that brought cattle with them when they arrived in Finland. Old Swedes probably called the Karelians' land *Kyria land*. Perhaps this tribe practiced cattle breeding most whereas *kainulainen* or the Lappish *kainulats* means, according to Lappish etymology, 'one who handles rope'; but the *kainulats* people are never said to have been hostile toward the Lapps. The word *tarolats* has a more sinister meaning, 'deceit-

ful.' The Lapps have given this name to Swedes and Norwegians perhaps due to the Swedes' and especially the Birka people's deceitful way of trading with the Lapps. Nor does the word *tadtja* have a very good meaning. A Swede or a Norwegian is called *tadtja*, which means 'a fool', 'a duffer', 'a simpleton' who has no understanding of the Lappish way of life. *Ruottalas* is also a common Lappish name for Swedes, but it is uncertain if the Lapps have invented this name themselves or have borrowed it from the Finnish '*ruotsalainen*.' This in turn is believed to be derived from the Swedish word *drott* or *drots*, from which is derived *drottning*, that is the king's wife. *Riks Drots*¹³ has survived in the Swedish language. The name *suobmelas*, 'Finn' which is borrowed from the Finnish word '*suomalainen*,' has no negative connotations among the Lapps. The tribes which the Finns themselves knew are called *suomalainen*, pl. *suomalaiset*, 'bog people' or people who lived in the bogs, marshes and swamps; *karialainen*, pl. *karialaiset*, 'cattle people' (*karjalaiset*); *kainulainen*, pl. *kainulaiset*, 'shy people' (Kajaani people, Kvaens); *hämhänläiset* or *hämäläiset*, 'spider people?' (perchance derived from the word *hämhä*, *Spindel Aranea*); *savolainen*, pl. *savolaiset*; *virolainen*, pl. *virolaiset*, 'Lithuanian(s)' (crossed out: *Estländare* 'Estonians') — among these the *Tsuuds* and *Karelians* have been the Lapps' worst enemies. This is true as long as we don't add to the list *Perkel*, who is supposed to have been the forefather of the Lapps' last and worst bloodsuckers, the *Birkarls* or *Birka* people. A Lapp had no notion of *Perkel* until he experienced the *Birkamen*'s tyranny. I have pointed out earlier that *Perkel* does not appear in the oldest Lappish stories. I made the point of mentioning the names of the Finnish tribes hoping that they would in some way shed light on history, in particular because the works by Scandinavian researchers which we do have in Sweden and in Finland rarely become known elsewhere in Europe.

§ 23

First of all, as far as the *Tsuuds* are concerned, there are no special traces of them left in Lapland, even though stories tell about the Lapps' skirmishes with them in many locations, and places have also been named after them. For instance, "Some distance north of the Inari church village there is still this very day a high mountain called *Tjudevaare*; according to tradition it is so named because *Tsuuds* habitually stayed there in ancient times and spied on the surrounding regions." (Sjögren, op. cit. p. 7). There is also *Tjudekårså* ('*Tsuud* Valley'). Among other places it also belongs to the group

that have been named after the *Tsuuds*. I cannot assume with Sjögren that the *Tsuuds* mentioned by Lapps were Russian Karelians, because stories make a clear difference between *tjudde* and *karjel-tjudde* groups, even though there are no traces remaining of the former. With the word *karjel-tjudde*, a Lapp wishes to emphasize the difference between an ordinary *Tsuudi* - who was known before the Karelians - and the Karelian *Tsuudi*. But, because of the expression, *Karelian Tsuudi*, the *Tsuudi* people have also acquired the connotation of 'enemy', *hostis* as Lindahl and Öhrling have, in my opinion, correctly, translated the word. Here we can compare what Petrus Laestadius writes in the addendum to his *Chronicle* (p. 469): "*Tjudeh* (which is the nominative plural of the word *tjudde*, is probably also a name of ancient origin. It is not, however, as is the case with the *stallo*, associated with a strange creature. Nowadays it means 'enemy' but just as the Latin *hostis* is actually the opposite of the concept of *civis*, *tjudeh* may also have been the name of a neighboring people with whom the Lapps fought skirmishes, but who may also have been related to their tribe.

Since such a *Tsuudi* people actually has existed and remnants of people so named still remain in central Russia, it is more than likely that this *Tsuudi* people did send raiding parties as far as to present-day Lapland. After the Karelian tribe thrust itself between the *Tsuudi* and the Lapps, the *Tsuudi* raids naturally ended and the Karelian raids began.

§ 24

Concerning what Högström writes about the Lapps' battles with Karelians we must note that he — like the Lapps themselves in later times — confuses Karelians with Russians. Real Russians have never come to Lapland unless a few raiding parties happened to visit the higher parishes in Westerbotten during the time of Charles XII. A story recorded by Högström from Lule Lapps is as follows:

"As far as the later manly and heroic deeds by them (the Lule Lapps) are concerned, many people in Kutumi Lapland tell about a battle in which their forefathers dared to take arms against the Russians (Karelians). However, they are unable to mention a date or say how long ago this took place. It may be that a raiding party of Russians started off towards Lapland by way of the north. Launching a surprise attack on the Lapps, they acquired a large booty of money and reindeer. Now they began raiding all over Lapland, mainly in the winter on skis. I have been shown some earthen pits made during the summer, where the Lapps intended to hide. Fearing wide-

spread destruction, the Lapps banded together in this Lapp country and selected an old man to be their leader. Arriving at a place where the enemy was expected, he plotted a strategy. He had the men haul a large number of tree trunks to the top of a high mountain. There he made them trample the snow all over the mountain and carry water to make it icy all the way to the top. Then he had them cut steps up and make paths from every direction toward the mountain to assure that the enemy would find their camp. His hope was fulfilled. When the Russians arrived, the Lappish leader had his men stationed on the topmost crest of the hill, which could be seen from far off in every direction. When the enemy who were bold enough to climb the mountain had gotten halfway up, they released the logs all at once, crushing most of the attackers. Some few were killed in hand-to-hand fight. They let two of them go away alive, one with one arm, the other with one leg. These men were allowed to return home to tell their people of the end their men had met. They have no other numerical estimate of the fallen enemy other than that when tinderboxes taken from them were placed on the strings of wooden bows, they covered two-and-a-half strings. Because each string on these bows is about a full fathom long, it must have been quite a large number. Lapps have shown me a place deep in a valley from which they had taken the water to carry up. They have also shown me certain places at the foot of the mountain on the northern side where the grass grows better than elsewhere, and they explain that the blood of those killed has made the soil so fertile. To this day they call the same mountain *Kappo-vare* after the Russian leader. It is about four leagues north of Gällivare.” (Högström, Ch. 2 § 21).

§ 25

There is also *Karjel kårså*, ‘Karelian valley,’ near the Pewrajauri settlement in Lule Lapland. According to stories the Lapps had there devised a similar plot, and a large number of Karelians were buried under rocks and timber the Lapps caused to roll down from the mountaintop. Because flint strikers and arrows have been found there later on, in addition to human bones, there is probably no doubt about the historical foundation of the story. There are almost everywhere in Lapland stories about such large numbers killed. For instance Petrus Laestadius has included the following story in the Addendum to his *Chronicle* (p. 482):

“Many place names and the stories associated with them are proof of Karelian raids in these regions. One of the last ones may have been the one that a Lapp named Anders Nilsson Ruonga from Arjeplog told me about.

One evening while traveling we spent some time in a *kota* near Barthult, where he told me about a battle between Lapps and Karelians that had taken place in this area. Late at night a Lappish woman had been planning to bathe her child and therefore had a pot of water before her. Just as she was about to put the child into it, to her horror, she saw in the pot an image of a man wearing a hat. It disappeared quickly, but reappeared when, still kneeling in fright, she looked in the pot. Then she noticed that the man was looking in through the *kota* [smoke] hole; his image had been mirrored in the water. The woman quietly woke up her husband and informed him about what had happened. He immediately took his bow, cocked it, and placed an arrow in it. When the man looked in again, the Lapp shot him right in the forehead, after which he was heard falling to the ground outside the *kota*. The Lapp did not, however, dare to go out and look because he was afraid that there would be more enemies. In the morning the man was found dead on the ground. The Lapp understood that this one — and this proved to be the case — had been sent to spy and that the rest of the enemy were somewhere close by. — Therefore the Lapps assembled, followed their tracks, and surprised the Karelians resting at their fire, killing them all there. Some of the loot is still around, namely a kind of pot called *karjela skalo*. I have seen one of them; it is, if I understood correctly, made of brass, and the Lapps say the *karjela skalo* never rusts. There are only few of them remaining, and their bottoms have been covered with new metal because the old bottoms have worn out.”

§ 26

“According to another tale a large number of Karelians had arrived and were headed towards Norway. They had captured a Lapp and forced him to be their guide. He had told them that it would be very difficult to go down the mountain (actually it is because the Kōli mountain is very steep on the Norwegian side while on the Swedish side it is less so and has many outcroppings which lead to a plateau) so that they should follow right on his heels. The Lapp ran ahead carrying a torch, for the evening was dark. As he came at full speed to a precipice, he slowed down, and threw the torch down the cliff. The Karelians followed at full speed and tumbled down the precipice where they were all crushed. On the following day he went down, and, proud of his brave deed, shot an arrow into the wall of the first house, which he entered. People resented this, considering it an unfriendly gesture, and wanted to take him prisoner. He, however, asked them to follow him

and see what he had done; then they surely would not mistreat him. And after they saw what he had done they treated him very well indeed." (Petrus Laestadius *Chronicle*, Part 2, p. 484).

§ 27

The Norwegian *Budsticken*-periodical, in its 5th annual volume (p. 784), has a Norwegian story from the Salten governmental district published by Rosenvinge. According to this story a Lapp guided 150 Swedes to Tysfjord during the time of Fredrik III; he had deceived them into falling off the cliff and all had been killed. Dean Deinböll comments in a footnote to the first volume of the work, "*Ny samling af det Kongl. Videnskabs Sällskabs Skrifter*"¹⁴ (p. 503) that the event is thought to have taken place near Solovig, which is the northernmost homestead in the Skjaerstad dean's parish; there is a mountain, *Quaenflovet*, which is said to have been named after this event. Dean Deinböll has heard a similar rumor in Finnmark where the location changes to the precipitous Slagnaetsjeld. A Lapp who had been forced to act as a guide for a few Russians is said to have lured them into the depths on a dark night. The Russians had crossed over a mountain in Magerö Honingsvog in order to raid Kjellvig." (Deinböll and Rosenvinge). — We note that these stories may confuse different events. The name *Quaenflovet* indicates that the fallen enemies were of Finnish ancestry. The events there have been the basis for stories in Pite and Lule.

There is yet another, slightly different, version of the same event in Tornio Lapland. A rich Lapp was said to have scorched the fur off his reindeer so that the Karelians would not care for them. Reindeer with scorched or burned fur looked skinny and ugly. The Karelians forced this same Lapp to guide them to Norway. They all drove in reindeer sleds, the Lapp driving in front with a torch, which he then threw down a precipice, dodging to one side himself.

§ 28

I have found still another story about Karelians in the Tornio Valley. A large number of Karelians had camped in a valley in Tornio Lappmark. Their leader was a man dressed in a copper suit from top to toe. One of the Lapps, who was a very good shot, crawled up very close to the Karelians' camp. The Karelian leader was so stiff in his copper clothes that he was not

able to eat by himself but had to be fed by a servant. During the meal, the Lapp shot the fork handle just as the servant was about to put food into the leader's mouth. The force of the arrow drove the fork into the leader's mouth and he died immediately. The Karelians, who had not seen the arrow, first killed the servant whom they considered guilty of the leader's death, and then started fighting among themselves, whereupon they were felled one after another by the arrows shot out of the darkness by the Lapps.

§ 29

Another Karelian raiding party had come up to Tornio Lappmark during the summer. They had also captured a Lapp whom they forced to guide them to other Lapps. They journeyed by rowing in many boats, and landed on an island, intending to rest there. Two of them were to stay awake and stand guard while the others slept. However, the guards themselves finally fell asleep. A Lapp took advantage of the situation. He pushed all the boats off the shore and jumped in the last boat himself. After he was at a safe distance he shouted to the Karelians, urging them to wake up. When they noticed that they had been duped, the Karelians started shouting to the Lapp who was rowing on the lake: "*Laurokainen, Laurokainen* (that was the Lapp's name) pity us!" But *Laurokainen* was hard-hearted and showed no pity towards the Karelians. Some of them started swimming in order to get to the mainland, but the Lapp clubbed to death those who came to open water. He kept watch over the rest to keep them from slipping away from the island. Because they had no food there, they starved to death. Some of them had lived nine days, but one woman that they had with them had lived ten days. It is not known whether this happened on Jerisjärvi or some other lake. The many human bones on one of the Jerisjärvi islands (near Muonionniska) may give rise to the belief that the Karelians starved to death on that very island.

§ 30

"Both the many stories and the place names offer proof of the Karelians' raids, as has been noted. They may have been very difficult and destructive, but judging from certain historical facts they do not seem to reach very far into the past; in that case they would have the poetic figures of the *stallo*-stories. Their dates can also be firmly established in relation to the cam-

paign by *Thorolf* and *Faravid* against the Karelians as narrated in Professor Geijer's book *Svenska Folkets historia*¹⁵. Because it illuminates the matter in such an excellent way, I cannot help quoting it here.

'*Faravid*, king of the Kvaens, asked through a messenger, *Thorolf*, King Harald Fairhair's Lapland tax collector (about 877 BC), for help against the Karelians who were destroying the land. He did get it after promising *Thorolf* as big a share of the loot as he would get himself. Among the kveens it was the law that the king would get one third of the loot and as many beaver, sable, and squirrel-skins as he wanted: *Thorolf* went to the eastern part of kveenland; he had 100, the king had 300 men. Together they traveled to upper Finnmark where they encountered the Karelians and defeated them on the mountains, getting fairly good booty. Then *Thorolf* returned to Kvaenland, crossed over Köli and came to Norway at Vefsen in Halogaland.

Thus it is certain that Karelians were in the habit of making raids to Lapland. It can be considered as certain that they had been doing it earlier and they also did it afterwards until they were finally overcome at the end of the 13th century by Swedish arms." (Petrus Laestadius' Chronicle, Part 2, p. 480).

§ 31

The following tale about the Russian raids on Finnmark, recorded by Dean Rode, also belongs to the same group of stories, and therefore can be told here.

"Russians apparently destroyed the church of Honningsvaag, which was probably situated on a small island by the name of *Kyrkoholmen* perhaps in the 16th century.

The story which does not reveal the date of the event, relates that a service was being held there (in the church) just at that moment. When the Russian boat was seen at sea, the preacher commenced preaching a funeral sermon for himself and for the entire congregation. There were in the church that day seven couples who were to be married, but only one of the brides managed to escape to the mainland and bring the news of the destruction of the church and everyone in it. According to another story the same fate was meant for the Kjellvig church. When the Russian ship was spotted, the preacher wrote something on three successive slips of paper and threw the papers into the sea. After he had done it the third time, a storm rose from the west and tossed the boat back onto a steep, craggy

shore off Sverholt. From there the men were hurled into a cavern in the mountainside from which they could not escape. The place is still called Rysshällar [Russian boulders]. They finally starved to death. There are many partially factual stories about similar Russian raids. It is quite possible that they robbed and destroyed several churches. These events were especially characteristic of the 14th and 15th centuries, but they seem to have continued up to at least the 18th century. At least some people still alive report that their parents have experienced such events.” (Rode *Statistik öfver Finnmarken*¹⁶, p. 204).

§ 32

“von Westen says in his letter to the “collegio”¹⁷ on 9 October 1717 that Russian robbers have raided Hasvik church village and damaged other people’s property as well, burning Tornio, and destroying other places in Lapland as far as to Kautokeino.” (Rode, *ibid.*) Finally the writer states that “our own Russians, Northern Wanderers¹⁸ have probably assisted in this plunder, a reminiscence of ancient Norwegians raids in Finnmark. However that may be, it is certain that real Russians at the time of Charles XII made raids everywhere in Sweden, extending their trips as far as Lapland, and therefore they have among Lapps inherited the name of Karelians. Nowadays Russians are called ‘Karelians’ (*karjel*) in Lappish. They still tell a story about a raiding party that had pushed its way up towards the River. There they had forced a certain rapids-shooter to take them through the Kalix River rapids. At the big waterfall which is called Jockfallet in Överkalix, he jumped off the boat just before the waterfall, doffed his hat, thanked them for the pleasant company, and wished them a good journey to eternity. In a moment the boat had plunged into the waterfall and been smashed to bits with the travelers onboard. From time immemorial, the locals have placed a basin in Jockfallet between the rock and the mass of water. As sea salmon tries to jump up the waterfall they fall down into the basin, to the great delight of fishermen. People who live above the falls have started a lawsuit in order to get the rock demolished so that salmon can get upstream for the benefit of those who live there.

§ 33

It is strange that the Lapps do not have more stories about the *Birkarls*, who in history are characterized as their worst tyrants. The reason may be that

the Birka people subjugated the Lapps so slowly and unnoticeably that they were not able to remember any particular era. In Tornio Lappmark, where the *Birkamen* seem to have stayed the longest, only a few lines are to be found which refer to these tyrants. In these stories they are called *väärät duoinarit*, 'false judges.' It is said that they forced people to give them the most valuable fox and beaver skins from their catch. It is also said that the first river dweller in the Enontekiö area came from Pello in the south and settled in Kuttainen, two leagues down from the present Karesuando church village. He was a Finn, and in the stories he is called old man Kuttainen or *Kuttas rauka*. When the false judges had come by and asked for his valuable furs, the old man had answered, "this year I have hunted only for ptarmigan." The same *Kuttas rauka* had a dispute with the first Karesuando riverside settler over a meadow called Alasaari. The false judges are said to have issued the following judgement, "If Kuttas comes to Alasaari to make hay, both of his legs must be chopped off." This might be called a straightforward means of preventing illegal harvesting. It is said that this same *Kuttas rauka* was also a *noaide*, but that Lapps were even worse *noaides*. When old man Kuttainen was shooting *Kuttaisen kurkio*, a certain very swift rapids, the Lapps conjured him so that he was stuck midway and could not go either backward or forward. Finally, however, he conjured himself out of this bind.

§ 34

Stories tell us further that the Lapps who had got tired of the Birka people's tyranny sent a delegation to the Stockholm court to present a complaint about the *Birkarls*. The delegate was a Lapp named *Labba*. When he arrived in Tornio, the *Birkamen* would not let him travel any further. But one among them, without the others' knowledge, took the Lapp into his boat so that he made it straight to Stockholm. He happened to come to the place where the king was playing ball (probably at a tournament). As the king was running after a ball, the Lapp ran to him and handed him the complaint document, which the king accepted. From that time on — so the story goes — the false judges disappeared.

In that tale we can recognize the era of Charles IX; the king hitting the ball was undoubtedly Gustav Adolf. Enontekiö does not appear among other names in Charles IX's protection letter from June 14, 1602. Therefore, it is unlikely that *Labba* had been a member of the delegation that obtained the aforementioned proclamation against the Birka people, but *Labba* may, on

his own, have dared to bring up the Lapps' complaint about the Birka bloodsuckers. The Birkas knew Charles IX's stern character too well to dare do any more wrong towards the Lapps.

§ 35

The stories about the behavior of the Birka people in Pite Lapland are too remarkable to omit. Petrus Laestadius has included them in the second part of his Chronicle (pp. 497 ff.). I am including here only the material which belongs to the tales since historical matter is not a part of our plan.

"There are two church sites in Pite Lapland, Kasker and Avaviken, the origin of which by all accounts dates back to the middle ages. The Kasker church site is known only through a story; no writer knows anything about the Kasker church. There remains, however, the name *Kyrkoviken* [Church Bay], which lends weight to these stories. The Kasker church was set afire on purpose, and the people gathered there were burnt inside it."

"I have asked if the culprit or the motive are known. I have received the answer that the Swedes wanted to punish the Lapps in this way for their unwillingness to learn, at least that was the excuse. This is not impossible: we recall how the Spaniards intruded upon the natives of America. They felt that the rulers of Mexico and Peru had to be burned alive because they were infidels and godless people. To that we must add the Birka people's willingness to rob — which was a part of the equation — for it was market day in Kasker, and the Birka men could get hold of the reindeer and goods the Lapps had brought along by killing them. A preacher was also involved. He had wanted to warn the Lapps but could not find an opportunity to do so. The previous day as he was handing out communion he had said, in place of the usual words: *Måron präanna; måron präanna*. (This is how the Lapps say it; it may mean 'Tomorrow it will be burnt,' or 'It will burn tomorrow.' The church was set on fire the next day as the Lapps were gathered there for the service, and, with the exception of two people, they were burnt inside the church. I do not remember exactly if the two had become suspicious and therefore stayed away from the church or had escaped through a window during the commotion. Others who tried to save themselves were hacked to death."

§ 36

"Those who escaped hurried to their homes and armed themselves well with bows and arrows. They hurried to get ahead of those who were returning

from the fair, and took a position in ambush near a hill named *Fasta-puolda* to the east of Arvidsjaur. I did not find out if there were only two or if there were several of them. The latter is more likely, although only two are mentioned. They, however, must have been the leaders, while the others — most of the leading men having been killed in the arson — were probably of no great importance.

Near *Fasta-puolda*, the fair-goers happened to come driving along in single file with a great hubbub. They drove downhill at full speed, as is normal when driving a reindeer downhill; unless one drives full tilt, the *attjia*, (Lappish sled) will come and bump into the reindeer's hind legs. An arrow hit the leader, and man and *attjia* toppled over, nevertheless continuing full speed ahead, which is what often happens. The others laughed at this because they didn't know the cause. The same thing happened to each of them in turn. The last one in line was the preacher, who was taken alive. They accused him of perfidy and were about to kill him, but his words *mâron pränna, mâron pränna* saved him. He told them that he had wanted to warn them with those words, although they had not understood them, and that he had had no other opportunity to warn them of the danger. So he was left in peace."

§ 37

"Now a war arose between the Lapps and Swedes, or the area's Birka people. Evidently during that war there was a battle or a skirmish near Rikkerekaine, for a few of my informants have told me so positively. It was precisely here that, according to the Pite Lapland stories, the log-pile event took place. According to what the Gällivare Lapps told Högström, the Karelians were involved. Both stories may be true because the rumor of the first, and undoubtedly older, event had certainly spread here as well, providing a rationale for trying the same strategy over again. There was, beyond doubt, a battle in *Rikkerekainen*, because flint strikers have been found there in later times — my father saw one in his childhood. The most important find in *Rikkerekainen* was, however, a crown which was discovered by two *Nasafjell* foundry men in the 1640s and donated to Arjeplog church, as is noted in the church account book. This crown is now in the western wing as a chandelier, with a few iron candle-holders of most wretched and sloppy workmanship attached to it. But the crown itself is relatively well made. It is of brass which has at least been gilded, and is decorated with leaf motifs. It has points sticking upward, 12 of them, as I recall. I have tried the crown

on; it fit perfectly, as if it were made for me, from which I can conclude that the man who wore it was just as thick-headed as I am.”

§ 38

“Who might have worn it then? Quite certainly the man who, wearing a red suit, had pretended to be king of the Lapps, this according to information provided by Ziegler and Olaus Magnus — both were alive at beginning of the 16th century. Only in Lapland could one dare to show up wearing a crown. New credence to the log-pile story below is provided by the fact that this precious object was not picked up immediately, and that flint strikers were found on the site later. If the enemy had been killed with weapons, all the loot would have been picked up, but since it happened in an avalanche of rolling logs, much could have been buried underneath and not found. In a word, this story has so many internal characteristics of truth that it cannot be considered anything other than a historical narrative, and there are clear indications that it does not belong to a very distant past. I have also heard it from many different storytellers in versions that differ from each other only in insignificant details. One narrator expands upon one detail more than others. Anders Nilsson Ruonga knew enough to provide the particularly important fact that the preacher, in conducting the eucharist, distributed only bread and said *måron pränna, måron pränna*, which seemed strange to the teller, who wondered what it might signify. Anyone can see that we are dealing with Roman Catholic times. This little detail is strong testimony to the authenticity of the tale. Anders Nilsson Ruonga is the head man of the oldest branch of the old Tjonk family and keeper of the old traditions and knowledge. He also has an old trap (one used for catching wolverines), which has been passed on in the family and which is believed to be a couple of hundred years old.” Thus writes Petrus Laestadius, (loc. cit).

§ 39

The above story about the arson murders at the church serves as a background to what happened in 1825, when a few Ranfjord finaglers frightened the Arjeplog Lapps so much that they hardly dared come to church for the mass on St. Andrew’s Day. They had been gulled into believing that all the Lapps on the Swedish side would be killed, and, frightened by the old sto-

ries, they imagined that another arson murder would occur at Arjeplog Church. A Lapp named *Skåble* even asked the preacher to show him the hole through which the preacher had crawled when the church was set on fire. Obviously they imagined that the preacher at Kasker had some secret exit through which he had crawled out while the church was burning. A rumor about this terror-driven fantasy of the Lapps caused the government to send a letter to pacify them. Probably some swindler on the Norwegian side who wanted the Lapps to stay in Norway over the winter months had told them the senseless stories. Generally the Lapps are very fearful and suspicious of foreigners, a feeling which is based on the many stories relating the oppression they have suffered at the hands of *Tsuudi*, Karelians and the Birka people. If they catch even a distant view of a traveler without a Lappish guide in the mountains, they will flee as if whipped. Imagination, made timid by the tales as well as by the knowledge that real enemies exist, has led the Lapps to shoot a number of solitary travelers in the mountains. The cause for this is not hatred or treachery, as some writers have imagined, but a frightened imagination which has led them to believe that all those who travel on the mountains without a guide are robbers and escaped malefactors.

Note. Quite close to Enontekiö there is a cape called War Point where, according to the tales, there was a battle between Lapps and their enemy, whom the tale does not know by name. It is possible that they were raiders who were neither *Tsuuds* nor Karelians.

§ 40

We can also add to the stories Schefferus' tale about how the Lapps came to be subjugated by the Birka people.

"Schefferus tells us, based on a manuscript by one Johannes Buraeus, that after he failed to subjugate the Lapps to Swedish rule, King Magnus Ladulås promised that those who dared to go and subjugate the Lapps to the Swedish crown would have a free hand with their property. This may have been the reason why the Birka people, inhabitants of the *Pirkkala* [Fi. spelling] parish in Finland, seized the opportunity, went to visit the Lapps, and after negotiating for a while, suddenly attacked them. They killed many of them and took control over them all the way to the northern and western seas.

From the same source Schefferus has also received a story by Pite preacher Andreas (Canuti?) according to which the following thing happened.

One of the *Birkarls* was walking ahead of Lapps who were on their way back from Pirkkala.¹⁹ He asked his wife to dig him into a hole in the snow at a place where the Lapps had to walk over him as they passed by. When they came at night and walked over him he found out how many they were — fifteen. Then he had got up, gone to meet them, and struck them to the ground one by one. They were walking in single file, and so the ones walking behind did not see what had happened to those ahead of them. Only the last one noticed, and after a fierce struggle and with help from his wife, the *Birkaman* managed to beat him. Now that the most powerful and noted Lapps had been cleared out of the way, the rest were subjugated to the power of the *Birka* people.” (Petrus Laestadius According to Schefferus).

To the extent that there is truth in this story, it probably concerns some part of Lapland. One *Birkaman* cannot possibly have taken all of Lapland under his power, but the subjugation of the Lapps must have happened gradually and through treachery. The *Birkarls* — or those who first started trading with the Lapps — swindled their property from them, taking part of it without paying; for example, the most valuable furs, gulling the Lapps into believing that they went to the king as taxes.

Note: The writer has got this far in November of 1844, and if Rev. Fellman’s manuscript were not on the way, he would have ended the work here and sent it off immediately.

Læstadius

Endnotes

¹ Laestadius assumes that the ancient Saamis lived in northern Siberia as neighbors of the Samoyeds; it has been argued that the word samoyed (apparently in error) is made up of the Russian word ‘self’ (*sam*) and ‘to eat’ (*jest*), from which it is further assumed that they practiced cannibalism.

² *Hundturk* (-en, -ar) belongs to European folk tales. The hundturk was believed to eat Christian children so as to become Christian and achieve beatitude. In Sweden the people believed that the Freemasons sold children to them. Cf. Reminder to Chap. 2.

³ Explanatory translation: *fria*, ‘free’, ‘lively’ in the original.

⁴ Capitalized here, since in this connection it is used as a proper name.

⁵ On the basis of the measurement Laestadius gives, the girl was about two meters tall.

⁶ From now on, Laestadius uses *staallo* and *stallo* interchangeably; if there is no special reason (loan-words, e. g.) from now on *stallo* is used for the sake of continuity.

⁷ Berserkers were fighters of the Viking age, “strongarm men” who sought to develop

the proper frame of mind for battle, a contempt of death, by eating fly agaric, for example. See Addendum. no. 14.

⁸ *Järnsärk* and *brynnja* were protective armor, "iron shirts."

* The Lapp's dwelling was near the swamp over which the *stallo's* daughter passed daily. The Lapp observed that the girl's feet never got wet, and deduced from this that the *stallo* carried her over the swamp. In this way he came to understand the matter.

⁹ The "pretend" motif here is probably related to the fact that the *stallo*-brothers nevertheless did plan to eat the girl.

¹⁰ 'Statistical memoranda from Finnmark.'

¹¹ *Nisser*; a name derived from Norwegian folk belief.

¹² 'Governmental paper.'

¹³ *Drotsi*, a high official in the Swedish nation.

¹⁴ 'New compilation of publications by the Royal Scientific Society.'

¹⁵ 'History of the Swedish People.'

¹⁶ 'Statistical information from Finnmark.'

¹⁷ To the missionary college.

¹⁸ *Nordlands farare*.

¹⁹ Thus the situation here is different: it seems the Sami representatives went to the *Birkarls* to negotiate.

In Karesuando 1 May 1845

Fragments of Lappish Mythology

Addition

Through further correspondence with Rev. Fällman¹, I have finally managed to get access to part of his manuscript on Lappish Mythology.² I have the author's unselfish openmindedness to thank for this loan. The manuscript contains much important information which I, with the generous permission of the author, have taken the liberty of utilizing for the following *Addition*. Rev. Fällman has spent a long time in Finnish Lapland as pastor in Utsjoki³ from where he has made excursions to eastern Finnmark as well as to the border regions of Russian Lapland where the greatest *noaides* are believed to have lived. During these travels the author has meticulously written down places and mythological legends associated with them, which are still known among Lappish and Finnish common folk. My work plan, which only includes the most common of the superstitions of the ancient Lapps' false beliefs, has not, of course, been to dwell on local circumstances, which might have reached almost indefinite numbers had I mentioned all mythologically strange places in Swedish Lapland with the same accuracy as Rev. Fällman applied to Finnish Lapland. This branch of mythology, i.e., local mythology, still leaves open a huge field of study for anyone who wishes to follow Mr. Fällman's plan for Swedish Lapland. I need not mention then that Mr. Fällman's work and mine hardly can be seen to be on a collision course, particularly since Mr. Fällman has organized his treatise in alphabetical order and furthermore lacks many older important works in this discipline, for example the works of Jessen and Anonymous, etc. In the following *Addition*, I refer only to those objects which may illustrate the previously described ones. And since Mr. Fällman has adopted the alphabetical order, the paragraphs quoted from there will be in the same order, yet with a number attached for greater clarity in the quotations.

No. 1. *Akka* or *Akko*, *Aijeg's* wife, even called *Raudna*, or 'the childless one', was worshipped mostly on rocks or in mountain caves. Her altars are still seen (in many named places). — In Sombiojärvi she was worshipped in a rock which lies high above the water almost in the middle of the lake. Southward from it inland there is an exceptionally large tussock from which later brass rings, iron and other metal bits have been found. It is reported that even living animals were sacrificed to this tussock. The old people claim to have seen an old sacrifice platform resembling the bottom of a boat (Jakob Fällman, note). Since *Raudna* does not exist in Swedish Lapland as a female name nor as a mythological object, I assume that the aforementioned is borrowed from the Finns. And if it were the case that the Lapps in Finnish Lapland sacrificed to *Akka* or *Akko* one cannot know which of the *Akkas* is intended. Since *Aijeg's* wife is not mentioned by the Swedish or Norwegian writers, the very idea of *Aijeg's* wife is probably borrowed from the Finns. As far as the above-mentioned *Båtkälen* is concerned, it is likely a remnant from Tuderus *Hiden venet* or *Blåkulla båt*. Mr. Fällman is of the opinion that the Finns with *Hiden* or *Hien väki* (the Devil's people) originally have referred to a tribe of the old Geats⁴, and that the saying: *Mene Hiteen* 'far till fanners' ['go to the Devil/Hell'] is approximately the same as: *Mene Helsingiin* (you go to Helsingland). According to Mr. Fällman, *Helsingi* is for the Finns the same as *Helsingfors* where Swedes have lived for a long time.

Mr. Fällman remarks further: "*Hien varsa* or *Hien vasikka* 'Hiisi's calf' was the name of an idol⁵ which during my stay in Rovaniemi was dug up from the ground and hung around the neck of a corpse that lay under the root of a several hundred year old pine tree. The Finns are reported never to have worn such idols. The corpse, therefore, was of *Hiisi's* people or the *Geats* = *Joter* (see my description of *Jatulín kansa* (*Jätte folket*) 'the giant people', *Helsingfors Tidning* 1830, October, 2nd issue." (Fällman). For this reason the author believes that *Hiden venet*, which is found in Tuderus, originally meant 'the Swedes' boat', or 'a Geatish boat.' If that is the case it is, however, certain that the Lapps in Kemi Lappmark borrowed the name as well as the concept from the Finns, even though *Hiden venet* no longer exists in Finnish mythology.

No 2. *Arnehawde*, Finnish *Arnihauda* 'pits in which there are thought to be hidden treasures.' One must look for them on midsummer night when the guardian spirit⁶ *Arne* is at his most favourable to give them out. The following has been considered the best way to get possession of the treasure: Upon finding the place where the treasure is hidden one is to sit there 3

midsummer nights in a row. The treasure has been dug down by Lapps who usually keep their silver in the ground. But the *Halddo* or *Arnne* of the place does not give it out unless one fulfills the requirements of the will or the condition the digger set as he asked *Halddo*, 'the guardian' to keep it. One way that is considered good is to plough the place or bring a rooster to him. Another way is to row with a birch bark boat, swim with a stone under the left arm, etc. During midsummer night, smoke rises from the places where *Arne* guards the hidden money indicating that the treasure is there. People still believe there are treasures guarded by Arne. Occasionally money is found in hiding-places where Lapps have dug them down and then suddenly died without the wife and children knowing where it was. (Fällman, *ibid.*) N.B. The word *Arnihauta* is pronounced *Aarihauta* by the Finns in Torne Lappmark and is likely the same word as Lappish *Aarran* 'hearth' where *Sarakka* had her place. The area immediately around the hearth called *Aarran kadde* and *Aarran haude* would thus mean 'the pit of the hearth' or 'a pit under the hearth'. Now it is known that *Stallo* usually dug down his silver in his dwelling even under the hearthstone itself where enemies would least suspect any treasure to be hidden. Thus *Aarran haude* came to mean both hearth and treasure chamber. The Finns, who pushed the Lapps away from Finland, borrowed the name *Aarihauta* or *Aarni-hauta* from the Lapps. The situation would be approximately the same, except the reverse, if one were to assume that the Finnish word *Aarret* 'treasure' (*Tesaurus subterraneus*⁷ according to Renvall) were the root word. Then *Aarran-haude* would also mean both hearth and treasury, because the hearth was placed on top of the treasure. In either case *Aarihauta* kept its name even after the habit of hiding treasures under the hearth was discontinued. This is the reason for imagining that one had seen smoke rising from *Aarihauta*. But the idea of the magic importance of the midsummer night for finding the treasure is surely borrowed. The common folk in the rural areas still hold such a belief. One even imagines seeing will-o'-the-wisps in exactly those places where the dragon lies on the treasure. The Finns in Torne River district believe that one becomes weak in the legs if upon having discovered such a treasure one takes it away against the sprite's will. This is reported to have happened to a Lapp in Enontekiö who wanted to take along a load of the ore stuffs that are said to exist in a mountain by *Jokukielinen*. His legs became weak as he descended from the mountain and he could not move from the spot. He had to leave everything behind.

No 3. *Atsitje*, *Atsisen edne* or *Atsijehene* 'a troll woman'⁸ who according to the legends harassed the Lapps in ancient times. Her spouse was *Stallo*, a

monster or a giant, who was extremely hostile both toward the Lapps and against his own offspring.⁹ The Lappish tales tell about how they were tormented by her in times past. In Lule Lappmark the large dragonfly is called *Atjits-Edne*, i.e., 'mother of thunder'. It is a species of *Libellula*, in Swedish *trollslända* 'dragonfly'.

No 4. "*Besosing*. Högström's description (p. 52) mentioned above states that the Lapps in days gone by sacrificed their children alive to an idol *Besosing*. That such things shall have happened five miles from Kemijärvi, he (Högström) quotes from Gabriel Tuderus's manuscript: — "In Nils Fellman's hand-written description of the Kemijärvi dependent parish from 1751 it says: The Lapps have worshipped stone and wooden idols and what has been dreadful indeed, sacrificed their children to them. This is also said to have happened here by Kemijärvi about 12 miles south of the church on a rocky knoll, which protruded into the large lake, and which the Lapps in the olden days called *Besousing*, and later *Ämmän niemi* 'old woman's point'." Since the name *Besousing* or *Besosing* nowadays is known neither in Kemijärvi nor anywhere in Lapland, and not mentioned in any documents, and since the place where she was worshipped resembles the place where *Bjeg-Olmai*, 'the weather man' or 'the weather god' had his worship location, I am inclined to consider *Besousing* or *Besosing* as identical to *Bjegolmai* who is still known by name. The only aspect preventing me from being completely convinced is the fact that the place is called *Ämmänniemi*, a name that traditionally is motivated by the fact that the idol being worshipped is a female deity." (Fellman). This story seems rather suspect to me. The text by Gabriel Tuderus that Lönbom published does not confirm the truth of Högström's claim. If, however, the Lapps actually have sacrificed their children to some idol in accordance with Fellman's manuscript, something which neither the legends nor any other writers have confirmed, it has likely happened as atonement for some violation the children committed against the idol, as the following story may illustrate. I cannot, like Fellman, accept the name *Besousing* or *Besosing* as a Finnish distortion of *Bjegolmai*. It seems rather that the Finns and the above-mentioned writers have distorted the Lappish word *Betsautso* 'pine heath', '*Pinetum*¹⁰', which corresponds to Finnish *Petäjät*, i.e., 'holy groves or pine heaths', which were worshipped even by the Finns. The Lappish *Betsautso* could quite easily in the mouths of Finns become *Betsautsingi*, which in turn was easily changed to *Besousing* by writers unfamiliar with Lappish. An example of Finnish distortion may serve as evidence for this hypothesis. In Enontekiö or Karesuando parish there is a large fell region which the Lapps call *Pe-*

sits, but which the Finns call *Pessingi*. Also in Torne Lappmark are two places, which are called *Vatsats* by the Lapps, but *Vittangi* by the Finns. These are examples of how Finns distort Lappish words. One of the *Akkas* was probably worshipped in *Betsautso* of the Lapps which later as the Finns learned more about the deity that was worshipped in *Betsautso* or *Betsautsingi*, caused them to name the place *Ämmen niemi*, i.e., *Käringudden* 'old woman point'. This is likely so despite the fact that the Finns in Tuderus's and Fellman's days imagined that the Lapps worshipped the pine heath itself, as that notion was more in accordance with the supernatural practices of the Finns themselves. The claim that the Lapps of Kemijärvi possibly had sacrificed some child to the goddess *Betsautsingi* or *Besousingi* as atonement for some violation perpetrated against the goddess by some of the children cannot be completely without foundation when one considers the following event about which Fredrik Engelmark has received a credible account from an old Lappish man in Jockmock.

In the 1740s a rich Lapp in Jockmock had let himself be persuaded to allow his son to enter university. This Lappish lad took the name Sundelin and upon completing his studies became a priest and finally a pastor in Arjeplog. While still a student he once came home to visit his parents, who secretly still worshipped idols. One beautiful day the student together with one of his cousins burned the parents' idol. As soon as the parents saw their idol on fire they were terribly horrified and cried in a lamenting voice: *The vuojop, The vuojop*, i.e., 'Now we are sinking' [i.e., under ground]. The parents decided now to sacrifice the son together with the other evildoer as atonement to the violated idol in order not to sink under ground. But the youngsters took turn being on guard for three days and nights within which time span a terrible catastrophe was expected to befall the parents. When, however, no catastrophe happened and the youngsters furthermore ridiculed the parents' superstitions and stated that the idol could enact its own revenge if it is a god, the parents calmed down and abandoned their superstition.

A similar event was related by Rev. Tornæus about a Lapp by the name of Peder Päiviö in Torne Lappmark who had been an ardent worshipper of idols in his youth: "But it happened once that many reindeer began to die on him and, therefore, he honoured *Seite* diligently and called on it for help, but to no avail; the reindeer kept dying. Finally he sets out together with his sons to the idol bringing along many loads of dry wood, decorates the area around the *Seite* with fresh spruce branches, offers him as sacrifices such as pelts legskins and all, antlers, and heads of the deceased reindeer. They kneel and pray sincerely to the *Seite* to give a sign of himself in some man-

ner, if indeed he is a God. Since no such sign appeared although they like Bal's prophets (1. Reg. 18) had prayed all day, they rose from the supposed devoutness and threw all the dry wood they had brought with them upon the idol and set it on fire thus burning the idol of the whole village. When his pagan neighbors wanted to kill him, he responded like Gideon (Jud. 6.): Let the idol avenge himself on me — He then burned down all *seites* wherever he found them and sent his eldest son, whose name was *Vuollaba*, to live in the renowned Lapp parish of Inari, which pays taxes to three kings. *Vuollaba*'s task was to burn down all their idols and *Seites*, of which there were plenty in the village. *Vuollaba* obeyed this wish and consequently had to flee to another kingdom, Norway, where he still lives. The same man has also pledged never again to touch liquor because once under the influence of alcohol he had committed adultery." (Tornæus p.30).

This shows us how the Lapps' zealous devotion toward their idols made them exact ferocious revenge upon anyone who dared violate them and this probably gave the Finns cause for their accusation that the Lapps sacrificed their own children to *Besousing*.

No. 5. *Bjeg Olmai* 'the weather man' or 'the weather god'. It is reported that he is still being sacrificed to in the areas of Terskoi and Imandra in Russian Lapland, where he is worshipped on a hillock. (Fellman)

No. 6. *Geddekis Akko* or *Geddekis Galggo*. Those who managed to get to talk with her were promised everything they asked for, and what she promised never failed. She ruled especially weather and wind. Her main location was *Lages vuodna*, i.e., Laxfjorden, but she was worshipped in the entire Finnmark and Finnish Lapland." (Fellman)

No. 7. *Haldo* ('Rå') 'sprite'. It was believed that there was a separate *haldo* for each grove, lake, money hiding place, house, hill, animal, etc. Thus the bear had its *haldo* who in winter fed him mead, i.e., the honey of bees, of which she made him a cupful each day." In the same context Fellman cites a few Finnish verses of a conversation between the beaver and his *haldo*. "The Lapps in Imandra still sacrifice larger or smaller silver coins to *Tjatse Haldo*, (*Sjö Rån*) 'the sea sprite', who lives in the water, in order that she may surrender the beaver of which she is the guardian. (Ibid.)

No 8. *Haldo-Tjåkkå*. Near Karasjoki church. It is told that a daughter of Erik Eriksson, who moved from Muonionniska during the wars of King Charles the Twelfth, was taken into the hill. The father went on top of the

hill and drove his staff into the hill and said: "If you do not return my daughter I will burn this hill and land." Then *Haldo Emed*, the sprite's wife, said to her husband: "Let us give the girl back otherwise the old man will burn our land and destroy our house." The daughter heard this deliberation. She also noticed all kinds of tools, which resembled those used by humans. She was fed milk, buttermilk, cheese, mutton, etc. The Lapps still hold some beliefs about being taken into the hill. Especially when a child disappears, lost in the woods, it is believed to have been taken into the hill." (Fellman)

No 9. *Havitsen Galggo* was the mother of the frog. An old Finnish country woman had given her daughter away to be brought up by *Novitsen Galggo* (another troll woman). While there the ill-mannered girl learned that her mother had been murdered. She was so distraught from this that she wanted to jump in the water. The foster mother tried in vain to avert her from harboring such thoughts: she jumped in the water. But at that very moment the foster mother hit her with a steel spade across the back so that she became a humpback and turned into a frog. A similar anecdote is known in Tawastland; where the frog was supposed to be an enchanted maiden. It is considered improper to torment a frog there as it is also in Lapland. (Fellman)

N.B. This idea appears to be borrowed from other nations. Kvickjock Lapps have numerous and elaborate tales about the frog. They are not genuine but borrowed from Norwegians.

No 10. *Kowre* or *Kewre* is a deity the Tver Lapps in Russian Lapland between Kola and Kandalax worship and pray to. *Kowre* is a reindeer that has been skinned without using a knife or other metal tool and which has been placed to stand on its hind legs with the front legs up in the air. The frozen reindeer carcass was dedicated as the god of the whole village. Everyone participated with songs and prayers as the god was instructed with songs about its duties. During the ceremony the sacrificial priest, sitting before the congregation, directs the song and then falls into a trance and sees whether the god will be merciful and mighty. No one is allowed to awaken him during his trance. For that purpose (the *Kowre* ceremony) each chooses his best reindeer and brings it before the congregation. The sacrificial priest chooses the largest and fattest of the reindeer that were offered. Everyone in the village community immediately sacrifices to him (if the consecrated reindeer was a male, her if it was female; I cannot understand why the writer uses both he and she about the same antecedent¹¹). The more sacrifices she gets the mightier, more willing and benevolent she will become.

Such a *Kowre* was erected each year around Christmas time. About five or six years ago (i.e., during this century) several hundred people are said to have worshipped the same *Kowre*. Nowadays the authorities have managed to make people abandon it to such an extent that no more than 15–20 people dare to worship her in utmost secrecy. The purpose here is probably the well-being of the reindeer.” (Fellman, etc.)

N.B. This paragraph is to my mind quite remarkable and informative. It gives information about the meaning of *Passe Aldo* ('the sacred Reindeer doe') which we find in Leem, and of *Passe Aldo Vare* ('the sacred reindeer doe's hill'). Most likely even Finnmark Lapps have sacrificed to such a reindeer doe consecrated to a god. But what was the sacred reindeer doe actually supposed to represent? Mr. Fellman believes *Kowre* or *Kewre* to mean 'the strong one'. I cannot agree with him in that regard, particularly since Fellman himself under the word *Kewre* suggests its close relation to Finnish *Köyri* or *Kekri*, which Renvall translates¹² as: a mythological protective spirit, the protector of money matters, and for this reason the Finn used to celebrate a great feast or banquet with a celebratory meal in *Kekri's* honor some time in the fall before the holy Christian festival*.

Ganander also tells about *Kekri* (synonymous with *Köyri*) that it is a great old festival which was celebrated to secure good annual return and harvest. The Karelians slaughter a lamb for *Kekri* and eat it together with other food, etc. *Köyri*, *Käyri* or *Kekri* and Lappish *Kowre* were thus symbols of prosperity. The only question then is whether the Lapps have borrowed their *Kowre* from the Finnish *Köyri* or vice versa. Since Mr. Fellman indicates that *Kowre* or the sacred reindeer doe was to have been slaughtered and skinned without the use of knife or other metal objects it points to very distant ancient times, when no iron tools existed. Too bad the writer did not question how such a reindeer doe could be skinned without iron objects. Was the reindeer doe perhaps skinned using sharp stones? I must consider it a given that *Kowre*, as it was described by Mr. Fellman, is the same as *Passe Aldo* of the Lapps. Though no other writer has said anything about the Lapps worshipping a slaughtered reindeer, it does seem from Fellman's description above that the Lapps too worshipped a sacred reindeer doe. But why? It was probably not actually the skinned carcass but its spiritual representative in *saiwo*, i.e., the first mother of all reindeer, that was honoured and worshipped with the reindeer body as its representative. Similarly *saiwo-sarwo*, *saiwo-lodde*, *saiwo-qvuolle*, etc. were objects of superstitious beliefs among the Lapps.

No 11. *Ladde-Karbas* or *Gamladde-Karbas*, a kind of divination drum resembling a ship which the Lapps hung in a tree. See Nils Fellman's description quoted above. (Fellman). N.B. *Ladde-Karbas* 'a peasant's little boat' or *Gam-* (more correctly *Kama-*) *Laddes-Karbas* 'small peasant's boat equipped with Lappish shoes or Finnish boots' is most likely synonymous with *Hiden venet*. The small ships the Lapps hung in trees probably symbolize ancient Viking ships. – Those who came to murder, raid and plunder, could probably not come from any place other than the abyss.

No. 12. *Lawrekas*, Finnish *Laurukainen*. Mr. Fellman has heard the same tales of *Laurukainen*'s deeds as have been told above (Part 4 § 28) about him, albeit with some variations. Fellman writes: "They (the Karelians¹³) once traveled across Lake Inari and were forced to go ashore where they lay down to sleep. In the meantime, while the weather stilled, *Lawrekas* pushed the boats, all nine of them out to sea, and jumped himself into the ninth one. All their weapons and provisions were in the boats. In their hunger they shaved the bark off of 100 pine trees and this is how the island was named, *Tjuotte-Petsje-Suloi* 'island of 100 pines'. When *Laurukainen* visited the site nine days later, most of them were dead except for a few who displayed weak signs of life. Old folk claim to have seen remnants of human bones on this island. Similarly, *Laurukainen* is reported to have destroyed in a similar fashion four shiploads of raiding Karelians on *Kalba* island in the middle of the open area of Lake Inari. Inhabitants of Kemijärvi claim that he had similarly destroyed a larger band of raiders in Jumisko, where, while the enemies were asleep and he had lured the guard to pick berries, he tied all nine boats together and pushed them out to sea. The guard rushed after him but *Laurukainen* killed him with his axe. It was believed that *Laurukainen* had the ability to put people to sleep. This numbing ability is called *Marit* or *Marvvit* in Kemijärvi Lappmark dialect. He was further considered to be a *Silmän-Kääntäjä* 'conjurer or someone who changes one's vision'. People from Kittilä report how *Laurukainen* in the capacity of guide and rapids shooter for one such enemy band of raiders, steered the boat into a huge rapids where the entire party perished except the guide himself who jumped onto a large boulder just above the rapids. (Cf. Part 4 §§26–28).

N.B. Mr. Castrén (mentioned in the first part of this mythology) has, during his trip in Karelia, heard almost the same tales about *Laurukainen*'s adventures as were told in Lapland. The Karelians do not, however, wish to accept the accusation that their ancestors had persecuted the Lapps. (See

Mr. Castren's account of his journey to the Finnish Literature Society, published in *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, April 1840, No 82 and 83.)¹⁴

No. 13. *Låbmot* is a conjuration trick whereby the effect of a bullet and a weapon made of iron can be neutralized. The trick is called *Lumous* in Finnish. *Stallo*, for example, could undo the effect of a bullet (and also of iron so it had no "bite"). Yet he could not conjure a silver bullet. The effect of *Lumous* extends as far as undoing the effect of whips, poison and wizardry, etc. Thieves are believed to be able to conjure dogs so they do not bark and humans so they do not awaken. (Fellman). N.B. This folk belief is found also in Swedish Lapland. (Læstadius).

No. 14. Under the word *Loween lanketa* which is Finnish and means 'fall into trance', Mr. Fellman remarks: "In order to be able to fall into trance one must be skilled in the art of singing *noaidi* songs, which according to the writer are called *jåiget* (*juoiket*) in Lappish. The art of *yoiking* or singing *noaidi* songs was first learned from *Perkel*¹⁵, (the Devil) by an old woman. It happened in the following manner: *Perkel* spat in the woman's hand from where the woman licked up the spit. Hence *jåiking* is nowadays believed to belong to the Evil One. (Fellman)

N.B. The clergy and other gentlefolk had condemned *yoiking* as the work of the Devil in order not to have to listen to the unpleasant sounds of drunken Lapps and, therefore, some Lapps in the presence of clergy pretend to hold the same view of *yoiking*. Yet they *joik* in their forests and they know no other song. (Læstadius).

The following description of the mushroom fly agaric (*Svensk Botanik*¹⁶, Tab. 108 *Agaricus Muscarius Linnaeus*) appears to confirm rather than contradict my view of divination or *noaide* men's magnetic sleep: Before the act they secretly took some narcotic substances.

The publisher of *Svensk Botanik* remarks on the mushroom: "Its intoxicating property has become known especially through its use among Northern Asian peoples still today. Doctor of Theology and Professor Ödman's idea that the renowned warriors called Berserks in ancient Swedish history induced their horrifying murderous fury by consuming fly agaric, also seems probable. While in this state they are described as besides themselves, as wild animals: They attacked living and dead things, shunned no danger and did not differentiate between friends and enemies. They were thought to be invincible, they were feared and hated and since they presumably consumed the intoxicating substance in secret, no one knew the true cause of their frenzy. The frenzy was, however, given an explanation;

it was, as was usual in such cases, ascribed to evil spirits. Ostyaks consumed fly agaric one by one or three if boiled. Others can eat 3–4 which is said to increase their blood circulation. — The effect thereof is first a feeling of joy with singing, dancing, etc. Then they feel their strength increase in an unusual way. They imagine their bodies having grown larger. They become delirious, rave and their movements become convulsive. Finally they grow weary and fall asleep. Their state of frenzy usually lasts 12–16 hours after which they wake up with their senses restored but as if down-trodden and with no memory of what had transpired. — According to Steller, even the urine of someone who has consumed the mushroom had the power to intoxicate, which is why Tungus shamans drink it when they are about to beat their *noaidi* drum.”

It is well-known that fly agaric is quite commonly found in Lapland. One can probably also not doubt that the Lapps brought with them their *noaidi* powers from their proto home in Northern Asia. If Tungus shamans are familiar with the narcotic properties of fly agaric what would prevent the Lapps from also knowing it and perhaps even other narcotic substances. Keeping the true magic agent secret is, of course, an essential part of the magic.

No. 15. *Luotta-Muorra* ‘a kind of divination drum’ resembles the keel of a Lappish *ackia*. (Nils Fellman in the above-cited description. (Fellman)) N.B. *Luotta muor* appears to be a Finnish translation of Tuderus’s *Tillitelses träd*. From Part 2 §7 of this mythology it is apparent that the Finns did not understand the meaning of the Lapps’ *Liet-Muor*, which Tuderus, because of his insufficient knowledge of Lappish, calls now *Lista Muor*, now *Brolti-Muor*. The lack of understanding of the meaning of *Liet-Muor* is also revealed by the fact that the Finns out of ill will named the afore-mentioned keel of a boat *Hyden venet*.

No. 16. *Mader Akko* had the ability to see in the dark. When worshipped for seven years she would restore the sight of the blind, the hearing of the deaf, show the way to those gone astray and make them never again go astray. Her sacrificial altar consisted of three flat stones on flat ground in the forest, in a place where no other stones were found nearby. There were three stones; one large, one smaller, and the third even smaller, but all three flat and smooth. The most prominent sacrifice to her was the doe of a wild reindeer or a ram, both with full antlers. In other places she has been worshipped by a relatively large well pruned tree stump or two such next to each other. To her they sacrificed reindeer, sheep, and fowl cut up and

salted in a trough, which was placed on top of the stump. She is reported on occasion to have received a whole reindeer, which then had to be a doe, but if she was offered a sheep it had to be a ram. During the ceremonial sacrifice to her, they removed their hats upon seeing her from a distance and bowed humbly three times. Then they placed their sacrifice on the largest of the stones and, lying on their knees, began to pledge in song to be faithful and loyal to *Maderakko* in life and in death. The song in honor of *Maderakka* is as follows: *Mon läm Maderest, Ja Maderi mon bådä, Maderakkost mon läm ällam, ja Maderakko gvuovlui mon bådä*. Translated "Of *Mader* I have come, to *Mader* I will return, through *Mader akko* I have lived, To *Maderakko* I will return. (Please note that *Mader Akko* was the progenitress of the entire human race.) "Whoever served and worshipped *Mader Akko* always had to have a shoe on his left foot. If he needed to change the shoe grass it had to be performed as quickly as possible. The Lapps attributed to their *Mader Akko* the ability to prophesy future events, as well as the powers reign and make everything right." (Fellman)

No. 17. "Under the word *Nåide* Mr. Fellman divides the *noaides* according to their greater or lesser ability: *Pahas takke Nåide*, who inflicted harm on people and livestock with wizardry; *Galge Nåide*, a *noaidi* who could divine the root cause of evil and counteract it; *Girde Nåide*, a flying *noaidi*, who could transform himself into any kind of animal shapes, etc. One such *noaidi* had once transformed himself into an ide and in that shape been caught in a seine. He immediately jumped out of the boat, but in doing so he injured a few scales below the front fins, whereof a bare spot emerged on the skin as he transformed himself back into a human.

"In the village of Kaira-Vuopi a bear had been captured in ancient times with a belt around his flank. The people believed it to be a Lapp who had been conjured into a bear and, therefore, did not dare eat its meat. Not too long before that, a man¹⁷ in Kairavuopi had died. He claimed that he saw a wolf with tears in his eyes while he was out hunting and sitting by his log fire in the woods. He had given the wolf food and the wolf had not wanted to leave until he was chased away. Some years later a Russian from the Kola Peninsula came to the village telling how, for two years, he had been conjured into a wolf and how, while a wolf, he had enjoyed great hospitality from a man by a log fire. The reason he was crying at that time was the fact that his comrade had just been shot." (Fellman). N.B. I quote this as confirmation of what has been said above about such metamorphoses. This folk belief, that a human can be transformed into a bear or a wolf through wizardry, is well-known also among the common folk in Sweden. This ex-

plains the proverb *löpa varg* 'run wolf' and *Varg i Veum*, for example *Varg i Veum heter jag*¹⁸. 'Varg i Veum is my name' (*Frithjof's Saga* by Tegnér.)

No. 18. *Pavus Nilas* and *Piittus*, are two renowned *noaidis* at the beginning of the Christian era who had transformed themselves into wild reindeer and, while in this shape, butted each other horribly until another *noaidi*, *Pola Vuona Jouna* separated them with his spear. Fellman offers a more comprehensive tale about this topic under the word *Pavus Nilas*.

No. 19. Fellman has recorded from Lappish tradition an extensive story about the *Päiviö* clan which was famous in Torne and Kemi Lappmarks. Central to the story are: the fact that *Päiviö* is a descendant from the sun, that he was a great *noaidi*, that he defeated *Torakas*, a great *noaidi* of the Tor clan, etc. Tradition also tells of the same *Päiviö* or *Päivats* ('the little sun') traveling to Stockholm to complain of the tyranny of the *Birkamen*; he is reported to have adopted Christianity during that trip, although his wife, who was present in spirit only, refused baptism. *Päiviö* is also reported to have had three sons *Vuolleb*, *Isak* and *Johannas*. Thus this description appears to correspond to the *Päiviö* whose son *Vuollaba* destroyed the idol images of the Lapps as mentioned by Rev. Tornæus. (*Addition* No. 4.) According to tradition *Päiviö* was also a mighty hunter of wild reindeer (which legend was told even in Karesuando). For this purpose he had 30 hired hands and as many maids. He could on occasion capture no less than 1000 wild reindeer at once, which probably now is seen by tradition as wizardry. The matter does, however, have a true and natural explanation when you take into account *Päiviö's* method of capturing wild reindeer. Tornæus describes this method (p. 49):

They would go dozens of miles up into the treeless fells. Along this distance they placed poles in two lines forming an angle against each other. On these poles they placed some dirty rags which the reindeer feared. The closer one came to the vertex of the angle the closer to each other stood the poles with their frightening rags. Finally it turned into a tall fence. In the very vertex of the angle an opening was left which led down toward a precipice and below the precipice was a fenced-in enclosure. Now the dogs were sent to bark at all the wild reindeer that were in the area of the angle (and one can easily understand why such a chase was held where wild reindeer usually would roam). In the beginning the chase went very slowly, but the closer they came to the vertex of the angle the more forcefully the chase was conducted wherefore the reindeer had to seek refuge by jumping over the precipice at the opening in the angle. Then they were caught in the tight

enclosure. It is not hard to believe that 1000 reindeer were caught in the enclosure in this manner. Those who only heard tales about such chases without being present would naturally believe it to be wizardry.

Mr. Fellman further tells about *Päiviö's* sons *Vuolloba*, *Isak* and *Johannas*. According to tradition they are represented as the strongest of warriors and the most skillful of archers. "They could invoke blessings from heaven, destroy their enemies, defeat *Torakas* or *Torangi* (a mythological being Fellman considers synonymous with *Old Man Thor*) and *Lempo* or *Lemmingi* (a mythological being, from Finnish *Lempo* or *Lemmingäinen*). In the abundance of meat their feasts could be compared to *Väinämöinen's* (the Finns' most prominent god, whose name is unknown even in Kemi Lappmark¹⁹). *Vuolloba* who was the strongest of *Päiviö's* sons even wrestled with *Stallo*.

The fight began as usual with the lifting of rocks. *Stallo* lost this fight and fled to the Arctic Sea, but *Vuolloba* followed him. *Stallo* jumped across the River *Neid* and *Vuolloba* also jumped across the same river and caught up with *Stallo*, destroyed him and returned with rich loot consisting of silver. *Vuolloba* could overtake a racing wild reindeer and a wolf by running (perhaps on skis), and he could destroy a bear with his bare hands, etc. He was even a great *noaidi*, but did not fall into trance. This is but a synopsis of Fellman's extensive story.

No. 20. *Pelkko*, actually 'quarrel' or 'fight' (it comes from the Lappish word *Pälko*; the Finnish word incidentally means 'fear'). In Sodankylä lives a mythological person and benefactor of the nation. He drove away *Piru* (the Devil) from the country having first appropriated his fortune. This happened in the following fashion: *Pelko*²⁰ hired himself out as a servant of *Piru* with the condition that he would serve him only until he had worn out a pair of shoes. When *Pelko* left *Piru's* service, he was supposed to receive as much silver as he could carry with him. The shoes, however, were of a kind that what wore down during the day grew back at night. (I have heard a similar vague legend in Lule Lappmark with the added feature that the shoes were made of human skin). *Pelko* hit on a solution: he would fill the shoes with sand wet them often. Soon enough, the skin rotted and hole after hole appeared in the shoes. Then he left *Piru's* service richly loaded with silver coins.

He then lived as *Piru's* neighbor and was often his partner in numerous endeavors. Once they were partners in a large burn-beating project. *Piru*, worked more and envied *Pelko's* half of the abundant harvest. Thus he suggested to *Pelko* that the one who would drive²¹ the next day to the beat-

burned land with the strangest animal would get the entire harvest. *Piru* came riding on a hare, but *Pelko* came riding on his wife who was strangely harnessed. *Piru* acknowledged that *Pelko* had won the bet. — Once they had caught a large number of squirrels and the whole catch would go to the one who could bring forth that which the other feared most. *Pelko* feared God, but *Piru* a hissing serpent. *Pelko* throws a serpent into the pile of squirrels and *Piru* cedes all the squirrels to *Pelko* (*Stallo* feared serpents the most. (Læstadius)).

Pelko and *Piru* wagered who could throw *Piru*'s golden hammer higher up in the air. *Piru* throws it so high it could hardly be seen in the sky. *Pelko* takes the hammer in his hand but it was so heavy that he was almost unable to swing it. *Pelko* now swings the Golden hammer back and forth, then puts it back down on the ground. *Piru* grows impatient and asks him to hurry up. But *Pelko* replies: I am waiting for that cloud over there, I will throw the hammer onto the cloud. From fear of losing his hammer *Piru* pays the bet (*Pelko* therefore did not have to throw the hammer. In Lappish tales it is *Stallo* and *Askovis* who throws, in that case, an icepick. Part 4 § 10). — One bet was about who could shout the loudest. *Piru* shouted so the mountains echoed, but *Pelko* protects his ears with spruce boughs so that he can shout so loudly that the mountains split. Then *Piru* ceded the bet in order for his wife and children not to perish in the splitting mountains.

Pelko and *Piru* were to carry a large spruce tree. *Piru* went first carrying the narrow end but was not allowed to look back. *Pelko* sat on the root end. *Piru* became tired and lost the bet. (In the Lappish tales about *Stallo* this event is told as follows. *Stallo* and *Askovis* had been fishing together and caught a lot of fish. When they came to shore *Stallo* took the top of a large spruce and bent it down and asked *Askovis* to hold on to the top while *Stallo* cut the tree at the base. But the spruce straightened itself again and whisked *Askovis*, who was holding on to the top, far into the forest. Then *Stallo* became perplexed and asked *Askovis*: Where did you disappear to? I got so angry with you, answered *Askovis*, that I jumped into the forest so as not to destroy you in my rage. Now they hung the fish in the spruce. *Askovis* sat down on the root end and urged *Stallo* to walk fast. *Stallo*, the old man, walked so fast that he spat blood and *Askovis* still thought it went too slowly. The story is from Lule Lappmark. (Læstadius))

Once *Pelko* and *Piru* had a running contest on Kilpiaapa bog in Sodankylä. The contest was to run back and forth across the wet six-mile wide bog. *Pelko* had his wife dressed in his clothes and placed her at one end of the bog while he himself was at the other. *Piru* immediately left *Pelko* behind, but when he reached the other end *Pelko*'s wife said: I was here be-

fore you. Now *Piru* hurried back in order to win the bet on the return leg, but to his great surprise he met *Pelko* at the other end. *Pelko* told the approaching *Piru*: I was here before you. The bet was for as many silver coins the winner could carry with him. Another bet consisted of running head first into a tree trunk to ascertain who could make a deeper dent in the trunk. *Pelko* had cut a hole in the tree large enough for his head to fit in up to his ears. He covered the hole with bark. *Piru* bangs his head hard into the tree trunk but manages to make only a small dent. *Pelko* in turn pushes his head in deep up to his ears and wins this bet as well. (Part 4 § 40)

Peasants in Sodankylä tell about these events as if they have really happened, yet adding that *Piru* had left the region because he lost all his property and was unable to murder *Pelko*. He has not been seen in these regions since. (Everything according to Fellman). N.B. *Piru* here may well have been a *Birkaman*. *Piru* is nowadays considered a shortened form of *Perkele*. I am almost convinced it derives from *Birkarl* (Swedish form of *Birkaman*). (Læstadius)

No. 21. Fellman has learned the following about *Ruotta* or 'the pest': The inhabitants of Inari describe her as having the shape of a ball of yarn. (Might it be *Tyre* that Schefferus has drawn in the shape of a ball of yarn? Leem has been told that contagious diseases are called *Tjurre*, which possibly is the same as *Tyre*. (Cf. Part 3 § 26)). Inhabitants of Utsjoki claim that the pest has the shape of an ermine. In parts of Norwegian Finnmark *Ruotta* is represented as two walking dolls. If these dolls enter a room and only walk across, everyone in the room dies, but if they dance for a while nobody dies. *Ruotta* especially wanted to destroy everything pretty. One time a merchant told the people of Inari that *Ruotta* was on her way; they dressed up a reindeer in bright pretty clothes, decorations and "Nüremburg goods:"²² *Ruotta* shot at the reindeer and missed. If *Ruotta* misfired at a creature it died itself. *Ruotta* stayed hidden in ships or merchants' goods until she arrived at her destination. Once in the parish of Utsjoki, *Ruotta* was drowned together with the merchant's goods. She arrived by ship to Finnmark with the hemp. She had placed herself treacherously in some mountain crevice from where she jumped suddenly onboard some ship sailing close by, but did not do any harm until she reached land. (Fellman). Lappish tradition does not include reference to any years of the Black Death and it is, therefore, uncertain whether this pest did indeed rage among the Lapps. (Læstadius).

No. 22. Mr. Fellman includes the following notation under the word *saiwo*²³: The image of *saiwo* generally stood on a beautiful point or in a grove by a lake but could also be in an elevated place on land. *Saiwo* made the fish fat and delicious and gave them up at will. He was served by *saiwo-nieida*, *saiwo*'s daughter (a sea nymph). If they were not honoured, the fish would not appear or would disappear from the seine near the shore even after having been seen. Some silver object or a drop of mercury, thrown into the water, was sacrificed to *saiwo*. He was also worshipped as a rock, a stone, a stump, a fish, etc., such as *saiwa vaarre*, 'holy mountain', *saiwa kedke* 'holy stone', *saiwa jaure* 'holy lake', *saiwa muorra* 'holy tree', *saiwa qvuolle* 'holy fish', which could all be consecrated with song and anointment and subsequently receive their proper sacrifices. Moreover, *saiwa qvuolle* helped *noaidis* on their journeys to the realm of the dead to retrieve the souls of the seriously sick. (What the circumstances were for that has been explained in Part 1 of this mythology. (Læstadius)).

One was not to disturb *saiwo* with noise. During calm summer nights no one dared cut wood by the lake; stumps and windfall were to be gathered for firewood. One did not have the audacity to speak loudly, even less to shout, because all such things disturbed *saiwo*. Taking water from the lake directly into pots or kettles was not allowed; it had to be ladled slowly into the vessel. If one wanted to increase one's haul more than was appropriate, one was punished with no catch at all.

"Such prejudices are still common in the lower Lappmarks. In 1829, a peasant in Sodankylä by the name of Pehr Korvainen told a story. In his youth he had been fishing in a lake where *saiwo* gives up fish arbitrarily. An old man had advised him to sacrifice to *saiwo* but he did not follow the old man's advice. Instead he began to make noise and swear hoping thus to drive the evil one away from the lake. Unfortunately, at nightfall, he was thrown a good distance away from the place where he was sleeping and he woke up. Once again he performed his exorcise with the words: Go away from here! I am the master of this place; here I want to live; you are to leave. He fell asleep again but a while later he was again thrown even farther. — He curses and lies down again to sleep, but is thrown for the third time. Then he cursed the ghosts in his best way and pronounced that they were dealing with the most splendid man. Then he fell asleep yet again and woke up when he and the old man who had advised him to honor *saiwo* hear a boat rowing on the lake. The rowers are talking to each other: We have to row quietly and not talk loudly so the man does not hear us; he is not good to have to deal with.

The man has asserted that he had never before or after worshipped *saiwo* nor been disturbed by him except for the fact that *saiwo* had appeared in his dreams a few times and spoken to him meekly. He seemed totally convinced that he had fought a hard fight with *saiwo* when driving him away from the lake where no one since has seen or heard him." (Fellman)

No. 23. Under the word *Seite* Fellman remarks as follows: "Wooden *seites*, which nowadays are seen only very rarely, are said by the old folk to have consisted of a tree cut at the top, or two such trees side by side, well trimmed, sometimes with, sometimes without some sort of facial image at the top. As a child, the tallest one I saw was the height of a man. They were brought food for sacrifice: reindeer, sheep, or fowl meat cut into pieces and placed in troughs that were lifted on top of the stumps. One was not allowed to visit the site until three days had passed and the idol had had time to consume all the meat and bones. If one wanted to sacrifice a whole reindeer to her it had to be a doe, but if a sheep, a ram. Still in 1825, one such idol image was dismantled and burned about 10 miles north of Kemi mother church near Taivalkoski. These are the tree stumps mentioned in the Catechism. In my childhood years in 1802, at the age of seven, I visited Muurala²⁴ salmon weir almost daily. In Rovaniemi parish were two such idols, one right on the shore, the other about 20 fathoms away in a dense forest near the camp. One peasant boy told me about them and showed both of them after swearing me to complete secrecy. To my recollection they were stumps of about 5 to 6 inches in diameter, and about 6 to 7 quarters [3-4 feet] in length. They had human faces and one of them had a pipe [tobacco pipe] about an inch thick and a couple of inches in length but without a hole. I did not understand to ask whether they received any sacrifice and have not since learned anything to that effect." (Fellman) N.B. I am almost afraid Mr. Fellman here mixes remnants of Lappish and Finnish superstitions. There have not been any Lapps near the Kemi mother church in at least 200 years. Mr. Fellman has earlier, under the word *Maderakka*, informed us that the Lapps' sacrifice to her was "a wild reindeer doe or a ram, both with full antlers." Now here the same is said about *seite*. That probably means that in the people's minds existed a certain mythological being, either *Maderakka* or *seite*, to which this sacrifice was to be given. He says about *Maderakka*: "Her sacrificial altar consisted of 3 smooth and flat stones on an even ground," (*Addition*, No.16.) but that she was also worshipped "by a relatively tall stump or two such stumps next to each other." Now the same is said about *seite*, to whom a trough of food was put out in the same fashion as to *Maderakka*, in the shape of a tree stump. It seems to

me that since the Lapps did not confuse one idol's sacrifice with that of another, *Maderakka* could not have been worshipped by both stones and stumps. The stumps and the foods that were placed on them were in the minds of the people likely devoted to some other being. Furthermore, since the stumps which stood on their roots (not upside down like those of the Lapps) actually belonged to the Finns, the stumps Mr. Fellman observed in Kemi and Rovaniemi must have been remnants of the ancient deities of the Finns. Since the same kind of stumps and the same kind of sacrifices are mentioned under *Maderakka* as well, they would appear to be of Finnish origin. It is of course possible that the Lapps in Kemi Lappmark borrowed them from the Finns and ascribed them to *Maderakka*. However, the *Maderakka*, that consisted of three smooth stones, we must attribute to the Lapps. The Finns never had stone gods. For Mr. Fellman, who does not differentiate between the mythologies of different peoples, this may be of little consequence, but for me, who must keep them separate, it is necessary to investigate what is originally Lappish and what might be borrowed. (Læstadius)

In No. 82 of *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* of 1840, Mr. Castrén has confirmed Ganander's claim that the Finns really possessed and worshipped trees and stumps, *tervaskantoja*, *Tapion puu* 'a tree that must not be felled', *Tapion kanto* 'a stump from which new shoots have sprung.' Castrén, who obtained this information from Karelia, based the credibility on some runes as well as on a papal bull from Pope Gregorius IX. If one adds hereto the stumps in Kemi and Rovaniemi that Mr. Fellman has seen with his very own eyes, I am almost afraid that Mr. Gottlund will have to accept and admit that the Finns in their manner of worship of gods were not so much above that of the Lapps as is usually intimated.

Mr. Fellman enumerates a large number of places which carry *seite* names and where *seite* stones are still reported extant. However, in the places which (presumably according to Erik Grape's report in the Royal Science Academy Proceedings) are located in Enontekiö, Seitavuopio and Seitalompolo, I have not heard Lapps or Finns mentioning that any stones would still be visible. In the summer of 1844, Crown Superintendent Ragnar Læstadius in Jukkasjärvi claims to have seen at the southern end of Lake Tornio, a short distance north of Tarrha rapids, a stone *seite* including piles of antlers among which some appeared to be fresh (?²⁵). If I were to enumerate all the places in Swedish Lapland where ancient Lappish idols have been erected, it would occupy more time and room than this entire dissertation. Such place names may have some value in individual topog-

raphic treatises but must not unnecessarily fill the space of a dissertation dealing only with common folk beliefs.

No. 24. "*Shakkalag*, pl. *Shakkalagak*, displayed similarities to humans but were small, like children, and lay in the ground a few quarters below the surface, like corpses, but alive. Their bellies were full of silver, mostly coins. They were found because the ground above them did not freeze, even in mid winter the snow thawed and melted in such places. People who dug them up found great riches in their stomachs. Others say that they lived in rivers and people could catch them with their boots placed on the shore. They would then put the boots on their feet and thus prevent them from escaping." (Fellman) N.B. This is most likely the same being which Anonymous calls *Zhikkalaggah*. (Part 1 § [?²⁶]). Fellman has not been able to ascertain the origin of this folk belief either. Maybe some ancient practice of hiding coins in cat skin, from which the Swedish saying *Penningkatt* ["coin cat"] might have originated, gave rise to such a belief. The fact that snow melts in certain places in winter indicates a vein of water. (Læstadius)

No. 25. Mr. Fellman remarks that *Tjatse Olmai* was actually worshipped during Midsummer night by sitting on the shores of rapids to learn something one wished to know. One was not allowed to speak, only think about what one wanted. Nor was one allowed to answer the voice that spoke from the water. First the voice asked: What do you want to know? Then one thought of something one wished for: coins, wild reindeer, fish, beavers, etc. and while one thought of one at a time, *Tjatse Olmai* described how it could be obtained. Finally *Tjatse Olmai* appeared in the form of a human and disappeared. His most prominent assistant, who helped him bring harm, was *Nekke (Näkken)*. The sacrifice to *Tjatse Olmai*, like to *Tjatse Haldo (Sea Rå)* 'sea sprite', was a silver coin." (Fellman)

No. 26. According to Lindahl and Öhrling, Scandinavia was (probably in southern Lapland) called *Skadesi Suollo* by the Lapps. They have also heard a Lappish fable about an eagle that took along a small sparrow by the name of *Kadse pia* and rose with it high up in the sky. While there the sparrow sang: Oh, what a high flight this man is doing; the *Skandien* island looks like a small pole."²⁷ Lindahl and Öhrling *Lexicon* as noted by Fellman. N.B. *Kadsa pia* is *Parus Sibericus Pall*, the smallest bird in Lapland.

No. 27. Under the word *Smjerrakatto (Smörkatt Bjäran)* Mr. Fellman offers the following remarks: "It is made of rags and is born through rocking and

reciting: *Sjadda, Sjadda Smierkatto!* ('be born, be born *Bjära*'). This is repeated for a long time and the object is shaken. Some add: "I give you, naughty *Bjära*, my soul and body." — In Norwegian Lapland *Bjära* is called *Trollkatten* 'troll cat'. It is made from pin (stick) around which yarn is wrapped until it gets the shape of a little bird which then moves by winding. Some make it look like a black rat or a cat. In a few parishes bordering on Finnmark she is partly bird, partly cat. Lappish settlers call her sometimes *Vuoren eukko* 'old woman of the hill', sometimes *Pirun emäntä* 'the Devil's wife'. In Sodankylä she did not come alive until blood from the little finger of the right hand had dripped on her. If she was killed while stealing milk from the neighbor's milk dish or cows, its mistress or birth giver died that very instant." (Fellman). The rest is as told above (Part 1§ [108]).

No. 28. Under the entry *Stalo*²⁸, Mr. Fellman has gathered from Finland's Lappmarks a good number of tales of which the following are the main ones: "*Stallo* was a troll wandering about in the woods and is depicted as a man with a caftan, usually of red cloth and fastened with a silver clasp under the chin, and with a silver belt around the waist from which hangs a knife with a silver handle on the left side (this sounds like a *Birkaman* depicted with his red dress. *Læstadius*). He carries in his left hand a pouch with silver coins and in the right hand a staff. He is followed by a dog who watches after him and guards him from anyone attacking him while he is sleeping. The Lapps hold different views of the origin of *stallo*. The following are the most accepted views: First, that *stallo* came about when the world was created and *Atsitshe* (more correctly *Atjits*) was his wife. Second, that a human being who rejects the union of baptism becomes *stallo*. This rejection was performed through a public ceremony which consisted of washing the face and head, and publicly promising oneself to the Devil and denouncing baptism and the cross. Then it was incumbent upon such an individual to go out into the wilderness and bring harm to human beings."

The second view may have been inspired by *Roskolniks* and *Starobrädses*²⁹ (perhaps some sort of Russian separatists?), who do not much participate in organized collectives but live in wild regions and from there cause all sorts of harm, then disappear. This is all the more likely given the fact that *stallos* are mostly very much like humans, i.e., like Lapps, since they have received their name in the language, but do have the ability to make themselves very large as they are generally larger than ordinary humans."

"If a *stallo* started to attack a human being the struggle was one of life and death. This he did partly to acquire the possessions of the one he was

about to murder and partly in order to flay the skin off the face of the murdered one upon winning the fight. *Stallo* would then bring the mask to his superior to show that the assignment was completed. *Stallos* are sent here (to Finnish Lapland) from Imandra Lappmark near Kandalax (places in Russian Lapland unknown to me. (Læstadius)) because there are *noaidis* who have the ability to arouse them. One dares not, therefore, offend Russian Lapps as *noaidis* are a resource there."

"When a *stallo* attacked a human, he first suggested they wrestle or lift rocks. The human could not avoid the challenge; if he did, he would be persecuted continually and murdered in a sly attack. In the fight, the winner was the one who got the other one underneath him and had the right to murder him. This was carried out with *stallo*'s silver shafted knife because no other knife had any effect on him. Someone who had defeated a *stallo* did not ever have any peace until he has fought with three. If all three of them were defeated, the winner was for ever protected from additional attacks by *stallos*; he had also acquired immeasurable treasures."

Still in 1821, during the Christmas holiday, Crown Superintendent Högman's two sons were attacked by *stallo* during the father's market journey to Inari. One of the boys was named Dawid and 15 years of age, the other one, Johan, 13 and a half. The father had distrained someone near the Russian border and that was to be avenged. *Stallo* had been hired to follow Högman, but *stallo* did not dare attack him but attacked his sons instead. *Stallo*'s hands and eyes were hard as stone. The boys and their dependent, lodger Anders Ejnarsson, beat *stallo* fervently but without effect. Finally they all began to curse the ghost and after that he disappeared! (It is quite odd that Mr. Fellman did not investigate further from the Högman boys what kind of situation it really was. Læstadius)

"A young and large *stallo* daughter came once to a youngster in Sodankylä to challenge him. She offered the youngster all her fortune should he win, but should the reverse happen she demanded the youngster's possessions. The fight was to be one of life and death. First the *stallo* daughter requested, however, to be loved by the youngster. They lie down, but immediately the man pulls a knife from *stallo*'s daughter's sheath and cuts her belly open. Thus he acquired the possessions she had brought along. — *Stallo* could also be shot to death but only with silver bullets. — In Bugge fiord, a *stallo* had married a Lapp girl; he resembled the Lapps in his life-style. His brother-in-law (a Lapp) once arrived to visit with this *stallo* in his cave from where the Lapp would not have got out alive without his sister's help. *Stallo* found out that his wife had helped the Lapp to escape and so

she too had to flee. *Stallo* then came to find her but was burned to death by her brothers and with the help of other Lapps.

The Finnmark Lapps tell about *stallo*'s graves in crevices (*ättestupor*^{30?}) and under large rocks. The bones found in such grave sites are reported to be double the length of Lapp bones. Mr. Fellman remarks, however, that what were presumed to be *stallo*'s graves were nothing but cairns for fallen or otherwise deceased heroes whose size the Lapps have exaggerated as they did everything else. A *stallo* by the name of Heiko Stephansson is reported to be buried under a memorial [grave] stone in *Saltjärn* Fell. The stone is said to be very much like the one at the *Märternsnäs* trading place. This stone, erected and finely cut of ordinary sandstone or greystone, is standing like a pillar about 10 feet above the ground with 12 rings of stones around it. Next to this stone (at *Märtensnäs*?) a powerful *stallo* is reportedly buried. Likewise at *Salesnjarga* on the eastern side of the *Varanger* fiord under a stone the size of a house. A *stallo* is also said to be buried in *Saltjärn* (or possibly *Sal-tjern*? *Læstadius*) between *Vadsö* and *Ekkerö*, also at *Vadsö* and several other locations along the *Varanger* fiord." (Fellman)

These tales inform us that *stallo* at times was a *Birkaman* in red clothing, at times a supernatural being, who ultimately became nothing but an ordinary robber, a Viking, whose remnant bones under cairns, memorial [grave] stones, and crevices are double the size of the short Lapps. Rev. Rode's afore-mentioned statistical study of Finnmark mentions no relics or remnants of these Vikings. This does not, however, mean they cannot be found in several locations after close searches. There we have the Lappish tales about *stallo* confirmed: *stallo* was a forest robber whose unusual body size as compared to Lapps made him a troll 'supernatural being', which the ever-embellishing fairy tale further made into a man-eater. (*Læstadius*)

No. 29. By *Särkijärvi*, a lake in *Kittilä*, a *seite* was worshipped still in the 18th century. A peasant *Pehr Korvainen* had told Mr. Fellman how his uncle had decided to burn down the *seite* by the lake. He was bitter because he did not catch any fish after pulling the seine three nights in a row. With this intention in mind he goes to the woods to look for firewood and encounters a human ghost who asked where he was going. The fisherman replied that he was going to look for firewood to burn down the *seite* by the lake. The ghost then persuades the fisherman to refrain from doing this and promises that he will henceforth catch fish in abundance. The peasant lets the *seite* stand and also gets fish from the lake without sacrificing to *seite*."

Mr. Fellman remarks further: "The Devil put many obstacles in the way if someone wanted to burn down a *seite*. But if one acquired nine dry and resinous pine crowns the *seite* would go up in flames. (Fellman)

N.B. Many circumstances indicate that the Finns, having driven the Lapps out of their places, adopted the gods of the displaced Lapps. It does not follow, however, that all of the deities of the Finns were of Lappish origin, not even the tree stumps, *Petäjät*, *Ristikannot*, *Tervaskannot*, can with certainty be included among those inherited from the Lapps. But even if that were the case, which will remain difficult to prove, the fact that the Finns worshipped Lappish deities, does not lend the Finns much honor. (Læstadius)

No. 30. Under the term *Säytsse-kedke* Mr. Fellman has enumerated additional so-called *stalo kedkeh* (*stallo* stones) and *stalo haudeh* (*stallo* graves) where skeletons of *stallo*s are occasionally found. The stone at Mårtensnäs is ten feet tall, a little more than two feet wide, and six inches thick and is called *Bautasten* 'memorial stone' by the Norwegians. At the northern end of Skogerö a *bautasten* is six feet tall and cut like the previous one, but lying horizontally on the ground. Not far from where Patsjock joins the Arctic Sea a similar one is shown under which King *Svart-Vasser* is believed to be buried. From these, and some additional *bautastens* on the shore of Finnmark, the Norwegians assume that Geatish peoples in ancient times have lived there. They do not acknowledge that the Lapps or other Finnish tribes have had such memorial stones." (Fellman)

N.B. In reference to stone structures, which by the Finns today are called *Lapinrauniot* 'Lapp cairns', and which Fellman, Castrén, etc. have noted, I wish to remark in agreement with Mr. Castrén that they are memorials of Geatish tribes and not Lappish memorials as the Finnish common folk assume. The Lappish memorials are called *Lapin haudat* 'Lapp graves', i.e., pits one may find in Lapland and are remnants from ancient Lappish excavations³¹ in the ground. In a manuscript I have had on loan, Mr. Fellman has written about some investigations he had undertaken of the Lapp cairns³² located at the Paunula homestead in the middle between Lillkörö [Vähäkyrö] and Storkyrö [Isokyrö] churches. These cairns or stone structures consist of round stones, each the size of a horse load, placed in a circle. In the middle of this cairn stands a so-called heart stone, which is flat and lies horizontally on the ground and weighs the equivalent of several horse loads. During an excavation Mr. Fellman found a "bronze brooch and one clasp with attached ring and pin." Some of these stone structures are 40 to 50 feet in diameter (which proves that these *Lapin rauniot* are not memo-

rials of the Lapps). In a separate memorandum Mr. Fellman remarks that such stone arrangements begin to appear about 10 miles from the seashore. Further inland other land discoveries have been made, for example, finely smoothed stone tools of jasper and other fine varieties of stone, not found in the region. About 50 miles inland from the seashore, diggings reveal rough-surfaced cudgels of ordinary granite from the region, chiselled into round shapes.”

In many places in Finland are remnants of the ancient *Lapin uunit* ‘hearths of Lapland’. Yet Fellmann is of the opinion that the Lapps, who are reported to have lived in Finland in ancient times, were Nomadic Finns. Castrén, in contrast, has found authentic markers of Lappish settlements all over Finland, in place names, in Lappish graves, and in the Finnish legend traditions according to which the Finns drove the Lapps away in so-called *Varustus* or *Peitto sodat* (*lönkrig*) ‘secret or surprise wars’. There are still many tales extant about these. Many families are said to be of Lappish ancestry. Castrén heard (while in Karelia), about a king of the Lapps who had ruled over the Kemi district. The ruins of his castle are reportedly still visible. (Could this refer to the Biarmians? Castrén’s note).

N.B. Among both Lapps and Finns both the concept and the word “king” are borrowed. A Lappish king, therefore, could not exist. It may have been a *Birkaman*³³ (*Birkarl*) who wanted to act as a king of the Lapps. It is, incidentally, not known from which nation *Birkarls* originated. Judging, however, from the hated name (*Pirkal*, *Perkel*) they must have been neither Lapps nor Finns. Since stone arrangements and earth finds such as those mentioned above, point to a completely different people than the Lapps or the Finns, it may be concluded that a people of a different race than Finns and Lapps had lived in Finland. Their body size and hostile attitude may have given the Lapps inspiration for their tales about *stallo*. The name *stallo* was quite naturally applied to Norwegian Vikings who temporarily had settled in Nordland and Finnmark. The much more obscure stories about *Jatuni* and *Jatulin kansa* (*jättefolket*) ‘the giants’, compared to their *Lapin Rauniot*, suggests that they did not know very well the people who had erected these stone structures. They had considered them Lappish cairns because the Lapps had inhabited Finland immediately before the Finns arrived. Mr. Fellman, however, wants to see these stone structures as remnants of the Giant People in a similar fashion as Castrén considers them to be of Geatish origin. The Lappish *Pergalah*, the Finnish *Perkele* and *Hienväki* (‘the Devil’s people’) do, according to my thinking, apply well to the *Birkarls* who as merchants have left behind memorials of self-interest, cunning, and treachery. — And might not the smoothly finished stones of

jasper also belong to them. And might not the *Jumala* idol in Biarmaland have received its 12 glittering precious stones in its crown from the *Birkarls*? "There was a time", says Fellman, "when India's precious treasures floated into the Baltic Sea from the White Sea across Kemi Lappmark and along Kemi River." Who transported these treasures? Without doubt the *Birkamen* who were mighty merchants already when they first appeared in history. History subsequently depicts them as tyrannizing the Lapps. In Kemi Lappmark even *stallo* is dressed as a *Birkarl* with a mantle of red fabric and a silver belt around his waist. Still today a skirt of red fabric is the most precious holiday dress a Lapp can have. When the maidens from underground appear to mortals they are dressed in red clothing. The Lapps have without any doubt acquired this festival attire from the *Birkamen*. The Lapps themselves were not able to make any kind of fabrics, neither broadcloth nor linen. The name of such pieces of dress are borrowed: *Skrudan*, *ruuda* 'a Swedish type piece of clothing, from Swedish *skrud*³⁴ meaning 'garb'; in northern Lapland *Ladde* 'kläde' (garb), *kapte* 'caftan', etc. It is likely that the Lapps' silver collars and silver belts are modelled on the *Birkarls*. The *Birkarls* have played an important role in Lappish history and whether the word *Birkarl* comes from Old Swedish *Birka* (*borg*) 'castle' or some other word, I still consider it probable that the Lapps first, the Finns later, got their *Perkel* exactly from the *Birkarl*, as they most likely did not know of any more hostile and angry being than a *Birkarl*. (Læstadius).

No. 31. According to sagas, even in Talvadas in Utsjoki the church and the congregation including the pastor were burned. (Fellman)

No. 32. In Termuslahti in Kemijärvi reportedly existed a large Lappish village that was destroyed during the *Birkamen*'s era before the Lapps gave themselves up. The tales relate that the bloodbath was so voluminous that trees the size of the house roof beam swam in blood." (Fellman)

No. 33. *Tille* was the name given to some specific animal such as wolf, bear, raven, or some other animal which the Lapps are reported to have been able to call into their service using acts of magic and through some secret kinship he had to this animal. The Lapp could then cause this animal to bring harm to other people or to aid him and others." (Lindahl and Öhring's Dictionary, as noted by Fellamn). The aforementioned lexicographers also cite other informative examples: *Mo Tille lä tat lädde* 'This bird is my *Tille*', *Svalab Tillen tåkko rajab* 'I send the white fox as *Tille*.' Here we find the key to Jessen's *Dielle* or *Tirri* cited above (Part 3 § 23). *Tille* is

the shape of an animal, bird or fish the *Noaidi* must adopt for his journey to the netherworld or when he wanted to harm somebody, regardless whether it was he or his spirit that took on this shape or whether he sent an evil spirit in the shape of a given animal to perform his task. This explains the dark sayings in Lappish mythology such as *saiwo lãdde*, of which Jessen cites several examples (Part 1 §[76]). But *Tille*, Finnish *tila* has now taken on the meaning 'state, occasion', for example *I lä mone taggar tille* 'I am not in a position to do that, I am not in that state.'

No. 34. Under the word *Tonta* Mr. Fellman states the following: "The Lapps make the distinction between *stallo* and *tonta* that *stallo* has two eyes like humans while *tonta* is one-eyed. The *tonta* lives in a dwelling whose guardian spirit he is. He was a protective spirit who brought harm to strangers thereby doing good for those he protected. The *tontas* were subordinate to their superior god *Olle Tonta*.

"In Sodankylä, where most evil spirits dwelled in ancient times, an *Olle Tonta* lost his sight in the following manner. He came upon a boy by the oven of the drying barn who was melting lead to make bullets. *Tonta* asked for the boy's name. *Jets*, said the boy, i.e., 'Self'. Then *tonta* asked the boy what he was making. Eye-salve the boy replied. Now *tonta* asked the boy to drip some of this salve into his eyes because he had suffered from an eye disease for a long time. The boy promises to do this, but requests that *tonta* let himself be tied down during the procedure because it would hurt. *Tonta* lies down and *Jets* ties him down with reindeer reins as firmly as he can. The boy then pours molten lead in the cyclop's eye. *Tonta* pulled himself loose immediately but does not get a hold of *Jets* (Self) who played this trick on him." (Fellman)

N.B. This is again part of the story of *Askovis* who poured molten lead in *stallo*'s eyes. (Cf. Part 4 § 9. Læstadius)

No. 35. *Torvvo* 'consolation', among the Sea Lapps *Dårwo*, lived by Lake Polmag and had the ability through magic to summon wild reindeer to his *Vuobmen* (reindeer pasture). He was finally turned into stone as punishment for his magic practice. This happened as follows: Upon performing his *noaide yoiking* he lay down before his idol in trance in order to elicit the idol's help in driving the wild reindeer into the *Vuobmen*. As soon as the wild reindeer rushed forth in large herds his son awakened him against his explicit prohibition. Although *Torvvo* talked to him sternly, the son awakened him again when additional herds of wild reindeer came forth. The Father became angered by this and said: If you wake me up once more I

will die. The wild reindeer came to the idol and ended up in the *Vuobmen*. The son wakes up his father and he rises to sit up but is already speechless and is then transformed into stone; the stone is still to be seen by Lake Polmag." (Fellman). Leem appears to have understood the matter differently. He says that every Lapp had his *Tårvopaike*, a particular place where he prayed to the gods. (Læstadius).

No. 36. A peasant from Kairavuopio village in Sodankylä parish by the name of Vaara, some time ago caught a human who had been conjured into a wolf. Under the skin around his loin the wolf had a belt with a knife hanging from it, an awl, and other tools, all turned into meat. It was considered extremely dangerous to have captured a human conjured into an animal, because a spell of death or a great misfortune was generally cast on the person who caught it, but Vaara evaded all that with his wizardry." (Fellman). N.B. It is understood that Fellman here adopts tales according to the common folk belief. (Læstadius).

No. 37. *Vadas* was able to punish with storms and violent weather, by bringing ships to a halt, destroying them, etc. He was worshipped on a cliff near Laxfiord, called Vadaspahta where it is reported that one can still see a large heap of reindeer antlers. One does not dare mention his name as he would then raise a storm." (Fellman) N.B. Mr. Fellman mentions many places with which mythological beliefs are associated. I have briefly included the above mentioned one because it involves the *noaide*'s ability to stop ships on the seas. I am forced to ignore most of the names of the mythological places. It would take up too many pages if they were all included, even those from Swedish Lapland. (Læstadius)

No. 38. Under the word *Varsukka* Mr. Fellman writes the following: "Varsukka is a village on the isthmus between the Kola and Kandalax fiords. The small Kitsajoki river runs nearby. Two Russians, who had generally had great success in fishing, lived by this river. But in the year 1825 there was no salmon, their main livelihood. Towards the end of the summer one of them had a dream that *Tjatse Olmai*, the ruler of the water had told him: "Give me your head, then I'll give you fish." Then these men, together with a beggar boy, had thrown him into the river. After that they were most successful in their fishing. This event was told to me by a soldier, Fredrik Nakku, and was later confirmed by others as the actual truth, but due to lack of evidence the perpetrators were able to avoid punishment." (Fell-

man). N.B. If there is great superstition all across the Lappmarks, the superstition in the Russian Lapland is greater yet. (Læstadius)

No. 39. Mr. Fellman believes, perhaps not without reason, that *Viran akka* described by Tornæus must be derived from the Finnish word *Virat* 'trap', 'bird snare', just like the Finnish *Viran Kannos* has its origin in the same word. Hence *Viran akka* would mean 'bird trap old woman', i.e., the goddess of hunting, (not 'the Livonians' old woman', as Tornæus suggested). *Viran kannos* then would mean 'a bird trap stump', i.e., a deity for good bird trapping success. That deity was worshipped by a tree stump. Maybe a stump with a trap hanging on it had gained such a reputation due to frequent rich catches. (Læstadius)

Vuorwro was a Lappish spirit or ghost who wandered at night. If she entered a room at night, where there was no water, she ate someone in the room. If she found water she went away without harming anybody. Therefore Lapps do not dare go to bed in the evening without having water in the room. The Norwegians who live in Norwegian Finnmark ascribe to their *Heiman* exactly the same function." (Fellman)

No. 40. Among the many Lappish and Finnish magic charms which are included in Rev. Fellman's manuscript most are such that they are of no interest to anyone but local scholars who know the language well. By translating such passages most of the wonderful beauty of the language would be lost. That is why I have not dared include them in this work as I hope that the writer [Mr. Fellman] — as is his intention — will have the opportunity to publish them. I cannot, however, deny myself the pleasure of transcribing the following Lappish song, which, historically speaking is remarkable in its own right, although the language shows that the "author" did not live before the advent of Christianity, but more likely after that time. Mr. Fellman has listed this song under the word *Same Ednan* with the following remark. "The Lapps give this name to their land because it was discovered by them and because they took it over having driven away another nomadic people. The people that lived there before the Lapps are supposed to have lived last by Porsu River which runs into Tana River. In an extensive national anthem, from which the following is an excerpt, the Lapps describe their changing fortunes before and after occupying the land."

Following this is the song which is in Kemi Lappmark dialect. Yet we must point out that Fellman employs his own orthography in Lappish, which most of all resembles the one used by Norwegian Missionaries. As is well-known Rev. Stockfleth has established a completely new orthography

for the Finnmark dialect in which appear many characters and numerous signs to indicate guttural and nasal sounds, aspirations, sibilants, etc.

Gawdnom ednam! läge Same ednam dun namma.

Gawdnom ednam! läge Same ednam.

Same Ednam goddiit viegadallop,

Porramussan aldsemek hudkop.

Njälaidemek rakkadallop rivtoi:

Rawdesämek tivotednop

Reikta pisstämek.

Valmestednop jesshamek vadsset

Lawdne laavuit hudkkop aldsemek.

Njäidop muorait ruottasiguojm;

Pidjop pirra lawniit

Assalakkai aldsemek.

Ep mii pirgi rasiguojm lät;

Tola hudkkop maida aldsemek

Muorai månit

Valddop alsdemek

Hätte mimi lajtemasten.

Jos mii fidno maggarge dakkap;

Jos mii puktep porrat porramusait

Vadne mange kiksatketta,

Måddelagain rujtoin vuosse

Same Ednam assek

Go sii gedgist rakkadedje, kove aldsesek;

Go sii gedgain rakkadedje kove

Gwuodo assam viessosek

Rakkadedje aldsesek

Kewhes jouko hudkedäsek guojm

Fertti passet kunasist;

Porramus rakkaduvvat abmaset

Olbmu rumbas puorradussan

Ii porro puhtaset majda,

Vaikke puhtaset lämats läm porramusek

Kojtog ferttijedje sii,

Gawdnom Same ednamest,

Porrasmas läge porrasmissan;

Rujto ii lamas läm.

Mi läj rujto?

Gedge koppen rujton
Läj rakkaduvvum
Algo same ednam assiin
Mangel pättek pagustallek,
Go sii kawnek orrom sajit

=====

Mangel bättek djettep vissa dam,
Olmuk tabe lämen awdel miin jo
Gost lä luondo laakka laakkan Olmujn
Siveti porramusak porramusan.
Mangemusta sii lä Äppam
Sivetiit aldsesek porramussan
Ii läk lawllo lawllujuvvum
Tusse sameedanam padjeli
Tai algo olmuj ällem lage titi,
Gäk same ednam algost suodastallam
Sujniit hudkam kamagitäsek sisa
Mangemusta ajgge nubbastuvaj,
Kåwda radjai kostujuvai.

Fellman's translation into Swedish (translated into English):

You land discovered, be your name Samiland,
You land discovered, be you Sami land.
Let us run after Samiland's reindeer,
Acquire them as food for us.
Let us make our arrows right,
Keep them by our side,
Ready for our bows.
Let us prepare to travel
Let us make enough sod lean-tos,*
Uproot trees root and all.
Let us place them 'round the lean-to
As dwelling room for us.
Grass shall not be enough:
Let us acquire fire as well.
Let us gather the fruits of the trees,
They are good enough in our need.
We will do any kind of work,
If we can eat the food

Without cooking at all.
With many a kettle and pot
Samiland's inhabitants cooked
When they made a hole in a stone
When they made holes in stones,
In the middle of their dwelling room.

Cooked for themselves
The poor people with its inventions
Must cook in the ashes
Make food in their own way.
For the benefit of their bodies
They did not eat only clean foods
Although the food has been clean.
Yet they must
In the Samiland they found,
use for food what for food was meant:
There was no kettle:
What was used as kettle?
Stones excavated into pots
Were made
By ancient people in Sami land.
Those who came later laughed
When they found the dwellings.

We who came later know for sure
That people have been here before us;
People for whom Nature's law was their law
The cattle's food their food.
Finally they learned
To use the cattle as their food.
The song is not sung
Only about Samiland
Or about the lifestyle of this ancient folk,
Those who wandered across Samiland in the beginning
Thought of putting hay in their shoes.
Finally the time changed
And the time of the *noaide* drum arrived.

This song is indeed remarkable if it is authentic, i.e., composed by real Lapps. It offers an unexpected confirmation of my views of the Lapps' way of living. But from the Norwegian and Swedish words which appear here and there I must conclude that the song is not very old. For example *rivoti* or *riekta* is an old Lappish distortion of *rätt* 'right'; *ruottas* comes from Swedish *rot* 'root'; *pirgi* from Swedish *bärgas* 'cope, get by'; *ras* (Southern Lappish *grase*) is from the Swedish word *gräs* 'grass'; *fidno* (southern Lappish *Vidno*) comes from Swedish *vinning*³⁵ 'livelihood'; *rujto* (Swedish Lappish *ryto*) from Swedish *gryta* 'kettle, pot'; *vissa* from Swedish *visdt* 'a certain', etc. Otherwise the dialect is so mixed with Finnish that for someone not well versed in Finnish it looks like Arabic. Some words of this dialect which do not exist in Swedish Lapland and which cannot be derived from Finnish either, are perhaps loaned in from Russian, for example *hudkat*, *Pagustallat*, in Torne Lappish *påkustallat*, *Siveta* (cattle) and many other words that exist in the Finnmark dialect. In this dialect some strong contractions can also be found, which are more foreign in Swedish Lapland, for example *lät* which is contracted from *leekket* (present infinitive³⁶ of the verb *läm* or *leb* 'I am'). These comments are of course of interest only to those who know the language. I do not know for what reason Fellman has translated *Rawdesämäk* as 'by our sides.' At least in Torne Lappmak dialect *Rawde* means 'smith'.

The rest of Rev. Fellman praiseworthy dissertation contains 1. Mythological beings which have already been dealt with in the earlier parts of this mythology, 2. Mythological beings and charms in Finnish, which pertain only to Finnish mythology, 3. A large number of names of the ancient Lapps' sacrificial places, 4. Place names in Kemi Lappmark and Finnmark with attendant mythological legends, which I have not, however, wanted to copy down because they exist in such large numbers also in Swedish Lapland, 5. Renowned *noaides* whose alleged deeds are described in traditional tales and in Lappish songs which I have thought I should pass over; the reader can already from the examples that have been given, *Kutavuoruk*, *Päivas*, *Torakas* and *Pavus nilas* reach an approximate idea of the contents of the others, 6. True stories or stories about princesses, etc. that do not actually belong to Lappish mythology, because I consider them to be borrowed from neighboring peoples.

Endnotes to Addition

- ¹ The spelling of Rev. Fellman's name alternates between Fellman and Fällman.
- ² Fellman sent Læstadius the part that contained alphabetically organized and detailed information, but not the relatively large general chapter (see Fellman 1906, II). This may partly explain Læstadius's sharp criticism.
- ³ Jacob Fellman (1795–1875) served as pastor in Utsjoki and Inari 1820–31.
- ⁴ Fellman believed, as was common in the old theory of how the Finns migrated to Finland, that a Germanic Geatish population, which the Finns knew as *Jotunit* or *Jatuli* had lived in Finland before the Finns.
- ⁵ An image (of Jumala); in this case a miniature statue to be worn around the neck.
- ⁶ *Vårdare*, literally 'caretaker'.
- ⁷ Latin: 'underground treasure'.
- ⁸ *Lamia* was a monster in classical mythology who ate children (Horatius, *Ars Poetica*, 340). From it came the appellative noun *lamia*, witch, - Ulla Lehtonen.
- ⁹ Translated by Ulla Lehtonen from the Fellman-Læstadius's quote in Latin.
- ¹⁰ Latin.
- ¹¹ This comment refers to the personal pronouns the writers use to refer to various animals. Fellman alternates between "he" and "she" when referring to reindeer seems to have irritated Læstadius.
- ¹² Translated from Latin.
- * Presumably Yule (Christmas)
- ¹³ Question mark by Læstadius.
- ¹⁴ M.A. Castrén's article *Redogörelse* in 'Finland's general paper'.
- ¹⁵ *Perkele* is a very common "swearword" in modern Finnish.
- ¹⁶ The work is J.W. Palmstruch's *Svensk Botanik* published in Stockholm 1803–1838 ('Sweden's Botany'). Læstadius contributed to this work by providing drawings and coloration, which he had completed already while a student at the University of Uppsala and while participating in botany expeditions with Professor Wahlenberg. See also Pentikäinen's *Introduction* to this book.
- ¹⁷ According to Fellman the same *Vaara* who is mentioned below (No. 36). (See Fellman 1906, II, 129).
- ¹⁸ Old traditional Swedish.
- ¹⁹ Fellman's words were actually: "... förliskas vid Wäinämöinen's brorssons...", i.e., '... compare to Wäinämöinen's nephew's [feast].'
- ²⁰ Fellman also considers the name *Pelko* an alternate to *Pelkko*, but Læstadius uses only the single letter *k*.
- ²¹ I.e., "driving" as one drives e.g. a horse before the plough.
- ²² Læstadius refers to luxury imported goods, e.g. from Germany; Quotation marks [Finnish] translator's.
- ²³ Læstadius has used a different manuscript than the one published in 1906. The published version places *Saivo* in the general part, i.e., the lengthy introduction preceding the alphabetical part. Læstadius did not have access to the *Introduction* part.
- ²⁴ Læstadius writes *Muurala*; *Muurala* is how Fellman writes it.
- ²⁵ Læstadius's question mark.
- ²⁶ The paragraph number is missing; the term *Zhikkalaggah* does not appear in Part 1.
- ²⁷ Fellman writes "[...] *som en upprest påle*", i.e., 'like a raised pole'.
- ²⁸ Fellman writes *Stalo*; English translation attempts to use *stallo* consistently.
- ²⁹ These are in fact additions by Læstadius; Fellman states only "foreign adventurers".

³⁰ They actually talked about *Ättestupor*. The word refers to precipices in cliffs where it was believed that the elderly in the family had been pushed (or had jumped) to their death. The question mark is Læstadius's.

³¹ Cf. Part I § 1.

³² The article in question by Fellman about the *lapionrauniot* of Vähäkyrö was published in part IV of Fellman's book *Notations* (1906: 318–324); This means that Læstadius was lent at least this article as well.

³³ The term *Birkarl* is a problem when translating into English. It means 'man from Birka' and could thus be *Birkaman*, but the (Swedish) *Birkarl* has been given such prominence in *Fragmenter* since Læstadius derives the heinous *Perkel*, (and Finnish *perkele*) from *Birkarl*. that I have opted for both, alternating between *Birkaman* and *Birkarl*.

³⁴ Swedish *skrud* actually means '(festival) outfit, (festival) dress'

* The word *lafvar* refers here not to lichen but to a "lean-to", a kind of leaning wall/roof designed to give protection against the wind. Known also among old Finns (*laavu*).

** The singer appears to have imagined ancient times when the Lapps in the absence of sharp tools had to rip trees up root and all.

*** The singer seems to know that the ancient Lapps ate uncooked foods.

† Cooking meat in ashes is quite possible, particularly if wrapped in moss (*Spagnum*).

³⁵ In this context *Vinning* means 'livelihood'; otherwise: 'profit', 'usefulness', 'accomplishment'.

³⁶ Refers to the basic infinitive form, which is also used as dictionary entry form.

Afterword

Læstadius's *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* 1840–1845

When studying Læstadius's *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* it is important to keep in mind his personal religious conversion which occurred in 1844 in the midst of his work on the *Mythology*. "Burned in Snow" is an often repeated expression in reference to the suddenness of the conversions in Karesuando. His letter to Jacob Fellman in 1845 bears this out.

The first part of *Fragments*, entitled *Gudalära* ('The Doctrine of Deities'), was signed by Læstadius on March 8, 1840, and the three other parts, including his comments to Fellman, were finally ready to be sent to Paris on May 1, 1845. Section II dealt with *Offerlära* ('The Doctrine of Sacrifice'), section III was entitled "*Spådomsläran*" ('prophecy', or more exactly in Sami "the *Noaide* institution," i.e., "shamanism"), and Part IV "*Valda stycken af Lapparnes Sagohäfder*" ('Selected Pieces of Lappish Folk Narratives').

Despite the fact that the latter parts were ready in October 1844, Læstadius still decided to complement the text by writing comments on another mythology which had been prepared at the same time by Jacob Fellman. This was Fellman's manuscript on the folk beliefs of Finnish Sami, primarily the Kemi, Inari, and Utsjoki Sami. When Fellman in turn appended Læstadius's "notes in the margins" to his own *Muistiinmerkintöjä* ('Notations'), which were published in 1906, they became known in the academic circles much before Læstadius's own manuscript. Læstadius's comments of Fellman's work became essentially Part 5 of his *Fragments*.



Lars Levi Læstadius (1800–1861) with his field botanist accessories
(Painting by Albert Hüttling – mv/Wadström)

Part 1. Doctrine of Deities

In accordance with the common practice of the period, Lars Levi Læstadius, in the first part of his *Fragments*, considers the question of *Urmonoteistus* ('original monotheism) and the Sami's attitudes toward it. He wanted to address this question also because of his opposition to its most prominent advocate, Carl Axel Gottlund. Interestingly enough, he thereby also went on a collision course with his other Finnish contemporary colleague Elias Lönnrot, who believed *Ukko* to be the supreme god of an early monotheistic religion of the Finns. The conclusion of the introduction to Læstadius's *Mythology* reads as follows:

Since the Lapps have never had educational institutions nor been literate they could never become such great philosophers that they by means of thinking alone could come to recognize only one God. Neither could they, for the same reason, become naturalists, rationalists or Deists. A measure of strength of thought is required to be capable of knowing such a result in religion. But the feeling for religion or belief in the supernatural was as much alive among the Lapps as among other nations. Likewise, one cannot claim that their doctrine of deities was more absurd than that of other pagans. (Part 1 § 1).

According to Læstadius, the Norwegian clergy had been more tolerant towards *noaides* ('shamans') than the Swedish and the former, therefore, had had better opportunities to obtain valid data about Sami mythology. Læstadius had great respect for the text written by the so-called Anonymous — an unknown writer — who Læstadius believed to be Thomas von Vesten, the leader of the Lappish Mission in Denmark–Norway in the first half of the 18th century. He also thought highly of the texts written by E.J. Jessen and K. Leem. Of the Swedish writers, P. Högström's description of the life of the Gällivare Sami received high praise, because of the accuracy in local details that he himself aspired to.

Læstadius follows mainly Jessen's classification of Sami gods in his "Doctrine on Deities." Consequently, the beginning section of Part 1 of *Fragments* is written more along the traditional lines of previous Lappology than were the latter parts of the book. Although Læstadius did criticize severely efforts to make "Lappish" mythology "grander and more systematic than it could possibly have been in the mind of the *noaide*", and further assuming that "the *noaides* presumably did not divide their gods into classes," he finally decided to attempt his own reconstruction. It is a synthesis which he calls "mythology." He then created a hierarchical Olympos of Sami gods ranking the deities into five categories.

The first chapter, dealing with the highest deities of the sky, involves the classic questions about *Radien* (§ 4–9), *Veralden olmai* (§ 9) and *Ruonaneid*, next in rank to *Radien* (§ 10), the worship of which Læstadius sees as “papal,” i.e., of foreign influence from the Medieval Christian mission among the Sami. *Beiwe* (‘the sun god’) (§ 11–12) and *Ailekis olmak* (‘men of holy days’) (§ 13–14), make up the second category of celestial deities, whose Scandinavianness is evident in the terminology (*ailigas* comes from the Swedish word *helig* ‘holy’). The third group of deities is more Sami in origin than the previous two. It consists of such mainly female divine deities as *Madder-Akka* (‘mother-woman’) and other *Akka* goddesses who assisted in child birth (*Sarakka*, *Juksakka*, and *Uksakka*), who Læstadius found to carry a more Sami stamp. (§ 15–48). This part of the Doctrine of Deities is less “shackled” by predecessors; the author writes on the basis of his own personal knowledge of Sami folklore. Læstadius explains regional, even individual, differences between various *noaide* traditions known to him. The story quoted in § 28 is said to have come from his father, who in turn was reported to have heard it from his forefathers in Pite Lappmark. In § 37 Læstadius refers with great respect to Högström’s observations about “his Lapps” in Gällivare.

The fourth category (§ 49–70) is made up of a group of Lappish deities, who have their dwelling place on earth. Here Læstadius gets to his favourite topic: the historical interpretation of *Storjunkare*. Because the deity was said to have been seen often in red clothes, Læstadius believes that this god was the manifestation of former tax collectors among the Lapps, called *Birkarls*. In a similar fashion, in Part 4 of his *Fragments*, Læstadius tries to interpret another popular category of Sami supernatural beings called *stallos* as ancient Vikings who terrorized the coast of Finnmark. With § 55 begins a very careful scrutiny of “deities who were known all over the Lappish areas [...] and still exist in the Lapps’ imagination.” (Part 1 § 55). Here Læstadius presents concepts related to ‘sacred’ places such as *Passe* or *Seite* stones. This segment includes some phenomena belonging to the Doctrine of Sacrifice, which is the bridge to Part 2 of *Fragments*.

The fifth category is filled with innumerable Sami underground spirits. This was Læstadius’s favourite topic and is illustrated through quotations from several narratives: memorates, folk beliefs or legends which belong to different folklore categories, e.g. “*saiwo* people” with its different names (§ 71–92). At times these underground beings, who “still exist in the Lapps’ imagination,” are said to be known to the Sami all over Lapland, at times they are known only in one region or even only by *noaides* (e.g., § 78). In the end, Læstadius concludes that the entire belief has originated inside the

noaide's head (§ 92). Læstadius considered reported experiences with beings indisputable. According to him, the number of "eyewitnesses" is so great that "we cannot wholly doubt these data," told not only by ordinary Sami men but their ministers as well, including the author's own "rationally inexplicable experiences".

A youngster in Lule Lappmark claims to have seen *Kadnihah* by Lake Parkijaur. It so happened that he, while walking up a hill, suddenly became faint and fell as if in trance during which he heard a most beautiful Lappish song. Immediately thereafter he saw two *Kadniha Neidah*, i.e., underground maidens, wonderfully beautiful, clad in the aforementioned red dress. But the maidens disappeared a few minutes later into a crevice in the hill and the song went silent. The whole splendor was gone. With great delight he looked at them, with indescribable longing he saw them disappear from his eyes. Still, many years later, he told about this event visibly moved. Such an indescribably beautiful impression the underground maidens had made on his mind. Say, was it a dream or an ideal of female beauty that his imagination conjured for his soul? — I know the youngster quite well. He is now a middle-aged man, but was then the hired hand of a settler. (§ 94)

Finally, at the end of Part 1 (§ 110), Sami beliefs concerning life after death are discussed on the basis of careful scrutiny of Sami terminology. According to Lars Levi Læstadius, "the part of Lappish mythology that deals with the immortality of the soul and life after death is an important element of the common folk belief." In his view, the Sami not only believed in the immortality of the soul but also in the resurrection of the dead and a renewal of bodies after death. On this issue, however, Læstadius settles for a few quotations from Norwegian sources only without trying to reach any conclusion on e.g. the possibility of beliefs among the Sami concerning rebirth and reincarnation. As usual, some comparative data, selected mainly from Scandinavian and Finnish sources, are presented at the end. Despite his vast knowledge of Lappology and scientific literature, Læstadius was in his role as comparative mythologist — characteristically enough — a regionalist, faithful to his own region rather than a universalist who constructs perspectives which encompass the whole world. An exception from this rule is represented by a remark in the foreword to Part 1 (*Reminder to the Reader*). There he compares the Sami *noaide* drum to the Oracle of Delphi and the activities of the *noaides* to the Oracles' interpretation.

Part 2. Doctrine of Sacrifice

Part 2 of *Fragments* includes another *Reminder to the Reader* (*Erinran*) where the author states again that he is “striving to test the information and weed out whatever is likely to be faulty.” Since the subject of his study is the internationally best known and debated area of the Sami belief tradition, Læstadius is careful when assessing the reliability of his sources. He is also weary of the ethical hazards inherent in his status both as pastor and as interpreter of the sources. As an example, he mentions the fact that he had never seen the remarkable *Spåtrumman* (‘divination drum’) with his own eyes, nor heard its bang with his own ears: “It would be fun to know where it echoes. I was born in Lapland, I have grown up in Lapland, I now live in Lapland, and I even have traveled widely around in all the parishes of Lapland, but I have not yet had the fortune of seeing that remarkable *noaide* drum, much less hear it echo.”

After those remarks directed at the chamber Lappology of that time Læstadius gives valuable information about the “last pagans” who — as is so typical of mythic folklore — about 20 years earlier had actually used their drums but then relinquished them. In this context he mentions the names of the Sami people and their regions. If Læstadius’s text in *Fragments*, Part 1, was dependent on Jessen, the description of Sami sacrifice in Part 2 first follows Samuel Rheen (§ 1–14) until he presents source-critically valuable comments about Schefferus, Olaus Magnus, Tornæus, etc., (§ 15–49). According to Læstadius, Tornæus was the main source for the common misinterpretation that the Sami word *Kåbdes* has been regarded as a loan from Finnish *Kannus*. In Læstadius’s opinion, the Sami word has nothing to do with the Finnish one; it only referred to the oval shape of the drum commonly recognized in all regions of Lapland.

Having quoted a number of misunderstandings in previous Lappology from Schefferus (1673) to Cravallius (1843) he gives his own opinion about the use of the drum, mostly as an oracle and as the central prop of the sacrificial rituals. As an ecologically oriented scientist, Læstadius was particularly interested in how the drum, “the wooden machine that looks like a chalice,” was built (§ 17–25). The description of how and from which materials the drum was made (§ 26) is equally detailed. Læstadius states that most of the old sources describe Sami sacrifices to the dead (§ 37). The information he reports concerning the Sami’s secret rites associated with e.g. childbirth, baptizing with alder bark (§ 37), menstruation, or healing of illnesses (§ 40–52) is new and fresh compared to the old sources.

The end of Part 2 offers a detailed description of the Sami bear ritual. Læstadius defends its inclusion here with reference to its close relation to the Doctrine of Sacrifice. The description (§ 53-71) follows mainly the one given by Pehr Fjellström. Particularly appealing here is the nice combination of two of Lars Levi Læstadius's scholarly roles. The author carefully explains the details of bear hunting in the Scandinavian North, combining his thorough zoological and ecological knowledge with Sami mythology. The reader feels able to follow Læstadius to the very place where the bear was sleeping over winter and "encircled" in the spring before being awoken by the hunters. In Læstadius's opinion, the Sami bear ritual follows the general pattern of the mythical narrative quoted by Fjellström (§ 56), but was reinterpreted by himself (§ 57-71). The incantation quoted, according to Tuderus, needs a new translation as well, which Læstadius, with a few detailed comments, offered in § 60-63.

At the end of the chapter is an interesting comparison of the sources. Læstadius believes that customs and beliefs in the Southern and Northern Lappmark regions have been distinct: "It is very strange that the writers' information is contradictory in this regard, and one is led to think that customs and beliefs are different in southern and northern parts of Lapland. It is impossible for me to decide which information is correct because most Laplanders have forgotten the customs of their ancestors." As an example of L.L. Læstadius's style of writing, we quote his conclusion of § 71:

The last ceremony of this kind that I have heard mentioned took place in Dunkjock in the 1780s. A minister's wife who was present took part in the game because her husband had participated in the bear hunt. Otherwise, all such ceremonies have ceased nowadays. I do not know of anything derived from the old superstitions if we don't consider the belief cherished by old bear hunters that the bear understands human speech. Some Lapp women believe that a bear is angrier towards a woman who is pregnant with a girl baby. If a bear should ever bother a woman, she can remedy the matter by lifting her skirt and displaying her organ [*physica*] to the bear. The animal will feel ashamed and go away. (*Relata refero*)

Part 3. Doctrine of Divination

Or a Brief Treatise on the Notorious Practice of Sorcery Among the Lapps.

In Part 3 of *Fragments*, which is subtitled “a brief treatise on the well-known practice of sorcery among the Lapps,” Læstadius’s text becomes more independent of the sources of previous Lappology. The description is dominated by local color and an abundance of regional details and personal comments. This section of *Fragments*, more so than the other parts of the manuscript, reflects the work of a rationalizing sceptic of the Enlightenment era that he represents; despite this he is, after thorough examination and analysis, forced to concede that there are unexplained phenomena. Here too, the question of the compatibility of his role as mythologist and his pastor’s identity is surfacing when he writes about the knowledge and the actions of the Sami *noaide*:

The author, who himself is no *noaide* and who does not have a desire to learn such skills, must, however, after careful consideration, include also facts of the kind that are not easy to explain away.

This part also discusses the eternal question of the existence of the spiritual world. Læstadius explains his belief in its existence by referring to “a person’s wild lusts, which would rage horribly if people began to believe that humans died like animals.” “The political utility” of this belief is evident in the French revolution (§ 1), during which “the doctrine was espoused that a belief in the immortality of the soul was one of mankind’s follies.”

Læstadius once again emphasizes the requirement of diligent source criticism: “In speaking of the *noaide* institution among the Lapps, we must differentiate sharply between the true *noaides* and the charlatans.” Like Högström, he wishes to describe only the former, i.e., “those who are considered *noaides* among the Lapps and who have through their sorcery been able to do either good or bad to their neighbors.” (§ 2)

Emphasizing the significance of psychological knowledge in his era, Læstadius first quotes Tornæus (§ 3), then offers detailed examples from “a little nearer to our time” on the basis of his knowledge of Sami mythology (§ 4–6), and from Stockholm’s Swedenborg, “a man famous for seeing spirits” (§ 7). He finally concludes on the basis of these premises that there exist things “which even the keenest of thinkers cannot explain, or to debunk historical facts for which even the most sharp-sighted physicians cannot find a natural explanation. The relationship between the spiritual and material world is secret and will remain so as long as the world survives. A person cannot achieve direct knowledge even of his soul as a truly existent phenomenon separate from

his body [...].” (§ 7). The same questions are further illuminated in the profound deliberations in *The Madhouse Inmate* e.g. about human thought, the workings of the mind, and passions.

In Part 3 of *Fragments*, L.L. Læstadius devotes much attention to narratives frequently told at that time about the spiritual journeys the *noaides* made to the other levels of consciousness (§ 8). His discussion about the psychology of ‘trance’ and the so-called ‘arctic hysteria’ on the basis of texts by Tornæus, Högström, Petrus Læstadius, Leem, Olaus Magnus, etc., includes sharp criticism of certain theories of the nature and the duration of the trance (e.g. § 13–15). At the same time, Læstadius’s text is a testimony to his ambition to build a bridge between the ancient Lappish *noaide* institution — as a regionalist he never uses the more universal concept of shamanism — and modern science, its psychological, rational, or philosophical interpretations.

Læstadius makes the claim that some Sami women, in particular, have shown symptoms of a special weakness of nerves as expressed with such Sami concepts as *keuvot* and *keuvolis* (§ 9). In an attempt to find a solution to the problem of trance, Læstadius elaborates on the difference between “deep” and “magnetic” sleep and refers to “some secret substance that had a narcotic effect” and the possibility that narcotics had been used as a means to inspire the altered state (§ 12–13). The key issue, however, is the belief in the separation of body and soul “in the mind of the *noaide*” (§ 17). On the basis of the sources, he concludes that Sami ceremonies differ from each other in different parts of Lapland. In the end, he appears to be prepared to leave into the hands of capable “psychologists and physiologists” the more thorough explanations of the phenomenon itself. He sees his own role as “the knowledge that the *noaide* loses consciousness, faints or goes into a trance, and in that state he fantasizes, sees visions, or dreams.

The entire Part 3 of *Fragments* shows that the author at the time was experiencing the early stages in the process of his conversion, somewhere between his writing *Crapula mundi* 1843 and the latter parts of *Dårhushjonet*. While offering scientific and rational explanations, he places greater emphasis than before on narrative documents. The descriptions quoted, for example, about the initiation of Sami *noaides* (§§ 21–25) are unique. In § 30 he tells about his own “field work” with great scepticism towards *noaide* belief. Having stated that “there are still said to be *noaides* among the Finns and Lapps who can get a thief to freeze in place beside his stolen goods or to force him to return the goods,” Læstadius writes: “...during the past winter of 1844, I have journeyed through all the Swedish Lappish areas and met Lapps at all the fairs, but nowhere have I heard talk of anyone who could be considered a

true *noaide*.” He must surely in his capacity of a minister have been satisfied with this; his ministerial role is more discernible in this chapter than in the other parts of the *Mythology*.

The comparative conclusions Læstadius makes at the end of the chapter, following these detailed quotations and careful analyses of the texts, are quite surprising. *Silmänkääntäjä* (‘a person capable of turning the eyes of the people watching’) is represented as the Finnish equivalent of the Lappish *noaide*. The final conclusion is indeed surprising: “...this kind of natural magic was of Indian and Persian origin, which are the original homelands of magic.” Diffusionistic statements like this are, however, rare in *Fragments* and the flavour of “having been patched on” is so obvious that they should perhaps be considered “high-sounding phrases” the purpose of which would be to demonstrate the writer’s erudition.

Part 4. Selection of Lappish Tales.

The fourth part of *Fragments*, which was originally planned as the last part, deals with the traditional narratives of the Sami. As a botanist, following Linæus’s teachings, Læstadius searched for species of the Lapland flora and made so many discoveries that more Læstadiana species are associated with his name than with the name of any other Sami botanist. His eagerness to “discover” new species as well as his entire concept of species gave rise to criticism and debate as the botanists Jonsell, Nordal, and Elven have demonstrated in great detail (LLL 2000, 33–68). At the end of 1846, he was so weary of the criticism he had received that when the Swedish physician Johan Magnus proposed a co-operative project, he responded with reservations (letter 19 December 1846, Uppsala University Manuscript Archive as copied by R. Pulkkinen). Læstadius felt that he had been used and indicated that he had become alienated from “current botanists” mentioning by name Fries and Hartman whose “only religion was ambition”. They had published Læstadius’s findings before he had been able to verify his results. Despite intimating to Ångström in 1846 that he “in recent years” had just about given up on botany, he ultimately accepted to work with Ångström. The work lasted until 1858.

To Læstadius’s mind, a botanist’s job is to discover the God-created species of creation. Similarly, a scholar of folklore will rejoice when he discovers in the imagination and narratives of the people a multitude of types or species of tradition material. Læstadius ends up with what in the

final analysis is a matter of the ultimate human searching when he e.g. in the following letter ponders matters that anticipate the *Madhouse Inmate*:

I have, as I have already said, given up collecting, because I find that science [...] distances the person from the goal, makes him a slave of its shameful passions, among which ambition is not among the least shameful. I have in recent years begun to study psychology, a science which brings humans closer to the object of their wishes than does botany and other such worldly sciences, which, unless all results of psychological research are completely mistaken, leave their practitioners as naked by the grave as they were when they were born.

Part 4 offers an interesting reflection of the times and explains how this relates to the categorization problem pertaining to the Sami narrative tradition. While the first three parts have a strong emphasis on myths and rituals, Læstadius is now obligated to provide an explanation why he includes this part with the manuscript. The introduction to § 1 includes valuable considerations compared to those presented by e.g. J. Grimm (1835) and M.A. Castrén (1851–52):

To the extent that some historical truth is believed to lie beneath tales and legends, they do not belong specifically to the realm of mythology; myth is a product of the imagination. But the line between tale and myth is often difficult to define, since mythological elements are often mixed into the tales. In this respect they are usually appended with mythology.

Although the subject matter of Lappish mythology is not very diverse, as may have been imagined, the content of the tales is all the more rich. This is easy to understand with reference to a people whose tales constitute their history.

Ethnography, a new science born in Europe in the 19th century, offered a key method of making the ancient ‘unwritten history of a Nation’ understood — here Læstadius uses the term in the spirit of the Romanticism of his day. His contemporary, M.A. Castrén, wrote in his last lectures in 1851–1852 on “the ethnology of the Altaic Peoples” (referring the Finno-Ugrians) as follows:

Ethnography [...] is a new name for an old phenomenon. It refers to a science that examines peoples’ religions, social conditions, customs and habits, ways of living, dwellings, in a word the science of everything pertaining to their “outer or inner” life. Ethnography could be considered part of history of culture, but all peoples do not have history in the higher sense of the word, but their history is precisely ethnography. (Castrén 1857, p. 8)

While not specifically using the term 'ethnography' about his method, Læstadius, wrote in *Fragments* quite a thorough ethnographical account of the "Lappish Nation." Parts 1–3 deal with their mythology and rituals, Part 4 gives a summary of the folk narrative tradition. As its collector, Læstadius with his vast repertoire of folk tales, was a tradition bearer, i.e., *homo tradens*, but sometimes also, when experiencing the tradition as a mystic, *homo religiosus*. Since he strives to deal only with "authentic" folk tales, his aim has been to include only those narratives which in his mind were "of Lapp origin." When evaluating his selection of Sami folk narratives the following statement from the Introduction should be remembered: "the little that I will present is scarcely a tenth of that which still lives in the memory of the people."

In his choice of narratives and concepts for inclusion L.L. Læstadius clearly concentrated on narratives that, according to other writers, had already been or, to his mind, could be interpreted historically. *Pädnak-Njunne* is a human-like being with a dog's nose, *Koirankuonolainen* in Finnish, and *hundturk* in Swedish. According to Læstadius's interpretation, the motif has to do with rural mothers who tried to frighten their daughters who wanted to go to Stockholm by telling them stories about the horrendous conditions in an orphanage owned by the Freemasons in Stockholm (§ 2–3). This interpretation illustrates Læstadius's sarcastic attitude toward the urban environment, its empty finery, as well as other vices. As an educator of a primitive people in the periphery, he was concerned that those unaccustomed to urban vices may find them difficult to resist.

Læstadius commented on the gigantic being called *Jeettanis*: "It was an object of admiration to the little people due to its great size and enormous strength". To give weight to his opinion, Læstadius writes about a tall Sami girl whose exceptional size had been interpreted supernaturally. His final conclusion reads: "Last winter (1844) I had the opportunity to observe this gigantic woman carefully and, incidentally, came to give her Holy Communion" (§ 4–5).

Stallo is represented by a dozen stories, of which Marmier published a few, and which Læstadius had heard in his childhood (§ 8) while roaming the Lapland regions. Some narratives (§ 13–14) are so rich in details, and names of people and places that Læstadius assumes them to have some basis in history. In his view, the *Stallos* are still-remembered human beings, more precisely: "[t]he Lapps must have had some contact with the ancient Vikings, especially on the Norwegian side." (§ 14). The stories about *Tjudeh 'Tsuudi'* and *Karjel 'Karelians'* are in Læstadius's opinion even more

historical as they tell about the Finnish-speaking neighbors of the Sami. Their plundering raids to Lapland over the centuries were described under the name of *Tjuder* and their chief *Laurokainen* (§ 20–32). Another group of historical people that Læstadius considers himself to have found in the repertoire of Sami narratives are the ancient tax collectors called *Birkarlarne* (“Birka men”). Folk tales which refer to them are related in the last paragraphs (§ 33–40) of *Fragments of Lappish Mythology*.

Part 5. Læstadius’s Addition to Fellman’s Mythology

Lars Levi Læstadius’s manuscript for *Fragments* was lacking a proper conclusion when it was first completed in November 1844. His last remark explains one of the reasons: “Note: The writer has got this far in November of 1844, and if Rev. Fellman’s manuscript were not on the way, he would have ended the work here and sent it off immediately.” (See last paragraph of Part 4) It had probably become rather urgent to finish the work both because of the obligation to France and because of religious reasons in Karesuando. And it does indeed appear that Læstadius made his commentary on Fellman in haste. The manuscript was ready to be returned to Fellman on the first of May, 1945. His letter to Fellman reveals the reason for the haste. In the midst of his religious awakening Læstadius felt he no longer had the time, the strength, nor inclination for profound mythological research and careful comparison of the manuscripts.

Jacob Fellman (1795–1875) worked as a minister in the parishes of Utsjoki and Inari in 1820–31. After he moved to another position as the vicar of Lappajärvi in South Ostrobothnia, he worked to prepare his notes for publication. They were completed by his son, Nils Isak Fellman, and were published in 1906 in four volumes: *Anteckningar under min vistelse i Lappmarken af Jacob Fellman* (Notes from my stay in the Lappmark region, by Jacob Fellman). Læstadius’s comments on Fellman’s manuscript — already published by Fellman in 1906 — are included as an appendix in the latter’s *Mythology*.



Rev. Jacob Fellman (1795–1875).
Parson of Utsjoki and Inari, vicar of Lappajärvi. (mv/Fellman)

Læstadius refutes the claim made by Fellman that the Lapps had performed child sacrifices to their pagan deities. This entry (No 4.) gives Læstadius an opportunity to reveal some interesting and unique data. The transition from a pre-Christian world view to Christianity was a critical and still on-going process; the change wreaked havoc with the Sami customs and traditions. Families may have had *noaides* in the previous generation and Sami clergymen in the next. *Fragments* contains some traditional material about his own and his wife's family. Furthermore, Læstadius's own sermons swept away people from the old Sami *noaide* families as well as people who had been active as healers in the *noaide* institution, including those with the status of a *katakeeta*, i.e., catechist, and a preacher. One such case comes from Jockmock in the 1740s, another is quoted according to Tornæus about *Päiviö* in Kemi Lappmark. This is described in greater detail by Fellman (Læstadius, No 19).

Læstadius's critical comments on several of Fellman's items stem from Læstadius's desire to differentiate between alien and "authentic" Sami mythology, a desire Fellman according to Læstadius lacked. Læstadius seems to feel that Fellman included too many entries of Finnish origin (e.g. No 9–13). In his lengthy discussion of the word *Seita* and its manifestations in Sami wood and stone structures, Læstadius says "I am almost afraid Mr. Fellman here mixes remnants of Lappish and Finnish superstitions." Læstadius's sharply critical verdict states:

For Mr. Fellman, who does not distinguish between the mythologies of different nations, this may be of little consequence, but for me, who must keep them separate, it is necessary to investigate what is originally Lappish and what might be borrowed. (No. 23)

Læstadius returns in his final remark to the polemic in which he and Gottlund had been engaged in 1840 (in Part 1 of *Fragments*), with the following comment:

I am almost afraid that Mr. Gottlund will have to accept and admit that the Finns in their manner of worship of gods were not as much above that of the Lapps as is usually intimated.

Another central divergence concerns Læstadius's serious effort to interpret some mythological elements of Sami folk beliefs more historically than Fellman. It appears that Læstadius reads Fellman's text in search of support for his historical interpretation, e.g. about the *Stallos* as the ancient Vikings. On the basis of archaeological findings (the so-called *lapinrauniot*

‘Lappish cairns’, etc.), Sami vocabulary and folklore, Læstadius formulates his strong conviction that “one additional race besides Finns and Lapps has once lived in Finland”; this is the people who erected those stone hills and graves that Fellman excavated and which have been preserved all over the country (No. 30).

Fellman suggested that the Sami were the “*Urvolk*” (‘proto-people’) at least in Lapland. The “*Jatulit*” (“*Jotunit*”) and “*Jotnar*” he considered to be later Germanic invaders (in Lapland) with which the Sami had been on hostile terms (Fellman, 1906, IV 289, 293-294).

Læstadius adopted Arwidsson’s, Fellman’s and Lönnrot’s view concerning the “*Urvolk*” of Finland: The “*Juuttaat*” were the aborigines representing some Germanic tribe and the Sami had come as a vanguard of the Finnish tribes and lived all over Finland before the invasion of the Finns. Læstadius thinks that the Sami people might have had connections with real cannibals — Læstadius probably refers to the Samoyeds — “in the northernmost parts of Asia” before arriving to Fennoscandia. Læstadius also suggests that, in addition to the afore-mentioned cannibal motif, the stories about “*Stallo*” are based on reminiscences about these tall Germanic aborigines who had been on hostile terms with the invading Sami. Here he partly agrees with Sven Nilsson, with whose writings he seems to have been familiar (Læstadius, 1994, 228, 304–306, 314).

Læstadius finally discusses carefully and with great respect Fellman’s notations on Russian and Finnish *noaide* belief, as they generally complement Læstadius’s own information and support his views. L.L. Læstadius’s final remark in this context states: “If there is great superstition all across the Lappmarks, the superstition in the Russian Lappmarks is greater yet.”

Before his concluding remarks in Part 5, Læstadius quotes the unique epic *yoik* in its entirety — as word and ritual commented from the point of view *noaide* songs by Læstadius in No 13–14 — recorded by Fellman in his own Lappish orthography and as a translation (No 40).

Stones excavated into pots
 Were made
 By ancient people in Sami land.
 Those who came after laughed
 When they found dwellings.

We who came later know it for sure
 That people have been here before us;
 People for whom Nature’s law was law
 The cattle’s food their food.

Finally they learned
To use the cattle as their food.
The song is not sung
Only about Samiland
Or about the lifestyle
of this ancient folk,
Those who wandered
across Samiland in the beginning
Thought of putting hay in their shoes.
Finally the time changed
And the time of the divination drum arrived.

Fellman's *yoik* text, *You, discovered land, be your name Samiland*, gives voice to the same strong awareness of Sami identity, which subsequently was conveyed by early Læstadian myth about "Mary of Lapland." At the same time, as he praises Fellman for including the *yoik* text he also decisively rejects the mythographical thread that presented itself in it. Læstadius the mythologist does not, in this context, adopt the role of an eager mythographer, but instead considers it best to express a source-critical observation:

This song is indeed remarkable if it is authentic, i.e., composed by real Lapps. It offers an unexpected confirmation of my views of the Lapps' way of living. But I must conclude that the song is not very old from the Norwegian and Swedish words which appear here and there.

"The Inner Household of the Lapps"

Lars Levi Læstadius's Definition of Religion and Mythology

Læstadius's *Fragments* was not a unique undertaking in his era. Writing mythologies was quite a popular trend among learned individuals. Hence, Læstadius's work may be examined as a link in the sequence of the mythologies written before him, such as Christfried Ganander's *Mythologia Fennica* (1789), and followed soon by M.A. Castrén's lectures (*Föreläsningar i Finsk Mythologi* 1851-52), and many other works of the same era across Europe.

Folk poetry, language, and mythology were for these writers like three different sides of a triangle. Together they revealed a people's ancient "history" from different angles. It is important here to remember that the concepts of "mythology" and "history," had different meanings then than they have today. Another matter to keep in mind is the fact that some texts, in the later processes of the respective people's lives, may have crossed the thin borderline between mythology and history, becoming the

“sacred histories” of the people. During these national processes many writers during their life times, such as Elias Lönnrot, or posthumously, such as Lars Levi Læstadius, may have become mythographers writing in their mythological texts about the “sacred” history of their people.

The strengths of Læstadius’s mythology include his sharp source criticism, his accurate knowledge of various territorial, local, and personal aspects of Sami language and Sami culture. For a good reason, he criticizes many earlier writers who, because they did not know any Sami language, generated interpretations that were nothing short of fantastical. As Lutheran ministers, they virtually persecuted the people, the *noaides*, who, according to Læstadius, as initiated into the secrets of the Sami, were in fact in reality “the wise men or the priests of the people.” A wiser approach would have yielded true mythological information. Læstadius was, in fact, one of the first ethnographers and folklorist who sought to make a distinction between the ‘religious specialists’, the *noaides*, sacred specialized knowledge on the one hand and everyman’s knowledge, or so-called collective tradition, on the other. Using comparison he distinguished between the common, the local, and the personal traditions of the Sami, thus providing evidence that many Lappologists’ claims and stories were in fact false.

Many previous scholars receive sharp criticism in the introduction *Reminder to the Reader*. Johannes Schefferus the author of the classic *Lapponia* (1673) is considered to be “a fairly good authority of his time on the parts of Lapland he described.” Schefferus’s most reliable source was the one carefully collected and written by Samuel Rheen.

Læstadius ammunition is also directed at the writers of the 1840s Finnish School who, according to him, understood nothing of the mythological value of their vast folklore source material. Pages 9–17 of his introduction are inspired by Gottlund’s letter to Læstadius written August 4, 1839. What annoys Læstadius the most is Gottlund’s view of mythology as “nature poetry.” According to Læstadius, mythology must include “truly mythological beings” which were not only the products of imagination. As examples he mentions *maahinen*, *manalainen*, and *äpäpä* (Finnish names for underground beings and the ghosts of unbaptized murdered children), which Læstadius claims were still objects of common folk belief at least in northern Finland.

The same is true for Læstadius’s view of the majority of Finnish epic poems — except for the special flavour the poet or “*runo* master” has given them. Further, Læstadius has no understanding for Gottlund’s proposition that Catholicism had introduced the Finnish *noaide* institution

nor for the suggestion that the origin of the Finnish concept of god (Jomali) were Biarmian in the “political war poem” that is associated with their image of god.

Læstadius’s book differs from most of its antecedents in its ambitious and critical effort to penetrate to sources behind Schefferus’s famous *Lapponia*. He made the observation that Johannes Tornæus’s text was known to Schefferus — but not that of Gabriel Tuderus. Læstadius considers both of these important contributions to our understanding of the Kemi Sami. As far as the Swedish Lappmark regions are concerned, he gives high praise to Pehr Fjellström’s account of bear hunting rituals (1755) as well as to Pehr Högström’s description of the Gällivare Lappmark (1747), mainly due to their precise local and territorial knowledge.

The same is true of Læstadius’s own method of working. He quotes carefully hundreds of texts narrated by people whose names he mentions and whom he often reports having talked with personally. When Læstadius evaluates the Lappological research traditions of his era he is pleased with his own place within it. He is aware of his exceptional local knowledge of the area and the people. In his *Reminder* he writes the following statement with high self-esteem:

The present author was born and raised in Lapland. He has perhaps more than anyone else crisscrossed all regions of Lapland. Yet he readily admits honestly that there is still much in the inner workings of the Sami that he does not presume to be able to assess with certainty.

Læstadius considers knowledge of the “inner household” of Sami — this is his special term for the “world view” of the Sami or rather even more comprehensively understood for the “landscape of the mind”, i.e., the cultural mother tongue of the Sami. Læstadius broadens the discussion of the definition of mythology. What the concept of “mythology” really meant to Læstadius can be read from the introduction of this book, *Reminder to the Reader*:

With the term mythology I mean a general popular belief in supernatural beings and forces. All ideas of supernatural beings and phenomena, which are not part of the general folk belief, but pertain only to fantasies of individuals, do not according to my simple mind belong to mythology. If, however, a poetic painting, a frightened imagination, or a ghost story becomes integrated into general folk belief, it also enters the realm of mythology.

Læstadius’s definition of mythology, therefore, includes also folk belief. His concept of mythology may be compared to that of Elias Lönnrot whose *Old Kalevala* (1835) aimed to be the “mythology” of the

Finns on the basis of Karelian runes, but *New Kalevala* was given the role of “sacred history” of the Finns (Pentikäinen 1989: 6–7; 154–158). The two men’s methods differed in interesting ways: While Lönnrot worked up the *Kalevala* on the basis of runic songs, the so-called Kalevala rune singing, Læstadius wrote his mythology mainly based on prose stories quoted in previous books by Lappologists or often heard from his Sami informants, sometimes experienced by himself. Like Castrén, Læstadius wrote his mythology in prose form, not as poetry. He did not hold *yoiking*, the specifically Sami genre of singing, in very high regard (see Reminder), and he became aware of epic *yoiking* only by reading Fellman’s manuscript.

Interestingly enough, Læstadius uses the term “the inner history of the Lapps” when dealing with a source concerning the Lappish *noaide* institution:

The subject is to be investigated from the proper perspective and those impossibilities weeded out, which such tellers of fairy tales, who know nothing of Lappish history from the inside, have perpetrated. When this is done, only pure historical truth will remain, and the sum of it is that true Lapland *noaides*, through the efforts of their own bodies and souls, by increasing the power of their imagination, fall into a kind of magnetic sleep, which is conducive to creating of the strangest fantasies. [...] The simple mind cannot fully comprehend a realm or influence situated beyond place and time, since from start to finish it is rooted in a knowledge of place and time derived from sense impressions. The human mind, therefore, cannot think outside of time and space. Yet a person’s inside has the components of an *existence* which is not of time and place. He has an inborn sense of justice, a moral principle totally independent of time and place. He has a conception of a higher *existence* beyond place and time and a pre-sentiment of a *coming existence* beyond time and place.

It may be concluded that on the one hand L.L. Læstadius’s mythology worked on an experiential rather than cognitive level. On the other hand, Læstadius was profoundly aware of the fact that *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* was a conscious effort on his part to write for the Sami his own mythology based on a unique reconstruction made ultimately in the mind of the author. He reasoned his own accomplishment in the following manner:

Because man thinks in time and space and one idea always gives rise to the next, I have here presented the mythology of the Lapps as a kind of system.

Juha Pentikäinen

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LARS LEVI LÆSTADIUS (1800-1861) is founder and mentor of the religious revivalist movement called Læstadianism with hundreds of thousands of followers in Finland, Norway and Sweden as well as in North America. Læstadius was an intellectual giant with a wide range of interests, including advanced botany, ethnography and mythology.

A Lutheran pastor of Sami ("Lappish") identity in Swedish Lapland, Læstadius traveled extensively across the northern regions of Scandinavia. Intently curious and observant, he was especially fascinated by the beliefs he encountered among the Sami. Fluent in Finnish, Swedish and Sami – he mastered three Sami dialects. Læstadius was able to gain insights into the deeper religious and cultural layers of the people of the north.

Læstadius's fascination with mythology led him to (re)construct a versatile mythology of the Sami people. The modest man he remained throughout his life, he called his observations, authored in Swedish, *Fragmenter i Lappska Mythologien*. Although written more than 150 years ago, this manuscript was published for the first time in 1997 with a foreword by Professor Juha Pentikäinen

Fragments of Lappish Mythology will be of interest scholars of mythology, folklore, and comparative religion; followers of L.L. Læstadius in faith; individuals interested in northern ethnography; all other intellectually curious readers.

The book was translated into English by Finnish Studies Professor Börje Vähämäki of the University of Toronto. Professor Juha Pentikäinen of the University of Helsinki, the leading Læstadius scholar of today, has written a substantive Introduction and an even more informative Afterword.



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