

An Account of the Sámi

Johan Turi
An Account of the Sámi

*A Translation of Muitalus sámiiid birra, as re-edited by Mikael Svonni
with accompanying articles*

Translated and Edited by Thomas A. DuBois

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Preface

The year 1910 was a time of great change in northern Sweden. The mine and city at Kiruna were expanding rapidly, drawing new workers and new ideas to the region. A newly constructed railroad line connected Kiruna to both the Swedish port of Luleå and the Norwegian port of Narvik. Extractive industries, farming, and tourism were now prominent parts of the lives of the growing population of the district, and the Sámi way of life—based on hunting, fishing, and the herding of reindeer—was becoming both less common and less practicable.

It was on that very train in the summer of 1904 that Emilie Demant first met Johan Turi (Demant-Hatt 1994, 97). Six years later, their meeting would eventually result in the publication of the first secular book ever written in Sámi language, Turi's masterpiece *Muitalus Sámiid birra* [An Account of the Sámi]. Published originally in northern Sámi and Danish, *Muitalus* holds an important place in Sámi literary history, as well as in the cultural history of Sápmi, the Sámi homeland. The present volume is a careful retranslation of the original Sámi text into English, accompanied by a set of scholarly essays.

Johan Turi's mind was focused on the issues facing his people during this period of tumultuous change. Yet his work lives on, speaking to audiences generation after generation. In the year 2010, *Muitalus* celebrated its one hundredth anniversary, and the present volume is intended to mark that important milestone. At the same time, those of us involved in the creation and publication of this volume hope that it will prove of use in contexts that Turi might never have imagined: courses on Scandinavian literature, anthropology, folklore studies, indigenous studies, and, of course, Sámi studies.

The translation presented here differs in certain respects from the original Sámi version as published in 1910. Mikael Svonni, University of Tromsø professor of Sámi Linguistics, took up the considerable task of going through Turi's manuscript notebooks preserved at Stockholm's Nordiska museet to establish the basis for a new edition of *Muitalus* in Northern Sámi. In that work, he carefully checked Demant's transcriptions of Turi's original for accuracy, and modified sentence

breaks, paragraphing, and ordering of the text as Demant had edited these in preparation for the original publication. Svonni tried to keep his emendations to a minimum so as to maintain continuity with the prior text and as a sign of respect for the important collaboration between Turi and Demant. Nonetheless, Svonni's newly edited text (Turi 2009) differs in certain respects from the earlier editions. The translation presented here is an English rendering of Svonni's newly established text. I am tremendously grateful for Mikael Svonni's careful attention to this English translation and sage advice on all aspects of its wording and style.

Elizabeth Gee Nash's earlier English translation (Turi 1931) also contains a number of passages that did not appear in Turi's manuscript but which must represent additions supplied during the translation phase by Emilie Demant-Hatt. These include further details on the process of childbirth (XX) and a somewhat more extended rendering of a *stállu* legend connected with the mountain Durkkihánvárri (XX). In order to retain these additions for the use of future readers, I have included these passages as footnotes, reproducing there Nash's own prose, since the original text to these additions is missing.

It is a truism of linguistics that every language can express every idea that exists in any other language. At the same time, it goes without saying that there are elements of Turi's text which rely on particular words or concepts that were familiar to him as a Sámi herder and hunter but which may seem remote and strange when translated into English. For this reason, the translation uses Turi's North Sámi words in a number of junctures, usually with a literal definition directly following in brackets. All Sámi terms are also listed in a glossary at the end of this volume. In using the Sámi terms for various specialized items (e.g., the Sámi cradle, various types of snow, names for particular reindeer ailments), I have not aimed to mystify, but rather to convey the efficiency and expressive artistry of the original language as Turi employed it.

Turi's work was not only prose: he also produced a great number of explanatory illustrations, fourteen of which were included in the original publication. I have included reproductions of these along with my translation of Demant's Danish explanations as they appear in the 1910 edition. Better reproductions of these important artworks are included in another edition of this English translation, published by the Sámi-language

academic publisher ČáliidLágádus in commemoration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the first publication of *Muitalus*.

Support for the research that went into this volume came from Sweden's Svenska institutet as well as the Center for European Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. As noted above, my translation would have been utterly impossible without the patience and advice of Mikael Svonni. I am tremendously grateful as well to the various authors of the accompanying articles which together provide a substantive and detailed introduction to Turi and his book. It was our collective hope that including such essays along with the translation would make this work useful in a college classroom or help the general reader become aware of some of the rich research that has occurred concerning Johan Turi, Sámi literary history, and indigenous literature in general. Great thanks go to Charles Peterson, who agreed to publish the text with XX Press and has been a wonderful supporter of Sámi studies as a part of the field of Nordic Studies in North America.

With great respect to the memory of Johan Turi.

Thomas A. DuBois

Madison, Wisconsin

December 29, 2010

Johan Turi
An Account of the Sámi

EN BOG OM
LAPPERNES LIV

MUITTALUS SAMID BIRRA

AF DEN SVENSKE LAP

JOHAN TURI

OVERSAT OG UDGIVET

AF

EMILIE DEMANT

PAA FORANSTALTNING OG MED FORORD

AF

HJALMAR LUNDBOHR

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Introduction [18 pt]

THOMAS A. DuBOIS [14 PT]

Johan Turi's *Muitalus Sámiid birra* [An Account of the Sámi] first appeared in print a century ago, in the year 1910. Based on a manuscript which Turi had written piecemeal in the autumn of 1908, while living in a borrowed prospector's cabin on a mountain in the vicinity of the great lake Torneträsk, the work had received thorough editing and a translation into Danish by Turi's friend, temporary housekeeper, and authorial collaborator, Emilie Demant (1873—1958). The pages that follow present that text in English translation along with a set of articles intended to shed light on Turi and this remarkable milestone in Sámi literature and history.

Johan Turi (1854—1936) was 56 years old at the time of his book's publication, a seasoned wolf hunter and a former reindeer herder. As Mikael Svonni describes in the essay included in this volume, Turi was born in Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino), Norway, but had been compelled to move with his family to the area of Gárasavvon (Karesuando), Sweden, in 1857 as a result of the closing of the Norwegian-Finnish border in 1852 (Kuutma 2006, 90). The closure of the border deprived Guovdageaidnu reindeer herders of valuable pastureland in the Finnish "arm," a long, narrow strip of Finland that lies between southern Finnmark and the northern border of Sweden. By relocating to Gárasavvon, Turi's family retained access to their Finnish wintering grounds, while remaining officially outside of the Finnish Grand Duchy, at that time a possession of the Russian Empire. When the border between Sweden and Finland was similarly closed in 1889, the herding livelihood of the Gárasavvon Sámi was again disrupted, and Turi's father moved to the area of Čohkkeras/Jukkasjärvi, Sweden, where he eventually became a part of the Talma reindeer herding community (*sameby*). Johan followed him there in 1883, eventually giving up herding to live as a trapper and hunter. One can detect in Turi's *Muitalus* a certain continued identification with the Sámi of the "Norwegian side" and a wistful, sometimes bitter, memory of the once-viable herding livelihood that had been his family's birthright for

generations. Of the Finnish arm he writes: “Many *siiddat* used to spend the winter there and there is good lichen and good grazing.” And of the border closings, as well as the ongoing encroachment of agricultural settlements on Sámi lands and resources, Turi makes one of his text’s most impassioned statements: “Now the Crown must reopen to the Sámi that which was closed off to them, if the Crown wants the Sámi to make a living in its traditional manner.” It was in part to explain these injustices, and the difficulties they posed to Sámi of his day, that Turi chose to write the work that has become known in Scandinavian literary history as the first secular book ever written in a Sámi language.

The notion of presenting an indigenous voice and perspective in print was not unique to Turi or his collaborator Demant. Journalists, local historians, and ethnographers had been doing so in the United States ever since newspaperman J. B. Patterson interviewed the Sauk leader Black Hawk to produce the 1833 autobiography *Life of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak or Black Hawk* (Patterson 1833). Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins’s *Life among the Paiutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* (1883) became the first work authored by a Native American woman. And by the turn of the twentieth century, the Santee Sioux writer Ohiyesa/Charles Eastman had written his own autobiography *Indian Boyhood* (Eastman 1902), while S. M. Barrett had interviewed the Chiricahua Apache Goyathlay/Geronimo to produce the tremendously successful *Geronimo’s Story of his Life* (Barrett 1905). The textual agenda of these and other early works of Native American literature in English have been perceptively explored by Arnold Krupat (1994). With her strong interest in indigenous cultures, and a future husband who had done anthropological fieldwork among Cherokee people, Emilie Demant was probably familiar with this important trend. These works create an interesting international backdrop and parallel to Turi’s *Muitalus*.

Other developments closer to home made the creation of *Muitalus* timely as well, as Troy Storfjell points out in his essay in this volume as well as in his earlier study “Colonial Palimpsest” (2001), and as has been discussed by other researchers in the area of Sámi literature, e.g., Harald Gaski (1996) (1998) and Gunnar Gjengset (2010). In the aftermath of the 1852 Kautokeino Uprising, two pious Laestadian prisoners—Lars Jacobsen Hætta (1834—97) and Anders Person Bær (1826—82) wrote

their own life stories in the mold of religious testimonials (Bergsland 1958). These were not published during their lives, but Turi knew of these men and refers to them obliquely in his account of the 1852 Uprising, which forms one of the final chapters of his *Muitalus*. At roughly the same time as Turi, but further to the south, the Sámi hunter Kristoffer Sjulsson (1828–1908) collaborated with the schoolteacher O. P. Petterson (1859–1941) to create an account of Sámi life in the Vapsten district (Bäckman 1979). Again, this work did not see print until some seventy years later, when Petterson’s manuscript was edited by Louise Bäckman and Rolf Kjellström. More immediately successful was the Sámi author Matti Aikio’s novel *Kong Akab* (1904), written in Norwegian—the first novel written by a Sámi author. Aikio (1872–1929) followed it with two further novels in the years prior to the writing of *Muitalus*, establishing himself as a prominent literary figure in Norwegian society (Aikio 1906) (1907). Helping to create a sense of Sámi self-awareness and political engagement, Anders Larsen (1870–1949) started a Sámi-language newspaper (*Sagai Muitalægje*) in 1904 (Lehtola 2004, 48), authoring the first Sámi-language novel eight years later: *Bæivve-Algo* (Larsen 1912). In 1908—the year in which Turi wrote his *Muitalus*—Isak Saba (1875–1921) was elected to the Norwegian Storting, the first Sámi Member of Parliament in any of the Nordic countries. The South Sámi activist Elsa Laula-Renberg (1877–1929) had also published a political tract in Swedish and founded the first Sámi women’s organization in 1910, the beginnings of a pan-Sámi movement for civil and cultural rights (Lehtola 2004, 46-7). The time was thus ripe for a serious book about all aspects Sámi traditional and contemporary culture, written by a Sámi writer, and Johan Turi was eager and ready to fill this role. What is striking about Turi’s book within this broader context is the way it creatively merges history, oral tradition, ethnographic description and personal reminiscence into a single, varied whole. Rather than falling into predefined Western categories of discourse, Turi set out to adapt Sámi narrative traditions to the new task of writing a book, as Coppélie Cocq shows in her essay in this volume as well as in her study *Revoicing Sámi Narratives* (Cocq 2008). The result was both fresh and—to the Scandinavian audience of its day—somewhat bewildering: an eclectic, reflexive, subtly polemic work that presents Sámi views in an uncompromisingly Sámi way.

In her preface to the original edition of *Muitalus*, Emilie Demant noted that Turi had initially planned to write his book in Finnish. Finnish was the *lingua franca* of the Jukkasjärvi district: the language of both religious instruction and commerce in many towns and villages of the locale and throughout the Torne River Valley. Turi was fairly proficient in the language, having traveled in Finland throughout his childhood and having lived as an adult in a region with a large contingent of Finnish-speaking settlers. Yet, as Demant puts it: “His thoughts flow more easily in his mother tongue” (Demant-Hatt 1931, 12). Demant encouraged Turi to write in Northern Sámi, and promised to translate his words into Danish so that they could be read and understood by the educated elite of Sweden and Norway. The original edition of the book—in contrast to all its American predecessors—gave equal space to both the translated text and the indigenous original: the first edition of *Muitalus* did not hide its linguistic provenance from the reader, but rather announced boldly and self-confidently that it was a bilingual work, with the Danish version a mere approximation of the actual text provided in Sámi. Such was a unique gesture in its day, a sign that the work was intended to be read not only by cultural outsiders, but by Sámi as well, and a harbinger of a time when Sámi authors could regularly choose to write and be published in a Sámi language.

Turi’s work attracted widespread attention in Scandinavia and Europe more broadly at the time of its publication. In fact, it received a faithful translation (from the Danish) into German already in 1912, just two years after its initial appearance (Turi 1912). It was translated by Mathilde Mann, a Copenhagen-based German translator responsible for German versions of many of the greatest Scandinavian authors of the nineteenth century—e.g., H.C. Andersen, Ibsen, Strindberg (Beginenhof 2010). Mann belonged to the same extended family as Heinrich and Thomas Mann, and her artful translation ensured that the German reading public would find Turi’s work as engaging as did the Scandinavian. Turi became a kind of celebrity in his day, with tourists and intellectuals wishing to meet him when they were passing through the Kiruna area. It is perhaps in part because of this notoriety that the English travel writer Frank Hedges Butler included him on his expeditions across Sápmi that resulted in his book *Through Lapland with Skis & Reindeer* (Butler 1917)

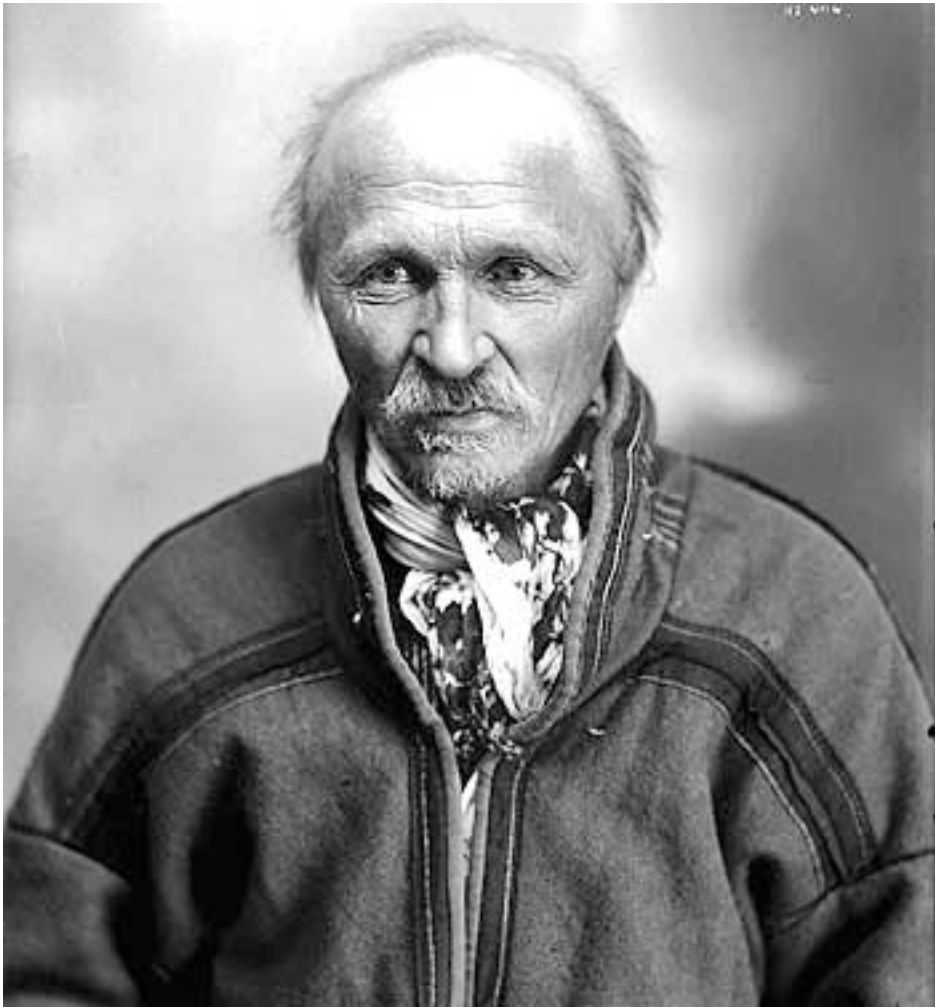
as well as portions of Turi's own 1931 *Duoddaris* [From the Mountains] (Turi 1988).

The English-speaking public first met Turi not in *Muitalus* but in his later, follow-up volume *Lappish Texts* (*Sámi deavsttat*), a second editorial collaboration between Turi and Demant (now using her married name Demant-Hatt), which came out in 1918 and 1919 (Turi 1918-19) (Turi 1988). That work was made up of certain materials that had been culled from *Muitalus*, along with some additional reminiscences and accounts by Johan Turi, Turi's nephew Per Turi, and a third Sámi writer, Lars Larsson Nutti. With detailed accounts of Sámi *noaidevuohtta* (shamanism) as well as accounts of healing practices more generally, accompanied by facing page translations of all texts into English, *Lappish Texts* seemed to offer scholars precisely the kinds of materials that they most wanted to read concerning the Sámi (DuBois 2010). Turi's secret knowledge—which Turi had provided to Demant during the writing of *Muitalus*, but which he had refused to allow into print, was now readily available to scholarly readers.

Given this fact, the eventual appearance of *Muitalus* in English in 1931 might be seen as a kind of afterthought, yet the book reached a broad public in England and the United States who appreciated its seemingly direct portrayal of the mind and experiences of a Sámi man. Expectably, early reviewers came to the work with their own feelings of cultural superiority firmly in place, and in some ways the book seemed to confirm these views. As Nils-Aslak Valkeapää illustrates in the newspaper reviews he includes in his documentary study *Boares nauti Johan Turi*, writers described Turi's prose as having a "charming childlike quality," a "naiveté that gives life and charm to this book," an "artless simplicity," and headings that "suggest a medieval writer like Olaus Magnus" (Valkeapää 1994, 265, 260). Turi is correspondingly described as a primitive: the London *Observer* of April 1, 1931 declares him "a man quite untouched by civilisation and progress" (256), while the *London Times Literary Supplement* of April 30, 1931 sees Turi's various discussions as comprising "a harmonious and integral...picture of Lapp psychology" (260). To a certain extent, such views were bound to grow out of readers' limited tolerance for cultural difference, such as Turi's inclusion of "absurd and sometimes rather revolting medical recipes"

(260). Yet to a degree, it is also certain that Nash's translation accentuated these impressions through its particular handling of tone and style (DuBois 2011). Decades later, in 1966, Turi's work was republished in English, this time in a Dutch series intended for anthropologists (Turi 1966). This republication, however, simply reproduced the earlier 1931 edition of the Nash translation, with no alteration of text and somewhat degraded reproductions of Turi's illustrations. It has been in this form that most modern English readers have come in contact with *Turi's Book of Lappland*, as the work has been called ever since its 1931 translation. As Turi's work reached its one-hundredth anniversary, then, it seemed high time to undertake a new translation into English, this time made directly from Turi's original North Sámi text. It is our hope that this text will help English-speaking scholars and generalist readers alike sense the artistry and power of Turi's *Muitalus sámiid birra*.

Part 1. Text and Original Illustrations



I am a Sámi

I am a Sámi who has done all sorts of Sámi work and I know all about Sámi conditions. I have come to understand that the Swedish government wants to help us as much as it can, but they don't get things right regarding our lives and conditions, because no Sámi can explain to them exactly how things are. And this is the reason: when a Sámi becomes closed up in a room, then he does not understand much of anything, because he cannot put his nose to the wind. His thoughts don't flow because there are walls and his mind is closed in. And it is also not good at all for him to live in dense forest when the air is warm. But when a Sámi is on the high mountains, then he has quite a clear mind. And if there were a meeting place on some high mountain, then a Sámi could make his own affairs quite plain.

I have been thinking that it would be best if there were a book in which everything was written about Sámi life and conditions, so that people wouldn't have to ask how Sámi conditions are, and so that people wouldn't misconstrue things, particularly those who want to lie about the Sámi and claim that only the Sámi are at fault when disputes arise between settlers and Sámi in Norway and Sweden. And there one ought to write about all the events and furnish explanations so clearly that anyone could understand. And it would be nice also for other Sámi to hear about Sámi conditions as well.

Most of what is described here has to do with Sámi in the Jukkasjärvi district.

[Johan Turi]

The Oldest Stories of the Sámi

Such As Told From One Sámi To Another

Here Are The Oldest Stories Told About The Sámi, As Passed On From One Sámi To Another Over Time

Herein are all sorts of stories, but it is not certain whether they are true, since they haven't been written down before.

A Story About The Sámi, Where They Used To Live, And How Their Conditions Were There, And How They Lived, And Where They Came From

One never hears about the Sámi's arrival, as if they had come from somewhere else. The Sámi have always lived in these parts, here in the Sámi homeland. And in those days when the Sámi were living up by the coast, there was no one else there, and so the living was good for Sámi. And on the Swedish side of the border, Sámi also lived everywhere. And back then there weren't any settlers at all; the Sámi didn't know that there were any other people apart from themselves.

I think that they lived at first off fish, birds, and wild reindeer as well as bear and various wild animals. This is why I believe so: one finds Sámi names for netting places in lakes where Sámi nowadays don't fish. And an even greater indicator that Sámi have lived for a long time in these same parts are the pits that occur in the ground everywhere where the Sámi of old used to live. These pits were their *goadit*. And they dug burrows like other animals of the wilds. And most of these pits one finds along the coast and on lakesides and riverbanks, and in such places where the trails of wild animals cross, such as spots where ravines come together or areas between lakes.

Some of these pits were meat caches and some were pits for capturing prey. These latter were deep and had a covering over them, so that when an animal stepped on top, the covering tilted and the animal fell in. And at the bottom of the pit there were spikes of wood and antler and the animal ended up dying on these, no matter what kind of animal it was. People don't think that these pits were made by people or were *goadit*; but many indications of this fact have been found: fire rings, a pot beam for hanging pots over the fire, and even a heddle. And indeed old Sámi have noticed that these pits were also used as graves, and in these Sámi don't dare look or dig about in to investigate; they

fear such pits. It has happened in many such a grave pit that a Sámi has slept there and some sort of human ghost has come and spoken to him and ordered him to leave. And its face was like lichen. And it said: “Do not sleep upon me!”

And if he did not comply the first time, then it ordered him again and harsher. And these things have been seen by people who are alive even now.

There is one place at the start of the Vuoskko headland where many pits are located, and there was a man there as well who wound up getting ordered away. And indeed [the ghost] related that it had been killed and placed in that pit. And Sámi are thus afraid of these pits and don’t dare dig or sleep in them.

On Sámi migration routes there are some pits such that no one living today can say for sure exactly what sort pits they are. But people think that these served as dwelling places for Sámi in the days before the ravages, when Russian *čudít* ranged about and killed as many Sámi as they found. And for that reason the Sámi were forced to make underground *goadit* and live there.

Only a few of these have been examined, but if many were, then many artifacts would be found.

The Sámi were of such a nature that they began to wish for wild reindeer. They saw many deer and they started to hunt and herd them in the winter in the forests, where the snow was thick. They started to chase and ski after them until the deer grew tired and then they took the most docile. But it certainly must have been difficult to hold onto them. And when they had gotten a few of them tamed or made trustworthy, it became easy to get others in this same way. In the hot weather, when the reindeer run in herds, they tend to go up into box canyons and there folk kept them trapped until they grew hungry and became accustomed to seeing and smelling people.

Now they didn’t have that much time to catch fish but instead each began to catch wild reindeer. And they caught so many that they began to maintain a *siida*, and test where it would be best to live with the herd at different times of the year. And they discovered how to migrate in the same way that Sámi do even now. It was good to live or manage in those days, for there were no settlers, neither Norwegians nor Swedes. And then they tried living way down east in the winter until the settlers came and scared them off so that they had to stop migrating east. During the summer in Norway the Sámi lived along the coast and let their herds range in the forests and mountains as they pleased.

In those days the Sámi didn’t know that there were any others but themselves. And the Sámi who lived in the east started to migrate west into the tundra, and those who lived along the coast also migrated up into the tundra and they met each other up there. And they scared each other and went into hiding, each thinking the other a *stállu* or *ulda*.

And in those days the Sámi didn’t know that God exists, but they believed that they had to worship something. And when they worshipped something, it helped them, and so they made sacrifices to *sieiddit*.

And that was when Sámi first began to make sacrifices at *sieidi* sites, so that they might obtain more wild reindeer for themselves or so that their herd might increase.

People in those times worshipped *sieiddit* also so that their herds might grow large and their herds grew from nearly nothing. And they were also the prettiest reindeer

around. But these herds didn't last beyond their owner's lifetime—their children remain poor. And Sámi tend to fear that such people's children will become poor, the children of those who have worshipped so. And this writer has heard people say that that person has a "herd obtained by worshipping" and that it will not last.

The First Flight of the Sámi

A Story Of What Happened When The Number Of People Increased And Began Seeking Land

They came by way of the sea to the northwest outcropping and frightened the Sámi away from the coastal areas. And the Sámi fled to the forest uplands and there they lived in peace for many years and looked after their herds in the forests and mountains which were deserted or unsettled.

And in those days, the Sámi produced much milk with their reindeer cows and made cheese, and back then they had neither coffee nor flour. The Sámi ate meat, blood and milk. In those days there was reindeer blood gruel instead of morning coffee, with milk added that they had produced in the summer. And the Sámi of those times were big and healthy.

But as the population grew, there also came people clothed in black to the place where the Sámi had first fled and they built settlements right where the Sámi were living, for they saw that they were good fields there that the reindeer had soiled, urinated, and manured, where the Sámi had lived for many generations. And once again they drove the Sámi away from their dwelling places.

And the Sámi had to leave again, but now there were no forest tracts left, so they could no longer flee, but simply had to resign themselves to the situation. And when the Norwegian settlers could no longer frighten them further away, then they started to steal everything they found: cheese, milk, hides, and cattle. And they even killed some Sámi.

When The Norwegian Settler First Came

It once happened that a Norwegian settler came to the place where the Sámi were living at the Njuorjovuopme uplands. And he built a fire where he first came in order to test the land: he dug a little in the ground and put it in his mouth and tasted it. And the Sámi thought that the Norwegian was tasting it to see if the land was fertile. And that Norwegian's name was Jubonash. And he did nothing that year, but came again a second year and then he had companions with him and they made a turf goahti at first and drove the Sámi away from there as well. And the Sámi had to move their goahti a ways off.

But when the reindeer grazed the way they had always done around where the Norwegian had made his goahti, the man grew angry, and when he heard the Sámi who were herding the reindeer, they [i.e., he and his companions] went out to apprehend the Sámi, and they found one who had clambered up onto a large rock. And he rushed up

there and struck that Sámi dead. And when he saw that he was dying, he went back to his hut. And when the Sámi saw that he had left, they rushed over to the dead man and trundled him off into the grass. And Jubonash came back a little later to have a look at the dead man, and when he couldn't find him, he thought that he had survived. And he knew that this had been the man with a big herd and the name of this Sámi was Huika. And he just went off to the Sámi's goadit to seek out the man he had killed, because he wanted payment on account of the man's herd having grazed on his field. He considered himself already the owner of the whole upper part of the valley. But the Sámi didn't have so much extra land anymore that they could just move farther away, and so the Sámi had to stay in those tracts and their herds grazed there.

And they considered starting an armed resistance but didn't dare. But when the son of the slain man heard that someone had killed his father, he spoke in hatred and said: "I am going out to shoot all those Norwegians, no matter how many there are." And when the boy's mother heard that, she hid his powder horns and so he was not able to go right away. And that kind of hate did not come back to him later on, and so Jubonash got to live.

And the Norwegians killed another Sámi, a man from Gárasavvon. And theft occurred many times.

And this is just one example out of many of how things have been for the Sámi. Many such things we've heard tell of, and many others we haven't even heard of. But I do not wish to tell of these, for it is bad to write of them—but when one must write everything, then one has to write everything, the bad as well as the good.

Sámi Dwelling Places

And in those same Sámi dwelling places, we Sámi had to pay huge amounts of money, as we still have to today. And because of that, the Sámi have wracked up debts ever since the time that the Norwegian authorities came up with a law that makes it very easy to extort money from a Sámi, even if he isn't so guilty of wrongdoing as they claim. Although the reindeer certainly have to go where there will be food and shelter, for indeed even in the summer it sometimes becomes so cold that some reindeer will freeze to death and even some herders too, when at first it has been hot and then suddenly a west wind blows down and it rains as well. And then one certainly understands that it's cold when it snows in the mountains and at the tree line.

And those are the times of the biggest money drains, although the Sámi shout with all their might and get their dogs to bark in order to head the reindeer off. But when there are not such forest tracts where the Norwegians aren't demanding payment, then the herders sometimes lose some reindeer into the woods and then one has to pay right away. And it has been noted that when the reindeer come into their property it is profitable to the Norwegians, because they can receive payment and they get money in this way. And in this way it doesn't do them any harm, although they themselves moan like a fox even if they are not in danger. A sign of this is the fact that Norwegians have not permitted fences to be put up on such paths as the reindeer use when going down into the pastures, although the Sámi themselves are willing to erect them.

And these days the Sámi must keep their reindeer confined high up in the mountains or beneath summits where there are many perils for the reindeer. And it is perilous for people too, for the slopes and peaks are so high and between them ice sheets and crevasses since the very beginning of the world. Some of those [crevasses] are so deep that no one can find their bottom. And others are not so deep, so that one can sometimes retrieve a reindeer from it if one knows where to look. But one cannot get the reindeer out unless one sends a person down into the crevasse on a rope, and he ties it to the reindeer and then they pull up the man first, and then afterwards they pull up the reindeer. But many are lost which are not found, and many they cannot pull out because the crevasse is so deep that the rope doesn't reach. And that is very dangerous, because every winter new snow falls upon those crevasses, and then neither man nor reindeer sees them. And when something living comes along, it falls in at once.

And I Will Begin To Tell Of The Dangers Of The Coastal Mountains Where The Sámi Live With Their Reindeer

When it gets hot, the reindeer head up onto high glaciers where people cannot follow, and because of the mosquitoes and the heat they head even higher up the slopes and the reindeer who are highest kick loose some stones. And when one stone comes loose, many stones begin to roll and many reindeer are killed in this manner as well. And if a person is down below, it is the same danger for him as well.

Riidi is what one calls a summit which is high and has lots of grass. In the heat, a reindeer will rush up toward the snowy peaks and into box canyons where they can pass neither in nor out unless they remember to come out exactly as they went in. The reindeer still have the same nature as the old-time wild reindeer, and indeed, sometimes whole herds will perish. And there are many such things that I have seen but I don't have time to write them all.

About Late Summer

The Sámi's Migration East Out Of Norway As The Reindeer Wish To Go East According To Their Nature

[See Illustration 1]

When the grass starts to wither, then the reindeer begin to want to eat lichens. And on the coast [i.e., in Norway] there is little lichen. In the coastal area there is mostly just grassland.

In those districts where the herds are of great size—some five or eight thousand head in number—the Sámi cannot migrate together, so they start to separate their herds in preparation for migration.

But In The Old Days There Weren't Any Corrals

[See Illustration 3]

In the old days [when the herds were smaller and tamer] there weren't any corrals but instead they did the roundup on some sort of level ground, and if there is a narrow spit of land running out into a lake, that is a very good spot for it. And then they start to spook some reindeer away from the others [as they are resting], prodding them on the behind with sticks, and sometimes slapping them on the behind so that they move off. And the group of reindeer that they haven't driven apart they leave alone. And then they come to the edge of the group that they had driven apart and they separate them from the group that is resting. And that portion of the herd that they have left behind remains together, and they now all clearly belong to the same family. And then they drive the group that they had separated out away from the rest so that they won't mix again.

And that part of the herd that remains behind is still unsorted. They let it rest there and start to spook another group of reindeer in the same way, prodding them on the behind. A reindeer will sometimes run off all at once to the other edge of the herd, and others are so brazen that they sneak back into the herd and won't be scared off even if you hit them, so that one winds up having to chase after such reindeer to drive them out of the herd. And that makes lots of trouble—the reindeer who were left behind grow frightened, and if it is an impatient man who must chase the reindeer, things get even worse. And this trick of separating a herd is such that it doesn't do any good to be tough or a fast runner; rather, one needs to have a knack for rounding up, and this knack is

found most in those who are calm and don't rush around. Those who get angry and start having to run after the animals and get their dogs to bark make the reindeer bolt and get mixed together again, and that makes for a lot of work, and people often grow angry as a result. And where there are reckless people, the roundup is difficult and much more work, but when there are skilled people it takes half the time and is a much easier roundup.

And when the others have similarly driven off with their own reindeer, then comes the time for sorting out the remaining herd. And they separate out their animals that had remained behind and drive them off in some direction out of sight of the rest. And if there is still daylight, they let the reindeer graze a little and lie down, and then they start to separate out the other part of their reindeer. And each time they get a little group of animals separated out like that, they drive them off to where the first group was driven.

And now the day ends and the *isidat* [masters of the household] meet to decide where they should take each herd that has been sorted out. And when they have decided where to take each herd, they post tenders over each. Now there are three herds, one of which is unsorted and this one, too, has to be watched over by tenders. And that they do.

And when it is good weather, the tenders keep the herds intact well. And when morning comes, the tenders return with the unsorted herd and they start to sort the reindeer as on the previous day. At first one group starts sorting the herd, and when the herd has gotten small, then they start sorting in two directions. And the unsorted part of the herd remains in the middle, and this is the worst time. If they are calm and skilled, it all goes well and quickly. Some they also lasso with a *suohpan*. But if they are reckless and unskilled and start running about then others, too, will wind up having to run about every which way in the herd. And then they tend to get after them with the dogs and then sometimes everyone crashes into each other. And if they happen to find some falsely marked reindeer, i.e., reindeer whose ear markings have been tampered with during the summer to look like they belong to someone else, and the rightful owner recognizes the reindeer, then quarrels arise. And they run about so much that the roundup is brought to an end and ruined and fights can break out as well. This makes for much more work. The reindeer have gotten so jumbled that they have to start the work over on another day and they grow so angry that they start to slaughter each other's reindeer. But people of that time kept their *siida* herds so strictly that there were no animals from another *siida*. If a reindeer wandered off to another *siida*, they would go retrieve it at once.

And when they have finished with the roundup, then they head off on the migration, each following the same route. And if the weather is good, then it is pleasant going over the highest mountains.

But When It Is A Bad Year, Then The Hard Weather Begins Already In The Late Summer While They're Still On The Coast

And then when they start the migration they can't get the herds rounded up and when they do, there is already such rain and snow that everything gets soaked through. And when it's cold out then the tent fabric won't bend. And then one must dry it out first at the place where the *goadit* are and dry clothes out by placing them directly on the *goahti*. And they make a huge fire to dry everything out. And oh, the clothes of those people who have been out in the wilds! Their clothes are sopping wet so that their wearers are soaked to the skin, and they get so chilled that their legs become swollen and they can't even bend them. And if they are out over night and can't get a fire going, then they will surely die from the cold.

And it has happened that someone tending the reindeer has frozen to death even in late summer when there was a lot of rain at first and he got wet through and didn't have good clothes. And then it started to snow and it got so cold that his wet clothes froze solid. And when his clothes were so frozen that he couldn't bend them, he hunkered down by a big rock. And as he didn't have a fire he froze to death.

And when they've lost so much time that they can't get the migration off properly, then it starts to get even colder and the nights become darker.

And then the night is very dark, so dark indeed, that one can't make out either a stone or any reindeer but only hears their bells and the bawling of the calves. And then one tends to lose part of the herd, and when these lost reindeer head into the woods it is hard to find them. And if there are winds from the west, the weather on the coast is harsh, while the east is still clear.

In such harsh weather, when it rains and sleets, the tent fabric of the *goadit* becomes sodden, and in such weather it isn't water-tight anymore and all the bedding in the *goahti* gets soaked as well. And when the weather improves, they start to dry out the tent fabric and some go off to look for the lost reindeer. And when the weather has gotten better, then the reindeer are much more docile than in harsh weather, and when this good weather lasts for a few or even for many days, then the Sámi are able to migrate.

And When They Are Ready to Migrate at Last

And when they are ready to migrate at last, they do it this way: the geldings are loaded with all the goods and with the children big and small and then they set off in a caravan, and the herd is also nearby. And when they are delayed in setting off, it gets dark before they reach their *luoitalanbáiki* [a place with sufficient space, firewood, and grazing to allow the travelers to unharness their reindeer and set up camp]. And then that is a very dangerous situation. The geldings become sore and start to run all about, and their packs fall off and the lines between them break. And they rush into the wilds and in the dark one cannot see where the geldings went so they just have to let them go. And the children also fall off the geldings and the geldings can run over a child and trample it, sometimes so badly that the child almost dies. But they have to continue with those animals that they still have at hand. And it is hard to find one's way.

And when they reach that place where they typically get to on the first day, then they unharness the geldings. And then they are tired and the day is over. Now they must hurry to get the *goadit* set up before it gets dark, for it is already growing dark in the

evenings by then. And they set up the *goadit* as fast as ever they can. Some set up the *goadit* while others cut firewood; there is still birchwood.

And When They Have Gotten Their Fires Started

And when they have gotten their fires started in this area, they start to eat reindeer milk and cheese and there is *gáhkku* [flatbread] nowadays as well, but not back then. And then they put water on to boil and used to add reindeer milk with *juobmu* [sorrel; *Rumex acetosa*] to it and drink that. And the women had to hurry to unpack the children and care for them and warm the bigger children up too. It is even worse for the bigger children than for the children still in the *gietkka*, for they don't have any of the shelter that the *gietkka* provides.

And when those who have been with the caravan have eaten, those who are driving the herd arrive and bring the herd up by the *goadit*, and then others go to tend them for the night. And when it is dark and rainy, it is so dark that one cannot even see what's before one's own feet! Sometimes one stumbles over a rock or into a lake or bog or tree and one cannot see the reindeer but only hear them. And one has to walk around the outside of the herd and do this all night long and not let the dogs chase the reindeer. A dog will splinter the herd and the reindeer will break away when a dog chases them hard.

And when morning comes, they drive the reindeer back to the where the *goadit* are. The nights aren't very long yet. And when it is morning, the first thing is to go look for those geldings that went off with their packs, and when there is no snow, finding them is not easy. And when they came to the place where the geldings broke loose, then they head in the direction they know the animals went and when they did so, they found some of the packs but some packs were still missing. And when they searched for a day and still couldn't find them, then there is no time to search for another day. And now there were two geldings gone and the pack off one of them, but they had to just leave them behind. And then when evening came, someone had to go and tend the herd and walk around it as before.

And when he brought the herd back, they got set to travel right away.

And They Migrate Through The Mountains Where There Are No *Soahki* [Downy Birch; *Betula pubescens*] Growing

Now they have to stop in a place where there is no wood.

In those high mountains it is certainly trying, even if the weather is good, because wood is scarce: just *skierri* [dwarf birch] and juniper in some places, and this is very good to burn, even if it's rainy. And in some places there is low-growing *siedga* [downy willow; *Salix lapponum*]: if the willow branches are not dry they are bad for burning, but if there are dry willow branches in the mix, then they are good for burning. And there is also one sort of plant that is called *ruvderássi* [arctic white heather; *Cassiope tetragona*] that they also burn if there isn't any dwarf birch. This plant grows even higher up than dwarf birch.

And when it is dark you can't see; then those with weak eyes have to feel about when gathering. But when the weather is good, the Sámi do well for themselves, even though they are in the mountains.

When they now start to migrate again, they used to select the most docile geldings, for they knew that it is a dangerous route, such that if a gelding gets spooked and starts to run then it will certainly end up rolling down the slope.

And there is a great river gorge where everything, no matter what, gets smashed at once. These places are so terrifying that the lightheaded cannot look down. And when they now got all the packs mounted on the geldings, then they set off again and used to go safely through that bad place, that *siida*, but it is not certain that all *siiddat* make it through that place so well.

Among the Sámi it is taken as a belief that when migrating between dwelling areas, what one experiences on the first leg of the journey will continue for the whole of the trip. If misfortune comes on the first day's travel, then the whole trip will have misfortune as well. And this *siida* that has misfortune on its first day of the journey, people will guess that they will have trouble throughout the whole trip. But what happens is what has to happen.

But once when it was bad going, the toughest folk were needed in the caravan. And there was a pregnant woman and she didn't dare stay in the caravan but went instead to drive the herd. And then she gave birth to her child while traveling, and there was no respite for her but to tuck the baby into her bosom and continue driving the reindeer to where they were putting up the *goadit*. And it was only when she reached the *goadit* that she got to bed, such as Sámi have. And wood was scarce in that place and they cared for her in the way that Sámi usually do. And they weren't long in that place before they had to move again, and they left one *goahti* behind with two people, and they selected geldings to tie up for them there.

About Care for Infants and Children

During the time Sámi are moving or grazing their reindeer it often happens that a woman will give birth and there is nothing else to do but that she tuck the baby to her bosom and travel on to the *goahti*.

This is indeed terrible when they are staying up in the mountains in the cold. But if the woman is in the camp when she gives birth, then she gets to bed once the baby is born.

In the old days though, the Sámi didn't have pillows but pelts and fur tunics and sacks of supplies and birch branches, which are always spread on the floor of a Sámi *goahti*. And straw is placed on top of the pelts until the woman has become cleansed. And the place is set right again every day. And if she doesn't catch a chill while in childbed, she will be fit again a week later.

Once a baby has been born healthy, it is wrapped in a newborn reindeer calf skin until they can warm some water. And when the water is warm, the baby is washed, three

times a day for three days, and after those three days it is washed twice a day.² And at first, the baby is given a piece of boiled reindeer fat to suck on. Back then there wasn't sugar in Sápmi. So they had to give the baby fat to suck on when the mother has no milk. And it is dangerous to ill treat the mother when she is first caring for her baby and suckling it during its first day. Some women are so dauntless that they will start working again after only two days, once they feel fit—and then they can become so ill that they have needed bed rest for many months, and some indeed have died from such rashness. And if the mother dies or if her breasts become chilled so that they become swollen and pus-filled and stop giving milk, then the baby will be hard to feed.

Sometimes the baby becomes strangled in the mother's womb, and the trick then is not to cut the umbilical cord but to try to coax life back into it and suck on the baby's nose and mouth, and in this way they are able to restore life to the baby. And if a leg or arm or some other body part is bent back, it must be straightened out at once before the bones get stuck, and if it won't stay in its proper position, one must make a splint for it out of wood carved in the proper shape. And if the baby is retarded or has some impairment, one should not tell the mother. Some mothers are so weak that if they hear that the baby has any sort of impairment they lose their minds.

But once the baby is washed as described above, it is swaddled in linens and reindeer skins and placed in a *gietskka*.

And there the baby stays day and night, whether folk are dwelling or migrating or traveling, summer and winter.

The *Gietskka* [Cradle]

The *gietskka* is fashioned in this way: a piece of wood the size of the child is hollowed out, and the part where the head will go is made higher. The wood is bent above the head so that the coverings do not smother the baby. The overhanging hood is made of birch which is bent but the rest is made of pine, hollowed out into a bowl shape. Soft moss is placed in the *gietskka* and then the linens and other coverings, a reindeer calf's skin and beneath the baby's head a feather pillow and a pelt from a hare or arctic fox. And around the wood is stretched a reindeer skin, and in the old days it was bound together with reindeer thongs but now it is done with yarn. In winter when traveling, a further covering is placed around the *gietskka*: first there is reindeer hide around the

²The Nash translation provides further details, probably supplied by Emilie Demant: "When it [the baby] is a week old it is only washed once a day, and after it is two months old it is washed once a week until it is about two years old. But all mothers are not the same, some are lazier than others; and after the child is two years old then it isn't washed any more, except as the rain washes it in the summer when it is outside, or when it falls into a lake or river" (35-36).

gietskka, which is kept on it in summer as well as winter; but in the winter it is placed inside a further covering, made of the skin from a reindeer's leg.

Over the baby's head a three-stranded band is run as well, and on that are placed multicolored beads and silver buttons so that the baby can look at them and be entertained and so that the *ulddat* won't come and switch the baby for one of theirs. In times past the Sámi found out that the *ulddat* could exchange children very quickly if the baby were left for even a little while alone in the *goahiti*. And if one notices this right away and starts to whip the baby with burning branches of juniper, then the *ulddat* take their own child back and bring the other one back. But if one does not do so, then one loses the healthy child and gets one who will not grow or is retarded.

When it is cold out, the *gietskka* gets cold while the baby is out being washed and so a hot stone is placed inside the *gietskka* so that it remains warm. And it has happened many a time that a mother doesn't remember to take the stone out of the *gietskka*, and the baby is placed back inside on top of the stone and that burns its back. The baby cries but the mother doesn't know why, but she has to take it out again. And it is only then that she sees what has happened, and then the poor mother is distraught and cries so hard that she nearly loses her mind. And from this the baby suffers terrible pain and when it finally heals, it won't be a very healthy person. Sometimes it will develop a crooked back.

When children have grown enough that they can play outside on their own [i.e., around age five or six], they sometimes get frozen fingers, and a little boy can get frozen penis, and if they don't know to rub them right away with snow, they will fall off up to where they have frozen.

Among the Sámi, each person has a particular duty. The first is the *isit* [the master of the household] and then the *eamit* [the farmwife], then the *reanga* [hired hand], then the *biigá* [female servant], [the *reanga* and *biigá* are usually young], then the children. [Then children all have nicknames:] The first child is the *muorranorki* [wood chopper], the second *dollacoggi* [fire tender], the third *guonnamugga* [stinky piss], the fourth *eatni jiellat* [mother's favorite], and the fifth is *áhči jiellat* [father's favorite].

About Schooling for Sámi Children

Five years of schooling is sufficient for poor Sámi if the children are kept at school while they are too little to earn their keep. And it is good that they learn to read and write and do math, so that they aren't always getting cheated by store owners and settlers, who have misled so many before with their accounting tricks and liquor. But even so, schooling spoils Sámi children. They learn good things, but they also learn much that is useless. And what's more, they acquire a settler's nature and they spend their best learning years away from the Sámi, and they learn only about the settlers' life and nothing at all about Sámi life. And their nature is changed as well: their Sámi nature is lost and they acquire a settler's nature instead. And many children contract respiratory ailments while in elementary school. And since the Sámi don't have schools in their own

goadit, they have to send their children where the schools are, even if that is not satisfactory.

An Account of How Children Travel During Migration

When a child is still little and light, then it is easy to pack it with its *gietskka* onto the side of a reindeer gelding, just as the Sámi do with other provisions: twenty kilos per side. But when the baby cries a lot, it is difficult for the mother to nurse it while it is packed on the gelding. But she has to do so, and she manages somehow! If the baby is one that cries all the time, then the mother has to carry it herself and bounce it in her arms and nurse it all the time.

About Bigger Children

When a child is bigger and heavier, the gelding can't carry it anymore. And when a child is four years old, it has to ride up on the gelding's back, regardless of whether it is clear weather or rainy or cold. And then the children freeze and grow so tired that they can't stay up on the reindeer anymore because they so chilled. It is cold on a reindeer's back because the wind blows up from underneath and from every other direction, too. The children who can be carried in packs are better sheltered. Babies who are still in a *gietskka* have a much easier time keeping warm enough. And when a child has grown so big that a reindeer can no longer carry it, then it has to run along on its own, although that is a great punishment, especially in long spells of rain or snowy weather. And the children grow so tired that they finally can go no further, and then someone has to carry them on a migration of two *beanagullan*³ [c. 20 km] or sometimes longer.

Old People

And it is similarly difficult for the very old: on a long migration they get tired and have to spend the night out in the wilderness and are thus forced to grow very cold. And indeed sometimes they have died during the move, nor was there any time to go looking for them. Years later, people have caught sight of their bones, but no one took any more notice of them than if they were the bones of reindeer.

About Migrating over the Mountains

A Little Account of Migrating over the Mountains in Harsh Weather

It is certainly hard traveling through the mountains during a snowstorm.

³ The term *beanagullan*, equivalent to the Finnish *peninkulma*, refers to the distance that a dog can be heard barking. In practice, two *beanagullan* would be equivalent to about twenty kilometers.

Once a *siida* set off on a long migration. And it is cold up there, even if the weather is good.

And it became so cold, and such a snowstorm blew up and such harsh weather, that it knocked the reindeer over and blew their packs off. And the children who were riding got so cold and so tired that they couldn't stay up on the reindeer. Their hands were so numb that they couldn't hold onto the saddlehorns anymore.

And the old people, some of them eighty years old, are feeble, and their eyes are weak. They can't keep up with the rest of the *siida*, and they grow so tired that they cannot cover much ground on a single day's march. And so they had to spend the night out in the wilderness and sometimes they couldn't even get a fire going, and even if they did manage to get a fire started, they can't gather enough wood to keep it going overnight, and so they get so cold that they nearly die. When it's bad weather it's even worse for them, but there is nothing that can be done, as they are too big for reindeer or other people to carry.

And when the *siida* gets to a place where there are some dwarf birch growing and food for the reindeer, then the women nurse the babies, and the bigger, tired children they bundle up so that they won't get too cold. —

When there are many babies and they are fragile, they cry as much as they can, but it doesn't help: they have to stay in their *gietskamat*. And the bigger children also cry when it is cold. —

And then the day is already growing late, and it is getting dark out, and there is exhaustion and haste for some to gather dwarf birch and others to put up the *goahti* and get the provisions together. And that wood is so scarce that they can do nothing else but get a fire burning by digging up heather—and that is meager as well. And once the fire is burning, the women have to hurry to undress the babies and care for them. And others get dinner ready and when the dinner is ready, they eat. And then those who have been driving the herd bring the herd up close to the *goahti* to let it rest. And then others go out to tend the herd, and it has grown dark by then. And they let the herd graze until the start of the new day, and then they drive the herd back toward the *goahti* and they all set off again at once.

And they migrate so quickly so that they'll get over the worst of the mountains before the really hard weather arises.

In the Mountains

And in the old days, it was easy to stay anywhere because there was plenty of lichen. And they stayed up in the mountains where there was at least a little dwarf birch growth because up in the mountains the reindeer are calm. It is easy to milk the reindeer cows up there, and in the old days they did a lot of milking. Many Sámi who had only small herds had to milk for their daily sustenance, because there was nothing else to eat but milk and meat. And they milked so much in the summer that the reindeer came down with various illnesses. A terrible disease killed many reindeer and it was spread like other contagious diseases: if a sick herd mixed with a healthy herd, all the other animals caught it. And at its worse it could be spread even from the tracks of a sick reindeer.

And the *siiddat* that were free of the ailment feared those that had it, and they went out of their way to avoid them. And the ailment was worst in hot summers, and then so many reindeer died that it was even impossible to skin them all out, though one butchered hundreds and almost all the meat went uneaten. And those who milked so intensively grew very poor. The ailment is such that the animals' hooves swell up and are full of pus, and the bulls swell up in their penises and genitals, and the cows get scabs on their udders and the calves get them on their muzzles.

About Milking

They used to have a method of smearing dung on the teats of the reindeer cow so that its calf wouldn't suckle. And another method was to tie a piece of yarn around the top of the teats, so that the calf won't suckle. And then if the cow goes missing, its teats fall off. This was done because if a calf can suckle, it will do so until there is no milk to be milked.

When Sámi Came from the North

That was in the days before Sámi came from the north and taught others how to herd reindeer, and when they learned how, their herds started to grow.

The Sámi of Čohkkeras had never known how to herd properly, and their herds had not increased to the point that the land was full of reindeer as it is nowadays, so that there is no room for all the herds and even in a little worse winter, a certain number will die. But nowadays there is not that great reindeer sickness in the summer that they had around here in the Čohkkeras district before the northerners came. Yet it is just those northern Sámi that the Jukkasjärvi Sámi accuse of having brought theft to this area. But they haven't mentioned that they also brought good knowledge with them. And a clear sign that they did not know how to herd properly in these parts was that there was room for the northern Sámi. And they didn't come empty-handed: they brought reindeer with them. And it is true enough that some who came were thieves. But the main leaders who came were good people—Jonne Lasse and Dommos Jovvna and Old Man Beahkká—and they owned many reindeer. And indeed the herds of those who knew how to herd properly grew very fast. And the Sámi who were already living here suspected that they were stealing their reindeer. And indeed some of their hired hands certainly did steal, but it is not clear whether they stole so much as people claimed. One can see how a dog from the outside gets attacked and bitten so ferociously that if people don't step in to help it, it will end up getting killed. And perhaps people are much the same. This is a little indication that people are like this, too—Sámi people.

It has been said of old that those northerners brought theft with them into the district, but there were thieves born here in Jukkasjärvi long before the northerners came to teach them. There was a man named Nirpi who was a thief. Once he came upon a *siida* as it was moving along the shore of the river Beardojohka, and they had a lot of reindeer cheese packed on their geldings. And since he was very strong and fast, he

knew of a place where he could jump over that river Beardoeanu. And when the caravan came to that place, he cut free a pack of reindeer cheese from a gelding with his knife and slung it onto his back and ran down to the riverbank and threw the pack over, and then leaped himself over the great river. And the poor miserable Sámi owner chased after him but couldn't get across. And from that time on that place has been called Nirppi-haskat [Nirpi's Leap] because this Sámi's name was Nirpi. No other Sámi has ever been found who could leap over the Beardoeanu which is so big and has killed so many reindeer—and it is terrible, with big rapids and high cliffs on each side. The river looks like a pot of boiling water and the mist around the falls looks like smoke from a great fire or snow in a blizzard.

And one could tell of someone else too, whose name was Gállá Niillas. He was also a terrible thief, and his children were just like him and they have been in prison many times. And he was the one who stole food from the remote *áiti* of the late Njoalpá-Jovvna up in the mountains. And when the man disappeared, Njoalpá guessed that he might have gone off to steal from his *áiti* and he went out there to look for him and found the place where the man had brought the stolen goods. And he crept up to the man's *lávvu* and slipped inside, and the thief didn't have time to react—indeed, the thief had a gun with him, but he didn't have time to fire. And that Njoalpá leaped upon him and dragged him outside and pummeled him so hard that he started to plead with him and promised that he would never steal again. And then Njoalpá took him and brought him to where other people were. And there have been many other such Sámi thieves who weren't from Guovdageaidnu or of that stock. And he who wants to speak honestly must admit that this is true. And this is proof that not all theft came with the people from Guovdageaidnu.

About Reindeer

About Reindeer Diseases

The first is called *šlubbu*, and 2) *geardni*, 3) *njunnevihi*, 4) *ruodnu*, 5) *čagarvihi* and such ailments as cause swelling in various places, the head, the back, or the thighs. And *livzzavihi* and *oaivevuorra*—and for that one must cut the ears off. And one ailment is such that the animal does not become worn out but rather paces about continually: it doesn't run but just walks around in a circle.

A Little Explanation Concerning the Kinds of Reindeer Ailments Mentioned Above

Šlubbu is such that it swells up between the two halves of the hoof and starts to develop puss. And *njunnevihi* is such that the muzzle starts to develop scabs and these then spread to the tongue and mouth and proceed to the throat and then to the lungs and they kill the animal. And *geardni* is such that the udder develops scabs and swells and develops puss such that it falls off, and the cow licks the wound and it spreads into the

mouth and it proceeds to the lungs and kills the animal. And *čagarvihki* is such that the penis swells so it is big and ugly. And *ruodnovihki* is such that the reindeer walks as if it were about to urinate, but nothing comes. And this ailment starts in the urethra and travels up into the bladder and starts to fill up all the intestines with pus and that kills the animal. *Livzzavihki* is such that the reindeer sometimes looks quite healthy but grows emaciated, and sometimes it becomes such that it cannot stand upright—its rear end sags so that its front end drags the back end along. And this ailment occurs in the winter too, but the other ailments stop in the winter. *Šlubbu* sometimes lasts for the whole winter, but it is not as bad then as it is in the summer, for it affects only some reindeer.

In hot summers many reindeer tend to lose their vision—there are certain insects that afflict the reindeer's eyes. And sometimes they also go blind because they grow so tired in the spring that the fat in the eye becomes entirely dissipated, and then the eye of such a reindeer recedes like that of a dead reindeer. And if one hits the reindeer on the back of the neck the eyes turn white from eye disease. And there is an ailment in reindeer eyes which often develops and which is called *dieigečalbmi*. And this is a cure: a louse is placed in the eye and sometimes sulphur.

And in a hot summer that are such insects which leap about and when there are many of these, old people tend to say that there will be much *šlubbu*.

A Little about Treatments for Reindeer Diseases Mentioned Above

For *šlubbu* a treatment is that you smear everything in the area that is affected with a mixture made by boiling bark until it is as thick as tar. And the same treatment can be used for *njunnevihi*, *čagarvihki*, and *laskkiidanvihki* [i.e., *livzzavihki*]. And for *ruodnovihki* one must take fish oil and butter and tar and gunpowder, and boil these together and then pour it down the animal's throat. For *geardni*, one must take hoof fat and boil it with pine or fir resin, then rub the affected areas with this mixture. And this treatment can also be used for *njunnevihi* in calves.

Jieska is bad: there is no cure for it other than if a twin bites the animal. No cure has been found for *livzzavihki*, but one remedy has been created: one pours strong rum or cognac down the animal's throat and then ties the reindeer up so that it cannot eat anything for a full day, and then it will get better. But if the whole herd grows sick, this is of no use; one cannot do much for them at that point, nor does one dare try, for the herd has a bad odor that can be unhealthy for people too, when hundreds of animals are sick together and grow sick in a short time, and then hundreds die at a time at the height [of the epidemic].

About the Enemies of the Reindeer

A Written Account of the Enemies of the Reindeer Which Have Not Been Written about Above

About the Bear

The bear is also bad if it finds a herd of reindeer cows. It will kill many of the calves, if it discovers that it can catch them; but it cannot bring down many big reindeer: if it catches one it will devour it entirely. But if a person comes upon the bear while it is eating, it becomes angry and lunges out and mauls the person.

And if a person starts to hunt for a bear in the springtime, then it will grow angry and go off to the side of the trail and wait in ambush. And when the person comes along, the bear will attack and cave in the person's head. Bears have killed Sámi many times.

About the Wolf

The wolf is the reindeer's greatest enemy. It kills reindeer all year round, in every season. And one type is so ruinous that if it comes upon a herd that is holding together, it will kill as many as it can get hold of, sometimes ten, twenty, or thirty in a night. And in the winter when the snow is deep, it can kill forty or even seventy animals in a single night.

About the Wolverine

Wolverines are also bad in the winter when the snow is deep. Then it can catch reindeer and it will also kill some ten in a night. And in the spring when the snow forms a crust, then it can also kill reindeer, and calves in the spring. It kills many calves. If it is a famine spring with many exhausted reindeer, the wolverine will kill many.

About Other Enemies

And the arctic fox and red fox also kill calves in the springtime before the calves are able to follow along. And eagles also kill calves. An eagle is even worse than an arctic fox—an eagle can even kill a yearling.

And settlers' dogs and other dogs kill many calves. And in many cases, the Sámi's own dogs kill them as well.

Insects are also an enemy of the reindeer. When the weather turns warm, so many bugs come to life that come and plague the reindeer, and when they come upon them they infest them at once. There is one type that crawls up into the animal's nostrils and settles in there. And it produces larvae called *sávlla*, which kill the reindeer in the springtime if they are exhausted. And another kind of insect [*Hypoderma tarandi*; the Warble fly], lodges in the reindeer's back and produces grubs called *gurbmá* that kill exhausted reindeer in the springtime—they burrow in the reindeer's back. And the reindeer are so afraid of these insects that they will charge here and there and up into the highest mountains and peaks where it is colder and where there is lots of snow and glacial ice. But there is no grass or lichen up there.

And these are the lands that Norwegians have given the Sámi, but not even these unless the Sámi pay as much as the Norwegian settlers demand even if the reindeer do no harm at all.

A reindeer will not grow in any other season but the summer, and in a hot summer the reindeer will not grow either.

About the Times when Reindeer Eat and Rest

Reindeer rest at daybreak, and that is called the dawn rest. And then they graze until midday and take their midday rest, and then they graze until evening and take their evening rest. And then they go off and graze until midnight and take their midnight rest. It is only in times of good grazing, however, that they all take their rest together as described above. For in lean years the reindeer cannot get enough food altogether, and in that situation they take their rest whenever they manage to find food. And reindeer don't manage to rest long in lean years, and even if they have grazed, if the lichen is poor, the reindeer aren't able to rest long. But when the lichen is good, they rest so long that a herder can get so much sleep that the herder becomes well rested.

And when the herder is a light sleeper, the herder will hear when the first reindeer moves. When they start to get up, the calves begin to grunt, and then this kind of herder does not grow tired. And the reindeer are much calmer too, when they have good lichen to eat and the weather is good. But that sort of person who is a heavy sleeper will certainly get left behind at the resting place. And when the herder wakes at last, that herder won't know where the herd has gone unless there is snow. But if the herder travels upwind, or knows where the reindeer in that area likely to go, then the herder can go there and listen, and in that way find the herd. And if the herd has all gone in one direction, then the herder will get the herd together again, especially if there are two herders, as is usually the case. And when those two have found the herd, they walk around it on two sides, stepping beyond the outermost animals. Nor should one allow a dog to rush the herd. But if some part of the herd has gone in another direction it will certainly be lost.

And sometimes they can give such herders the slip, if it is raining and the wind is hard. Then one can neither hear nor see, and it is so dark that one can't see a thing, and the reindeer rest only a little and are very prone to moving. But when the herders are good, they keep the herd together and drive it toward the *goahti* for the dawn rest. But they have to drive them in the dark, so that they reach the *goahti* just as it is dawning, and then they have their resting time. And when it grows a little lighter out, they begin to milk the reindeer cows and when the milking is finished, other herders go off with the herd and pasture them for a day and bring them back to the *goahti* in the evening for milking. And those first herders have now slept for the day, and now it is their turn to do the herding. And when the herding is done like this, it is called taking split shifts.

But when herding in times of snow, it is much lighter during the night, and if they sleep during the resting period and the herd slips away, it is easy to track them in the snow. If there is no bad snowstorm then they will catch up to them. But when the herd

cannot be found, then it is terrible for the herder, especially if the herder is still childish: such a one runs around crying and doesn't know where to go, and will not find the herd, and can become lost as well.

And when the Sámi reach the eastern slopes of the mountains, they start to stay in such places where there is food for the reindeer, although there is scarce wood. But they do not stay in the same place each year. And when they reach that place where they tend to stay in the spring and have their winter gear and provisions stored—food, sleds—they halt there to change into their winter clothes and store their summer things. And there they stay in that vicinity through the rutting season.

The rut starts at Michaelmas [September 29]

And the rut proper only lasts some two weeks.

During the height of the rut rich Sámi do not drive their reindeer much, nor do they want to keep them penned up, because the bulls become wild. If the herd is kept tightly bunched, the bulls start to charge and jump about and fight: each little bullock goes at it, and they tend to kill the other reindeer if they are kept penned up in a little corral with many animals.

And at that time the Sámi make a practice of castrating the bulls before they breed. The castration is like this: they castrate the bulls that they do not want to see waste away during the breeding season. First they lasso the animal and wrestle it to the ground, but the bulls are so fierce and wild at this time that it is dangerous—one must be quick and firm of hand. And when they have gotten it to the ground, one person holds the animal's head while another person goes around to the animal's back end and sticks his head between the bull's back legs where his testes are, and with his hands he holds the bull's flanks and then he first bites through the teste with his teeth. But one has to be careful not stretch the spermatic cord. And when the teste has been bitten through, one has to squeeze it with one's fingers until it becomes as smooth as porridge. And then the animal is given a marking to show that it has been gelded. Some mark it with their own name and some just mark it with three lines on the neck or some such markings as they choose but which are not letters.

During rut, the bulls are very wild. Some bulls will attack people. If one cannot take cover behind a tree or rock, it can prove fatal.

A bull will certainly gore a person to bits, if the person is weak.

And reindeer that have run wild are the worst for attacking people.

Names for Bull Reindeer

The names for bull reindeer change each year of their lives. During the first year, a young bull is called a *čearpmat*, and a two-year-old is called *varit*, and it starts to mate a little at that stage. And a three-year-old is called a *vuobis*, while a four-year-old's name is *gottodas*. A five-year-old's name is *goasohas*, and a six-year-old's name is *máhkan*. A seven-year-old's name is *nammaláhppu*. Poor people start to geld their animals when

they are four years old, but rich people don't start castrating before the animal is fully grown, i.e., when they're five, six, or seven years old.

And taming works best with a four- or five-year-old. Those that are tamed as four-year-olds become geldings with great endurance, although they remain smaller in size if they are worked to the point that they become exhausted during that first year. Although they need to be tamed at that age, one should only tame and not work an animal if it is only four years old. But one which is older, five or six years old, such an animal can be worked as hard as is usual. But poor people have to work their geldings as much as they can and as a result they do end up smaller. But poor people's geldings also have greater endurance.

And if bulls are castrated in the fall and they are not tamed that year, and they live to the next year, then they go by the new name *spáillit*. If it lives another two or three years, it is called a three-year-old *spáillit*, or even a five-year-old *spáillit*, but such an animal cannot be tamed.

Now the Migration Begins

Now Starts the Time in the Migration when They Leave the Rutting Sites

[See Illustration 2]

And now the rut is over and the cows have stopped allowing their calves to nurse, and this is the best time for milking, for the cows still have plenty of milk. And if one doesn't milk each day the cows will go dry and the milk supply will end for the year. And this time is full of work for the Sámi, who have to migrate and milk and herd the reindeer. And at this time the reindeer are very prone to wandering off in a line from the rest of the herd, once the bulls have tired of keeping the reindeer together. During the rut, the bulls hold their herds together so that no animals manage to wander off very far during the night. And the weather tends to thaw out at the end of the rut and now there is definitely snow on the ground.

And in that period when the bulls have been worn out through the rut, a thaw tends to occur and that is called *golggu njáhcu* [the worn-out thaw]. And now one tends to lose track of the herds, for the weather is now quite bad, with fog and rain. And when things have thawed out a great deal, the ground becomes bare of snow in some places, while the snow remains in others, and when it freezes, the snow becomes icy and is called *bodneskártá* [bottom crust]. And it will remain through the winter like this, just as it was after the thaw ended and the cold weather arrived.

But if the aforementioned thaws do not ruin the snow, then it will be a good winter, unless, of course, the snow gets too deep. But the reindeer can graze well even in

deep snow if the layer near the ground is dry and not iced over. And this is the time when Sámi worry about what sort of winter it will be.

Fall

There are signs in the fall. If it is cold before Michaelmas, it will be a long fall. And if there is a rainbow, that is also a sign of a long fall. But it is good when the fall is long and the ground is free of snow for a long while and then there comes snow and it doesn't warm up or thaw. But early snow in the fall is very dangerous. This is a time of contending weather: the cold battles against the warmth, and each in its turn wins for a while and so, in this way, the thaw comes as well. Then poor pasture conditions result, with icy ground, which is bad. And when there is such ground ice, the conditions are poor, even if the snow cover is light. But when the lichen is good, then the reindeer get enough to eat, even if there is ground ice or such.

And already in the fall the reindeer know where the good pasturage will be. They head to where they know there are good ground conditions. So if people let their reindeer loose in the fall, they will go where they need to in order to live, and they will survive. But those reindeer which people hold onto grow hungry and tired and they begin to become exhausted already in the fall. And if the Sámi herders cannot find somewhere with good ground conditions, then they end up starving the herd that they are tending. And the *siiddat* who understand where to find good pasturage provide their herds with sustenance, while the *siiddat* who cannot discover where such pasturage lies end up exhausting and killing their herds.

The Rut Does Not Take Place in the Same Places from Year to Year

Sometimes they end up migrating further east than where they had stored their sleds. And now when the *golggu njáhcu* (worn out thaws) are over, and the snow has come and it is cold, they go off to retrieve their sleds. Sometimes it happens that they don't have time to get their sleds before the herd scatters, and this can prove dangerous as well, when it is cold out and people only have their summer clothes. Then they start to freeze when they have to stay out in the wilds herding at night because of the straying reindeer.

And when at last they have time enough to get to their sleds, they take geldings, harness them, and set out as far as they deem necessary. And when the sleds are far away, it is hard work leading the reindeer and hauling their provisions, but the Sámi have learned how to do this as well. And when the sleds are more than a day's journey away, then they have to halt somewhere for a while, letting the geldings graze while still harnessed, and eating something themselves. And once they've eaten, they take the geldings and harness them into a line and set off again and trek on for the whole night. And once they have reached the sleds it is already morning, and they tie the geldings up and gobble something down hurriedly and start packing all their goods into the sleds. And when everything is tied down, they take the geldings and harness them up to the sleds and head back, and continue until they reach suitable pasturage for the geldings.

And they let the reindeer free from the sleds but keep them tied up [so that they won't wander off: they must tie them to a tree so that the reindeer can graze for as far as their tether will allow]. And they must rest for a while, for they are exhausted, having stayed awake for two days and two nights: two full days.

And the tether is not longer than two or three fathoms long [12-18 ft, 3-6 meters]. And if there is not good lichen cover, the geldings will grow hungry, and if there are many trees about, the tethers get caught around the trees and then the geldings will also go hungry. But they always have to go hungry to some extent when traveling. One cannot let a gelding loose when they are few in number. They will head off back toward the *siida*, and that is bad: wolves may find the gelding and attack it and chase it who knows how far, and sometimes kill it. And for these reasons one doesn't dare let a gelding loose. But when it is a good year, then many things are easy, all the tasks and journeys.

And when they have returned to the *siida* with the sleds, then everyone starts to change out of their summer clothes—their summer shoes and trousers—and put on their winter gear. And the summer clothes are left behind: they are all left hanging up in a birch tree or up in a *suonjir* cache way up high, and there they hang all through the winter and into the spring when the people come by again. And when they have changed all their clothes and gotten everything in order, it is time to move on. And there is still not much snow: every rock and tuft of grass is bare. But they have to migrate nonetheless, for the food for the reindeer has run out.

And Now They Migrate Using Sled Caravans

[See Illustration 4]

And each sled has its own purpose. The first [in a caravan] is the driving sled, and the next is for children and puppies; the third is for household goods, the fourth for bedding, and the fifth for the materials that make up the *goahti*. And this caravan is led by the *eamit* and is called the *goahti* caravan. And another caravan carries the fish, flour, Sunday best clothes, and the finer food stores—coffee and butter and dried meat—all in sleds and chests that have lids and locks. And if spring provisions are being brought along, they are in their own, heavy, caravan.

And when they now start on the migration, the ground is so full of hummocks that the sleds tumble from hummock to hummock or stone to stone. And the most unruly geldings bolt away from each other and head behind trees and get caught on rocks and hummocks. And the babies cry, because the sleds bang around so roughly that a child's head can hardly bear it, although they have to. But some children have to ride up on top of the geldings and be carried as in the summer. But it is not so bad once there is a little more snow: then the children manage better in the sleds: the hummocks and rocks are not so exposed anymore, but the birches and firs are just as bad as ever, even when the snow is deep.

It is the worst traveling when first using the sleds. But the children keep warmer once they begin to travel by sled. Nonetheless, one hears the crying of children and yelping of dogs for a long distance.

And now the *siida* has reached the place where they will camp and they begin to set up the *goadit*. Some start to erect the *goahti* while others cut wood. The girls or women cut branches [for the flooring]. But if a woman has a little baby and if it is prone to crying, she has no time for any work: she has to nurse the child and rock it. And if the baby falls asleep or stops crying, this woman also goes out to cut branches. And when the *goahti* is ready, they place the branches on the floor on the lateral sides of the fire [the *loaidu*] and the bedding and containers in the *boaššo* area behind the hearth, and they start a fire, and it is pleasant when there is a fire going in the *goahti*. And if it is not a place with water available, then snow must be melted, and they start to rummage through the bags for some food and start eating, and that is pleasant. And people nowadays have coffee, and they get the coffee going as soon as the water is heated or snow melted.

And when it is an area with good grazing, one doesn't need to herd the reindeer, unless there are wolves in the vicinity. From a Sámi point of view, it is pleasant when there is good pasture and one has made it to a new place.

This dwelling area where they have made a halt is in the birch forests on the east side of the mountains, higher up than the pine belt. And they remain there until the snow has gotten a little deeper, and when it is time to move again, it is Christmas time already and it is already cold and dark. And then it is difficult to travel since the daylight has ended. When they are ready to move from that *goahti* site, they have to do so in the dark and the geldings get spooked and bolt away from each other and get caught around trees and then they have to be straightened out. And a reindeer can be strangled to death when a sled has gotten caught on a tree while the others in the caravan continue onward, if no one runs to it quickly and cuts the rein. One must do that fast if the gelding is to survive.

And in this season there tends to be slush in the lakes and rivers and this is very bad for making the caravan get stuck. When it is cold, the sled gets stuck in the slush as it freezes up, and then the gelding cannot pull it out. And when the whole caravan has gotten frozen in, things are hopeless—people have to wade through the slushy water up to their knees even if it is thirty or forty degrees below out [Celsius]. And many have gotten ill from having cold feet and legs. The writer has done all the things described above—everything which people living today have done and worked at.

The Greatest Holiday of the Sámi is Christmas

And the day before the Christmas holiday is called Christmas eve day and the evening of that day is called Christmas eve and it is the most dangerous of evenings. If the children make too much obnoxious revelry they can wind up bewitched, and if anyone goes in for too much godlessness, they will be bewitched, even if they are full-grown adults, if they are too impious and know too little the word of God. But they who know and can recite by heart the word of God cannot be beset by *beargalat* [demons] or a *riehtis* [devil].

There is evidence that bewitchment is real. The evidence is a certain mountain, which acquired its name from a case of bewitching. And this mountain is called Durkkihánvárrí and is located near Guovdageaidnu. And the reason why this mountain got its name lies in a great case of bewitchment.⁴

Once Some Children Made Merry On The Christmas Holiday With Sleds And Bells And Dogs⁵

And they even killed one child and then went in the *goahti* to eat him. And then a *stállu* came in the form of a bird that perched up on the ceiling rafter and the children started reading books and some of them were tucked away in the floor branches and one in a

⁴ Turi suggests here that the placename relates to the legend he presents. The meaning of the name *Durkkihánvárrí* is not familiar to Sámi of the area today, however, and Turi's intended etymology for the placename remains unclear. Ellen Utsi recounted much the same legend regarding Durkkihánvárrí for J. Qvigstad in 1926, and noted that the mountain contained two rocks that resemble *goađit*, surrounded by smaller stones that look like resting reindeer. These stones appear to be the evidence of magical transformation that Turi refers to in his account. For Utsi's version, see J. Qvigstad, *Lappiske eventyr og sagn. II. Troms og Finnmark* (Oslo: Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning, H. Aschehoug & Co., 1928) pp.668-71. On Ellen Utsi, see Coppélie Cocq, *Revoicing Sámi Narratives: North Sámi Storytelling at the Turn of the 20th Century* (Umeå: Sámi Dutkan, 2008).

⁵The Nash translation includes further narrative details that set the stage for the events which follow. "This happening took place one Yule-tide when two Lapp tents, with their herds, were camping in the neighborhood of the mountain. Now the man and the woman from the richer tent set off to church at Kautokeino and left their maid at home with the children. And the folk in the other tent were poor and they had one child and one dog. And in the tent where the parents had gone to church the children began to play very wildly. They went so far that they got to killing children in the way that they had seen their parents slaughter reindeer. And they understood so little that none of them were afraid of being slaughtered, when they arranged among themselves which of them should be killed ... [sic.] they all wanted to be killed ...[sic.] and they shouted, one against the other, 'Kill me, kill me.' And so they took a child out to the place where they had see the reindeer slaughtered, and they bound it ready for slaughtering, and then they went into the tent to sharpen the knife. Then the one that was bound at the slaughtering place began to freeze and so he shouted: —'Come quick and kill me, I'm fwesing!'.... [sic.] he was so little that he could not say his words properly. And so they came out, the older children, and they killed that poor child just as they had seen reindeer killed, they stuck the knife into its breast, And when the child was dead they flayed it just exactly as they had seen their fathers flay reindeer; and they took the intestines in a dish and carried them into the tent, it was their intention to cook the flesh, but they got no farther with their ugly work, for now Stállu had got the power to appear' (59-60).

chest. And then the *stállu* ate the head of the dead child in the pot and one of the children hiding in the floor branches said:

“Brother’s head crunches!”

And the *stállu* grabbed that child too and ate him. And then the *stállu* went and blew ashes into the chest through the keyhole so that the child inside it died as well.⁶

But there was another *goahti* nearby and there lived an old woman and she had a little daughter. And she tied up her daughter with a rope and set her to reading books.⁷ And she gave her servant girl some advice.⁸ And that girl took two sacks full of bones

⁶The Nash translation presents the events with additional details: “And when Stállu crunched the heads of the children he killed first, the little children, who were hidden, heard it and cried: ‘Sandy head, cwrackles!’ (i.e.. grits between the teeth, as when the Lapps eat a reindeer-stomach that has not been properly cleaned.) The youngest children could not speak plainly. And so Stállu heard where they were, the other children, and so he pulled them out and put them in the same pot. One child had hiddlen itself in a chest, and it too spoke so that Stállu heard it, and Stállu tried to open the chest, but her couldn’t open it, and so he blew glowing embers through the key-hole, till that child died” (61)

⁷The Nash translation adds further details: “But the old woman in the other tent tied up her dog and her child and would not let them go with the other children who ran about and made a noise in every way they could think of. And the old woman forbade the children from the first tent to make a noise, but they didn’t obey her. And the old woman read God’s word to her child, and made him repeat it after her, as was the custom at Yule with the old time Lapps” (60)

⁸Prior to this advice, the Nash translation includes a conversation between the old woman and the *stállu*, and between the old woman and the servant girl: “And Stállu said to the old woman: — ‘If you had not forbidden the children in this tent to make a noise, you too would have been guilty of their death.’ And Stállu ordered: — ‘When the girl brings the herd to the tent, you are to go away, take your driving-reindeer, and a bell-cow, and go your way!’ When the girl drove the herd to the tent she saw what had happened...[sic.] that Stállu was already master of the tent. Then she went in to the old woman in the other tent, and the old woman advised her: — ‘Untie your inner and outer hood, and your rain-coat. (And outer hood is worn in the winter, and both hoods are tied under the chin; the rain-coat, that is open over the face, but otherwise covers the whole of the body down to the middle, is tied round the waist) and take a sack full of bones with you, and when Stállu’s dog follows you and tries to hinder you, throw him a bone, he’ll take it and gnaw on it, and do the same each time he comes after you. And when you see a bent tree on the trail have your outer hood loose, and don’t be afraid if you see the moon sitting in the tree.’ And the girl did everything she was told. And the old woman and the old man took their driving-reindeer, and a bell-cow, and went their way and all their reindeer followed them, but the herd belonging to the rich tent stopped where they were and lay and rested. And the girl took a *stainak* (a reindeer cow that never has any calves; they are wonderfully quick runner) to drive, and so she went off at the same time as the godly pair. And as the girl went along she saw that the moon was in the top of a tree that hung

and she pulled her *luhkka* [hood] up over her head and drove off toward the farmhouse so that she could call the master and mistress of the household back. And the *stállu* set his dog after her, but the girl had the bones along which she threw to the dog. And when the *stállu* drew near, he took the bone away from the dog and said:

“So you’re here, are you?”

And then the *stállu* took the bone away and set it after her again. The girl headed into the church village and there a *stállu* will not dare follow—he turned back instead.

And when the girl got to the farmstead, her gelding split apart. And the master of the household slaughtered it and they prepared to eat it. And when they had cooked the meal, there were stones in the pot instead of meat. The master and the mistress of the household rode home. And when they came near the *goahti*, the *stállu* cut the scrotum off the man and said:

“Why did you make such terrible children?”

And he cut the breasts off the woman and said:

“Why did you nurse such children?”

And then the *goahti* turned to stone, as did the master and farmwife and their entire herd.

The Sámi Have Many Tasks to Perform on Christmas Eve Day

They get everything ready that they will need during the holiday. They slaughter the reindeer and do all the sewing that they will need over the holiday and cut a great amount of wood. And when they have that all set so that it will last the whole holiday, they clean up all the sticks around the chopping block and stack all the small pieces of wood very neatly: nothing must stick out, so that the *stállu*’s caravan won’t get stuck on anything as it passes by. And one must stand up a branch behind the chopping block, so that the *stállu* can tie his caravan up to it when he visits the *goahti* looking for a drink of water.

right over the trail. And when her *stainak* ran quickly under the tree Stállu snatched at her; he would have held the girl fast but he only gripped the loose outer hood. Then once again she saw the same moon in front of her sitting in a tree that hung over the trail, and Stállu snatched at her again, but only caught her loose inner hood. And as the hood was loose she escaped once more with a whole skin. She went on a little bit and then she saw the moon again, her *stainak* ran faster than ever and she loosened her raincoat, and once again a hand snatched at her and took away her rain-coat which she had untied (the rain-coat is always fastened tightly round the waist on a journey when you are not expecting such dangerous happenings. And now Stállu could not go after her any more as he had tried three times. But Stállu had...[sic.] every Stállu has...[sic.] a hound who would follow for as long as he wished him to and who was very strong. Now when Stállu has missed her three times he set the dog after the girl” (61).

And if he does not find water, he will suck out someone's brain. And for this reason Sámi always have a supply of water handy in a full kettle, so that the *stállu* will not do anything to them.

And when the holiday has begun, they do no work of any sort other than herding the reindeer, and a fire is kept burning in the *goahti* and they eat and drink as they need. And they take care that the children will not make merry. And for that whole Christmas holiday they lead a most beautiful life, not doing anything unless something arises that requires attention. If a wolf comes and starts killing reindeer, then certainly they have to go and slaughter the dead animals. And they will not become bewitched from this, because it is a necessity to do it, i.e., one is not held responsible for doing things when one has to, as long as one didn't want to do them in the first place.⁹ And indeed the Sámi sometimes had to move the entire *siida* over Christmas when the conditions were poor for the reindeer so that they couldn't manage without moving, and this was also not held against them, because the move was a necessity. These things are treated just as in the law: an innocent person may not be punished.

Now They Start to Migrate Again

Now they start to migrate again and they head to those places where they are going to spend the winter, some nearby, some far away. Those who migrate far to the east have it difficult. And if they migrate into a settler's land, they have to pay out big money. And if they don't pay—as some gentlemen advise, [since the Sámi have the right to pasture there]—then it goes badly for them nonetheless. But the settlers are permitted to have hay sitting out in every bog. And when the reindeer eat any of it, it will have to be paid for. And if the Sámi don't pay up, then they come by the dozens to the *goahti* and strike the *goahti* walls and strike the reindeer, and the men become frightened and run off, because the settlers are threatening to strike them or worse. And for these reasons it is best just to pay what they ask for. And when they pay and come to an agreement, then it is easy, for the reindeer graze very well where there is good lichen. One doesn't have to ski so much, and the herd grows fat. And when they migrate again, it is pleasant going for those *siiddat* that have been on the lichen-rich lands of the settlers.

The Sámi Have Much the Same Nature as the Reindeer

Both want to be on the move east and west in the manner that they are accustomed to. And both are sensitive. And because of their sensitivity they have been scared away from everywhere. And because of this, the Sámi today have to live in places where no one else is living besides Sámi. The Sámi would live just up in the high mountains permanently if it were possible to keep warm up there and provide for their animals, the reindeer.

And the Sámi know about the weather and have learned about it from the reindeer. And the Sámi are hardy and sharp-eyed: they find their way in the dark and the

fog and the snowstorm—at least some Sámi do. And that which pertains to skiing and running is part of their being.

In the Old Days, the Sámi Stayed during the Winter in the Pine Forests, and Lived Peacefully, Each on his Own Mountain

And when the snow-covered pastures for the reindeer became čiegar [pawed up and thus no longer useful for grazing], then they would migrate to another mountain or another place which hadn't been grazed before. It happens that in the places where the reindeer graze, the snow freezes so hard that the reindeer cannot pasture there anymore. And when there is good pasture it was pleasant, and one didn't have to do a lot of skiing with the reindeer unless there were wolves, predators, about.

In bad years the reindeer would flee downwards and the Sámi would follow them out to Vuollemearra [the Gulf of Bothnia] and stay there for a while as well, until the settlers came and scared them up into the mountain districts, driving the Sámi off until the mountains stopped them. And the Sámi went over the mountains and even farther beyond them.

And other people have taken up reindeer husbandry. But they have not wanted to follow the reindeer on their migrations, because it is so difficult to travel like the reindeer. And for this reason they started to stay in one place and set up farmsteads and hunted wild reindeer and fished.

Once The Sámi Have Reached Their Winter Grounds

An Account of the Work that Goes on in the *Goahti*

[See Illustration 5]

Once the Sámi have reached their winter grounds, they each start their particular work tasks. The men watch over the reindeer and everything pertaining to them. And if they have time, they mend the sleds that have broken during the migration. But if the task is one that they don't know how to do, they must pay some poor Sámi who is without work or food. And then they help each other and they both manage. And if skilled men have the time and are of the diligent sort, then they make new sleds and skis and every sort of thing necessary for Sámi life. A riding or hauling sled is very expensive, and a chest with a lid on it—such as those who have the time and skill make—costs a lot of money. And all the summer and winter gear costs a lot. Some know how to make everything while others don't know how to make anything at all. And it is a great problem when a man

doesn't know how to do handicraft work at all. But it is an even greater problem when a woman is clueless who needs to sew all the clothes and do the all the women's work. And cooking is also part of a Sámi woman's work.

When they have reached the winter grounds, they have a little time because now they will stay in one place for a long while. And so the women start doing their own work as they get a chance to unload the sleds and unpack the provisions which they couldn't unpack during the migration. It is hard work unpacking provisions while traveling, apart from just travel gear and food. And then they start to tend to the clothes which have gotten damp, started to rot or gotten torn during the journey. And when they have gotten that done, and while the weather is warm, they start to sew new clothes, shoes, and everything else that is made from skin of a reindeer's leg. It is not warm enough to do such crafts when it is so cold out that frost forms even on the inner side of the *goahti* fabric, even with a fire burning so hard that the flames can be seen coming out of the smoke-hole.

Then it is hard work gathering firewood and keeping the fire going and tending to the children, so that they don't get frostbite or chilled. And when it is so cold that it drops to forty degrees below, there gets to be such a mist in the *goahti* that one cannot see anything past the other side of the fire. And when one has to bake in such conditions, the dough freezes while one is preparing or baking another bread, and so one must keep the dough right beside the fire. And the bread is baked in an iron skillet and some people bake them on top of the fire embers until the bread is solid, and then stand them upright against a plank of birchwood to finish browning by the fire. And they cook very well and fast like this and one can make lots of them. And another method is to place the raw bread on a flat stone and turn it so that it cooks on both sides. In the old days, they baked on branches with the fire beneath them, when the wood was poor and they were in a rush to get across the mountains.

And they roast coffee in a skillet. And there are various ways of grinding it: one can grind it with a round stone on a flat one. And another way is to make a wooden mortar and pestle and grind the coffee into bits with these. A third way is to put the coffee in a leather pouch and then pound it on top of a plank with another piece of wood until the coffee is pulverized.¹⁰

Sámi of old made their coffee out of *duovli* tinder [bracket fungus *Fomes fomentarius*] and grain and birch sap.¹¹ And bread was made from *lahppu* beard moss

¹⁰The Nash translation adds the following comment, possibly from Emilie Demant: "Now, the Lapps use a little round coffee-mill of brass which anybody can buy in Skibotten, where they are made exclusively for the Lapps" (68).

¹¹The Nash translation adds the details: "*Duovli* is a fungoid growth found in birches. It is gathered in the summer, dried in the smoke of the tent, and ground like coffee. It has a sweet taste, like birch-sap. It is also used for tanning the tent cloths and gives them a reddish colour" (68).

[*Usnea sp.*] and lichens and *guolbma* [the inner bark of a pine tree] with a little flour added, for there was little flour up here in the north.¹²

They supplemented the food supply with plants. *Fádnu* [*Angelica*; *Angelica archangelica* when still young] is boiled with a lot of water and poured into a reindeer stomach and then mixed with milk. And they mixed that with blood soup and that was very good in the winter. And they gathered much *boska* [*Angelica* at an older age] and salted it and ate that too. And *juopmu* [sorrel; *Rumex acetosa*] is much used, even today.

About Reindeer Slaughtering

Reindeer slaughtering is men's work. When a Sámi picks out a reindeer from the herd, he leads it to the *boaššo* side of the *goahti* and ties it to a tree. And then he goes inside the *goahti* to hone his knife so that it is very sharp and clean, so that it will kill the reindeer quickly. If the knife is dirty it will not kill the reindeer quickly and the reindeer will suffer for a long time before dying. And some knives are bad for killing: if the steel is hard, the knife is good for killing, but soft steel is very poor. And when the Sámi has gotten everything ready, then he comes outside and takes a companion along if there are people about. And then the two of them knock the reindeer over and stab the reindeer in the chest and then let it loose from the line. And if the knife is good, then it won't be able to get back up to its feet, but if it is only somewhat good, it will get to its feet but fall down again right away. And if it is a dull, dirty knife, the reindeer will live for a long while and if it gets loose it will run a long ways before it lies down in death convulsions.

And when the reindeer has been slaughtered, its blood is collected in its own stomach. The stomach is washed clean with water or with *seañáš* [corn snow]. And one saves a little of the blood apart in a bowl for making sausages, if the reindeer is fatty enough that it has fat suitable for sausage-making. And the women wash out the intestines in the *goahti*. And the first meal made from the reindeer consists of its back, liver, and blood sausages. And if there are a lot of people, then they need more than that, but if there are only a few people, they don't need very much.

Food

The first food made from the reindeer when it has been slaughtered and a pot is boiling is this: the brains are put in the pot to boil. And once they have boiled a little, they are taken out and mixed with some *guolbma* pine bark flour and fat that has floated to the surface of the pot and they eat that. And that is very good and it medicinal for a person's stomach. And the writer has eaten this too.

Guolbma is prepared in this way: first the outer bark is stripped off a pine tree and then the inner bark was flayed off like a skin and it is cooked until it was very dry

¹²The Nash translation adds: "The bark-bread was made in this way. The outer bark was taken off the fir, and then you flayed off the inner bark, and then it was dried very dry, and then it was ground until it was meal" (69).

and then ground into meal. Then one would make a hole in a birch and then with a sharp edge scrape at it until it powdered into something like flour.

And it is a Sámi custom that every second night one must have thick soup and on the following night meat. And they eat it only in the evening, and in the daytime one eats fish and bread and butter if there is any—although only some Sámi have butter—and they drink coffee afterwards.

And the second meal made from the reindeer consists of its legs, marrow bones, and head, and then the rest of the meat is cooked as desired.

They sell the thighs and tongue of a reindeer slaughtered in winter, but the reindeer that they slaughter for spring or summer provisions are called *giđaniesti* [spring provision] and *geresboazu* [sled reindeer] and not a bit of them is sold. And these are slaughtered in the early winter and placed in sleds and they don't start eating and drying them until the spring when they are at the calving grounds. And for this purpose they select the fattest reindeer. In the spring all the reindeer are all wasted away in those tracts where there is poor lichen growth and their hides are full of *gurpmá* grubs. So they slaughter for spring meat in the wintertime.

A Sámi will usually slaughter a reindeer near the *goahti* and carry the meat they intend to cook inside along with the hide and intestines. That is what people do who slaughter their own reindeer.

An Account of Slaughtering Stolen Reindeer

A thief doesn't dare bring the reindeer near his *goahti* for slaughtering, nor does he do so during the day unless he knows that no strangers will be coming by. And when he gets a reindeer in some remote place, he slaughters it in the dark and then brings the meat back to the *goahti*. But he doesn't bring the hide to the *goahti*. Instead, he buries it in some snow or sticks it through a hole in the ice, never to take it out again. And when the meat has frozen and the hide is hidden, he has the meat at his disposal just as if it were his own. And they often do this where there are many thieves in a single *siida* and there are a lot of other reindeer passing through. Every night they slaughter some reindeer when people from another *siida* are not around. And in the fall the *siiddat* tend to mix more and then there is rampant theft. And some steal and slaughter so many reindeer that they amass so much meat that they cannot carry it all unless they go to some marketplace where they can sell the meat. And this happens all over the northern part of Sápmi, as has been noted above in connection with theft.

But False Marking is an Even Worse Way of Stealing

But false marking of a reindeer is an even worse way of stealing, for one can falsely mark another's reindeer, be they one, two, ten, twenty, fifty or even a hundred. And if one has many thieving sons to help with his work, they can mark even more animals over the course of a year.

And when it is a lean spring, then some people get rich in this fashion, because people have to let their herds range freely and then they will range into those areas where

others falsely mark all the young reindeer. And some people have grown rich in this way and others poor. And those people who mark the reindeer in this way don't round up their reindeer until the winter, and not even then, if they can keep them out without a herder. And when at last people get to see the animals and recognize them as their own, they can get into a fight about them. And in the old days there were a lot of disputes because there was no law about this. But now it is not so easy to fight about such things. If they start fighting about a reindeer, the Sámi police will come and confiscate the animal.

Some People Call East Sámi *Ceavvi* [Snow Crust]

And they whom they call *ceavvi* get their name from the hard crust of snow, for during the time in winter when a hard crust forms on the surface of the snow, these Sámi started to gather reindeer together that had headed into the forests. For in hard-crust winters, the reindeer must range through the forests in their hunger. And when the "*Ceavit*" started to tether out geldings with bells on, then the exhausted reindeer came toward the bell and then these people started to feed and herd them. And when summer came with its mosquitoes, they started to make smoky fires and the reindeer like it when they can get some peace in the smoky air.

And they started to herd these reindeer, and they probably took some of those in good condition for meat. And sometimes a reindeer cow would show up and they would milk it and this was a good food supplement for them. And when the reindeer started to shed they started slaughtering as many as they could get. And they watched them into the winter, and when the other Sámi came into the forests, they saw that there was a new *siida* there now. And they had given the reindeer a marking, cutting the animals' ears. And the Sámi of this time had no idea how to deal with these thieves. And when they had altered the mark even a little, then they didn't try to seize those reindeer at all. But those that still had clear marks, these they took back, but the *Ceavit* wanted pay for having watched the reindeer and the Sami paid. And this is how the *Ceavit* got their start.

And when a good winter came along, the *Ceavit* didn't grow wealthy at all. But if a stray reindeer came along, they slaughtered it as if it were their own. But they grew poor in good years when they could not get so many reindeer, but when a hard-crust winter came again, and they had gotten more skilled as well, then they really started to gather up exhausted reindeer. And they bought many large bells and little bells and tied them to reindeer so that exhausted reindeer would hear and come toward them. And the *Ceavit* tied bells in birch trees as well, so that they would ring and the reindeer would come from afar.

The Sámi always have bells around the reindeer's necks. And the reindeer become accustomed to the bell sound and when they hear it, they come from afar. And with this trick, the *Ceavit* acquired their herds. And then they started to have *siiddat* like the Sámi and milked a lot of milk. And when the fall came, they were ahead of the other herds. When the Sámi let their herds go east, the *Ceavit* saw the reindeer that strayed over to them, and they noticed how thick their chests all were and they counted them all. And they managed to do that, even if it were a big flock of "birds," ones with big hard

“feathers” on their heads, so that one needs an axe to get between those feathers. And this sort of bird hunter exists even today.

An Account of the Settlers’ Hunting

The settlers have also learned to be great hunters of those animals which seem the greatest scourge to them [i.e., the reindeer]. They know how to hunt these animals in many ways. The *suohpan* [lasso] is one of the Sámi’s greatest tools, but it is of no use unless one knows how to make use of it, or employ it. But the settlers have learned how to use this Sámi tool very well and it is very good for catching these terrible animals. These animals are also good in that they have good meat. And it also happens that one can eat the meat of an animal that one hates, just like the *stálut* of old used to do: they hated the Sámi and ate their flesh.

And indeed the blood of Cain is still evident in some places, as somewhat among those hunters who at once love and hate the same thing. Is it not hate when one spreads a net in the mountains or pine forests? But this net is sometimes such that although an animal gets caught in it, one still can’t get hold of the animal unless one make use of the Sámi’s greatest tool to do so. And those who have learned to use it well take many and the finest “fish” which become caught in that net which they have spread across dry land. And when they have gotten what they wanted, then the gutting begins. The skins of these fish are excellent, but these often end up getting left behind at the place where the gutting occurs. They are wondrous skins and dangerous. They threaten to cause a swelling in those who start to take them along with them, those who both hate and love.

And this way of catching animals is becoming quite prevalent in those places where the “lightning” has not caught the land on fire [i.e., religious revivalism]. But in those areas where such fire has burned, the fish gutting knives have grown dull, unless the great “weather-master” [devil] has the chance to sharpen them up again.

And the Settlers Have Gotten Reindeer from the Sámi

And the settlers have gotten reindeer from the Sámi by bringing liquor that they have distilled from grain and have given it to the Sámi to drink and then taken their reindeer and placed those same Sámi over them now as tenders.

And some Sámi have grown so drunk that they have gone through all their reindeer in this way, and they have been left with no herd of their own but just have to tend the settlers’ herds. And that had been their livelihood! And they have also made their living from wild reindeer and the bear and other animals of the wilds.

In the old days there were wild reindeer all over Sápmi. And the Sámi hunted many of them; poor Sámi live mostly from the wild reindeer and tending the settlers’ herds. And the same thing happened to Sámi on the west coast. There they got the Sámi drunk and took their reindeer in a similar fashion, and then set the Sámi to tend them. And the Sámi wanted those herds to watch: the best thing was to have the biggest herd to watch! And we have heard tell regarding their relations that in those times they received

fifty *öre* a reindeer as their annual pay. And the Sámi had to give [the owners] one big hung of reindeer cheese for each cow they had. And they who owned many cows got a great deal of cheese. And each cheese weighed by current reckoning about a half kilo.

And when the farmer settlers began bringing coffee and flour up from the coast, they did the same thing with these goods as has been explained above with liquor.

The settlers never got reindeer from anyone but the Sámi, nor did the Norwegians. But the Sámi got their reindeer originally by domesticating wild reindeer. And it was not long ago that all of this which has been written about here took place.

About Wild Reindeer

In Times Past There Were Many Wild Reindeer

And no one bothered to watch over either the wild or the tame reindeer.

And the Sámi learned how to acclimate the wild reindeer so that they stayed in the herd. When a wild reindeer enters the herd, one has to circle the herd very softly and let the herd range widely, so that the wild reindeer won't know that there is a person nearby. And once the wild animal has lived within the herd for a while, it will grow accustomed to the herd so that it will not stray from the ranks, even if it catches sight of people. But not all wild reindeer are so intrepid: some animals won't ever become tame, no matter how long they stay in the herd. But sometimes an animal only needs a little time before it grows accustomed to both the other reindeer and to people, and it won't leave the herd unless it comes in contact with a wild herd. If a wild herd comes by, then the animal will certainly follow after. But the timid sort will never grow tame, and that is why they haven't gotten all the wild reindeer into herds, because they are so timid. And they are much bigger and glossy-coated as if all their fur were silver. But people have gotten some stock that is untameable by letting a wild bull mate with tame cows during the rut. And when the wild reindeer are in the herd during rut one mustn't watch over the herd.

There was once a Sámi who lived in the vicinity of Guovdageaidnu and he made it a custom of letting his reindeer breed on a particular headland of a river each fall. And a wild bull came to breed with them one rut and it did so for many autumns, and the man did not kill it. But then someone else killed it, and the herder regarded that as much worse than if one of his own bulls had been killed. But he got as a result some wild stock: he had tame animals that looked like wild ones, so glossy and long-legged, and thus the man gained some remarkable reindeer. And everyone envied him his herd, as it was much finer than anyone else's.

Wild Reindeer Joik

Wild reindeer, wild reindeer, nana, nana

Wild reindeer, wild reindeer, you move as if a shadow,

Wild reindeer, wild reindeer, nana, nana

Voja, voja, it shines like silver,

Wild reindeer, wild reindeer, voja, voja, nana, nana
Voja, like a whitefish.

The Migration from the South Begins

And Now Comes the Time when the Sámi Migrate Westward away from their Winter Grounds

And the Sámi were in no rush to migrate until the week before Walpurgis (May Day), unless there was a thaw before then and then a return to the cold, so that a hard crust (*cuoŋu*) formed. It was important to move before Walpurgis because that is the time when the cows first start dropping their calves (i.e., giving birth), and it was essential to reach the calving grounds for when the cows began to calve. And so they were in a rush to reach that area before Walpurgis.

And when there is *cuoŋu*, there is no food to be found in the pine forests. And so one had to travel night and day until reaching the mountains, and in the mountains there is grazing or snow-free ground. This is also a tough time for the Sámi, when one had to keep watch over a herd for three straight days. And in some tough springs they had to keep watch for weeks on end, and sometimes—in fact, often—when they reached the mountains the wolves were still on the prowl.

An Account of Deprivations Caused by Wolves

[See Illustration 9]

It is very bad for the Sámi when there are wolves about. Then one must watch over the reindeer no matter how harsh the weather or how cold it gets. The herding tends to work in this way: in the day, the herd must be kept together, and when it starts to grow dark, the evening herders come and they watch over the animals until about midnight, and then other herders take their place while they head back home. But it is hard to find one's way in the dark or if the weather is foggy or bad in any way. Some people find their way no matter what the weather is like, but not everyone is so skilled; some indeed tend to get lost and end up spending the night away from home.

And herding is difficult if there are wolves to deal with. One has to keep skiing all the time without stopping and shout as much as one can. If one stops shouting, the wolves come and attack at once. And if a wolf manages to attack and harry the reindeer near a herder, and the herder sees it nearby, then one must be careful not to shout in the direction of the wolf, but rather turn around and face in the other direction when shouting. And if the shouter does not do so, the wolf will take his voice away and he will become mute.

And when a wolf is coming it is such a *noaidi that can cast* sleep upon people, and when they are asleep, the wolf can scare the herd and separate off a little group. And when it has managed to separate a group from the rest, then it attacks it and kills as many as it can, sometimes ten, twenty, thirty, or forty. And the most I have heard of a wolf killing in a single night is seventy animals. But it cannot get so many when the weather is good and the herd is being guarded. But if a wolf comes to an untended herd, it will kill an entire *čora* [a herd of twenty to forty animals or more] and the Sámi have a habit of saying this about a wolf that has killed so many: “It went through them like fire!” (The Sámi call wolves “fire.”) And another person asks: “Did it cause any trouble?” To which one answers: “Where does fire not do so when it comes?”

But when the herders are tough, the wolf cannot kill any reindeer. And when the grazing is good, and the herd grazes tightly together, the wolf will start in the morning just before dawn, chasing the reindeer aggressively since they haven’t gotten any at any other time. And it runs in front and on the windy side of the herd and releases a scent so that the reindeer smell it and that frightens the herd so that it scatters, running off in all directions. And so the wolf is able to separate some animals out from the herd and drive them apart and kill as many as it can. But if the Sámi herder has a good dog, then when the herd breaks, it will spring into action and run around the herd and draw them together and scare the wolves away. Such a dog is regarded as very wary, but it often ends up getting killed [by wolves] anyway.

But when it is a lean year, herding doesn’t help, because one cannot keep the reindeer together in a herd. One must instead let the herd break into smaller groups, and then the wolf gets to do just as it pleases. It kills as many as it wants. But not all wolves are so bad or destructive. Some wolves will not kill more than they can eat, but others kill as many as they’re able to catch. And there are also some that only want to attack the geldings, and such a wolf is called a *herggon* [gelding killer]. And that is the worst kind because the geldings are needed for the migration; a gelding is called a *johtu* [migrator] because one migrates with it.

But if a wolf comes upon an *áldoeallu* [a herd of cows] which are assembled together [with their calves and apart from any male reindeer], then that is the worst situation of all: first it will kill the calves and after that, the cows. It only has to watch for the cows in the place where it just killed the calves. A cow will look for its calf in the place where it last saw it. And so the wolf kills all the cows whose calves it has just killed. And then one cannot herd them at all because they run about mournfully, having lost their offspring.

But when there are no wolves and there is good grazing in the mountains, it is pleasant for the Sámi and easy, and they get a chance to rest and they travel peacefully to their accustomed calving grounds.

And When a *Siida* is Migrating that has been on the Lichen-Rich Lands of the Settlers

When they migrate, the herd is very strong and desires to head up into the mountains in its customary manner. And when they have gotten on their way, with the geldings rounded up and everything ready, they head off. And the herd and the geldings are like birds flying as if in fright: they run on, and when they first come out of the woods, and the land becomes even and with an established path, then they drive them at a hard pace. And one also drives the pack animals in front of the herd, and it has to be a good gelding that can go before a herd like that, but there are such indeed. And in one night they cover many miles.

And when there is *cuoŋu* on the ground, they must migrate into the mountains in one go. They let the animals graze a little in some large bog and the people need to have a little something to eat, too. And when they have had a bite to eat, they set off again and drive again in the same way as they first did until they reach the mountains.

And a fat herd is better at digging through the snow to get at food, even if the snow is hard. But in the mountains the snow is thinner in windswept places. And a fat herd stays warm up in the mountains even if a hard snowstorm blows up. But it is not so good for people, if there is little wood and there are wolves about. But if there are no wolves and there is grazing in the mountains, it is easy living up there, and one need only sleep and eat and move little by little to the next place.

A Bad Spring Is Very Difficult for the Sámi

The first problems begin as soon as it starts to thaw in the early spring. It gets so that one's skis won't slide well, nor can the snow hold the skis up, as it has grown so soft that it lets the skis sink through. And it gets so difficult that one's tendons practically tear, and they become really sore, but there is no way to rest one's legs. The reindeer are very prone to running off when the snow is slushy. It is very difficult for the reindeer to graze and that is why they become so prone to running away. And when the snow has become as soft as water, that's when the first reindeer tend to slip away to Norway. And when it gets cold again, the reindeer seem to sprout wings and run every which way, because the snow is frozen now like ice. There is nothing to eat at all apart from the tops of marsh hummocks, and when they have to eat these for food, they are in a rush to be the first to reach them and get something to eat. And when one has to keep the herd together, there is no time to either sleep or eat, and so one must stand on guard and eat at the same time, and there is no opportunity to sleep other than while standing up leaning on one's ski staff. And it gets so that one nearly loses one's wits, and can neither eat nor sleep, and sometimes people really do lose their minds in this situation if they don't get a chance to sleep.

An Explanation as to Why the Sámi Must Hurry so, in Case People did not Understand the Explanation Given Above

It begins with one person watching the reindeer, and if there are many reindeer in the herd, then there have to be many herders and still others to ski around the herd. But if there is poor grazing then the herders can't keep track of all the animals and some head

off toward other *siiddat*. And then some people have to go and separate them back out, while others have to go off looking for the reindeer that are still missing. And when they get a large part of the herd back together again, then they must migrate with it, even though they haven't gotten all the animals together yet. The herd is driven toward the *goahti*, and then they start to catch the geldings in the evening, and it is very difficult to have to keep trying to catch or lasso them over and over. And if it is a big herd, it is even worse: the geldings run so that one cannot get in range to lasso them. And they run after them as much as they are able and grow so hot that they must open the front of their *gákti* tunics, so that the wind can come in and cool their bodies.

And some people are much worse at lassoing than others, and for them the work is harder still. They often lasso a different reindeer than the one that they were trying to catch. And if it is a tough and aggressive one they've caught, it can be very difficult and time-consuming. And some people grow angry—they start railing—and some swear and set their dogs to bark at the reindeer so that they start running as if a wolf were chasing them. And then the cows tend to drop their calves early and they die. And some skittish geldings will run away, and it is terrible trying to get them back to the herd: one must chase them over many a mountain. And sometimes one cannot manage to bring them back even after chasing them over many mountains, and so one must leave them there. And getting back from such a journey one is tired and thirsty and then one finds that someone else has caught the geldings already so that they can migrate after all. And the women have had loads of work packing up the *goadit* and getting the sleds ready. And at last they are ready to head off from that place.

Hardships while Migrating

And when they are migrating a difficulty comes from the fact that the journey takes place at night; that is when it is cold enough that one can travel. One cannot travel in the daytime, because the spring weather is already such that one cannot travel on account of the soft snow, so one must travel at night instead. And women have difficulties traveling with children: they cannot tend to the children as they need. And the poor little things have to cry, since they have to just lie there in their wet things until they reach the place where they usually set up camp. Only then can the mothers tend to their children and start drying them off where they've gotten wet during the journey, provided they find a place with sufficient grazing for the reindeer.

And the migration routes cross areas that have no trails and the snow is such that it can bear lone reindeer but not caravans or loaded draft geldings. And then it is very tough going: when the geldings begin to pull the sleds, their legs break through the snow crust. And the sled causes problems too: it stays partly on the surface, but not really properly. The first sled remains on top, and the second too, but then the sleds after that start to sink into the snow and then the geldings aren't able to pull them. When the first gelding pulls but the others behind it hold back, then it cannot pull anymore either, because it is not able to do so when the snow is deep and the crust is so tough that it cuts the geldings' legs. And then the trick is for the driver to help pull as well.

And this is the way that one must migrate, although it is difficult and the geldings become exhausted and stop pulling. And so they have to leave some of the sleds behind and others they have to pull themselves.

And when they have gone a little way to where there are some bare patches with no snow, they unharness the reindeer so that they can rest and have a little to eat. But there is little food there for the taking, apart from some blackened hummocks that have no lichen on them whatsoever. There is nothing but berry bushes and this is of little nutritional value. But when a reindeer is hungry, it will eat even birch branches although these have no nutritional value either. And when the people have eaten, they go off to retrieve the sleds which they had left behind during the migration. And when these are brought back, the herd is driven again near the *goahti* and they start to catch the geldings. And now the geldings are shier still, because they know how heavy and difficult it is. And some people beat the geldings—unmanageable people—and the poor geldings become frightened and run off as if crazed. But the geldings which are exhausted do not become frightened because they have no energy to run. They are already so spent that if they are set to pulling a heavy sled they will drop dead so suddenly that one can scarcely get the reins off the gelding's head [before it is gone].

And when it is a lean year of that kind, then many geldings die and there is no time for sleeping but one must migrate without stopping; some go off to retrieve the sleds where they were left behind, and some must pull the sleds themselves. And one can certainly understand why the women cry in such a situation. And now they have stayed awake almost continually since leaving the winter grounds. No one has had any sleep but for some dozing while leaning on a ski staff.

And when they reach the mountains, there is a little better grazing. But in the mountains there are wolves as well, so there is no opportunity for resting in the mountains, either. And now a full week has gone by with such difficulties, and sometimes several weeks. And some lose their sight: they become snow-blind and their eyes start to run, and their eyes become so irritated that they can neither eat nor sleep, and some lose half their vision—many Sámi—and many suffer eye ailments.

Many Sámi Have Eye Ailments

Their eyes are red and swollen shut, so that they cannot open them in the morning without first washing them with water to make them open somewhat.

But some Sámi never wash their eyes. And this is why the Sámi are so swarthy, and they are this way also because they are outside so much of the time. The cold wind burns them, and the sun irritates them, as does the smoke in the *goahti* and at the campfire. And these are the reasons why the Sámi are so browned. Indeed, those Sámi who spend the winter in the pine forests are paler and are more diligent in washing their eyes and hands.

Clothing

The Sámi do not wash their bodies ever, nor do they wash their clothes of reindeer leather. The layer closest to the skin has the fur facing inward, while the next layer of clothing has the fur facing outward. And their leggings have also been of reindeer leather: in summer they wore pants sewn of leather with the fur removed. And in the winter they wore ones of reindeer leather with the fur facing inward. But they only used the hide of reindeer slaughtered in the summer, when the animal had shed its winter coat. Then the fur is thinner.

And they used to wear caps of reindeer hide as well. But they did so more often when they lost their regular cap while traveling—the wind takes it, and sometimes it falls in the fire while one is sleeping, and if one only has a summer cap on when heading off to herd the reindeer and the winter weather and cold comes up, then they had to make a cap of reindeer hide. And other clothes, too, are made when away from home: a reindeer is slaughtered and skinned out whole and then they use that as a fur coat when their leather clothing turns rotten while they are out herding the reindeer. Everyone knows that reindeer skins lose their fur when they get wet and are not properly dried out. And they also start to rot if they don't get a chance to dry out. And when the Sámi are at home in their *goadit*, they stink so of body odor that a person who doesn't also smell like that cannot bear being near them. And when Sámi come into the warmth of a cabin, they stink up the whole cabin so that it makes people sick. And some are so filthy that they won't change their dirty clothes when they come to a farmhouse or meeting place.

But they don't make clothes when away from home except in the fall, when the reindeer are headed east and they have to herd them on bare ground and be out like that for months. And then comes the winter and snow and cold weather, and then they make clothes as described above. But their shoes were much the same as the ones they have nowadays.

And as time went by, the Sámi started to buy homespun cloth and broadcloth and started to make it into pants and *gávttit* and caps and scarves. In the old days Sámi wore scarves of leather rather than fabric. And now they wear hoods of cloth as well, when before these used to be of reindeer hide and were warm. And people back then wore leather coats as rain gear.

PEOPLE OF THE MOUNTAINS

Goadit in the Mountains

[See Illustration 8]

They also have *goadit* up in the mountains in places where there isn't enough wood to use as firewood or to provide shelter. So they must bring their firewood from afar, from many a *beanagullan* away. And when it is hard weather it is not pleasant, as the wind is so harsh that one cannot keep the *goahti* upright by staking it out all around and placing the sleds up against the sides of the *goahti* so that the wind can't blow it open. But the

wind often blows it open nonetheless, leaving all the children and their mothers exposed to the elements. And there is nothing to do at that point but to huddle them all together under some cover unless there are other *goađit* nearby. If there are other *goađit* nearby, then they go inside one of these.

But snow gets in all over the place in the *goahti*, even if they manage to keep the *goahti* upright. By morning, the snow will have covered everything in the tent, and the people are covered by inches of snow. And when they start trying to make a fire in the morning, it is considerable work to clear the snow out of the *goahti* and then start the fire. And those people who live far away from the pine forests have no kindling with which to start the fire. They use birchbark to get it started and that is not easy. And then they start making food and caring for the children. And in these conditions the *goahti* becomes so filled with smoke that it ruins the people's eyes. And so there are many Sámi who are partially blind, because the spring conditions and smoky *goahti* have ruined their eyes.

An Account of the Care for the Dead

When a person dies up in the mountains in the late spring, when it is too late to reach a convenient churchyard, they place the body in a sled (unless there is wood about for a coffin) and place that on an island where wild animals can't eat it and away from trails taken by people. And there they first dig a hole and they put the body together with the sled in the hole and cover them with birch bark and sod. And the body remains in this state until the lake freezes and it snows, and then they come retrieve it at the same time that they come for the other sleds.

But if there is no sled available when one is traveling with a pack caravan, then one must dig a hole in the ground and put the body in the hole. If there is birchbark available then they cover it with birchbark and sod and then it is not certain whether they will come back later to collect the body.

And, when they come to retrieve the body from where it has lain, they sing some psalm verse from the hymnal before setting off with it. The grave is marked with a cross made from birch.

And in the winter, the Sámi will usually bring the body along with them as the *siida* travels, and they keep it a bit apart, and the gelding that pulls it will be marked with a bit of white cloth in its antlers. But if there are only a few people in the *siida*, then the dead person will have to travel in the same caravan, but when the reindeer are unharnessed, it is placed a bit off to the side. And there the body stays until the *siida* moves on, and then it is taken back up and carried on until they come near a churchyard. Then one or two will take it there.

And those who are not too stingy will have a funeral feast then. And those who do not have a feast lose their luck and grow poor.

And when a person first dies, they sing a parting psalm. But when the *heagga* spirit is passing at the moment of death, there should be no sound at all, so that it will not take fright. If it does take fright it becomes stuck between the two worlds and remains so for a week. It is neither alive nor dead, until finally the person is able to die again. And

if a person becomes stranded in in this way between life and death and cannot die, then one must place a kettle over the person's head and then the person will die quickly.

And when a person is in the throes of death, it is a dangerous time. And one must make sure that those who come to collect the body do not frighten the person—this situation is much worse if the person who is dying has been very sinful in life. And one must beware of the smell as well. If the smell of dead person reaches one's nose, it can cause a fatal illness. And when the person has died, everyone leaves the *goahti* and turns the door flap inside out so that the inner crossbar is showing and leaves it like this for a full day. And then they wash the body, and if they have white linens, they dress it in them. And if they don't have white linens with which to make grave clothes, then they have to dress the body in worn clothing, and thus it is placed in a sled or—if they have one—a coffin.

The deceased is not taken out through the door opening but rather through the *goahti* wall just where it was when it died. This is a sign that the living and the dead should not travel the same road. And another belief: if the body is taken out through the door then another person will die soon in that *goahti*.

Some corpses are very bad for haunting and frightening people, and not just [where they died]: the corpse haunts the place of death so that one sees and hears it there, and it imitates the things it had done while alive. It *joiks* and makes the dogs bark and does all sorts of things. If this corpse is on an island, it will come to the lakeshore in the shape of a big bird with a surge of water even in the middle of the day when there are lots of people about.

And once, when one such reached the shore, it took on the form of a stranger and frightened the herd away from where they were resting. And it had been a young girl in life, fifteen years old. And this happened in 1907. And in that same place during that year there were many who wandered about after death and frightened people in many ways.

And when the person has died while dressed, people customarily leave the clothes behind. But those clothes that were taken off before death are cleaned up and used by people themselves or sold or given to the poor.

All that is Connected with the Sámi's Spring Work

Here Begins an Account of All that is Connected with the Sámi's Spring Work

When the Sámi have come to the mountain with the entire herd and all the caravans and have reached the place where the calving is to occur, then there is much work to be done, as they must dry the meat and repair the sleds and watch the herds, which are divided into two parts: one for the cows and the other for the geldings and other male reindeer.

An Explanation of Why it is Necessary for a *Siida* to Divide the Reindeer into Two Parts

The reason for this is that the male reindeer are so unruly that they must be managed harshly: they trot and gallop all over the place when it is still cold out and there is little food, poor lichen growth and little open ground. And it is a dangerous time for the cow herd: they must be herded as carefully as possible. If the cow herd is managed harshly it will become unruly, and also, if the cows are driven in this way, they will go into labor early and the dogs are bad for eating the calves. And those cows that have not yet calved, and who are just giving birth, these will be frightened away from their calves when a dog comes chasing the reindeer hard. And so it is necessary to divide the herd into separate parts for the cows and the geldings [and other males].

And when the calving begins, the cows want to return to where they have been accustomed to giving birth before. And on the east side of the mountains there are no tracts that are suitable for calving, except for one or two *siiddat*. And for this reason they have to migrate with the reindeer over the mountains to the Norwegian side of the border, and for this reason the reindeer are always emaciated in this region since they have been forbidden to enter into the Finnish districts where they used to stay.¹³ Many *siiddat* used to spend the winter there and there is good lichen and good grazing. And indeed, some Sámi have also spent the calving time up in the mountains. And it turned out very badly for them in that so many of the calves froze to death that they were not even able to skin them all.

An Account of When the Cows are Calving in an Area that They are Accustomed to Calve in and Where the Land is Such that the Cow can Manage with her Calf, i.e., Where There is Food and Shelter Enough to Live

The cows are so calm that they graze nicely and care for their calves. People need do no more than ski around the herd and watch that no predators come and start destroying things or that the herd does not go into areas that are perilous. And once the cows have calved, there is no more migrating, so that the calves can grow in peace. And on the side of the mountains facing the sea, the grass returns early, and the reindeer know this, both the reindeer that are near and those that are far away. And there is not much more to tell about this.

An Account of Calving Places

¹³ Turi refers here to the western regions of Finland, i.e., the Finnish “arm,” no longer available to Swedish Sámi after the closure of the border between Sweden and Finland in 1889.

Some have the reindeer calve in the mountains near the border, and they have it very hard migrating over the mountains, for they must bring along all their provisions and *goadit* and children. And it is very dangerous traveling with cows that have little calves along. And that migration route has great rivers which are difficult to cross, since there are no bridges or boats around.

Here Begins an Account of Those that Calve on the East Side of the Border and on the Border

There is little ground free of snow there, and the cows are very apt to wander far off and are otherwise unruly. One must herd them so hard that the herder cannot stop at all. And if the herders are unskilled, many reindeer will die because they must harry them or drive them with dogs as long as the dog can manage to go. And a dog will tend to tire out and then the herder lets the herd go free. And the wolf is also worse in the east. And when the cows have calved and the calves have grown a bit, the cows set their mind to moving again. The start wanting the grass that has begun to grow in the coastal forests.

And then all the reindeer set their minds to moving west so that it is almost impossible to hold them back. Then they have to start heading toward the coast, where there is grass and it is cool in the summer heat. And the air is healthy in the coastal regions where there are many snowy mountains. And from off the sea there comes fresh air as well, which is healthy for the reindeer. And on the coastal mountains one can also milk the reindeer, but now those lands are very crowded: the farmers won't give the Sámi enough land anymore where they could herd them and milk them. And it is also so that if one starts milking at this time, the calves will stay so small that they will not survive the winter. And for these reasons they have to keep from milking where they used to milk in olden times.

More About Calving Time

Now the cows begin to calve, and the calving season is dangerous for the Sámi, and there is a lot of work to do watching the reindeer and drying meat and repairing and tarring the sleds. And watching the reindeer is hard work: one must watch the reindeer continually during the calving season. In the olden days, the Sámi kept watch so diligently that they rounded up the herd twice a day and milked the cows. And when a young cow has just given birth and is licking her calf, she can get spooked away from her calf. And when a cow is spooked off like that, some will never return to it. And if one is unskillful at herding, many cows get spooked away from their calves and this causes a great loss, because all the calves which have been abandoned like this will die. Some Sámi tie up the cows that have abandoned their calves and keep them like that for weeks, and then some cows will take back their calves, while others will not no matter how long they are tied up, and anyway, the Sámi don't have the time to wait them out.

And it is dangerous in other ways, too, when unskilled herders are put in charge of the reindeer: they can let their dogs drive the herd so hard that the pregnant reindeer run too much and drop their calves early ("drop" [*reitot*] is what is said when a cow

miscarries, as humans can as well), and in this way many pregnant cows die. And the Sámi have to help sometimes so that a cow will be able to give birth to its calf, and that is also called “dropping,” and they say that it is necessary to take care of a *sorreálddu*, [a cow whose calf is in the wrong position]. Some Sámi are very good at acting as midwives, but the cow may die even so, when the calf is too badly tangled up inside her. Sometimes they cut up the calf inside the cow and then remove it in pieces, and this is a good treatment. In this way, many reindeer can survive. And that is good.

And it is better when a long while has gone by—a week—since the cow was in problem labor. Then the calf has died and has rotted a little and it is soft and comes out more easily. And when the calf has come out, one must look to see whether the cow licks the calf and the afterbirth comes out. And if the cow does not lick the calf a little, the afterbirth will not come out, and then she will certainly die. But if they give some butter to the cow, the afterbirth will come out and the cow will survive, but not, of course, the calf. But it is good when the cow survives.

And it is also a bad thing when a dog drives a herd too hard when the cows are calving, for the cows tend to get easily spooked. When the cows are licking their newborn calves—that is, washing their calves with their tongues—and a dog comes chasing the reindeer in the place where the cows are calving or cleaning their newborn calves, they will rush off and leave their calves behind. And some do come back and take back their calves, but others will not once they have abandoned them, but will take a yearling calf and start to nurse it instead. And in this way many calves are lost.

An Account of Cows or Pregnant Cows

When a pregnant cow starts to calve or goes into labor, she paces about in search of a secluded place.

An explanation of this pacing: the cow runs because the calf is being born. And she will run as much as she is able, and it is even worse when the cow is fat. When there are patches of ground with no snow on them, it tends to be even worse. When the herd is small, the pregnant cows tend to run even worse. And it is even worse in the forests: it can get so bad that they have to tie the cows up until they calve.

And the cow is such that if she gets the chance, she will run up a mountain, no matter how high it is. And she will want to be on that high mountain, even if the calf will freeze immediately up there. And the reason for this running is that the calf kicks so hard when the mother has energy or is fat; a thin cow is not given to such pacing. And when it is a cold spring, a fat cow won't pace about as much either. But it is much better when the herd is large and spread thinly about, and there is a mountain. And when the reindeer or herd are on a mountain, one can keep in control of the pacing reindeer, for the cows will run from one side of the mountain to the other.

And when there are people standing guard on each side so that the reindeer won't reach the edge and go off into the forest, then the herder is ready to head them off. And when they have run back and forth over that mountain many, many times over, they calve at last, those cows who have been running two or three full days before then. And

when they give birth, then other cows follow suit, and the process continues until they have all calved.

And once they have all calved, the cows don't need any watching. If there are no predators, one need not watch any but the male reindeer; but it is customary to keep an eye on the cows as well, to guard against some animal coming and starting to eat the calves. The calves have many enemies: the wolf and the bear and the wolverine and the fox, and the arctic fox and the eagle—all of these are enemies of the calf. And there are many hazards for the calf as well, like pools of water or very rocky patches or rivers both great and small.

Here Begins an Account of How One Must Herd the Reindeer so that the Cows and Calves Will Thrive

One must turn the herd carefully by confronting only the outliers and not by using dogs to work the herd up. One needs a very wise dog, who will run only around the outlying reindeer. And one must not drive them into a tight herd: it is better when they are spread thinly about and the dog just goes around the outer perimeter of the herd.

And when it is a cold spring, it is very bad, because the reindeer in their hunger must spread out so far and wide that it is indeed necessary to drive them hard, as the reindeer run in search of food to eat. For they are hungry and there is *cuoŋu* crust on the snow and not enough open ground that they might live there without spreading out very thinly. And if it stays cold for a long time, the reindeer run out of food, because what little open ground there was has already given out and no longer has any lichens to eat. There is nothing left but berry bushes nowadays here where there have gotten to be so many reindeer, and so one must diligently hold the *siida*'s herd together and keep watch over the reindeer.

And when people are very skilled at herding, their reindeer fare much better than those of people who don't know how to guide or command them like a general over troops. All sorts of things go in the same way when one commands poorly. But indeed some hands are deceitful and unskilled. And they do much damage to a master of the household when they don't go around the reindeer themselves but send a dog to drive them, however many it kills that way. That kind of hand tends to kill many cows or pregnant cows and calves, as has been discussed above.

But if there are wolves about, there is even more work to be done, and damage, when the wolf is watching. If the herder lets the herd spread out thinly, the wolf will charge at once and kill as if in a war unless a person gets there immediately to scare it away. Some wolves are so brazen or brave that they don't take fright until the person gets very close. But dogs are a great help: a dog is faster than a person and will run quickly up to the wolf and bark hard and snap at its hind end, and then the wolf has to take fright, although a wolf will also often kill such a dog. And when there are many wolves in the spring, one has to herd the reindeer so tightly together that they starve and the cows drop their calves. And the calves die, because their mothers are starving and they get no milk from them.

And There is One More Dangerous Thing about the Spring Calving Season

Now when there is no food for the reindeer in the forests, they have to stay up on the mountains, where the wind has blown the snow away and there is a little windswept open ground, and there it is a little better in the mountains. And the snow also tends to be softer in the mountains, even when there is *cuoŋu* crust in the forests. And in this way the mountains are better, even if it is cold there and there is a snowstorm and a blizzards such that one cannot even see as far as the tips of one's skis. And then one cannot watch over the reindeer, no matter how many the wolf eats.

And when the reindeer are thin, the calves will freeze to death, and the yearlings too, and any sort of animal that is too thin, and then they die by the hundreds, sometimes several hundred at once. But sometimes not so many die, when the reindeer have a lot of energy or are fat. And if it is a sort of place that has many rocks, these provide good shelter; not so many reindeer will freeze to death. But if the ground is very flat, they will freeze to death as described above. And the herders will also freeze, so that they can barely keep the life inside themselves; their legs grow so numb with the cold that they can't be bent, nor can they stand on them before rubbing them and moving them in every direction. And then they will start to bend and finally warm up to how they were before. But their leg joints are never again straight as other people's.

Here Begins an Account of the Beginning of the Migration Away from the Calving Grounds for those *Siiddat* who Had their Calving in Places East of the Border

Now they leave behind all the winter gear, sleds, and all that pertains to the winter, and they take along with them their summer provisions. And they start to get all the winter gear ready to be left behind. First, things are placed in sleds and the sleds are placed on wooden posts, and inside the sleds are placed the provisions, and reindeer hides on top of them, and then birchbark on top of those, and sod on top of the birchbark, and rocks next, and then birch trunks on top of everything.

They also leave things on a *buoggi*. A *buoggi* is a tree trunk that is suspended between two trees, and on it are hung gear which is then covered over by *lávvu* fabric. And things are left in this way in many places, so that they will have some things handy as they migrate back east through the area. Although they may migrate by a different route, they will be closer at hand than if they had to retrieve them from the eastern edges of the mountains.

And then they start to get the packs ready which they will use to take their summer gear and food along. And a gelding's pack can weigh twenty kilos on each side,

if the geldings are energetic or fat, but when they are thin, they cannot carry any more than fifteen kilos per side.

And now they are ready to go. The *siida* that has been staying on settlers' lands starts off on its migration: it has energetic reindeer. And now they must haul by reindeer gelding all their food, clothes, *goadit*, and children over many a large river. The *siida* sets off on its journey in this way: the herd of cows separate from the rest, and the caravan and gelding herd together in front, but the herd of cows is not far behind. And when they have traveled one day, they leave some more gear on another *buoggi*, and then they travel again.

And there is at this time glacial runoff, each a small river, so large that they cannot wade through them, and each valley is full of slush, and the snow is still deep in the mountains which are tall and cold. But now it has warmed up to the extent that the snow will not bear the weight of those geldings who are carrying packs, and it is best to wait until *cuoŋu* crust forms or it turns cold. And sometimes it won't get cold enough until Eric's Day [May 18], and if it hasn't turned cold by new Eric's Day, there will certainly be *cuoŋu* crust by old Eric's Day [May 29].¹⁴ And they travel along, and all the slush has frozen solid, as well as the little rivers, and the water level has dropped much in the bigger rivers, too. But sometimes there will be snowstorms, so that one cannot move forward: they have to stay in the mountains for weeks, and there is no firewood up there but some dwarf birch, and little of that either. And that which there is lies beneath the snow!

And there is no birch wood handy, and now they don't have the sleds along with which to haul wood. And no one wants to stay there, but as the weather is so harsh, they must. And the herd of cows has it bad too, because the calves tend to freeze to death in this sort of weather: if such weather strikes up in the high mountains, many hundreds of animals will freeze to death, and it is even worse when one starts herding them toward another place. It is best if they remain where they are. But if there were a sheltered place or forest nearby, and one first realized that harsh weather was on its way, then it would be possible to drive the reindeer there. But since the forest is far away, they cannot reach it.

And when the weather clears, the first task is to look for those calves that have frozen to death and skin them out. And the meat is poor on calves that have frozen: a fat calf won't freeze no matter how cold it gets out. And when they have gotten this work done, they set off again when the weather clears.

¹⁴ Since the medieval period, St. Eric's Day has always been celebrated on May 18. In turn-of-the-century Sápmi, however, two separate calendars were in use: Sweden and Norway had adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1753, while Russia retained the Julian calendar, which lagged eleven days behind the Gregorian. In the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland, official documents were dated using both calendars. This situation continued until 1918. Thus, Turi can talk about the "new" Eric's Day (i.e., May 18 by the newer, Gregorian, calendar), and "old" Eric's Day eleven days later (i.e., May 29 according to the Gregorian calendar).

And now comes a very big river that they have to cross. And it is very hard to cross it because the river is so deep that no one can wade across it except grown men, and they have to carry all the children and the women and the old people across on their backs.

An Account of What Happens When Wading Across a River with Reindeer Caravans

[See Illustration 10]

The geldings can stumble or throw off their packs when the water gets so deep that it reaches all the way up to the packs themselves. And then the bundles will start to drift away, and the river will carry them off. And the whole caravan gets muddled and everything drifts downstream, people too, if they get entangled in the caravan lines. But some men are very nimble so that when they see that the river is starting to pull the caravan downstream, they cut through the reins and quickly get hold of some of the most valuable packs, and the bulk of the caravan swims and makes it to shore. But when they are slow, the whole caravan will float away, people and all. But that happens only once in a while. Most of the time they make it across the river in good shape. And when they have done so, they head for the place they usually go to, and which suits them, and there they let the geldings loose and put up the *goadit* in the usual manner. And the packs are certain to have gotten wet in the river and need drying out.

And when they have eaten they head off to bring the cow herd across that big river. The herders have to drive them very carefully; they cannot let the dogs charge at them while the herd is swimming or the cows and calves will get spooked. If they get spooked, then they will turn back and start to circle about in the river, and the calves will freeze or grow numb with the cold. And the calves will start to drift downstream and the cows will follow after them, and another part of the herd will turn back to shore. And when they get to shore, they will be so deterred by the river that they will not enter it again, even though they see the other part of the herd on the other side of the river. And when that happens, it takes several weeks to put things right, and they won't be able to get all of them across even then.

There is one way to deal with this situation if it has happened as described above: they take the herd of male reindeer and let it mix with the cow herd and then drive that across. And then the cows will be much braver when they are with the male reindeer, because the male reindeer herd is bold. It will enter the river even if there were surging rapids in front of them. But it is not possible to get all of those that have lingered behind into the river. Sometimes one will have worked for weeks without any time for sleep.

This solution has also been tried: they build a corral leading down to the river, and they cautiously drive them into the river, and they carry over some of the calves that won't cross otherwise. And the spring waters are so icy and cold that those people who

are always wading back and forth freeze their legs so badly that they have chills to the ends of their days.

An Account of How It Is with an Energetic Herd and Skilled Herders

When the person leading the herd with a gelding enters the river, the cows that always follow the lead gelding closely follow right away. And the whole herd moves like a flock of birds, and the energetic calves swim across even faster than their mothers. And it all goes so smoothly that it takes but an hour to get across, and one doesn't have to wade across many times. And once they have managed to get across successfully, they all rest. But the herders cannot rest, although the other travelers can.

When they have rested up, then they set off again. And they come to a river which has narrowed and has such waterfalls that if they happen to fall into the river, they are instantly swept over a waterfall. And the waterfall is such that if one falls into it, one is crushed at once. And such a river cannot be crossed except by means of bridges of snow and ice that span it. But the river runs beneath the snow, and if one falls in, death is the certain result. But they test the bridge by throwing stones out onto it, to see if it can bear the weight of people and caravans and herds. And Sámi have built temporary bridges over some such dangerous rivers, but they haven't done so for every river that people and reindeer need to cross.

There is one river that is called Giebmejohka

And in that river an entire *siida's* herd was killed when a *biigá* [servant girl] was herding them down by the riverside. The reindeer were swimming across the river, and the river was so flooded that it swept them downstream. And it is only about twenty yards down from there that the river rushes over a cliff, and it is estimated that the river falls a full kilometer from the top to the bottom of that cliff. And there a reindeer would be immediately crushed to death.

And only about a third to a half of the herd escaped this fate. And that man who owned the reindeer became suddenly poor. But it was not long before he was just a rich again. And his son became rich too, and people tend to say that if a person has lived well and honestly, then this nature will come to the person's children as well. But with thieving people, their riches last no longer than their own lives, and sometimes not even that long. Sometimes even three generations can pass with good fortune for those who give generously to the poor and for those who are God's servants or in other words Christians.

And in this way they cross many rivers and reach Norway

But many difficulties and troubles await those who let their herds calve near the border. But the migration routes are not the same for every area.

And once they have reached the coastal treeline, there are dwarf birch leaves to be had, and the herd desires to enter the forests, where there is grass and warmth. The reindeer sense from afar that there is grass in the forests, and then they fear neither dogs nor people, even if you hit them over the head. For these reasons, they often have to break the antlers off the worst geldings halfway up, so that they cannot run: the young antlers are sore when they are only partly grown. And then they bleed once they are broken. And so they hold the herd together until they reach the place where they are going to be staying. But when they come to the edge of the forest, the reindeer will run inside in search of grass.

When They Come Over the Mountains in the Spring

When the Sámi come over the mountains in the spring, and when there has been cold weather and much snow, there is little open ground for grazing, but enough so that the herd can manage. And when they come to Norway so that they start to see the coastal forests, where there is grass and leaves, it is so beautiful and pleasant to the Sámi's eyes. And when they draw near so that one starts to hear the cuckoo and all the other birds singing, that is pleasant to the Sámi's, and they begin to *joik*:

*Oh Mother Earth and beautiful grassland,
oh mother of calves, voya voya nana nana
hello, hello, oh mother ground,
nana nana voya voya
nana nana nana voya nana
receive now my livelihood and care for them as in the past
you have done voya voya
nana nana nana
voya nana*

And they drink liquor and pour a little onto the ground, and share it around with all who are there, and they *joik* but they must not swear.

*Mother ground, be now my friend,
voya voya nana nana
Mother ground, let my reindeer graze safely now
nana nana voya voya.*

And also this:

*Beautiful lands on which to live,
voya voya nana nana
You are so beautiful that you sparkle.*

And it is so pleasant then that the boys have no thoughts but for the girls, and the girls have the boys in their thoughts as well, and they wonder how they can get together.

And Among the Sámi There is a Little Old Custom

When they come in the spring to their summer grounds, they greet them in this way:

“Hello, hello, oh mother ground and lands on which to live.”

And they also make some offering. And there is a certain place where they will make this offering, and they beseech the *hálldi* spirits to care for their herd, so that their reindeer will not die and so that the calves will grow large.

The Sámi call the lands or dwelling areas *duovdagat* [lands on which to live]. They say:

“Here there are beautiful *duovdagat*, and good reindeer *duovdagat*.”

And also:

“These *duovdagat* are so beautiful that they laugh.”

And when a person finds things pleasant and everything is going well, then it seems to that person that the *duovdagat* are rejoicing. And when things are bad or sorrowful, it seems like the *duovdagat* are crying: all the lands and the rocks, the trees and everything—the whole world. Nothing that used to be pleasant seems pleasant at all anymore. And the days are so long now that they seem interminable. And when a particular place has poor lands, they are poor *duovdagat*.

And in Times Past, the Reindeer Could Graze in Peace Everywhere

And in those times the reindeer were much larger than they are now, because they were able to graze everywhere that they wanted. But when the people began to increase in number in Norway, they started to hate the Sámi, in some places so much so that they robbed and beat and even killed them, because the Sámi’s herds were grazing in those places where they had always grazed before. And indeed, the Sámi would have moved farther away, but there are no more grasslands to move to. And so the Sámi must live in conditions which one cannot describe well.

Now the laws in Norway against the Sámi are like a veil through which not even the sharpest eyes can see, to know what lies behind. And this same veil has already caused many difficulties for the Sámi before. And so now it is not pleasant for the Sámi in Norway, for they have become like a stray dog, and things have gotten even worse since Norway separated from Sweden.

Here Below a Further Account of the Sámi is Given, and This is Practically the Most Important Thing

Now the Sámi have begun to think further on their way of life, and they see now that the reindeer cannot live anymore on the lands of Juhkásjávri, nor on those of Gárasavvon, for

the lichens have become depleted there, and the young Sámi boys are now looking for different livelihoods.

The Sámi now know their way of life well, and they would not want any other livelihood. But when the Crown has taken the Sámi's lands away and given them to the settlers, then these lands are no longer in the Crown's control at all. And so the Sámi have come to see that the reindeer can no longer survive where the Sámi are permitted to stay and graze their herds: there the lichens are all gone.

Forty years ago there was so much lichen growth in places around Skáhtovuopmi that the land was white with it. And in those days there were not many *siiddat* in Dálmá nor in all of Čohkkeras parish. But when more Sámi began to arrive from Gárasavvon and from Guovdageaidnu, the lichen growth started to become depleted a little more each year. And when there were many lemmings in a year, then they too ate much of the lichen and in this way it was depleted ever more year by year. And it continues to decline in places where it remains to some extent. This is a proof of the situation: if one counts back 25 years to a time still easily remembered, the lichen was still good in Dálmá and in all of Juhkásjávri parish.

And now it is as if it had all been burned off, so that now these lands cannot sustain the reindeer that are already there. How can people who are planning to start working with reindeer in this district imagine making a living here? When they start to consider this situation, it becomes clearly impossible to them that any further herds could be added, since the region cannot sustain the reindeer that are already here for the reasons described above, i.e., since the Crown has taken away all the Sámi's land and given it all to the settlers, the marshes as well as the dry lands.

And the situation is even worse on those *sárggát* [former forest lands now given over to agricultural use] that have been partitioned off for Finnish settlers. In these areas, called in Finnish *sarkajako*, the settlers have the greatest control over their lands. There the Sámi must pay whatever price the settlers wish to use the land. And the same thing is happening with *sárggát* lands here in Juhkásjávri parish, although it is the Sámi homeland, as were all these lands from here clear over to Haparanda.

But the Crown has taken these lands away from the Sámi and given them to the settlers, and has shifted the border between the two groups bit by bit, until the part left to the Sámi has become so small that the Sámi can no longer survive on it. Now the Crown must reopen to the Sámi that which was closed off to them, if the Crown wants the Sámi to make a living in its traditional manner. Or it must provide the Sámi with some other sort of livelihood, so that the Sámi will not have to suffer so much. And this I, who writes this, know well: I don't have to ask anyone else about it, and I can demonstrate its truthfulness if I need to.

One can well imagine that the Crown understands what it has done, and that the Sámi have been neglected like a bastard child. But the Crown cannot simply take back the land which it has given to the settlers. Thus it is difficult to help the Sámi now, so that all the Sámi may make a living herding reindeer, both those currently here and those to come.

And if the Sámi saw that they could sustain more of their number, they would marry at an earlier age and produce more Sámi. But when they see that more Sámi cannot be supported, since they cannot find a means of making a living anywhere, then they have to live without multiplying or marrying or producing children.

And indeed it is very painful when there is passion and love but they cannot indulge the needs of the body or heed the commands of the loving heart: all of this they just forego. And everyone understands this who considers the situation. And the Sámi were the first people here, and yet they have not increased in number. One doesn't hear of any Sámi having gone off to America or having become settlers, and there are still not so many Sámi around that they would die of starvation, although they have been suppressed in Norway, Sweden, and Finland. And then we see other ethnic groups, and how they grow and fill up this area in Sweden as well, so much so that thousands leave for America each year; indeed, I think some ten thousand go each year from Sweden and Norway.

About Hunting and Trapping

About Wolf Hunting

Killing Wolves While on Skis

On skis one can kill wolves when the snow is deep and will bear the skis and the Sámi is agile and swiftfooted. And when he reaches the wolf, he strikes with his staff on the head or the base of the neck, below the ear, on the base of the tail or on the snout just behind the nose, which is called the *dikŋa* and is very soft. In any other place the blows will not be felt, no matter how hard one strikes. But one must be quick so as not to lose one's staff or skis. A wolf is very bad for grabbing the staff with its teeth, and it snaps at the skis and jerks them so that the man is thrown off them. And if a person is knocked off his skis, the wolf will jump upon him and bite him, but the Sámi has brought his knife along. He grabs his knife and strikes at once, but, indeed, the wolf will manage to get a bite in somewhere, sometimes not so bad and sometimes worse.

One way to do it is that when a wolf grabs hold of a man's arm, one must thrust the arm down the wolf's throat right down to its throat and squeeze it so that the wolf cannot bite. And with the other hand one must strike it with one's knife and then there is no longer any danger. But if a wolf is fast enough to sink its teeth into a leg or partway up the arm—the wrist is a dangerous place for a wolf to strike—it will clamp down and its teeth will go right through the arm. And if it strikes a leg, then that is dangerous, too, if it gets the chance to bite down: the wolf's teeth are so long that they can go straight through a leg. And then the leg will grow so stiff that it can no longer bend.

It has often happened that people have gotten bitten so badly that they nearly died, and they suffered terribly and for a long time, sometimes for a full month and sometimes for an entire winter, and they bore scars that remained for the rest of their

lives. People have used spears on the wolves too, but the wolves have been able to bite them as well, although it is certainly a great help when one has a spear along.

And having to chase a wolf while on skis is the worst thing for a person's health. One has to ski until the blood runs in one's mouth, and a person grows so hot that one must bare one's entire chest. And once one has skied a great distance over the course of an entire day, one has sweated so much that all one's underclothes are soaked and one is so exhausted that it is hard to make it home. But if one happens to come far into the forest, and the snow is deep and of the right type—not too hard and not too soft—and the wolf has not gone in the direction of the mountains, then sometimes it is very easy to track it down. As long as one does not wind up getting bitten, one tracks it down right away.

And when the wolf ends up getting tracked down, it growls and opens its jaws so wide that it looks like it could swallow a person's head, if it is one of the large variety of wolves. And if a man is timid at all, he will become frightened and turn back. But there is a method for a person who is not that strong if it is a place with trees around: he lassos the wolf with a *suohpan* [lasso] and then hoists the wolf up into a tree, and the wolf won't manage to bite through the *suohpan*. But one must do this quickly. And with this method a man who is not so strong can also kill a wolf.

But if a man is brave, then he shouts as he nears the wolf:

“Wolf, go no farther, you can't get away!”

And the wolf will turn at once and advance on him and snarl and bark and gape with its jaws as widely as it can. But if the man is brave, he will not take fright no matter how the wolf acts.

But the worst of all are the wolves that lay their ears back and wag their tails. If a man is brave and fast, he has already two staffs on hand, and one he thrusts into the wolf's mouth, while the other he uses to strike the wolf.

And once he has gotten the wolf half dead, then he starts to swear and curse, saying:

“You have eaten my geldings and cows, now eat some more, you accursed seed. You dare to bare your fangs at me, but you will not, oh accursed seed, be eating my cows and geldings anymore! Last night you ripped my best driving gelding to pieces, demon, devil, Satan of hell, wide mouth, long tooth! You won't be scattering my herd anymore, accursed seed! If you haven't killed my reindeer yourself, one of your accursed kin has done so!”

And then he strikes it again like lightning and stabs at the same time.

But the wolf hunter who often kills wolves does not taunt the wolf or curse. He knows that the wolf is just doing that which is its lot in life. Nor does it kill any more than it is allotted, just as there are limits to the waves of the sea, how high they can rise.

A Sámi who was Mauled by a Wolf

Once a Sámi was skiing after a wolf, and when he caught up with it, he made to kill it of course, but the wolf gripped the skis in his mouth and knocked the man off his skis and bit one ski into pieces. And then it gripped the man and bit him so hard in the arm that all

the strength drained from the arm. And he wound up underneath the wolf and couldn't get to his knife. And the wolf also got hold of his other arm and bit it as well. And when he at last got hold of his knife, he placed its point alongside the wolf's flank and drove it in with his chest so that the knife plunged into the wolf. And then the wolf let go of him and died.

But he had no more strength in his arms anymore, none at all. He didn't have enough strength in his arms to stab the wolf—he had to use his chest to drive the knife in. And then he got home half dead, but suffered all winter long and nearly died.

A Lucky Journey

A Sámi man set off skiing after a wolf in 1898. His name was Ruvdos-Lásse, and he is still alive today. He set off skiing after a wolf pack and caught up to six wolves and killed them all just by beating them. And he had often killed wolves while skiing. And he too had had a wolf jump him, and the wolf had gone for his hand, but he had thrust his arm into the wolf's mouth and down into the top part of its throat and he squeezed that and stabbed him with his other hand. And so he killed it like a dog.

But Nowadays it is Hard to Bag a Wolf While Skiing

And it is difficult in any other manner for that matter, for the reindeer have increased so much in number that there are lots of them everywhere in the mountains all winter long and in the forest lands as well, so that a wolf can get a reindeer as often as it pleases. And for that reason, it doesn't have to seek out food in the forest. And if it happens to enter the forest, it is in no great need there either, as there are tracks to follow everywhere. If one heads off on skis after a wolf one finds *čiegar* [snow which the reindeer have pawed up in grazing] everywhere, and no *oppas* [undisturbed snow] such that one could track the wolf on skis.

And it is also just as hard to catch a wolf using other methods, since there are so many people and reindeer here in Juhkásjávri parish. In the year 1908, the wolves went into the eastern forests, and people ended up skiing everywhere where they had gone but still couldn't get them, as all the snow cover had become *čiegar*. One cannot hunt properly amid herds and people. It is best in remote places: if there were only a single *siida* apart from all the other *siiddat*, and it had good grazing, then one could certainly bag wolves. If there are reindeer running wild in the mountains, then the wolf must come near the one *siida*. And if the hunter is one who knows how to trap with leg-hold traps and poison, then he will bag wolves and other animals as well: wolverines and arctic foxes and foxes.

To trap a wolf with a jaw trap, one must find the wolf's own trail. The wolf's trail is good for this, but one must pick a spot on it where the wolf goes straight forward and fast, so that it won't smell anything as it moves along. The trap is set like this: first one makes a hole as wide as the trap jaws and then one must set the trap just where the wolf will step and then cover it up with woodchips and strew snow on top. And one must cover everything so well that the wolf cannot sense that the snow has been disturbed, and

one's own trail one must cover so that it can't be seen anywhere. One must throw up light snow with a shovel, and when it falls back down it will look as if it had fallen there naturally. And in this way one must cover up all the human tracks and the trap, and then a wild animal won't be able to sense anything and will step into the trap easily. And a sled trail is also good, where reindeer have trodden and sleds after them. And there one sets the trap in the same way as described above.

An Account of Catching Wolves with Poison

The poison which is needed is called strychnine. One who uses or handles the poison must beware of having any wounds or cracked skin on one's hands. It is dangerous if the poison enters a wound. And it is also dangerous if one has wounds while slaughtering, and one must beware of breathing in any smell from the animal. And when preparing the meat, one must beware of getting any of the poison on one's clothes or on anywhere or anything that an animal might get at and eat.

When bagging wolves with poison, one must do as follows. When a wolf has killed a reindeer and has stashed it somewhere, then it intends to return and eat it later. And to set the trap, one must prepare that part of the reindeer which the wolf has hidden. And this is done by taking away all the kill, and in its place one puts pieces of meat everywhere where the kill had been, and there must be as many pieces as one thinks there were wolves who killed the reindeer. And inside these pieces of meat one must place the poison. And another way is to place the poison inside an entire reindeer carcass. And if the wolves come back and eat it, they will all die. But with traps one cannot get any more than one and then the others will become very cautious when they see what has happened to one of their number.

And the preparations can be done in many ways. If it is put inside some meat, the meat must be half frozen, and then one makes a little hole in it with a knife and pours the poison inside, be it in a whole reindeer carcass or in pieces of meat. And it can also be placed inside pieces of leg or loin fat as well. And the wolf craves that, but is prone to throw it up as well. But one must put some fine shavings of lead in it, so that it won't be so easy to throw up. And the poison can be put in tallow as well: it is easy to do this with candle tallow. One must first make a shell, into which it is good to pour only a single portion of poison for each bait. The outer shell is made like this: one must take a tree branch and dip it in melted fat and pull it back out. And when it has cooled, one dips it in the melted fat again until it becomes so solid that it can be taken off the stick and poison placed inside it.

And when the poison has been placed inside, then one must close up the hole with a plug of fat and tie a piece of string to the bait and then dip it again in the fat and continue doing so until it has become so solid that it bears handling. But the string must be of fine cotton thread. And such baits will work for every animal. But for foxes they must be smaller: a fox will not dare take a large bait. But a wolf and a wolverine like it when they find a big piece of food, and they will swallow it down at once.

A fox won't get caught in a baited trap, nor will a wolf. But a wolverine and arctic fox and marten will. The baited trap's jaws are set with the meat attached and it is placed against a rock or tree and covered with snow so that only the bait is exposed. For bait one should use fat or meat.

An arctic fox is good to catch at its hole. It uses its burrow for the whole winter in the mountains. And when it is a year of lemmings, then it can survive living in a single place. And when it is living in its burrow, it goes out into the wilds at night and comes back inside during the day. And when the trap has been skillfully set at the burrow opening, that is the surest way to catch them, if they haven't grown cautious. But if they have become cautious, one must set the trap with its trip wire across the burrow opening and then they will get caught.

But one must not leave the trap untended for a long while. It tends to break the animal's leg if it is left for long without being looked at. But if the trap jaws strike the animal in the neck, it will die quickly. If the animal's right leg is broken above the elbow, it will surely die, but if its left leg breaks, it will survive and go off into the mountains so that it will never be found.

And this is how it is with all the other animals too: they will die if they break their right leg high up. The break severs the heart arteries and then they bleed to death.

And a marten will also go into a baited trap. One places the jaw trap in front of their burrow, a rock fissure. And an otter can be caught with a baited trap of this sort too, but one uses fresh fish as the bait. And one needs a strong trap, like what one uses for a wolverine or wolf. And they can also be caught with a trap placed in their trail.

About Wolf Whelping

The wolf gives birth to its young at the same time as the reindeer, only a week later. And they whelp in underbrush: they make a den in the sand like a fox does and they whelp there. And they choose the most uneven land to whelp in. And they will also whelp in a cliffside. And when one starts looking for them, one must look at where the tracks lead and where they come from, and if one has a dog along which tracks well, then it is easier to find them. And wolf pups don't grow very fast; one can track them down even at the end of July. But if one has a good dog, it will find them even when they are bigger.

About Wolverine Trapping

The wolverine gives birth around the time of Mary Day [May 25]. It has its kits in a rocky moraine if it can find one in the area when it comes time to give birth. And if it cannot find one, then it makes a burrow in the ground or the snow or under a tree stump. Nor will it often give birth on a moraine that is free of snow, but rather where there is deep snow. A wolverine will not give birth on the day [i.e., south] side of a mountain, but rather on the night [north] side, where the snow is deep. And when the kits are big enough to start running around, it wanders from place to place for the rest of May. And a

fox starts wandering with its kits around May 15. And the wolverine will have two or three kits.

An Account of Catching Wolverine Kits When They Have Begun to Wander

When the wolverine sets off with her kits, she takes them up onto a mountain and then it is easy to track where they have gone. If one doesn't have a dog, it is hard to track them down, but if one has a dog along then it will overtake them right away and the hunter will too, as the dog will detain them. And the dog is also a great help here because it can follow the trail even when there is bare ground or *cuoŋu* crust. And wolf pups can be found by tracking too. (If a wolf senses that a person is near, it will take its pups somewhere else.) And when they are found, the dog will start to bark, and if the wolf itself is found, the wolf will start to charge the dog and head toward someplace away from the pups. And one can guess then that the pups are in the direction that she is coming from. And then one need only go and take the pups. But if they are hiding in a moraine, it is certainly hard to find them: the pups will run in among the rocks, and some of the stones are as large as a house.

More about Catching Wolverines and Foxes

When a wolverine is feeding on a reindeer carcass which has died or was killed by a wolf or the wolverine itself, then one should set a jaw trap in the wolverine's own trail. And when this is set in the same way as for a wolf, and everything is ready, one has to throw snow up in the air with a shovel, and when that snow lands again, it will look like it has fallen from the sky. And then no wild animal will notice that there are fresh tracks. And one should do so with any wild animal when setting and covering a trap.

One sets and covers a trap for a fox in this same way, except that one cannot cross the fox's trail anywhere when setting a trap. And the trap jaws must be scraped clean of all rust and rubbed with juniper branches and with that sort of soil in which the trap will be set. And one cannot touch the trap with one's bare hand. One needs to use clean mittens that have not been washed with soap. And they cannot have been stored in a chest that contains any medicines that would make them smell. New gloves are even better, when they are very new.

About Calving and Giving Birth

Reindeer will calve at the earliest around Walpurgis Day [May 1] when they were very fit during the fall. And the earliest that a wolf will give birth to its pups is around this time as well. And a wolf will have anywhere from ten to nine to eight to seven to six to five to three pups. And the arctic fox will have its kits before Eric's Day [May 18]. And the arctic fox will also have many offspring: twelve or ten or seven or five. And the wolverine gives birth around Mary's Day [May 25], and the fox a little later. And a fox will have nine or five kits, or as many as it pleases. And a bear will have two or three. And the moose elk [*Alces alces*] also calves as early as the earliest reindeer. And the

marten [*Martes martes*] gives birth at the same time as the arctic fox [i.e., by May 18]. And the eagle and falcon lay their eggs a little after Mary's Day. And the willow grouse [*Lagopus lagopus*] lays its eggs in the time between new and old Eric's Day [May 18 and May 29], and the ptarmigan [*Lagopus muta*] a little later.¹⁵ And some waterfowl are also later as well.

About Moose Hunting

When going for a moose, one must be careful not to talk, or to walk so loudly that twigs snap or tree branches rustle. It has ears and a nose and it will hear and smell the hunter and get frightened off. But it is a wise animal and lives only in deep forest areas where it is difficult to see it. It is best to watch for it in those places where it usually lives. But the best thing is to have an elkhound: with one of those it is easily found.

About Bear Hunting

When they see where the bear is, they sneak up on it: one must steal up so carefully that not even a twig snaps. And one has to sneak up on the downwind side, so that it won't catch the scent. And when the hunter is brave and doesn't become scared, he can shoot it like one shoots a willow grouse. But if it doesn't die immediately then it is dangerous: it will certainly become enraged and come charging, and the hunter must run across from where he was when he shot.

The bear will rush to where it heard the rifle go off, and when it gets to that place, then it stops and looks around. And if it catches sight of the hunter, it will tear him to pieces immediately, but if it doesn't see him, then it will head off on its way unless it is mortally wounded.

And it has also been said that a bear that has been shot will not necessarily die. It is as if the bear were a bullet healer: when a bullet hits the bear, it just snaps with its mouth at the place where the bullet hit and the bleeding stops and the pain goes away. Bear hunters have seen this plainly. But it is not as dangerous with modern rifles as it was with old-fashioned muzzle-loaders, which couldn't be reloaded as fast as modern backloaders can.¹⁶

Hunting Methods

One way of hunting the bear is with a spear with which to stab it. And it must be stabbed in this way: the spear is kept hidden under one's arm, with the handle pointing back toward one's back. And when the bear comes upon the hunter, the hunter must fall back immediately, and then the bear will become impaled on the spear. And then the hunter must turn around and push the spear in further and brace it against the ground.

¹⁵ See earlier note on the meaning of "old" and "new" Eric's Day.

¹⁶ Here Turi uses the term *givvir* [i.e., rifle, < S *gevär*, F *kivääri*] to refer to the new type of weapon.

Sometimes they find the bear when it has gone to sleep in its den. It is sought out in this way. When the first snow of the fall has come, they find the bear's trail and they follow it until it starts to circle around and then one has to turn off to go around it. And once one has circled around it, one has to leave it alone for a day, and come back the next day and circle it again.

When one has made a circle around an animal one is hunting, the animal becomes much braver and bolder, and it is easier to get a shot off at it.

And if the bear has not left, then it has gone to sleep there, and then one must circle it each time in a smaller circle, until one sees the hole it entered. And then one must let the bear be for a while and come back to check on it in about a week. And then one must make a mark in front of the hole so that one can tell if the bear is still inside when one comes to kill it.

And when the snow is deep, one must go there to kill it. And there must be three hunters: two hold iron bars crossed across the opening to the den, and the third must be ready to strike the bear on the head when the bear rises to look out when they start shouting at it. And when it sticks its head out, it sees how many people there are, and if one doesn't strike at quickly enough, then the bear will come out like wildfire when next it emerges. It still can't be quickly struck at this point, but when it first comes out to investigate, then it is easy to get it, unless one is timid. And the other two men are there to hold the bear back with their bars so that it doesn't come out too fast until it has been hit on the head. Then they let it come out and just as it is coming out it will die.

And they slaughter the bear and get many remedies from its carcass. Its gall is good for heart problems and wounds and other internal ailments. And the trachea is good for when a person has a throat rash. One must pour milk through it three times and then drink the milk. And bear fat is a wonderful healing cream for gout, body aches, and blisters.

The bear can be caught in a snare too, and one can catch it this way if one knows how to set the snare. The snare must be raised a hand's width above the ground and then it will certainly catch a bear. And the bear has teeth, but it will not bite the rope but instead will urinate on it and then try to tear it apart at the place where the urine has burned the rope. And it does not take long before the rope becomes so weakened there that it breaks. And the person who has set the snare must check on it often. And in this way many bears have been killed. And the rope must be soaked in bark fluid to tan it, so that the bear will not smell it. And one must build a fence across where the bear usually wanders, with an opening where the snare is set.

And Here is a Way to Make a Bear Drunk

One has to know the route the bear normally takes. Then one must put liquor in a blue crockery bowl inside a juniper stand or a stand of dwarf birch.¹⁸ And when the bear comes to that place, it has already caught the scent of the liquor from a long way off, and

¹⁸ In a footnote to Turi's text, Emilie Demant Hatt notes that the color of the bowl should be blue so as to resemble the sky and thereby not frighten the bear.

it sets immediately to searching it out. And when it finds it, it drinks it all up, no matter how much there is. And then it becomes so drunk that it doesn't understand anything, and it roars and acts in all sorts of ways. And people go out in the evening or morning twilight, and when they hear it, they go and shoot the bear, for it neither hears nor smells them.

And indeed a bear will drink itself to death. And it is so that if it once finds liquor and drinks it and survives, then it will start to seek it quite often. And it is very easy once the bear has been drunk once: one simply pours some liquor and then waits. And it will often come in search of that, nor will it stray far from the place where it once found liquor.

The reindeer also scare the bear from its sleeping place during the winter. And then indeed one can bag the bear if one has a gun, but without a gun, it cannot be gotten in the winter. But it sometimes happens that they hunt and shoot with poor guns; if the gun is too little, the bear will escape with its life and run off. It will head up into the mountains and there one loses its trail.

The mountains were once a stronghold in olden times, and they are sometimes so even today. When a Sámi becomes frightened, he will head up into the mountains, and then no one can find him. And there is a method of making a hole in the snow and going inside it and covering it up, and it is very warm inside. And he will often do this when up in the mountains and cannot make it to the *goadit* when a snowstorm comes on. When they are herding, they also crawl into a snowbank in this way when it gets very cold. They don't crawl in entirely: they just stick their feet in the snow and then it is very warm.

About the Bear

The bear is a marvelous animal that can survive without eating for the entire winter. And it will not bother about a person who comes near it and does nothing to it. It has promised that it will not harm anyone who comes into its den, although it did take the head off a Sávo man when he came and tried to tie the bear up with a rope and stuck his crooked fingers in the bear's eyes. Then the bear grew angry and bit the head off that Sávo man. And the Sávo men were a different cultural group. But the bear leaves the other people who come to its den alone. Sometimes they come fleeing from Russians; these the bear does not bother about, even if they remain there for the entire winter.

And it has been said that a certain girl lived for an entire winter in a bear's den, and the *ulddat* fed her as well.

The bear spends the winter with the *ulddat*; an *ulda* will bring food for the bear, and the bear would not survive if the *ulda* did not feed it.

And she also slept very well that winter, just like the bear. And the bear was a male, and it got the girl pregnant. And the baby was a boy who had one human arm and one bear paw. And he never showed anyone that [other] arm. And there was a man who wanted to see the arm, although the boy said that he couldn't show it because it was dangerous. But that man would not believe him: he wanted to see it and at last the boy showed it to him. And when he exposed the arm to the man, he could not hold it back: he

tore that man's face to shreds. And then people saw that it was true what he had said about his arm.

The Most Dangerous Hunt

When one starts to pursue a bear and follow its trail, it is dangerous because if the bear notices that a person is following, it will go and make a crooked trail and then lie in wait alongside the trail. And when the person comes along the trail, the waiting bear leaps out and charges and strikes the person dead. And this has often happened when people were tracking a bear.

An Account of a Man who Set off to Pursue a Bear

A man set off to pursue a bear in the spring and tracked it down many times but never saw it, although he scared the bear. And the bear became angry and went to wait beneath a snow bank beside a little brook. And when the man came skiing past that snowbank, the bear charged him and tore him to pieces; the man had no time to do anything. And it tore the skin right off the man's face and head, and pulled his legs in opposite directions. And that man's name was Mávnos and that brook is still called *Mávnos-rohki* or *Mávnos-jogaš*; the late Mávnos's brook or river. And it is located in Norway, to the north of Nuortaráisa, and to the east of Mollešjohka, that little river whose name has been related above. And this all happened not more than eighty years ago before 1908, the present.

The law of the bear is such that if the bear kills a person, it will not be able to sleep peacefully the whole of the winter. And the Sámi of old understood that the bear has a sense of conscience. And also, if the *ulddat* provide the bear with food for the winter, they will not bother to do so if it has polluted itself with human blood.

And Another Similar Event Happened around the Same Time

And another similar event happened around the same time in Gárasavvon.

It was in the Gárasavvon church village that some Sámi found fresh bear tracks and set off to track it down. There were seven Sámi and their leader was named Gievra-Mortu [Toughguy Mortu]. And they had neither a gun nor a spear, but they did have an ax, with which they planned to kill the bear. For there was a *cuoŋu* crust that would not bear the weight of the bear, although it bore the men as easily as if they were willow grouse.

And when they found the bear, it charged at them when it knew that they were not brothers. For the bear fears brothers most of all: it knows that brothers will help each other, but if they are not brothers, the bear knows, they will take fright more easily and one will end up getting left behind and killed. And so it charged at them, although it saw that they were many and that even so, they were afraid. But Gievra-Mortu was not afraid, and there was one companion who should have come to Mortu's aid. But he didn't dare, although he wasn't quite afraid either; he just watched what happened.

And the bear came upon Mortu and Mortu said:

“Let us wrestle!”

And the bear began to wrestle with him. And the bear started to get angry because Mortu was so tough, and it began to bite him. Mortu said to the bear:

“Don’t try those dog tricks!”

And the two of them wrestled on and Mortu shouted for his friend to come help. And when the bear heard that, he went over to that guy and grabbed hold of him and trampled down the snow to make a big hole and it put the guy into this hole and covered him over with snow. And it didn’t do anything else to that guy, although it grazed him somewhat in the face with one of its claws.

And Mortu didn’t dare leave, although he saw that now the bear could do whatever it wanted. When the bear had finished with the other guy, it came back to Mortu and they wrestled some more. And the bear got Mortu pinned beneath it and then Mortu pretended to be dead. And the bear let him loose and walked a little ways and came back to see whether or not he was really dead. And it stuck its nose next to the man’s nostrils and underarms. And that man made as if dead; he didn’t breathe at all while the bear was investigating him. And the bear nosed around his rear end too, but the man did not move. And then the bear believed that the man was dead and left him. And as it was going away, it looked back to see if he moved at all, and when it didn’t see any movement, it went on its way. And Mortu lay there until he saw that the bear had gone away. And then he dug the other guy out of the snow and the two of them headed home. But the bear had bitten off Mortu’s nose and lip so that Mortu’s teeth were all exposed. But he lived for a long time after that.

And once an old bear hunter heard that there was a bear nearby—he had kills to many bears that he had gotten the name *Bierdna-Mihkkal* [i.e., Bear-Mihkkal]—and he started off after it. And his wife told him:

“Don’t go after an angry bear, it is dangerous!”

But that old bear-killer knew no fear. He set off and followed the bear’s trail. And the bear had gone off to the side to wait, as an angry bear often will do. And as the man was following along on the trail, the bear caught sight of him and immediately charged him and struck him dead.

An Account of Two Men Who Set Off to Find the “Furry Old Man”

And both of the men were very strong. One of them had killed many bears, but the other had never been on a bear hunt before. He was timid and unskilled. And when they found the bear, it was so wild that it immediately charged them. And they leaped behind a big pine tree and the bear ran behind the pine tree and gripped the pine trunk with its paws or front legs.

And that old bear hunter took hold of the bear’s paws and called to his companion to come kill it. But he didn’t come; he ran home. And a day later he came back to see what had happened. And he saw that his companion was still alive; he had

thought that he would be dead. And when he came back, the companion who was holding the bear said:

“Come over and hold onto it now; there is no danger. The bear is exhausted and its claws are buried so deep in the pine tree that nothing more is needed than that you press them a little against the pine trunk.

And that other man came and started to hold him and then the old man said:

“You hold him that way for a day now, and if you don’t, you’ll end up dead!”

And the younger man didn’t dare let go, while the other man left him to hold the bear for the same length of time that he had. And when the next day came, the older man came back and killed the bear. And he asked:

“Is it good when someone leaves another person in deadly peril?”

An Account of How a Bear Attacked a Man

The man was alone, and he leaped behind a pine tree, and the bear gripped the pine tree and its claws became stuck in the pine wood, and the man cut off both the bear’s paws. And the bear tore itself loose and started walking on its hind legs. And the man ran up and stabbed him in the head, and the bear fell to the ground and died. And so he bagged it with an ax, and no one has heard tell of anyone else who has killed “Furry Old Man” with an ax.

Fávrrusorda was very grassy and thus beautiful in people’s eyes. And so it was called “Fávrrumus orda” [The Beauty’s Tree Belt]. And there were all sorts of plants and sorrel there. And many bears lived there as well. And that was dangerous for those gathering sorrel, but when they had dogs along, they frightened the bears off. When a bear charges, the dogs will start to snap at the bear’s rear end and that it gets scared away.

Once a man was walking along up there with a pack full of sorrel, and a bear came down the trail toward him, and the man was not able to run with the heavy pack. So he lay face down on the trail. And the bear did not see that he was a living person; it walked around him and smelled him all over, and smelled his bottom too. And the man let out a fart, and the bear was startled and ran away.

And when he had gone a little ways, another bear came along, and it also smelled him and walked all around him. And it scratched at the man’s pack, which was made of hairless tanned hide, in which he had packed the sorrel. And when the bear scratched at it with its claws, it made a cracking sound, and the bear was startled and rushed off into the forest like a stone falling: it was all one big crash and bang. And when the man heard that the bear had gone, he set off back home. But he was still shaking with fear when he got back home, since he had taken such fright.

A bear has the mind of one man and the strength of nine, and thus it is not afraid of people. But two brothers it does fear, because a brother does not value his own life over his brother’s.

Accounts of the Wolf

The wolf’s *luohti* begins this way:

*Nine river valleys it lopes through in one evening,
 Voya voya nana nana
 Nine river valleys it went in one evening,
 Voya voya nana nana.*

The wolf was created by the devil—although God blew life into it through its nostrils—and this is why the wolf wants nothing more than to do evil, like the devil. The devil of old had no power to make things himself, but he was able to spoil things that had already been created. But the angel—who was God’s best angel—could, and God grew angry when that one began making much that was unsuitable, and that was when he made the wolf as well. And this is why even now those who have *noaidi* power can turn people into wolves.

And many people have been turned made into wolves, and there is much evidence of this fact, like finding fire tools from the wolf’s former existence as a person inside the wolf’s hide when skinning it: tools for making fire, tinder, firesteels, a bowl for holding sulphur, and flint.

In Olden Times There Were *Diehttit*, and They Knew All Sorts of Magic Procedures

For the wolf they had this method: when they found a fresh wolf print, they cut a square out of the track with a knife and they turned it three times toward the direction that the wolf had gone, saying: “Jesus Christ bless and hurry forth and forth over water and dry land, forth and forth!” But one must not step across the track before reciting these words. And this must be said once for each wolf that there is.

The wolf is such that it can enchant a bullet so that it will not hit its target or fire properly in the gun. But there is a method for undoing this: one sights first with the butt and then with the muzzle and then the bullet will hit its mark.

And the wolf is also such that it can bring people into sleep who are waiting in ambush while it is at its den or by a kill. And when a herder is watching a herd on account of wolves, the wolf can also cause him to fall asleep.

And this wolf [gumpe] has the strength of one man and the mind of nine. And he who would hunt the wolf [ruomas] properly must know all the names in Sámi for the wolf [stálpi] in the area where the wolf [návdí] ranges and must also think of nine different ways of bagging it when starting off on the hunt; he must save for last the method he intends to use.

In the old times, *noaidit* transformed thieves into wolves. And those people who could not recite the Lord’s Prayer or Our Father in three different languages could be transformed in this way, as well as those who desired to kill people without need or reason. These are the kind the *noaidit* transformed. And *noaidit* found it even easier to transform into wolves such people as had killed other people for no reason, such as the

Russian *čudít* who ranged about in the old times killing Sámi and taking their property, money, and reindeer, and eating them as they needed.

And the Sámi Back Then Had to Hide Themselves in Caves

And thus they often came into the homes of the *ulddat*. And when the *ulddat* found out that the Sámi were fleeing, they were very good to them and advised them thus: “Make your *goahti* underground so that the Russians will not be able to find it, and we can come to you and hear what’s happening,” said the *ulddat*. And they gave them a further piece of advice:

“You should transform the Russians into wolves, since they have eaten your reindeer raw, like wolves.”

And the *ulddat* promised their help.

And when the old lady Gieddegeašgálgu hear about the situation, she said to the men who go into the wilds in search of reindeer to eat:

“When you notice that the Russians are nearby, you must come tell me, and if there are any reindeer around there, drive them in their direction!”

And when the guys noticed that the Russians were nearby and the reindeer as well, they returned at once to Gieddegeašgálgu. And when they came to Gieddegeašgálgu’s place, she went to the place where the *ulddat* were living. She was familiar with the *ulddat*, and knew where they lived, and when to go there. The *ulddat* sleep in the day and are awake at night, when it is light for them. And when Gieddegeašgálgu had come to the *ulddat*, they promised to help at once.

And then the *ulddat* told her to set off against the Russians, and command them thus:

“Charge now like a wolf. Look! There is a reindeer. Catch it! It has tasty meat, and you won’t get reindeer in any other way.”

And she did so. And the Russians charged, and as there were reindeer nearby, they attacked them and tasted reindeer blood, and became wolves. And they started eating people and were many in number.

And when the Gieddegeaš woman heard how things had gone, she went back to the *ulddat* and asked their advice. She told them that everything had gone as they had advised, but now the wolf pack had begun to eat people.

“What can be done about that?”

The *ulddat* said:

“We have advice for this situation too.”

Then one of the *ulddat* gave her a little flask and bid her pour it into the wolf’s track and “tell them to go back to Russia where you came from.” And then she did as the *ulddat* had commanded, and when she had done so, the wolf pack rushed off and went so fast that they raised dust from the ground. And they went back to Russia, and that is why there are so many wolves there now, and why they are so bad that they even eat people.

And at that Time, People Began to Make their *Goadit* Underground, those People whom the *Ulddat* had Advised

And the *ulddat* told them to make such holes as could be used to catch wild reindeer and bears and wolves and all other wild animals. And the people did so, and this was good advice. And the *ulddat* came to visit them often and were good to those who did not curse. But the *ulddat* liked to *joik*, and they *joiked* often, and the Sámi learned to *joik* from them.

And if one becomes friendly with the *ulddat* nowadays, one will find that the *ulddat* are just as good as ever. But people nowadays don't know how to befriend the *ulddat* anymore, because they have started to curse so. And so the *ulddat* have become angry with people today. Nowadays, one can find only a few people who are friends with the *ulddat*.

And these holes are found even today as proof that this is true. At that time, the Sámi learned many *noaidi* practices, and they turned bad thieves into wolves. And so there didn't used to be so many Sámi thieves, but when the *noaidit* ended, the number of thieves began to grow.

And theft began like this: tight-fisted rich folk didn't provide for tenders to their herds, and so the herds roamed wherever they wanted. And the poor could not get any respite. They went after their reindeer but couldn't find their own animals to slaughter. And so they had to take some of the rich folk's instead, and at that the rich folk demanded a high price and the poor couldn't afford to pay—and some were even sent to prison. And so the poor had to hide what they ate and when they had learned to do this a little, it got easier the next time. But not all rich folk were like this; it was only the tight-fisted rich who were. And once they had learned a little [of how to steal], they did it a little more each time.

About Goavka-Vulle and the Wolf, Seventy Years Ago

Davánjunis is a high mountain on the north side. And there were three men skiing after wolves and they skied up onto Davánjunis. And the wolves had curled up there: that was there place for curling up together, and is so even now. And they caught sight of the wolves and the wolves rushed off from the north down the mountain, and the wolves slipped and went sliding down. And Goavka-Vulle slid down after them and caught a wolf by the tail and went on sliding. And the wolf pulled him with its tail. And when he came to the bottom of the mountain, he killed it like a dog. And his companions had not dared follow; they thought that he would be killed. And they went around that large, hard snowdrift. And when they got to the bottom, Goavka had already skinned the wolf out. And no one else has ever gone down that slope in the winter, as far as anyone knows. And he was like a squirrel: so nimble and fast.

Written in 1908

O. N. Svonni was out Skiing

Svonni was out skiing, and he had a spear-staff along with him. And he saw that there were some wolves crossing a lake and he stopped to wait until the wolves got to shore. And once the wolves came to shore, he set out after them. And when he got to where they could see him, the biggest one came forward and went beneath a big spruce tree. And he had to stab it with his spear, but the wolf didn't wait for that—it charged off again. And he became angry. And when that biggest one ran among the others, he kept after it, and all the others went off in their own directions. And when he caught up with it, he stabbed the big one with his spear staff, and another wolf was right behind the big one. And that other one attacked and bit Svonni in the knee, and bit so hard that its teeth went right through the leg. And then he stabbed it in the eye, so that his knife blade went all the way into the eye socket. And then the wolf let go of him, and ran away and began to stagger.

And the other wolf was still caught on the spear point, and he didn't dare let it loose: he was afraid that if both came at him, they would certainly kill him. But he pushed the wolf with the spear against a bush and there the wolf fought for its life, writhing and kicking. And at this moment any animal will be likely to kill or bite, and the wolf more so than any, since it is the most mean-natured animal around. And so he didn't let it loose; only when he saw that the wolf was losing its strength did he turn it loose.

And then he sat down next to it, and his leg stiffened so that it wouldn't bend in the least. And he couldn't bear to try to bend it, the pain was so great. And he thought that he would die then and there. But two settlers came along, who had been skiing after those same wolves, but who had been left far behind. And they hadn't known anything about each other, but met there. And when they heard that he had let one of the wolves go off half dead, they wanted to go off after it. But Svonni would not let them. He said:

“If I am left here alone, I will die right here.”

So they promised to help him as best as they could. And he told them to skin the wolf. And when they had gotten the wolf skinned out, he told them to cut open its belly [or gut it]. And they did so. And he told them to take some gall and some netlike fat (*leavssus*).²¹ And then he first poured the gall onto the wound and then wrapped the brown fat around his leg over the wound, and that immediately took the ache away. And after a little while, the pain subsided, and he tried to bend it a little, and he couldn't manage to do so at first any more than a millimeter. And he kept trying it bit by bit, until he was able to bend the leg. And when he was able to bend it, then he tried at once to get back up on his skis. And he tried to work his leg, and it started to bend and he bear weight. And so he said to his companions:

“Now you can go off after that wolf; I can see that I can make it home.”

And Svonni went home. And he sat down on the *bearpmet* log in the *goahti* and started to make some coffee. And before the coffee was finished his leg had become like wood: it wouldn't bend in the least. And people had to help him into the *loaidu* to a place where he could lie down. And he lay there for three weeks before he managed to

²¹ The term *leavssus* here refers to netlike adipose tissue found around the stomach.

get out of that *goahti*. And those wounds hurt to the end of his days. And he is still alive today and is a Sámi policeman.

The Dog Was Also Once a Wild Animal

The dog was also once a wild animal. And it started to have difficulty finding food in the wild. And sometimes it was very hungry, when it could not find any food, when the wolf and reindeer were not in the same place. When the wolf and the reindeer are in the same place, there is plenty of food for all the wild animals, and all the wild animals came together: wolverines, foxes, ravens, eagles, and dogs. And there was food enough indeed. But there was also haste and fear, and the wolf and wolverine, who were stronger than the rest, seized everything for themselves. And if the weaker animal did not flee, it would end up getting killed. A wolf will often kill weaker animals: foxes, arctic foxes, hares, and dogs.

And the dog began to think:

“I shall go work for the Sámi.”

He remembered one time when he had been at a Sámi *sida*. At first the Sámi was bringing his herd together, and the dog watched and listened as the Sámi rounded the herd up. And when the Sámi was in need, because he couldn't get his herd to come together, then that man roared and started yelling, and crowing, and barking like a dog. And when the dog heard that, it started to bark and came running toward the Sámi, and the reindeer became frightened and ran together. And then the Sámi liked the dog and wanted to keep it as his hired hand. And he wanted it to come visit him, and he gave it broth to lap up and the dog liked it. And the dog saw that in the *loaidu* section of the *goahti* there were many bones and scraps of meat, and it wanted to get to eat these, but it didn't dare. It was a little afraid that the man might kill it.

It set off into the wilderness again and traveled about looking for food. And it found a wolf's trail, and followed it until it found the wolf, who had killed a hare. And it searched further but found nothing more than a foreleg, and it bit that. And when it had finished with that, it set off again in pursuit. And it found a reindeer carcass and beside it the tracks of many other animals. And here again there was one leg and some bones, and these it took and ate and carried along and went toward where there were many other tracks. And then he found a place where a fox had been killed and eaten so that nothing remained but its tail. And the dog was pleased that the wolf had killed that animal [i.e., the fox] which was always around eating wherever there was food.

And it continued onward and it saw that the wolf had killed its companion and eaten everything but its head and tail. And the dog could see clearly that it had been his friend. And the dog started to grow afraid: “Maybe it will kill me, too!” And when it heard wolves coming, it feared for its life and ran without stop to the place where the Sámi was living.

And when it got there, it said:

“Take me as your hired hand: I don't want to live as a wild animal anymore.”

The Sámi asked:

“What do you want as pay?”

The dog answered:

“All I want is some broth and a little bite to eat, and that I won’t get hit for not being able to do more work.”

And they agreed upon that and the dog began to work as the man’s hired hand. And this proved very good for the Sámi. And the Sámi sent the dog to go bring more dogs, and the dog did so. And one was a kind of dog that knew ahead of time when wolves were coming, and it told its master when the wolves were nearby. And then the master of the household would start to round the herd up and watch it carefully.

And even today there are certain dogs that give warning and know when wolves are coming. But no one knows how to speak dog language anymore, so people don’t understand what the dog is saying. But sometimes a dog will certainly understand what people are saying.

And in the olden times all the animals and trees and rocks and everything found on earth was able to talk. And they will all be able to talk again at the Last Judgment.

But the dog asked for one other thing: that when it grew old, it should be hanged, and not killed in any other way. And it should be hanged using a thin rope that would strangle it quickly, so that it would not have to suffer. And the person who hangs his dog nicely, and has treated the dog nicely when the dog did hard work and grew tired, such a person will gain dog luck. And the person who has not kept this bargain will have poor dog luck.

And on the Last Day, the dog will be the first witness for the prosecution. And after the dog, all the other animals of nature which came under the man’s control: those that had to work too hard or had been made to carry heavy burdens and who were beaten as well. Alas, the poor animals that do not have mouths with which to say that they can’t pull any more! And so, the animal must pull and carry burdens so heavy that they nearly die from the effort. And then even people manage to hear their sorrowful voice, sometimes, like a sigh. And it is so sorrowful a sound that it cuts right to the marrow of one’s bones, unless a person is of too harsh a nature. Thus every person should remember not to be too hard to those beneath him, be they other people or creatures.

Animals Which Roam About the Land

A Little about the Birds and Foxes and Lemmings which Roam About the Land

All the creatures named below are wanderers. And the lemming is the first among such wanderers. When the lemming comes to these northern lands, there follows the fox and arctic fox and willow grouse and owl and falcon and rough-legged buzzard [*Buteo lagopus*], the various stoats and many other animals that eat the grouse. And when the lemming dies or sets off wandering again, the rest mentioned above all leave as well. And no one knows exactly where they all go.

But the reindeer goes to where it knows it can find grazing in the winter.

And of the wolf it is known that it wanders: it starts in the north and travels south, unless a railroad line crosses its trail. That is something it dare not cross, or hardly ever; but it will indeed if it is a very bold wolf and there is much snow cover and snow storms, and there is a stoppage of train service or a strike so that trains do not come that way very often.

About Grouse

A skilled grouse trapper manages well.

The willow grouse is found mostly beside highland rivers and in those sheltered valleys that lead down from the highlands. But when it turns cold in the winter, they come into the forests that are closest to the highlands, and there they stay for the hardest part of the winter. And in the early spring, when the weather starts to warm up, then they migrate up to the forests nearest the highlands.

The mountain grouse, or ptarmigan, is much smaller than the willow grouse, just as the Sámi are smaller than most farm folk. And the Sámi are hunched over and bow-legged, because as children they are exposed to the cold. The Sámi of old were braver than the Sámi of today. And the Sámi of today are also lazier. The Sámi of old bagged many grouse, and fish, and wild reindeer, and bears, and all sorts of wild animals.

About Fishing

The Sámi who migrate to Norway in the summer don't have time to fish except in the spring. At that time, when the ice first begins to break on the lakes, then they angle with a line and a hook that they have made themselves out of tin. And they use as bait red and yellow strips of cloth until they catch a fish. And then they put a little bit of that fish's belly on the hook and that works much better. And in the fall they fish with fish traps in the small brooks—in the fall there are many little fish in the little brooks. And they fish with seine nets and gill nets, but not often. But they have also been known to shoot pike in the spring in among the marsh grasses in marshy areas. The pike (*Esox lucius*) spawn in the spring, as do the grayling (*Thymallus thymallus*) and perch (*Perca fluviatilis*), while the arctic char (*Salvelinus alpinus*), whitefish (*Coregonus lavaretus*), and brown trout (*Salmo trutta*) all spawn in the fall.

If it thunders in the spring before the lake ice has melted, it will be a summer without fish in some lakes. The fish become scared and dive down deep for all of that summer when it has thundered while the lake was still covered in ice.

About Ways of Making Offerings

One Needs Luck As Well

But it is not only important that one knows how to fish; one must have luck as well. And people of old conducted many sacrifices for their fishing. They worshipped at *sieiddit* for luck in hunting, trapping, and fishing, but also for luck with their reindeer. And for

human illness they made offerings mostly at churches, and even today some people make offerings at a church for a person's sake. Offerings for hunting, trapping and fishing luck are given to poor people who are not pagans or evil-doers. And such offerings are also made to such people who are in need, e.g., so disabled that they have trouble managing, and also to such poor old people or people who are mentally incapacitated and therefore have trouble managing: they who make vows to give offerings to such people receive luck. And some preachers also have luck, but one must check first to see whether they do. Sometimes such people have very good luck indeed.

A Little Explanation of These Methods of Making an Offering

One promises to give something to the church if everything turns out the way the person making the sacrifice wants it to. And one does it the same way when making a vow to people. But that which one has vowed to give must absolutely be given. And this is the way that people of old used to worship: they made vows when they headed off to hunt, fish or trap. Some *sieiddit* were satisfied to receive antlers, and others wanted an entire skeleton, so entire that not even the tiniest piece of bone should be left out. And some *sieddit* wanted an entire living reindeer to be sacrificed: it had to be decorated with all sorts of fabric, yarn, silver, and gold. And some sacrificed children as well.

A fish *sieidi* did not want more than half the fish fat taken in fishing: then the *sieidi* would drive into the net as many fish as they could gut.

It Wasn't So Long Ago Since the Last Offerings were Made

The last *noaidi* who made sacrifices was Gummen and his wife and father Dobár, who offered up a ten-year old boy along with a gelding. And he was also that kind of *noaidi* who see things in a glass of liquor. He saw when his *verdde* [trading partner] by the sea died, who was also a great *noaidi*. He [Dobár] guarded the other man's herd. And Dobár also had a *noaidi* drum as well, a wooden one. And his son Gummen also used a *noaidi* drum made out of a birch burl. One needs the kind of burl that grows at the top of a birch tree, and which Sámi call a *bieggavissir* [wind birch]. He who finds one of these has found something of great value in their view.

Some Information about Weather Prognostications and Birds

The Willow Grouse is a *Diehtti*

When the grouse chatters in the evening twilight, a snowstorm will come. And when the grouse makes a mewling sound, there will be just snow and no wind. These signs occur mostly in the winter.

And the reindeer also senses such things: when it starts to gallop or to run as hard as it can, that is a sign that a harsh blizzard is on the way. Another sign is when the reindeer rub their antlers against a tree: that means a thaw is coming. And when a cow licks her calf in the summer, it will rain.

Signs of Spring

When many snow buntings (*Plectrophenax nivalis*) come near people, then a very bad snowstorm will occur. That happens in the early spring. And when many little birds come round, there will be lots of snow. These are the little birds that are called *goartocizáš* (Siberian tit; *Poecile cinctus*). And when one lights upon the top of a *gietkka*, the baby inside will die. And if one lights upon a person's belt, that person will die. And that little bird stays around here the whole winter; it has black markings and its head is white around the eyes. And snow buntings are a little larger and white.

And when the migratory birds start to come back in the spring, there are many birds that act as omens. And the golden plover (*Pluvialis apricaria*) is one of these. If one hears this bird in the morning before one has eaten something, then one will *baikkáhallat* —get splattered with bird droppings, i.e., get the worst of it—and that person will be very unlucky that year. But if the person has had time to eat already, that person will not fall prey to this ill luck before hearing that bird. And other birds are also ominous: the cuckoo (*Cuculus canoris*) and the red-throated loon (*Gavia stellata*). The cuckoo is a bird that has no time to take care of its eggs. It brings them to other birds' nests. And they will care for its eggs for it while it goes off itself cuckooing everywhere. And once it has reached here, the berry crop is ruined. The Sámi often say: "Now the cuckoo has gotten its droppings all over these berries; they can't be eaten anymore."²²

The Cuckoo is a *Noaidi* Bird

A remarkable event happened once when a cuckoo came to a Sámi *goahti* and began to eat meat from the storage rack. The old people had never seen such a thing before; and three people died in that *goahti* in a single summer.

And the Hooded Crow is also a *Noaidi* Bird in a Similar Way

The hooded crow (*Corvus cornix*) also follows the Sámi and eats meat from the storage rack of a person that it senses will die. Or if it starts to follow a particular *goahti*, then someone in that *goahti* will die.

²² The cuckoo arrives in the early spring, so the ruined berries here are those left over from last year's season.

And the Golden Plover is also Such a One

And the golden plover is also such that one can tell how the weather will be from its song. When it senses that bad, cold weather is on the way, it says: “”bi-bi-bi, direl, direl,” and then it will get cold out. But if it says: “bibel-direl-direl,” then it will be warm up.

And the Red-Throated Loon is also such a *Noaidi* Bird

And it also splatters people with its droppings [i.e., spoils people’s luck]. And it also makes sacrifices: it gives the lake three eggs. This loon also has a different call when it knows that a change in the weather is coming. When it says: “ga-ga-ga-go,” that means that it is being thankful for its name [*gáhkkor*], because good weather is coming. And when it senses bad weather, then it calls out “var-luk, var-luk,” i.e., “vare livččui luhka, vare livččui luhka” — “if only there were raingear, if only there were raingear!”

About the Loon’s Feet

And here is a little account about the loon’s feet: When God was creating all the birds, and he had forgotten to give the loon any feet, he said:

“There are some gray feet for you.”

But the loon didn’t like having grey feet: it wanted red feet like the goose. And when it didn’t get these, it flew off and said:

“In other ways I’m certainly beautiful, but I didn’t get any feet.”

And as it was flying, God threw the feet so that they attached to its rear end. And that’s why the loon has its legs far back on its rear end, and so neither the red-throated loon [*gáhkkor*] nor the black-throated loon [*dovtta*; *Gavia arctica*] can walk properly, but are the greatest swimmers and divers.

And the Loon has a Long and Pointed Beak

And the red-throated loon has a long, pointed beak, and in olden times it made a good weapon as an arrowhead, for the people of that time who could deflect bullets and arrows could not control it. It was used as an arrowhead and as a spear blade, and it could not be enchanted in any way.

Once there was a Russian that nobody could kill: he enchanted everything iron. But he was not particularly strong, and he was already old. And one Sámi who had *noaidi* skills knew that the loon’s beak cannot be enchanted in any way. And he ordered one of the strongest Sámi to sneak up to where the Russian was staying, so that he would come there while the Russian was asleep, and so that the Russian would not hear him before the Sámi caught sight of him. And indeed, he was able to move after he had caught sight of the Russian. And that is the same everywhere: the one who finds the other sleeping will win.

And that Sámi came and found the Russian asleep, and then the Russian heard him and they started to fight. But the Russian sensed that he would not win—he was also a *diehtti*—and he left, saying:

“Don’t do anything to me!”

And the Sámi promised that he wouldn’t do anything. But when he started to run, the Sámi couldn’t bear it, and he set off after him. And when he caught up to him, he tried to stab him with the loon beak. And the Russian felt him poking him in the back and he said:

“Don’t stab me!”

And the Sámi said: “I’m not doing it, it’s the loon’s beak that is!”

And he killed that great Russian skilled in *noaidi* arts, who had never been hurt by any other arrow other than a loon’s beak.

About the Siberian Jay

The Siberian jay (*Perisoreus infaustus*) is always in the forests where the Sámi are staying and it eats meat. But it is not a bad bird nonetheless. It is an angel of God, while the Siberian tit is the devil’s angel.

And There is a Pretty Little Bird

And there is a pretty little bird that migrates here from afar and is called the bluethroat (*Luscinia svecica*). And it is multicolored: under its beak it is yellow, red, green, and blue. And it can call in a hundred languages. And so it is also called *giellavealgu* (“language mixer”). And when it senses sunny weather, it sings in all sorts of ways and sometimes it sounds like a jingle bell. And when it feels cold weather coming on, its tongue becomes very stiff and it cannot make any such pretty song.

And there are four birds which follow the Sámi: the raven (*Corvus corax*), the willow grouse, the Siberian jay, and the Siberian tit. And they follow along in the winter and are companions of the Sámi. And they get food too: meat for those that eat meat. And the grouse finds dwarf birch branches which the Sámi cut off when chopping their firewood. And the grouse gains protection from people as well: when the falcon comes and starts to hunt for it, the grouse comes near the people, even between their very feet, and then the falcon gets scared off. And it will come right into the *goahti* too, when the people are not outside. And people don’t do anything to these grouse, nor do they let their dogs touch them.

Birds as Omens of Death

If a magpie (*Pica pica*) or hooded crow starts to follow a *siida*, then it senses and people understand that someone in the *siida* will die. And if it starts to follow one particular *goahti* and perch beside it, then they sense that it senses that someone in that *goahti* who will die.

An Account of the Snake Stone

The person who acquires a snake stone will never be defeated in legal matters. How to get such a thing: one must find the place where snakes go to breed. When the snakes have their mating or rut season, they throw a white stone about. And the person who goes there in secret to wait for them must grab that stone and run toward the nearest water. And if the person reaches the water before the snake, then that person gets to keep the stone. But if the snake reaches the water first, the situation is dangerous. But the person who has already checked where the nearest water is will make it there first. The snakes are delayed a little while they search for the stone, and in the meantime, the person must run to the water. And the person who has such a stone will be skilled at law for the rest of his life.

ABOUT WAYS OF HEALING

Here Begins an Account of the Sámi's Healing Methods

The Sámi in past times had to figure out what to do when people got sick and there were no doctors living in the places where the Sámi live, and some people didn't even know that doctors exist. And so, they had to figure things out so much that they discovered what different ailments were like and what one needs to do to help them. And indeed they discovered so much that they could cure many diseases, even ones that many doctors cannot figure out how to cure. But this is not the case with every doctor.

And here below one can find explanations for how to lessen each ailment and even cure some, and quickly too—not even a doctor could heal so quickly. But it is not right to write down all these treatments in this book, because this book will be read the whole world over and many educated gentlemen do not need to hear of these treatments. They won't believe in them, and they will just poke fun at Sami craziness, although, if they were to see what the Sami do, they would wonder at their power and where it comes from.

For Chest Pains

Sámi often have ailments in the chest, and these can rise into the head and sink to the legs. And for these ailments there is a treatment: blood is let from the body vein. This blood vessel runs along the inward side of the leg in the ankle, and below that along the inward side of the foot. And on the outward side of the leg, one lets blood to treat problems with the back or hips. And if a person loses appetite and then has a pain in the chest, one lets blood from above the foot.

When there are chest pains that do not extend to the head or legs, then the blood is let from the inward side of the arm at the armpit, from the blood vessel that runs along the lower side of the arm. And another vein runs along the upper side of the arm, and headache blood is released from this vein when a person has a headache. But this place is

not suitable for pain in any other part of the body other than the head. And when a person is suffering from shoulder pain, one should let blood from between the fingers of the hand. And if there is a shooting pain somewhere, then one lets blood from the outer side of the arm.

Becoming Startled

Such ailments are not so bad except for women in childbed or women who have newly given birth and have not recovered yet. And a woman is very liable to take fright before her child is born. When she is pregnant, she can become so startled that she miscarries. And sometimes the fright arises from having a bad dream. And children can also become traumatized often, and that can remain with them even until they are fully grown.

For ailments related to fear: one should not let any blood from the heart artery for any other ailment. When the ailment has arisen from being startled, one must open the heart artery, but one must not let any more than three spurts of blood out and then the vessel must be closed back up. And that is hard to stop, but this is a method: pressing it with a silver ten öre coin.

For Fainting Problems

When one starts to have fainting spells, there is a treatment: burning one's undergarments at once. And if they are not burned at once, it is hard to get rid of this ailment. But it can be gotten rid of if it has not destroyed too much one's blood circulation.

Blood letting is used to treat fainting spells too: one must open nine (9) veins and also the heart artery that runs to the head. This blood vessel runs between the eye and the ear and has many branches. And it is also a help in some kinds of toothaches, provided the pain is only in the upper jaw. But for the lower jaw, there is a blood vessel that runs over the lower jaw: when that is opened, it helps somewhat.

For Gout

Blood letting is used to treat gout as well. One must let the blood from the outer side of the arm and the outer side of the leg around the ankle, where the vein can be seen most clearly. And there is nothing more to blood letting than what has been explained above.

Cupping

Cupping is also a treatment which has been used to heal many ailments. When one's head is aching, one must cup in the indentation in the nape of the neck and on both sides of the nape. And if the pain is in the back, then one must cup on the back. And if the ailment is in the chest, one also cups on the back three times running: once the wound heals, it is time to cup again. For a toothache one cups in the area where the ailment is worst.

One cups on the feet, too. If one's legs are cold, one must cup on the outward side of the legs. And when one's arms ache, one cups on the outward side of the arm. But they must be rubbed well first, before being cupped.

Head Ailments

One treatment for head pain is to pull one's hair. But one pulls only a little hair on the top of the head, and these one pulls out quickly, so that the scalp is pulled free from where it was stuck, so that the blood can travel in its usual way. And the head must be rubbed until it grows hot. And the final treatment is to roughly or briskly rub upwards from four different directions and from both cheeks. On the nape and temple areas one must rub upwards with one's hand only three times, and then finally one must tear the hairs out whole by pulling upward. And then one washes the head in hot, strong coffee. But the nape one must rub the most.

Rubbing

Rubbing is helpful for many ailments: back problems and headaches, stomach cramps, and toothaches.

For Stomach Cramps

For stomach cramps or aches, one rubs only crosswise, counterclockwise around the belly button.

For Tooth Pain

For tooth pain there are many treatments, because there are nine different types of toothache. And there are nine varieties of other ailments too, because a person was in the womb for nine months before emerging to see the light of day.

For Tooth Aches

For a tooth ache there is another treatment. If it is a particularly bad tooth ache, one finds a sore gland beneath the jaw. And they stab that with an awl. Around the awl is wound sinew at the point up to which the awl is supposed to stick into the gland. And the awl must be turned in two further directions, so that it will stab more and release at least three drops of blood.

For a Sore Throat

For a sore throat there is a remedy that comes from within: drinking human urine, although no more than a spoonful, along with stretching the neck in every direction and rubbing it. And turpentine is also used for a sore throat: one swallows a spoonful and also rubs it on the neck, and then the area is wrapped in a woolen kerchief overnight.

An Account of the Frog

The frog lives sometimes in the water, sometimes on land. It mates in the spring, at the same time as the pike. It mates in marshy areas. And it makes a sound like that of a

reindeer calf. But it has been noted that the frog falls to earth from above, like insects that fall upon the snow. It is certain that the frog falls to the earth from the sky, because it can be found in the mountains on top of the snow when there is no melted water around.

The frog is a creature that, if one dares take it in one's hand and the frog happens to pee, that hand acquires healing power. If one only presses an affected area with such a hand, the pain will diminish at once. And the frog is also a remedy for when one has skin eruptions around the mouth: one presses and rubs the frog on the affected area.

And There is Another Treatment for a Sore Throat

In summertime, one takes a frog which is called *rihccecuoppu* (*Rana arvalis* or *Rana temporaria*). And one finds a young one during the summer and places it alive in a saltbin, wrapped in a white cloth. And there it will quickly die. And it must have white markings, at least mostly. If it is black and ugly, it will damage and poison the patient. And when one finds a pretty one of these frogs, as described above, one chops it up and cooks it in milk and then drinks it down. And that is a remedy for an sore throat.

And skin eruptions can also be treated by being rubbed with this same kind of frog. The Sámi recite a charm when doing this, but the rubbing helps even without the words, as long as the person does not do it out of mockery. If frogs are made fun of, then they can afflict people so seriously that they can even die from it.

An Account of a Certain Girl

There was a girl who had a somewhat swollen neck. And she took one of this same kind of frog and pressed it to the affected spot. And when she had finished pressing with it, she threw it to the ground so that the frog was injured. And that frog became angry and afflicted her even worse. And it was one of the poisonous kind: it was black-speckled: the kind one should beware of.

And that girl became ill and went to see doctors in Luleå, but they couldn't help her and she died. A Sámi doctor examined her affected area and said: "you have pressed this with a frog and then thrown the frog to the ground so that it became angry, and it has afflicted you worse. And this cannot be reversed: it has damaged your blood so much that it cannot heal."

Children's Throat Infections (Thrush)

And if a child contracts thrush—a condition in which a child's tongue turns white—the frog is again a remedy. One presses it to the child's tongue, and that is the best medicine for this ailment. And it is also a good remedy for stomach ailments: it must be cooked in milk and then taken and swallowed.

Another Account of the Frog

Once when a woman was crossing a marsh, she caught sight of a rock in the water and stepped on it. But it was not a rock at all but rather the mother of the frogs. It was as large as a person's head. And that frog attached itself to the woman's leg, so that the woman could not get it off her except by dislodging it with her staff. And that leg began to hurt in the area where the frog had grabbed her. She went to the doctors in Luleå, but she died just the same. And as a child she had made fun of frogs and then she became afflicted only when she stepped on their ancestor. This happened to Lunta-Ándaras's wife, on the shore of the lake Vuoskkojávri.

Dangerous Water

An account of what happens when a person swallows a frog's egg. It will grow into a big frog and start to make the sounds that it typically makes. And if one can't get rid of it, it will take one's life. There are not many methods for accomplishing this. The Sámi will give blood to drink so that the person vomits. Rotten fish entrails are also used for this purpose. And if the frog will still not come out, they stick the reindeer's biggest leg tendon down the person's throat right into the person's stomach, and then one has to throw it up. And if it still won't come out, that person will surely die. And when it does come out, it is as red as blood.

Dangerous Insect

There is an insect called *ruovdegobbá*, a diving beetle (*Dytiscus sp.*), which lives in the water. And it can also live inside a person, and one can deal with it as with a frog. And if one cannot get rid of it, it will also kill the person. Many times people will swallow it accidentally when drinking water.

Drinking with a Straw because of these Insects

Because of such insects, Sámi use a straw when drinking. It is made from reindeer antler. And this is also used so that one's mouth is not hurt in the spring [when drinking icy water]. And straws can also be made out of the thigh bone of a bird: it is like a net inside such bones, so that insects cannot make it into the mouth. These are used when away from home.

More Details on Ways of Healing

Frostbite

For frostbite, there is a good treatment: when one first notices that an area is frostbitten, one must press it and rub it with snow until it turns red again and it comes back to life. But surface snow will not be of any use; one must use the snow which is called *seañáš* (corn snow), which is the kind of snow found deep beneath the surface, nearest the ground.

This is an account of a child who lived some forty years ago. When the child was ten years old, she was outside running in harsh, cold weather, and she fell into a pit full of snow with her hands bare. And her mother didn't notice, and the child's fingers got frostbite, and she didn't know to press and rub them with snow. And as a result, the outermost portion of all her fingers fell off.²⁴

For Constipation

Constipation requires this treatment: one takes a leg bone from a goat and sands it very smooth. And then one takes the bladder of a calf and gets it nice and dry. Then oatmeal is needed: one places equal measures of warm water and oatmeal in the bladder. And then one end of the leg bone is inserted into the bladder and the other end into the person's rear end. And then one squeezes the bladder that is attached to the hollow bone, and the enema goes into the person's colon. And then everything will come out.

And a woman can use this same method when she has a urinary stoppage. But a man cannot. Instead, a man must do the following: one scrapes off some soot from the bottom of a pot or kettle and this is rubbed on the outside of the penis. And this has been shown to work.

In olden times, they didn't have the kind of grain that people use nowadays when they are constipated. But they did a similar thing by putting warm water and the fat from reindeer bones—the finest sort of fat—in the bladder device.

For Swollen Areas

When something is swollen, one must rub fat on it. And if that doesn't reduce the swelling, then one must mix flecks of copper into the fat and apply that. Indeed there are some Sámi around who can reduce swelling simply by pressing on the swollen area with their hands, no matter how bad the swelling has gotten. A fine layer of birch bark is good for drawing out pus from a boil or some other swelling that is filled with such matter.

And when heat or cold or anything else enters a wound, causing the wound to swell and develop pus, then the same treatment is required: old fat is rubbed onto the wound, unless there is a healer around who can cure without such remedies.

Bleeding

Bleeding is dangerous when there is no doctor available. There are some people who can stanch blood simply by hearing about the situation, but they are not many in number. And if they can physically see the sick person, then they are more likely to be successful in stopping the bleeding. Among the Sámi such bleeding can be a very serious problem when a woman hemorrhages during childbirth, and she bleeds so badly that she dies, and quickly. And such blood stanchers can control or stop this kind of bleeding, too.

²⁴ The earlier translation supplies additional information regarding the girl's identity based on Demant Hatt's notes.

There is a further treatment for hemorrhage during childbirth. There is a little bird called *beskkoš* [the house martin; *Delichon urbica*] which builds its nest attached to the walls of a farm building. And one must take some of the litter from inside such a nest and boil it in milk and give that to the woman in labor to drink. And that helps even if one doesn't know any charm to go with it; but it is certainly better if one recites a charm.

With the power of words one can heal many ailments. But there are not many people around who know how to heal in the manner described above.

A Treatment for Chills

A treatment for chills is to drink warm blood from a reindeer. And if one can't come by warm, fresh blood, then people take cold blood and stir that up until it is nice and smooth. And then that is drunk down uncooked. During labor, a woman's feet often get chilled, and fresh reindeer blood as described above is administered as a remedy for that as well.

The only way to get fresh blood is to stab a reindeer and then immediately collect the blood in a bowl and drink it down, unless the person is strong enough to step up to the reindeer's side and drink the blood as it flows. The incision should be made behind shoulder blade.

An Account of Strained Tendons

For strained tendons one recites a charm, and that helps. And this is accompanied by wrapping the affected limb in unwashed wool yarn: gray woolen yarn made from twilling three strands. Sheep's wool has much power because Jesus talked so much about sheep and used them as metaphors. And those for whom Jesus died are called sheep, and their dwelling is called a sheep shed. And that is why sheep's wool holds such power. And it is also good for clothing the body.

And if the affected area is very itchy, a remedy is to rub it with birch ashes. And if the problem still doesn't go away, one must take a branchy growth known as *Áhčeseani lávžegihppu* [*Áhčeseatni*'s bundle of reins] and boil it and rub that mixture on the area. And another treatment is to take leaves from nine different kinds of trees and boil these together to apply to the area. And that helps with many ailments.

For Testicle Problems

When the spermatic cords have become strained, they must be rubbed carefully and kept warm. All tendons and blood vessels in the body should only be rubbed in an upward direction.

For Jaundice

Jaundice is another ugly disease. It turns a person yellow. One first notices it in the eyes, and then one's finger and toe nails start to yellow, and one's urine is also yellow. And a

remedy for this is to prepare as much food as a person can bear to eat. And the foods must be of nine different kinds.

And another treatment is to take nine live lice and give them to the person to eat along with buttered frybread or gruel which is not so hot that it kills the lice. But it is not advisable to let the sick person know that there are lice in his food. The person may not eat if he knows that he is eating lice.

For Back Aches

One's back can often become sore. And a back ache is very painful: it is as if the back has gotten stuck in a certain position, or as if one were carrying a heavy pack around. And such aches come from hard work and also from sleeping on hard ground and from many other things as well, including too much sleep. The blood gets stopped or thickens so that it stops circulating properly. And if the ache is not too bad, it can be healed with massage, and by pulling and stretching the skin so as to loosen it up.

About Severe Coughing

One must rub the soles of the afflicted person's feet with ice and then heat them up as hot as the person can stand.

A Treatment for Toothache

The best treatment of all is to rub both sides of the throat and all around the mouth and the neck tendons and the back tendons all down the back until the aching subsides. And it is certain that the pain will subside but it takes someone very skilled at massage. A bear's tooth is also a remedy: one presses the afflicted gland with it. But it should be warmed up a little first and wrapped in a fine cloth, and then it is pressed against the tooth. And if one finds a reindeer jawbone—one that has lain on the ground for so long that the ground has given some of its color to it or it has become green—then one can heat that up too and press it in the same manner as one does with a bear's tooth.

Nausea

Nausea means that the person feels like vomiting very often and very severely. And a remedy for this is to vomit, or to measure a person's belt with a finger span, the afflicted person's belt by degrees, counting backwards from nine to one. And three times must one count this way and measure the person's belt. And then this ailment, if it is there, will be cured.

About Mercury

This is a remedy in many cases. If a person breaks a bone or suffers a serious blow, quicksilver is given as a remedy. A little is taken in a spoon and swallowed, and one must say a blessing. And this is good for shooting pains, too, and for severe diarrhea. And if a person is carrying quicksilver on his person, no ghost can beset him. And

quicksilver is a remedy for eye problems, too: e.g., when an eye develops a sty or a malignant disease.

When a Dog Bites a Person

One must take some of the same dog's blood and rub it on the wound, and that will take away the pain right away.

Cold water is also a remedy for a fresh wound. And if one breaks a leg, one should also soak it in cold water. And if a bone becomes dislocated, it should also be soaked in cold water. And one must set the bone that has become dislocated back in its place. And that which has been broken must be bound up with a wooden splint so that it will knit properly.

Reindeer cheese is a good remedy for wounds.

When a Person Passes Out

When a person passes out, a way to bring them back around is to take hold of the person's arms and flap them up and down until the person revives.

About Reviving a Person who has Drowned

When a person has drowned, but still has a little of the *heagga* life spirit in him, then one must blindfold the person before taking him out of the water. And then he must be carried to dry land and placed so that all the water will run out of him. And then one must massage him. And no more than one or two should people should do this, and no one should make any sound or say even a single word, so that the person's returning *heagga* spirit won't be frightened off. Such a spirit can't stand hearing anything. And in this way the person will revive.

For Sore Tendons

Massage is also good for these, but one must only rub an arm in an upward direction, or if it is the leg that is strained, one should only rub it upwards as well. Otherwise the tendon may detach from the bone while it becomes freed from the surrounding muscle. And so one must work the tendon in nearly the same direction as it was strained.

There is a type of stone that one can find that is as smooth as glass and flakes apart into thin sheets like paper. And it is called *riebangolli* [fox gold; i.e., yellow mica]. And that is good for joint problems. One must grind it as fine as flour and mix it with water and drink it down into the stomach.

About Earth Bostta

Earth *bostta* is also a dangerous and grievous ailment. And there are also nine different kinds of it. In all of them, scabs form all over the body and these itch and hurt so much that a person can get no peace to either sleep or eat.

And this can also be treated using healing words as has been described above. And there is one which is called *buogu* [abscess] and another called *vámmá* [tumor]. And they can all be cured with healing words.

About Sámi Women in Childbirth

The following is an account of difficulties that can occur when a woman or girl is in labor.

Some women have so much trouble that they suffer with labor pains for three days. And people have to hold such a woman and press on her back. And if the baby is still not born, there is a further treatment that is used. If there are a lot of men around, then they lift the woman up by her feet so that her feet are up and her head is down. And they shake her so that the baby will ease back into the uterus, as it has started to descend with the wrong end forward. And once the baby is turned around, it tends to be born immediately after that.

And there is another treatment: the mother must say who the child's father is. And it helps when she says the name, but it is even more effective when she is given the father's water or urine to drink.²⁶

And once the baby is born, the umbilical cord is cut and the end which will retract into the mother's womb is tied up with the woman's shoe string so that it cannot disappear into the womb and so that the afterbirth will come out. And the woman is given cow butter to eat, since nowadays there is no reindeer butter. But in olden times the Sámi milked their reindeer and made butter from the milk, and it would be this sort of butter that was given to the woman. And if she has not caught a chill, she will soon pass the afterbirth. And once it has come out, the mother is provided with a fresh place to rest in.

And Herein Follows an Account of a Poor Woman who Suffers Such Pain and Distress during Childbirth

She is destined to catch a chill. And when a woman gets cold like this, the afterbirth will not come out: it balls up beneath the woman's chest like a child's head. And it will threaten the mother's life, and if that is not comprehended and dealt with, she will die very soon. One needs to give her a spoonful of downy birch buds, those that are eaten by willow grouse, and grind them up finely, and give them to her to drink in a mixture of hot milk and water flavored with sorrel. And if the afterbirth will still not come out, one must take a hot compress—warm sand and ash wrapped in woolen fabric—and place it on her just below the chest. But one must be careful not to place the compress down on

²⁶The Nash translation includes further details: "You shall bind a cloth in front of her eyes so that it is quite dark, and then you lay her on a blanket, and then you toss her, the first time with her head down, and the second time with her head up" (163). This material appears in *Sámi deavsttat*, chapter xxxviii (41). The intent is to reposition the infant so that it passes into the birth canal more easily.

her legs. One gets the sand and ash from the hearth bottom, as there is nowhere else to get such things when it is winter and the ground is cold. This is why one shouldn't place a warm compress on the legs: it is dangerous, it will draw the cold up out of the legs and into her body, and then her spirit will fail so swiftly that nothing can be done to help it.

But if she has still not warmed up, one must keep shifting the compresses until she does grow warm. And then at last she will pass the afterbirth. And then she will start to bleed more than a person ought, and that is dangerous too: many women have died in Sápmi in this way because there are so few people around who know what to do in such a situation. Some Sámi can stanch blood just by hearing about it. But there are not many such around, and when they can see the person, they are better able to stop the bleeding.

THE ACTS OF PEOPLE WITH NOAIDI SKILLS

Medical Healing but not *Noaidi* Healing

An Account of the Fact that This Book Contains All the Sámi's Medical Healing Methods but not their *Noaidi* Methods

And when a person who knows all that has been written about in this book—there are not many who know these treatments—still cannot recognize a person's ailment, then this knowledgeable person will begin to suspect that the person's illness is fatal, or has been caused by *jámehat* [the dead] or *mánnelaččat* [the spirits of the dead] which are the work of those skilled in *noaidi* arts.

About the Roaming of *Mánnelaččat*

When *mánnelaččat* are on the prowl, they fly through the sky like birds, sometimes up high and sometimes lower down. And when they are on the move, those that are coming, they moan with such great power that they sound louder than the harshest wind; the moaning of the *mánnelaččat* is greater than any wind. And as they go along, they do not go broadly, but where they go they bend trees to the ground and snap some of them with the force of their movement. And people can hear that the *mánnelaččat* are coming, but they cannot see them; only certain people can. And innocent animals can both hear and see them, even when they don't make such a racket that people will hear them. And the *mánnelaččat* have no heads, and when they are on the move, they fly one on top of another. And most of them have nothing above their shoulders, while others are nothing but torsos on legs.

Mánnelaččat are formed from souls that are partly full of worldly wiles and partly full of Christian virtue. And so, they are able pass into neither hell nor heaven. They do not get to hell or to heaven. And so they can only live only in the atmosphere. And they are anxious to find something to do. And these are the beings that the *noaidit* first gets as helpers when they have just started to practice *noaidi* arts.

An indication that the *mánnelaččat* are besetting a person: that person will begin to see and hear much that others do not see. And the person will speak of these things, and why there are *jámehat* (spirits of the dead) around, what they have been sent to do, and who has sent them. And such a person also talks somewhat about things happening to other people as well. And much of what they say is true.

A person who seeks to drive the *jámehat* away from someone will speak in a foreign language, and will recite to the afflicted person some charm in that language. And that person who speaks in this foreign language while forcing away or driving off the *jámehat* or *birut* is wondrous to behold, so much so that it is nearly impossible to describe. The person goes into a state of spiritual agitation when seeing the *jámehat* or *birut* that are besetting the afflicted person, for he can see them all. And indeed, he can turn them away, too. And he could do much harm too, if he wished. But one such as this does not do evil, unless compelled by what evil people are doing. But when they start to compel him, he has permission to demonstrate his power.

The last great Sámi *noaidi* was Dobár, who also made sacrifices to *sieiddit*, sometimes reindeer, and once, when he was unable to defeat another *noaidi*, he sacrificed a ten year old child, one who could already ride a reindeer.

Once he was vying against another *noaidi* and he could not gain the advantage unless he sacrificed a reindeer and a child. So he selected the most beautiful mottled gelding and ornamented it with all sorts of fine things: silver and fabric and yarn of red and yellow, and every other sort of thing that he knew of and that Sámi use as decorations. And he placed these decorations everywhere he could on the animal. And then he put some blankets on its back and placed the child upon them. And then he pointed with his finger toward where the gelding should go. And the reindeer set off at once. And it is still there today. And so he beat that other *noaidi* so that the other had to come to terms. And the two of them agreed that they should never again compete against each other.

About the *Noaidi* Drum

The drum was a *noaidi* instrument, and it was made as follows. Inside they put a chain of metal rings, and nine twigs from the branchy growth called Áhčeseatni's reins, and then they would start to beat it with a copper or antler drumstick and also whistle and sometimes gnash their teeth. And then they were performing their *noaidi* arts.

When *Noaidit* are Contending Against Each Other

When *noaidit* are contending against each other, they heat the chain of rings until it becomes red hot, and then they whip themselves with it with all their might, and they gnash their teeth as much as they can. But these *noaidit* neither swore nor stole.

And a *noaidi* who has learned these arts and still has all his teeth is at the height of his power. And in the past, some of these *noaidit* were able to fly, and some rode to church with wolves pulling their sleds. And when such a *noaidi* reached the churchyard, he would let the wolf loose and it would disappear. And later when he was setting off home, the wolf would return and the *noaidi* would pass all the other drivers.

And some *noaidit* were such that when they were performing their magic, they left their bodies behind as if dead, and sent their *heagga* life-spirit off to work with *biru* angels, doing evil to certain people. And if someone disturbed their body during this time, the spirit would leave for good, and the body and spirit would never be reunited. And such *noaidit* were called *muorramieskadeaddji noaidit* [wood-rotter-*noaidit*].

And *Noaidit* Also Look at Things in Liquor

And *noaidit* also see things by looking into liquor, and there they see everything that is going on and who has stolen things. And if someone has been beset by *mánnelaččat*, he will go to consult with a *noaidi* and seek his help. And the *noaidi* will ask: “Do you have any liquor?” And if he has any, he will give it to him. And then he looks into it and begins to investigate the matter. And if he sees how these spirits have been sent, he can surely turn them away. But if the person who sent them is much stronger, that person will send them again, but now they will often go after one of the relatives of the person who was originally beset. And if they are again turned away, they will go and beset someone from the same extended family. But if the helping *noaidi* is much stronger, then they will go to the person who had originally had them sent or cast. Or if he is stronger still, he can send them all the way back to the churchyard from which they came. But that must be one of those who are a *noaidi* of God, or acting with God’s power. And such a *noaidi* will speak in a foreign language and seem drunk in a state of religious agitation. And in that state, he will see all the sendings of the other *noaidi*. And he will prevail, no matter how powerful the *noaidi* was who did the sending and who was acting with *biro* powers.

And They Send *Birot* by Means of a Living Bird

And that bird comes right to the person to whom it was sent. The raven is indeed a *biro* bird: it brings the post that the *biro* angels have sent—those sorts of people are none other than *biro* angels. And if they don’t have a bird handy, the *birot* will follow the person’s trail, but they have difficulty crossing over mountain passes or watersheds. But if they manage to get across these, they will head for where the person is. And when they arrive there, they will startle the person, and once the person is startled, they can seize on him at once. But if a person is so brave that he does not become afraid, then they cannot seize on him. Instead they will seize on some innocent bystander and begin to torment

that person. They won't kill the person; they will only torment him. But such are easy to drive away.

Some Details about Dealing with the *Bírot* or *Mánnelaččat* described above

If one suspects or knows that *mánnelaččat* are coming, one must build three fires and walk through them. And then they will not be able to follow one's trail. Another method is to carry quicksilver inside a feather—inside the quill of a large wing feather—and one must carry that with one at all times. And if a person has that on, they cannot attack. But if one notices that *mánnelaččat* have come, one must recite the *Our Father* in three languages, and then the *jámehat* cannot gain control; and if one is carrying the testicles of a beaver, they cannot seize on such a person.

There Was a Noaidi

There was one *noaidi* whom I, Johan Turi, saw personally, and whose name was Johan Koven. He lived in Kistrándda, in Porsáנגgu, Norway. And he was a strong *noaidi* indeed. And he traveled all along the Norwegian seacoast and was in Ivgu for every market. And he was one who could cure sick people. And at market time, many people come together. And it is natural that when there are many people of many sorts in one place, there will also be those who steal one another's property. And people came to know that J. Koven was such that he could use his magic to make thieves return what they had stolen. And so it would happen that when thieves stole something, the victim would go to Koven and tell what had been stolen. And then he would force the thief to bring it back, no matter how far the thief had gotten by that time. He just had to come back, regardless of whether he was a Sámi or a coastal settler. And at length the thieves became so afraid, that they no longer dared steal anything when they knew that Koven had arrived.

And sick people gathered at the market to see if they could see Koven and get him to cure them. And he cured many without any medicines. He did give out some remedies, but mostly he cured people without any. And he freed people who had become beset by *jámehat*. And no one ever said that he did any evil to anyone or set *jámehat* upon anyone, even though he certainly could have, if he had wanted to.

Once a coastal settler stole several items, some meat and some skins from a Sámi. And there were many people in a particular boat and they set off. And then the Sámi noticed that he had been robbed. And he went to Koven and asked for his help, and Koven started to help him. And that boat had gone many miles by the time Koven's power reached it. But then the boat could not go forward at all. And so they had to turn back, although there were many innocent people on board. And the thief had to give the stolen property back. And then they were able to set off again for home. And he did many such things to thieves.

A Noaidi Practice

One *noaidi* practice is to take from a dead person's mouth some corpse fluid and keep it in a bottle. And then they can give it to another person and that person will die. And once they have started this practice, they must do it again to another person before two years are out. And if they don't manage to do this to someone within two years, they become tormented themselves and finally die. And so, in order to save their own lives, they give this fluid to some person or another. And this they may do to even the most blameless of people.

And they also use teeth from dead people, as well as churchyard soil or sand. And these are similar and are used in the same way as that above. And this is why these practices are evil and dangerous: one can wind up killing someone whom one didn't want dead. And thus these are dangerous practices. But they are practiced nonetheless among Sámi in these parts because they are easy to use, and not even a *noaidi* can reverse their effects. But if one manages to immediately vomit after swallowing one of the things described here, then one will survive.

Another Foul Practice

Another foul practice is to gain all that one desires, a great herd, and much money, by promising away one's soul and sometimes those of one's children. And it hasn't been long since one last heard of somebody promising their soul away. And when it came time to pay up, a *biro* came and collected. But there have been some who got free from the *biro*, when they told other people what they had done and these others told the minister. And then the minister came to their assistance, as did another Christian who read the Bible. And when they heard the *biro* coming, they stepped forward with their Bibles and read some verses. And the *biro* couldn't withstand them and departed. But it came back three times and those two did the same thing each time the *biro* came, and so finally the *biro* had to give up on that person. But if there hadn't been such people around, the *biro* would have taken him.

Once someone saw a *biro* carrying a person away. It carried him so that he hit the tops of trees now and then. And it held him only by one claw stuck through the person's palm. And the *biro* told the witness that that person would remain like that until the end of the world, and then hear the Last Judgment which will come at that moment.

TALES

About *Stálut*

Stálut were beings that are part human and part *mánnelaš* or *beargalat* [demons]. It was strong and a *diehtti*. And the *jiehtanas*[giant] was much the same, but it did not hate people the way that the *stállu* did. The *stállu* killed people and ate them. The *jiehtanas* was strong and also large, and was also a *noaidi*. And these two creatures were often in competition, but they also roamed about together as well.

Once these two set off to a tree of gold to collect golden leaves. They didn't have but one eye between them, and it was only the *jiehtanas* that had it. The *stállu* hadn't had any eyes since the time when his hired hand had burned them out. (The hired hand had poured molten lead into his snow-blind eyes when he was working for him, and ever after that, the *stállu* was blind.) And he couldn't see anything, but since the *jiehtanas* had one eye, they managed all right. And a little boy followed along behind them so that he could find out where the trees of gold were located. And the *stállu* climbed into the tree and started to pick golden leaves. But he couldn't see since he didn't have the eye, so he said to the *jiehtanas*: "Give me the eye!" He wanted it so that he could see to pick the leaves. And the *jiehtanas* was passing the eye to him when the boy grabbed it. And the *jiehtanas* thought that the *stállu* had taken it. And the *stállu* told him to hurry up and pass him the eye. And the *jiehtanas* says: "I already gave it to you!" And that started a great quarrel between them, and they grew angry, and fought, and struggled until they were all torn apart.

And the boy took as many of the golden leaves as he could carry, but he never found that place again. The *stálut* and the *jiehtanas* hid that place when they saw the dead *stálut*—they came back to life when they returned to the place where they had lived. The *stállu's* *heagga* (life-spirit) dwelled in a little house: inside that house there was a barrel; and in that barrel there was a sheep; and in that sheep there was a chicken; and inside the chicken, an egg; and inside that egg, the *heagga*.

The *stálut* made an agreement amongst themselves that they would not set foot in each other's districts, not even to go visit each other. They were on the shore of Stálojávri when they made this agreement. And they all kept this bargain ever after.

An Account of the *Stállu* who Lived on the Shore of Stálojávri

Lake Stálojávri got its name from the *stállu* who lived beside it. And one can still find signs of his dwelling there today.

The *stállu* lived on the shore of that lake. And he had a wife and a son and a daughter. And they caught fish and wild reindeer and reindeer belonging to the Sámi. And that *stállu* was a *diehtti* or *noaidi*, and his wife was also. And she had an iron pipe by which she could suck the power out of a person when she needed to. And if she still couldn't manage after doing so, she could suck out the person's *heagga* (life-spirit), provided it wasn't a Sámi who could deflect such magic. Indeed there were many Sámi who could deflect or magically control iron or bullets.

And *stálut* used to kill people and eat them, and so people were afraid of the *stálut* and avoided those places where the *stálut* were living. And this *stállu* lived beside a sound in that lake. And there was a mountain to the south of the lake and that mountain was the *stállu's* stronghold. And when Sámi came to that mountain, the *stálut* always did some evil to them: sometimes they killed some of their reindeer, and sometimes the Sámi became ill on that mountain. And so the Sámi began to call the mountain Goartovárri [bewitched mountain] because they were bewitched in so many ways. Sometimes the

reindeer would get caught in the passage between cliffs, and sometimes the reindeer went lame, as did people as well. And sometimes people and reindeer just disappeared. And so the Sámi began to call it Goartovárri, and such is its name even today.

And the first rapids in the river that runs out of Stálojávri has a little pool where the *stállu* used to always fish. And that *stállu* dug a boat trench there, and he piled up such gigantic rocks that people of nowadays cannot even budge them, even if twenty men were to try together. And no one would believe this either, if there were not proof there that one can see and verify. And the name of that rapids is Stáloguoika [Stállu rapids]; this is why it was given that name, and it is still called that even today.

And to the north of Stálojávri there is a mountain that was named by the *stállu*. This *stállu* had heard from the *ulddat* that this mountain contained many mining bores [*boriid*], and so the *stállu* started to call it Borrevárri. And that is its name even today.

And on Borrevárri there is a lake which goes by the name of Vatnimajávri. And Vatnimajávri got its name when the Sámi used to migrate there and along the riverbank nearby. The banks were so steep that the geldings weren't strong enough to pull the sleds up them. And when the geldings couldn't do so, they strained themselves [*fatnat*]. And thus that lake got the name Vatnimajávri [i.e., straining lake].²⁸

And on the eastern side of the southern tip of Stálojávri there is a mountain called Báhcageagil. And it got its name because the best lichen [*jeagil*] used to grow there. And people would say: "The lichen has stayed [*báhcán*] on this mountain. And so it got the name Báhcánjeagil [i.e., Stayed lichen], and that is its name even today: Báhcageagil.

And the *ulddat* had their dwelling places on Goartovárri on a slope across from Čoalmmi sound, and there is a cave or hole there even today. And in that hole even people of today have lost goats ten at a time, and have found only their bones afterwards. And this same place is known to give assistance to those who worship and address it and make it some offering.

An Account of What Occurred to the Stállu who Lived on the Shore of Stálojávri

There was one a Christian Sámi family-man who was making a journey. And he came to the *goahti* of this *stállu*. And this Sámi had a beautiful daughter and son. And he was exhausted and hungry as well, and the *stállu* gave him something to eat. And he ate it, although he really shouldn't have, for the *stállu* had cooked people in that same pot. But the man had to eat. And when he was finished, the *stállu* asked:

²⁸ Turi's accounts for the origins of the placenames here are folk etymologies. According to Mikael Svonni, Borrevárri probably refers to a terrain feature, while Vatnimajávri should more properly be called Vátnimajávri, originally meaning "beaver lake." The placename would thus seem to preserve a word for beaver which had become obsolete in the region. Elsewhere in the text, Turi uses the Finnish word (*majava*) to refer to beavers, which no longer existed in this area of Sweden.

“Will you give your daughter to my son?”

And the man didn’t dare refuse: he promised him his daughter and they made plans for when to have the wedding. Back then there were no church bans: people did nothing more than make an agreement and shake hands and then it was done.

And since the Sámi man knew where the *ulddat* had their dwellings, and he was friendly with them, he went up to where the *ulddat* were to ask their advice, since he was so against giving his daughter to the *stállu* boy. And as soon as he came to the *ulddat*’s dwelling, the old woman *ulda* said:

“My, my, to think that you promised your daughter to be a daughter-in-law to a *stállu*!”

But the Sámi said:

“Can’t you think of something?”

The *ulda* answered:

“I’m not sure just yet. If you stop by up here when you’re headed to the *stállu*’s *goahti*, I will be able to advise you.”

The Sámi went home. And he told his family where things stood with the matter at this point.

And then they set off to go celebrate the wedding. And as they were leaving, they stopped by the *ulddat*’s place. And the *ulddat* advised:

“You must go by way of the night side [i.e., the north side] of Goartovárri. The *stállu* has had a dream that said that if you come by way of the night side, it means danger. And so he will ask you immediately:

‘On which side of the mountain did you come—the night side or the day side?’”

And so, they answered:

“We have come by way of the day side.”

And then the *stállu* was not afraid. And they started to hold the wedding. And they set two large cauldrons to boiling. And when the pots were ready, the Sámi boy got up on his knees to lower one of them off the fire. And the *stállu* said to his son:

“You get up on your knees too, and lower a pot, just like the Sámi boy did.”

And when he started to lower the pot, his bride said:

“Let me help.”

The *stállu* said:

“He’s strong; he can do it himself.”

And when he started lowering it, the bride grabbed hold of the pot handle as if to help. And then she raised it so high that the boiling fat poured out all over her bridegroom, burning his stomach and testicles. And he didn’t tell anyone that he was so badly burned.

And then they began to eat. And many Sámi had come to the wedding, and they ate and drank. But the bridegroom did not eat, as he was dying. And he went outside to lie down. And his bride sat down beside him and saw that he would not survive.

And then they set off down to the lake to entertain themselves in the way that Sámi of those times used to do after a wedding feast. And the Sámi had made many holes in the ice and covered them in snow, and placed big logs alongside them. And

meanwhile the women played many games of their own among themselves and boiled up hot drinks to have when the men came back. But indeed the Sámi women knew what needed to be done, and they knew that the *stállu*'s wife had an iron pipe which was dangerous. If she managed to suck on it, that would be trouble. And so they stole her pipe's iron mouthpiece and stuck it in the hot embers of the fire and then they started picking lice from each other's heads.

And the menfolk went out to entertain themselves on the frozen lake. They blindfolded the [father] *stállu* and they all ran around tugged at his old coat and the *stállu* lashed out trying to catch them. And when he got one he says:

"Yum, yum, now here's some fresh meat for a meal: this will have to be tonight's dinner!"

And he bit through the man's clothing as hard as he could, so that he bit the flesh with his teeth. And then they ran around even harder than before. And when he caught another, he said:

"Yummy, yummy, that's good: now I've got something for dinner tomorrow, too!"

And he bit right into the man's flesh, and that brought the man great pain and anger as well.

And they ran around until they got the *stállu* to fall into one of the holes. And then they started to beat him on the head with the logs. And the *stállu* called out to his wife:

"Suck the pipe!"

And when she heard her husband's voice, she started looking for her pipe. And when she couldn't find it, and she heard that the *stállu* was in trouble, the woman who was picking lice from her head said:

"What's that burning in the fire?"

And when she saw the pipe end, she grabbed it and sucked on that burning pipe. And her throat filled with embers, and burned her throat and stomach so that she dropped down dead. And the Sámi man and his companions beat that *stállu* until he was dead. And the son had died at the same time as his mother. And the *stállu* survived a little longer than the others. And once the *stállu* was dead, they sought out stones and fastened them to his neck and sunk him into the hole in the ice. And that is why Stálojávri has such poor fishing.

And the *stállu*'s wife and child were buried on the northern side of the lake. And that burial place is still there today. And that land has become cursed so that all the people there have become affected: they are so quarrelsome with each other there that there are no worse in that entire vicinity.

About Bure Lávra and the *Stállu*

When the old man called Bure Lávra was migrating with his *siida* east across Boldnu, there was a *stállu* that was living along that route. And as Lávra was migrating, that *stállu* tied a belled reindeer cow to some trees [to attract Lávra's reindeer]. And when Bure Lávra heard what the *stállu* had done, he headed over to that place and the two of

them started to wrestle. And at first, Bure Lávra broke one of the *stállu*'s fingers. And when the *stállu* wasn't doing well, he started to bite. And Lávra forbade him, saying:

"Don't try those doggy ways with me!"

And so the *stállu* stopped that and starting calling [his dog]:

"Here doggie!"

But the dog was tied up. It would have eaten the man, bitten him up, if it had been loose. But when that didn't help either, the two of them just kept wrestling. And then the *stállu*'s leg broke, and Lávra got on top of the *stállu*, and he broke the *stállu*'s arm. And then he started to slash him up, and the *stállu* said:

"Cut me with my own little silver knife; don't kill me with that rusty thing of yours!"

But Lávra didn't do so: he knew that the *stállu* had enchanted his knife.

And when he had killed the *stállu*, he started to cut him up with the *stállu*'s knife, but the pieces kept rejoining each other immediately. And so he tried to cut him apart with his own knife and then they stayed divided. And then he used branches to tie up all the pieces of the *stállu* into a bundle, and he dragged that into the lake. And that is why the water of this lake is so green. And he cooked some of the *stállu* in his own *goahti*, and cut off the *stállu*'s beard whiskers and all of his skin and pulled it over his own skin.

And when the *stállu*'s wife came back from the trip she'd been on, he gave her some of the meat to eat. And the wife asked:

"Why does it taste so good to me?"

And the man had put an iron wedge in the fire. And when he sat down next to the *stállu*'s wife, the wife thought that he was just the *stállu* and so, was not afraid. The wife was even stronger than her husband. Then suddenly Lávra grabbed the hot wedge and thrust it into the woman's mouth. And then the two of them started to wrestle as well. And Lávra was hard put wrestling with her, but finally he prevailed. And once he had killed her, Lávra burned that woman and the *goahti* and took the best things for himself from what the *stállu* had looted from other Sámi. The dog was the last thing that he killed there at Bieski.

Riihmagállis was the Biggest of the *Stálut*

There was a half an arm's length between his two eyes, and he had a very long beard. And he lived alone, and he was pleasant to the Sámi; he did not hate them, nor did he do them any harm. And he was also a *noaidi*. But the Sámi didn't believe that he was good, and they talked among themselves about how to get his *heagga* (life-spirit) to go. And this matter spread across the entire Sámi homeland: from north to south, they questioned whether there was anyone who would dare to attack this Riihmagállis.

And at Johkamohkki there were three such champions: Falli [the quick one], Gievra [the strong one], and Ruovdediehti [iron *diehti*]. And they came to attack Riihmagállis. And when they were building their fire in the evening, they said that in the morning they would measure the distance between Riihmagállis's two eyes. And Riihmagállis heard what they said. And when they had fallen asleep, he enchanted their

dog and then came to the fireside himself and put an iron spear into the fire to heat up. And when it was burning hot, he thrust it through Falli and Ruovdediehtti. And he just broke Gievra's arm but let him survive. And he commanded Gievra to blow on the fire so that he could see "what's the distance between *your* two eyes?" And when he had gotten a look, he said: "Oh my, you're not of my class," for the distance between Riihmagállis's eyes was half an arm's length. And he ordered Gievra: "Go home and bring some more men with you!"

And so he went home and he returned as one of nine men. And Riihmagállis knew at once that they were coming, because he was a *noaidi*. And he went to wait beside the riverbank at the upper end of Rávttasjávri. And when they were wading across the river and had all entered the river, Riihmagállis shot through them all with his bow, so that only one was left half-alive. And the arrow continued on to the other side of the river and whizzed into the ground. The ninth man went home.

Riihmagállis had a rule that he would kill all but one person, whom he would send back with a message to bring more people next time. But when that man saw that Riihmagállis had shot through all of them and that the arrow had continued even further, then no more people dared come to attack him.

About a *Stállu*

Stálut were large, and when people came along, they grew ashamed that they were so large and that the people were so small and beautiful. And *stálut* were bad at reproducing, and they had very few wives. They lived mostly off wild reindeer and bears and other wild animals.

One *stállu* was a bachelor and he began to socialize at times with the Sámi. And he started to live in a Sámi *siida* which was very rich. And the Sámi man there had a daughter, and the *stállu* started to court this girl. And the girl also started to like that *stállu* boy.

And the girl's father was very much against it, but he didn't know how he could get his daughter away from that *stállu*. And then he thought of a method. He waited until the *stállu* had set off to hunt wild reindeer, as was his custom. Then he prepared to travel away, and once they had left, he said to his son-in-law: "I'm moving. If you're gone for a long while, I'll leave my daughter and reindeer for the two of you to eat."

And when he was leaving, he tied up some reindeer for his son-in-law, and his daughter's clothes he put on a dry treestump, and arranged it so carefully and placed branches under the snow. When the *stállu* walked by, he stepped on these branches and he thought that the tree stump was alive because it was jostled by the branches hidden in the snow. And when the *stállu* had gotten the meal ready, he called to his bride to come eat. But when she didn't come, he said:

"Come if you want; I'm eating anyway."

And as the *siida* was leaving, the man had cut many holes in the ice along the trail they had taken and covered them over, as was their custom before. And when the *stállu* was ready to sleep, he called to his bride again:

"Come sleep!"

They had already often slept together side by side. And when his bride did not come when he called, he jumped out and grabbed his bride and pulled her down beside him. And he started to feel around her chest and who knows where else he felt, and then he realized that it was nothing more than a dressed up tree stump.

And he became furious—for the *stálut* tended to be reckless—when they became angry, they didn't know what to do first. And that *stállu* also didn't know that he needed to get dressed first, but just headed off after the *siida*. But he was much the same as other *stálut* in that he set off down the trail stark naked. And since they had made many holes under the trail, he fell into one of the holes in the dark. And he climbed out and started running again and fell into another hole. And he climbed out of that one as well and started running even harder, and he fell in again. And now he was half dead, and he didn't manage to get out of it and so he froze to death.

And then they came to see what had happened. And the girl came to see as well. And when they found him, he was frozen solid, and his poor penis was frozen stiff and erect. And his bride did not like it when she saw that her bridegroom had frozen. And when she saw the penis that had frozen, she said:

“My oh my, his poor penis is frozen!”

And she nearly cried. She had started to like that *stállu* boy, and she would have married him if allowed, but her father separated his daughter from the *stállu* in the manner described above.

The *stálut* are now almost all gone, but some Sámi are still related to them. And that came about when *stálut* married with Sámi girls, and people were born who were half *stállu* and half human. And they are different from other people both in appearance and nature.

An Account of the *Ruoššačuđit*

The Sámi's best safety is to flee and hide from others. And that is why the Sámi of old built their *goadit* underground and hid there. The Sámi have had many enemies, such as the *ruoššačuđit*, who roamed across the Sámi homeland and killed everyone they found, and took all their property. And for this reason the Sámi also hid their silver and money in the earth. And there is still a lot hidden in the ground in these parts even today. And the Russians also hid money in the ground here in the Sámi homeland. And at length the Sámi began to think of how they might kill those Russians. And they finally came upon a method with which to kill many *ruoššačuđit*.

One event that I have heard about is how a *ruoššačuhti* was killed at Čuđibuolža. That is how that ridge [*buolža*] got its name, and that is what it's called to this day. This is how it all started:

There is a long ridge and the Russians were coming along it. And that ridge ends in a long headland running into a lake. And there are many islands there, which deceive the viewer: they are the same height as the headland, and they sit side by side, these islands. And when the Russians came to the end of the headland, they met an old woman and they said:

“Lead us to the other people; we won't do anything to you.”

The old woman said:

“They will flee when they see you coming. But if you promise to take me as your water carrier or *biigá*, so that I can survive, then I will advise you.”

When the Russians heard that, they were pleased, and promised to take her. And they said:

“Be our guide then.”

And they asked:

“What is your best advice?”

“I think you should wait until they fall asleep. The Sámi are so fast at running and driving, that you’ll never catch them if they see you coming.”

The Russians said: “That is indeed so, and so we will wait.”

And they waited until it grew dark.

And that little old woman put on her birchbark coat, which had been made in this way: it had leather pieces which were inflated with air and which made the coat good for floating. The Sámi had figured this out long ago. And the Russians didn’t understand this at all. And she told them that some lived on the islands and some on the shore, and she said:

“Indeed we’ll have to wade a little. Do you know how to swim?”

The Russians said: “Yes, we do.”

And they asked: “Do you know how?”

“I can swim a little,” answered the little old woman.

And then a west wind blew up. The little old woman said:

“I really need to light this birchbark on fire, so that you can see to follow me.”

The Russians were pleased at that and promised to help the woman if she couldn’t keep swimming. She had a big hat. And when she saw that the west wind was blowing so hard that everything would work well, she said:

“Let us go now. The Sámi have fallen asleep, and with this strong wind, they won’t hear us coming.”

And the Russians assented and they set off and swam to the first island and made it there quite easily.

And they set off again. And then she lit a big bundle of birch branches and set off swimming.

“But don’t come right away, as you’re fast swimmers. I am slow, and it will be difficult for you to have to wait for me to catch up,” she said.

They did as she suggested as she headed off. And as the big birch bundle burned, they could see it from afar, and when they saw it getting further away, then they set off too. And the old woman untied the birch bundle and it continued to burn. And she also took off her own cap, and the wind carried them far out into the lake. And then the old woman swam to the nearest shore. And the Russians followed after that birchwood fire, and the wind drove that bundle so quickly along that they were not able to catch up with it until they were in the middle of the lake at its widest, and there they at last found the old woman’s cap. And when they found it, they said:

“She has drowned.” And they started searching for her: they swam here and there around the lake until they were exhausted and all froze to death right then and there.

Another Tale

Another time a band of *ruoššacud̥it* came to a place where they noticed there were people living nearby. And they started to search, and they found that the people had all fled. But one brave old *noaidi* woman was not afraid; she was waiting for them. She had already figured out what she needed to do. And when they got to the *goad̥it*, they asked:

“Where are the people?”

The woman answered:

“They’ve gone to town; this is the time when people meet, and there are many get togethers.”

When the Russians heard that, they wanted her to guide them there and she said:

“Yes, I’ll guide you.”

But the Russians were very hungry, and the woman had a lot of food. And she gave it all to them and still they wanted more. And she said:

“I don’t have any more until I get some from where it’s stored.”

“Today?” asked the Russians.

“Yes, today.”

“If you go today, then we will go too,” said the Russians.

The woman answered:

“You’ll never find it; it’s so narrow a trail that you won’t be able to manage it in the dark.”

And the Russians wanted to go even more. They started asking to go right away. But the woman said:

“If you have to follow me, then you need to take a rope along.”

And they had ropes made from reindeer sinews, which were thin and strong. And then she said: “You must all be tied together with this rope on this narrow, meandering path.”

And they did so. And when the spot came where she told them to tie themselves together, she said:

“Wait a bit. I am going to search out the path.” And she had brought a lot of birch bark along. And as she went forward, she lit a lot of the bark and threw it down below. And then she tied the rope to a big stone ahead of time. And alongside it was a post, with which she could dislodge it. And when she got everything ready, she went back to the Russians and said:

“Let’s set off. The fires in town are still burning; I went to get a look.”

And when they came to that cliff, she said:

“Do you see the town already?”

They said: “Yes, we do.”

The woman said:

“You have to run fast here. This is a steep slope. I’ll run as fast as I can.”

And when she came to that stone, which she had prepared, she just looped the rope around it and, using the post, pushed it over the edge. And they they started leaping down the slope as fast as they could. And the last of the bunch began to suspect that this was not a proper expedition, but he wasn't strong enough to resist, nor could he cut through the rope. And so, down they all went.

The woman came back in the morning to see what had happened. They were dead for the most part, but a few were just badly injured with little life left in them. And when they saw the woman, they cursed and wanted to get hold of her. And she saw that they wouldn't be roaming anywhere anymore. And she rolled more stones down on them so that they were all crushed. And that cliffside is red to this day, as if it were covered in blood.

About the Name of the Mountain Gieppošduottar

One time, the Sámi knew that the Russians were nearby, and they had already built in a certain ravine a *luovvi* [a raised scaffolding with a floor] with thick pine trees and placed stones both numerous and large beneath it, and rigged it with a hair trigger. And they had some people in their number who kept a watch on the Russians, so they knew where they were and where they were going, but who kept out of sight themselves. And so the Sámi saw that they were now headed for where they were living. But they had this *luovvi* set up near their fort. They lived near that place. And when the Russians came toward those places, the Sámi left a sneaky old *noaidi* woman right where they were headed. And the Russians came and found that woman and asked her:

“Where are the people who aren't here anymore, although their *goađit* still are?”

The woman did not answer so that she could hear what they would say. And they started to offer her payment if she would guide them to the people. So she promised to lead them, and she set off guiding them around the mountains until it started to grow dark. And then she just guided them into the ravine and she said:

“Now you must go into this narrow ravine until you find the people, but you need to have a torch so that you can see the path.”

And they set off and went off into that ravine up to where it turned. And when they gathered together there, then those who were above the ravine sprang their trap, and the scaffolding, called a *rihtá* [trap for large predators] came rumbling down upon them. And they wound up under that trap and were all killed. One *noaidi* remained half alive, one who could deflect bullets and arrows of iron, copper, lead or silver. And they shot over and over at him, but they couldn't get his *heagga* life-spirit to leave. But then they took a loon's beak and shot him with that. And that arrow cut through him, and he said:

“I knew and deflected everything else, but a loon's beak I never knew or understood.”

And then he asked:

“Is Brother Giebbo still alive?”

But he was already dead. And that mountain got its name from him: Giebboduottar is its name even today. The Sámi could understand everything the Russians said. And those were the last Russians.

An Account of the Mountain called Govavárri

A little study of why this mountain is called by that name. And this is the information that has been discovered.

Here on the banks of the river Duortnosjohka, there were at first only Sámi, and they were unlearned in all things. They could neither write nor read that which is written. And there were not many settlers either who knew how to write.

Time passed, and a man with a little learning came along, and his name was Goava. And he informed them that he had been sent there by the king:

“And you must be obedient to me, and pay me a tax each time a person dies or is born. And if you find yourself in need, I will help you.”

And the Sámi believed him and did everything that Goava said. And when people died, then he came to collect, and for children he took a little bit. And when a woman died, he took a fifth share, and when a man died, he collected a quarter share for himself. And when a baby was born, he also took a small share.

And he followed the Sámi in the summer, and when the winter came, he traveled away down off the mountain. And he became rich, as he took much property from the Sámi. On the eastern side of the Norwegian border he started these practices. Skáhttovuopmi was his headquarters.

And once when a man’s wife had died one spring, and Goava heard about it, he wanted to divide the inheritance so that he, too, could take his cut. And that Sámi said: “I won’t divide up the inheritance until I get all my goods together. Then I’ll divide them up.”

And when the winter came, he headed down to find out if he couldn’t find a better law. And he found out that that Goava was a charlatan. And when he came back to the other Sámi, he told them that Goava was a fraud. And they tried to decide what they should do with him. And they came to the best decision that he should be hanged in a tree. And they did that: they hanged him and buried him on a ridge. And that ridge [*buolža*] is called Goavabuolža. This name is still remembered by people of today who are alive in the year 1908.

But this has also been given another name: Skáhttobuolža is its name nowadays. This was given that name, and the valley [*vuopmi*] there is called Skáhttovuopmi. And Skáhttovuopmi got its name because Goava lived in that valley and collected taxes [*skáhtta*] from the Sámi. And thus his share [of the inheritance] was called *skáhtta* or *skáhtto*. And the mountain Goavárri and lake Goajávri and the isthmus Goamuotki all got their names from the same man, Goava, who lived in those parts, following the Sámi *siiddat*.

Tales About the *Ulddat*

Ulddat are people who live underground and inside stones. And they are kin to those that the ancestors consigned to live underground.

Ulddat are wondrous beings, about whom it is not good to know too much concerning what exactly they are, and where they come from, and whether they are people or not. But indeed they are also descendents of Adam.

And they own reindeer, and their reindeer are much more beautiful than those of the Sámi. The *ulddat*'s reindeer are mottled, and white-coated, and light grey, and white-muzzled and mottled in all sorts of ways.

And they sometimes show these to Sámi, particularly Sámi whom they like. And they will give them to the Sámi person too, if that person does what is expected. If one sees the *ulddat*'s herd, one must keep looking at it intently so as not to lose sight of it until one can throw a piece of steel over it. A knife or even a needle will do. And once that has been thrown over the herd, one gets to keep all the reindeer that the piece of steel has passed above. And reindeer procured from the *ulddat* are always mottled. And if a person has a herd with many such mottled animals, the Sámi have a custom of calling that an *ulda* herd.

And the *ulddat* don't like everyone equally: they like those who have black hair and who are honest, and who know how to speak in such a way that it pleases the *ulddat*. Many *ulddat* are very skilled in *joiking*. The Sámi overhear them often. And the Sámi also learned *joiking* from the *ulddat*. And the *ulddat* wear Sámi clothing and they herd their reindeer and shout at them, and their dogs bark, and bells clang, but one sees nothing at all. And if someone remarks to someone else: "Listen! What do you suppose that is?" then they will no longer hear anything at all. And sometimes the Sámi hear crying, and again, if anyone says out loud that one hears something, then there will be no sound at all anymore. But hearing such means that the listeners will have occasion to cry.

There are accounts of Sámi roaming in the wilderness in the rain and seeking out shelter beneath some rocks, or beneath a cliff face, or inside a cave in some rocks. And sometimes they come upon a beautiful home with lots of gold and silver and food to eat, and they are immediately invited to eat. And if one eats, then one can never leave. But if one refuses to eat, then they can't keep one there and they will chase such a person away. And dogs also hear the *ulddat*: sometimes a person neither sees nor hears anything at all, but the person's dog will just be watching something and barking. But dogs do not bark as fiercely at *ulddat* as they do toward *mánnelaččat* or churchyard spirits.

An Account of When *Ulddat* Exchange their Children for Those of the Sámi

An *ulda* can be dangerous also. It wants to take beautiful black-haired children and exchange them for their own aging parents, whom they don't want to feed anymore. And elderly *ulddat* live for a long time and grow quite old. And such exchanges can happen when the Sámi leave a little child alone in the *goahti*, or outside hanging in a cradle suspended from a tree, or beside a stone. And the worst thing of all is to leave a child alone without any piece of silver with a stamped design. And for this reason, Sámi keep silver and other such things in a baby's *gietskka*. A male baby will be provided with a knife in the *gietskka*, and a female baby will have an *áibmi* [a three-sided needle used in

leatherwork], a firesteel, and a brass belt ring. But if there is not some such thing there, and the child is left alone, then the child runs the risk of being exchanged. And when the baby is switched in this way, the baby will have the same outer appearance as before, but it will not grow in the manner that children normally do, nor will it learn to speak, nor will it learn to walk. Nor will the child have the same personality as one's actual child. And it will also become much uglier, and its eyes will be ugly. But these are nothing more than old *ulddat* who have been exchanged for human infants as described above. But children who have been exchanged like this grow up and speak much like other people, but they are always a little different in terms of appearance and personality. And the *ulddat* never exchange their own prettiest child, but they will take the Sámi's prettiest child.

An Account of How the *Ulddat* Dwell in All Sorts of Lands

And if people happen to set up their *goadit* on top of where the *ulddat* are dwelling, they disturb the *ulddat*, who sleep in the day and are awake at night. And then they will be in a bad temper, but not toward everyone, and they will order them off that place. And if one obeys, they will not do anything, but if one does not obey, they won't give one any peace to sleep by. They make things unsettled in the night: although people won't know why, still they won't get any sleep. And people won't see anything amiss, yet no sleep will come. But indeed, they will come in dreams and speak to people. Some people they order quite nicely off the spot under which they have their dwelling. And if they move away, they will have peace. But the *ulddat* are not so nice to everyone: to some they will say nothing about wanting them gone, but instead will simply torment them and kill their livestock. And eventually, they'll start killing members of the household as well if the people don't figure out that they should leave or if they curse badly.

And the *ulddat* live even today much like other people; Sámi still see and hear them often. And the *ulddat* that people have seen have been very beautiful. Boys have at times seen an *ulda* girl, and she was so beautiful that the boy wanted to get close to her. And when he got closer to her he thought to himself: "If only she were mine!" And at that the girl disappeared, and the boy was left alone, and he was very disappointed. And then he returned to that place the next day and he heard an *ulda* girl *joiking*, and she seemed like the same girl to him. And he listened to that beautiful *joiking* for a long time; he had never before heard such lovely *joiking*. And that boy learned to *joik* from the *ulda* girl, and he then taught *joiking* to the other Sámi. And so other Sámi heard and learned *joiking*. And some Sámi have learned many *noaide* practices from the *ulddat*.

And the *ulddat* are so good to some people that they will tell them everything that is going on: if they know of some evil afoot, they will tell the people about it and help them and give them advice about what to do. And such people manage quite well. And it is precisely those people whom the *ulddat* help that are the most powerful *noaiddit*.

And the *ulddat* take care of reindeer so that they won't die. But for this help one must make a payment. This payment is made in this way: in a certain place one deposits money or something else, copper or brass or silver. And one must throw the payment

onto a large *juovva* [rocky ground with many holes in it; a moraine], or into water, or into some such place that other people won't be able to retrieve it from. And one must say to the *ulddat*:

"I give this to you."

And even nowadays, Sámi often have a practice of giving something to the *ulddat*. Sometimes they pour coffee onto the ground and sometimes liquor, and they say:

"Have a drink of my coffee and grant me your help."

Háldi spirits are also found at cold springs as well, and they also have the power to do both good and evil. These springs are like a pot, and they boil and they are very deep. And they have healing qualities as well.

About a Boiling Spring which is like a Pot

Such a spring boils, and in it live frogs. And in such a spring there live powerful *háldi* spirits. And the Sámi worship these as well. And this sort of spring has healing qualities for those who know to use it: one need do nothing more than wash in it and make a little payment. But if one angers such a spring, it can prove very bad in terrifying or making one ill. And one must never drink the water from such a spring, nor use it for anything but healing: otherwise, the *háldi* spirits will grow angry if the water is used for anything but healing.

Once there was a Sámi passing through, and he came to one such spring and started making coffee there. And when the water was just starting to boil, a shrieking started to come from inside the pot. And he poured the water out and filled it up again and placed it on the fire and the same thing happened again. And then he guessed what was happening and he asked:

"Why are you here and why won't you leave me in peace?"

And a voice said:

"I was buried here because I was murdered."

And the man recited those prayers that the minister says over the dead. And then he got peace, but the voice said:

"One mustn't ever take water from a spring such as this—it is dangerous."

Sometimes children have been digging things up in such springs, and then some such frog spirits the size of a grown person have risen up before them and terrified them greatly. But if they were such people as know how to lay a spirit to rest, they became healthy once again. But in that case a person should make an offering to that spring.

A Sáiva Lake

A *sáiva* lake is remarkable in that it sometimes has lots of fish and sometimes none at all, although the lake is small and shallow.

In a *sáiva* lake there are many big, fat fish. But if one does not know how to catch them, one won't get any at all, even if one were to have them in one's net. In such a lake one must beware of making any noise or commotion at all. And if one casts out

one's net quietly, then one will catch lots of fish. Talking must also be done only in a whisper so that nothing can be heard. Then the fish will follow the net to shore.

A *sáiva* is a wondrous sort of lake: no one has exactly discovered what such a lake is all about. But this much has been discovered in part: such a lake is really two lakes one on top of the other, with just one hole between them right in the middle, like the smoke hole of a *goahti*. And the fish circulate through this hole downward and upward.

About Buried or Hidden Treasure

Treasure is deposited in a *juovva* [an area of rocky ground with large holes; a moraine] or on a high hill. And sometimes it is deposited there with a charm so that no one will be able to take it except a relative. And if others take it, they're in for some terror. And so they don't dare take hidden treasure, even if they know where it is.

Old Sámi talk often about such treasure hidden in the earth. And from their talk it is clear that they had some idea where the treasures were hidden. And they talk a lot about a treasure being in such-and-such a place, and that another treasure was in another place. And they hinted at going off to find that treasure, but they were afraid of it, for they had heard from others who had taken money from such a trove that it was dangerous to do so.

It is so that when one who finds such a treasure whose owner and heirs are dead, the finders will grow frightened just as the rim of the treasure pot comes into sight and they make to lift it out. And the pot lid will transform in one's hand into an oxhead, and if one doesn't let go of it, it will transform into a large frog, and then into a snake, and then into who knows what else. Sometimes a green fire will begin to burn there and finally *beargalat* demons will materialize.

And then one must say: "You don't need this. You manage fine by taking people's souls to hell. Be gone, Satan!"—as is written in the Bible. And then one must say a blessing in the name of the Trinity and say: "I am taking this now." And then everything will leave. And then one can take that treasure in peace. But one must be brave to do all this described above.

But that treasure which has been deposited with a charm cannot be taken except by a strong *noaidi*.

It may not be believed that such hidden treasures still exist. And the writer himself does not entirely believe it, although he has heard much of these things from his parents and from many others. But he himself has seen when his grandfather took some money that he had hidden in the ground underneath a rock face: it was in a small *juovva* [rocky place] that it had been placed.

And there was a hidden treasure that contained much money, according to what people claimed or knew. There people had found many small silver coins beside that stone. And they recognized that people had lived in that place and that they had set that rock there. And it was very big, such that only several people could have moved it. But the elderly Sámi said that *ruoššačuđit* had deposited that money and silver there, which they had looted from the Sámi. And in such places in the mountains one finds

arrowheads that have been used with bows. One such arrowhead was found by the writer himself.

A Further Account of that Same Stone

Someone once headed over to that stone with the thought of making a hole under it and taking the treasure out. And when he got near it, a fog rolled in, and he scarcely made it home. And when it cleared off, he set out again toward the stone to try to get that treasure. And when he neared it, he saw that a willow grouse was sitting on top of the stone. And as he got nearer, the bird grew until it became as large as a person. And then he started to become so uneasy that he turned back. And from then on he has never returned to that stone with the thought of taking that money. Nor have any others tried to dig about in that place, although they firmly believe that there is money there.

And the writer knows the person who set out twice to dig up this treasure, and his name is A. N. Eira. And the place is located on the northern side of Nuortaráissa and is called Fávrosorda. The place is called that because it has summer dwelling places that are very beautiful and grassy. And the migration route goes through very high mountains, which they cross in the spring and fall. And in these summer grounds are also found a great stone which is named Onnegeadgi [luck stone]. And there are many overhanging cliffs there. And beneath these overhangs they deposit their provisions. And when first they come to this stone in the spring, they greet it and talk to it as if it were another person. And they drink liquor and pour a little on the ground and say: "Some for you too, have a little drink."

About Midsummer

There are many customs practiced on Midsummer. One practice is that when a girl wants to know who her husband will be, she must go on Midsummer to a rock out in a body of water that always has water all around it and yet is always dry. And a big rock in the middle of a river is also useful for this.

No water must run over this rock. And then she sits down on that rock until a boy comes to her, and if it is a boy who does this, then a girl will come to him in this same way.

And if he gives her anything, she must not take it. Indeed he will sometimes offer her a knife, and if she takes it, he will eventually kill her with the knife once they marry. She must not take anything when he offers it. And the same thing goes for a boy who is offered things by a girl.

And on Midsummer they say that a green fire appears above buried treasure or hidden money.

ABOUT SÁMI SONGS

Sámi singing is called *joiking*. It is a practice for recalling other people. Some are recalled with hate, and some with love, and some are recalled with sorrow. And

sometimes such songs concern lands or animals: the wolf, and the reindeer, or wild reindeer. The following is an example of this sort of song.

One girl says to another girl:

“Joik your boyfriend Niillas.”

All the girls find Niillas attractive, and they all want him as their husband, and so they *joik* him often. And this sort of song is called a *luohti*. And so the girl begins to *joik* her Niillas-*luohti*:

*Voya voya nana nana
He is so vigorous, he is so splendid,
He is so handsome, he is so warm
When he ran away, he was like a bird in flight
Voya voya nana nana.*

Then the other girl orders:

“Now you joik your boyfriend!”

The other girl says:

“I don’t have a boyfriend!”

The other says:

“Yes you do.”

And the other girl asks:

“Who is it that you think is my boyfriend?”

“I think it’s Máhtte.”

The other girl says:

“No, Máhtte isn’t interested in me. He has someone better in mind.”

She is a cunning girl. She doesn’t tell the other girl that she has a boyfriend and that the boyfriend is Niillas. And so she wants to hear this foolish girl and see if she believes that she will be able to win Niillas for herself.

But Niillas himself had never considered taking up with her; Niillas was interested in the cunning girl. He used to joik that girl’s *luohti* like this:

*Voya voya nana nana,
She is so warm, she is so splendid
She has such skill,
Voya voya nana nana
She is so great and handsome
She’s the best girl in the parish
Voya voya nana nana*

When Niillas saw this cunning girl coming, however, he would stop *joiking*. But this cunning girl *joiked* Niillas, saying that Anne was his bride-to-be. That was the name of the foolish girl. And the cunning girl's name was Elle. She *joiked* Niillas in this way:

*Anne bagged herself the best guy in the parish through trickery
Voya voya nana nana,
The best guy in the parish
Voya voya nana nana,
He took another guy's bride
Voya voya nana nana,
And made Máhtte cry.*

And Niillas was afraid that he wouldn't get the cunning Elle. And Máhtte also loved Elle, and Elle had promised to take Máhtte as her husband. And Máhtte had believed her, and he had also often *joiked* her:

*Voya voya nana nana,
She is so warm
Voya voya nana nana
She is so handsome and has such skill
Voya voya nana nana,
She's the best girl in this siida
Voya voya nana nana*

And when Máhtte heard that Niillas had given engagement gifts to Elle, he *joiked* and wept:

*Voya voya nana nana,
The great deceiver.*

He cried and was so sad that he nearly lost his mind. And he began to hate Niillas and killed some of his reindeer. And when he had gotten himself drunk, he *joiked* and cursed in this way:

*Voya voya nana nana,
Biro demons, beargalat devils,
I'll kill all Niillas's geldings,
Voya voya nana nana,
And that damned deceiving Elle, rotten slut!
There are many of her kind
Voya voya nana nana*

And then he cried some more and kept *joiking*.

About Máhtte and Márjá

Then Máhtte thought to himself:

“It’s foolish to get angry at Niillas and Elle. I will find just as good a girl, maybe even a better one!”

His sister Ingir told Máhtte:

“No one is seeing Ándaras’s Márjá. She’s a nice girl and will be rich.”

Ingir was a young and sensible girl, and Máhtte said to her:

“Do you think Márjá would have me?”

Ingir answered:

“I don’t know, but I could ask her if she would be interested.”

And then Máhtte was so grateful to his sister for helping him find a wife.

And then Ingir came one Sunday to the *siida* where Márjá was. And she found Márjá and asked:

“Would you consent to marry my brother?”

Márjá answered:

“Máhtte wants no one else but trim Elle.”

“Ingir said:

No, it’s not quite that way. Believe me when I say that: you two are made for each other.”

Márjá replies:

“How do you know that we were made for each other?”

Ingá said:

“I dreamed it, and things always turn out the way I dream them.”

Then Márjá replies:

“Well, if that’s the way it is, I promise that if you come back in a week I will have thought this all through. Is that okay?”

And so they parted and Ingir set off for home. Now she came to Máhtte and told him what she had heard. And when they told their mother and father, they were very pleased.

When a week had passed, they went to Márjá’s place. It is a Sámi custom from long ago that, when a suitor comes courting, the girl should go to meet him and unharness his gelding. And that is a sign that she will accept his offer of marriage. And if a girl doesn’t come out to do the unharnessing, then the suitor will drive around the *goahti* and between the *goahti* and the chopping block. And if the girl still doesn’t come out to unharness the suitor’s gelding, then he knows that the girl is not interested. And then a guy may not even go inside the *goahti* at all, but rather drive on back home.

And Márjá knew all about what one should do and how things were. And so, when she saw Máhtte coming, she went out to meet him and unharnessed his gelding. And then Máhtte came inside the *goahti* and greeted her in the traditional Sámi way. The Sámi custom is to put their arms around each other and press their noses together.

Máhtte did so, and then he kissed her for so long that it seemed like he couldn't stop. And only then did they start to talk and drink a little liquor. There was no coffee back then. And they got married that same day, and then Máhtte made ready to set off for home. And then Márjá's father, Ándaras, told Márjá to get Márjá's best driving reindeer, the one she used on special occasions, and give it to Máhtte.

And when Márjá had brought the reindeer, Máhtte was getting ready to head home and Márjá sat down in the sled. Then the two of them were about to say good-bye, they hugged and kissed each other again, and they believed that that was all there was to getting married. But then old man Ándaras says:

"You'll have to make one more trip before you're done. You'll have to go to the *girkóáhččis* [church father] and ask for his permission."

Máhtte said:

"Does Márjá have another father, or does she have another husband, or what?"

Máhtte didn't know that the minister had to give his permission, or, as we say now, perform a marriage ceremony for them.

And when Máhtte was ready to leave again, he was worried that this church father would take his wife. He nearly lost his mind worrying about it. And that happens often when someone is getting married: most everyone's mind gets a little scrambled in that situation, especially if they're born that way.

There is an explanation for why some people are so simple-minded that they become easily confused. Some people have a personality so given over to love that they can hardly think of anything else at that time. And that is the reason why they seem to lose their minds. And some remain in love ever afterwards, but not everyone. Generally, when the whole matter of marriage has been settled, people's heads will clear and they will be like they were before.

When Máhtte next drove to Márjá's place, he took the driving reindeer which he had been given in exchange for his own and thus came to Márjá's *siida*. And they greeted each other in the same way as before. And they started to have a little liquor and to talk about what they should do and about going to see the church father on the following morning. But Máhtte was still worried that he might lose Márjá to that church father. He didn't want to leave, but Márjá's father said he had to, and so they got ready to go.

And they brought with them three additional geldings and sleds for each, packed with meat and reindeer milk. And they set off, old man Ándaras taking the three additional geldings, and Márjá and Máhtte each driving on their own. They used the reindeer which they had exchanged with each other. And these geldings were snow white, with halters that had many decorations on them and girths bedecked with multicolored ribbons. An *avohas* [girth] goes around a reindeer's middle, while a *bággi* [halter] goes on its head and has a cord that one uses to steer the reindeer, much like a horse's bridle.

And so off they drove, their reindeer cantering and galloping so fast that they kicked up a great spray of snow, and the drivers could barely keep their eyes open or breathe. And that is dangerous: the sled can careen into a tree or a rock and people can

get killed. But when the geldings have run for a while, they become a little tired out, and then they start to trot along more nicely. And then it is pleasant to be riding and they start to *joik* as follows:

Voya voya voya voya nana nana nana nana
True driving reindeer were cantering now,
Voya voya voya nana nana
They sped like the wind
Voya voya voya nana nana nana
They sped straight ahead like a bullet
Voya voya voya nana nana nana
The biggest-horned geldings of the herd
Voya voya voya nana nana nana.

And now the geldings started to get hot and dry, and they snapped at the snow to cool themselves down and quench their thirst. And so Máhtte reined in his gelding and they all stopped to give the geldings a breather. There are particular places where people will let the geldings eat snow and urinate. It is dangerous to drive too far a stretch without letting the geldings pee, for the geldings can develop a urinary blockage so that they cannot urinate any more. And when Ingir saw that the geldings were all done peeing, she started to *joik*:

The young couple,
we wish them good fortune
Voya voya nana nana
This young couple will certainly be rich
Voya voya nana nana
And have beautiful children
Voya voya nana nana
Beautiful little Márjá
You shine like a candle
Voya voya nana nana nana
And now we begin to drive again
Voya voya voya voya
nana nana nana
The great driving reindeer
will set off cantering again
Voya voya nana nana

And off they went. And when the geldings saw that Márjá and Máhtte had taken their seats again in their sleds, the geldings charged off again, and since the snow was rather fresh, there arose again such a spray that they couldn't see a thing. And Márjá couldn't control her gelding, and her sled began to careen so badly that Márjá was thrown out of

the sled and was dragged along behind it until they ran into a tree. And Márjá's hand got caught in the reins while the gelding struggled loose, and that caused her so much pain that at first she was nearly senseless. And the gelding ran off with the sled after Máhtte, and Máhtte did not see that Márjá had been thrown off.

And they came up a slope and the geldings couldn't run so hard, and then Máhtte saw that Márjá's sled was empty. And then he was so upset that he almost blacked out. But then he quickly caught hold of Márjá's gelding, and it took him a little while for his head to clear.

And then he set off to look for Márjá in the direction from which they had come. But Ingir and the other drivers were further behind: they weren't driving with such swift geldings as the young couple's. And when they saw Márjá lying there on the trail, they too were very upset. And they had an old man along with them who was a Sámi doctor. And he examined Márjá's hand and saw that her arm had been dislocated. He told her to sit down in the sled. Ingir had a big calm gelding, and she herself was light. So they set Márjá down in Ingir's sled. And they went on for a little while. And then here comes Máhtte searching for Márjá, crying as hard as he can; he was afraid that Márjá had died.

And when Máhtte saw that Márjá was alive, he stopped crying and started asking what had happened. And when he heard that Márjá's arm had been badly injured, he says:

"Has Nuvtte looked at Márjá's arm?"

And Nuvtte replied:

"I have indeed. But we need to drive over this ridge, for there is a melted spring over there."

And when they got to the spring, Nuvtte took Márjá off to the side of the spring and stuck her arm in the water until it became all numb with cold. And then he felt along the arm to see where it was worst. And then he pressed the arm right there and he felt where it was dislocated and set the bones. And then the arm was immediately as good as new. And they set off driving again. And Nuvtte told Máhtte:

"Place Márjá's gelding behind your own sled and don't let the geldings run so hard. There is a steep downhill slope ahead and you must put a birch branch in the space between the sled and the harness ropes so that the sled won't slide too fast."

And they did as Nuvtte instructed. Nuvtte was the wisest man around in those days. And so they drove safely down off that high mountain. And they drove across a large lake, and then up another steep slope. And there they came to another place where the Sámi made a habit of stopping and giving their reindeer a breather, and to have a little drink of liquor. They also used to give a little of the liquor to the *háldi* spirits of the land, saying:

"You can have a little of my wedding liquor too!"

And then they poured a little liquor on the ground. If one does not pour a little liquor on the ground, something unpleasant is sure to happen.

And people traveling with small children—women—nurse their babies there, but they don't unbundle them. Instead, they crouch down beside the sleds on their knees to feed them. And they take out a breast and place it in the baby's mouth. And this is

how they can wind up with frozen breasts. The breasts become swollen and cause the woman great pain. But this account does not discuss much other than the young couple. And in this place they used to *joik* a little the *háldi* spirits of the land as follows:

*Thanks be
to the slender beautiful háldi girls
Voya voya nana nana
Who have been so kind
As to guard our church-going driving reindeer
So that they were not injured going down the steep slope
Voya voya voya voya
nana nana nana
Thanks be to the beloved háldi women
Voya nana nana
Continue to guard them,
Voya voya nana nana
Our reindeer
Voya voya nana nana nana*

And then they set off driving again. And Máhtte placed Márjá's reindeer behind his. And so they drove on until they came to a place where our trail merged with that of another *siida*. And there were many people driving there, and among them, Niillas and Elle. And they hadn't gotten married yet. And they kept driving a little while until it began to grow dark. Then they called a halt and started to make a fire. And the geldings they unharnessed and tied to a birch tree so that they could have something to eat. And the geldings started to graze in this way: they paw or scrape the snow off the ground and then find good food to eat.

And some others started the fire. People back then didn't have matches like nowadays. They had other methods of making fire. First there was flint and tinder and sulphur. And the flint and tinder were placed side by side, and one struck the flint with a fire striker and the flint gave off a spark and that caught the tinder on fire. And the tinder was placed in a sulphur bowl and the sulphur caught fire and that caught the birch bark on fire as well. And the birch has always been the Sámi's best tree. And even today people will use birch wood in this way when making a fire. These people didn't have any pieces of dry pine wood along; they had brought birch bark along instead. And so they started to build the fire. But the birch branches had become so icy that they wouldn't burn and they couldn't get the fire going. And then Nuvttte arrived—he had a lazy gelding and couldn't keep up with those who had the best reindeer. And there were some others with Nuvttte as well. And when Nuvttte saw that they were having trouble getting a fire going, he told them:

“Dig up some dwarf birch twigs from under the snow: they will be thawed. Those that are under snow do not get icy.”

And so they dug up some dwarf birch branches from under the snow. And then they were able to make a fire easily. And when they had gotten the fire going, they placed a pot filled with snow over the fire so that they could have some water. And when the snow had melted, Máhtte put some meat in the pot to boil. They didn't have coffee back then, but they had liquor instead. And they drank some liquor.

And now there were many people there. And since they could not all fit around one fire, they made another fire. And the people around that other fire had children. Elle's sister was a young woman and she had a little baby. Her name was Biret. And when they got that other fire going, Biret unbundled her baby. And the baby had wet itself, as babies will do, with pee and poop, and she had to undress it, even though it was cold and snowy out. And when the baby was undressed and out of its *gietskka*, the wind blew snow up into Biret's eyes and into the *gietskka* as well. And sometimes it blew smoke and embers from the fire every which way, including onto the baby, so that the poor little baby could hardly make a sound. And sometimes the embers blew into the baby's eyes, and one of its cheeks got so badly burned that it developed a blister there. And the baby cried hard, and Biret didn't have any alternative but to put the baby back in its *gietskka*. And a lot of snow had blown into the *gietskka*, but when she beat the bedclothes with sticks, the snow came out and then she had to put the baby in the *gietskka* very quickly. But then she remembered that Nuvtte was along, and so she called out:

"Uncle Nuvtte, come here!"

And Nuvtte came and looked at what had happened, and he chided her for not having called earlier. And he told them to split a bone that had marrow in it and to take the marrow and spread it on a piece of cloth and then placed that on the burn.

"There is no better treatment for that here" said Nuvtte.

And they did this all quickly. And they had to get the baby back in the *gietskka* quickly, because it was so snowy and windy. And when Biret had gotten the baby into the *gietskka*, she started to nurse the baby, and one of her breasts became frozen, and it started to hurt so badly that she couldn't get to sleep. But the others all went to sleep one on top of the other. And Nillas and Elle slept very near each other, and they kept plenty warm.

And when it was near the crack of dawn, they started to build fires again. And when they got the fires going, they started to warm up the food again and eat. And some went off to tie the geldings to different trees, so that they could graze some more. That place where they had been tied up the night before had become all pawed over, although they had been moved to a different tree already once during the night. But a gelding will eat a lot in one night. And once they had all eaten, Biret asks Nuvtte whether she should change the baby, since it was so cold out. And Nuvtte says:

"A baby can't manage without being changed."

So Biret changed the baby again. And the burn had already healed. And now the wind was not blowing so hard, although it was still very cold. But since the wind wasn't blowing so hard, it wasn't so bad for the baby. And she cared for the baby. And she told Nuvtte that her breast was very sore and painful so that "I couldn't get any sleep." And then Nuvtte says:

“Show me.”

And when he saw it, he said:

“You’ve gotten a frozen breast.”

And then he took out of his chest pocket a *stálonásti* medal and lightly pressed it to her breast. And then the pain stopped within a day but not sooner.

And by now it was quite light again, and they started to pack up the sleds and harness the geldings. And when the geldings were all harnessed, the girls started to *joik* as Sámi have a custom of doing: when they are setting off somewhere, the girls must *joik*. And so they begin:

Voya voya voya voya

nana nana nana

And now the parish driving reindeer

canter like a flock of flying birds

Voya voya voya

nana nana nana

Great and long-legged,

When they set off galloping,

There is nothing to see but a smoke of snow spray

Voya voya voya

nana nana nana

And they speed

like a wild rapids

Voya nana nana nana nana

And so off they drove. And when the geldings saw that the people had taken their seats in the sleds, they charged off, and went like a flock of birds. But here the trail was so level that everyone remained in their sleds [i.e., no one got thrown out]. And when they came in sight of the church, they came to a halt and waited until everyone had come together. And when everyone had arrived, they began to drink liquor again. And some got a little drunk and some of the guys began to quarrel and make accusations, and they nearly came to blows. But old man Ándaras forbade it, saying that they mustn’t argue.

“It is not like that; those are just lies; I will tell you all about this matter later on.”

And so the guys stopped. And then they started driving again and came to the village. And the name of that village is Márkan—that is what the Sámi call that church village. And they went into the little cabins and some went into the *goadit* there in the church village. The Sámi of old had had to build these *goadit* because there were too few cabins.

And when morning came, Máhtte and Márjá went to see the minister. And old man Ándaras informed him that they had come to be married. And that was a Sunday morning. And when they were done eating breakfast, they started to dress in their wedding clothes. And when everything was ready, they went off to the minister’s.

Máhtte is still afraid that the minister is going to take his Márjá away from him, but he went there anyway. And when they got there, the minister starts reading the prayers:

“I take Márjá as my wife and will love her in good times and bad.”

And then Máhtte became upset that the minister was going to take Márjá. And he swore at him:

“There’s no way in hell I’m giving you Márjá: she’s mine! Ándaras gave her to me and I’m not giving her away!”

And he started to tug at Márjá’s arm, wanting her to leave with him. But Márjá was a sensible girl and she didn’t leave. She understood well enough that Máhtte was making a fool of himself. And when Márjá wouldn’t leave, Máhtte thought that she was also planning to desert him. And he walked out. And the minister had to stop the ceremony and call out:

“You’re getting Márjá, not I!”

The minister could hear that Máhtte was afraid that he wanted Márjá for himself.

And Máhtte went outside and he was afraid that the minister wanted Márjá for himself. And he was crying. Máhtte had very little book learning, although he had been confirmed; back then one didn’t have to learn to read much when preparing for confirmation. But Márjá was good at reading and she knew these prayers. And when Márjá came out of the church, her first task was to teach Máhtte to read the marriage prayers. And when Máhtte had read and learned them and understood what they meant, then the two of them returned to the minister on another day and the minister also instructed Máhtte on how he should respond. And then the ceremony began. And now Máhtte knew what to do. And the minister completed the wedding ceremony.

And when it was over, they left the church and started to celebrate the wedding feast. They had nothing else but liquor and meat and milk. And so they drank, everyone who wanted to or was able. And they became drunk and everyone in the cabin started *joiking*. And the guys put their arms around the girls and *joiked* so that no one could hear anything. And some cried and *joiked*:

*Voya voya nana nana
So warm and fine is my bride*

And the girls *joiked* the boys:

*Voya voya nana nana
They are so good-looking and so capable
Voya voya nana nana
They went as fast as a flying bird,
They ran right alongside their reindeer
Voya voya nana nana*

And that whole night no one slept. And a foot of snow had fallen that Sunday. And so Nuvtte said that they would be rich, since they had snow on their wedding day. And that was a belief of Sámi back then, as it is even now.

And when it got too warm in the cabin, some went out and fell asleep outside. And it snowed so much that those sleeping outside got all covered in snow so that they couldn't be found but by digging them out of the snow.

The Wedding of Niillas and Elle

Niillas hadn't dared get married before Máhtte was properly married himself. And when they saw that Máhtte had married, Niillas and Elle went to get married too. But since Sunday was over the minister wouldn't marry them, because a day had to pass, but they got the minister to publish the banns. And so they weren't able to get married that year. But they moved in together and lived together like other married couples. The Sámi don't make it a practice to go to the church village more than once a year.

Niillas was the richest guy around and Elle was wealthy too. And people were good to them: they wanted Niillas and Elle to have a wedding, but they did not consider it a great evil that they lived together before getting married. But their intent had been announced at any rate.

Niillas was a hot-tempered guy and Elle was a very sensible person. Elle wondered how she could get along with so well with Niillas, when he was so hot-tempered. But she saw that he was good again once his anger had passed. And he was from a rich family and people back then cared a lot about what sort of family line one came from. They had seen that if one came from a poor family line, then nearly all the next generation would be poor too. And if one came from a prosperous line, nearly all of the next generation would be prosperous too, unless they did something wrong or began to steal. Those that do wrong grow poor. And if they don't become poor in their own lives, then their children will be poor instead.

A family line is like a river. It is as if a river were as long as a family line. And one river has grass growing along it right from its source down its entire length. And another river may flow from off the same mountain, and it may be just as long, but it has no grass at its source or along its course. And that is how it is with family lines. And if the trees in a certain place grow with lots of branches, fine straight branches, then subsequent trees in that same area will do so as well. But if an area gives rise of ugly, misshapen trees, then it will go on to produce ugly trees: some will die off and others will grow in, but they will also be ugly. And so it is with family lines as well. And that is why the Sámi took into account what sort of family one was from. And that is why Niillas was valued, because he came from a prosperous family.

When the next year came round, Niillas and Elle went to Márkan to get married. And all of their friends came along to take part in the wedding. And when they set out they took two *goadit* along and many geldings and sleds. And when they left for the wedding, they got dressed up in their most beautiful clothes which Sámi have: silk kerchiefs and silk caps, and silver studded belts and and fine cloth *gáktit* and multicolored beads and silver buttons and silver buckles with which to fasten their

kerchiefs. And they had snow-white coats and white gloves and white shoes as well! And the bridesmaids also had to get dressed up in fine clothes, and the groomsmen as well.

And so they set off to see the minister. And three couples must walk before the couple getting married and three couples after them. And these must all be just girls and boys. And many other family members and friends follow behind. And when they come to the church, a groomsman must carry the groom's cap, and when the minister begins the ceremony, a four-cornered cloth is spread out over the heads of the bride and groom, with one person holding each corner until the minister has completed the ceremony. And when they come back from the wedding, the groomsman must hold the groom's cap, and the same couples process out both in front and in back.

So they come back to the cabin where some of them are staying, and some are staying in the *goadit* that they had brought along, and then the wedding feast began. And there was a hard wind and there came snow squalls, but in between it was clear and warm. And the Sámi pay attention to what sort of weather it is [during any important event]. And then they started to eat and drink at the wedding feast, and many people came. And Niillas had bought a lot of liquor. And he had many relatives and friends and acquaintances. But some guys became resentful that they had not gotten Elle for themselves. And a young woman named Ánne had thought that Niillas would marry her. But when she saw that Niillas did not care to do so, she started to tell lots of lies about Niillas, including that Niillas had slept with her, and she told this to Elle, too. But Elle just said:

“You were a good girl to give Niillas what he needed and I will certainly pay you for it.”

And then Ánne was not pleased with herself at all. She had told everyone that Niillas had seduced her. But when Elle said this to her, she didn't tell anyone. And roguish types teased her, asking:

“How much did Elle pay you for helping her out?”

And then she became ashamed and didn't want to talk about it anymore.

And then they started to eat and drink. And when the feast started, the young couple took their places behind the table and they had to remain there for as long as the wedding lasted. And many people became drunk and started to *joik* like this:

Voya voya voya voya
nana nana nana nana
Now we're having a wedding
Voya voya voya
nana nana nana
The richest guy in the parish
*Has gotten his wings clipped*²⁹

²⁹ The actual idiom used in the joik means “has gotten snared;” the sense is that he is no longer free but now bound in marriage ties.

Voya voya voya
nana nana nana
And now we will have a little to drink
Voya voya voya voya
nana nana nana nana
And that beautiful Elle
shines like a starry sky
Voya voya voya
nana nana nana
Now there have been changes in the parish
Voya voya voya
nana nana nana
Who will become our parish star?
Voya voya voya nana nana nana
And I wish them good fortune
Voya voya voya
nana nana nana

And now they all *joiked* at the same time so that one couldn't hear a thing. And the the guys started to bicker among themselves and they got into a fight so that people had to go and break them up, and give them a talking to, so that they would stop. And they did stop. There was one who had to be tied up and kept like that until his head cleared.

And then came the time when people gave their wedding presents. And they gave money, silver, and reindeer. And a master of ceremonies was always chosen who was honest and had a good memory. And their custom was to not accept too much in the way of gifts from anyone: a drunken person will tend to give much more than one ought. And that is why the master of ceremonies must have a good memory: he must keep track of how much each person gave and who promised reindeer. And every time someone gives them a gift, the bride and groom hugs that person around the neck and gives thanks for the gift and wishes the person good fortune, and the master of ceremonies likewise wishes the giver good fortune now and in the world to come. And there is another person there who serves all the liquor. And they serve the best liquor once the gifts had been given.

And when the wedding has come to its end, the master of ceremonies makes a little speech and sings a hymn from the hymnbook. And the speech consists of him wishing good fortune to the young couple and to all the wedding guests. And the bride and groom thank the guests for having come to celebrate with them "the good fortune that God has granted us, when he saw that it was not good for man to be alone and so gave him woman as his partner." And when the master of ceremonies has done all these things everyone thanks him in turn, wedding guests, groom, and bride. And so the wedding ends and everyone heads toward his own home.

A Further Account of Máhtte and Márjá and of Niillas and Elle

Now Máhtte and Márjá had grown older, and they were wealthy and had four children. And they lived peacefully and avoided from stealing. And they weren't too wise; Márjá at least was not so stupid, but they weren't very popular with people. And once when they were alone in the *siida*, Márjá gave birth to a baby, and there was no one to help. Máhtte had to manage it on his own and take care of both his wife and the newborn baby. And their oldest was seven years old and helped a little. And the herd went untended, and wolves came and attacked the herd. And Máhtte knew that there were wolves out attacking the reindeer around the *goahti*, but he couldn't leave the *goahti*, with his wife just having had her baby. And there was a man skiing near the *goahti* at just that time, but he didn't know of Máhtte's need and so he didn't come to the *goahti* to help out. He thought to himself:

"I won't go to Máhtte's *goahti*; time drags there. I'll go to Niillas's *goahti* instead, for Niillas has a charming wife and he is friendly himself as well."

And Niillas's wife had also just had a baby, but Niillas had gotten people to come. He knew how to count the months to tell when his wife was due to give birth, and that was a help to him, too. And he was part of a larger *siida* group, and the other *siida* members watched the herd. And he and his wife were on good terms with everyone, although Niillas was hot-tempered and sometimes got into arguments with everyone. But he always made things right in the end, and was so good to people that he couldn't even think of what good he should do. And Elle was a very good person: she gave food to people who came by and was friendly and people treated her well. And Niillas was also good-natured and people treated him well, although Niillas often lost his temper during round-up time. But he didn't stay angry for long, and everyone listened when he needed their help.

And one time Niillas had gone off to Márkan without his Elle, and he got so drunk that he didn't know a thing. And they stole all his money. And when he got back on his feet and was sober again, he saw what had happened, but he didn't know what to do and who had robbed him. And he got drunk again and then in a rage started to pick fights with other drunks. And he got into a fight and got so beaten up that his arm was out of commission and he had a big hole in his head. They were not Sámi who did this, but Norwegians. And he couldn't buy anything because all his money was gone. But people bought things for him and brought him back to his *siida*. And when Elle heard what had happened, she said:

"One must take the bad with the good, and now the good is near."

And Niillas was so relieved at that that he forgot everything else. And they sent for Nuvtte's daughter Sárá, who had learned healing from her father. And when she came, she did what her father usually did in such cases, and Niillas's arm was soon well again. And then he promised not to go drinking anymore, and also, that he would never go to Márkan alone again. If he hadn't left Elle back home, none of this would have happened to him.

And another year, Niillas was off wandering on his own, and he came upon an old buried treasure. There was a lot of money there and no name saying whose it was. And so he took all that money for himself.

Now that Máhtte found himself in such a bind, he thought to himself that he had certainly been crazy to separate from the rest of the *siida* when his wife was expecting. And both of them were so dimwitted that they didn't know how much time passes before a woman gives birth. But then old Ándaras's younger daughter came to visit her sister. And when she got there, Márjá was so ill that she couldn't even recognize her own sister. And so she set off at once to bring more people. And Márjá remained ill for three months after that. And the wolves killed forty head of reindeer. And the herd became so hungry that the reindeer became exhausted. And this may serve as a warning not to be in a *siida* all by oneself when one's wife is expecting.

Although he did not become poor as a result of this all, still his wife became sickly thereafter; she had had to get back on her feet before she was fully recovered. And she had gotten chilled, so that she suffered from chills ever after and was never quite the same again.

Joiking Begins

A Young Man's *Luohti*

So cunning

Nana nana nana

voya voya nana nana nana

Nobody knew

if he was fish or fowl

Voya voya voya nana nana nana

So cunning voya voya nana

He grazed his big bell reindeer down below,

Voya voya nana nana

A hideout for boys

when in need

When they are discovered stealing

Voya voya nana nana

And the guys all wanted that guy along because he was so cunning. And at that time the Sámi were striving against each other somewhat, and stealing from each other, and spying on each other when they were stealing. And in this way they often got caught in the act of stealing. And then one needed a way to get out of it. And that's why they all wanted this cunning guy, and the guys all called him their king. And everyone treated him well, and he was not a thief himself, although he was not entirely honest either. But he was never gossiped about behind his back. Nor did he allow the people he was with to

steal too much. And people knew that they wouldn't steal that much when that guy was along. But he never prevented them from stealing a reindeer for eating.

He was poor at lassoing, but at running he was so fast that he could catch up with a reindeer. And he had such endurance that he could keep on running for an entire beanagullan. But he didn't tend to run very hard when people were watching. But once they happened to see him when he didn't know they were looking, when he was running after some small groups of fleeing reindeer that were running against the wind with all their might. And one needs to be fast if one has a poor dog. A dog can head a herd off in such a run if the dog has the wits and the will.

And the girls used to *joik* this guy as well:

*With one word he found a heart
Voya voya voya voya
He was so cunning;
if he stole
then it fell on the others' heads
Voya voya voya
nana nana nana*

Here Begins the Reindeer *Luohti*

*Silky throated, silky throated,
Voya voya voya voya
nana nana nana nana
Running like rays of sunlight
Voya voya voya
nana nana nana
Little calves grunting
Voya voya voya voya
nana nana nana nana
And whirling, whirling
Voya voya voya voya
nana nana nana nana*

Joiking is such that if it is really artful, it is very pleasant to listen to: tears nearly come to one's eyes while listening. But if it is that kind of *joiking* that includes swearing and gnashing of teeth and threats to kill reindeer or even their owners, then it is terrible to hear.

THE EVENT WHICH IS CALLED THE GUOVDAGEAIDNU ERROR

This Event which is Called the Guovdageaidnu Error, Occurred in the Year 1852

L. L. Laestadius was a minister and a preacher, and he was very harsh and zealous, and gifted and persuasive. But he did not have the Holy Spirit in him before he received it through a Sámi girl. And he read the scriptures on his own and discovered the pathway to heaven, the grace of eternal life. And he was a harsh and dedicated preacher. He preached a harsh law and judgment and the Gospel, preaching, as it is said in the Bible, like a man fighting with a double-edged sword. And if one is not careful to strike in the same way with both edges, or at least to do so as much as one is able, then it can lead to dangers. And it was as if Laestadius used one edge more of the time than the other, because there arose a great confusion from his preaching, which contained too harsh a law and judgment. And when there were many people gathered from many different parishes, he kept preaching and influencing them until they experienced a spiritual awakening.

And since he was alone in his preaching, he wasn't able to give advice and guidance in every place. And some people from Guovdageaidnu heard him preach and then returned home. And now they were awakened from their sinful torpor, and they felt that he had preached to them the law and the gospel. But it was as if he had preached the law more than the gospel, for the zeal for the law went to these people's heads. They were very fervent, and Christianity was uppermost in their hearts. And they started to preach themselves, spreading the same harsh law in all its zeal that had led to their awakening. But since Laestadius could not be there to instruct and lead them, as one does for a child who is just learning to walk, then they themselves took the oars and started rowing in the wrong direction. There's a saying that he who would fly before his wings can bear him will land in a dunghill. This is what happened to them, and such happens even today both with spiritual and with worldly matters.

An Account of Those who Went to Guovdageaidnu after being Converted by Laestadius's Words

They lost all sense, those people, and they started to imitate Laestadius. They preached and condemned all those who would not follow them. And soon they had a little flock. And they became harsher as time went by. And they became so fervent that they abandoned their own *siiddat* and started to go to other *siiddat* and preached to them what they had heard Laestadius preach. But the only thing they remembered was to condemn to hell all who didn't join them and start preaching in a similar fashion. And once they had attracted more people, they became even harsher and they lost their minds even more. And they began to force people to follow them. When they couldn't win people over by condemning them, they began to strike them and condemn them to hell, cursing and mocking those who would not assent.

And when a little time had gone by, they started to glorify themselves by saying:
 “I am higher than you.” And another would say:

“I am even higher.”

And the other would reply:

“I am as high as God.”

A third would say:

“I am even higher than God.”

And they declared that they must defeat the entire world:

“If we cannot win in any other way, then we will wage war, and we will defeat the entire world.”

They had already threatened to start a war, but people had not believed them. But the Sámi became frightened, because they saw how they pestered those who would not join their movement. And it finally went so far in this way that some people had to pledge themselves to this movement against their wills in order to get free from their pestering. And then they had to start condemning and cursing at those unconverted people who did not go along with them.

And they were lost in this fog for many years and their following grew larger and larger. And then the movement grew bigger and bigger to some fifty in number and so their leaders got into an even greater fog, so much so that they began to take upon themselves the role of executioner. And this deed of darkness occurred because the law had gone to their heads. And they started to kill the high class people first. And then it was war for real. But there were some Sámi who began to battle against them.

It was in the church village of Guovdageaidnu that they started to burn and kill people. They managed to kill a storekeeper and a constable. But a Sámi got away from them and set off for another little village named Ávži. And they started to gather together people from the nearby *siiddat*. And when they had gotten some people together, they all set off at once, women too. And they set out on this journey during the night. And one can well imagine that it was not pleasant to be driving toward that church village. And they arrived in the morning just as it was getting light. They tied their geldings to the outside of a fence. And they had staffs as their weapons of war.

They were the smaller contingent, yet they feared nothing except that the others might have found the shopkeeper's rifle. And they had found it indeed, but that didn't matter: they had to go on, regardless of whether they would be killed or not. But the question remained: who dared be the first to go in? And then the two toughest and biggest men went in. One of these men was named O.O. Thuuri, and the other was named Juffu.

And when they came in sight, the guards saw them and called out:

“Here comes the army: let us set forth and we shall surely win!”

And they set off running and shouting as hard as they could. And when came forward, they started clubbing their adversaries. And then the people who had sense saw that they needed to defend their lives. And so they too began clubbing in the battle. And they beat them like wolves.

And they fought so that they were doing well. But they shot O.O. Thuuri. But they didn't have any shot for the gun, only powder. He said that it had only made his coat black where they shot him. I have heard this from him many times; I am his son, and he has told all about these events countless times. And this war was war for real. They beat some senseless, and others they tied up.

And when the war was over, and they had tied the people up, they set off running to see if the minister was still alive. And when they came to the parsonage, they saw that all the windows were broken and that there was a guard at every window and that much firewood had already been gathered [for burning the place down]. And when O. Thuuri came up there, he called out in a loud voice—he had this voice that was like thunder—it startled people when he yelled suddenly. He called out:

“Is the minister still alive?”

They answered:

“He is alive, but he is tied up.”

And then he roared even more menacingly:

“Let him go, and fast, if you want things to go well with you!”

And they let him go. And then he [Thuuri] ran all over the place checking whether there was danger anywhere. And when the minister had gotten free he ran up to Thuuri and hugged him and cried out in a loud voice, thanking him for coming to save his life.

And so they had won.

Indeed one of the crazed people was killed in that battle, but the law did not hold them accountable for that.

And they sent the captured people to the Norwegian authorities. And the trial was held in Norway, at Álaheadju or Bossogohppi. And it lasted every day for the entire winter. And some of the crazed people fled to the mountains with their whole *siiddat*, when they saw that they were not as strong and they had thought they were. And an order came from the crown that they had to capture everyone. And so people set off and brought that entire *siida* back. And the crown sold their herds by auction. And those beautiful reindeer were bought by many people from around here, including Sámi from Čohkkeras.

After much examination they figured out exactly what had happened, and then they condemned some people to long prison terms: twelve years or six years. And two were executed just as they had killed two, the constable and the shopkeeper. A life for a life and a tooth for a tooth. And some of them became very well educated, and one was such that he translated many books from Norwegian to Sámi and because of his learning he was very suited to become a minister. But because he had committed so great a crime, the law would not let it be so. And the minister who had almost lost his life would not permit it by any means. And he had already become a bishop, and so he had great power to prevent it by law, and he easily got his way on this matter.

A Further Account of how the Guovdageaidnu Gentry were Unable to Resist those Crazy Sámi, who Beat them and Eventually Killed them.

It had been going this way for many years with the crazed people: they would make these same threats to defeat the entire world. And the highclass people knew that they would never defeat anyone except for a few of the craziest Sámi, as indeed happened. Yet they were dangerous after all. But the Guovdageaidnu gentry didn't believe that they would act so harshly or show them such hatred. If they had believed their threats then they would have gotten weapons ready and perhaps even had some soldiers on hand, who could have dispersed the entire mob. But they didn't believe it in the least. And when they heard that these people had begun the war for real, and people told them to get some help, they replied that they had heard this all before, and that nothing worse or more dangerous was afoot this time. And disbelief is something that makes things come out otherwise than they might.

And when the crazed ones came to the church village called Guovdageaidnu, they were overbearing and domineering toward everyone, and toward the upper class in particular. They beat them like they were thieving dogs. And they chased the late Rude up into a hayloft and stabbed him in the shoulder and killed him there. And his blood ran down through the loft slats. And then they burned his whole house down. And then there was the other that they killed and burned! And in this way they committed these tragic deeds. And the minister they tortured so piteously that it cannot be told. They bound him and beat him so hard that he lost consciousness at times.

And when these crazed ones returned from their prison terms, they were very poor and had no reindeer at all. So they had to start working for other Sámi, although they had almost forgotten how to do Sámi work. But they had no alternative but to start again with the same work that they had learned when they were young. That came back to them the fastest. And their relatives helped, too, giving them a little something—some clothes and some food—until they could start to work and earn their own living. And some of them got married.

That minister became such a friend of Thuuri's, that he wished to be godfather to his son. And so he did, and he was this writer's godfather, that minister by the name of Foslet [Hvoslef].

AN ACCOUNT OF THE UNKNOWN ANIMALS OF THE SÁMI HOMELAND

The Sámi homeland is the place where these animals are found. And people don't know for sure how these animals manage. But people know indeed that there are animals—worthless animals—that can live in places where no other animals can live. And people will not let these animals into better places, although they can't understand how they manage to survive in the places where they are. People won't let these animals go

anywhere, and people think that they shouldn't be allowed in the ranges where they have been up till now. They just have to manage with less space.

"They just have to manage with less space. If we find some land that we can live on [there in Sápmi], we need it for ourselves. Let us scare them away from those lands that we have found where we can live! They can live on those lands that we have no use for. Indeed, these animals used to live on all these good lands, but our ancestors scared them all off. They are easy to scare off, for they are very timid. It is of no danger, although they don't manage very well, nor do they need to increase. Nor is it of any danger even if they manage poorly and endure hardships. They are used to such a life."

People have never really gone to investigate, although they have looked at them from afar with binoculars and know that there are animals there and that they are living, but people can't understand exactly how they manage to do so. Some people think that they live quite well. And some people certainly wish that these animals live well, as they are animals that do no one any harm. But some people view them as nuisances, and tell others who don't know any better that these animals are a nuisance. And so there is a desire to get rid of them. But another group—guardians of the state—will not give their permission to get rid of them as yet. And a further group of people could not fail to be moved in their hearts if they knew in what difficulty and deprivation these animals struggle. They would cry many times over when thinking of the suffering, hunger, and cold that these animals endure.

But other people would certainly kill them all off if they had permission to do so, like so many moose-elk. But since they don't have the permission to kill them, they have to let them live. But they convince the guardians of the state to give their permission to oppress them more and more, so that their land grows smaller at every turn. And if things continue in this way as it has up till now, with their lands growing smaller at every turn, then these animals will certainly die off, after much suffering that violates the laws against cruelty to animals.

And if these animals only had an owner who understood how much they suffer, perhaps he would buy them some additional land. But since they have no such proper owner, they must simply suffer in this way right to death, and that is certainly tragic for anyone who considers and understands the situation.

But this writer hopes that grace may shine in their eyes as in those of other animals of the land, who have been created by the one and the same God. May they come in the end into God's embrace, like a child in its mother's arms, wherein lies its greatest protection.

ILLUSTRATIONS

The 1910 edition of *Muitalus* contained fourteen illustrations, along with a Danish commentary provided by Emilie Demant. The commentary was grouped together at the back of the volume, with the illustrations immediately following as a group. Most, but not all, images spanned two pages. The Nash translation reproduced these illustrations and Demant's commentary, although in a different order than in the original. In the following, the original order of the 1910 edition has been restored. Illustrations which spanned two pages in the original have been reduced so that they each fit on a single page, with the translated commentary placed on the facing page for ease of reference. In her descriptions, Demant frequently refers to the top, left-hand, bottom, or right-hand sides of the pictures. The reader should view these images by turning the volume ninety degrees: the side which Demant refers to as the "right," in other words, corresponds to the top of the image in this edition. Picture 8, however, is oriented on the page as in the original. This image originally shared a page span with Picture 7.



Illustration 1

On Migration

Here are pictured eight strings of reindeer. The three lowest strings are travelling in a line; the first has passed a river in the valley: one can see the lake which is the river's source, and there are also smaller mountain streams that feed into the lake. The lead reindeer in the first string is carrying a cradle on its side. The lead reindeer in the following string is carrying a child on its back. Two dogs can be seen to the left of the woman who is leading the third string, which is going over a hill. The last reindeer is pulling the tent poles, and a dog is following it. Most of these reindeer have short antlers, which indicates that this is a spring migration; a couple of them have not yet shed their antlers [from the previous year].

The upper five strings illustrate an autumn migration. All of the reindeer have fully grown antlers. A child is riding on the lead reindeer farthest to the right, and the last reindeer of that string is pulling the tent poles. The Sámi who is leading the following string is wearing the four-cornered hat of the Guovdageaidnu district; the other men have the pointed hat and red pom-pom of the Torne herding district. An older child is walking alongside the tent poles of the third, middle string. Turi has also depicted tracks behind the reindeer; one can see that they create a curved trail which the next string will follow. The fifth and lowest string consists of only two reindeer; a child is riding on the second reindeer, with another child following right behind with a staff in its hand and a dog behind. The lead reindeer is carrying a cradle, in which a child lies; a woman stands alongside it and is nursing the infant while another woman holds the reindeer's lead rope. Two old Sámi are following behind them—marvelously characterized—then two children and a puppy.

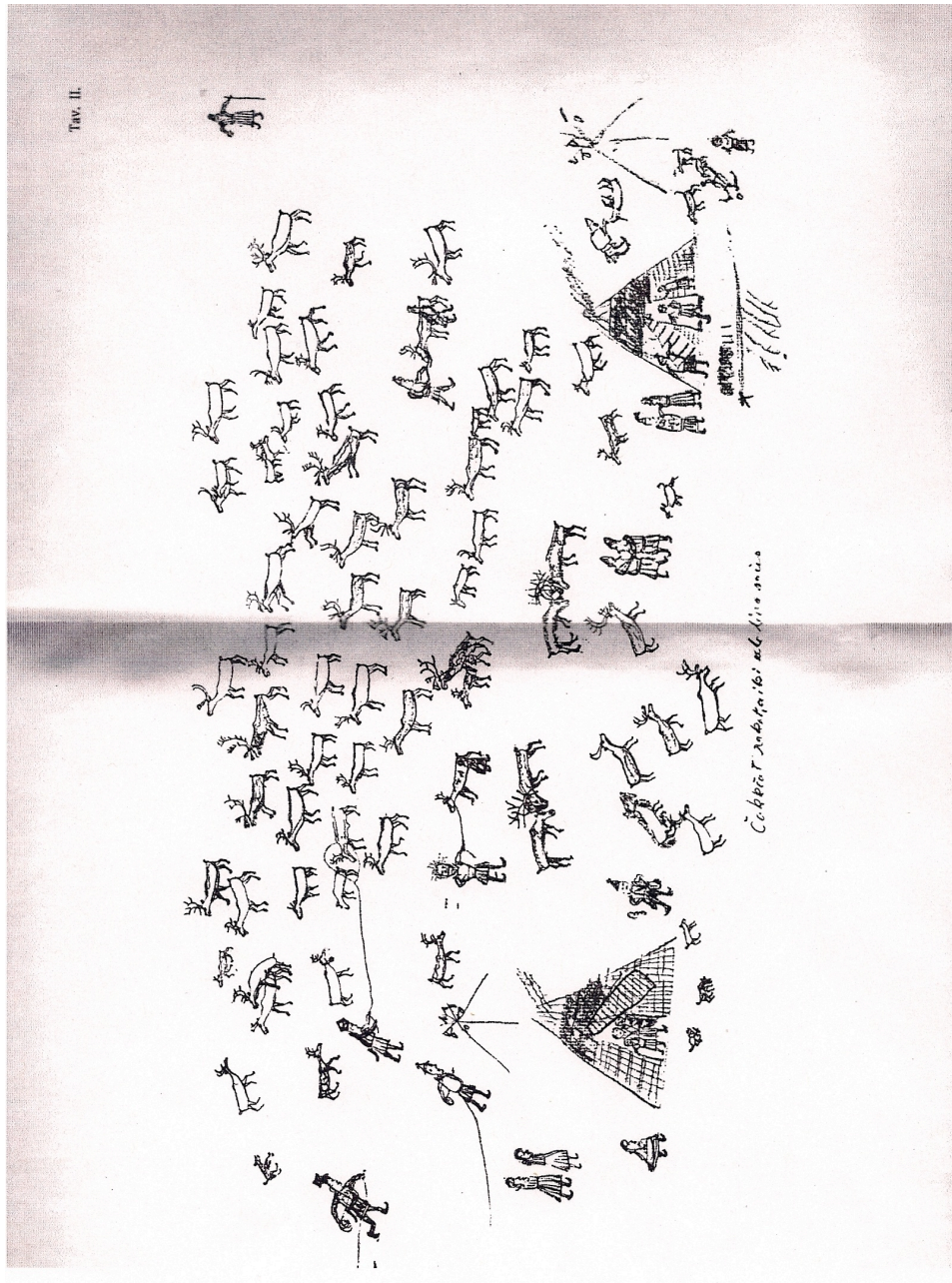


Illustration 2

A Campsite in Autumn

At the bottom of this picture, Turi has written “The herd in the assembly place in the autumn during rut season.” On the upper right-hand side, stands a Sámi on guard so that the reindeer will not wander off. On the upper left-hand side, a dog is keeping the herd together. Along the periphery, a Sámi is running to gather up his lasso for another throw; in front of him another Sámi is just in the act of throwing his lasso around the antlers of a reindeer cow, which is going to be milked; in this season, Sámi milk their reindeer continually. To the right of the Sámi who is casting the lasso, a man is standing holding a reindeer cow, which is being milked by a woman; likewise, farthest to the right, in the middle of the picture, there is another such. At this time of year, the herd is very unruly. The ornery bulls spar with each other and run every which way after the cows. A woodpile stands in front of the *goahti* at the lower right-hand side of the picture; on its inward-facing side lies the chopped wood; on its outward-facing side lies the unchopped. To the right of the *goahti*, a reindeer is being slaughtered; nearby stands a meat rack. There are children and dogs in front of it. Near the *goahti* stand some adults in conversation; to the left of them, two Sámi greet each other, with the traditional embrace. In the little herd of reindeer to the left of them, Turi has tried to draw a white reindeer by shading the background dark; this is a reindeer cow, as can be seen by its small antlers, and it has a bell around its neck. Bells are often placed on reindeer which, for one reason or another, differ from the rest. In the doorway of the *goahti* to the left, and alongside the *goahti*, stand children and adults and a couple of dogs. In front of the *goahti*, a puppy is playing with a stick.

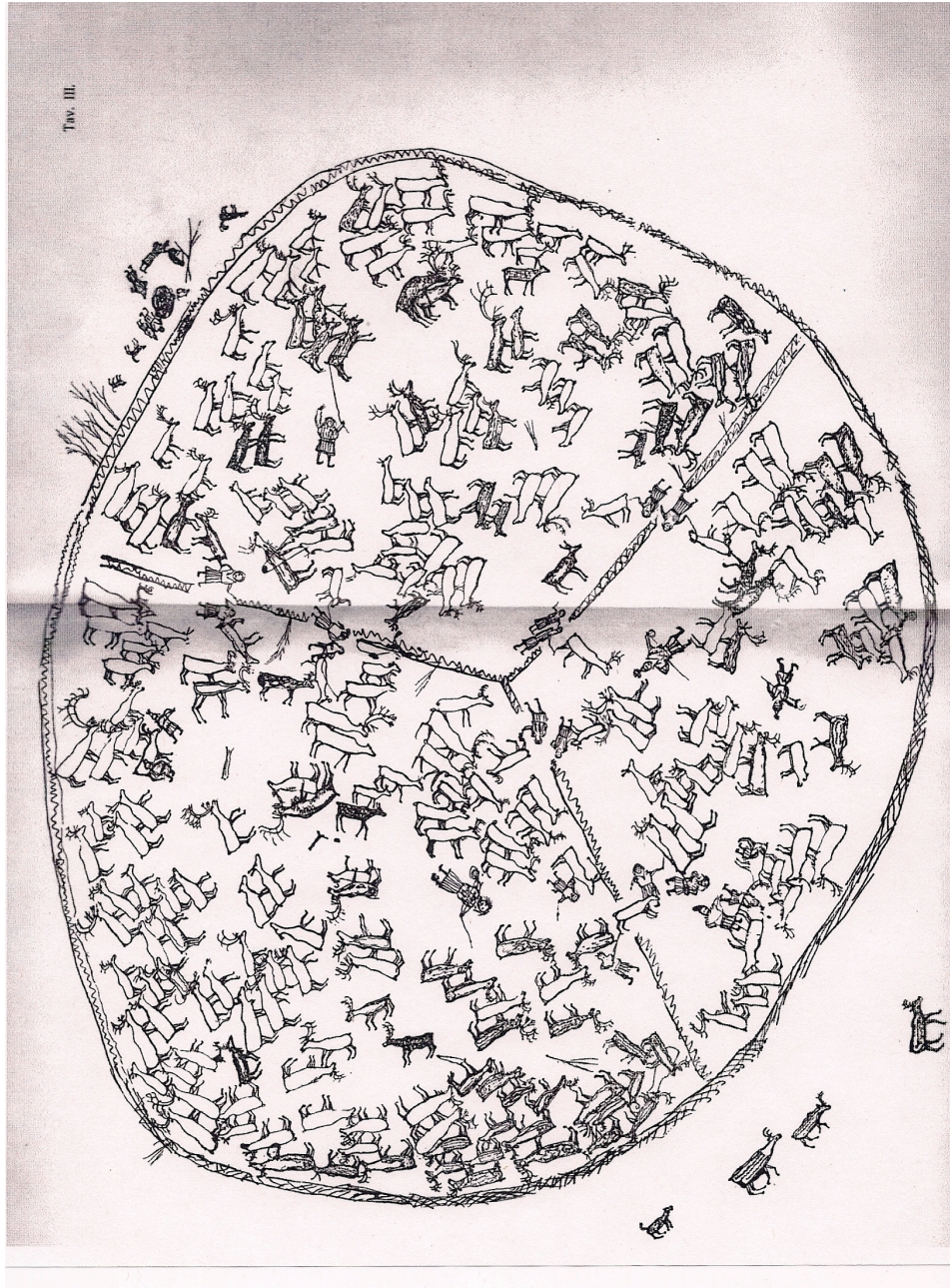


Illustration 3

A Reindeer Corral in Autumn

In the autumn, when the reindeer are moving south, it is impossible to keep the herds from mixing. The various owners then repair an old corral, if it is located in a workable place, or they build a new one, and then they drive into it the entire mixed herd. The separating proceeds as each owner or each *siida* separates out its animals. Such separating takes place several times during the autumn, until all the herds are fully separated.

The circular corral is constructed of intertwined birch trees, with internal partitions dividing the space into as many compartments as needed to keep the herds separated. In the outer barrier one leaves a larger opening through which the reindeer are driven in; then the opening is quickly closed up with cut birch trunks which have been set aside for this purpose. In this picture, the corral has three sectors, and since the reindeer have already been let in, the outer opening has been closed, so that it is no longer visible. Inside the corral itself, there are a few free-standing birch trees and tall tree stumps; these are used when necessary to tie off a lasso rope in order to better control a struggling reindeer which is to be either milked or marked. The separating proceeds as each reindeer is lassoed and transferred to the section of the corral where it belongs; beside the "door" to each sector, one or two guards are posted who are to stop the reindeer from breaking out and mixing again with the other animals. Often women or older children perform this task; but one can also see women lassoing and wrestling down reindeer as skillfully as the men. Two women will often work together, so that one lassos and restrains the reindeer while the other milks. The corral is filled with life and activity: one sees milking and lassoing going on everywhere, reindeer of every age and type are running about here and there in a tight mass. Outside the corral, a dog is chasing three reindeer who have not entered with the rest of the herd. Outside the corral, on the other side, a small group of birch trees is drawn; three dogs are watching with interest the activities inside the corral, from which they have been strictly excluded. The large dark spot is a stone: beside it stand a pair of children who are also watching. A woman is in the process of hanging a cradle with a baby inside on a tree branch, so that she can climb over the barrier unhindered by her infant and take part in the work. Several of the Sámi have lost their hats in the struggle with the reindeer, and their long hair looks wildly disheveled.

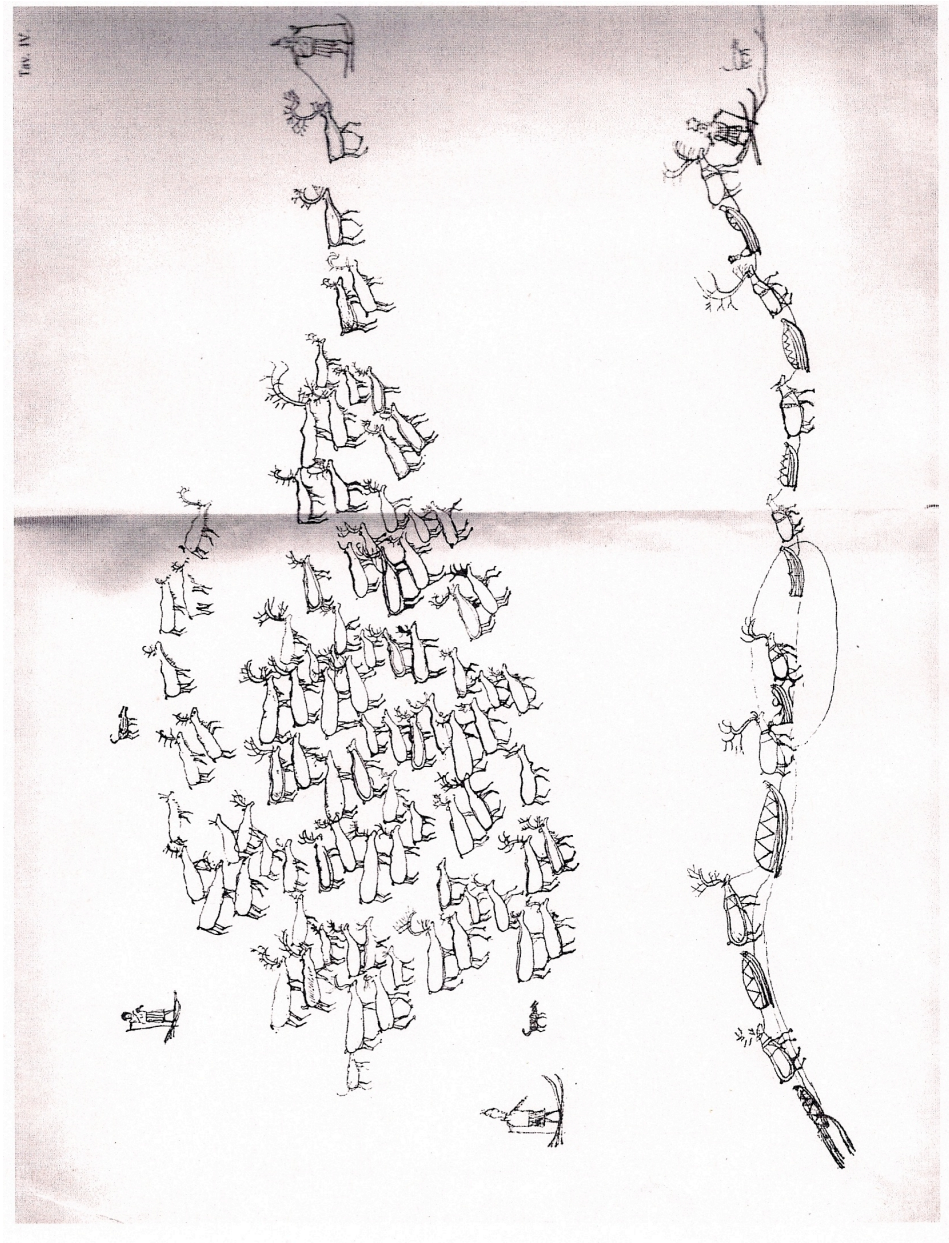
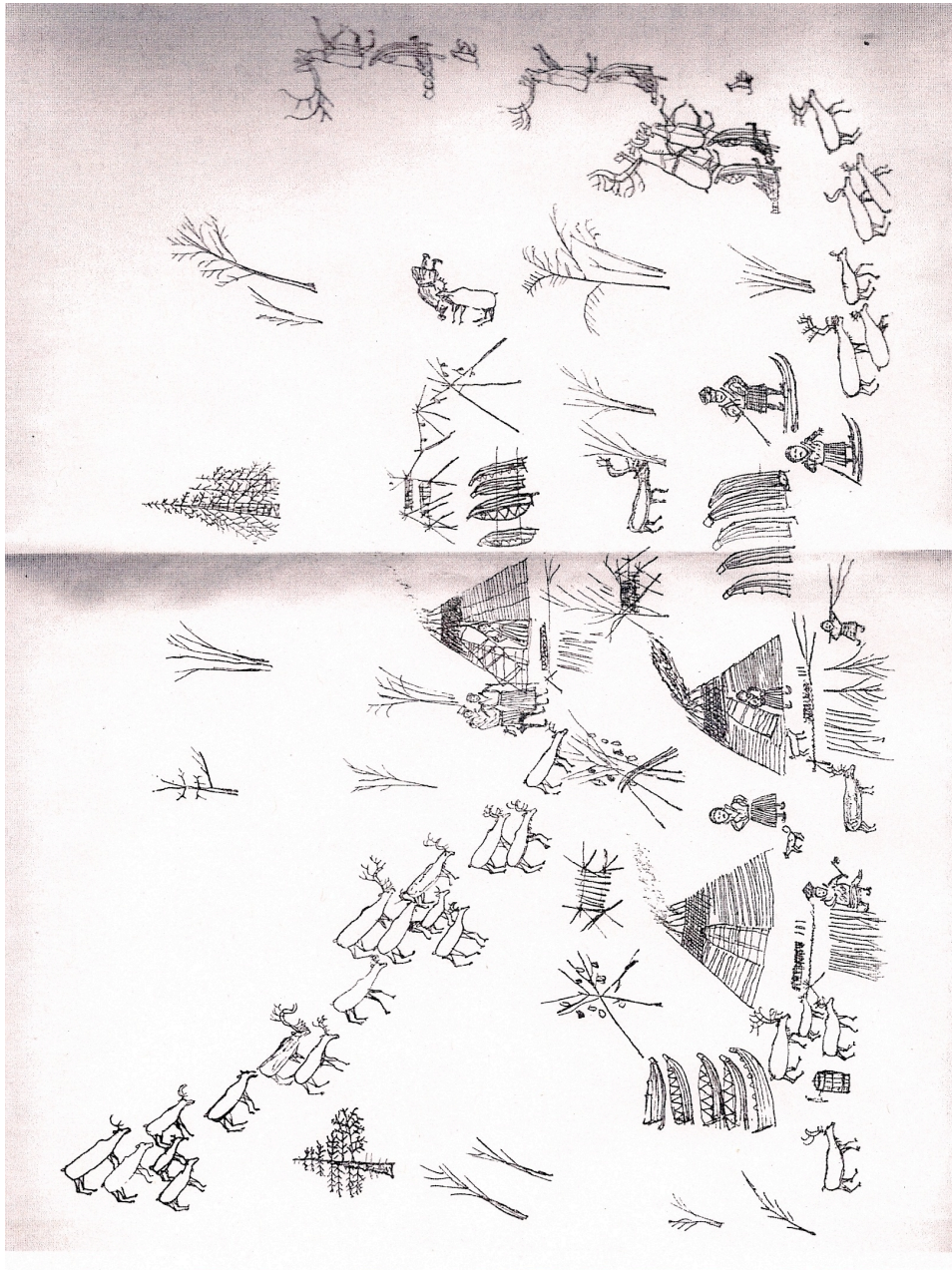


Illustration 4

Winter Migration

Here one can see a *siida* migrating with its herd and caravan of sleds. A Sámi is skiing in front of the herd with the lead reindeer. He is using a snow shovel as his ski staff, with its blade turned upward. A Sámi man and girl are following after the herd and are holding the herd together with their dogs. Below, one sees two lines of sleds: the first is led by a man, with a dog walking in front of him. The tracks indicate that another string has passed this way before. An older child has seated himself in the sled pulled by the lead reindeer. The last sled in the first line is a lidded sled; the others in the string are ordinary pack sleds, covered by reindeer hides tied down on top of the cargo. The second string is being led by a married woman, who is driving a sled with a child; this is the “*goahti* string,” and the last sled is pulling the tent poles along behind it. The circled drawn between the two strings represents a frozen lake. The woman’s sled is tipping upwards in the front, as collides with some obstacle and the last reindeer in the first string is struggling to pull its heavy load up the bank of the lake. When Turi draws Sámi on skis, he often depicts them with their skis crossed, something which seldom happens for Sámi famed for skill in skiing. I wish to point out that the same erroneous detail can be seen in G. v. Düben’s *Om Lappland och Lapparne*, in a hunting scene drawn by a Sámi from Sorsele (figure 74, page 347).



Illustrations 5

A Winter Camp

Turi has written at the top of this drawing "A winter camp is pictured below." This camp consists of three *goahti* dwellings along with their sleds and equipment. That the Sámi have settled in for a longer time is evidenced by the fact that the sleds are lined up side by side atop two tree stumps, like boats that have been pulled ashore. The presence of fir trees also indicate that the people have reached their winter grounds. At the far left, below the reindeer herd, one can see a hefty fir tree, with some smaller birch trees below it. Uppermost in the picture is a dead fir tree; such are much sought after by the Sámi, as they furnish firewood that is easy to light and burns hot. The large spruce tree in the middle, flanked by two smaller trees are, like the other trees, drawn in such detail that they need no further explanation. Alongside the middle *goahti*, a Sámi man is courting young woman; a woman is standing in the *goahti* doorway observing them. A woodpile is depicted in front of the *goahti*; the chopped wood is stacked nearest the door, while a mass of unchopped logs lie on woodpile's other side. To the right, four sleds lie side by side, packed and bound; above them stands a rack with various items hanging. Alongside the meat rack, a reindeer is being slaughtered: the reindeer is lying with its back in the snow, and a Sámi man crouches above it, driving his knife into its chest. At the far right, four Sámi are driving, each in his own sled, drawn by reindeer with particularly large antlers. In the front part of the sleds the packs have been tied down. A pair of dogs follow along behind. Reindeer can be seen moving about all over the campsite: these are reindeer that are fond of licking up urine: such animals frequent the camp when the herd is not kept far off. They thus become more accustomed to seeing people and grow tamer and are easier lead on a line, which makes them especially valued by the Sámi. Turi has depicted daily life as it generally occurs in such a camp. Between the two *goahti* dwellings, some Sámi are on their way to for a neighborly visit over coffee. To the right of the two nearest *goahti*, with the five turned up sleds, a Sámi man is depicted on skis, newly returned from guarding the herd; beneath him stands a girl on skis. To her left a child is bringing some birch wood to the woodpile. Next to the woodpile, a Sámi man stands with an ax in hand and a long knife hanging from his belt. To the left of the two reindeer, there stands a barrel of salted fish. Behind the *goahti*, one can see racks for clothing, and a pair of skis are leaned up against the meat rack. The dark bands at the top of the *goahti* represent the part of the tent fabric most darkened by smoke. One can see from the smoke rising from all three *goahti* that big warm fires are burning within.

Tav. VI.

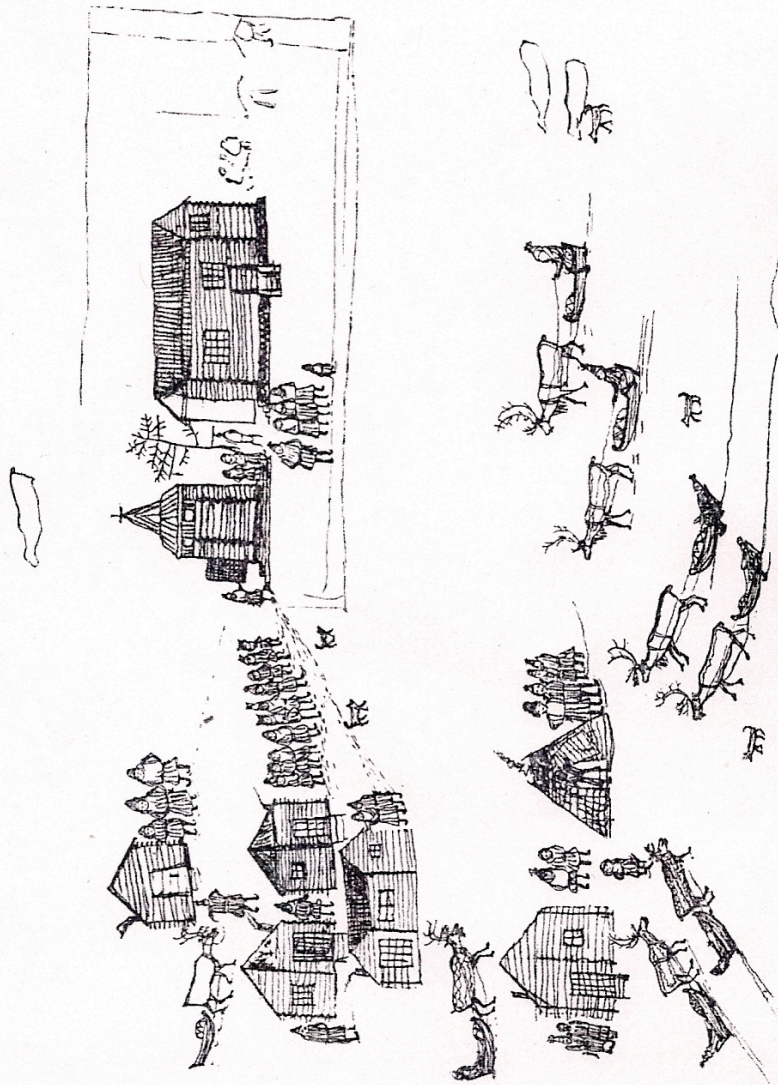


Illustration 6

At the Church Village

Turi has depicted the Torne Sámi's annual church visit to the old church at Jukkasjärvi, called by the Sámi "Susanna's church," in accordance with their custom of naming the church after the first person buried in its churchyard. In olden times, when only a few people lived permanently at the church village, the Sámi erected small log cabins, which they used while staying there. Some also brought *goađit*, which they used as temporary dwellings. The picture contains one *goahti* and five small church cabins. The Sámi are arriving from all directions in their small, boat-shaped sleds, along with their inseparable companions, their dogs. Several of the reindeer have their tongues hanging out of their mouths, as is typical when they have been running hard and are strained. The Sámi, children and adults, are moving about the grounds around the cabins and on their way to the church. Between the church and the steeple building, Turi has drawn a fir tree of the type that also grows in this area. The figure of a hanged man is shown below the lowest branches: he hanged himself in the forest and was buried there alongside the church. A fir tree grew of its own accord from his grave, like the one in which he had hanged himself. The headless figures behind the church are ghosts, which wander about the churchyard. The straight lines around the church denote the churchyard's boundary fence. Uppermost in the picture and further down on the right are the bodies of reindeer which Turi did not complete.

Tav. VII.

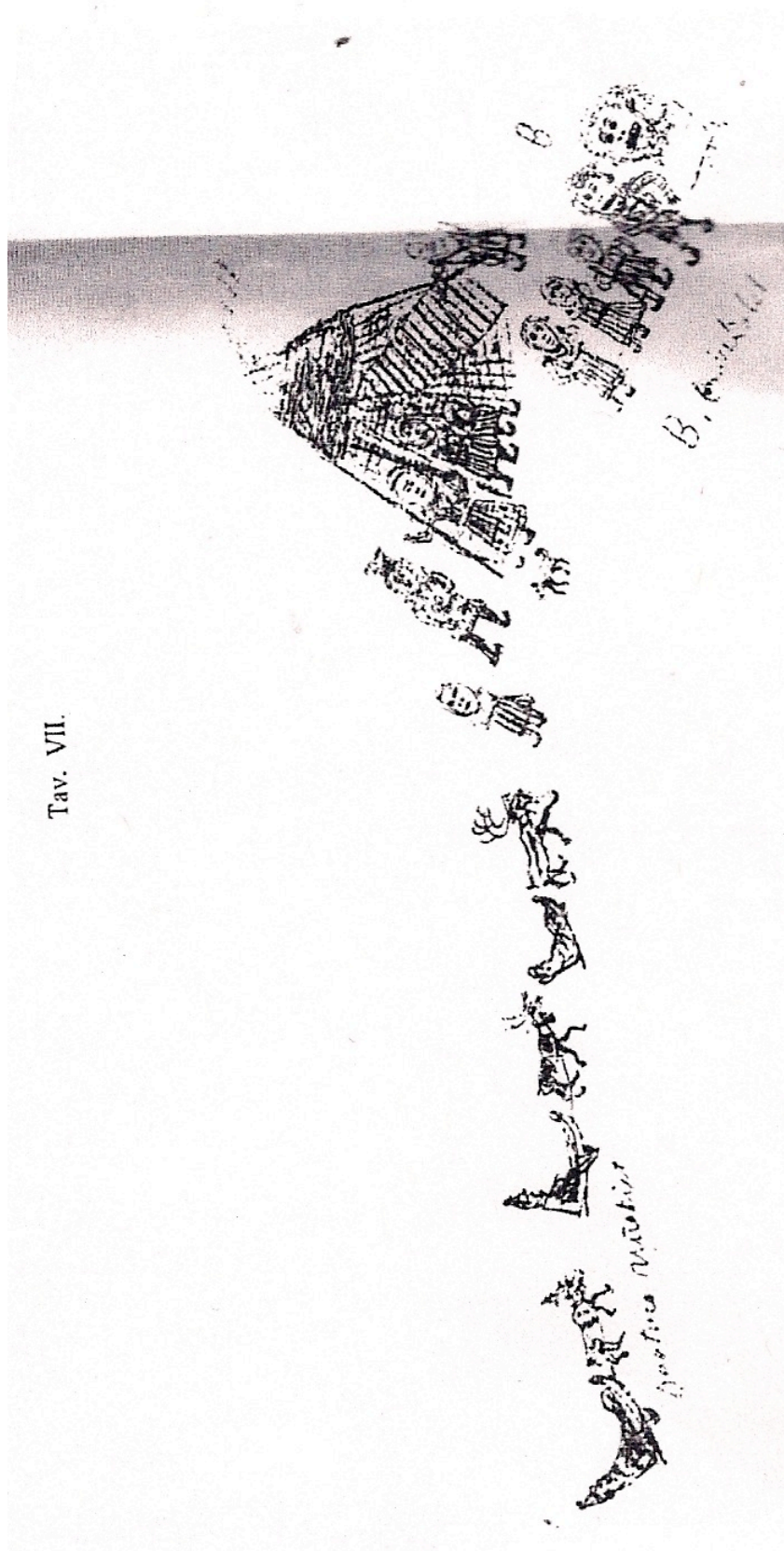


Illustration 7

A Courting Visit

This picture depicts a courting visit. Three sleds are arriving at full speed: Turi has written beneath them “Courting drivers.” A young man is sitting in the first sled. The door of the *goahti* is drawn open, and a number of Sámi are emerging from within. They are led by the girl, who has come out to meet her suitor, as is the custom when the proposal is likely to be accepted. A dog is rushing toward the guests. A crowd of onlookers stand to the right, and behind them Turi has drawn a demon (*beargalat*), which Turi has marked with a “B.” “The devil is always nearby in such festivities, since at a betrothal there are always so many people who will do ill and destroy the luck with their slanderous tongues,” says Turi.

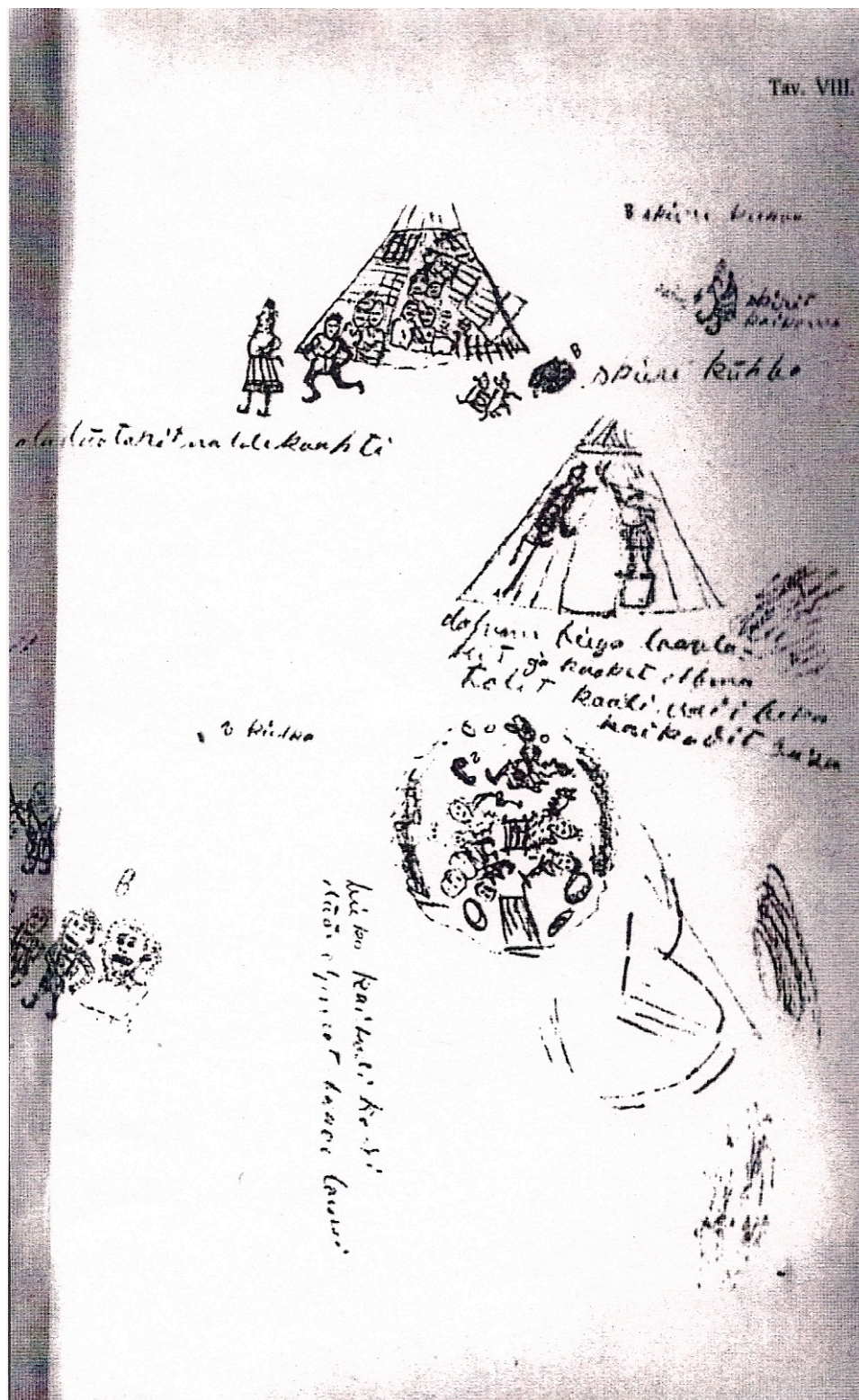


Illustration 8

A *Goahti* High in the Mountains

Such is the title which Turi gave this pencil drawing, as he has written it beneath the two Sámi on the left. The wind has pulled the *goahti*'s door open, so that the Sámi within are exposed. Those who cannot be seen through the door opening, Turi has simply made visible through the tent fabric. The dark spot which is marked with a "B" to the right of the two dogs denotes a small bundle of dwarf birchwood. Turi has written such alongside it. He has written the same thing again further up on the page alongside the "B." Between these two a Sámi man is depicted uprooting a dwarf birch, as Turi indicates again in writing. No smoke is rising from the *goahti*'s smoke hole, which also indicates that one is high in the mountains above the tree line; the scant material for fires that can be assembled is reserved for the most needed preparation of food and coffee. Beneath the *goahti*, Turi has written: "The wind has blown the tent fabric away, and two men are holding onto the *goahti* to prevent the blast from destroying it entirely." To the left of the lowest drawing, he has written: "The wind tore open the *goahti*, and the people are left in the *loaidu*." On the lower right, the two dark shadows represent the two havles of the tent fabric carried away by the storm; the crooked and straight lines are the tent poles, the entire structure of the *goahti* being blown away. The circle around the people represents the former floor of the *goahti*, with the hearth at its center. The shading on the outer edge of the circle on both sides represents the rolled up sleeping bags, and the round objects on both sides of the entrance represent storage chests and sacks. Behind the hearth are cooking pots and other such utensils that belong here in the *boaššo*; to the left, in the place of the woman of the house, there stands a cradle, marked with an "S." Around the hearth, a family is sitting, and Turi has not forgotten the dog. The Sámi man running from the upper *goahti* may be coming to help them; the girl and others look on.



Illustration 9

Wolves in a Reindeer Herd

Turi has drawn a herd of reindeer being overtaken by seven wolves. Their manner of hunting is clearly shown: they split the herd into several smaller parts and attack isolated reindeer. These reindeer are shown crazed with fright, their tongues hanging out, heads tossed back, and tails raised. From the prominence of the tracks it is clear that the attack is occurring in winter and in deep snow. Three reindeer have already been overtaken: the one in the middle is being torn apart by two wolves, its belly torn open so that its intestines are spilling out. To its left, one of the wolves has separated out a group of six reindeer, and has nearly caught up to the rearmost of these. Above this, the larger herd is being stalked by two wolves, with the last reindeer having just fallen victim to them.



Illustration 10

The *Sïida* Crosses a River in the Early Spring

At the far right, a Sámi man can be seen wading across a river with his string of reindeer. In his left hand, he holds his staff which he uses to recognize and avoid deep spots on the river bottom. In his right hand, he holds the reindeer lead, which he has shortened by wrapping it over his shoulder in order to keep the reindeer close beside him so that he can support it if it stumbles in the river. The string consists of six fully packed reindeer. The last reindeer is drawing the *goahti*: the tent fabric's two halves are rolled up and stowed one on each side. The tent poles are being pulled behind, with their one end on the ground and the other end pierced and strung together with rope in two bundles. These are attached to the wooden part of the pack frame, one on each side of the reindeer. In the drawing, the *goahti* reindeer is unwilling to enter the river. It strains against the harness attached to its head and neck and only lets itself be dragged along very unwillingly. The picture shows that the string crossing where the river is wider and less deep or powerful; the dark spots in the water represent stones. Below the string, a herd of reindeer cows and calves are shown swimming across the river; some of them have reached the far side, where two Sámi are standing ready with their dogs to receive them and keep the herd together. The uppermost of the two Sámi appears to have been using his lasso, which trails from his left hand; he hasn't had time yet to coil it up after his throw. In his right hand, he holds a staff. He is wearing, like the Sámi below him, the pointed cap of the Torne Sámi, while the Sámi man standing nearest the other shore is wearing the four-pointed hat of the Guovdageaidnu Sámi. Crosswise over his back and chest, he has a pair of reindeer leads, and one can see the high collar of his coat pulled up around his head. Around his waist he wears a belt with a hanging knife. The dog is lazy: it stands watching a fleeing reindeer without attempting to retrieve it. In contrast, the other dog is performing its duty. Its master, the Sámi man at the bottom right, is waving his staff in order to keep the herd together. One can see his large knife hanging from his belt behind, and in the front, his fur coat bulges over his belt. There and in breast pockets the Sámi stow those small items that they carry with them: a pipe, a tobacco pouch, a mirrored match box, a spoon, a change purse, etc. Some of the reindeer that have reached the other side are trying to return to look for their calves. In the river, one can see many reindeer cows and calves swimming. When a reindeer is running hard or when it is swimming, it stretches its neck out and raises its tail, as Turi has shown here. On the upper left-hand side of the drawing, four Sámi stand guard to keep the rear part of the herd together: some of the reindeer are trying to turn back in order to search for their lost calves or have been frightened away by the river and the dogs. A small lost calf (distinguishable from the dogs by its shorter tail) runs past. The figure on the upper left and the one beside the tree are both women. Their dress is nearly identical to the men's except that they wear women's caps and are not carrying any knife on their belts. Here and there, one sees small birches, and the riverbanks are grown over with willows and a few birches. Most of the reindeer have short antlers, some none, an indication, along with the small calves, that it is spring, when the reindeer's antlers are just beginning to grow back.

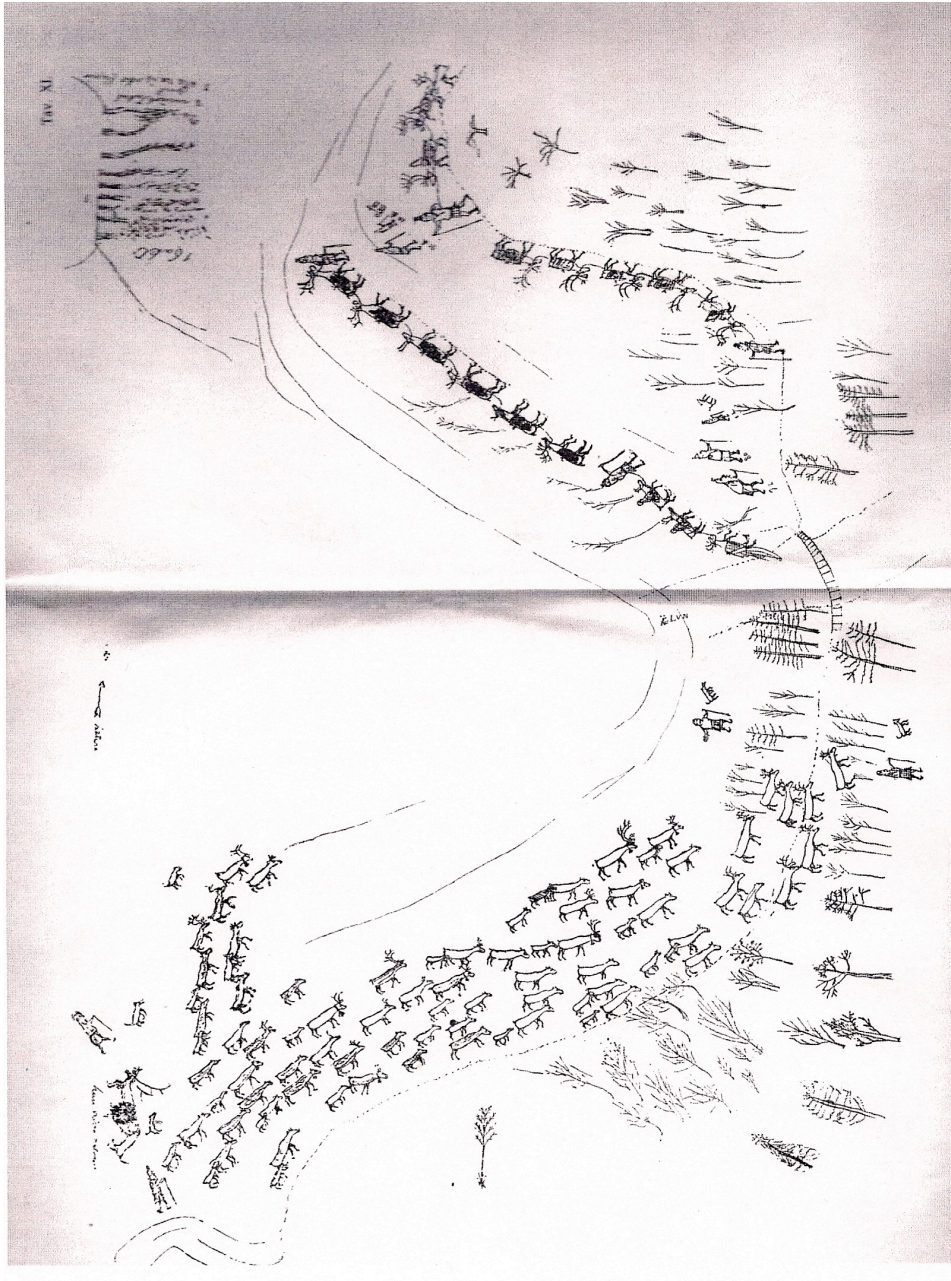


Illustration 11

The Migration to and from Norway

On the back of this drawing Turi has written: “A *siida* migrating to Norway among the high mountains, in the spring and autumn.” Above and to the left one can see the herd descended down the steep mountain slope. A small group of animals breaks off from the back of the herd but is being pursued by a Sámi and two dogs; one of the dogs has already advanced to where it is turning the herd about. Turi has also drawn a large dog tearing apart the last reindeer: it can happen that a dog attacks and kills a reindeer or that a reindeer can kill a dog. The reindeer are coming from the treeless part of the mountain and are headed down into its forested region. Two Sámi are standing down by the river with their dogs to keep the herd together in preparation for crossing the bridge. The two strings of reindeer that belong to this herd have just crossed the bridge and are now following one after the other up the mountain on the upper right. The first string consists of six reindeer, which carry packs. In the following string there are three reindeer, with the last one carrying the *goahti*. A child rides on each of the first two animals. To the right of the last string, two aged Sámi are walking, 72 and 80 years old: Turi has written their ages underneath each figure. In front of them, a twelve year-old child is walking with a dog. Similarly, on the upper right, alongside the first string, a seventy year-old Sámi is walking along, as well as a ten year-old child and a dog.

This entire *siida* appears to be making the spring migration to Norway, while the two strings headed in the opposite direction at the far right appear to represent an autumn migration coming back from Norway: all of the reindeer bear fully grown antlers. The first string consists of five reindeer with packs; the reindeer nearest the leader is carrying a child on its back. The two reindeer in the following string also each carry one child. Directly to the right of this string, one can see the start of the forest, with its low-growing bushy birch trees; further down, the birches become taller. In several places in the drawing Turi has depicted trees bent and sometimes broken by snow and storm. On both sides of the river, in the valley, where the forest growth is thickest, one can see both evergreens and deciduous trees. In the upper right-hand corner, Turi wished to show the mountain top with snow on top and steep cliffs and chasms below. He has written: “Snow and large glacier on the mountain.” An arrow in the upper middle of the drawing indicates north and south.

Tav. XII.



Illustration 12

A Hunting Scene

The content of this drawing does not refer directly to the content of the book, but may represent an example of Turi's delight in illustrating his oral storytelling. Turi told me how, early one summer, he was hiking up in the mountains with a friend. Suddenly they saw in front of them a big bear wandering peacefully along while around him were running four grown wolves that were acting just like puppies. The wolves then caught sight of Turi's dog, who was along, and began to take a strong interest in it. Turi bent down on one knee and took a shot at one of the wolves, but there was a bush in the way so he didn't hit it. At that both the bear and the wolves fled. In the middle of the picture, Turi has drawn a reindeer carcass and written beneath it: "Wild animals beside a carcass, ravens, and arctic fox, and a wolverine." Turi has drawn some birch trees around the carcass, and a raven is pictured sitting at the top of the nearest tree, while two other ravens are pictured nearing it below. The arctic fox to the left is recognizable by its bushy tail, and the wolverine is recognizable by its broad feet and heavy-set body. The locale is further specified by Turi having written down the placenames and drawn the mountains and lake shore of the area. The mountain top to the left is called Muotkađat čohkka. The first line from the bottom represents the shoreline of Torneträsk. A bay reaches inland from the right: it is known as Giebmas luokta. The cape that stretches below the bay is called Rávnna skicce.

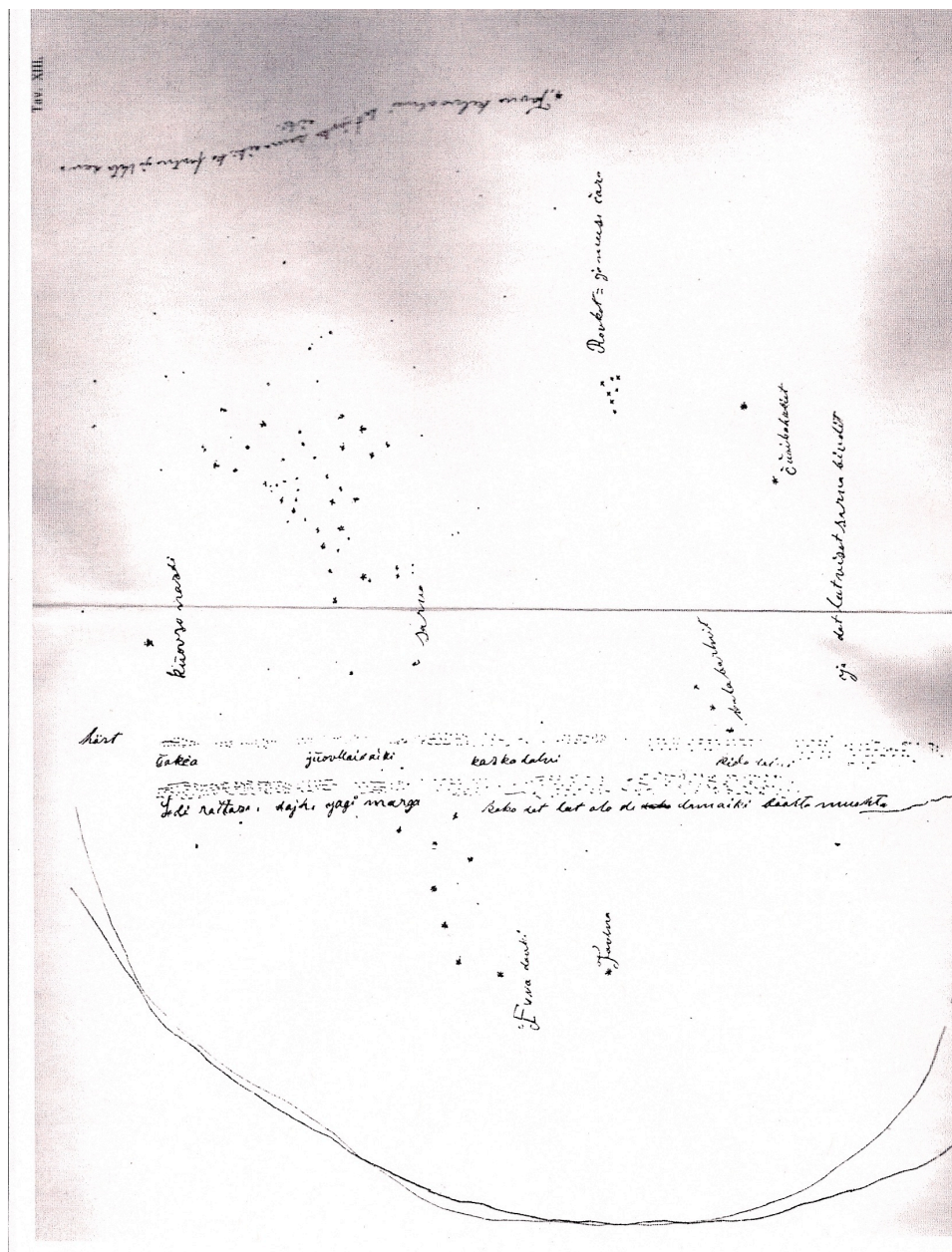


Illustration 13

Constellations 1

Turi has drawn some of the best known Sámi constellations. Their names relate to old, now partly forgotten legends. The star to the left, which Turi calls *Fávtna* is Arcturus. Above *Fávtna* one can see *Fávnnadávgi* [*Fávtna*'s bow], the Big Dipper. The series of small dots that cross the picture represent the Milky Way, called by the Sámi *Lodderáidaras* [the trail of the birds] or *Jagimearka* [year marker], which name Turi has written directly to the left of the dots. He adds: "When they [i.e., the constellations] are many, there will be snow." Turi has also written the names of the seasons in the middle of the Milky Way. The uppermost, "autumn," with the Sámi *čakča* (October, November), *juovlađigi*, [Christmas time] (December), *gaskadálvi* [midwinter] January, February) and lastly *giđđadálvi* [spring-winter] (late winter, March, April). To the right of the Milky Way, uppermost in the drawing, we can see the Morning Star (*Guovssunásti*). Beneath that we have the Moose Elk (*Sarvva*). The uppermost part of its large antlers corresponds to the constellation Cassiopeia; its forward part of the antlers and front of its body corresponds to the constellation Perseus, and two stars of the constellation Auriga make up the back part of the moose's body. To the right of the Milky Way, beneath the Moose, one can see the three stars of Orion's Belt: their Sámi name is *Gállabártnit* (the Sons of Gálla). To the right and a little further down are two stars which are called *Čuoiggaheaddjit* [the Skiing Hunters]: they are most probably Castor and Pollux (they are more accurately drawn in the next picture). To the right of the Skiing Hunters are the Pleiades, which go by several different names in Sámi. Here they are called *Rougot* [the bawling ones, i.e., calves] or *Miesečora* (herd of calves). But on an earlier drawing, Turi wrote: "The old woman with a pack of dogs, running toward the Moose." Upward to the right, in the middle of the drawing, a star is drawn and Turi has written: "The one who races *Fávtna*; it disappears at the same time as *Fávtna* and comes into sight at the same time." Farthest down in the drawing, beneath the Sons of Gálla and the Skiing Hunters, Turi has written: "And they are all moose hunters." The Sámi say that *Fávtna* is hunting the Moose with his bow, as are the Skiing Hunters, the Sons of Gálla, and Gálla himself (who can be seen in the following picture).

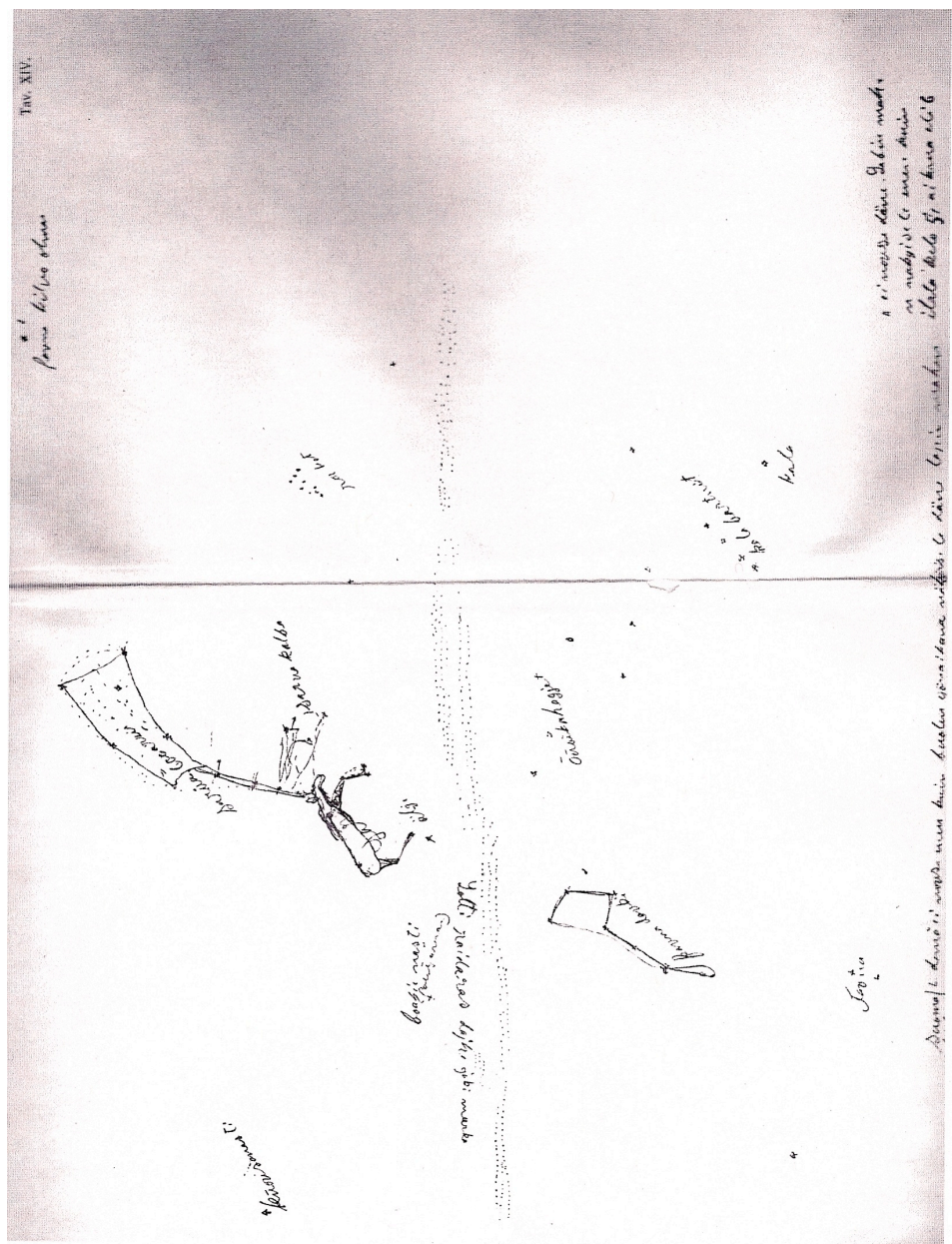


Illustration 14

Constellations 2

The explanation provided for the previous picture serves in large measure for this drawing as well. But under the star *Fávtna*, Turi has written in Finnish: “This does not rise before midnight here in Sápmi.” The three stars of Orion’s Belt he has marked with an “A” and written, also in Finnish: “These do not rise to be visible here in Sápmi any earlier than in the evening at five or six o’clock.” Turi has drawn the outline of the Moose and the form of *Fávtna*’s bow. In addition, he has included the North Star, and written beneath the three stars of Orion the name *Gállá* [=Sirius]. “Of *Boahjenásti* [The Base Star=Polaris], there is a little story,” writes Turi. “Boahjenásti holds the heavens up, and when, on the last day, *Fávtna* will shoot Boahjenásti with his bow, the sky will fall, and then the earth will be crushed and the whole world will catch on fire and everything will end.”

Glossary of Sámi terms

(Plant and animal terms are inserted in text itself)

Áhčeseatni female legendary figure with magical properties, well-disposed to the Sámi
 Áhčeseani lávžegihput: a mass of small branches growing out of a single place in a birch tree, caused by the fungus *Taphrina betulina* that adheres to the bark. See discussion in essay by DuBois in this volume.

áhči *jiellat* [father's favorite], nickname for oldest child.

áibmi a three-sided needle used in leatherwork.

áiti storehouse.

áldoeallu a herd of cows.

beanagullan, *beanagullamat*. = Finnish *peninkulma*. Either the distance that a dog can hear barking, or the distance that a dog's barking carries to a human listener; roughly ten kilometers.

beargalat demons = *birot*.

bearpmet log placed from hearth to doorway inside a *goahti*, used as a seat.

biigá servant girl.

biro demonic spirit associated with the devil.

boaššo area behind the hearth in a *goahti*, reserved for cooking utensils and women.

bodneskártá [bottom crust], icy snow lying close to the ground.

bostta Sámi medical concept: contamination by the inherent spirit of another being; poisoning.

buoggi cache made of a horizontal tree trunk suspended between two trees, on which various possessions and gear can be hung for retrieval later in the year.

ceavvi [snow crust] hard crust on surface of snow; also a name for Sámi who kept reindeer in the forest tracts to the south.

cuoŋu hard weight-bearing snow crust that forms in the spring sometime before the beginning of May.

čearpmat male yearling reindeer.

čiegar: snow-covered pasturage pawed up by reindeer.

čora a herd of twenty to forty animals or more.

čuhte, čuđit Legendary marauders, often equated in Turi's text with Russians.

diehtti, *diehttit* = *noaidi*, shamanic practitioner.

dikŋa area behind the nose on a wolf or dog.

dollacoggi [fire tender] nickname for second child.

duovdagat lands on which to live.

eamit farmwife, female head of household.

eatni jiellat [mother's favorite], nickname for fourth child.

gákti, *gávttit* Sámi tunic.

gálgat sorreálddu, [take care of a distressed cow]—assist in calving.

Gieddegeašgálgu, *Gieddegeašgeret*; friendly supernatural woman who lives in a meadow.

giđaniesti [spring provision] reindeer slaughtered for use in spring.

geresboazu [sled reindeer] reindeer slaughtered as provisions while traveling.

gietkka gietkamat Sámi cradle

goahti, *goađit* Sámi housetype. Turi uses term to include *lávvu*, i.e., tents.

goasohas five-year-old male reindeer.

golggu njáhcu [the worn-out thaw]; thaw occurring soon after the end of the reindeer's rut season.

gottodas four-year-old male reindeer.

guolbma [the inner bark of a pine tree], used as food source.

guonnamugga [stinky piss] nickname for third child.

gurpmáid grubs, larvae.

háldi spirits inhabiting certain places, to whom offerings are made for success, continued good luck.

heargi mature tamed reindeer gelding, used as a draught animal.

heagga: life-spirit, that which makes a person alive.

isit master of the household, leader of a *siida*.

jiehtanas giant.

jámehat [the dead] spirits of dead persons who can be cajoled or compelled to do the bidding of a *noaidi*, haunting humans along with the subgroup *mánnelaččat*.

juovva rocky ground with many holes in it; a moraine,

lávvu tent.

loaidu living and sleeping area beside the hearth in a *goahti*.

luhkka hood of woman's dress.

luohti traditional song, *joik*.

luovvi a raised scaffolding with a floor used for above-ground storage.

luoitlanbáiki a place with sufficient space, firewood, and grazing to allow the travellers to unharness their reindeer and set up camp,

máhkan six-year-old male reindeer.

mánnelaččat: [those who have been sent] revived partial human corpses used as weapons against other people. These beings derive from individuals who were half virtuous and half worldly in life and who therefore belong in neither heaven nor hell. Turi equates them at times with the more general group *jámehat*.

muorranorki [wood chopper], nickname for oldest child.

nammaláhppu seven-year-old male reindeer.

noaidi shamanic practitioner.

oppas undisturbed snow

reanga hired hand.

reitot to give birth (prematurely).

riehtis demon.

Riihmagállis greatest and strongest of the *stálut*; not originally ill-disposed toward the Sámi.

riidi grassy top of a mountain.

Ruoššačudit Turi's term for *čudit*; expresses the view that the *čudit* came from Russia.

Sáivajávri a supernaturally charged lake with two bottoms in which the fish are sometimes plentiful and sometimes scarce.

seaŋáš corn snow: snow that has melted and refrozen into coarse pebbles.

sieidi, *sieiddit* altar for making sacrifices, often located in the natural landscape.

siida collection of families sharing the same grazing lands and migration routes.

spáillit mature untamed gelded reindeer

stállu ogre-like legendary character, prone to attacking and eating the Sámi, especially associated with Christmas eve.

stálonásti: [Stállu star] an ornamental medal associated with healing.

suohpan [lasso] rope fitted with an antler ring, used to capture and control reindeer and sometimes in other activities (e.g., hunting and trapping).

suonjir a raised cache for meat or other goods, made of three birch trees leaning together.

Ulda, *Ulddat* underground spirits, possessed of magic skill and knowledge; sometimes helpful to Sámi, sometimes harmful.

varit two-year-old male reindeer.

verdde trading partner: Sámi in different regions agreed to share resources and the products of their subsistence activities with each other on an annual basis in order to improve their joint interests and welfare.

várrugas [attentive], adjective applied to a dog that is especially effective in driving away wolves.

vuobis three-year-old male reindeer.

List of Placenames Mentioned in Text

Álaheadju = Alta, Norway

Ávži, village in vicinity of Guovdageaidnu, Norway

Báhcajeagil: mountain in the vicinity of Stálojávri, Sweden

Beardojohka, Beardoeanu, Barduelva, river in Norway

Bieski, Sweden

Boldnu mountain in Sweden

Borrevárri: mountain in the vicinity of Stálojávri, Sweden

Bossogohppi Norway

Čohkkeras, Jukkasjärvi, Sweden

Čudibuolža, esker or ridge in Norway

Dálmá village district in Sweden

Davánjunis mountain in Norway

Durkkihánvárrri mountain near Guovdageaidnu, Norway

Duortnosjohka = Torne River

Fávrosorda, mountain in Nordreisen, Norway

Gárasavvon = Karesuando, Sweden

Giebmejohka River in Sweden

Giebmas luokta, bay on Lake Torneträsk; Finnish Kepaslahti

Gieppošduottar mountain in Sweden

Goartavárri Mountain in vicinity of Stálojávri, Sweden

Govavárri mountain in Sweden

Guovdageaidnu = Kautokeino, Norway

Haparanda, = Haparanta, Sweden

Ivgu = Lyngen, Norway

Johkamohkki = Jokkmokk, Sweden

Juhkásjávri, = Čohkkeras, Jukkasjärvi, Sweden

Kistrándda, = Kistrand, Norway

Luleju = Luleå, Sweden

Márkan = Skibotn, Norway

Mávnos-rohki or Mávnos-jogaš: small river in Norway

Mollešjohka Mollisjohka, river in Norway
Muotkađat čokka mountain near Torneträsk =Ripasvare

Njuorjovuopme headland, Norway
Nirppi-haskat, place on the river Beardoeanu, Norway
Nuorta = Nordreisen, Norway

Porsángu = Porsanger, Norway
Rávnna skicce, cape in Lake Torneträsk; Raunaskittje
Rávttasjávri lake in Sweden

Sávžžu village in Sweden
Skáhttovuopmi = Kattovuoma Sweden
Stálojávri lake in Sweden
Stáloguoika: rapids on river leaving Stálojávri, Sweden

Vatnimajávri: lake on Borrevárri in vicinity of Stálojávri, Sweden
Vuollemearra the Gulf of Bothnia
Vuoskko headland, Sweden
Vuoskkojávri lake, Sweden

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