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Sacrificial stone in Lake Unna-Saiva, Gällivare municipality,
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from the book and photo-project *Mytisk landskap* (2003).

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LARS-ERIK EDLUND & OLLE SUNDSTRÖM

A Great Inspiration to Us All

Special Issue in Honour of Professor
Håkan Rydving's 65th Anniversary

In May 2018, Håkan Rydving turned 65. Together with the fact that there are no indications that he is planning on retiring any time soon, or even slowing down his working pace, this is cause for celebration. Ever since the founding of the *Journal of Northern Studies* in 2007, Håkan has been a member of our distinguished editorial board. As such, he has been an indispensable resource to us editors. His specialisation is inter- and multidisciplinary, has time-depth and covers a wide geographical area, particularly, but not exclusively, the circumpolar north. Thus, his scholarly competence spans the vast field of northern studies and our journal.

Håkan's research is in the intersection between linguistics and the history of religions, and rests on a wide expertise in Sami languages, history, culture and religion. Since the beginning of the 1980s, his publications have had an immense impact on all research concerning traditional Sami worldview and ritual, not only within the history of religions, but also in related disciplines such as history, church history, ethnology, archaeology, culture studies and others. Besides having thoroughly investigated specific topics within the history of Sami religion (religious change in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, conceptions of human beings and the relationship between personal name and identity, gender roles, divinities and other invisible beings, rituals, bear ceremonies etc.), he has made groundbreaking contributions to the methodology of studying Sami religion (see e.g., Rydving 1993a; Rydving 2010;

Rydving 2011a; Rydving 2013a). His methodological contributions concern especially source criticism of both the old written sources (Rydving 1995) and other source categories such as ritual artefacts (drums), place-names and sacred places (Kjellström & Rydving 1988; Rydving 2010). Håkan's interest in and wide knowledge of general theoretical problems in comparative religion has also resulted in seminal articles on essential concepts in the study of religion, such as "religion," "folk-religion," and "shamanism" (Rydving 2004; Rydving 2008; Rydving 2011b).

In his research, Håkan always draws empirically well-founded, balanced and careful conclusions. In doing this, he has accomplished reliable and lasting research results. That his doctoral dissertation, *The End of Drum-Time. Religious Change among the Lule Saami, 1670s–1740s*, has been published in no less than three editions (1993, 1995 and 2004), and still is an all but mandatory reference in other scholars' publications on Sami religion, speaks for itself. In the same way, none of the articles republished in the volume *Tracing Sami Traditions. In Search of the Indigenous Religion among the Western Sami during the 17th and 18th centuries* (2010) have lost their topicality and significance, despite the fact that the first article was published as early as in 1987. The book is a showcase of Håkan's methodological and theoretical skills, applied to the study of Sami religion, and covering topics such as, for example, research history, source criticism, place-names, indigenous conceptions of the deceased and guardian beings, rituals of the noaidi, and evaluation of archaeological finds relevant for the history of religions. The volume on Sami mythology that Håkan is now preparing for the Finnish-Hungarian series *Encyclopaedia of Uralic Mythologies*, will no doubt also become a standard reference work for many years to come, as will his forthcoming comparative textbook on indigenous religions of the circumpolar north.

Within linguistics, Håkan has made original contributions not only to the fields of Sami onomastics and terminology relevant for the history of religions, as was mentioned above, but also to the methodological discussions in comparative dialectology through his book *Words and Varieties. Lexical Variation in Saami* (Rydving 2013b). For his merits as a linguist, he received the Jöran Sahlgren Award from the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy in 2015 for distinguished scientific contributions to Nordic onomastics, Nordic dialectology and Nordic folklore research.

As a bibliographer Håkan has compiled extensive bibliographies for the benefit of other scholars: *Samisk religionshistorisk bibliografi* ['Sami history of religions. A bibliography'] (1993b); "Bibliographia laestadiana selecta" (2000); *Samisk kyrkohistorisk bibliografi* ['Sami church history. A bibliography'] (2007; together with Leif Lindin).¹

Håkan's expertise is, however, broader than his specialisation in Sami religion and Sami languages reveals. Due in no small part to his extensive language skills, he has been able to delve deep into such varying fields as Jewish, Islamic and Indian philosophy of religion, Old Norse religion, religion and politics, religion and the fine arts, method and theory in the study of religion, topics that he will hopefully continue to pursue in the future. But perhaps his wide range of competence and interests comes even more to the fore in his roles as teacher, supervisor and lecturer. He has been, and still is, a frequent and much appreciated guest lecturer not only at various universities in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland, but also in non-Nordic countries such as the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, Mexico, and the United States. To no one's surprise, in 2012 he was also elected "Best Lecturer in the Study of Religions" by the bachelor students at his home department, the Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religion, University of Bergen, Norway. That he values the supervising of bachelor, masters and doctoral students as "the very core of the work at university, and our most important contribution as academic scholars and teachers" (Rydving 2006: 316) is obvious to anyone who has had the privilege to have him as a tutor in research work. His comments to students are always knowledgeable, sincere, respectful, and aimed at the learning process. And this goes for his comments on the texts of his colleagues as well. For we know that many senior researchers turn to Håkan—being the conscientious and thoughtful reader that he is—for guidance in various scholarly matters and to seek his comments on drafts.

In this issue, we have collected six articles and a number of book reviews from some of Håkan's friends and colleagues. The entire issue, including the cover, is thus dedicated to Håkan. The photo on the cover, taken by Arvid Sveen, whom Håkan has cooperated with (Rydving 2003), shows a Sami sacrificial stone in Lake Unna-Saiva, in the Lule Sami area—the very area Håkan studied in his doctoral dissertation published 25 years ago. We are sure we speak for all of us when we say that the reason for us compiling this honorary issue, and for the individual scholars contributing to it, is that Håkan has been a great inspiration to us all on so many levels. Congratulations on your 65th birthday, Håkan! We sincerely hope that you will have many years of fruitful teaching, supervising and research ahead of you.

NOTES

¹ Håkan's own bibliography, so far, can be found on his webpage www.uib.no/personer/Håkan.Rydving; access date 8 June 2018.

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ELSE MUNDAL

Sami *Sieidis* in a Nordic Context?

ABSTRACT In the present article, the author discusses two Old Norse texts that may indicate that the Sami cult of *sieidis* had spread to the neighbouring Old Norse culture in the period before the Christianization of Norway. One of these texts is found in the Older Eidsifaving law, the law of the inland part of Eastern Norway. According to this law, it was prohibited to believe in (the power of) the *finnar* (Sami), and among their powerful objects, *rót* (the root of a tree) is mentioned. This root is in all likelihood a Sami *sieidi* that was sought out by Norwegians for help, probably for medical reasons. The other text is a notice in the Icelandic *Landnámabók* in which it is mentioned that a settler from Northern Norway worshipped some stones in the outfields on the border of his settlement, called *Gunnsteinar*. There are closer parallels to this outfields cult in Sami culture than in Old Norse culture.

KEYWORDS Sami *sieidis*, *Gunnsteinar*, Eidsifaving law, *Landnámabók*, Sami cult, Old Norse cult

Sami people are frequently mentioned in Old Norse sources, and it is obvious from these sources that they lived in close contact with their Scandinavian neighbours. It is therefore reasonable to think that the two peoples had rather a good knowledge of each other's cultures and religions, both before and after Christianization.

Since the Scandinavian and Sami peoples lived in close contact with each other, at least in parts of the Scandinavian Peninsula, we should expect that religious ideas were passed from one people to the other. We

are used to thinking of the Scandinavian culture as being the culture of the majority and the dominant culture, and ideas normally spread more easily from the dominant culture of the majority people to the culture of a minority people. We should, however, not forget that in some regions, especially in the North, the Sami may have been in the majority. Even in Southern Norway, in the mountainous districts and in the inland areas less densely populated by Norwegians, the two peoples may have been more equal in number than we usually think, and the passage of influences in both directions may have happened more easily than has previously been recognised.¹

In the present article, I will discuss two Old Norse texts, one Norwegian and one Icelandic, which indicate that the Sami's Norwegian neighbours sought help at Sami *sieidis*, and argue that it is even possible that the cult of *sieidis* was borrowed into Old Norse culture.²

The first text is a decision in a Norwegian regional law, the older Eiðsifaþing law, which contains a prohibition on believing in the powers of *finnar*, the Old Norse word for the Sami. The Eiðsifaþing law was the law for the inland parts of Eastern Norway. We know from Old Norse sources that Sami people lived in at least the northern parts of this law district. Even in the law of the district south of the Eiðsifaþing, the Borgarþing law district around the Oslo fjord, there is a prohibition on contacting the Sami, in this case for the purpose of obtaining knowledge of the future (NGL I: 350–51, 362, 372). From these laws, we can conclude that Norwegians used to seek help from Sami people, and the text of the Eiðsifaþing law indicates that Norwegians sought out their Sami neighbours for help at their *sieidis*. In chapter 45, recension I, of the law (NGL I: 376) the wording is:

Engi maðr a at trua. a finna. eða fordæðor. eða a vit. eða blot. eða rot. eða þat. er til hæiðins siðar hoeyrir. eða leita ser þar bota.³

[‘No person should believe in [the power of] the Sami, or sorcery [‘*fordæðor*’ can also mean ‘sorcerer’], or in a drum, or sacrifice, or root, or in that which belongs to heathendom, or seek help there.’]⁴

The context of the prohibition on believing in the power of the Sami makes it reasonable to assume that the other things listed that no person should believe in are also connected to Sami culture. *Vit*, normalized *vitt* or *vett*, is used about any remedy used in sorcery, but in some contexts it is obvious that the word means ‘drum,’ and there is little doubt that the law refers to Sami drums. Seen in connection with Sami holy places, the most interesting word in this enumeration of things that people are forbidden to believe in is *rot*. The normalised form of the word is *rót*, and the meaning is ‘root [of a

tree].⁴ There is little doubt that in this context we are talking about a Sami holy place of sacrifice, a *sieidi*.

As we know from later times, Sami *sieidis* were most often stones or rocks with an unusual and characteristic shape, but they could also be made from wood, either from a block or from a root. In the Older Eidsifaving law, the *sieidi* is made from the root of a tree, and since only a root, and not stone, is mentioned in the enumeration of things in which people were forbidden to believe, it is likely that the *sieidis* of the Sami people with whom the Norwegians in the Eidsifaving law district had contact were normally made from tree roots.

The prohibition on believing in the powers of the Sami and seeking help from them, which includes going to their holy places, tells us that such things actually happened. The *sieidis* were not places to which everyone had access; women, at least in later times, were not allowed to go to them, and this was most likely also the case in the Middle Ages. Since these places were so holy that Sami women were not allowed to go there, visits must have been prohibited for Norwegian women, too, but the law indicates that Sami men must have taken Norwegian men with them to their *sieidis*. This is not explicitly stated in the law, but the mention of a drum, sacrifice, and a tree root indicates a knowledge of Sami ceremonies which most likely was based on personal experience. The ritual at the *sieidi* must have been performed by Sami men, but it is most likely that Norwegians who had contacted the Sami for help were also present, and perhaps even assisted, at the ritual that was performed on their behalf.

The fact that Norwegians sought out the Sami for help, most likely medical help, and that the Sami allowed their Norwegian neighbours to accompany them to their holy places, indicates that the two peoples had close contact, were good neighbours and trusted each other.

The quotation above from the Older Eidsifaving law is from the Christian section of the law, which is the only part of this law preserved. No extant manuscript of the law is older than the fourteenth century, but many decisions in the law are likely to stem from the first few decades after Christianization, if not in form, then at least in content. The Church would of course have condemned all kinds of witchcraft and behaviour connected with heathendom. However, among ordinary people, so-called white witchcraft, which was used for healing and helping, was most likely judged more mildly than black witchcraft, and probably hardly as a sin. The contact between Norwegians and Sami described in the Older Eidsifaving law where the Norwegians sought their Sami neighbours' help, reveals a practice that most likely stretches far back in time and that was well established in pre-Christian times. The practice seems to have continued after Christianization, but then probably in secret.⁵

The quoted text from the Older Eidsifaving law documents the fact that Norwegians knew about the holy places of the Sami, that they had faith in what could be achieved by visiting such places, that they had most likely witnessed rituals performed at Sami holy places, and that they perhaps even assisted their Sami hosts when they performed rituals on their behalf. The next step in the development towards the inclusion of Sami cult in Nordic culture may have been that Norwegians borrowed the *sieidi* cult and took it up in their own culture. In the following, I will discuss the possible evidence in Old Norse sources for whether this development took place. There is especially one text that is of particular interest as possible evidence for the borrowing of the Sami *sieidi* into Old Norse culture, a notice about a settler from Northern Norway in the Icelandic *Landnámabók*, found in chapter 241 of *Sturlubók* and in *Hauksbók* in chapter 206. The text reads as follows:

Loðinn ǫngull hét maðr; hann var fœddr í Ongley á Hálogalandi. Hann fór fyrir ofríki Hákonar jarls Grjótgarðssonar til Íslands ok dó í hafi; en Eyvindr son hans nam Flateyjardal upp til Gunnsteina ok blótaði þá. (*Landnámabók* 1968:273)

[‘Loðinn ǫngull was a man called, he was born in Ongley in Hálogaland. He went to Iceland because of the tyranny of Earl Hákon Grjótgarðsson and died on the voyage. But his son, Eyvindr, took land in Flateyjardal up to the Gunnsteinar, and made sacrifices to them.’]

In his book, *Úr landnorðri. Samar og ystu rætur íslenskar menningar*, Hermann Pálsson lists the Icelandic settlers who are said to have come from Hálogaland, and he mentions this notice in *Landnámabók* as a possible example of Sami influence (Hermann Pálsson 1997: 81). He, however, sees this example of stone cult in *Landnámabók* in connection with a cult of spirits living in stones that is mentioned in other Old Norse texts. This cult resembles Sami cult to a lesser degree than the cult of the Gunnsteinar, and no doubt is a cult of a Nordic type. Nevertheless, the cult of the Gunnsteinar far out in the outfields on the border of Eyvindr’s settlement arouses the suspicion of Sami influence for Hermann Pálsson, and it is worth taking a closer look at this short notice in *Landnámabók*.

Holy mountains and the cult of stones and rocks are found in many cultures. Such cults sometimes, but not necessarily, involved mythological beings or spirits that people believed had their dwelling places in stones.⁶ Cult connected to stones was common both in Sami and Old Norse religion, and there were no doubt similarities between the two, whether the similarities were purely coincidental, had a common origin perhaps far back in

time, or were the result of influence from one culture on the other. Thus, it is not always easy to decide whether a single description of a holy place in a medieval text, as for example the Gunnsteinar in *Landnámabók*, describes one that is Old Norse or a Sami, unless there is some context given or other distinguishing details present that can offer some help.

Sami holy places in the landscape could vary both in appearance and function. The type of holy place that the Gunnsteinar should be compared with are probably places consisting of stone boulders.⁷

The description of the Gunnsteinar is found in a medieval Icelandic text, which points to an Old Norse context, but we cannot be absolutely certain of this as Sami settlers are also mentioned in Old Norse sources. However, as regards the settler who sacrificed to the Gunnsteinar, nothing is said about his ethnicity, something which is very often commented on in Old Norse sources when a settler had a background other than the most common one, i.e. Norwegian. A settler of Sami origin would most likely have been seen as exotic and worth mentioning. Both the father and the son from Hálogaland bear common Norwegian names, Loðinn and Eyvindr. This is an indication that they were probably Norwegians. However, we cannot be sure of this, since Sami people in medieval sources often have the same names as their Scandinavian neighbours, at least as long as they were in a Scandinavian milieu. The stones were given a compound name, the first element of which is an Old Norse noun meaning ‘fight/battle;’ this is another detail that points to an Old Norse context. However, the detail in the description of the two men from Hálogaland that provides the clearest indication that they were Norwegian chieftains is that the men moved to Iceland because of the tyranny of Earl Hákon Grjótgarðsson. Conflicts between the king, or in this case an earl, and a Norwegian chieftain is a standard motif in saga literature, whereas conflicts between a king or earl and a Sami chieftain is not mentioned anywhere in the sagas.

However, even though we can conclude that the Gunnsteinar mentioned in *Landnámabók* are in all probability situated in an Old Norse context, and that the man who made sacrifices to them was a Norwegian settler, the possibility of influence from Sami culture can in no way be ruled out. If the cult of the Gunnsteinar does have Sami influence, it could be that it was only the type of cult place that was borrowed. However, it might also have been the “whole package,” i.e. both the type of place and the cult of Sami spirits. The text in *Landnámabók* gives a few indications as to what kind of place this was, but does not say anything directly about the type of powers worshipped there.

Even though we do not know much about the Gunnsteinar and the cult performed there, there are some details in the description of these stones

that seem to fit a Sami context as well, or even better, than an Old Norse context. These stones and their exact location are not known today, and therefore we do not have a clear picture of their size and shape. However, since they were given a specific name, it is likely that they were stones of some size and of a characteristic appearance. Another piece of information that may suggest that this is a cultic place of a Sami type is that it was located at a considerable distance from the farmhouses, on the border of the settlement, far out in the outfields. The fact that this detail, the cult of stones being located far from the farmhouses, is at all mentioned in *Landnámabók*, indicates that this is something out of the ordinary that people noticed and remembered. This is perhaps the best indication that this cult was not of an ordinary Old Norse type.

In Old Norse culture, the cult of gods and other powers was normally performed at a farm or in its close vicinity. Sacrifices could of course be performed anywhere when needed, for example on a journey, but the established places of worship were found where people lived. In the parallels to the Gunnsteinar mentioned by Hermann Pálsson (Hermann Pálsson 1997: 81) from *Kristni saga* and *Þorvalds þáttur viðförla* (which are variants of the same story) and from the young saga of Icelanders, *Harðar saga*, the stones are located close to the farmhouses. In the latter saga, the stone is even located inside a building (in a *blóthús*). The spirit living in the stone in *Kristni saga* and in *Þorvalds þáttur viðförla* is a *ármaðr*, a spirit of the *garðvörðr* type. This type of cult is closely connected to the farmstead and farming and is therefore, in my opinion, different in principle to the cult of the Gunnsteinar in the outfields.

However, even though cult of gods and other powers in Old Norse culture normally took place at a farm or in its vicinity, there were also powers that were worshipped in the outfields, at least occasionally. The *landvættir* (spirits of the land) were recipients of cult in Old Norse culture, and they seem to have been worshipped in many different locations. In the Newer Gulaping Christian law (NGL II: 308), it is stated that it is forbidden to believe in the *landvættir*, and that they can be found in groves,⁸ mounds and waterfalls. In *Ólafssaga Tryggvasonar*, chapter 33 (*Heimskringla* 1911: 127–128), all mountains and hills in Iceland are said to be inhabited by the *landvættir*. A story in *Landnámabók*, chapter 329 in Sturlubók and 284 in *Hauksbók*, also seems to indicate that they lived in mountains since they are connected to a *bergþúi* (person living in a mountain). In a sermon in *Hauksbók*, it is told that some women took food to heaps of stones and caves and sacrificed it to the *landvættir* (*Hauksbók* 1892–1896: 167). Since the *landvættir* were everywhere, and according to *Hauksbók* could be worshipped at locations such as caves and heaps of stones, which were most likely not located

in the vicinity of a farm, it is not unthinkable that the powers worshipped at the Gunnsteinar were *landvættir*. According to the sermon in *Hauksbók*, the cult of the *landvættir* was performed by women, and the sources seem to suggest that the cult of so-called lower deities was often a female cult.⁹ However, it is reasonable to assume that such cults could be carried out by both genders, and it is therefore still possible that the settler who worshipped the Gunnsteinar performed sacrifices to the *landvættir*, which were powers of an Old Norse type. The name of the stones, Gunnsteinar, the first element of which means 'fight/battle,' might indicate that people believed that the spirits living there protected the land, and the fact that the stones were situated at the border of the man's settlement is a detail pointing in the same direction. Protection of the land is a task typically associated with the *landvættir*.

While it is impossible to say whether the powers worshipped at the Gunnsteinar were of a Nordic type, a Sami type, or both, the sacrificial place itself points in the direction of Sami culture. The Gunnsteinar do not correspond fully to other places of worship known in Old Norse culture. Heaps of stones (*reysar*), the cultic place of the *landvættir* mentioned in *Hauksbók*, and the Gunnsteinar are similar in so far as they are made of stones. A *reys* could be man-made, but the *reysar* mentioned in the *Hauksbók* text are most likely natural formations, as are the Gunnsteinar. There are, however, considerable differences between heaps of stones (*reysar*) and stones of a considerable size and with a characteristic appearance such as the Gunnsteinar must have had, as they were even given a name. The *reysar*, on which stupid women, according to *Hauksbók*, made sacrifices to the *landvættir*, were probably just any heap of stones, while the Gunnsteinar was a permanent place for worship, a holy place in the outfields.

It is impossible to draw firm conclusions about the cult of the Gunnsteinar, but in my opinion this cult, or rather the place of cult, most likely points to a Sami influence on Old Norse cult and religion. The fact that these stones were situated in the outfields, that they in all likelihood were big stones easily visible in the landscape, that they were given a special name, and that the cult of these stones seems to have been regarded as something extraordinary as it is mentioned in *Landnámanók*, are all factors that point in this direction. The Norwegian men from Hálogaland, Lóðinn and Eyvindr, may have belonged to a milieu that was influenced by Sami culture, and may have made sacrifices at holy places of the Sami type and taken this cult with them to Iceland.

There are not many written sources that can give us information about Norwegian-Sami cultural relations in pre-Christian times, and those available are not especially good. But perhaps the short notice about the Gunn-

steinar worshipped in Iceland by a settler from Northern Norway indicates that in areas where Norwegians and Sami lived in close contact, Sami cult had spread among their Norwegian neighbours, and perhaps even a kind of mixed Norwegian-Sami culture developed in such areas.

NOTES

- ¹ A good overview of research up to the 1980s on Scandinavian-Sami religious connections is found in Håkan Rydving's article "Scandinavian-Saami religious connections in the history of research" (Rydving 1990). See also Hans Mebius 2003: 64–69 with references. Both before and after these publications, the focus has usually been on influences from Scandinavian religion on Sami religion, but in the last few decades, the possibility that influences and loans went both ways has been emphasized by many scholars. For comments on the present situation, see Rydving's book *Tracing Sami Traditions* (2010), Part I.
- ² The term *sieidi* is a North Sami word. In the present article, this term is used for holy sacrificial places both in North Sami and South Sami culture.
- ³ There is a parallel text in chapter 34, recension II. This text is less detailed, but *rot* (normalized *rót*) is also mentioned in this text.
- ⁴ The translations from Old Norse, both here and later, are my own.
- ⁵ It has often been taken for granted that the Sami mentioned in the Older Eidsifaping law were heathens. That is something of which we cannot be sure. There are prohibitions against witchcraft and heathen practices amongst Norwegians in all Norwegian laws from the Middle Ages. Such practices do not characterise Norwegians as heathens, only as "bad" Christians. This may also be the case when Sami people performed ceremonies that were forbidden by the Church. As I have argued previously, the general picture presented in Scandinavian text books and history books, namely that the Sami were Christianized after the Reformation, is wrong; at best this is an extreme simplification of the situation (Mundal 2006 and 2007). Judging from medieval sources, it seems that the Christianization of the Sami people started more or less at the same time as the Christianization of their Scandinavian neighbours, but it was a long process that continued throughout the Middle Ages, and in the northernmost areas it was still going on around the time of the Reformation. The Christianization of the Sami in the Middle Ages did not, however, root out their previous indigenous religion. The two religions seem to have existed as parallel cultures in the Sami societies the whole time up to the so-called Christianization of the Sami in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This parallel culture in Sami societies probably had its beginnings in the custom—one also widespread amongst their Scandinavian neighbours in the early period of Christianization—of going through *prima signatio*, the preliminary baptismal instruction, in order to be able to have contact with Christians whilst simultaneously continuing to practise their own religion. Among the Sami, this seems to have become a more or less permanent situation which lasted for centuries, also after baptism, probably due to the fact that the Christianization of the Sami in the Middle Ages was not a Christianization by the sword but a process that was carried out rather gently both by King and Church. The heathen practises of the Sami were of course not approved of, but they seem to have been tolerated, at least as long as they took place in the Sami's own milieus on the outskirts of the Christian Scandinavian societies and the Sami behaved like good Christians when they mingled with their Scandinavian neighbours. This means that the

description in the Older Eidsfåping law of Norwegians seeking the Sami for medical help, most likely describes a practice that had gone on for centuries, and that Christianization—amongst both peoples—did not change this practice much.

- ⁶ In Old Norse culture it was a common belief that mythological beings or spirits lived in stones, which were, for example, the dwelling places of dwarfs. However, as far as we know, dwarfs were not recipients of cult.
- ⁷ An overview of different types of Sami holy places, including stone boulders, are found in Ørnulf Vorren's article "Sacrificial sites, types and function" (1987). See also Håkan Rydving's book *Tracing Sami Traditions* (2010), especially Part II, chapter 2, and Part III, Chapter 8. In Old Norse religion, the *hørgar* (sg. *høgr*) were important places of sacrifice. These seem to have been heaps of stones or stone altars located outdoors, but they could also be buildings. Since we do not have exact knowledge about the shape of the *høgr*, it is difficult to say how different from, or how similar to, Sami holy places these Old Norse sacrificial sites were. However, one fundamental difference was that the Sami holy places out in the landscape were forbidden areas for women, while the Old Norse *hørgar* seem to have been places for female cult.
- ⁸ Some manuscripts have instead of "in groves" (*i lundum*) "in lands" (*i lǫndum*).
- ⁹ Another example of women performing a *blót* to "lower deities" (in this case *álfablót*) is found in Sigvatr skáld's *Austfararvisur*, stanza 4–5 (Finnur Jónsson [ed.] 1912–1915, BI: 221). When the skáld and his followers arrived at a farm in Värmland, they were met by a woman who would not let them in because they were celebrating *álfablót* at the farm. From stanza 4, we can see that both men and women were present (the form *þau* denotes a plural consisting of both men and women), but the women seem to have been in charge.

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ANDERS HULTGÅRD

Personal Religion among the Ancient Scandinavians and the *Fulltrúi*-Concept

ABSTRACT The question of personal religion among the ancient Scandinavians has centered around the concept of having a deity as one's *fulltrúi* 'trustworthy friend,' *ástvinr* 'close friend,' or *vinr* 'friend.' Most scholars of the twentieth century regarded the concept as a true expression of pre-Christian Germanic belief. By contrast, modern scholarship strongly tends to see it as a construct of medieval authors who took the saints' cult as a model to describe the personal piety of their ninth and tenth century compatriots. On the basis of a passage in the Old Norse translation of *Clemens saga*, corroborated with archaeological evidence and some skaldic verse, e.g. Sonatorrek, the present study argues that the religious concept of *fulltrúi* and its parallel terms developed in pre-Christian times.

KEYWORDS personal piety, Old Norse religion, Kvinneby-amulet, *Clemens saga*, *Sonatorrek*, *fulltrúi*, *ástvinr*, *vinr*.

Introduction

Religion is predominantly a community phenomenon and is mostly approached as such. The feelings experienced by the individual, also

during the religious ceremonies of the group, his or her commitment to a particular deity, as well as the private rites performed by him or her may be termed “personal religion.” This aspect lends itself to being best studied in living religions using methods of psychology and sociology of religion. However, when it comes to religions of the past, it is more difficult to grasp the concept of personal religion. The written sources that have come down to us concern mainly the various expressions of communal religion. This is true for ancient Scandinavian religion as well. Here the source material is scanty compared to that on Greek and Roman religions where literary texts and inscriptions offer a relatively broad basis for inquiries into private piety.¹

The Term *Fulltrúi*

Much of the discussion on personal religion among the ancient Scandinavians has centered around the concept of *fulltrúi* and its related terms *vinr* ‘friend’ and *ástvinr* ‘close friend.’ The word *fulltrúi* means ‘a person in whom one has full confidence’² and is used in different contexts. The word *fulltrúi* is rather uncommon in Old Scandinavian. It is not attested in the oldest Norwegian manuscripts (Holtmark 1955). *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog* [‘A dictionary of Old Norse prose’] lists twenty-five occurrences, the great majority of which have nothing to do with personal religion. The five occurrences in poetry refer to interpersonal relationships (cf. *Lexicon poëticum* 1860). In this essay, we will be concerned with the use of *fulltrúi* within the religious sphere. Here *fulltrúi* occurs—as do *ástvinr* and *vinr*—to denote a person’s particular relationship to a deity or semi-deity, be it God, Christ, Mary, a saint, or—with reference to the ancient religion—Þórr, Freyr and Þorgerðr Hølgabrúðr.

Illuminating Instances in the Family Sagas

To give an idea of how the *fulltrúi* concept (including *ástvinr* and *vinr*) is applied to non-Christian deities in medieval saga literature, some examples will be presented. In *Eiríks saga rauða*, composed in the early thirteenth century, it is told that Þórhallr and his companions arrived in Vinland and were searching for food.³ Þórhallr disappeared for some time and when his Christian companions found him on a cliff, they asked him to come with them, which he did. A short time afterwards, a whale floated ashore. Having cooked the whale and eaten from it, the men felt sick. Þórhallr then said:

Varð eigi svá, at hinn rauðskeggjaði varð drjúgari en Krístr yðvarr?
 Þetta hafða ek nú fyrir skáldskap minn, er ek orta um Þór, fulltrúann;
 sjaldan hefir hann mér brugðisk. (*Eiríks saga rauða* Ch. 8)

[‘Did it not happen that the man with a red beard won over your Christ? I now got this on account of the poetry that I made for Þórr, the trustworthy friend. He has seldom deceived me.’]

It is not clear what Þórhallr is aiming at here. For our purpose, however, the essential thing is that he calls Þórr his *fulltrúi*. The saga then goes on by saying that when the men heard Þórhallr’s statement, they did not want to eat from the whale but threw it over the cliffside and turned to God’s mercy. Thereupon they managed to get out to sea and they had no lack of provisions (*ok skorti þá eigi birgðir*).

The *Eyrbyggja saga* gives more than one example of the intimate relationship between the god Þórr and his worshippers. It is said of Thorolf Mostrarskegg that he was an ardent devotee of Þórr, *mikill vinr Þórs*, and therefore got the name Thorolf (*Eyrbyggja saga* Ch. 3). The saga tells that, before leaving Norway, *Þórólfr Mostrarskegg fekk at blótu miklu og gekk til fréttar við Þór, ástvin sinn* [‘Thorolf Mostrarskegg arranged a great sacrificial ceremony and asked his close friend Þórr for guidance’] (*Eyrbyggja saga* Ch. 4). Thorolf had a son whom he placed under the protection of Þórr: *þenna svein gaf Þórólfr Þór, vin sínum, ok kallaði hann Þórstein* [‘Thorolf gave this boy to Þórr, his friend, and called him Thorstein’] (*Eyrbyggja saga* Ch. 7). When the coast of Iceland came into sight, as is also told in *Landnámabók*, Thórolf threw the wooden posts of his Norwegian sanctuary into the sea, one of which had an image or symbol of Þórr: *þar var skorinn Þórr á annarri* [‘on one of them was Þórr carved’] (*Eyrbyggja saga* Ch. 4; *Landnámabók* 1968: 124 f., 163 f.).

It is said of Hrafnkel, another early settler in Iceland, that he loved no other god as much as he did Freyr. He gave half of all the valuable things he possessed to the god. Hrafnkel had a horse to which he was deeply attached and which he had named *Freyfaxi*; the text concludes: *hann gaf Frey vin sínum þann hest hálfan* [‘he gave his friend Freyr half of this horse’] (*Hrafnkels saga freysgöða* Ch. 3).

Another worshipper of Freyr was Thorkell, as stated in *Viga-Glúms saga*. He went to the god’s sanctuary (*hof*) bringing with him an old ox:

Freyr, sagði hann, er lengi hefir fulltrúi minn verit ok margar gjafar at mér þegit ok vel launat, nú gef ek þér uxa þenna. (*Viga-Glúms saga* Ch. 9)

[‘Freyr, he said, you have long been my trustful friend; you have received many gifts from me and rewarded me well. I now give you this ox.’]

Recordings of Personal Religion in Other Prose Texts

Episodes have been transmitted which can be interpreted as evidence of “pagan” personal religion but in which the terms *fulltrúi*, *ástvinr* or *vinr* are not found. Let us first look at the thirteenth century prose texts. One of the early settlers in Iceland mentioned in *Landnámabók* was Helgi inn magri. It is said of him that he was *miðk blandinn í trúnni* [‘his faith was much mixed’]. He believed in Christ but invoked Þórr for seafaring and hardship, and for “everything that seemed most important to him” (*alls þess er honum þótti mestu varða*). Apparently, Þórr was his favorite god and, like Thorolf Mostrarskegg, he asked Þórr for guidance where to go ashore when he came in sight of Iceland (*Landnámabók* 2, 1968: 253).

The thirteenth-century writers in Iceland and Norway used the expression *blótmaðr mikill*, which I translate as ‘ardent worshipper,’ to denote “pagan” persons greatly devoted to a god or the gods and to sacrifices.⁴ It is said about Þorsteinn rauðnefr, who made offerings to a waterfall, that he was much *framsýnn*, that is, he could predict events happening elsewhere and in the future (*Landnámabók* 2, 1968: 358). The *Færeyinga saga* reports that Hafgrímr from Suðrey was a *blótmaðr mikill* (*Færeyinga saga*, pp. 8, 11). *Landnámabók* mentions a man from Sogn in Norway who was called Végeirr *því at han var blótmaðr mikill* [‘because he was an ardent worshipper’] (*vé* meaning ‘sacred place,’ *Landnámabók* 1, 1968: 178–181). Sigurd jarl was characterized as *inn mesti blótmaðr* in Snorri’s description of the sacrificial feasts in Trøndelag (*Heimskringla* 1, the *Saga of Hákon the good* Ch. 14). In these cases, there is no reason to assume that the saga authors and Snorri used the expression in a derogatory sense. Referring to a person as a *blótmaðr mikill* was for them simply a way to say that the person in question was particularly devoted to the pre-Christian religion. In other texts, however, especially in translations, the word *blótmaðr* carried a negative connotation and denoted a ‘pagan priest, idolater.’⁵

The instances examined above—with or without the *fulltrúi* terminology—show, in the first place, how the thirteenth-century authors viewed the “pagan” religion of their compatriots. However, the picture they paint should not be seen as sheer imagination (cf. Widengren 1966: 329–331). Some concepts, details of ritual behaviour and objects were certainly passed down from earlier generations. Scholars are faced with the issue of distinguishing between what may be true memories and what is medieval attempts at visualization (cf. Maier 2003: 34–36 on *Hrafnkels saga freysgoða*). The *fulltrúi* concept is not only used to characterize the personal relationship with a deity in the old religion, it also occurs in Christian contexts that are considered by many critics to have priority with respect to the *fulltrúi* terminology and the phenomenon of personal religion.

Early Christian Literature in the Vernacular

As indicated above, attestations of *fulltrúi* (and *ástvinr*) in a Christian religious context are rare in early manuscripts and texts. The poet Einarr Skúlason (twelfth century) praises Olaf Haraldsson as *langvinr lausnara* [‘the Saviour’s trustworthy friend’] (*Geisli* 68; see *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning* 1912–1915). The *Icelandic Homily Book* (*IHB*) uses *fulltrúi* only in one passage.⁶ In a Lenten sermon, the preacher emphasizes that mercy precedes justice: we should ourselves make expiation for all sins or

ef því orkum vér eigi at þá grípem vér hinn fulltrúan at láta sem áðr vas getit öngu þat ráða hvé til es gort við oss, heldr gera við alla vel; sá es inn efsti fulltrúi lífsins. (*IHB* 53r 24–25)

[‘if we do not accomplish that, we should cling to the trustworthy one (God) and not to let that which was done earlier determine how we will be recompensed, rather do good to all; he (God) is life’s only remaining trustworthy one.’]

Of the two occurrences of *ástvinr* in the *Icelandic Homily Book*, one refers to the confidants (*ástvinir*) of Joakim, father of the Virgin Mary (*IHB* 58v 3). The other speaks about the happiness awaiting the just man in heaven:

ok mætti reyna sjálfr fullsælu þá er guð hyggr sínum ástvinum (*IHB* 9v 22–23)

[‘and he (or she) would be able to experience for himself (or herself) the full bliss which God prepares for his close friends.’]

To be God’s beloved friend involves a personal relationship with the deity. Another example of this relationship is found in *Elucidarius*, a didactic Christian work composed around 1100 which became very popular and was translated into several European languages. The Old Norse translation is preserved in eight parchment manuscripts, the oldest one being from before or around 1200. The form is a questions and answers dialogue between the master (*magister*) and his disciple (*discipulus*).⁷ The disciple asks about the happiness of the just in the afterlife and the master answers:⁸

fagnaðir þeira eru slíkir sem auga mans má eigi sjá né heyra né hugr hyggja þat es Guð hétt ástvinum sínum. (*Elucidarius* 1989: 142)

[‘Their joy is such that a man’s eyes cannot see or hear it, neither can the mind figure out what God has promised his close friends.’]

Christian poetry rarely uses the term *ástvinr* in its religious sense. When attested, it occurs only in texts from the fourteenth century (*Mariuvisur* 1,7, *Heilagra manna drápa* 9, Eysteinn Ásgrímsson's *Lilja* 37; see *Den norske islandske skjaldedigtning* 1912–1915). These late passages have little bearing on the problem with which we are concerned here.

In early twentieth-century research, the concept of *fulltrúi* (*ástvinr* and *vinr*), when used with reference to religious matters, was regarded as genuine expressions of Germanic personal religion. It showed the free and confident relationship between man and his god, also emphasizing their position as equals. In addition, this idea was in sharp contrast to the fear and subjection thought to dominate the approach of man to God in Judaism and Christianity. Prominent representatives of such an interpretation were Gustaf Neckel and Bernhard Kummer (Neckel 1920: 134–136; Kummer 1938). In his *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Jan de Vries accepted the *fulltrúi* texts as authentic attestations of Germanic piety, but without interpreting them in the national Germanic overtones of Neckel and Kummer (see de Vries 1956–1957: §§ 16, 439, 568 f., 620).⁹

The tendency in present-day scholarship is to view the *fulltrúi* concept as a construct by medieval authors under the influence of Christian ideas pertaining to the cult of saints in particular (Zernack 1998; Simek 2003: 162–164; Maier 2003: 32–37). Scholars like Helge Ljungberg and Walter Baetke arrived at a similar conclusion and Eyvind Fjeld Halvorsen suggested a Christian influence on the sagas' descriptions (Ljungberg 1947; Baetke 1951; Halvorsen 1960). The relationship between a saint, God or Christ and their worshippers could be expressed in terms of friendship and confidence. Hagiographical and homiletic writings in the vernacular dating to the second half of the twelfth century in Norway and Iceland used the terms *fulltrúi*, *ástvinr* and *vinr* to denote this relationship. The thirteenth-century saga writers adopted these terms when attempting to describe “pagan” personal piety of the ninth and tenth centuries. The criticisms directed at the *fulltrúi* concept as a genuine pre-Christian idea often include doubts about the existence of personal religion in general among the ancient Scandinavians. The arguments put forward can be summed up as follows:

1. All the attestations of the *fulltrúi* episodes involving “pagan” deities have a literary character and are almost exclusively found in saga texts of the thirteenth century (Zernack 1998).
2. The total absence of that concept where it would be expected, namely in non-Christian skaldic poetry. Such a concept does not occur in poetry until the twelfth century with the Christian poet Einarr Skúlason (Maier 2003: 36).

3. The relationship between the poet Egill Skallagrímsson and Óðinn as described in *Sonatorrek* is doubtful evidence of personal religion (von See 1970; Zernack 1998; Maier 2003: 36–37).

4. Neither the archaeological material nor the reports of late antiquity and medieval authors betray the idea of a personal commitment to a particular deity among Germanic peoples (Maier 2003: 33). A distinction is made between ethnic community religions like that of the ancient Scandinavians and the type of religion to which adherence is based on personal conviction, e.g. Christianity and the mystery cults of Late Antiquity.¹⁰

The arguments adduced against a pre-Christian origin of the *fulltrúi* concept (in a wide sense) needs to be discussed and in some respects be questioned. In what follows, I will draw attention to some texts and circumstances that speak in favour of such an origin.

Personal Religion in Skaldic Poetry

First, there are undoubtedly some poems from the late Viking period that express ideas of a personal relationship with a “pagan” deity. The poem most often referred to is *Sonatorrek*, ‘The loss of sons,’ usually attributed to Egill Skallagrímsson. As we have seen, doubt was cast on its relevance for the issue of personal religion. The poem is not very well preserved and its interpretation varies among commentators.¹¹ I see no reason for denying that the poem alludes to a particular friendship of Egill with Óðinn. Stanzas 22 to 24 describe the poet’s relationship with the god. The meaning of the first half of stanza 22 is not difficult to understand:¹²

Átta ek gótt	[‘I got on well
við geirs dróttinn	with the lord of the spear,
gørðumk trygg	I felt secure
at trúa hánum	in trusting him’]

The second half of the stanza is usually interpreted in the way that Óðinn broke his friendship with the poet, but the text can be understood in another, more plausible manner, as proposed by Jón Aðalsteinsson (Aðalsteinsson 1998–2001: 170–171). The reading *vagna runne* in the manuscript can be interpreted as *vagna rúni*, ‘the friend of the wagons,’ or as *vagna runnr*, ‘the man of the wagons.’ In both cases, this must be a kenning for Þórr and if one takes *áðr* adverbially, the meaning would be that ‘before [this] Óðinn broke Egill’s friendship with Þórr.’ This is in agreement with Sigurður Nordals suggestion that Egill was brought up as worshipper of Þórr but later turned to Óðinn (Nordal 1924).

Some stanzas of Hallfreðr vandræðaskáld provide information about his relationship with Scandinavian gods before his conversion; they indicate a personal relationship, in particular with Óðinn (Strömbäck 1975: 78 ff.; Poole 2002). The underlying situation of Hallfreðr's stanzas seems to be the Christian ritual preceding baptism: the renunciation of the "pagan" gods and the affirmation of belief in the Christian trinity. Although Hallfreðr praises his patron, Olaf Tryggvasson, for introducing the new faith, the poet still has some remorse for having abandoned Óðinn (Poole 2002).

The two stanzas dedicated to Þórr by the poetess Steinunn reflect, in my opinion, her personal commitment to that god (*Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning* 1912–1915, A I: 135–136).¹³ We learn that Þórr wrecked the ship of the missionary Thangbrand and that Christ could not protect it. We move within the sphere of personal religion: the poetess compares her own god with that of Thangbrand; she claims that his god (Christ, here denoted *Guð*) had little power:

litt get ek at Guð gætti Gylfa hreins at einu

[‘I think, God hardly protected the ship’]

Without using the words *fulltrúi* and *ástvinr*, the poets of these verses express their commitment to a particular god. In my view, we have here to do with personal religion among non-Christians Scandinavians.

A Remark on Word History

Secondly, the terms *fulltrúi* and *ástvinr* do not have the appearance of being medieval innovations as such. The word *ástvinr* is found with Egill Skallagrímsson in *Sonatorrek* stanza 7 where he says: *em ek ofsnauðr at ástvinum* [‘I have no longer beloved friends’]. With respect to *fulltrúi*, we may note that it occurs in one of the oldest eddic texts, *Brot af Sigurðarkviðu*, ‘Fragment of a Sigurd lay,’ which together with the *Atlakviða* belongs to a group of early poems dated to the ninth and tenth centuries.¹⁴ In stanza 2, Gunnar says that Sigurd had sworn to be to him ‘a trustworthy friend,’ *einn fulltrúi*. Similarly, in the somewhat later *Sigurðarkviða in skamma*, ‘Short poem about Sigurd,’ Gunnar takes Högni as his *fulltrúi* (stanza 14). Further attestations are found in twelfth-century poetry: stanza 119 of the *Hugsvinnsmál*, an Old Norse translation of Cato’s *Disticha*, and a stanza by Ívarr Ingimundarson in praise of Sigurd Jorsalafar (*Sigurðarbolkr* 40; see *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning* 1912–1915). In this context it should also be noted that a verb *fultrūwian* [‘to confide in’] is known in Old English (e.g. *King Alfred’s Anglo-Saxon Version of the Metres of Boethius* 1835: 60).

The Relevance of Archaeology

As pointed out above, doubt has been cast on the possibility to find evidence for personal religion in the archaeological material. Admittedly, the interpretation of objects found in personal contexts, for example in graves, as symbols of a particular deity is uncertain without textual evidence. It is even more so when it comes to determining the character of the worship directed to that deity by the person involved. The community or the family of the deceased could have deposited grave gifts of a religious character to express common beliefs that would not necessarily have been shared by the buried person(s).

One instance which, in my opinion, more clearly points at a personal relationship between man and a particular god is the Kvinneby lead amulet from Öland on which a rather long runic inscription has been carved (Fig. 1).¹⁵ The amulet was found in what seems to have been a grave. A man named Bovi was apparently the owner of the amulet which he had carried in his life time. The inscription is difficult to interpret in parts. The central passage provides no difficulty, however. It runs: *Þórr gæti hans me(ð)R þēm hamri sæm ...*¹⁶ ['may Þórr protect him with the hammer that ...']. Here the hammer symbolizes the god's protective power and the invocation expresses Bovi's confidence in him.



Fig. 1. The so-called Kvinneby-amulet found in Södra Kvinneby, Öland, Sweden. Photo: Ulrik Skans. Courtesy of the Swedish History Museum.

Two Key Passages

My last argument for a likely non-Christian origin of the *fulltrúi* concept (including *ástvinr* and *vinr*) as an expression of a personal relationship between man and deity is based on two texts.

The above-mentioned *Sigurðarkviða in skamma* speaks about Sigurd as *Freys vinr* (stanza 24), a fact that stands out in the heroic poetry where Scandinavian deities are otherwise not mentioned (*Eddukvæði* II 2014: 87 f.). The poem appears to have been composed from oral tradition in which the poet found the epithet “Freyr’s friend,” in all probability used in tenth-century Iceland to characterize worshippers of Freyr.

Another key passage is found in an episode told in *Clemens saga*. Clement is accused of blasphemy against the “pagan” gods, and the text also enumerates which deities are exposed to the saint’s derision. The Latin *Vorlage* is here quoted first in order to elucidate the comparison with the Old Norse translation.

Iovem dicit dominum non esse, Herculem consecratorem nostrum dicit immundum esse, Venerem, deam sanctam meretricem esse commemorat, Minervam sanctam deam blasphemat, Dianam ac Mercurium simul et Saturnum et Martem accusat, numina etiam universa blasphemat. (Mombritius 1, 1910: 343)

[‘He says that Juppiter is not lord. He says that our god Hercules is unclean. He claims that our holy goddess Venus is a prostitute. He blasphemes against the holy goddess Minerva. He attacks Diana and Mercurius, as well as Saturnus and Mars, all the divinities at the same time.’]

The Old Norse translator basically followed the structure of his Latin *Vorlage* but replaced the Roman deities with Scandinavian ones. In addition the last part of the passage was composed using alliterating word pairs:¹⁷

Hann segir at Þórr sé eigi goð, fulltrúi várr ok inn sterksti áss
 áræðisfullr, ok er nær hvars sem hann es blótinn.
 En þá úsómð ok úvirðing veitir hann Óðni órlausnafullum ok hvarfsemi
 at síá Clemens kallar hann fiánda ok
 úhreinan anda. En hann kveðr Freyju portkonu verit hafa,
 fólir hann Frey, en hrópir Heimdall,
 lastar hann Loka með
 slógð sína ok vélar ok kallar hann ok illan,
 hatar hann Hónir, þolvar hann Baldri,
 tefr hann Tý, niðir hann Njörð,
 illan segir hann Ull, flimtir hann Frigg,
 en hann geyr Gefjun, sekja dómir hann Sif.

[‘He says that Þórr is not god, our trusty friend and the strongest god,
 full
 of courage, who is close at hand wherever he is worshipped.
 And he does this disgrace and dishonor to Odin who is always able to
 provide solutions and safety, that this Clement calls him a fiend and
 unclean spirit.
 And he says that Freyja has been a prostitute,
 he derides Freyr and slanders Heimdallr,
 he speaks ill of Loki and his cunning and tricks and says that he, too, is
 evil,
 he hates Hœnir, he curses Baldr,
 he hinders Týr, he libels Njördr,
 he says that Ullr is evil, he ridicules Frigg,
 and he blasphemes Gefjun, he condemns Sif. ’]
 (*Clemens saga* in *Isländska handskriften no 645*: 66–67; Carron [ed.] 2005:
 44)¹⁸

Curiously enough, Þórr has taken the place of Juppiter, and Óðinn that of Hercules. In the Old Norse version, these two Scandinavian deities stand out since statements are introduced that explain the way they benefit their worshippers. With respect to the question of personal religion, the description of Þórr is the most interesting. He is called the *fulltrúi* of men and he is present wherever his worshippers turn to him. Here it seems that the translator refers to genuine beliefs in Þórr as a personal god, beliefs that were held by his compatriots in the tenth century, and most probably also in the early eleventh century, and remembered and passed on to later generations. *Clemens saga* was in all probability composed in the late twelfth century (cf. Kristjánsson 2007: 136 f.; Carron [ed.] 2005: xxv). The time span in between was short enough for some cult memories to be kept alive in many Icelandic families. As noticed by several scholars, the *fulltrúi* concept is especially linked with the god Þórr and the *Clemens saga* agrees in this respect with the other written sources.

Conclusion

The thirteenth-century saga literature provides several examples of personal religion in pre-Christian Iceland and Norway. Terms like *fulltrúi*, *ástvinr* and *vinr* are used to express the particular relationship between man and deity. These texts cannot be used as primary witnesses to the individual beliefs and ritual behaviour of the persons involved. Nonetheless, they reflect vague memories from the past, to which imaginary details have been added over time. However, the poetic texts discussed above should, in my opinion, be interpreted as expression of the poets' personal religion, although they do not use the *fulltrúi*-terminology. Some archaeological material like the Kvinneby-amulet is undoubtedly to be interpreted from the perspective of a personal relation-

ship with a god. The passage in *Clemens saga* seems to offer an important link connecting the later saga texts with a non-Christian *fulltrúi* concept.

NOTES

- ¹ A good example is provided by the monograph of Festugière (1954) 1984.
- ² *person som har ens fulle tillid*. This is the definition of Fritzner (1886–1896, under *fulltrúi*).
- ³ I use the text of the *Skálholtsbók* which is closer to the original version than that of the *Hauksbók* version, see Ólafur Halldórsson in his edition of the saga, pp. 333–338. The statement of Þórhallr on Þórr as his *fulltrúi* has basically the same wording in the *Hauksbók* version.
- ⁴ In translated texts, it referred to Latin *haruspex* or *idolater* (e.g. Agat 2). The word *blót-maðr* is not found in poetry.
- ⁵ For this, see *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog* 2, 2000: 508 f.
- ⁶ I have normalized the diplomatic text of the edition in the *IHB* passages cited.
- ⁷ On *Elucidarius*, see Firchow & Grimstad (eds.) 1989: xii–xxvi.
- ⁸ The text of *Elucidarius* Ms. AM 674a is here normalized.
- ⁹ Other scholars following in the steps of de Vries are F. Ström (1961) and Å.V. Ström (Ström & Biezais 1975).
- ¹⁰ Maier emphasizes the role played by personal commitment to God or the gods: “in jenen religiösen (Wahl-)Gemeinschaften, die sich durch eben diese individuelle und persönliche Bindung überhaupt erst konstituieren.”
- ¹¹ A discussion of the poem’s preservation, background and interpretations is given by Vésteinn Ólason 2005.
- ¹² I follow the edition of Jón Helgason in *Skjaldevers*.
- ¹³ The wording of stanza 2 varies between the different manuscripts. The Icelandic of the line cited above is established from the text and apparatus in Finnur Jónsson’s A-edition.
- ¹⁴ See for this Kristjánsson 2007: 59; *Eddukvæði* II 2014: 87 f.
- ¹⁵ For the amulet, its inscription, dating and different interpretations, see Pereswetoff-Morath 2017: 106–143.
- ¹⁶ I follow the reading of Pereswetoff-Morath 2017.
- ¹⁷ The text of the editions is slightly normalized.
- ¹⁸ I have used the English translation of Carron (ed.) 2005 with some minor changes.

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TAKAKO YAMADA

The Ainu Bear Ceremony and the Logic behind Hunting the Deified Bear

ABSTRACT All nations have their own view of the world in which they live, of nature, of society, and of the human self. The Hokkaido Ainu's world view, for example, is deeply connected with their way of life, backed by man–nature relationships, and what this relationship symbolizes is always part of their rituals. The Ainu are known as one of the peoples, like the Sami, the Khanty, and the Nivkh, who perform a bear festival, although they deify the bear and refer to it using the term *kamui* ['deity' or 'spirit']. Moreover, the Ainu and the Nivkh perform the bear ceremony for a bear cub reared by them, although the meaning of the ceremonies differ between them. This paper aims to reveal the Ainu conception of the bear and bear ceremony, which enables them to hunt the deified bear, in terms of the Ainu bear ceremonial, their conception of *kamui*, and human-*kamui* relationships. The study reveals that the Ainu logic for hunting the bear, or *kamui*, is encapsulated in an idea about the necessity of maintaining the complementary and reciprocal relationship between humans and the *kamui* and, as such, the bear ceremony is a symbolic representation of this relationship.

KEYWORDS Ainu, bear ceremony, sending-off ritual, complementary reciprocity

Introduction

All nations have their own view of the world in which they live, of nature, of society, and of the human self. As shown in the ethnography of the Hokkaido Ainu (Yamada 2001), their world view is deeply connected with their way of life and grounded in man–nature relationships, which are always symbolized in their rituals.

Considering northern cultures, the pioneer work of Hallowell (1926) suggests that the ritual treatments of the bear, or “the bear ceremonialism” as he describes it, is one of the significant characteristics. As is revealed by Watanabe (1994), the sending-off ceremonies for a variety of animals, including the caribou, the seal, and the whale, are commonly observed among northern hunting–gathering peoples. Moreover, considering the northern cultures in terms of the relationships between religion and ecology, Irimoto suggests two significant characteristics: first, the notion of reciprocity that exists between man and the game spirits, and, second, the original oneness of both sets of beings (Irimoto 1994: 425–427).

It has been documented that the Sami, the Khanty, the Nivkh, and the Ainu perform a bear festival. I even learned during my field trips among the Khanty in 2000 that they consider the bear to be a spiritual being. Although these peoples have traditionally performed some sort of bear festival, its meaning differs greatly among them. By comparing the bear ceremonial of the Sami and the Khanty, Rydving reveals that the focus is different between them: for the Sami the most important element was the feast and the burial, while the Khanty focus more on the festival and the entertainment (Rydving 2010: 42). Glavatskaya suggests that the Khanty bear festival, whose name means ‘dancing a bear,’ seemed to be “pure folk art” and played an integral role within the extended family, clans, and community (Glavatskaya 2005: 183–188).

In contrast, the bear festivals of the Nivkh and the Ainu are performed for the bear cub which was reared by them, although the meaning of the sending-off ritual for the bear cub differs greatly between them. The Nivkh, who regard the bear as their ancestral spirit, perform the ritual of sending-off the bear cub in the memory of a deceased member of their patrilineal lineage (Kreinovich [1973] 1993; Black 1973; Shternberg 1933), while the Ainu bear festival is intended to send the bear cub back to its own world because it is believed to be an embodiment of a deity after having been

reared as a guest in the Ainu village. Among the Ainu sending-off rituals for animals, the bear ritual was one of the most important.

Although it is suggested by Watanabe (1993: 26; 1994: 61–62) that bear ceremonialism in the north is best understood as an ecological-supernatural adaptation to the northern environment, not much has been revealed as to why the bear, which is a spirit or deity, is then hunted and how they justify the reasons for the hunt. This paper is an attempt to reappraise the Ainu bear ceremony in terms of their reasoning behind the hunt of the deified bear.

The Ainu bear ritual has been recorded by various explorers and researchers. It was so famous and attractive that it was performed in the presence of Emperor Meiji in the Shiraoi village in 1881 (Mitsuoka 1924). There remain not only ethnographic documents on the *Ainu no kuma matsuri* ['Ainu bear festival'] (Batchelor 1932; Natori & Inukai 1939; Natori 1940; Kuramitsu 1953; Kitagawa 1961), but also at least two documentary films shot by Neil Gordon Munro in 1931 and another by Itsuhiko Kubodera in 1936.

Irimoto recently published a book entitled *The Ainu Bear Festival* (Irimoto 2010; Irimoto 2014) based on extensive reading on the Ainu bear festival as well as his own field studies, in which he details the bear hunt, the entire ritual process, its regional and historical differences in Hokkaido, and its origins and dynamics. However, little is discussed as to why the Ainu can hunt the bear even though it is a deity. This paper aims to reveal the Ainu's conception, which enables them to hunt the deified bear. I will reappraise the Ainu bear rituals in terms of the Ainu's view of deities and the human–deity relationships (cf. Yamada 1994; Yamada 2001). Hereafter, I will use the terminology for rituals suggested by Håkan Rydving (2010: 37): “ritual,” the generic term for any kind of religious behavior; “rite,” the minimum significant unit of ritual behavior; “ceremony,” the smallest configuration of rites constituting a meaningful ritual as a whole; and “ceremonial,” the total configuration of ceremonies performed during any ritual occasion.

Cultural Background of the Hokkaido Ainu

The Ainu were hunter–gatherers living in Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. Prehistoric remains show that Hokkaido has been populated since the Paleolithic period. In Hokkaido, the Paleolithic culture was followed by the Jomon culture, which spread throughout Japan and was then succeeded by the Satsumon culture, and finally by the Ainu culture. Archaeologists generally believe that the full formation of the Ainu culture in Hokkaido began between the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries, distinguishing the Ainu culture from the cultures of earlier inhabitants in Hokkaido (Hanihara & Fujimoto [eds.] 1972: 246–253).

Although the major food source consisted of deer and salmon, bear hunting was one of the important subsistence activities. Besides the trading activities between mainland Japan and the eastern coast of Siberia which date back to the 1350s, several types of millet, such as the barnyard grass millet and foxtail millet, have also been cultivated at least since 1790 (Irimoto 1987: 6, 25).

The enactment of a law named the “Protection Law of the Former Natives (Aboriginals) in Hokkaido” (*Hokkaido Kyu-Dojin Hogoho*) by the Meiji government in 1899 marked the beginning of full-scale agriculture on land granted by the government. This led to a shift in subsistence activities from hunting, gathering, and fishing to agriculture. Since the introduction of salmon hatchery enterprises in Hokkaido by the government, salmon fishing in the river has been forbidden. Thus, the subsistence activities of the Ainu in Hokkaido have changed and are now indistinguishable from those of the Japanese.

Hokkaido Ainu society was structured into different levels of social groupings including the settlement group, the local group, the *shine itokpa* group (a group of people possessing the same mark of male ancestry), and the river group (Watanabe 1972: 10–17). The local group was a territorial unit and was socio-politically integrated. A local group consisted of one or several settlement groups brought together under a common headman. The local group participated collectively in certain rituals such as the chum salmon ceremony for the first catch. The *shine itokpa* group usually consisted of several local groups found next to each other along a shared river. Although the *shine itokpa* group had neither common leadership nor common territory, its members acted collectively only on the occasion of the bear ceremony, namely the sending-off ritual for the bear cub. The river group was an aggregation of all the local groups located along a river and appears to have observed collective rituals to prevent catastrophic natural phenomena. The Ainu bonds within these social groupings were strengthened through socio-political affairs and participation in different rituals.

It is distinctive that the Ainu in Hokkaido have kept a well-developed oral tradition consisting of songs and stories handed down over the years. These are exemplified by *kamui-yukar* (epic songs concerning nature deities), *oina* (epic songs which focus largely on the Ainu cultural hero Oina-kamui), *ainu-yukar* (epic songs relating to humans), *kamui-uwepeker* (prose stories about deities), and *ainu-uwepeker* (prose stories about humans). These stories and songs provide us with a lot of valuable information on Ainu cosmology: the concept of *kamui* [‘deity’ or ‘spirit’] and belief in *kamui*, which is essential to their religion (Yamada 1994: 2001).

The Concept of *Kamui* (Deity or Spirit)

Before moving on to describe the Ainu bear ceremonial, I will briefly refer to the Ainu concept of *kamui*. The Ainu have had an animistic idea in which divinity is recognized in nature most of all. In the Ainu language, *kamui* is the most important and common term referring to supernatural beings with spiritual power or divine nature, which can be translated as ‘deity’ or ‘spirit.’ It is pointed out that *kamui* is a general word whose linguistic similarity with the Japanese word *kami* has often been noted by scholars (cf. Kandaichi 1925: 284).

The names of *kamui* are mostly compound words which include the terms *kamui* [‘deity’], *kur* [‘man’], or *mat* [‘woman’]. Because the Ainu language is a polysynthetic language that frequently employs the compounding of root morphemes in order to form a single word, the names of *kamui* also comprise several lexemes. For example, the name *Nupurikorkamui* consists of three lexemes: the noun form *nupuri* meaning ‘a mountain,’ the verb form *kor* signifying ‘to own’ or ‘to rule,’ and the noun form *kamui*. The name thus indicates ‘a deity who rules the mountain’ as a whole. Another name, *Apekamui*, consists of two lexemes: the noun *ape* meaning ‘the fire’ and *kamui*, signifying a fire deity who is considered to be female. In this paper, Ainu words are transliterated by marking off into lexical units with Japanese translation: for example, *Nupurikorkamui* as *Nupuri-kor-kamui* [literally, ‘mountain-to rule-deity’] and *Kamuimoshir* as *Kamui-moshir* [literally, ‘deity-world’].

The concept of *kamui* includes a few *kamui* who have no incarnation in the real world, but most *kamui* are embodied in living beings, natural objects, or natural phenomena in the real world. *Nupuri-kor-kamui*, also referred to as *Kim-un-kamui* [literally, ‘mountain-living-deity’], for example, is embodied by the bear. *Atui-kor-kamui* [literally, ‘sea-to rule-deity’], also called *Rep-un-kamui* [literally, ‘offing-living-deity’], is embodied in the killer whale, while *Kotan-kor-kamui* [literally, ‘village/world-to rule-deity’] is represented by the Blakiston’s fish owl. It is characteristic in the Ainu conception of *kamui* that each *kamui* has an individual and separate relationship with humans by embodying itself into an animal or a plant (Yamada 2001: 191–192). The world of living beings is commonly referred to as *Ainu-moshir* [literally, ‘human-world’], while the supernatural world where deities or the dead reside is *Kamui-moshir*.

Ainu Bear Ceremonial

The bear ritual has two types. One is the “sending-off of the hunted bear,” which is performed after bear hunting in the mountains and is called *kamui-hopnire* [literally, ‘deity-to make going’]. The second type is the “send-

ing-off of the reared bear cub,” which is referred to simply as *i-omante* or as *kamui-i-omante* [‘deity-it-to make going back’]. The latter is performed in a village accompanied by the ceremonial killing of a bear cub which was captured alive and raised for one or two years in order to return the bear’s soul to his home world. This bear ceremonial includes a series of rituals involving the very start of the hunt, the preparation for the bear ceremony, and the bear ceremony as a farewell to the bear cub. The bear ceremony was the most important ritual occasion for the group and was generally performed for three days, even though the procedures of the ceremony varied slightly from region to region (Natori & Inukai 1939; Natori 1940; Irimoto, 2014).

The Bear Hunt

The Ainu hunted the bear using specific techniques: fixed automatic devices (spring bows) and/or hand bows with arrows tipped with poisons. Aconites were the most important materials for arrow poisons. Bear hunting was carried out generally in the spring and autumn. In the spring when the mountain snow became hard enough to walk on and the bear cubs had been born in the dens, the Ainu would hunt the bears in their hibernation dens with bow and arrows. As the mountain snow began to melt, the hunters started hunting bears by means of spring bows, which were set on their tracks. In the autumn, once the bears began to enter hibernation, spring bows were set on the tracks along the small valleys where foods for the bears were plentiful (Watanabe 1972: 38).

Hunting bears in hibernation dens occasionally resulted in hunters finding cubs if the bear was female. When the cubs taken were brought to the village, they were allotted for rearing amongst the members’ families, or taken on in one lot by the leader’s family. The bear cub was kept in a cage and carefully and dearly reared by a housewife as if hosting a deity, generally for about one year (from March or April till January or February of the next year) (Watanabe 1972: 74–75). The rearing of a cub marked the beginning of the bear ceremonial.

Preparation for the Bear Ceremony

A sending-off ritual for the bear cub generally took place in January or at latest in February before the spring bear hunting set in. However, some were carried out in late November or mid-December (Watanabe 1972: 75, 156). When the date was determined, one of the elders, who are generally called *ekashi* [literally, ‘an old man’], was chosen among the villagers to preside over the entire ritual. Women started making *sake* from barnyard millet about 10 days before the ceremony as well as cooking millet cakes (or dumplings called *shito*), dried salmon and sautéed vegetables, while men began to prepare ritual

implements which included a variety of *inau* (sacred offering sticks with special carvings) in order to arrange the altar (Irimoto 2014: 49–50).

The day before the ceremony is the day intended for preparing the bear cub for the sending-off ritual. Special prayers and libations were offered to the deities in the house as well as those enshrined on the altar for their protection so that the ceremony would be performed successfully.

The Bear Ceremony on the First Day. The Ritual Killing of the Bear Cub

The first day of the ceremony is the day when the bear cub was ritually killed. After appeasing the bear cub inside the cage by giving it prayers and libations, the bear was taken out from the cage and brought to the ceremonial open space by leading it with a stick containing a bunch of bamboo grass. Occasionally the bear was shot with decorated blunt arrows, which they called *hepere-ai* [‘cub arrow’] and it was finally led to a stake driven into the ground, to which the bear was tied securely.

Then, the bear was shot in its heart with real bamboo-headed arrows without arrow poison. While prayers were chanted by the elders to give the soul of the bear cub a chance to rest, the slain bear was dissected outside, near the altar. Men, women, and children engaged in various games including the imitation of the bear, a tug of war, catching scattered walnuts (which was considered to bring good luck), and dancing in the open space.

The whole carcass was skinned and the bear’s blood was put aside in a bowl and later drunk by attendants as divine medicine. After the bear was dissected, its head (with the hide still attached) was placed facing west at the altar, in front of which the elders sat and offered prayers and libations while drinking the sake that remained after being given to the bear. During the last part of prayers to the deities, a ritual in memory of the ancestors (*shinnurappa*) was held by each family who brewed sake. In principle, a ritual of *shinnurappa* cannot be the theme of the bear ceremony. However, it is characteristic of the Ainu that they add on such a ritual to the ceremony: they generally perform a *shinnurappa* ritual on every ritual occasion. The combination of *shinnurappa* with every ritual occasion indicates an Ainu idea that a ritual is an occasion in which not only deities, but also the deceased that have become *kamui*, gather together to communicate with the living humans (Yamada 1996: 61–62).

After this, the bear’s head was taken into the village chief’s house through the sacred window—which is like an entrance through which only deities enter into the house and is located on the innermost wall of a house facing *nusasan* (an altar)—and placed on the seat of the spirit. Next comes a “grand feast” or a drinking party, which was generally held all throughout the night until the morning on the second day. Men and women sang

and danced, while some recited epics. The Ainu believed that the soul of the bear as *kamui* did not depart for his parents in the world of deities on this night, but rather stayed on the head between his ears conversing with *Ape-kamui* who invited him, enjoying himself with Ainu prayers, offerings, songs, and dances. It is considered important for the Ainu to make the bear god feel reluctant to return to his home world.

On the Second Day. Sending-off of the Bear Deity

The feast continued on the second day, when sharing bear meat, decorating the bear skull, and sending off the bear spirit were performed (Irimoto 2014: 79–83). The decoration of the bear skull was an important rite to prepare the bear for his return to *Kamui-moshir*. It involved removing the skin, meat, and brain and adorning the bare head with wood shavings. The skull was also decorated with a sword if the bear was male and a necklace if it was female.

The decorated skull was placed facing west on the eastern side of the hearth in the house. After the master of the house that had reared the cub had chanted the prayers to send off its spirit, the skull was taken outside through the sacred window and placed facing west on the forked pole erected at the altar, and prayers and libations were offered. After the farewell prayers, the west-ward-facing forked pole with the bear skull was turned to face east—the direction in which *Kamui-moshir* was located. At the same time, the most beautifully decorated arrow was fired into the eastern sky to purify the path to the world of the deities. After the spirit had been sent off outside, a drinking party was held inside the house.

On the Third Day. A Day for a Small Feast

On the third day, a small feast was held at the village chief's house to make the deities aware that the bear ceremonial was successfully concluded, to thank them, and to pray for continued protection in the future. At the same time, millet cakes, fish, soup, and other dishes were served. Along with singing and dancing, heroic Ainu epics (*yukar*) were also narrated. If the master had an ominous dream in the following days and felt that the cub's spirit had not yet returned to his parents, he prayed first to *Ape-kamui*, and again to the hunting deity to ask her to help the cub return home and to protect him.

It needs to be noted here that *Nupuri-kor-kamui* is not the game owner in a strict sense, although the Ainu believe that the failure of *Nupuri-kor-kamui*'s visit signifies a future famine. *Nupuri-kor-kamui* is not, so to speak, a game owner who sends a bear to human beings, but rather an individual *Nupuri-kor-kamui* who willingly visits the human world, *Ainu-moshir*, of his own volition. Thus, the Ainu conceptualize that reciprocal exchanges exist between *Ainu-moshir* and *Kamui-moshir*, particularly between human

beings and deities (Irimoto 1988: 146–148; Yamada 1991: 348; Yamada 2001:40). Importantly, the relation between the two worlds is characterized by its complementary nature. It is significant for the concept of *kamui* that, based on the immediately aforementioned complementary reciprocity, *kamui* would keep contributing to the peace and order of the daily life of the Ainu, including hunting and fishing (Yamada 2001: 81–85). It is essential for the Ainu to maintain communication with deities symbolically and practically.

Therefore, *Nupuri-kor-kamui*, who was welcomed to visit the Ainu village as a cub, needed to be sent back to his world, *Kamui-moshir*. He needed to be killed by men in order to return to his world. In the Ainu bear ceremonial, the ritual killing of a bear cub is the most essential part of the ceremonial since it evokes the returning of the bear god to his world with gifts. The bear ceremonial is thus a configuration of ceremonies in which *Nupuri-kor-kamui* visits the human world, is raised for a while, and is then returned to the world of the deities, which represents the essential part of the Ainu idea on human-*kamui* relationships.

The Ainu Idea on the Relation between Humans and *Kamui*

In order to understand the Ainu ideological background behind hunting the sacred bear, in this section I will examine their ideas on the relation between humans and *kamui* as depicted in the Ainu oral tradition. The Ainu considered that *Ainu-moshir* and *Kamui-moshir* are not disconnected but rather communicate with each other. This idea was based on a reciprocal and complementary relationship (Yamada 2001: 10–11, 36–40). How then is the relation between humans and *kamui* reasoned to be reciprocal and complementary? The context of *kamui-yukars* clearly depicts the Ainu ideology in regard to this relation that is present even today and serves as their guiding principle for daily life. A *kamui-yukar* of *Nupuri-kor-kamui* recorded by Kubodera, aptly talks about the Ainu idea on the relation between *kamui* and human beings (Kubodera 1977: 67–71; Yamada 1994: 79–80).

This *kamui-yukar* narrates that *Nupuri-kor-kamui* makes a living in the realm of deities near the top of a sacred mountain with his family in the form of a human being and in the same manner as the human beings who live in *Ainu-moshir*. He sometimes feels like visiting *Ainu-moshir* and pays a visit from *Kamui-moshir* to *Ainu-moshir*, bringing a bear hide and meat as a gift (that is, taking the form of a bear). Thus, *Nupuri-kor-kamui*, dressed in a bear hide, visits the world of human beings. On the way, as he descends to *Ainu-moshir*, he meets the Aconite Deity and the Pine Resin Deity who convey an invitation message from *Ape-kamui*, the fire deity.

集合の男女あふふ
言ひまじし神のおま
ふ口をきりし衣
袴をき着し耳環
を新ひいしきりし
手かり新あしし祝
し神酒飲ゆり
ぬりあり

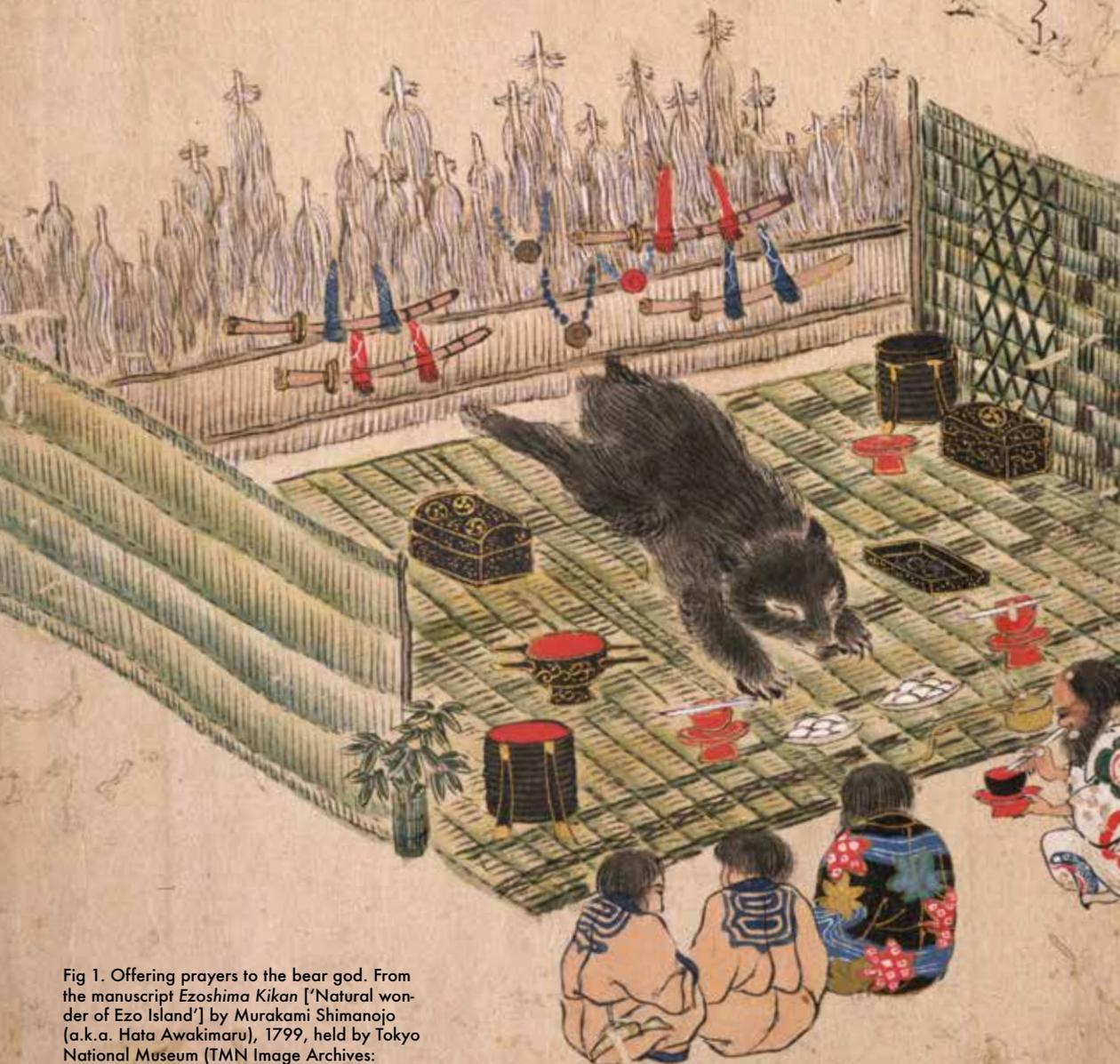


Fig 1. Offering prayers to the bear god. From the manuscript *Ezoshima Kikan* ['Natural wonder of Ezo Island'] by Murakami Shimanajo (a.k.a. Hata Awakimaru), 1799, held by Tokyo National Museum (TMN Image Archives: <http://TnmArchives.jp/>).

送飾トウシヨクしるす又シヤサシヤサカクカク幣代ヒイととかかりり大オホ刀タガ
 短ミジカ刀タガ玉タマ罫シトキ具ツグ外ソト令シ銀ギン饒ニギハヤヒるる若ニギハヤヒ後ノチ飾シヨク

ああままのの何ナニもも宝タカラももああまま

ああままのの何ナニももああまま

態カタをを中ナカ央ウチ小コ置オキ夷ヒ腋アキをを

著ツキささのの耳ミミ環ワタリ又また太オホ刀タガをを

若ニギハヤヒささのの酒サケ會カヒをを供ツケへへ

拜イハヒ神カミ孝コウをを小コ酒サケ長ナガ

そそのの者モノ祝イハヒ初ハツメのの日ヒ

我ワガ神カミ 至今シマウラ 為カモイニハスワ神カミ

今イマ日ヒ 送ヨミニテ兄ケイ 表ウラ言コト称ナヅケ神カミ日ヒ正マシ盖カサ

再マタ神カミ而シテ来キ 明アカシ年トシ

我ワガ日ヒ執ツク之ノ

女メ 年トシ



Another *kamui-yukar*, “The Song Sung by the Owl Deity Himself” in *Ainu Shinyo Shu*, the anthology of *kamui-yukar* by Yukie Chiri ([1923] 1976), depicts the same idea. The *yukar* narrates the very moment of hunting an owl, namely *Kotan-kor-kamui*, as follows: “The small arrow flew beautifully towards me. So, I stretched out my hand and caught the small arrow. Twirling, I swiftly descended.” Here again, it is indicated that a successful hunt is achieved only by the will of the animal being hunted. It further narrates that the hunted *Kotan-kor-kamui* is well entertained by human beings, returns to *Kamui-moshir* taking *inau* and sake as gifts, and there invites other deities to a drinking party.

Again, a prose story about the heartleaf lily (*Lilium cordatum*), whose bulb was the most important of foods, tells how the Creator, *Kotan-kar-kamui* [literally, ‘world-creating-deity’] created the heartleaf lily as an edible herb for human beings and that *Turep-kamui* [literally, ‘the heartleaf lily-deity’] can return to the divine world only after being eaten by humans. The Heartleaf Lily Goddess visits villages trying to teach human beings to use this bulb as food. Finally, she succeeds in making a person eat *ratashikep* (a kind of stew) with the bulb of the heartleaf lily at a house in Urashibetsu village, and says the following in a dream of the villager:

Because a person like you with a good mind has eaten my flesh, I can go back to the world of deities. [...] A long time ago, when *Kotan-kar-kamui* created *Ainu-moshir*, he created the country, herbs, and human beings, and then, thinking that there must be food, he created an edible herb: the heartleaf lily. *Kotan-kar-kamui* also created the fish in rivers and the deer, bears, and various animals on the mountains. He taught the Ainu how to catch and eat these animals, and then went back to the world of deities.

[...] I grow in this country to be eaten by the Ainu, but they will not do so and I am left only to decay, so I cannot go back to the world of deities. (From “Kasabuta no Megami” [“The scab goddess”], see Kayano 1977: 95–96; Yamada 2001:114–115)

As these three stories show, the Ainu believe that *kamui* live in the form of human beings in their own world *Kamui-moshir* and that they dress in their specific costumes when they visit the *Ainu-moshir*. Plants and animals in this world are regarded as temporary forms of the *kamui* which are endowed to humans by deities themselves as gifts. Kindaichi ([1936] 1949: 346) states that the *kamui* who came down to *Ainu-moshir* can return happily to *Kamui-moshir* only by willingly being eaten and being respected.

Importantly, the epic illustrates the Ainu idea that a successful bear hunt, which is the starting point of contact between humans and *kamui*, is

made possible by *Nupuri-kor-kamui*'s unquestionable will to accept an invitation from *Ape-kamui*. It also shows that after *Nupuri-kor-kamui* has been hunted down by Ainu hunters, he is well entertained, leaving a bear hide, and returns back to the world of *kamui* again after receiving gifts such as *inau*, sake, and rice cake offerings that he cannot get in his world. The Ainu explain that *Nupuri-kor-kamui* visits *Ainu-moshir* desiring for *inau* and sake made by humans.

Thus, the Ainu consider the relation between humans and *kamui* to be one of complementary reciprocity. Backed by an idea of a complementary reciprocal relation between humans and *kamui*, it is considered essential for the Ainu to perform rituals in connection with all forms of sending-off, irrespective of whether they involve animate or inanimate beings.

At every Ainu ritual, prayer offerings to the *kamui* are performed at *nusasan* outside the house opposite the sacred window where a cluster of *nus* (*inau* tied up to a pole), each symbolizing a *kamui*, is set up like a fence. It is indispensable for the Ainu to renew *nusasan* with new *nusas* and to brew sake at every ritual ceremony, since both were considered the most important and essential offerings to *kamui*. Since the Ainu consider *Ape-kamui* to play a mediating role between deities and humans, they always offer prayers first to *Ape-kamui* residing inside the house to ask her for mediation. Next, the prayers and sake are offered for each *kamui* enshrined in *nusasan*. Thus, each ritual is an occasion to symbolically represent the complementary reciprocal relationship between humans and *kamui*.

Discussion. Sending-off Rituals and the Bear Ceremonial

The sending-off ritual of the Ainu has two types: one for inanimate objects, such as boats or tools, which is called *i-wakute* [literally, 'it-to make returning back'] and the other for hunted animals which is generally called *i-omante* [literally, 'it-to make going back']. The most grand and splendid occasions among *i-omante* rituals are the ceremonies for the bear and for the Blakiston's fish owl.

As stated in the introduction, the sending-off ritual for game is one of the common characteristics among northern hunters and gatherers. Moreover, among northern hunters the relation between man and game animals is often described as a game animal sacrificing itself to be hunted, which Henry S. Sharp describes as an "inverted sacrifice" among the Chipewyan of north-central Canada (Sharp 1994: 264–265).

As described in the previous section, the Ainu also have the same idea as the Chipewyan. The bear can be hunted by the Ainu only when it, as

a *kamui*, willingly sacrifices itself. Although the hunting behavior in itself requires special techniques and procedures, the Ainu consider hunting behavior not simply a technical matter, but rather a means of communication with *kamui* by receiving its consent. Accordingly, the bear hunt is a means to open communication with *kamui*. It is a responsibility for the Ainu to make this communication as good as possible by respecting the *kamui* and its willingness to be welcomed, entertained, and sent off to *Kamui-moshir*. The bear ceremonial is one of the rituals that represents the way which enables the Ainu to communicate with *kamui* in order to gain future successful hunting, gathering, and fishing. Thus, as long as the Ainu observes the right way to respect *kamui*, they can “hunt” the sacred bear.

Concluding Remarks

I remember an answer, when I asked a Khanty about bear hunting: “Why do you hunt the bear even though you worship the bear as spirit?” The answer was: “We hunt the bear when it appears near the reindeer herd. It is a sign of consent from the bear to be hunted.” The Khanty consider the appearance of the bear near their camp to be a most dangerous sign that makes their reindeer disperse. A Khanty gave me a more ecologically reasonable explanation for hunting the sacred bear. In contrast, although the Ainu also have an ecological reason to hunt the bear, their logic for hunting the bear as *kamui* is more encompassed by their idea on keeping the complementary and reciprocal relationship between humans and *kamui* in the context of their animistic world view.

Based on their animistic world view, the Ainu regarded each bear individually as the embodiment of a *Nupuri-kor-kamui*, or simply a *Kim-un-kamui* in *Ainu-moshir*. In other words, each bear represents a bear deity’s visit to *Ainu-moshir*. As stated in previous sections, bear hunting is a point of contact in which the Ainu directly meet with a bear deity. Bears’ receiving of an invitation from *Ape-kamui* is conceptualized as bringing the Ainu the success of hunting. Accordingly, the bear hunt is ideally an occasion when the Ainu can receive the consent of the bear god to be hunted in order to return back to his world. On the basis of this conceptualization, the Ainu can hunt the bear as *kamui*. Then, the bear ceremonial is needed to assure communication between a bear god and humans that symbolizes the complementary and reciprocal relationship between humans and *kamui*, which makes the Ainu recall this relationship between humans and nature as well.

It should be noted here that the Ainu bear ceremonial has undergone changes over the years. The bear ceremony that is commonly known in Japanese as *kuma matsuri* [‘bear festival’] was seriously criticized during the 1950s by Japanese animal rights activists for its barbarism because of the killing of

a live bear cub at its climax. Responding to the activists' claims, Hokkaido local government issued an administrative notification in 1955 on the ban of the bear ceremony involving killing the bear cub. Since then, even though the Ainu occasionally perform the bear ceremony, they perform it with an already dead bear. The very significant meaning of the killing of a bear cub has become lost in contemporary bear festivals.

During the cultural revitalization movements in the 1990s, the first salmon ceremony has become positioned as the main target for cultural revitalization. The bear ceremony no more plays a publicly significant role as the symbol of their traditional culture.

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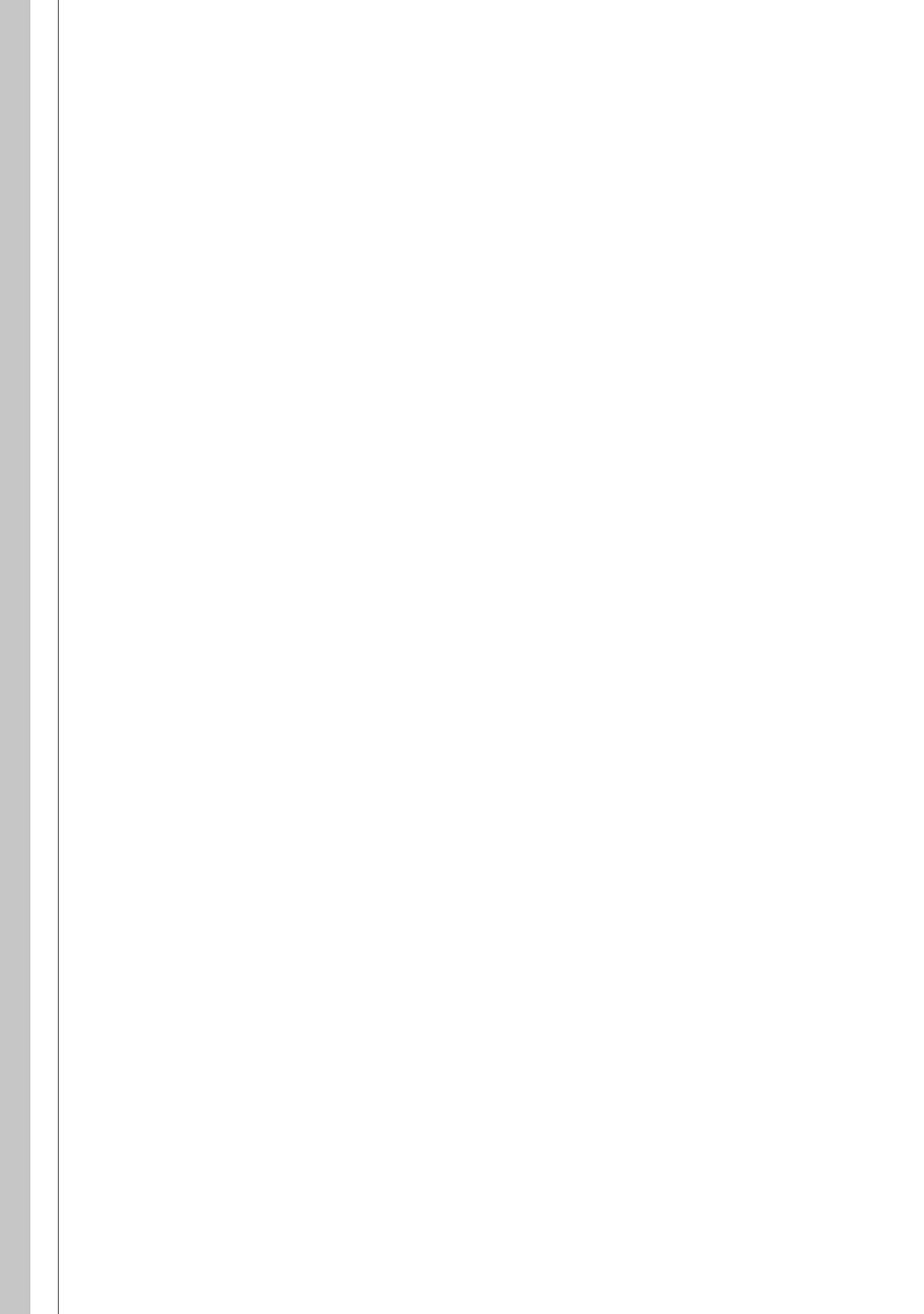
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VELI-PEKKA LEHTOLA

“The Soul Should Have Been Brought along”

The Settlement of Skolt Sami to Inari
in 1945–1949

ABSTRACT In the autumn of 1944, five hundred Skolt Sami were forced to leave their home region in the Pechenga (Petsamo) area together with other inhabitants. After the war, their fate was discussed by Finnish officials and in the media. The question was whether they should be returned to the Soviet Union or relocated to Finland. This article describes the five-year-long process to relocate the Skolt Sami to the Inari region. Following a recommendation by Håkan Rydving to focus studies on Sami agency, in addition to non-Sami actors whose role is usually emphasised, the aim of this article is to identify key actors who made crucial choices in the relocation process. In addition to the Finnish “Skolt friend” Karl Nickul, the Skolt Sami meetings and Jaakko Sverloff, the trustee of the Skolts, appear to have had important roles in key decisions, for example regarding the expansion of the Skolt area from Nellim to Sevettijärvi, the role of the winter village and the choice of settlements along the waterways.

KEYWORDS Skolt Sami, Second World War, evacuation of the Sami, reconstruction period, relocation of the Skolt Sami

In September 1944, Finland was in turmoil. Two wars against the Soviet Union had resulted in a peace process where Finland was forced to cede large areas to its neighbouring state. Nearly half a million Finnish-speaking Karelians had to leave their home regions forever. The inhabitants of Finnish Lapland were also evacuated from the war zone between the Finns and the retreating Germans, but most of them could later return to their home districts. It was only the populations from the Pechenga and Salla areas that had to be relocated. The Lapland War between German forces and the Finnish army, which started in the autumn of 1944, also resulted in five hundred Skolt Sami (*Sä'mmlaž*) having to leave their home region. After the war, they were relocated in the Inari region together with many other Pechenga refugees (see Holsti 1990; Lehtola 1994: 170–188; Nyysönen 1999; Lehtola 2000b: 110–123; for a Skolt Sami documentary, see Sverloff 2003).

In the public debate about their post-war resettlement, the Skolts were placed in a kind of Sami-related "victim discourse." Statements such as "the swan song of a disappearing people" and "the village of a vanishing tribe" (e.g. *Lapin Kansa* 18–25 Sept. 1958; see Lehtola 2012: 388–401) contributed to painting a bleak picture of the Skolts as a people without hope of a future. As a counterbalance, Finnish civil servants and the administrative system have been criticised for procrastination as the relocation took three years to complete. They have been suspected of attempts to Fennicise the Skolts when planning the relocation, as well as of having had intentions to send the Skolts back to the Soviet Union in order to get rid of "the hot potato" (Nevakivi 1991; *Lapin Kansa* 24 Sept. 1958).

Instead of seeing the Skolt Sami as victims of a faceless Finnish bureaucracy, my article tries to show that there was a lively discussion on the Skolt Sami issue after the war, with diverse opinions and positions both among the Finnish participants in the discussion and the Skolt Sami themselves. My article attempts to identify different actors in different positions. Considering the Sami histories in general, it seems to be a simplification to assume that the only parties to the Sami-Finnish or the minority-majority encounters were the state administrators "in the south" and the Sami as a united group "in the north." Instead, there seems to have been a network of multilevel actors at micro and macro levels and mediators and middlemen in different positions, both on the Sami and the Finnish side (see Lehtola 2012: 19–20).

However, as pointed out by Håkan Rydving (2010: 259; cf. Rydving 1995: 69–92), there has been a convention among researchers to present the majority people as actors and agents of the Sami history, while the Sami themselves have been considered passive recipients, if they have been at all recognised. This seems to be the case also for the Skolt Sami histories during

the wartime and the reconstruction period. This is unfortunate, as previous research and public sources have confirmed that the Skolt Sami have been conscious, self-governing actors through the centuries, which is most clearly expressed in historical documents in the Gramota archive on the Skolt rights secured by the Russian czar as early as the seventeenth century. These documents were repatriated to the Sami Archive in Inari by the National Archive of Finland in 2012 (Gramota 2017).

In addition to identifying key persons in the Finnish discussion and administration and their conceptions of, and attitudes to, the Skolt issue, I also try to discern the voice of the Skolt Sami in the contemporary wartime documents and clarify how they experienced the events and whether their opinions were considered at the post-war period; this instead of taking into account later opinions and interviews (see Mazzullo 2017). This is especially problematic for reasons pointed out by Rydving, for example that no coherent collection of documents of the Sami Village Council(s) was available until the 1970s, when Matti Sverloff started to archive them more consistently.

When the Pechenga (Petsamo) area was annexed to Finland in 1920, the Skolt Sami Village Council of Suõ'njel continued to have meetings. They were adapted to form a body of the Finnish administration, the bailiff of Pechenga being the Finnish contact person. Thus, the documents of the Village Council are only sporadically found in the archives of Finnish authorities, to whom the Skolt issue was quite marginal, although they were treated as a united group. During the wartime years, Skolt affairs were handled by several different ministries and national and regional public servants, before they were finally made the responsibility of the Agricultural Association of Lapland (Lehtola 2012: 388–401).

Thus, the minutes of the Skolt Sami Village Council have been the most direct contemporary documents to capture the Skolt Sami's intentions in the wartime years. The Council was led by the village elder of Suõ'njel *sijdd*, Jaakko Sverloff, who became a notable spokesman for the Skolts. His own voice appears directly in his letters to Karl Nickul, the Finnish secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Sami Culture, a Finnish organisation on Sami issues. Sverloff and Nickul made an effective team in the Sami-Finnish encounters, with Sverloff influencing inside the Skolt community in issues that Nickul contributed to in the Finnish society (Lehtola 2005: 155–160).

“Content and Starving ...”

The Skolt Sami belong to the eastern Sami language group, which has inhabited an area covering the entire Kola Peninsula to the shores of Lake

Inari (*Aanarjäu'rr* in Skolt Sami). Today, Skolt Sami is one of three Sami languages in Finland besides Inari Sami and North Sami (Linkola & Sammallahti 1995: 38–42). The fate, and even the tragedy, of the eastern Sami has been that they lived in an economically and politically contested region, which has been an apple of discord among superpowers for centuries (Tanner 1929; Nickul 1970: 17–88; Alavuotunki 1999: 35–58; Lehtola 1999: 149–170; Niemi 1999).

In the treaty of Tartu signed in 1920, Finland acquired the Pechenga region and three accompanying Skolt *sijdds* or Sami villages, namely the Paččjokk (*Paatsjoki* in Finnish), Peäccam (*Petsamonkylä*) and Suõ'nnjel (*Suonikylä*) communities. As Skolt interests were not considered when the Tartu borderline was drawn, the national frontier between the Soviet Union and Finland divided "the Skolt land" harshly in two. Suõ'nnjel lost a fourth of the village area to the Soviet side, including the old winter village, which was the centre of the community. After the demarcation, Skolts chose their nationality based on which country their traditional family areas were located in. Some stayed in the Soviet Union or, rather, returned there, while many remained on the Finnish side (Tanner 1929: 208; Nickul 1970: 33, 211; Linkola & Sammallahti 1995: 51).

During the Finnish rule, traditional *sijdds* fell into a crisis, especially in the case of the Paččjokk and Peäccam Skolts, who, in accordance with social-Darwinist conceptions, were categorised as "an inferior race" dying under the wheels of progress (see Lehtola 1999: 157). Suõ'nnjel villagers, on the other hand, managed to negotiate quite significant reforms with Finnish civil servants, for example, the building of a new winter village with funding from the Finnish state. In the 1930s, there was even a proposal to make Suõ'nnjel a conservation area of Skolt culture where settlement would be prohibited.¹

The Skolt region again became a battlefield of world politics in the Second World War. Skolt men were conscripted, and it has been considered possible that, on the Pechenga front in the Winter War, Finnish Skolts were fighting against their own eastern Sami kinsmen serving in the so-called reindeer brigades in the Soviet troops (see Lehtola 1994: 31, 51, 67–69). During the Winter War, the Skolt area became an arena of war and some Skolt groups were evacuated as early as then (Nickul 1946: 3; Nickul 1956: 89–90).

When the Lapland War against the Germans started in September 1944, the Skolts lost their reindeer, their dwellings as well as their entire home area. The armistice between Finland and the Soviet Union required that Finland should expel the Germans within two weeks. That was impossible in practice and meant war with the German army, which was retreating to the north to its stronghold in northern Norway. The first safe relocation area to the south of the front line on the latitude of Oulu-Kuusamo was

Central Ostrobothnia. Although the Lapland War was mostly over by the end of the year, the Germans had mined the whole of Lapland, which made returning impossible throughout the winter.²

The Skolts were moved to the Kalajoki region, over 600 kilometres from their home areas. The inflow of thousands of new inhabitants resulted in constant problems with dwelling conditions and food supplies in the region (for information on the evacuation period, see Sverloff 2003: 132–133). Apart from epidemics and failing health among the Skolts, authorities noted that they were in actual distress in Kalajoki:

Moving quickly to a completely new and strange nature and all the worries this entailed have led to mental depression, which would be best relieved by providing suitable work, hunting, etc.

The situation was complicated by the fact that the local population viewed the Orthodox people and *ruskies*, who had lived in semi-nomadic conditions, with suspicion.³

During the winter, the lack of food supplies even resulted in a crisis—at least in the eyes of authorities. In an alarming report, an inspector who had returned from a visit to the Skolts stated that it was his impression “that they are actually starving” (underlining by the inspector). The Skolts themselves, however, were apparently less worried about the situation, because the inspector noted in his official report that: “It is disturbing to see starving people being so content.”⁴

“A Good Master is Best of All”

In the autumn of 1944, the authorities seem to have dealt with the Skolt issue as part of the process of settling the other Pechenga people. The issue of a small minority population was very marginal in post-war Finland. Karl Nickul, the secretary of the Finnish Society for the Promotion of Sami Culture (*Lapin Sivistyseura*), was the only one who voiced his concerns in Finnish media in order to highlight the problem. In several letters in national newspapers and in statements to authorities in the winter of 1944–1945, Nickul emphasised that Skolt Sami deserved special attention.

Despite their small numbers, Nickul argued, they had occupied almost half of the Pechenga area and they constituted the original population of that area. Furthermore, they represented a unique way of life, both in Finland and in the whole world. The foremost task for the authorities, according to Nickul, was to settle the Skolt population as an entity and not scatter them among the other Pechenga people. He also emphasised that the most important thing in the Skolt settlement process was the Skolts’ own opinions.

A contradictory claim by Nickul concerned the question of whether the Skolt Sami should be returned to the Soviet Union or be relocated in Finland. The older Skolt Sami wished to return to the Soviet Union, and their devoted friend, Karl Nickul, openly supported this opinion. Even the minister of the interior, Kaarlo Hillilä, concluded in a memorandum in January 1945 that "a relocation place suitable for their customary ways of life cannot be found on Finnish territory." As "an ethnologically unique population group," the Skolts had to be returned to their old dwelling places in the Soviet Union, which required an agreement with the Russians.⁵

Historian Jukka Nevakivi (1991) considered the returning of the Skolt Sami to the Soviet Union "an exceptionally radical idea," which reflected something other than a realistic evaluation: "As a former reconnaissance man, was he not aware of Stalin's way of dealing with indigenous peoples?" Nevakivi concludes that the proposal was an attempt to get rid of "a hot potato," i.e. to resolve the Skolt resettlement problem in the easiest possible way.

Having visited evacuated Skolts on several occasions, Nickul had become convinced that they wanted to return to their home area. In his letters to Nickul, Jaakko Sverloff, trustee of the Skolts, also expressed the elder generation's heartfelt wish to return to their home lakes. Nickul also knew from recent history that their family areas meant more to Skolts than belonging to a particular state. He knew that the Skolts had chosen their state of residence based solely on the location of their family areas in the Tartu peace treaty: "The attitude of the Skolts [...] does not stem from any politics. To them, it is simply a matter of life's fundament and the traditions of their home area."⁶

During the winter, however, a new situation emerged among the Skolts when Skolt soldiers returned to the evacuation localities. They took a stand against moving back to the Soviet Union. The thought of returning to the country of their former enemy was abhorrent to these young men who had developed a bond with Finland over the past 24 years and fought side by side with Finns. To avoid disintegration of their next of kin and families, the old Skolt Sami ended up agreeing with the young men's opinion (Nickul 1945).

Young Skolt men did not wait for new proposals regarding relocation places, but set off in March–April 1945 to prepare a temporary Skolt settlement along the Pechenga road (Sverloff 2003: 133–135). Matti Sverloff, son of Kiurel, the former village elder of Suõ'nnjel, wrote to Nickul from Lutto and explained the view of the young men:

Of course, it would be favourable also for us to go back to our native place, but naturally Finland has been our best master and will perhaps remain so. It is clear, however, that many will criticise this view, especially the future generations. One's birthplace is precious to everyone, but a good master is best of all, better than being in a place whose heart you don't know.⁷

The so-called Pechenga Committee, founded by the Ministry of Agriculture to deal with issues which also included the settlement of the Skolts, came to the same conclusion at the end of March. All Skolts were to be settled on the Finnish side in Lutto (Luttojoki) or the so-called *Njeä'llem* (*Nellim*) area. Thus, the starting point of the committee was to keep the Skolt population together as one group. Separate decrees would guarantee their exclusive fishing rights. Similarly, their reindeer herding area would be negotiated with local reindeer-grazing associations.⁸

The Skolt meeting in January 1946 expressed its satisfaction with the area of Njeä'llem.⁹ In other quarters, however, the proposal was not received with favour. The Lapland Reindeer Grazing Association to the south of Lake Inari, for example, did not welcome the Skolt reindeer herders to their territory, and the National Board of Forestry stated that the fishing potential in the area was poorer than on the Russian side, and that local inhabitants should be allowed to retain their free fishing and hunting rights.¹⁰

Nevakivi (1991) described the most critical statements: “The gentlemen of the forestry board worried about their fish hauls, and those of the reindeer grazing association did not want to give up their lichen lands.” The Administrative Committee of the Inari municipality stated that it did not want the Skolts in the area because they would be “a burden,” since they “will need social welfare for a long time.”

“Poor We Walk this Strange Path”

The mass transfers of Skolts from Ostrobothnia to Lapland started in late summer of 1945, from mid-August to mid-September. By the end of November, more than half of the Skolts, 262 people, had been moved to the Inari municipality area.¹¹ Almost all were Suõ'nnjel villagers, who seem to have received priority in the authorities' plans. This priority of the Suõ'nnjel inhabitants compared to “other Skolts” had old grounds in the actions of Finnish authorities. Already in the Pechenga era, the premise was to give special protection to the interests of Suõ'nnjel, while the other Skolt groups—the “roadside Skolts” (see Lehtola 2000a: 49–52)—were considered Fennicised or alienated from their traditions (see Lehtola 1999: 157).

The situation manifested itself after the war in a memorandum by Minister of the Interior Kaarlo Hillilä in which, in the words of Jukka Nevakivi, he “harshly” divided the Skolt Sami into two groups. In his opinion, the fishermen Skolts of Paččjokk were “degenerated” people who had supported themselves partly by begging, partly by fishing. Suõ'nnjel Skolts, on the other hand, were skilled reindeer owners, who had usually been well off.¹²

This division caused criticism among other Skolts and civil servants. The Skolt meeting at the Kalajoki town hall in December noted that the

final relocation place of Skolts other than the Suõ'nnjel villagers had not been planned at all. They, too, wanted to be relocated to the Inari region, mostly to the roadsides, where it would be possible to fish and herd reindeer, but also to work for wages. The opinion of the Skolts was that each Skolt tribe should be kept together.¹³

The Skolts settled on the lakeshores of Nangujärvi, Tsarmijärvi and other large lakes. The conditions were hard in many ways. Their reindeer, pastures and fishing waters had been left on the other side of the border. The area of Suõ'nnjel alone had been 4,800 square kilometres, which included excellent lichen terrain as well as fine fishing waters. There were not much fish in the small lakes in the new area and initially there were hardly any fishing equipment. Moderately good lichen lands were not very useful, as their reindeer had been lost.

Matti Fofonoff from Matsašjärvi reminisced wistfully about the 900 reindeer which Onttas Fofonoff's heirs had still had the previous winter: "That was wealth," he mourned, "poor we walk this strange path now, landless, houseless, reindeerless. Not even nets to start fishing again and begin a new life" (*Lapin Kansa* 17 Oct. 1945). Anni Feodoroff later described their life in the first few years:

Some of us settled in Njeällem, some in the surroundings of Luttojoki. We stayed in Nangujärvi where a few barracks had remained standing. People started to turn them into houses. That was quite a job. Everything had to be started from scratch, nothing was available ready-made. If we were lucky, we could get thread from the shop to make nets and seines. Men made boats, sledges, pulks, reindeer collars and straps. There were no reindeer. The Society for the Promotion of Sami Culture, for example, bought reindeer from other herders and distributed them to families; a big family got more reindeer, a small one fewer. Some Sami also bought reindeer themselves. So the number of reindeer began to rise gradually. (Semenoja 1992: 54)

As the description illustrates, the Skolts were not entirely at the mercy of circumstances and helpless in the new situation, as sometimes believed. Directly after their arrival, they had started building cabins and sheds in the wilderness as summer dwellings in the traditional manner. They sought to make their life in the new dwelling area similar to what it had been in the Pechenga era. However, establishing a permanent settlement there was not possible as long as there was no decision on their final dwelling area.

From the start, the lack of space and insufficient natural resources in the Luttojoki area raised criticism among the Skolts as well as in the media. It was out of the question that the Skolts would be able to return to their old social system and semi-nomadic seasonal migration, as the elder gener-

ation and Nickul had hoped. The Pechenga committee had suggested that a winter village should not be built in the area, and the area was also found to be too small for reindeer husbandry.¹⁴

New Possibilities

For a long time, there seem to have been only two options in the Skolt settlement issue: either accept the Lutto area or return to the other side of the border. However, in autumn 1945, the provincial government of Lapland proposed a third possibility, namely settling the Suõ'nnjel people to the north and northeast side of Lake Inari. This location was better than the Njeä'llem area as regards fishing and reindeer husbandry. As a protected forest area, it was also protected from disturbance caused by forest felling.¹⁵

It may seem surprising that the Skolts, in their village meeting in January 1946, dismissed the proposal to expand the area. They felt that they had lost traditional "vocational possibilities" and become dependent on waged labour. The meeting concluded that the conditions for both fishing and reindeer husbandry were adequate in the Njeä'llem area. Travel was difficult on the north side of the lake as there were no reindeer, boats or motor vehicles available.¹⁶

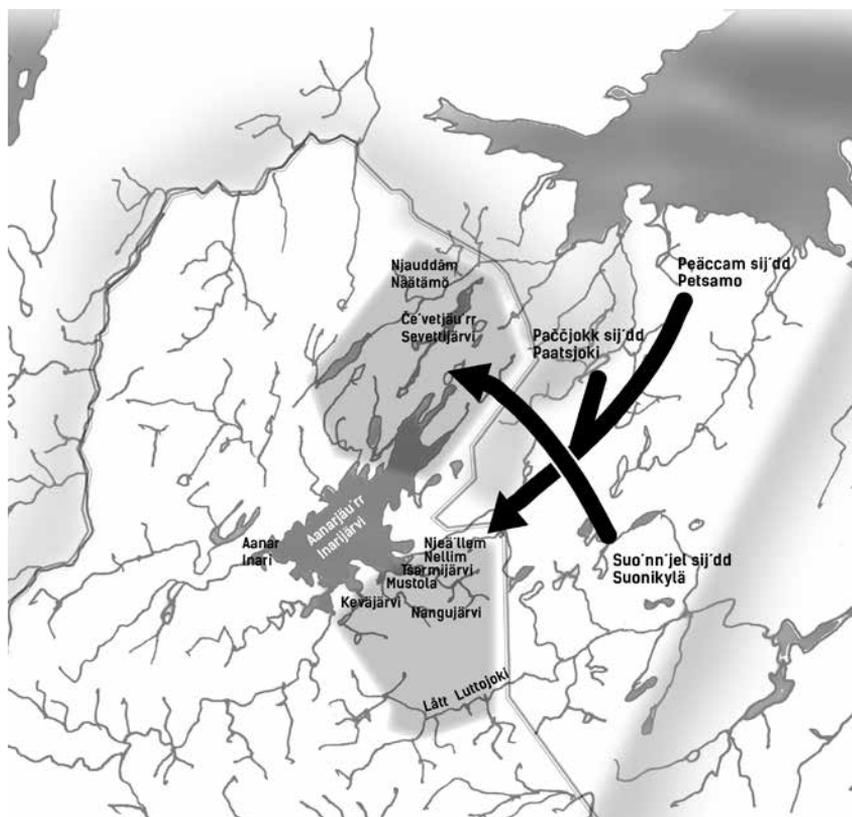
It is possible that the Skolts were tired of the constant uncertainty and moving they had experienced. As many had already built small dwellings in the Njeä'llem area, another move seemed wearisome. Another interpretation is that the Skolts were not yet aware of how small the area really was. Only about half of the Skolt population had been returned by the end of 1945. Therefore, the Skolt meeting in January consisted solely of Suõ'nnjel people. The other Skolts were relocated to the Njeä'llem area during 1946. There were a hundred households there, about five hundred people.¹⁷

In July 1946, representatives of the Suõ'nnjel and Paččjokk Skolts had a meeting with agronomist Pauli Sipilä from the Lapland Agricultural Society. At the meeting, the Skolts concluded that the area was insufficient for their needs. Thus, the basis for the decision they had made at the beginning of the year had changed. The Agricultural Society conveyed the message to the government the same autumn: "the area designated by the government does not guarantee sustenance to all Skolt Lapps pursuing their earlier livelihoods."¹⁸

After negotiating with Jaakko Sverloff, Nickul and Sipilä visited Helsinki in the autumn to make it clear to Minister Lauri Kaijalainen that the area designated by the government could not sustain the Skolts. However, the minister's curt reply was that the Skolts should be content with the area.¹⁹ To relieve the difficult situation of the Skolts, the Society for the Promotion of Sami Culture and its secretary Nickul organised an internation-

al fundraiser to raise money for reindeer and fishing equipment with help of many international organisations. Swiss author Robert Crottet took the fundraising activity to England where he founded a relief committee called the *Scolt Lapp Relief Fund*. A fundraiser for the building of a new winter village produced a total of four million Finnish marks.²⁰

With state appropriations and contributions from various organisations, the Skolts managed to acquire over 1,500 reindeer and enough fishing equipment to make their situation satisfactory in the following years. However, the reindeer and fishing equipment, which were handed out for free, caused envy among other Inari people who thought that the Skolts were rich enough even without the contributions. Thus, they were seen as "fatlings" who took advantage of others.²¹



Map 1. The relocation of the Skolt Sami from Pechenga area to the Inari region after the Second World War, in 1945-1949. The Skolt villages were resettled as their own entities: Suon'nnjel sij'dd to northern Inari around the Ce'vetjäu'rr area, Paččjokk and Peäccam communities to the Njeä'llem region south of the Inari Lake.

“There Was a Lot of Snow, Sheep Were Bleating ...”

The Skolts had a village meeting in June 1947 to discuss an alternative to moving to the Lutto area. The meeting selected six men to form an expedition aimed at investigating the fishing waters and meadows to the north of Lake Inari. In addition to three Skolts, the expedition included a representative from the Lapland Agricultural Society. The Iijärvi region turned out to be too sparsely forested. The area between Če'vetjäu'rr (Sevettijärvi) and Lake Inari, on the other hand, seemed large enough, and offered better possibilities for reindeer husbandry (Sverloff 2003: 134).

The Skolt members of the expedition reported these results to their kinsmen “in the Suõ'nnjel language” at the end of July in 1947, claiming that the northern side would offer much better living conditions, once the transportation problems had been solved.²² The region was already familiar to the men as they had herded Suõ'nnjel reindeer there during the Winter War (see e.g. Sverloff 1982; Sverloff 2003: 126–131). The area, officially called the Njauddâm (Näätämö) area, was already inhabited by about ten Inari and Utsjoki Sami households as well as some Finnish families, fewer than a hundred people in all. The principle was that their interests should not be violated. The area was a natural alternative to the Skolts also historically. It had once been an autumn fishing area of the westernmost Skolt village of Njauddâm which the Skolts had to give up in the 1826 demarcation, and in practice even earlier.

When the results of the expedition became clear, Settlement Committee Chairman Sipilä of the Agricultural Society drew up a memorandum in which he proposed the Njauddâm area to the northwest of Lake Inari as the second settlement for the Skolt Sami. The Njauddâm area was meant for the Suõ'nnjel Skolts, whose main livelihoods were reindeer husbandry and fishing. The number of settlers was 230, or some 60 households. The report stated:

The other Pechenga Skolts, who [...] have already become accustomed to waged labour and who have already lived near other settlements separate from the Suõ'nnjel Skolts, are to be located to the Lutto area.

220 settlers, or some 65 households, were assigned to the latter area.²³

The Sipilä committee concluded that a winter village would not be built; the settlement would be placed “according to reindeer husbandry and fishing requirements in family units in scattered settlements, as the Skolts themselves are proposing.” In autumn 1947, Sverloff travelled to Helsinki, where he and Nickul tried to get the authorities' support for the new plan. The Society for the Promotion of Sami Culture appealed to the Ministry of

Agriculture. In October 1947, the government approved the proposal to attach the Njauddâm area to the previous Skolt area, which more than doubled its size.²⁴

Construction of the winter village started at the beginning of 1948. Nickul wrote from Če'vetjäu'rr in February: "The mood here is quite different now than in previous years. The new village is on everybody's mind." Many of the houses were ready to move into even before the winter. Administrators offered motorboat transportation in the autumn, but the Skolts said it was better to move in winter conditions.²⁵

Moving the Suõ'nnjel people to their final dwelling place started in March–April 1949. All of Če'vetjäu'rr was completely inaccessible by motor road, and therefore men with horses transported the people and their belongings from Nangujärvi and along the Lutto River to Akujärvi. Some of the Skolts and their reindeer came direct across Lake Inari to Če'vetjäu'rr, while others were transported on lorries around the lake near Kaamanen, where the journey continued by reindeer to the destination (Sverloff 2003: 135–136). "There was a lot of snow, sheep were bleating in the sleds, babies were crying in the cradles," describes Skolt author Kati-Claudia Fofonoff (1988).

In itself, moving was nothing new or special to the Skolts, because it resembled their normal spring migrations in their Suõ'nnjel era. The destination, however, was a completely unknown region. Six families did not move from the Njeä'llem area, mostly because they were too exhausted to move again. Vassi Semenoja and Helena Semenoff have described poetically in their *leu'dds*, or Skolt Sami epic yoiks, how it felt to lose their home region and come to live in a completely new environment:

The sun sets in the west / from the east the sun rises / it reminds us
of our former beloved birthplace. [...] We were torn from our roots, /
brought in a blizzard over Lake Inari. / There were no cars or dirt roads.
/ We were brought near the lakeshore / in the middle of the coldest
winter planted to grow again like saplings, / but the roots remained in
our former native place. (*Moošt Sue'nnjlest* 1979; Semenoja 1992: 55)

The Skolt settlement in the Njauddâm area, consisting of a total of 267 people at the beginning of the 1950s, was located in a zone more than 50 kilometres long, from the Nitsijärvi village to Kirakkajärvi. The new inhabitants of the Njauddâm area began to be called *Če'vetjäu'rr Skolts* after the central settlement. The dwellings as well as a chapel were built with state funds. The municipality of Inari ordered the construction of an elementary school, a dormitory and a health clinic with support from the state.²⁶

Researcher Päivi Holsti later observed, to her own surprise, that the family still played an important role when it came to choosing the dwelling

place, as it had in Pechenga. The Skolts chose their dwelling places along the waterways. According to Holsti, settling down enabled certain changes in livelihoods, such as potato growing and cattle farming, which had been impossible during the migratory life. The lack of a winter village weakened the community spirit of the Skolts, however, because the winter village had been a socially binding factor. Consequently, they did not convene together very often, and many games, songs and traditional forms were forgotten (Holsti 1990: 54–55).

While the Suõ'nnjel people went across Lake Inari, other Skolt Sami remained in the Lutto area. Most inhabitants of the Pechenga village settled in the Tsarmijärvi (from 1946) and Njeä'llem (1948) areas. The Sami from Paččjokk built their houses closer to Ivalo in "Little Pechenga," Keväjärvi and Mustola. A total of 140 Skolts were settled in the Njeä'llem Skolt area, and 35 dwelling houses and 34 outbuildings, as well as ten saunas, were built for them with state funding.²⁷

Apart from Skolts, a lot of other migrants also moved to Inari from old Pechenga. In addition to the inhabitants of the Tervola region in southern Lapland, some 30–40 families from Pechenga had moved to the Inari municipality by the end of 1948. In a few years, the population of the municipality rose by almost 1,200 migrants. This also resulted in increased unemployment and stiffer competition over limited resources.²⁸

Concluding Remarks

The authorities should, in my opinion, be credited for dealing with the Skolt issue as a separate question in the Skolt relocation process, rather than bundling it together with the settlement problems of other Pechenga people. The delay that the officials have been criticised for was due to a number of complicating factors, the main one being the notion current in 1946–1947 that the Njeä'llem area was too small for the entire Skolt Sami population, which the Skolt meeting had itself pointed out in summer 1946.

The role of the Skolt Sami themselves has been interesting to follow. Important decisions were made at the Skolt meetings, for instance concerning the expansion of the Lutto area and the expedition to look for new areas across the Lake Inari. Another issue that was clearly discussed between the Skolt meeting and Finnish officials was the role of the winter village, which was not built, and the choice to locate settlements along the waterways. It has been later disputed, also among the Skolt Sami themselves, whether or not this choice was correct (Mazzullo 2017: 52–55).

Following the advice of Håkan Rydving to have another look at the sources in order to also identify Sami actors and agencies, it is obvious that the Skolt Sami Village Council played a very important role in the negotia-

tions with Finnish officials. Even in the post-war time, the Skolt Sami were able to preserve their unique indigenous governance with the support of the state (Linkola & Sammallahti 1995: 38–39). However, my study shows that in addition to the Sami Village Council of Suõ'nnjel, meetings of two other Skolt Sami villages are also mentioned a few times in the sources. In the eyes of the Finnish authorities, the village councils of Paččjokk and Peäccam had less power, but they seem to have been quite active. Even in the post-war time, they had their own village meetings until they were merged with a joint Skolt Sami Village Council supported by the state.

As a Skolt trustee, Jaakko Sverloff clearly had a central role as a voice of the Skolts, but his influence on the Finnish administration cannot be fully understood without recognising his fruitful relation with a Finnish intermediary, Karl Nickul, a long-time friend of the Skolts. Together with the agronomist of the Lapland Agricultural Society, Pauli Sipilä, they formed a team whose cooperation "in the field" was a definite prerequisite for keeping the Skolt issue in the public eye and driving administrative decisions.

Moving to a new dwelling area and starting a new life in strange conditions was a traumatic experience for many Skolts. In the words of the long-time Skolt trustee, Matti Sverloff, "the soul should have been brought along."²⁹ The idyllic memory of Suõ'nnjel dominated the adaptation of the Skolts to the new conditions for a long time. There has been considerable prejudice against the Skolts from both Finns and other Sami, and recently, the Skolt histories have been described and analysed as being even more traumatic than those of other Sami (Rasmus 2008; Jauhola 2016), also as regards memories from the post-war era.³⁰

The boundaries of the Skolt settlement and Skolt benefits have been changed many times in the course of decades. The 1955 Skolt Act and Decree and the Land Adjustment Act, as well as law amendments made in the 1970s, were improvements at the time, but they were not sufficient to secure Skolt interests in the long run. The development of the Skolt culture is still dependent on the activity of the Skolts themselves and the political will and ability of the authorities to react to changed conditions.

Translated into English by Jouko Salo

NOTES

- ¹ The Ministry of Agriculture to the governor of the Oulu province 15 September 1926. Petsamon kihlakunnan kruununvoudin ark. (PKVA) BI:45. Oulun maakunta-arkisto (OMA); "Petsamon kolttalappalaiset," Helsingin Sanomat 13 May 1926; Record of Pechenga district bailiff's final inspection in Suõ'nnjel 12 December 1930 and Pechenga district bailiff's situation report to the Oulu province governor 31 December 1930. Oulun lääninhall. ark. (OLKA) 5989. OMA; Nickul 1946: 54. Meeting minutes from the Skolt meeting of the new Suõ'nnjel winter village 12 December 1930. PKVA BI:45. OMA; The governor of the Lapland province to the Ministry of Agriculture 11 May 1938. Kaarlo Hillilän ark. D:7. OMA.
- ² Report on the evacuation of northern Finland 30 October 1944 by the military headquarters of Lapland. Poliisitark. Armas Alhavan kok. C:1. OMA.
- ³ The evacuee welfare director to the provincial government of Oulu (undated, in November 1944). OLKA Hc5:3. OMA; Report on provincial inspector Osmo Martikainen's trips to e.g. Alavieska and Kalajoki 11 and 12 July 1945. KD 9374/46. Siirtoväenos. Ea127. Sisäasiainmin. arkisto (SMA), KA.
- ⁴ SPSC to the the provincial government of Oulu 30 November 1944. OLKA Hc5:3. OMA; Inspector H. Tenhamo's inspection report from 4–10 February 1945. OLKA Hc5:3. OMA. Meeting minutes of evacuee meeting 6 May 1945. KD 14.167. Siirtoväenos. Ea64. SMA, KA.
- ⁵ Kaarlo Hillilä PM. Hki 11 January 1945 to the Evacuee Department of the Ministry of the Interior. OLKA Hc3. OMA.
- ⁶ K. Nickul to K. Hillilä 7 March 1945. Kirjeenvaihto 1944–1947. KNA. KA; SPSC secretary to the evacuee welfare director 19 November 1944. OLKA Hc5:3. OMA.
- ⁷ Matti Sverloff to Karl Nickul 20 September 1945–13 November 1945. Kirjeenvaihto 1944–1947. KNA. KA.
- ⁸ "V. Kolttalappalaisten sijoitus." Pechenga committee report (excerpt) 24 March 1945. Lapin lh yl. os. ark. (LLHA) Hd:2. OMA; Ministry of the Interior to the provincial government of Lapland 17 August 1945. OLKA Hc3. Also e.g. K. Nickul to U. Hannula 30 September 1946. Kirjeenvaihto 1944–1947. KNA. KA.
- ⁹ The Evacuee Department of the Ministry of the Interior to the provincial government of Lapland 14 August 1945. LLHA Hc5:3. OMA; The Settlement Department of the Ministry of Agriculture to the provincial government of Lapland 1 September 1945. OLKA Hd:2. OMA; Meeting minutes from Skolt meeting in Nangujärvi 10 January 1946. LLHA Hd:2. OMA.
- ¹⁰ "Kolttalappalaisten juttu" (summary of statements). LLHA Hd:2. OMA.
- ¹¹ E.g. the provincial government of Lapland to the Lapland Agricultural Society 30 November 1945. LLHA Hd:2. Hd:2. OMA; Karl Nickul 1947: 5.
- ¹² Kaarlo Hillilä PM. Hki 11 January 1945 to the Evacuee Department of the Ministry of the Interior. OLKA Hc3. OMA; Nevakivi 1991.
- ¹³ Assistant presenter of Pechenga affairs in the Settlement Department to Judge Nukari in the Evacuee Department 15 August 1945. OLKA Hc5:3. OMA; Negotiation meeting between the provincial government of Oulu and Skolts at Kalajoki town hall 5 December 1945. OLKA Hc3. OMA; "Kalajoen koltat 26.6.1945" (note) and a List of Skolts and Lapps living in the Kalajoki municipality 1 December 1945. OLKA Hc5:3. OMA; Evacuee Department of the Ministry of the Interior 26 November 1945 and reports from the results of inquiries made in Ii, Kuivaniemi and Kalajoki in 3–5 December 1945. OLKA Hc5:3. OMA.

- ¹⁴ Meeting minutes from a meeting in Ivalo 7 July 1946. Lapin maatalousseuran asutustoimikunta (LMA) II Ha:7. OMA.
- ¹⁵ The provincial government of Lapland to the Kemi district county constable 4 January 1946, and the Kemi district county constable to the provincial government of Lapland 7 January 1946. LLHA Hd:2. OMA.
- ¹⁶ Meeting minutes from a meeting in Nangujärvi 10 January 1946. LLHA Hd:2. OMA.
- ¹⁷ Cabinet decision in a letter from the Minister of Agriculture to the Settlement Committee of the Central Union of Agricultural Societies 11 April 1946, see *Kolttsaamelaisten sijoittaminen 1988*: appendix 1.
- ¹⁸ K. Nickul to U. Hannula 30 September 1946. KNA. KA; "Erästä ajankohtaisesta lappalaiskysymyksestä." K. Nickul's radio presentation 25 November 1946. KNA. KA; LSS hall ptk 8 March 1947. Lapin Sivistysseuran arkisto LSSA. KA.
- ¹⁹ SPSC board meeting minutes 8 March 1947. LSSA. KA.
- ²⁰ "Matkavaikutelmia Lapista." K. Nickul's speech at the SPSC annual meeting 30 March 1947. Käsikirjoitukset. KNA. KA.
- ²¹ SPSC board meeting minutes 8 May 1946. LSSA. KA; A. Nuotio to K. Nickul 19 April 1948 and 13 May 1948; E. Innola to Nickul 10 May 1948. KNA. KA; Inari local board to the provincial government of Lapland 21 April 1948. Kunnallislautakunta asiakirjat. Inarin kunnan arkisto (IKA); "Matkavaikutelmia Lapista." K. Nickul's speech in SPSC annual meeting 30 March 1947. Käsikirjoitukset. KNA. KA.
- ²² General Skolt accommodation meeting in Pikku-Petsamo in Ivalo 31 July 1947. LLHA Hd:2. OMA; Laura Lehtola to Karl Nickul 26 June 1947; Jaakko Sverloff to Karl Nickul 12 August 1947. Lappia koskeva kirjeenvaihto. KNA. KA; General Skolt accommodation meeting in Pikku-Petsamo in Ivalo 31 July 1947. LLHA Hd:2. OMA.
- ²³ The settlement committee of the Lapland Agricultural Society to the Ministry of Agriculture 9 October 1947. Lapin maatalousseuran asutustoimikunta II (LMA II) Ha:13. OMA.
- ²⁴ Meeting minutes of the Lapland Agricultural Society 3 December 1948. LMA II, Ca:1. Tk pkt 1945–1951. OMA; SPSC to the Ministry of Agriculture 30 October 1947. LMA II Ha:13. OMA; Cabinet decision in a letter from the Minister of Agriculture to the Settlement Committee of the Central Union of Agricultural Societies 30 October 1947, see *Kolttsaamelaisten sijoittaminen (1988)*, appendix 2; Meeting minutes from a Skolt meeting in Ivalo 2 August 1948. LMA II Ha:7.
- ²⁵ Undated report about settling Pechenga evacuees. OLKA Ce:1. OMA; see also Fofonoff 1988.
- ²⁶ Meeting minutes from a Skolt meeting in Če'vetjäu'rr 12 August 1949. LMA II. Ha: 2–7. OMA.
- ²⁷ The settlement committee of the Lapland Agricultural Society to the Ministry of Agriculture 1 November 1948. LMA II. Ha:13. OMA; P.M. Kolttien asunto- ja maanomistusolojen järjestäminen. LMA. Ha:17; Meeting minutes from a Skolt meeting in Ivalo 4 August 1948. LMA II. Ha: 2–7 OMA.
- ²⁸ Settlement Committee reports 1945–1951. LMA II, Da:1. OMA; Municipal reports 1948–1951. IKA; Petsamolais-muistio 1950 in Petsamon siirtoväki ry:n Ivalon alaostaston arkisto. OMA; Nyssönen 1999: 641–652. See also Aminoff 1951.
- ²⁹ Matti Sverloff's oral comment.
- ³⁰ For the discussion on the traumatic experiences of the Skolt Sami, see https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/sapmi/kolttsaamelaiset_oireilevat_yha_sota-ajan_kokemuksien_vuoksi_kolttien_kylakokous_tyostaa_yhteista_hyvinvointisuunnitelmaa/9177019; access date 7 May 2018.

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Ethnomycological Notes on *Haploporus* *odorus* and other Polypores in Northern Fennoscandia

ABSTRACT This study focuses on the use of polypores in northern Fennoscandia, especially the now rare *Haploporus odorus*, which was once used by Sami and Swedish peasantry in the north. However, other taxa that were culturally salient are also discussed. Polypores have been used for health-related, technical and other purposes. The use of some of the taxa, such as *Fomes fomentarius* and *Fomitopsis betulina*, has been widely known over Eurasia and beyond, while *Haploporus odorus* has been utilized only by the North American Plains tribes and in northern Scandinavia. From cultural historical information, ethnographical data and observations reported in travelogues, the ethnomycological significance of five bracket fungi species in northern Fennoscandia has been identified.

KEYWORDS polypores, ethnobiology, folk medicine, aromatica, material culture, repellents, tinder

Introduction

Ethnomycology is the study of the bio-cultural aspects of human-fungal interactions (Yamin-Pasternak 2011).¹ In 1997, Professor Robert A. Blanchette at the University of Minnesota published a fascinating article about the past importance of the aromatic bracket fungus *Haploporus odorus* (Sommeff. Fr.) Bondartsev & Singer to North American Plains Indians such as Cree, Káinawa and Siksika.² They used this particular fungus on their sacred robes and necklaces, as a component in folk remedies, and as protection against certain ailments (Blanchette 1997). Blanchette's article is of great ethnomycological significance and is often quoted by ethnobiologists. Less often mentioned in ethnobiological literature is the fact that the same taxon, which is distributed across the northern hemisphere's circumboreal region, was also used in northern Sweden (Svanberg 2011). Folk mycology is of course also an important aspect of the northern cultures. I dedicate this article to Professor Håkan Rydving, who has devoted himself to the study of these northern cultures (for instance Rydving 2010).

Fungi are neither animals nor plants but are in a category of their own. They are actually more closely related to animals than to plants. There are many kinds of fungi, including molds and yeasts. Those known as bracket fungi, conks, shelf fungi or polypores comprise a group of fungi with a characteristic shape. Most of them inhabit living or dead tree trunks consuming the wood, but some soil-inhabiting polypores form mycorrhiza with trees, such as the edible *Albatrellus ovinus*. Around 200 taxa of polypores are known by mycologists from Fennoscandia, but only a handful of these were culturally salient in the traditional folk biology in the northern part of Norway, Sweden, Finland, Karelia and the Kola Peninsula in Russia.

Some species of bracket fungi have been used for various purposes in Europe and Siberia since time immemorial (Corner 1950; Herklau & Dörfelt 2015). A nice proof of that was the remarkable discovery of fungal objects among the equipment of the so-called *Iceman*, the well-preserved Chalcolithic human body found in the Central Alps in September 1991. A bag was filled with tinder material from the tinder bracket fungus, *Fomes fomentarius*. In addition two pieces of birch conk, *Fomitopsis betulina*, were tied on to the leather strings (Peintner & Pöder 2000). The interpretation of the latter species has been disputed by scholars (Capasso 1998; Tunón & Svanberg 1999). Both taxa are well known in the ethnomycological literature and have been widely used for various purposes in Eurasia. The ethnomycology of a few other taxa has also been described from various parts of Europe (Allen & Hatfield 2004; Grienke *et al.* 2014; Papp *et al.* 2015).

Use of Fungi in Northern Fennoscandia

With the exceptions of Russians, Orthodox Finns, Karelians and Vepsians in Karelia, and Ingrian Finns of Ingria, mushrooms (primarily milk caps) have rarely been used as traditional food in northern Fennoscandia (Byhan 1926; Erixon 1951; Egardt 1954; Eidlitz 1969; Härkönen 1998; Arntzen 2000). We have a few records that some Sami communities near the Murmansk railway occasionally used mushrooms as food (Eidlitz 1969). Komi households used dried mushrooms when fasting, together with dried fish, turnips and fermented cabbages (Sjögren 1861). With a few exceptions, the northern region definitely belongs to what several scholars have categorized as the mycophobic or mushroom-despising part of the world (Wasson & Wasson 1957; Lévi-Strauss 1970; Yamin-Pasternak 2008; Svanberg *et al.* 2011).

However, this has changed during the twentieth century and nowadays urbanites, especially of the middle class, pick wild mushrooms for consumption as a pastime in many parts of Scandinavia and Finland (Egardt 1954; Härkönen 1998; Klintberg 1998). Around 40 per cent of the population in Finland pick mushrooms for food. The figure is quite high in Sweden, too (Turtiainen *et al.* 2012). Commercial harvesting of wild mushrooms for domestic consumption and export also exists. Edible fungi have actually become increasingly popular non-timber products of the northern forests. Tax-free earnings from mushroom picking, an opportunity in Finland since 1972, provide an important source of extra income for rural households but also for immigrants and foreign seasonal workers (Svanberg 2012; Turtiainen *et al.* 2012).

A few fungi species have traditionally been used in folk therapy, especially puffballs, *Bovista* and *Lycoperdon*. A wound from a cut is sprinkled with dust of the ripe fungus (Qvigstad 1932; Suhonen 1936; Brøndegaard 1971; Høeg 1974; Steen 1961; Klintberg 1998). In the northern region, some taxa are also known in folklore, for instance *Crucibulum laeve*, *Fuligo septica*, *Lycogala epidendrum* and *Mucilago spongiosa* (Suhonen 1936; Høeg 1974; Svanberg 2011). We will leave the importance of mould and yeast aside here (for examples from northern Scandinavia, see Svanberg 2004a).

Another interesting example of a local and little known practice in northern Sweden is the utilization of a dry mushroom as bait in rigged squirrel traps (Henriksson 1978). This practice is mentioned as early as 1749 in an academic dissertation about hunting in the province of Jämtland (Nordholm 1749). Using bracket fungi, for instance *Hapalopilus rutilans*, for dyeing wool is a recent practice in Fennoscandia (Sundström & Sundström 1983).

However, throughout the circumpolar area, a number of polypore taxa have been known in the local folk biology. This paper examines the traditional use of bracket fungi among the Sami, Finnish, Norwegian and Swed-

ish speakers in northern Fennoscandia from an ethnobiological point of view. It discusses various taxa that have traditionally been known and their various uses, which have been identified in the cultural historical sources examined. Although only a few species have been used in the North, they had a surprisingly large number of purposes. The fruit bodies of these polypores have been utilized for fire-making, material culture, medicinal purposes, technical equipment, tools, toys and other goods, and as food, odorants and repellents, thus making life easier for hunters, farmers, nomads and settlers in the boreal and subarctic regions of the north.

Material Examined

Sources of information with data on the activity context between brackets and people are of various kinds (Svanberg *et al.* 2011). Our sources dates back to the seventeenth century, but data about uses can also to some extent also still be recorded. We find written information about the use of bracket fungi as early as 1610s. Natural historian Sigfrid Aronius Forsius (1952) mentioned a fungus in a manuscript from 1611, most probably referring to the birch polypore, which was used to protect needles from rust. He also referred to the Swedish myconym *ticka*, which is still in use (Svanberg 2011). In 1671, Johannes Schefferus described a cure for burns using tinder bracket among the Sami (Svanberg 2005). Dean Olof Broman mentions the use of several brackets in northern Sweden in a manuscript from the 1720s (Broman 1911–1953). Peter Artedi, a contemporary and close friend of Carl Linnaeus when they were young students, compiled a brief flora of his native Nordmaling in Ångermanland in 1729. He recorded folk names and information on the use of two species (Artedi 1985). Carl Linnaeus's voyage from Lapland 1732 is a very good source for ethnobiologists interested in former use of various biological taxa. He also noted down observations of the use of polypores (Linnaeus [1732] 2003).

During his Lapland tour, Linnaeus recorded that young Sami men used the scented fungus *Haploporus odour* as a fragrance when courting. In his *Flora lapponica*, he described how Sami bachelors stored

it carefully in a pouch further down on their belly, in order that the sweet fragrance it sends forth might make them more pleasing to their nymphs. Oh you ridiculous Venus, who in foreign lands have at your service coffee and chocolate, sweets and preserves, wines and lemonades, precious stones and pearls, gold and silver, silks and pomades, dancing and feasting, music and merrymaking! Here you must content yourself with a tasteless fungus. (Linnaeus 1737)



Fig. 1. Tinder bracket, *Fomes fomentarius* (Gramberg 1913).

He recorded this information on 3 June, 1732 in Lycksele Lappmark in the Ume River valley (Linnaeus [1732] 2003). In his travel diary, Linnaeus also reported the use of a few other bracket fungi among the Sami and the peasantry in northern Sweden.

Linnaeus's travelogues became exemplars for a whole generation of scholars and developed a genre of topographical literature including information of ethnobiological interest (Svanberg *et al.* 2011). Several of his contemporaries and successors therefore also reported the use of polypores, usually referring to birch polypore and tinder polypore (for instance Pehr Kalm and Anders Tidström).

Ethnographical studies from northern Fennoscandia sometimes also have information on the use of polypores in the material culture. Another important source material for our understanding and knowledge is the questionnaires and records in the language and folklore archives in Sweden. With due diligence and observance of source criticism, I have screened the available cultural historical data in ethnographic reports, travelogues, local historical accounts, dialect dictionaries, mycological (botanical) handbooks, as well as folklore and folk-life records in the archives with a view to finding and analyzing information on the use of bracket fungi in northern Europe. Biocultural domain analysis is used to investigate how socio-cultural groups understand the biota in their surroundings (Svanberg 2007; Svanberg *et al.* 2011).

The Bracket Fungi Folk-Taxa

In the folk taxonomy, the fruit bodies of the polypores have sometimes been regarded as fungi, known as *sopp* in Swedish, but in northern Scandinavia the tree-living fungi were usually known as a separate folk biological category and have therefore been classified as *ticka*, *tjuka* or *sypp* in Swedish and *kjuka* or *kâte* in Norwegian dialects (Svanberg 2011; Høeg 1974). The generic name in Finnish is *känsä* or *kääpä*, in Karelian *käznä*, in Vepsian *käzn* and in Komi *baka*/бака or *bakatshak*/бакамушак (Suhonen 1936). The following taxa are of cultural importance in the north.

1. Tinder bracket, *Fomes fomentarius* (L.) Fr., 1849, is a mainly Holarctic taxon, found all over Europe, North Africa including Canary Islands, Asia and North America. The species is indeed the true tinder ("amadou" or "esca") fungus, used to make and transport fire. It is known as *knuskkjuka*, *knusk*, *knjosk*, and *fyrsvamp* in Norwegian, *fnöskticka* in Swedish, *koivunkänsä*, *taula-kääpä* in Finnish and *duovlečatná* in North Sami, *tjádna* in Lule Sami, and *duvle* in South Sami (Høeg 1971; Høeg 1974; Svanberg 2011; Suhonen 1936; Andersson 1866; Qvigstad 1901). In Russian, it is known as *guba ognivnaya*/губа огнивая, *vrachebnaya gubka*/врачебная губка and

zhagra/жагра (Annenkov' 1878). Among the Sami, it was burned on the skin in the manner of moxibustion (Steen 1961). It has been widely used all over the northern hemisphere to make amadou, a kind of tinder (Harding 2008; Chlebicki 2010). In the collection of the Royal Armoury (*Livruskammaren*), Stockholm, there are a few textiles made of *Fomes fomentarius*, as well as a jacket, a cap and a bag. It has also been used as a styptic by surgeons, barbers and dentists (Roussel *et al.* 2002; Svanberg 2011; Grienke *et al.* 2014).

2. Fire sponge or false tinder conk, *Phellinus igniarius* (L.) Quél., 1886, known as *eldticka* in colloquial Swedish, *tøndrekjuka* or *ildkjuka* in Norwegian, and *arinakääpä* and *pakkula kääpä* in Finnish (Høeg 1974; Svanberg 2011; Suhonen 1936). This fungus measures 5–20 centimetres in diameter. It has a widespread distribution all over the Holarctic. As fungi expert and ethnomycologist Robert A. Blanchette (2001) has pointed out, this species was actually widely used as a masticatory or for smoking purposes among Native Americans. In Europe it was used for making tinder (Allen & Hatfield 2004; Chlebicki 2010). Its smoke was regarded as being effective against mosquitoes (Linnaeus 1737; Høeg 1974).

3. Birch conk or Birch polypore, *Fomitopsis betulina* (Bull.) B.K. Cui, M.L. Han & Y.C. Dai, 2016 (Syn. *Piptoporus betulinus* (Bull. ex Fr.) P. Karst), known as *björkticka*, *björksopp*, *björksvamp*, *snösko*, *snöläppa*, *snösopp*, *snöticka*, *snösopp* (Dalecarlia) and *vitticka* (Uppland) in Swedish, *knivkjuka* in Norwegian, *stohkkečátná* in North Sami and *pökkelökääpä* and *äimäkääpä* in Finnish (Svanberg 2011; Linnaeus 1755; Høeg 1971; Suhonen 1936).³ In South Sami and Malå Sami it was known as *tjaanaa* and *duövlee*, respectively (Qvigstad 1901; Hasselbrink 1985; Schlachter 1958), Lule Sami as *sváhppa* (Andersson 1866), while the Sami in Jukkasjärvi call it *känsä*, a loan from a local Finnish dialect (Hansegård 1971). Sami nomad Johan Turi called it, probably humorously, *suomiki komso*, 'Finnish cradleboard' (Svanberg 2004b). In Russian, it is commonly known as *berezovaya gubaka/березовая губка* (Annenkov' 1878). It is widely distributed in Eurasia and North America. The fruiting body of the birch conk has a rubbery texture, which becomes corky with age. Ethnobotanical data from pre-industrial Northern Europe indicates that this fungus has had various non-medical uses, for instance to protect metal-blades from rust, to sharpen razors and as toys, cork or needle pads (Linnaeus 1755; Retzius 1806; Fries 1864). The latter use is the reason why it has been called *nåldyna*, *nålsopp*, *nålticka* and *nåltäta* in northern Sweden.⁴ Charcoal produced from it has been used as an antiseptic agent (Høeg 1974; Thoen 1982; Peintner & Pöder 2000; Svanberg 1998; Klintberg 1998; Allen & Hatfield 2004).

In eighteenth-century Västergötland, it was used in veterinary medicine against a bacterial disease (*rödsot*) in sheep (Tidström 1978). In *Flora svecica* 1755, Linnaeus noted that the birch conk was used instead of cork in bottles (Linnaeus 1755; Retzius 1806). It was therefore called *korksopp*, 'cork fungus,' especially in Gotland and in Bohuslän. According to Rothof (1762), well-dried birch conk could be used as floats on fishing nets and fishing lines. From nineteenth-century Småland, there is information that the soft part of the fungus was cut into pieces and used by children in the village schools to erase what they wrote on their slates (Klintberg 1998; Svanberg 2011).

4. Chaga mushroom, *Inonotus obliquus* (Fr.) Pilát, 1942. Its range includes the boreal areas of northern Europe, Central Europe, Russia, Korea and North America. The English name is derived from Russian *chaga/чaga*, which in turn is derived from the word for the fungus in Komi (Kalima 1927). In contemporary Norwegian, it is known as *kreftkjuke*, in Swedish *sprängticka*,



Fig. 2. False tinder conk, *Phellinus ignarius* (Gramberg 1913).

in Finnish *pakurikäöpä* and in North Sami *báhkkečátná*. During the Second World War, it was used as a coffee substitute in Finland. Some traditional health-related practices are reported from parts of Fennoscandia, especially in Finland and the Olonets region in Karelia, but also in the Russian North (Dunn 1973; Grienke *et al.* 2014). The Khanty used chaga tea for stomach ailments, but also for cleansing skin and sores (Saar 1991). It has become increasingly sought after in the health food trade and illegal harvesting now occurs in northern Sweden (Pegler 2001; Johansson 2016). Its use is also reported from Native North Americans (Gottesfeld 1992). Nowadays, this polypore is very much discussed on websites, including Nordic ones, dealing with alternative health and natural remedies.

5. Scented bracket, *Haploporus odorus* (Sommerf.) Bondartsev & Singer, 1944, has a fragrant anise-like scent, which persists even after drying. It usually grows on old goat willow, *Salix caprea*, in moist woodlands, hence its old folk names *sälgfucka* (Hälsingland, Härjedalen), *sälgsyppa* (Jämtland), *sälgsippa* (Medelpad), *sälgsvamp* (Hälsingland), *sälgticka* and *sälgtjuka* (Härjedalen, Ångermanland) (Wasenius 1751; Modin 1911; Modin 1916; Keyland 1919; Fridner 1926).⁵ However, names such as *dofttjuka*, *godlukttjuka* and *lukttjuka* (Lapland, Västerbotten, Ångermanland, Jämtland) also reflect its strong smell (Linnaeus 1755; Gudmundson 1958; Fries 1975; Artedi 1985; Ryd 1995; Svanberg 2018). It can grow up to 20 centimetres. Native North Americans, especially the tribes of the Northern Plains, also used this species to ornament sacred robes, human scalp necklaces and other cultural properties. In addition, it was a medicinal component used for protection against illness (Blanchette 1997).

6. Forest lamb, *Albatrellus ovinus* (Schaeff.) Kotl. & Pouzar, 1957, is a species common all over Scandinavia and Finland. It is edible and rather commonly gathered in contemporary Sweden. However, this is not an old tradition but a result of the mushroom propaganda in pamphlets, handbooks, newspapers and periodic publications, which started in the 1860s and continues today (Svanberg & Nelson 1992). It is, for instance, discussed as “a healthy and important food, and is very good both raw and cooked.” It has a long “shelf-life” and can be easily dried (Smitt 1863). Most contemporary cookbooks mention this species as a delicious mushroom when eaten young. It is easy to recognize, easy to harvest and easy to prepare. It has also been used as false truffle in Swedish liver pâté (SOU 1966:71). However, this fungus is a relatively newcomer in the Scandinavian food culture. A few other polypores are also mentioned as being edible in the propaganda literature but are still of insignificant importance as food (Smitt 1863; Hartman 1874).

Used in Various Biocultural Domains

It is likely that many peasants in the past seldom distinguished various polypores from each other, especially those used for tinder (Høeg 1974). Also taxa found on the same species of trees could be difficult to distinguish from each other, depending on which criteria the folk mycologist used when they observed various taxa in the field. Therefore, it can sometimes be hard to determine which scientific taxa the emic concepts refer to. However, many quite detailed observations have confirmed that the local people of the north had no difficulty differentiating between the various taxa they used for fire-making and making drinks, as spice, perfume or mosquito repellent, and in folk therapies.

Brackets for fire-making and tinder. Using tinder seems to have been an important biocultural domain in the encounter between fungi and human. In northern Fennoscandinavia, fungi, especially *Fomes fomentarius* and *Phellinus ignarius* were used to produce tinder, but also to carry fire. Norwegian mountaineers gathered them in large numbers and sold them to others (Høeg 1974; Svanberg 2011; Heltzen 1975).

Brackets in folk therapy. Linnaeus describes in his itinerary from the summer of 1732 that the Sami in Jokkmokk used *Fomes fomentarius* growing on the south side of birch trees for a kind of moxa-therapy.

An amount the size of a pea is placed on the sore place, ignited with a birch twig and allowed to burn away gradually. It is placed where the pain is worst and the treatment is often repeated two or three times. This causes sores which often remain open for six months but which must not be treated, being left instead to heal of their own accord. It is used against all pains: headaches, stings, stomach aches, gouty and rheumatic pain, etc. It is a universal remedy among the Lapps. (Linnaeus [1732] 2003)

The method was previously described by Johannes Schefferus in 1671 (Steen 1961; Svanberg 2005). Hungarian ethnographer and linguist Ignác Halász gave a detailed description of its use among the Sami in Pite Lappmark. The fungus was burned to cure pain in the knee, rheumatic pain and ears leaking pus (Halász 1893). Sami nomad Johan Turi wrote in the early twentieth century that a small piece of birch polypore, probably referring to *Fomes fomentarius*, was burned directly on the affected area for toothache, fractures, rheumatism, headache and pneumonia (DuBois & Lang 2013). There are many ethnographical records of this very interesting folk therapy from the entire Sami distribution area (see Drake 1918; Qvigstad 1932; Svanberg & Lindin 2004; see also Steen 1961 for many references). It was still in use among the Skolt Sami in the 1930s (Nickul 1948). This kind of moxa-therapy

is also known from the Sami on the Kola Peninsula (Sjögren 1828; Kharuzin 1890). Finnish ethnologist Ilmar Manninen (1933) wrote an interesting comparative study of the use of moxa-therapy among northern peoples. It seems to have been used by folk-healers from Lapland in the west to Japan in the east (Dunn 1973; Saar 1991). This species was also included in the pharmacopeia and used by surgeons and dentists as a blood clotting agent (Roussel *et al.* 2002).

Brackets as repellents. Linnaeus noted in 1732 that the Forest Sami in Pite Lapmark burned *Phellinus ignarius* to create smoke in order to rid their huts of mosquitoes (Linnaeus 1737). According to his travel diary entry on 3 June in the Lycksele Lappmark, Linnaeus was shown *Phellinus ignarius* which the Sami used to cover both themselves and their reindeer in smoke as their main remedy against mosquitoes. When the mosquitoes were numerous, the reindeer returned home and small smoking fires were burned around them morning and evening. Feeling the efficacy of this, the reindeer would lie down and sleep. Both *Fomitopsis betulina* and *Phellinus ignarius* have been widely used by Sami people in northern Scandinavia for the purpose of protecting people and domestic animals from mosquitoes (Laestadius 1831; Zetterstedt 1833; Nordlander 1947; Pettersson 1999). Among the peasantry in northern Sweden, *Haploporus odoratus* was used as an insect repellent in clothing storage chests (Nordermann 1961; Ågren 1976).

Brackets as material culture. At Åbacka in Västerbotten, Linnaeus observed on 27 May 1732 a bracket fungus hanging on the wall in a house which was used as a pin-cushion. This fungus was probably a *Fomitopsis betulina*. This has been a common use for birch conk in the northern part of Sweden. Lisa Johansson reports from southern Lapland that it was good way to secure needles, because they did not come loose and fall down. The *nåltjuka* was nailed to the wall near the window, so high up that it was out of the reach of children (Ågren 1976). This use has been reported from all over northern and central Sweden (Axelson 1852; Berglund 1935; Bergfors 1947; Paulaharju 1966) and from the Sami in Norrbotten (Hansegård 1971).⁶

Brackets as food and drink. Björn Collinder (1953) published an interesting passage on the use of a bracket, maybe false tinder conk, *Phellinus ignarius*, as a coffee replacement during the Second World War. This use has been recorded from various Sami groups as far south as Malå parish in Västerbotten (Schlachter 1958; Svanberg 2012). American ethnobiologist Myrdene Anderson (2000) describes how Norwegian Sea Sami children made a hot drink from a bracket they found on birch trunks. Infusion from *Fomitopsis betulina* fruiting bodies has been popular in Russia and elsewhere for its nutritional and calming properties (Peintner & Pöder 2000; Grienke *et al.* 2014). Much attention has recently been given to *Inonotus obliquus*,

commonly known as chaga mushroom in the popular literature. It was locally known as *pakurikääpi* in northern Finland and was used among the Skolt Sami as a tea herb (Magnani 2016). It has become popular as a health food, usually served as a liquid. Perhaps the above-mentioned authors confuse the birch conk with the chaga. According to reports, chaga has been used in North European, Russian, Siberian, and Japanese folk medicine. It is nowadays said to have many beneficial health functions such as immune modulating and anti-cancer activities therapies.

Brackets as a spice. *Haploporos odorus* has been used by peasants to flavour snuff (Dalecarlia), brown cheese (Härjedalen, Hälsingland, Jämtland, Ångermanland), gruel (Härjedalen), rice pudding (Härjedalen) (Tidström 1955; Modin 1911; Modin 1916; Keyland 1919).

Brackets as a perfume. In the Lycksele area, the Sami showed Linnaeus *Haploporos odorus* which had a pleasant scent and was used as a fragrance. On 3 June, 1732, he noted in his travel diary that young Sami men used this fungus to arouse love in the girls and to win their favours (Linnaeus [1732] 2003). The practice of using this fungi for its pleasant scent in storage chests has been recorded as recently as the mid-twentieth century in various parts of northern Sweden: Härjedalen, Ångermanland, Västerbotten, Norrbotten and Lappland (Modin 1911; Berglund 1935; Bergfors 1947).⁷

Brackets as toys. Making balls from *Fomitopsis betulina* occurred in Norway and Sweden, and was probably known as early as the Viking age (Liestøl 1919). The brackets were shaped into balls by cutting them with a knife. Such balls are still made today. They could also be used for making doll's heads (Tillhagen & Dencker 1949; Høeg 1971; Høeg 1974; Klintberg 1998; Ols-son 2009).



Fig. 3. Birch conk, *Fomitopsis betulina* (Palmstruch 1804).

Conclusion

It is well-known from all over Eurasia that polypores have been used in traditional medicine, for fire-making and for various technical purposes. Thanks to findings connected with the so-called *Iceman*, we have documented records of early use of two common species of polypores, both still in use in many parts of northern Eurasia. From northern Scandinavia, there are records of a handful of taxa. One of the most interesting is the scented fungus bracket *Haploporus odoratus*. Its use by humans has earlier been described in the ethnomycological literature of the North American Plains tribes. However, it has also been utilized by Sami and Swedish peasants in northern Sweden, and there are also a few records from Finland and Russia (Niemelä 2003). In Sweden, it was used as a seasoning in cheese and bread, and as a perfume in clothing storage chests, in personal items, and as an aromatic spice for church-goers. Its use as a scented agent was recorded by Peter Artedi in 1729 and Carl Linnaeus in 1732, and has been known across northern Sweden until the mid-twentieth century. Due to ecological changes, this fungus is now rare and thus protected. Gathering this protected species is therefore no longer allowed.

NOTES

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² Scientific names are taken from Index Fungorum (www.indexfungorum.org; accessed August 2017).

³ See also Växtnamnsregistret, Umeå University.

⁴ Also ULMA 22 759 (Edsele, Ång.).

⁵ Also ULMA 2353 (Hede, Härj.); ULMA 1919:8 (Fjällsjö, Ång.); ULMA 3294:1 (Norsjö, Vbt.); ULMA 7890 (Färila, Häls.); ULMA 16 944:2 (Vilhelmina Lpl.); ULMA 19 857 (Vilhelmina, Lpl.); ULMA 2383 (Lycksele, Lpl.).

⁶ Also ULMA 22 759 (Edsele, Ång.).

⁷ Also ULMA 3294:1 (Norsjö, Vbt.); ULMA 2383 (Lycksele, Lpl.); ULMA 1919:8 (Fjällsjö, Ång.); ULMA 22 989 (Borgsjö, Med.).

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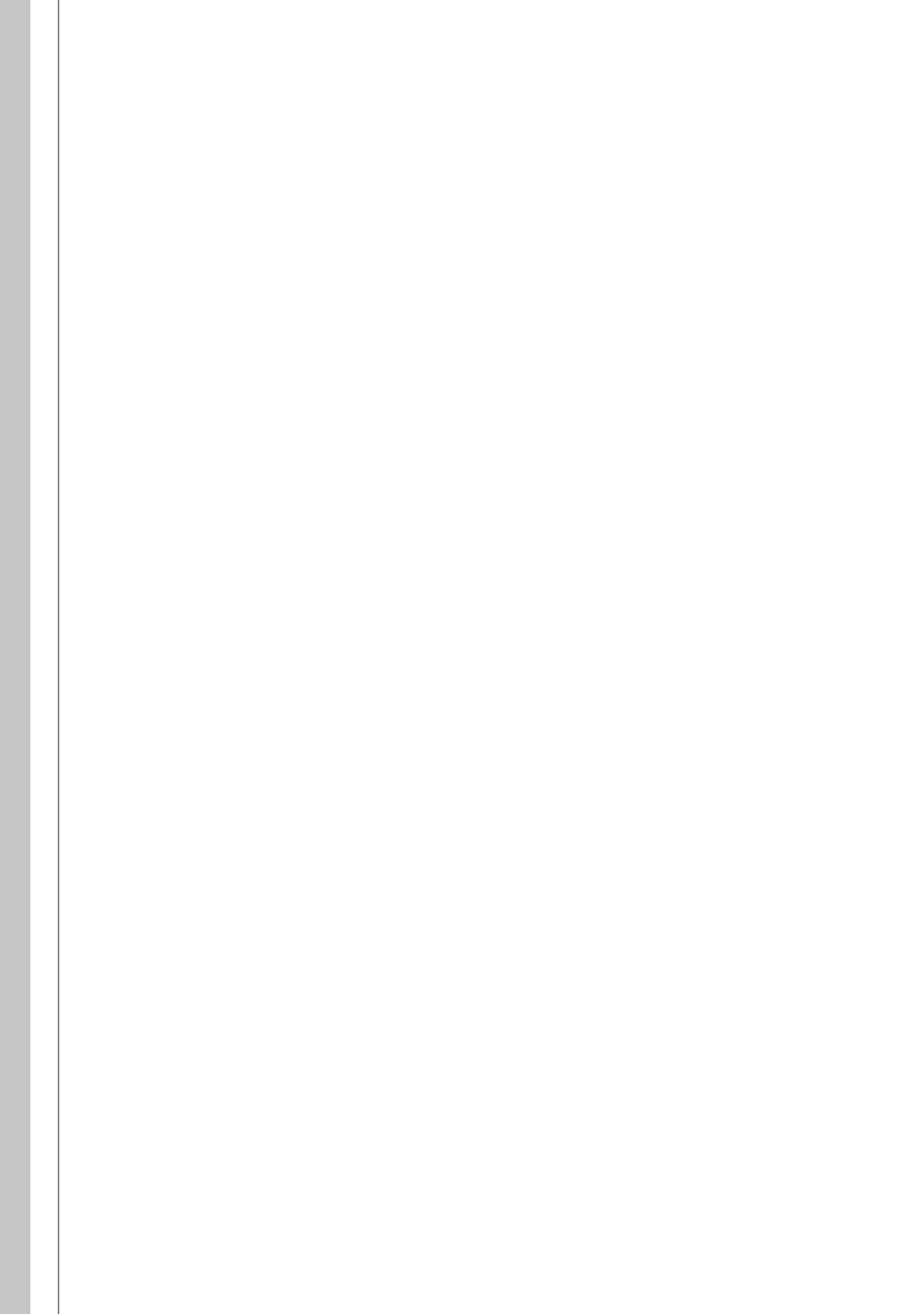
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ANNE HEITH

Ethnofuturism and Place-Making

Bengt Pohjanen's Construction of Meänmaa

ABSTRACT The article examines the Tornedalian author Bengt Pohjanen's construction of Meänmaa [literally 'Our land'] through an analysis of a selection of texts in which the concept "Meänmaa" is used. Meänmaa refers to the border area between Sweden and Finland in the Torne Valley. The making of Meänmaa is related to ethnofuturism, an aesthetic program launched in Estonia in the 1980s. Its aim is to strengthen threatened Uralic cultures and languages. The conclusion presented is that ethnofuturism provides a framework for present-day identity-formation and the making of a specific place called *Meänmaa* against the backdrop of a history of assimilationist policies and marginalisation.

KEYWORDS ethnofuturism, place-making, Meänmaa, Tornedalian identity formation, ethnicity, minority status, Meänkieli

Ethnofuturism and Place-Making. Bengt Pohjanen's Iterative Creation of Meänmaa

The aim of the article is to analyse the Tornedalian writer Bengt Pohjanen's (b. 1944) construction of Meänmaa in various literary genres. Place-making is defined as "the set of social, political and material processes by which people iteratively create and recreate the experienced geographies in which they live" (see Pierce, Martin & Murphy 2011: 54). Texts by Pohjanen are analysed with perspectives from the ethnofu-

turist aesthetic movement founded in Estonia in 1989. Pohjanen has published in various genres for decades. He made his debut as a novelist in the 1970s with *Och fiskarna svarar Guds frid* ['And the fish answer God's peace'], whose protagonist feels shame and inadequacy because of his Tornedalian Finnish background (Pohjanen 1979; see also Heith 2018). By and by, other ways of perceiving Tornedalian Finnishness are introduced in Pohjanen's authorship. This is reflected in the volume *Tungan mitt i munnen/Kieli keskelä suuta* ['The tongue in the middle of the mouth'], which contains chronicles previously published in the local newspaper *Haparandabladet*. In the section "Meänkieli och Pänktti/Meänkieli ja Pänktti" ['Meänkieli and Pänktti'], Pohjanen discusses the local language Meänkieli and the question of whether it should be seen as a version of Finnish or a language of its own (Pohjanen 2011: 133-166).¹ When describing his development as an author, he mentions starting writing and publishing in Meänkieli, and also starting a publishing house for literature in Meänkieli. The time described is one of linguistic revitalization connected with the iterative creation of Meänmaa.

Ethnofuturism

The ethnofuturist program provides a backdrop for the discussion of a section of Pohjanen's autobiography *Smugglarkungens son* ['The son of the smuggler king'] (2007), the grammar book *Meänkielen kramatiikki* by Pohjanen and Kenttä (1996), and sections of the Tornedalian Finnish literary history, *Den tornedalsfinska litteraturen. Från Kexi till Liksom* ['Tornedalian Finnish literature. From Kexi to Liksom'], co-authored by Pohjanen and Johansson (2007). Furthermore, the iteratively created experienced geography Meänmaa is discussed from the vantage point of a volume entitled *Meänmaa* by Pohjanen and photographer Jaakko Heikkilä (1992), as well as the activities of the association Meänmaa.

Ethnofuturism aims at strengthening and supporting threatened Finno-Ugric and Uralic languages through the development of an aesthetic program which challenges assimilationist policies and processes of modernization which have marginalized a number of peoples, languages and cultures (Sallamaa 2006). Following Sallamaa, the most important task of ethnofuturism is to help small ethnic literatures to survive and to thrive (Sallamaa 2006: 238). The concept of ethnofuturism relates to:

ethnos—to minority peoples and ethnic groups with their own traditions and cultures, whose ethnic and national existence is at stake or threatened by state assimilation policies or multinational enterprises. *Ethnos* experiences pressure from larger peoples, for example Russians or, in the case of the Sami, the Nordic majority peoples in Finland, Sweden and Norway. (Sallamaa 2006: 238)

“Futurism” has a specific meaning in this context. It has nothing to do with the modernist aesthetic program launched by Marinetti in Italy and Mayakovsky in Russia. Sallamaa describes it as follows: “it refers to the development of an ethnic culture based on one’s own language and heredity” (Sallamaa 2006: 238). The aim of ethnofuturism is described as twofold, as the saving of cultural traditions, but also as the construction of a new urban ethnic culture for people who have previously been nomads and peasants (Sallamaa 2006: 238). According to Sallamaa, ethnofuturism is a “survival program,” which “guarantees a future to small languages and cultures” (Sallamaa 2006: 238).

In the ongoing debate concerning the scope of ethnofuturism, it is discussed whether it should be seen as a global movement or as being restricted to the Finno-Ugric and Uralic world (Sallamaa 2006: 238–239). Sallamaa suggests that although the movement first spread among Finno-Ugric and Uralic peoples with language systems that differ from the Indo-European one, the program is well suited for indigenous and autochthonous peoples and ethnic groups all over the world (Sallamaa 2006: 238–239). While this discussion is a result of the development of ethnofuturism over the decades, the movement started as a rescue action for the preservation of threatened, small Finno-Ugric and Uralic languages and cultures. With a reference to Masing and Whorf, Sallamaa highlights the criticism of “Standard Average European (SAE) thinking” as a source of inspiration for the emergence of ethnofuturism:

SAE thinking is dominated by the illusion that there is a universally valid way of being human. According to this illusion, everything that has been invented in some ideological centres will one day become the international norm. (Sallamaa 2006: 245)²

Since the aesthetic movement called “ethnofuturism” was founded in Estonia in 1989, its activities have to some extent been co-ordinated with those of the Association of Finno-Ugric Literatures, AFUL (see Sallamaa 2006: 237 ff.). This connection provides a backdrop of Bengt Pohjanen’s deployment of ethnofuturist themes in his writings aiming at constructing Meänmaa and local culture and identity connected with the Finno-Ugric language Meänkieli, as well as with a status as a threatened minority at the fringes of the Swedish nation-state. When embedded in an ethnofuturist aesthetic, the small Meänkieli language does not appear as an isolated, marginal phenomenon, but as a member of a family with numerous relatives. The theme of shared origins and a family relationship is suggested by a graphic image showing a Uralic language tree in Bengt Pohjanen and Matti Kenttä’s Meänkieli grammar book, *Meänkielen kramatiikki* from 1996 (Pohjanen &

Kentää 1996: 16; see also Heith 2012a: 99). The heading reads “Sukulaiset” [‘Relatives’], and the original language is denominated “Alkuperäinen yraalin kieli” [‘Original Uralic language’] which, according to the language tree, has developed into a number of languages related to one another, one of them being Meänkieli (Heith 2012a: 99).

1.3.2.1. Sukulaiset

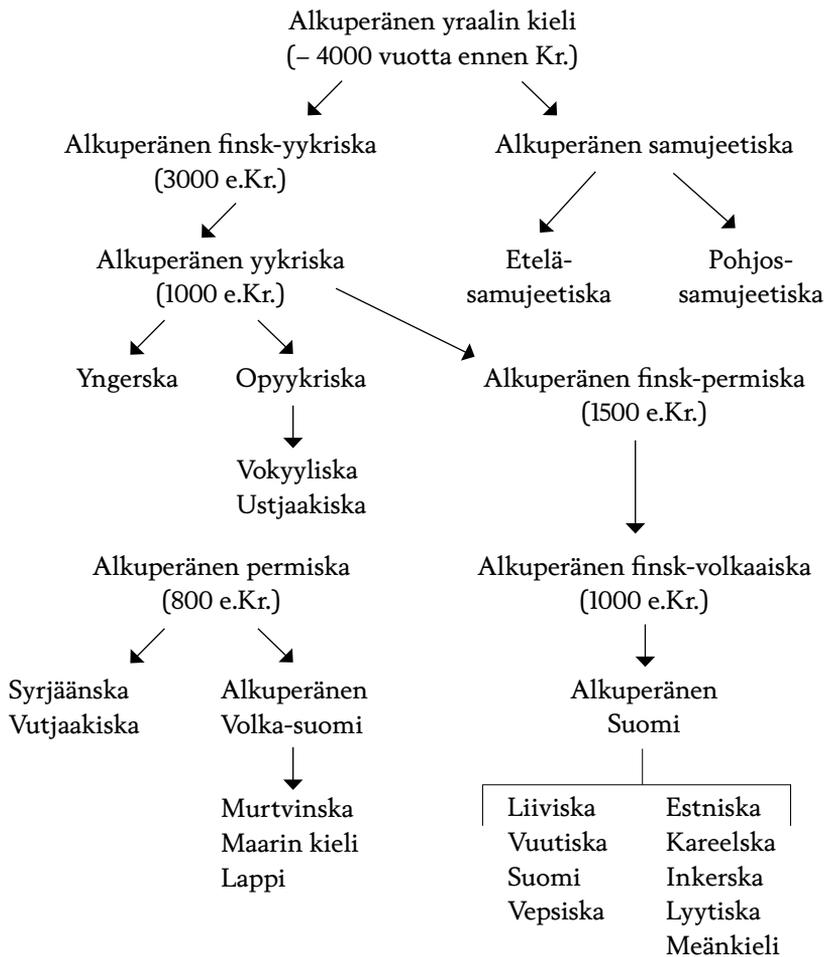


Fig. 1. Illustration from Bengt Pohjanen's and Matti Kenttä's *Meänkielen kramatiikki* (1996).

The Meänkieli language is connected with a specific local culture and mentality. This kind of connection is a privileged theme of ethnofuturism. One characteristic of ethnofuturism is the questioning of the dominance of certain Western European cultures and languages in the field of philosophy. In a discussion of *local thinking* and whether there can be a Finnish philosophy, Tere Vadén challenges the dominance of Western Germanic languages, in particular German, for shaping a philosophy of being and existence which he claims does not take into account that there may be alternative ways of thinking and experiencing related to Finno-Ugric languages. Vadén goes as far as to claim that: “At times the non-Indo-European Finnish and the Fenno-Ugric view of the human being are in tangible conflict with Europeanness” (Vadén 2006: 233). Far from suggesting that the kind of local thinking and experiencing that he is exploring is static or homogeneous, Vadén proposes that openness and impurity are vital elements for the construction of local thinking and local truth based on ethnicity and language. His point is that language is connected with living and experiencing, and if a language is lost, certain modes of experiencing and living vanish. This does not mean that people who belong to a group share exactly the same experiences: “As persons, as subjects and individuals we do not share experiences” (Vadén 2006: 233). While connections between place-making, language and ethnicity are central to the argument, Vadén emphasises that locality must not be thought of as a fixed, homogeneous and closed space: “Open locality needs the impurity, heterogeneity and non-foundationality of experiences, which, in its turn means that there is no absolute hierarchy amongst experiences” (Vadén 2006: 230).

In the autobiographical volume *Smugglarkungens son*, Bengt Pohjanen mentions the concept of “ethnofuturism” when depicting the circumstances surrounding his birth in the Tornedalian village of Kassa, on the Swedish side of the border (Pohjanen 2007: 16). The border, established at the conclusion of the Swedish-Russian war 1808–1809, is a central motif in the writings of Pohjanen. As a consequence of the division of the ancient Tornedalian cultural landscape, the Tornedalians on the Swedish side of the border became a minority, divided from their Finnish kin. The minority status of the Swedish Tornedalians and its consequences for identity formation are major themes of Pohjanen’s authorship in various genres. Already the early poem “Jag är född utan språk” [‘I was born without language’], first published in 1973, foregrounds the themes of identity loss and ambivalent feelings towards having a Tornedalian cultural background. The language and identity loss depicted are both connected with Swedish assimilationist policies and the modernisation of Sweden characterised by cultural homogenisation (see Arvaston 1999).

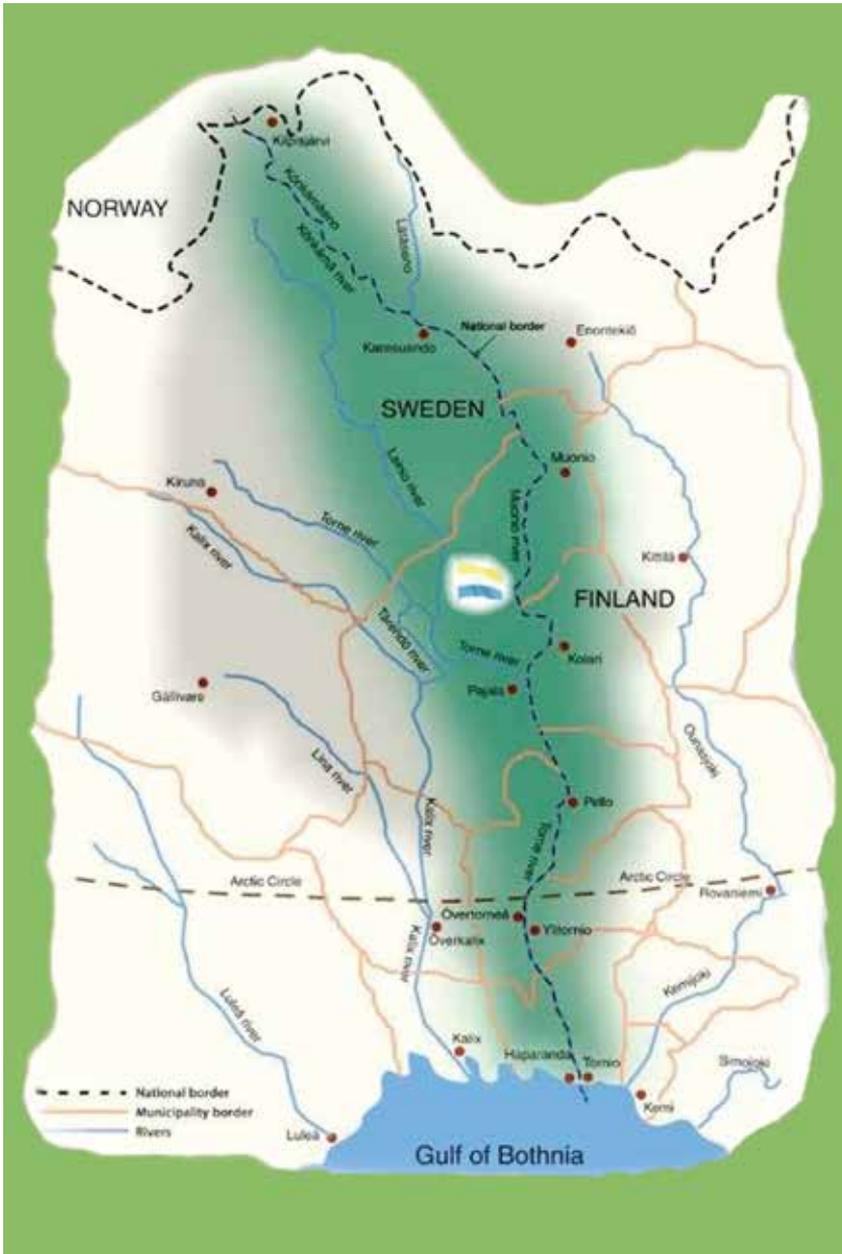
The Meänmaa Concept

The concept of “Meänmaa” refers to the ancient homeland of the Tornedalians on both sides of the border river marking the Swedish-Finnish border since 1809. The focus of this article is on the role ethnicity and ethnification play for identity formation. This implies that the framework for interpretation differs from that of analyses of Pohjanen’s writings as elements in the creation of regional identity (see Prokkola & Ridanpää 2011; see also Ridanpää 2017). “Meänmaa” is a concept which has been iteratively used in the writings of Bengt Pohjanen during the last few decades. In 1999 Meänkieli was acknowledged as a minority language by the Swedish Parliament. Furthermore, in 2000 Sweden ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. However, the road to official recognition has not been without obstacles. Because of a history of assimilationist policies, Meänkieli is threatened by extinction today. According to Pietikäinen *et al.* “all minority and indigenous languages in the North Calotte are presently endangered” (Pietikäinen *et al.* 2010: 2).

In addition to being the name of a geographical place, *Meänmaa* is also the name of an association founded in 2007.³ In 2008, the name of the association was changed to *Meänmaa* and it was also registered the same year. To a large extent this association is responsible for launching the concept of “Meänmaa,” denominating a place constituted by five Finnish and five Swedish municipalities on both sides of the Torne River. However, the name *Meänmaa* had been in use previously. In 1992, a book by Bengt Pohjanen and the Finnish photographer Jaakko Heikkilä entitled *Meänmaa* was published (Pohjanen & Heikkilä 1992). Fifteen years later, on 15 July, 2007, the association Meänmaa presented a Tornedalian flag. An image of this flag is reproduced on the covers of the two volumes of a Tornedalian Finnish literary history which have so far been published (Pohjanen & Johansson 2007; Pohjanen & Johansson 2009). Both volumes have a similar image on the back cover showing the flag with a yellow, white and blue horizontal band in the centre of a map of Meänmaa. Since 2009, the association has published a magazine, initially called *Meänmaan aviisi*. In 2010 its name was changed to *Meänmaa*.

Iteratively Creating Place. Using Ancient Lore and Criticising Homogenising Nation-Building

When depicting his birth in *Smugglarkungens son*, Bengt Pohjanen embeds the narrative in a mythological framework with ancient, local traditions passed on from one generation to another through thousands of years:



Map 1. Map of Meänmaa with a flag at the centre. Illustration on the back-cover of Bengt Pohjanen's and Kirsti Johansson's Tornedalian-Finnish literature history books (2007; 2009).

With words inherited from midwives who had helped children into the world for thousands of years, Hilma Krutrök [i.e. the midwife] with her Ugric gifts, was able to transfer the pains from the woman giving birth to the dancing and jumping sun-warmed wooden logs of the cottage. She might well do as an Ur-Icon or prototype of ethnofuturism. (Pohjanen 2007: 16, my translation)⁴

The use of mythological subject matter pointing to the existence of an ancient local Finno-Ugric culture is characteristic of ethnofuturism. In the same section, the concept of "l'Ugritude" is mentioned in a comment about the appreciation of oral performances in local culture when the newborn baby holds out his tongue to the midwife. This is said to be a sign of being born with the gift of speech. Both the terms *Ugric* and *l'Ugritude* connote ethnicity. Furthermore they connote ethnicity connected with non-Indo-European languages. One vital element in the Tornedalian identity under construction in the writings of Bengt Pohjanen is the fact that the local language Meänkieli is not an Indo-European language but a language with Finno-Ugric roots.

While the references to ethnofuturism and *l'Ugritude* in Pohjanen's narrative of his birth evoke the themes of resistance and performative celebration of ethnic minority status, the narrative also introduces the motives of racism, marginalisation, language loss and exclusion (also see Heith 2016). The midwife is said to knead the head of the baby in order to make its shape rounder. The narrator describes the effect as that of making him look "like a real human and not like an Aryan egg-skull" (Pohjanen 2007:17, my translation).⁵ The place of birth is denominated as *gränsens tredje rum* ['the third space of the border'] and a margin, and the condition following from this as solitude, language loss, and being an outsider. The passage narrating the birth is concluded with comments on a Tornedalian proverb: "My own birth is, after that of Christ, the most important thing that has happened to me, says a Tornedalian proverb" (Pohjanen 2007: 17, my translation).⁶ The section ends with the conclusion: "My fate was to be born to Meänkieli, and such a fate is no event of importance, hardly an event at all" (Pohjanen 2007: 17, my translation).⁷

Bengt Pohjanen's depiction of his birth includes an explicit reference to ethnofuturism as well as implicit references in the shape of the motives of ancient, local myths and traditions drawn from a Ugric supply of lore and beliefs. While ethnofuturism provides means for dealing with the past in a manner positive for identity formation in the present, the references to racism, outsider status and language and identity loss evoke the history against which the present-day Tornedalian cultural mobilisation evolves. The theme of the poem "I was born without a language" mentioned above

is language loss, identity loss and socialisation into a culture of poverty conveyed by the compulsory school which contributed to creating feelings of shame and inadequacy among Tornedalian children raised in families speaking Tornedalian Finnish. Compulsory education is connected with nationalisation, one of the aims of the school being to teach children about who “we” are, and what characteristics “our” country and history have. This theme is addressed by Pohjanen in *Den tornedalsfinska litteraturen* in a section discussing literature in Meänmaa. Using Selma Lagerlöf’s *Nils Holgersson’s underbara resa genom Sverige/The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* as an example, Pohjanen concludes that Lagerlöf contributed to the marginalisation of the Tornedalians by not acknowledging their existence and by ignoring their presence in a Swedish national context (Pohjanen 2007: 11).

Lagerlöf’s book, which was published in two volumes 1906–1907, was commissioned as a textbook in geography for the compulsory school (Heith 2009). Its aim was to teach children about Swedish geography, history and culture through the narrative of the boy Nils, who is shrunk to the size of a pixie. This allows him to fly on the back of a goose from southern to northernmost Sweden. Pohjanen concludes:

Nils Holgersson never saw us. The author missed a large part of the country: Meänmaa, whose first language during the first three thousand years was Meänkieli. Selma Lagerlöf simply gave us a Swedish identity. The Swedish language and the Swedes represented us. We existed through another people, another language and another culture in our own land, whereto the Swedes migrated long after us. (Pohjanen 2007: 11, my translation)⁸

Pohjanen’s narrative implicates that there is a connection between the ethno-futurism of the present on the one hand, and minority status and a history of marginalisation on the other.

Depicting Meänmaa. The River, Stillness, and God versus the Sweaty Embrace of Earth

Pohjanen’s iterative contribution to place-making is manifest also in the book *Meänmaa* [‘Our land,’ Swedish title *Vårat land*] mentioned above. The volume consists of photographs of Tornedalian people and the local landscape by Jaakko Heikkilä accompanied by brief texts by Bengt Pohjanen. It is divided into sections marked by headings referring to the motives of the photographs and texts. The images include shots of lonely, elderly men, aged women sitting together, wintery and summery rural landscapes, traditional farming, Laestadian prayer meetings, drunken youngsters, sexually charged encounters in the open air, and the river. One section’s headline reads “När

du kommer ska jag visa dig älven, stillheten och Gud” [‘When you arrive I will show you the river, the stillness and God’]. The emphasis on the river, stillness and God is one way of making place, which distinguishes Meänmaa from modern, secular, urban society in Finland and Sweden. Although references to Laestadianism dominate, the volume also includes comments on Communism, another ideological movement which has shaped the worldview and ideological landscape of Meänmaa.

While the references to the river, stillness and God conjure up a place marked out by its landscape, nature and spirituality with the river as the primary natural monument, and God as the spiritual one, the contrast between these elements and other images in the volume of drunk people engaged in sexual activities present a dichotomous image of Meänmaa as both a land of spirituality, unworldliness, and stillness, on the one hand, and carnal passions, and excessive outbursts on the other. This dichotomous representation is a *leifmotif* in Bengt Pohjanen’s construction of Meänmaa, iterated in the Tornedalian Finnish literary history co-authored by himself and Kirsti Johansson, *Den tornedalsfinska litteraturen. Från Kexi till Liksom* (Pohjanen & Johansson 2007; see also Heith 2008; Heith 2012*b*; Heith 2012*c*). One of the authors presented in a section entitled “L’ugritude – vår andes stämma i världen” [‘L’ugritude—the voice of our spirit in the world’] is Timo K. Mukka (1944–1973). In the chapter “Participation mystique – möte med Timo K. Mukka” [‘Participation mystique—encounter with Timo K. Mukka’], Pohjanen gives a subjective account of the great impact Mukka’s novel *Maa on syntinen laulu* [‘The earth is a sinful song’] had upon him when he came across the book as a boy (Mukka [1964] 1975).

In particular, Pohjanen dwells upon the existential dimension of Mukka’s novel, which describes the human condition as encompassing both spiritual yearning and earthbound desires. However, it is not a universal human condition that Mukka describes, although it may sound like it from the characterisation so far. In Pohjanen’s text, Mukka is attributed the role of somebody who represents a local condition embedded in a local truth. As the title of Mukka’s novel indicates, this local condition is shaped by Laestadianism’s focus upon unworldliness and its subsequent emphasis on the sinfulness of a worldly life with carnal excesses related to the human body. Neither Mukka nor Pohjanen denies the earthly dimension of human existence. Rather, they foreground it as an intrinsic part of being human. Mukka’s novel juxtaposes poetical texts in the form of stanzas and prose sections, thus depicting a tension also in the use of language and literary mode. The first lyrical section of Mukka’s novel, “Min älskades land” [‘The land of my beloved’], is reproduced in Bengt Pohjanen’s Swedish translation in the article on Mukka in *Den tornedalsfinska litteraturen* (Pohjanen & Jo-

hansson 2007: 70–71). The song includes both the motives of men standing on their knees praying to God in heaven, and the earth as a sweaty embrace. The song concludes with the confession of the lyrical I: “I confess—I am human” (Pohjanen & Johansson 2007: 71). This tension between body and spirit, and earth and heaven, is embedded in a poetical, mythical landscape resounding of ancient folk songs, with the “scent of fragile flowers” (*veka blommors doft*), “melancholy crying” (*vemodig gråt*), and “the shy bird of love” (*kärlekens skygga fågel*).

From the vantage point of ethnofuturism, Mukka’s novel *Maa on syntinen laulu* is exemplary as a depiction of a minoritarian condition in a spiritual and ideological landscape with tensions between a local religious movement which has shaped people’s worldview and a harsh life in which momentary breaks may be experienced through excessive drinking, ecstatic prayer meetings and sexual encounters. In Pohjanen’s narrative, Mukka depicts a condition connected with a specific space which he experiences from the inside. This specific mode of experiencing is connected with ethnicity, language and locality.

Place-Making and Bordering

Ethnofuturism is based on the notion that there are ethnic groups that may be distinguished from one another. However, ethnic groups are neither self-evident nor static phenomena. When analysing this theme, the Norwegian social anthropologist Fredrik Barth emphasises the role of bordering for the shaping of ethnic groups (Barth 1998; see also Heith 2012c; Heith 2012d; Heith 2013). Exemplifying with the situation of the Sami in Norway, Barth argues that a minority group may accept its minority status while at the same time challenging the stigma and “minority disabilities” connected with this status (Barth 1998: 32–33). This may result in a choice to emphasise ethnic identity for the purpose of developing new positions and patterns to organise activities for new purposes (Barth 1998: 33). In the case of ethnofuturism, the choice of suppressed and threatened minorities to emphasise ethnicity is connected with an aesthetic program aiming at rescuing endangered languages and cultures. However, Barth also foregrounds a political potential, as “political movements constitute new ways of making cultural differences organizationally relevant [...], and new ways of articulating the dichotomized ethnic groups” (Barth 1998: 34).

The twofold objective of aesthetic renewal and the influencing of public opinion (and thus possibly creating political pressure) are manifest in Pohjanen’s literary authorship, on the one hand, and his activities as a publisher, debater, and key person in the Meänmaa association on the other. In both instances, the objectives are connected with the idea that there is

a specific ethnic group, the Tornedalians, which Pohjanen belongs to and which he represents. As indicated by the reference to “round and Aryan egg-skulls” in the quote from the episode depicting his birth discussed above, the status of the Finno-Ugric Tornedalians has been connected with inferiority in the context of Swedish race-biological research. This historical subject matter provides a backdrop of present-day cultural revitalisation. In 1922, the State Institute of Racial Biology was founded in Uppsala following a parliamentary decision. Its first director, Herman Lundborg, travelled extensively in northern Sweden for the purpose of collecting biometric data about the Sami and Finnish-speaking minorities. Following Curt Persson, the “research” carried out by Lundborg and his colleagues had a great impact upon Hjalmar Lundbohm, founder of Kiruna and the first director of the LKAB mining company (Persson 2013). Persson claims that Lundbohm was a believer in the “science” which constructed the Sami and Tornedalians as racially inferior to the “Nordic-Germanic racial character” (see also Kemiläinen 1998). This is a historical backdrop for the emergence of negative attitudes connected with Finno-Ugric ethnicity, which Pohjanen refers to in the comment concerning the shape of Tornedalian versus Aryan skulls.

Another stigmatising theme Pohjanen dwells upon is that of speaking a language that is discouraged in the compulsory educational system. In a survey of linguistic measures which have affected the use and status of Meänkieli (*Tornedalian Finnish*, previously also called *Finnish*), Wande highlights that from 1888, all-Swedish schools received economic support from the state (Wande 1990: 442). He also mentions that the prohibition against speaking Finnish during breaks was revoked in 1958, and that a reminder was issued in 1968 that the prohibition was no longer in force (Wande 1990: 442). These measures indicate that there was a conscious policy of Swedification implemented in the educational system. They also indicate that while a rigorous attitude towards Finnish being spoken at school was in theory alleviated in 1958, the practice of prohibiting its use continued during the decade after that. These measures and practices provide a backdrop for the negative consequences of language and identity loss explored by Bengt Pohjanen in his authorship.

Ethnofuturism as a Framework for Positive Identity Formation

While Pohjanen uses motives connected with a negative history of stigmatisation and loss, he also explores affirmative and positive aspects of Tornedalianness. The conclusion of this article is that the aesthetics of ethnofuturism provides a conceptual framework for an orientation away from negative modes of experiencing ethnicity towards positive affirmation.

Wande mentions external activities and artefacts, as well as external, environmental elements as examples of factors shaping cultural identity (Wande 2005: 206). Barth, too, highlights the role of distinguishing markers for the construction of ethnic groups by means of self-definition (Barth 1998). In the case of Bengt Pohjanen and the making of Meänmaa, references to external activities such as local customs, ceremonies, rituals, language etc., and artefacts such as ways of dressing, tools and architecture, as well as external environmental elements such as the river and the landscape, contribute to the making of Meänmaa in the autobiography *Smugglarkungens son* and the book *Meänmaa* with photographs by Heikkilä. The role of the images in the latter volume is to construct Meänmaa visually, while Pohjanen's text contributes through an emphasis on elements such as "stillness," "the river," and "God." The use of visual imprints is also found on the cover of both volumes of *Den tornedalsfinska litteraturen* in the shape of a map of Meänmaa and an image of Meänmaa's flag.

In the chapter on the literature of Meänmaa in *Den tornedalsfinska litteraturen* discussed above, distinctions are made between the history of the Tornedalians and that of the majority population in Sweden. By using Selma Lagerlöf's book about Nils Holgersson's journey as a target Pohjanen makes the claim that the culture of Meänmaa has been made invisible in Swedish nation-building. The focus of the chapter on Mukka's novel *Maa on syntinen laulu*, on the other hand, is that of making a specific Tornedalian place through an aesthetics using elements from ancient Finno-Ugric folk poetry, as well as emphasising the impact of the Laestadian revival for shaping a mentality with tensions between unworldliness and spirituality on the one hand, and momentary outbursts of carnal indulgences on the other. Thus, Meänmaa is shaped by a number of elements related to activities, artefacts, mentality, and the external environment, functioning as distinguishing markers. In the context of ethnofuturism, these distinguishing markers contribute to constructing Meänmaa as a specific place connected with Finno-Ugric ethnicity and a history of having become a divided cultural landscape at the fringes of the Swedish and Finnish nation-states.

When contributing to the construction of Meänmaa, Pohjanen uses naming, mapping and symbolic elements connoting Tornedalian culture, heritage and ethnicity. This is part of a decolonisation process. As Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin point out, naming and mapping are dominant practices of colonial and post-colonial cultures (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007: 28). This notion provides an ideological backdrop of Pohjanen's claim that Selma Lagerlöf's classic book about Nils Holgersson's journey has excluded and made invisible the Torne Valley and its inhabitants. Pohjanen's critique highlights that the Torne Valley has been represented as a blank space, a

notion resounding of colonising narratives of empty spaces free for the colonisers to cultivate (see Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007: 28). The rationale behind the present-day construction of Meänmaa, and the promotion of Meänkieli, is that far from having been an empty space, the municipalities of the Torne Valley constituting Meänmaa are an ancient cultural landscape with a language, culture, and history of its own. The conclusion of this article is that publishing and writing in diverse genres, the formation of associations on a local level and the activations of local symbols play a central role in Tornedalian ethnonational place-making.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES

- ¹ *Pänkki* is the Finnish form of *Bengt*.
- ² Sallamaa mentions that the term *Standard Average European (SAE) thinking* was invented by B.L. Whorf (1972). Uku Masing is mentioned as the originator of the notion of "the illusion of a universally valid way of being human." Masing's book from 2004, which Salamaa refers to, is in Estonian.
- ³ The association Meänmaan yhistys has a website which contains information about its background, purpose and activities (www.meanmaa.net/mmy/start_mmy.htm; access date 11 January 2017). The website includes a document testifying that "Meänmaa" is a registered trade mark in Sweden. Bengt Pohjanen is presented as chair of the association.
- ⁴ *Med ord ärvda av jordemödrar som hjälpt barn till världen i tusentals år kunde Hilma Krutrök med sina ugriska gåvor flytta plågorna från föderskan till pörtets solvarma vedklabbar som dansade och hoppade. Hon skulle gott duga som en etnofuturismens ur-ikon och prototyp.*
- ⁵ *en riktig människa och inte som en arisk äggskalle.*
- ⁶ *Min egen födelse är efter Kristi det viktigaste som hänt mig, säger ett tornedalskt ordspråk.*
- ⁷ *Mitt öde var att födas till meänkieli, och ett sådant öde är ingen viktig händelse, nästan ingen händelse alls.*
- ⁸ *Nils Holgersson såg aldrig oss. Författarinnan missade ett stort område av landet: Meänmaa vars första språk under de tre första åren varit meänkieli. Selma Lagerlöf gav oss helt enkelt en svensk identitet. Svenskan och svenskarna representerade oss. Vi fanns till genom ett annat folk, ett annat språk och en annan kultur i vårt eget land, dit svenskarna invandrat långt efter oss.*

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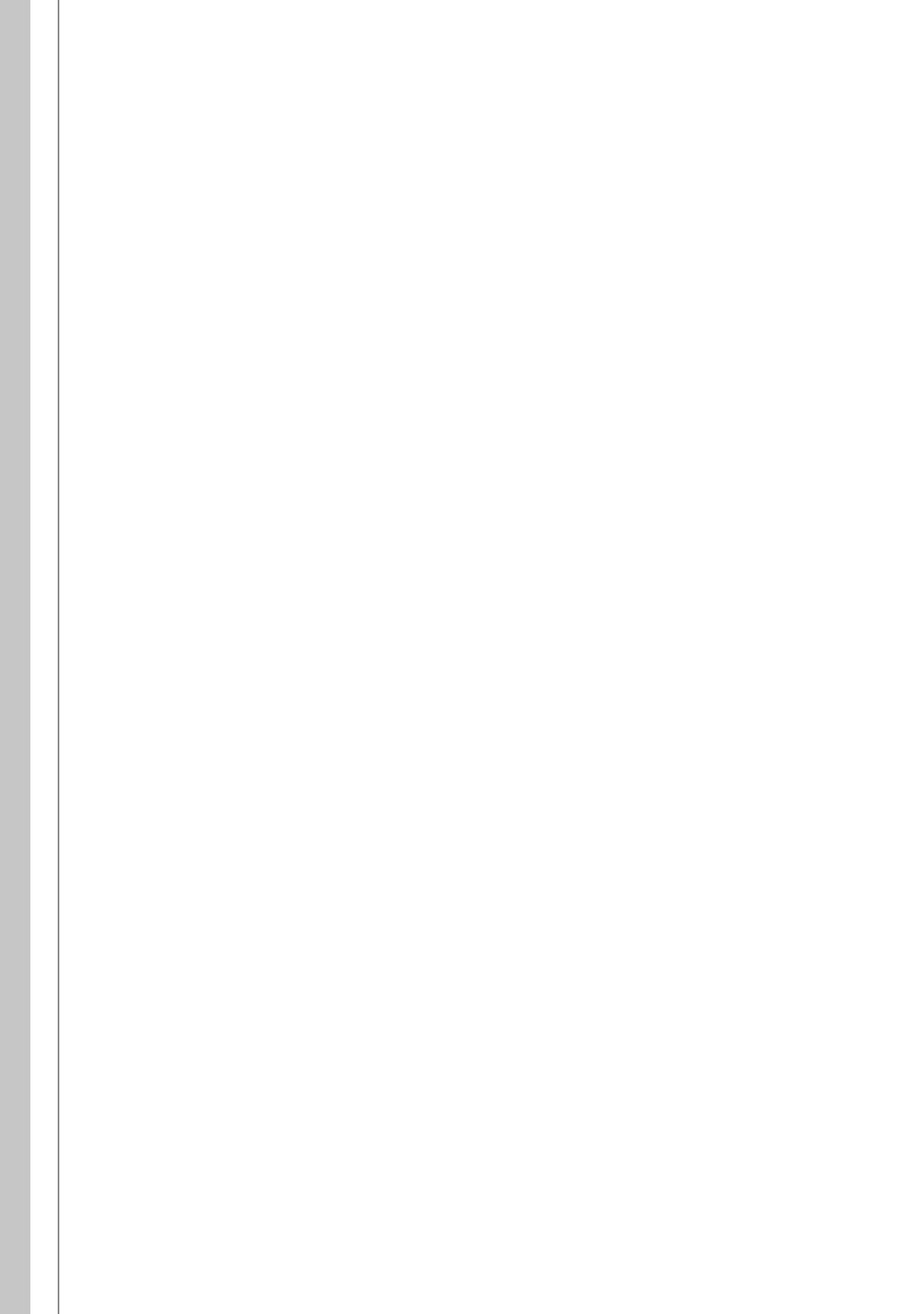
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Reviews/Comptes rendus/Besprechungen

Matthew Driscoll & Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (eds.), *66 håndskrifter fra Arne Magnussons samling*, København & Reykjavík: Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, Nordisk forskningsinstitut, Københavns universitet; Árni Magnússon-instituttet for islandske studier; Museum Tusulanums Forlag, Københavns universitet 2015, ISBN 978-87-635-4166-4, 237 pp.

On account of the fact that in 2013 it was 350 years since the Icelandic manuscript collector Árni Magnússon was born, 35 international researchers gathered for the publication of this book. It deals with some of the manuscripts that Árni Magnússon collected, thereby saving them for posterity. Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir is the author of the introductory text, which provides biographical data about Árni, including, among other things, his childhood and adolescence in Hvammur. His studies in Skálholt and later at the University of Copenhagen are described, and then, in greater detail, his activities as a manuscript collector. The environments that formed his antiquarian interest are accounted for. The way in which Árni may have requested manuscripts is illustrated in a letter to the clergyman Ólafur Jónsson in Grunnavík concerning some sheets in Hauksbók. By way of conclusion, it is described how the manuscript collection was established and how, much later, parts of the collection were returned to Iceland. At the end of the book there is a contribution by Soffía Guðný Guðmundsdóttir and Laufey Guðnadóttir (together with Anne Mette Hansen), which deals with medieval book production. It mediates knowledge of physical artefacts such as parchment, pencils and ink. The reader also gets insights into the scribes' working conditions. In addition, the manuscripts' illuminations and the actual bindings are dealt with. The main part of the book consists of 66 articles on as many manuscripts, one manuscript for each year of Árni Magnússon's life. Here one can get acquainted with *Codex Wormianus*, *Codex Frisianus*, *Möðruvallabók*, *Hauksbók* and other well-known collections. In my opinion, however, the most interesting sections are those that deal with the somewhat less known manuscripts, e.g. the remarkable, richly illustrated *Edda oblonga*—whose designation is due to its format—, where some stanzas are written in a kind of code script. Here, one might also mention *Codex Runicus*, which contains *Skånske Lov* and

Skånske Kirkelov and is entirely written in runes. Another of the book's sections is about the letters, where a few different types are elucidated. As is well known, manuscripts and single manuscript sheets have sometimes not been preserved in bound volumes but as book covers and the like. Among the most remarkable finds are some sheets used in a pointed bishop's mitre, about which it is said in the book:

one can imagine his [Árni Magnússon's] astonishment, when through the mitre's soft silk cloth he discovered that the inner stiffening consisted of old manuscript sheets, and he was no doubt amused when he saw that the content was worldly stories about young people's hot love-making. (p. 188)

The following section (pp. 190 f.) about censorship in the manuscripts shows a section in AM 586 4^o where one finds that a text has been deleted without any new writing having been added. However, since the text section can be reconstructed by means of another manuscript, it is obvious that it was the text's sexual content that resulted in the censorship. The insightful descriptions in the volume reflect the manuscript collection's valuable content. The book *66 håndskrifter fra Arne Magnussons samling*, which has been published in both an Icelandic (Reykjavík) and an English version (København), is illustrated with a generous number of colour pictures. The editors are Matthew Driscoll and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, and the editorial team also comprised Britta Olrik Frederiksen, Anne Mette Hansen, Peter Springborg och Sigurður Svavarsson. This guarantees a product of the highest standard. What I miss in the book are literature references, especially in the introduction where Árni and his activities are described and in the conclusion about medieval book production, but also in the rest of the book. Furthermore, coherent descriptions of how scholars work to place manuscripts in relation to each other, how manuscripts are dated and how they are physically taken care of and preserved would also have been of value. However, interested readers often tend to want even more from an already good book. It must above all be said that the book is a beautiful tribute to Árni Magnússon—and it is easy to understand why the manuscripts were listed in UNESCO's "Memory of the World Register" in 2009.

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Birgit Eaker, Birgitta Hedbäck, Lennart Larsson, Pär Nilsson & Christina Persson† (eds.), *Ord och gärning. Festschrift till Anki Mattisson 31 augusti 2015*, Stockholm: Svenska Akademien 2015, ISBN 978-91-85333-65-3, 205 pp.

When after twenty years on the editorial staff of the Swedish Academy Dictionary, from 2000 as its head, Anki Mattisson left her post, she was honoured with this book. In his introduction, the permanent secretary of the Swedish Academy, Peter Englund, emphasises Mattisson's purposefulness in the work of finishing the dictionary, "a purposefulness bordering on passion," as he puts it. The Festschrift gives many good insights into the often rather intricate work on the dictionary. I think that one must oneself have tackled a description of the form and/or the meaning of a word, in particular a frequent word, in order to understand the dictionary editors' difficult work. This is illustrated, for example, in Birgit Eaker's article on the edition of the word *tid* 'time' in the Swedish Academy Dictionary, where not least the semantic differentiation is of interest. Among other things, one notices the reflections concerning the present attitude to time as a resource from an individual perspective (Swedish: *investera tid*, *kvalitetstid*, *egentid* ['invest time, quality time, one's own time']). A world of textile history—completely unknown to me—is opened up in Berit Eldvik's contribution on *tambursöm* ['tambour work']. The dictionary article *söt* 'sweet' is focused on by Ann-Kristin Eriksson. Pär Nilsson shows in his contribution how the same concept may have different meanings depending on whether it is used about a woman or a man. The point of departure is the article on *vacker* 'beautiful,' but comparisons are also made of synonymous words in the dictionary. This topic, which is large and has good potential, cannot of course be dealt with in any particular depth in a short contribution. Caroline Sandström and Charlotta af Hällström-Reijonen write about Finlandisms in the dictionary. According to the authors, the main impression is that the editorial staff of the dictionary have been well informed about Finland Swedish language use. A fundamentally important issue is dealt with in Lennart Larsson's study of how the dictionaries of the present-day language should be regarded as sources of the historical dictionaries; he makes a concrete study of how Henrik Florinus' *Vocabularium* has been used in the dictionary. Anton Lundqvist writes about the *v*-sound in the dictionary and shows how <w> in sources printed in German type are rendered by <v>, since they were regarded as

allographs. Sven-Göran Malmgren's insightful contribution about Ebbe Tuneld and Pelle Holm as editors of the Swedish Academy Glossary is of interest, not least from a scholarship history perspective. Bo Svensén writes about what might be called the Swedish Academy's *old* library and Lars Svensson about the dictionary's experts and their work. It is easy to underestimate the importance of these latter persons. A number of bird designations are dealt with by Lars Trap-Jensen, who illustrates the movements of the words across continents and between languages, while Åse Wetås has chosen a heading that ends with a question mark: "Store vitskapelege dokumentasjonsordbøker – dinosaurar eller gullgruver i den digitale tidsalderen?" ['Large scientific dictionaries—dinosaurs or goldmines in the digital age?']. Onomastic contributions are made by Birgit Falck-Kjällquist on primary names of lighthouses and Staffan Fridell on the oldest records of *in uilla oshægu* for *Oxie* and *in uilla hu[l]lægo* for *Hyllie*. With a socio-dialectal focus, Margareta Svahn's essay deals with the individual dialect change in a speaker from Västergötland in the half-century 1961–2006. As is always the case in omnibus books of this kind, some articles are well worked out, while others are preliminary works for more extensive studies. But as a whole, this book presents many aspects of the intricate work behind a dictionary.

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Birgit Eggert & Rikke S. Olesen (& Bent Jørgensen) (eds.), *Navne og skel. Skellet mellem navne. Rapport fra Den femtende nordiske navneforskerkongres på Askov Højskole 6.–9. juni 2012*, volume 2, Uppsala: NORNA 2015 (NORNA-rapporter 91), ISSN 0346-6728; ISBN 978-91-7276-091-2, 261 pp.

This volume contains a collection of the presentations given at the fifteenth Nordic Congress of Onomastics in June 2012 where a total of about sixty onomatologists discussed the theme of names and boundaries of different kinds. The congress volumes show the width of the presentations. In the first volume, there are 15 contributions and three project presentations, and in the second another 15. In the first part, personal names, other names, and methods and terminology are at the centre, in the second, to which attention is paid here, the focus is on toponyms. A number of studies are about Danish names. Perspectives on naming

(among others *Neble* < *Nybøl*) and settlement changes in the southwest part of Zealand are dealt with from the point of view of settlement history in Sofie Laurine Albris' article. There are many archaeological finds from the older Iron Age in this area, but the names are relatively younger, which is interesting; one is reminded here of Lars Hellberg's classical investigation of Åland (1987). Jælling on east Jutland has apparently "had a special position as a royal demesne and monument of royal power, national unity and the change of religion," but this is not manifested in the area's stock of toponyms. How this could be explained is discussed by Lisbeth Eilersgaard Christensen. In a very informative contribution, Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen tries to reconstruct the medieval parish boundaries based on two case studies conducted on northwest Zealand and Falster. The main element *bjerg* in the Danish area is in the foreground in Maria Mølgaard Bjørn's contribution, which deals with important semantic issues that make one think about how, where and when different special senses actually arise; that would be problematic to describe in any detail. How Danish types of names crossed the boundary of the Danelaw is analysed insightfully and with the support of a number of maps by Gillian Fellows-Jensen. Some articles are based on Norwegian empirical findings. Questions of dating are dealt with by Vidar Haslum, who in Agder in Southern Norway finds perhaps the most evident and best-marked settlement pattern in the Nordic countries, and important perspectives on dating methods are presented. This specific study really whets one's appetite. Inge Særheim shows how toponyms can contribute to the research on the history of language and how they can sometimes illustrate changing dialect boundaries. A number of toponyms indicating concord and discord between groups are accounted for by Botolv Helleland. In this study, it is especially the well-structured empirical findings that are of interest. Svavar Sigmundsson writes about toponyms and volcanoes in Iceland; a number of basic words—such as *hraun*, *dyngja* and *gigur*—are accounted for as well as the names *Hekla*, *Katla* and *Krafla*. In a contribution that concerns the important relation between the names' spoken and written forms, Kristina Neumüller describes the variation between competing toponyms in different sources. Annika Nilsson shows that cognitive linguistics can contribute to the research on toponyms. The knowledge of street names in a bilingual environment in Helsinki is dealt with by Maria Vidberg, who discusses the existence of parallel systems. Based on an interview with four 15-year-old inhabitants of Helsinki, Terhi Ainiala illustrates the use of toponyms in conversations, both in order to identify places and to discuss names. Folk onomastic studies of this kind have great potential. Two articles

relate to work on doctoral theses, Ellen Pihl's on field names and Line Sandst's on urban toponyms. Thus, a number of different types of empirical findings and different theoretical perspectives are dealt with in this volume, illustrating the diversity and vitality of Nordic onomastics.

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Kristina Hagren (ed.), *Ordbok över folkmålen i övre Dalarna*, 41: TILL–TRÖSKKARL, pp. 2855–2934, ISBN 978-91-86959-25-8; ISSN 1651-1204; 42: TRÖSKKONA–UTANSKAVE, pp. 2935–3014, ISBN 978-91-86959-31-9; ISSN 1651-1204, Uppsala: Dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala 2016 (Skrifter utg. av Institutet för språk och folkminnen. Serie D:1).

Yet another two booklets of *Ordbok över folkmålen i övre Dalarna* ['Dictionary of the dialects in upper Dalecarlia'] have been published, and the publishers are thus getting closer to the goal of completing this extensive dictionary of the vocabulary in one of the Swedish linguistic area's most peculiar language worlds, Upper Dalecarlia. When reading the booklets in question, one's interest is easily caught both by individual phenomena and by various language patterns. Equivalents within the dialect are often noted. In the dialects in Dalecarlia, *tinning* ['temple'] has the synonyms *dödsfläck* ['death spot'] and *tunnhöse* ['thin cranium']; in the latter, the last element is formed on *hös* ['cranium']. And besides *tungel* ['moon'], which is fairly widely spread in the dialects in upper Dalecarlia, one finds in Älvdalen the jocular *ungkarlsolen* ['the bachelor's sun'], cf. also *piltsolen* and *pojksolen* [both: 'the boy's sun'], the origin of which is said to be that the moon shone over young men's courting journeys. An interesting variation is described regarding the beetle called *timmerman* (*Acanthocinus ædilis*), which in this area, besides *timmerman*, is also called *timmerkuse*, *timmermask*, *timmerolov* and *timmeroxe*. The word *tyttholme* (used in the definite form) 'left on the shelf,' in the expression *döm a kum på tytthölman* 'they have remained unmarried,' is connected to *tytta* 'a woman who at the age of 25–30 is still unmarried' (cf. *tytt* 'elderly unmarried man'). *Tyttbo* is a farmstead with many unmarried daughters. As for the verb *tråna*, which in Standard Swedish

means ‘to long,’ one finds the meanings ‘develop slowly, wither away, languish,’ whereby *trånbolde* ‘boil that develops slowly’ and *trånsommar* ‘summer with weak and slow annual growth’ are explained. The reader’s interest is also caught by *tjäg* ‘some ten’ with the specialised sense ‘small piece of land,’ ‘part of (undivided) meadow or forest, on a mowable bog’ etc.; ‘division of meadow, division of forest’ etc. A few personal names are also included such as *Tomas*, which—besides being a man’s name and a farmstead name—also refers to Tomasmässan [‘St. Thomas Mass,’ December 21] and is found in the expression *vara Tomas* [‘to be Thomas’] ‘to doubt,’ which can be used about a quiet or stupid man, but also is used in *Långtomas*, denoting a tall person. Many compounds in *tve-* are found in the dictionary, among others *tveböta* ‘to use an extra horse, e.g. when a heavy load is to be drawn up a slope,’ *tveföttes* ‘on two legs’ (e.g. about a cow) and *tvetoling* ‘hermaphrodite.’ A suite of verbs related to each other on the submorphemic level through vowel shifts and various consonant extensions are *tjama* ‘speak with a slow drawl and in a singsong manner,’ etc., *tjamla* ‘talk, prattle; speak in an affected way,’ *tjamsa* ‘chew rapidly and hard; be out walking’ (p. 2867), *tjåma* ‘dawdle, idle’ (p. 2876), *tjämlla* ‘talk, prattle, gossip,’ etc. (p. 2879) and *tåma* ‘be sluggish, tardy, clumsy’ (p. 2975). This well-edited dictionary provides good insights into the rich vocabulary of the dialects in question.

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Göran Hallberg, *Skånes ortnamn. Serie A. Bebyggelsenamn. 19. Torna härad och Lunds stad*, Lund: Institutet för språk och folkminnen 2016, ISSN 0284-2416; ISBN 978-91-86959-24-1, 337 pp.

This volume in the series *Skånes ortnamn* [‘The toponyms of Scania’] deals with the toponyms in the countryside district of Torna and in the city of Lund. The author Göran Hallberg has previously produced about half a dozen volumes in this series, and it is thus a highly experienced publisher who gets to grips with the stock of names in the region. The name *Torna härad*, recorded as *Thornæheret* in 1231 (later copy), is possibly derived from an older name referring to a shrubbery of *torn* ‘clump of hawthorn’ or a solitary *torn* ‘hawthorn tree’ in the place “in which first a cult and market place was established and later on also the city of Lund” (p. 22). In connection with the name of Lund, and

based on archaeologist Anders Andrén's research, the idea of the thorn shrubbery's or the solitary hawthorn's existence in the centre of the rural-like east-west settlement is described as an interesting alternative, "which [...] is hypothetically sketched out [...] as the city core's agrarian and ecclesiastical background" (p. 221). Gösta Holm's idea (in the paragraph referred to) that the city of Lund was named after an older **Lund* referring to Uppåkra in Bara is resolutely rejected. The book deals in an interesting way with large numbers of names of settlements in the district. In connection with the name of (*Stora*) *Bjällerup*, a couple of alternative interpretations are discussed, of which the author (p. 31) favours a connection to Old Danish **bjæl* 'lump' because of the settlement's location at a protruding high plateau. In connection with the name of *Dalby*, based on *dal* 'hollow, depression,' it is pointed out that the pre-Christian settlement was probably situated at a brook ravine (p. 69). In the first elements in *Lackalänga*, there is a watercourse name **Lakka* or **Lakk* meaning 'the slowly running,' and in the main element the frequent *länga* in the sense of 'elongated terrain formation' (pp. 137 f.). Different alternatives are commendably weighed against each other in *Blentarp* (pp. 35 f.). According to Bengt Pamp's analysis of *Felsmosse*, the first element is Old Danish **fel* 'board,' but the author is of the opinion that it is more likely a counterpart to Danish *fæll(e)s* 'common, joint, shared,' referring to the moss land jointly cultivated by the three parishes (p. 185). This seems to be a reasonable assumption. The factual discussion could have been a bit more penetrating in the case of *Hylle* (p. 105), which is discussed in connection with the height designation *hög*, with the water pool designation *hyl*, *höl* and also—although described as less likely—with a **hykil* '(animal's) knee.' Sometimes the author refrains completely from presenting a toponymic interpretation, for example regarding *Västra Hoby* (p. 217). Even though neither older forms of writing nor dialectal pronunciations provide much help in the interpretation of this particular name, it would have been interesting to have been informed about the possible interpretations the author must have been considering when working with this name. In some villages, such as *Stora Bjällerup*, there are large numbers of toponyms named after other places, e.g. *Fredrikshamn*, *Narva*, *Pettersburg*, *Umeå*, *Vasa*, *Viborg*, *Åbo* and *Åhus* (pp. 32 ff.). In *Hardeberga*, there are the names *Fiskenstrid* ['Fish battle'], which might have a connection to a watercourse where it was a conflict about fishing, *Fågelsång* ['Bird song'], named after German *Vogel-sang*, and in the last village a counterpart name *Fågelskrik* ['Bird scream'], in particular used about the local amusement park (pp. 112 f.). One also notes the occurrence of the imperative-based *Stattena* (p. 144), a forma-

tion on the vernacular expression *statt ena* ‘stand alone,’ which existed in several places in the district of Torna and in about forty places in Scania. The treatment of these younger toponyms is well implemented. A more extensive section deals with names in the city of Lund, both names inside and outside the so-called “Medieval Oval.” Some examples of noteworthy names here are *Farmis* (the Pharmacological Department, p. 232), *Fyris* (student lodgings with four rooms in the attic, p. 233), *Lab-bis* (the Chemical Laboratory, p. 234), *Kuggis* (a building used as an examination hall, p. 241; cf. the verb *kugga* ‘fail an exam’) and *Stora Slukis* (a restaurant, p. 256; cf. the verb *sluka* ‘swallow, devour’). One also finds the name *Lunda töser* [‘Lund’s lasses’], denoting four twelve-storey buildings on Södra Vägen, which seems to be a humorous counterpart to the older name of the Cathedral’s two west towers *Lunna pågar* [‘Lund’s lads’] (p. 277, cf. p. 291). Some photographs have been gathered at the end, where there are also a toponym index and an index of last elements, some maps and a presentation of the Swedish dialect alphabet. As I said initially, it is an experienced publisher in the series *Skånska ortnamn* who has added yet another volume to the previous ones. Yet another volume in the series was published in 2016 (see Sandnes below).

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Ebba Hjorth (editor-in-chief), Henrik Galberg Jacobsen, Bent Jørgensen, Birgitte Jacobsen & Laurids Kristian Fahl (eds.), *Dansk sproghistorie*, volume 1, *Dansk tager form*, Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag 2016, ISBN 978-87-7184-162-6, 475 pp.

In 2016, the first volume of a comprehensive Danish history of language was presented by Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab. As a complement to the printed book there is a homepage where one can find further text examples, pictures, sound features and film sequences. Where such complementary material is available can easily be seen by means of a number of icons beside the text. In this way, *Dansk sproghistorie* is definitely a modern work with a good potential to present the Danish language to the public at large. As many as 87 authors will be involved in this publication, which shows a great commitment from the Danish professional environments. The first volume describes the

historic development of Danish, but initially the editor-in-chief, Ebba Hjort, gives an account of the entire project. Volume 2 will deal with orthography, pronunciation and vocabulary, volume 3 with morphology and syntax, dialects and sociolects, volume 4 with Danish in use, volume 5 with Danish in the world and other languages in Denmark and volume 6 with language and style and authors' language. When all the volumes have been published, we will have a great reference work on the Danish language. The introductory part of the first volume describes the sources of the language from bracteates to the abundant material of later periods. A following chapter deals with more general perspectives, such as language and identity, where one can see Danish taking shape and Danish being placed in a larger perspective. There is also a fascinating section, written by Bent Jørgensen, about "sproghistorie og andre historier" ['language history and other histories'], which accounts for a number of interesting conditions concerning word history throughout the ages. A lengthy chapter deals with language descriptions, such as works on the history of the language, dictionaries, grammars, handbooks on orthography and phonetic reference works from different periods. The focus of this chapter is of course scholarly history, and a number of important Danish language scholars are mentioned here: Johs. Brøndum Nielsen, Peter Skautrup, Paul Diderichsen, Eli Fischer-Jørgensen and many others. The fourth and last chapter of this first book elucidates writing from a number of different perspectives. Runes are given a broad presentation, medieval palaeography is given adequate space, as are also printed matter from different periods, epigraphic writings and written documents in public contexts such as texts on doors, house walls and signs, as well as texts on commercial neon signs and texts written in stenography and braille. The presentations in the different sections are easy to assimilate, and the texts are richly complemented with illustrations. There are of course a number of transcriptions of handwritten pages and printed matter from different periods, but also more unexpected illustrations, such as a small drawing (p. 226) from 1924 showing how "Mrs Lis Jacobsen looks for the Rubbish of the Language," i.e. how the philologist Lis Jacobsen—who organized the work of publishing a comprehensive Danish dictionary—also tries to find records of informal words and slang words for the dictionary. Another feature of the volume is the maps and illustrative tables that are found throughout the work which explain language and language connections in a pedagogical manner. In many places, the work surprises, in a positive way, by presenting unexpected material and perspectives. With this first volume, *Dansk sproghistorie* has in my opinion got off to a flying start and it is

to be hoped that the project will be rapidly completed. It has a modern approach and is easy to assimilate and there are thus good chances that it will reach a large reading public. A new Norwegian language history (*Norsk språkhistorie*) is also presented in this review section (see Sandøy [ed.] below). Together, these two ambitious works will greatly increase our knowledge of Scandinavian language history.

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Kåre Hoel, *Bustadnavn i Østfold 14. Borge, Glemmen og Fredrikstad*. Utgitt av Institutt for lingvistiske og nordiske studier, Universitetet i Oslo ved Tom Schmidt, Oslo: Novus Forlag 2015, ISBN 978-82-7099-816-6, 501 pp. + map.

The articles on toponyms in this volume of the impressive work *Bustadnavn i Østfold* are organised as in the previous volumes. Here it is the names of settlements in Borge, Glemmen and Fredrikstad that are in the foreground and thoroughly elucidated. The interpretations in *Norske Gaardnavne* (NG), Kåre Hoel's treatment of the region's toponyms and the editor's—in this volume Tom Schmidt's—toponymic studies are brought together without being lumped together. In general, it is easy to distinguish the different parts. However, one thing the reader must be attentive to is whether it is Hoel or the editor who has made the interpretations, because the editor's statements may be brief, general comments on the text, a kind of stage instructions for the reader. Such instructions are found, for example, in the articles *Begby* (p. 20), *Haugsten* (p. 29) och *Glemmen* (p. 201 f.). As I have pointed out in my reviews of previous volumes in this journal, one sometimes finds oneself in the middle of a debate where Hoel and the editor are discussing a name, for example in the case of *Enhus* (pp. 296 ff.). The toponymic analyses are generally of a high standard and the investigation of the following toponyms is informative from several perspectives: *Begby* (from an older *Bekkbjør*, pp. 21 f.), *Moum* (pp. 57 ff.), *Grettnes* (pp. 81 f.), *Skjelin* (pp. 100 ff.), *Skivika* (pp. 113 ff.) and *Kråkerøy* (pp. 283 ff.). An intricate name that is discussed from a number of angles is *Strålsund* (pp. 304 ff.). Names from other Nordic countries are sometimes brought into the treatment, which is praiseworthy. This is done, for example, in connection with the examination of *Haugsten* (pp. 29 ff.)—where a number of instances of

Högsten and other similar toponyms of different origins are accounted for—, *Heieren* (pp. 140 ff.)—in connection with an analysis by the Danish researcher Bent Jørgensen—and *Femdal* (pp. 308 ff.)—where Nordic dialect geographic points of departure for a possible naming are touched on. But Nordic material could well have been included also in the discussions in other places, e.g. when *Kjølberg* (pp. 38 ff.), *Lur/Lurebakk(e)* (pp. 44 f.) and *Borge (Lilleborge)* (pp. 54 ff.) are dealt with. The discussion of the age of the name *Veel* (pp. 163 f.), referring to a ford, could in my opinion have been further developed, and the same goes for the analyses of *Grønmland* (pp. 35 f.), *Jamsefull* (pp. 223 f.) and *Trara* (p. 241). The shift *gnoll-knoll* ‘peak’ is dealt with in connection with *Gnollen* (pp. 62 f.). Even some of the younger names are of interest here, e.g. imperative names such as *Bilett* (pp. 88 f.) and *Seut* (p. 257), names based on already existing names such as *Trinnborg* (pp. 120 f.), *St Croix* (p. 220), *St Jean* (p. 246), *St Thomas* (p. 251), as well as the names *Bellevue* (p. 230) and *Cicignon* (p. 231) and a probably “communication-related” name like *Marikova* (pp. 157 f.). Different topographic elements are analysed in a section at the end, and a number of indexes conclude the volume. There is also a map in the scale of 1: 44,000 in an insertion pocket at the very end of the book which is quite useful when reading the book.

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Ernst Håkon Jahr, *Språkplanlegging og språkstrid. Utsyn over norsk språkhistorie etter 1814*, Oslo: Novus Forlag 2015, ISBN 978-82-7099-821-0, 157 pp.

The book gives the reader good insights into the Norwegian language planning and language conflict during a two-hundred-year period from 1814, a research area that was developed in an interesting way by Einar Haugen and thus became a part of the international theoretical discussion. It is significant that dialects are more widely used in Norway than in any other European country, and furthermore that Norway has two closely related forms of written language with wide frames concerning words and forms. In the book, the author distinguishes three periods in the development: “the ‘language national’ period 1814–1917,” “the ‘language social’ period 1917–1966” and after that a period of development “from a one-standard strategy to a permanent two-standard situation.”

Details are not accounted for, since the overarching aim of the book is

to mediate an explanatory model for understanding the development from 1814 until today of the forces behind, the intentions of and the consequences and results of the actions that were taken, and the policy that was pursued. (p. 9)

During the first period, the national argumentation—Danish or Norwegian?—started the language planning processes that would eventually result in two Norwegian writing norms. The author reflects on whether this would have happened, had what took place in 1814 happened in 1714, i.e. before the era of national romanticism. The prerequisites would certainly have been completely different then. This part of the narrative underlines Ivar Aasen’s efforts and the so-called *Hægstadnormalen*, Knud Knudsen’s linguistic work, as well as the work of a number of writers of fiction from this period. Various text samples are also presented here and in other places in the book, which give us a picture of the variation in the written languages. The next section describes the language sociology work in Norway from the reform in 1917 with two national varieties and two dialect varieties. It is interesting to follow the development during these decades, when attempts were made to unite the different written languages into one normal variety, a kind of common Norwegian written language. In this process, it is implied that the previously most prestigious national variety was devalued as the norm for the written language “for the benefit of low-status regional dialects and working-class dialects in the towns” (p. 75). Some individual phenomena are noteworthy here, such as the Norwegianification of toponyms—for example in the conflict about *Trondhjem* vs. *Nidaros*—, “the Grimstad case,” the Labour Party’s language policy demand for a “common Norwegian national language basis” and the post-war period’s language sociology work, where in 1964 “språkfredskomiteen” [‘the language peace committee’] under the leadership of Hans Vogt concluded

that a stop had now been put to using language sociology arguments for further official language planning work—with one common Norwegian written language norm as the goal of the work. (pp. 118 f.)

In the last part of the book, we can follow the route up to a permanent two-standard situation from 1966 onwards. Different reforms of Bokmål (1981, 2005) and Nynorsk (2012) are described, and by way of conclusion it is stated that the two Norwegian language forms will continue to exist side by side. At the end the author says that “Norway was and is a unique

country when it comes to language sociology” (p. 152). The book shows how Norway has become precisely this “unique country.”

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Therese Leinonen, *Talet lever! Fyra studier i svenskt talspråk i Finland*, Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland 2015 (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland 796; Studier i nordisk filologi 86), ISSN 0039-6842; ISSN 0356-0376; ISBN 978-951-583-292-4, 230 pp.

The point of departure of the contributions in this volume is material collected in 2005–2008 in the project “Spara det finlandssvenska talet” [‘Save the Finland Swedish spoken language’]. The volume comprises four different studies by Therese Leinonen. The first three deal more specifically with the spoken Finland Swedish language and fit in well with a sociolinguistic research tradition. The introduction reminds the reader of predecessors in the Finland Swedish field of research, such as Mikael Reuter, Leif Nyholm, Mirja Saari, Ann-Marie Ivars, Hanna Lehti-Eklund and Marie-Charlotte Gullmets-Wik. In addition, Kurt Zilliacus’ investigations of the dialects in Åboland are brought forth. The first of the four substudies deals with the spoken language in the Åboland archipelago in the twenty-first century. This is a well-structured study and the volume’s most extensive contribution. For example, one can see that many dialects still have a strong position in Åboland, while others have been replaced by standard language forms. However, one can also see that some language features that existed earlier in more limited parts of Åboland hold their own in comparison with features that were more common in the whole area. Urban regionalisation processes are elucidated, but the development tendencies seem to be complicated here. It is interesting to see how certain less frequent features are used “as stylistic features or to show where one’s roots are” (p. 141). Using illustrative graphs and maps, the second substudy elucidates the variation of the pronouns *di–dem–dåm* ‘they’ in four Finland Swedish urban dialects. The results seem to indicate that, just as in Standard Swedish, *dåm* will gradually become the general form in Finland Swedish. The third study deals with the phonetic quantity in Finland Swedish urban dialects, which is considered to be one of the most typical

social markers of Swedish in Finland. The study shows clear differences in phonetic quantity among the varieties spoken in Helsingfors, Åbo, Mariehamn and Vasa. How the Finland Swedish speakers will eventually position themselves in relation to the speakers of Standard Swedish remains to be seen. Further studies of attitudes and listeners are needed to complete that picture. In the fourth and last study it is not the language in the Finland Swedish area that is in focus but technical facilities for automatic analysis of spoken language. The four contributions in the volume, in particular the first one about the Åboland dialect, give us valuable insights into the development of the Finland Swedish language today.

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Berit Sandnes, *Skånes ortnamn. Serie A. Bebyggelsenamn. 21. Villands härad och Kristianstads stad*, Lund: Institutet för språk och folkminnen 2016, ISSN 0284-2416; ISBN 978-91-86959-23-4, 299 pp.

This publication in the series *Skånes ortnamn* [‘The toponyms of Scania’], which discusses the names in the easternmost part of the province, begins with a broad introduction where the age and spread of some toponymic elements within the area are dealt with, namely the old elements *löv*, *hem*, *stad*, *by*, *toft*, *torp*, *hult*, *ryd* and *boda*. The occurrence of the toponymic elements in question are marked with dots on an old map. Some names formed in later periods, as well as changes between alternative names, are also dealt with in this introductory section. This provides a good introduction to the main part of the book, where the numerous toponyms in Kristianstad and the country district of Villand are interpreted. As regards the district name of Villand, the author makes a detailed analysis, not least in regard to the first element’s (a **Vætli* or **Vætla?*) original reference. Göran Hallberg’s suggestion that the name might have referred to the fact that the land was surrounded by water enables further possibilities. To all appearances, the last word has not been said about this district name. There are many really interesting interpretations in the book, e.g. that of *Edenryd* (*Iethneryth* 1434) as ‘the giants’ clearing’ (pp. 96 f.), and of *Kiaby* (pp. 123 f.), where the interpretation implies a justified correction of Bertil Ejder’s etymologising. The discussion of *Nosaby* (pp. 133 f.) has some interesting points. The

connection between *Ivetofta* och *Yvetot* in Normandy (p. 102) is touched on and it is suggested that the names should be seen as parallel forms. It is well known that making a choice between different interpretative alternatives is not always easy, which the discussion of *Råby* (pp. 61 f.) shows—is the first element here the older *rā* in the sense of ‘pole, landmark’ or ‘roe deer’? It is sometimes best just to let the different interpretations stand side by side. In several places in the volume, there are revisions of John Kousgård Sørensen’s explanations in *Danske sø- og ånavne*, e.g. in connection with *Skräbemölla* (pp. 84 f.), *Balsby* (pp. 128 ff.) and *Horna* (pp. 238 f.). Younger name formations are also dealt with, e.g. *Frågott*, *Frågottens* (p. 81), *Rallate* (p. 203), *Slottet*, which occurs in several places (pp. 247, 252, 271), *Transval* (p. 253)—a name formation that might be the result of a bilingual pun—and *Gellivari* in Kristianstad (p. 275). These interpretations are of obvious interest. In my opinion, the description could have been broadened in places, for example as regards *Käse*, *Käsemölla* (p. 109), where the appellative *käx* requires further elucidation, and the author could also have included parallel names in Sweden. As for the word group *torste*, *töste*, Danish *tørst* ‘alder buckthorn,’ which is dealt with in connection with *Tosteberga* (pp. 188 ff.), further Nordic material could have been taken into consideration. The word postulated in connection with *Kavrö* (p. 242) could also have been more thoroughly discussed, and the standpoints in connection with the obscure *Drögsperyd* (pp. 146 f.) could have been more distinct. Numerous photographs and maps are valuable complements to the interpretations, for example the view over Fjälkinge backe (p. 70), which supports the interpretation of *Fjälkinge* in connection with the terrain designating *fjäll* ‘high mountain’ (p. 74). That the interpretation of *Grödby* (p. 98) as ‘the village with many stones’ is very plausible is also confirmed by a photograph showing the village’s stony moraine ground (p. 87), and that *Kjuge* might stem from a word *kjuk(a)* with the meaning ‘lump, protuberance’ (p. 125) seems likely when one sees the village’s silhouette (p. 230). However, I think it is a pity that the pictures are not placed close to the toponyms they refer to. Indexes conclude the book, which as a whole gives a very insightful picture of the stock of names in this part of Scania. Yet another volume in the series *Skånes ortnamn* was published in 2016 (see Hallberg above).

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Helge Sandøy (ed.), Sine Halkjelsvik Bjordal & Stig Rognes (editorial secretaries), *Norsk språkhistorie*, volume 1, *Mønster*, Oslo: Novus Forlag 2016, ISBN 978-82-7099-847-0, 681 pp.

This first volume of a projected four-volume work on Norwegian history of language was published in 2016. In the editorial group's preface to the whole work, it is emphasised that this will be a modern reference work, that the language development will be explained, that the work will provide information about the connections between the Norwegian language and Norwegian society, that the Norwegian identity—which in different periods has been constructed on a linguistic basis—will be elucidated, that broad perspectives on language will be adopted whereby language structure, language use and social context will be paid attention to, and that non-Norwegian languages that have existed in Norway for a long time will also be included. In the first volume, *Mønster* ['Patterns'], which is reviewed here, form, structure and the grammatical system are described, the second volume will deal with practice and the third with ideology, and in the fourth, *Tidslinjer* ['Time lines'], the threads will be gathered. This is an impressive arrangement, and the broad engagement from the Nordistic environments in Norway vouch for a well-planned work. The first volume about patterns starts with a co-authored chapter by Helge Sandøy and Agnete Nesse on language changes, where from different perspectives they give a description of different processes leading up to language changes on an individual level, group level and societal level, and where among many other different things they focus on the importance of networks and dissemination phenomena. What constitutes the driving forces in the language change process is elucidated in a comprehensive section where one can read about the processes that exist in the language itself, but also about "koineisation processes" and pidgin languages, such as *russenorsk* ['Russo-Norwegian']. A section on the individual versus the collective is important, and so is, to an even greater extent, the last part of this introductory chapter, where the speed of the language changes is focused on. The next chapter is written by Gjert Kristoffersen and Arne Torp and deals with phonology. A short section on phonological analysis is followed by two comprehensive sections, the first of which deals with the period up to Old Norse and the second the period from Old Norse to the present-day dialects. A number of scientific problems are elucidated, e.g. the *i*-umlaut and the Old Norse vowel harmony. The authors wonder whether "the original mel-

odies” in the language can at all be reconstructed—in this connection, the Swedish researcher Tomas Riad is paid attention to but his work is not evaluated in any appreciable detail. Furthermore, the authors analyse vowel balance and vowel harmony, differentiation and a number of other phenomena. In some cases, the description might have benefited from a few maps. However, one instructive map that is included (p. 198) shows burred ‘r’ in Norwegian speakers born in 1900, 1950 and 1970, respectively. In the third chapter, Hans-Olav Enger and Philipp Conzett deal with morphology. The chapter is systematically structured, and the parts of speech are described. Changes are focused on and analysed, simplifications in the archaic systems are described, as are developments that take place rapidly and those that happen gradually. The chapter also focuses on new morphological categories that have appeared. As in other chapters in the book, the reader gets good insights into the research that has been done in the area. In the latter part of the chapter, there is a good description of word formation with compounds, prefix derivation, suffix derivation and back-formation, and finally the question is asked “in what way does word formation change?” The fourth chapter, compiled by Endre Mørck, deals with syntax. The role of morphology in the syntax is initially described with case and concord as themes, and then the structure of sentences and some word-order problems are discussed with the help of clause schemes and rich exemplification. At the very end, there are interesting sections on style and genre variations in Old Norse and dialectal syntax. The latter section is interesting but very short. Among other things, it is pointed out that since some features in the dialectal syntax have a more limited northerly distribution, they may be the result of language contact between Norwegian and Sami-Finnish. Chapter 5 deals with vocabulary and is written by Tor Erik Jenstad. By way of introduction, the vocabulary is more precisely defined by the author, who points out that the lexicon of the language is an open system in constant change. Some parts of the lexicon are more stable than others, however. Inherited words and import words (loan words) are then focused on, followed by a traditional description of loan words from different languages. One heading in this section is “Kebabnorsk” [i.e.: ‘Kebab Norwegian’]. The export of words from Norway and the other Scandinavian languages are then accounted for in a brief section, and an equally short section deals with language geography, unfortunately without supporting maps. Of greater interest is what is said about “ethnically loaded words” in the language. A quintet of authors consisting of Eva Magerøy, Jan Ragnar Hagland, Anders Johansen, Jørgen Magnus Sejersted and Aslaug Veum have written the last chapter of the book,

which deals with texts and genres. It includes a very readable survey of texts and genres from different periods, starting with the period 1600–1800. Among other things, the reader notes with interest a section on popular literacy. The next two parts are about texts from the period after 1800, the first of which deals with textbook genres and newspaper and media genres, among other things, and the second with political rhetoric. Unlike *Dansk sproghistorie*, which is presented elsewhere in this section (see Hjort [ed.] 2016 above), the book is more like a traditional history of language, even though it contains quite a few graphs and a number of illustrations. A final evaluation of the two Nordic works on language history must wait until they have been published in their entirety, but it can even now be stated that both the Norwegian and the Danish works are ambitious projects which will greatly increase our knowledge. After reading these works, one looks forward even more to the new Swedish history of language that is being produced under the auspices of the Swedish Academy. There is a great need for that work, too.

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Use indentation instead of a skipped line to mark the beginning of a new paragraph.

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3. References

Book

Paasi, A. (1996). *Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness. The Changing Geographies of the Finnish-Russian Border*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Edited book

Bäckman, L. & Hultkrantz, Å. (eds.) (1985). *Saami Pre-Christian Religion. Studies on the Oldest Traces of Religion among the Saamis* (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion 25), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

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Fatychova, F. (2006). "Namenstraditionen under den Baschkiren," *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Onomastic Sciences. Uppsala 19–24 August 2002*, vol. 2, Uppsala: Språk- och folkminnesinstitutet, pp. 89–95.

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Palm, G. (1969). "De söp, dansade och älskade i vår märkligaste religiösa väckelse" ['They got drunk, danced, and made love in our most astonishing religious revival'], *Göteborgsposten* 12 October.

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Electronic media

Grace, S. (2003). "Performing the Auto/Biographical Pact. Towards a Theory of Identity in Performance [paper delivered to ACTR conference, May 2003]," www.english.ubc.ca/faculty/grace/THTR_AB.HTM#paper; access date.

Unpublished dissertation

Smith, J. (1998). "Social Work Education in Scotland," diss., University of Glasgow.

References to several works by the same author, published the same year, should be numbered 2007a, 2007b, 2007c etc.:

Simmons, I. G. & Innes, J. B. (1996a). "An episode of prehistoric canopy manipulation at North Gill, North Yorkshire, England," *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 23, pp. 337–341.

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