



Francis Joy

**SÁMI SHAMANISM,
COSMOLOGY AND ART**
as Systems of Embedded Knowledge



Acta Universitatis Lapponiensis 367

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LAPIN YLIOPISTO
UNIVERSITY OF LAPLAND

Rovaniemi 2018

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Preface

In the summer of 2000, I was browsing through a pile of second hand book in an Oxfam charity shop in the city of Bath in the United Kingdom where I lived for 10 years before coming to Finland in 2002. In the pile of books was a large book titled: Shamans. The book, which had been published in 1998, in Tampere, Finland, in English text, was a compilation of stories about sacred narrative, ritualistic practices, taboos and customs of different indigenous peoples throughout Siberia. In addition, a large photographic collection of ritual artifacts, including Shaman drums, costumes and mythical representations of animal and spirit figures and amulets, which assisted the shamans in their work were also included in the pages.

At the time of buying the book, I did not take much notice of who had written it. “The Shamans publication is the product of the cooperation between Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology named after Peter the Great, National Museum of Finland, and the Tampere Museums. It complements the Shamans exhibition of Vapriikki and the Journey to Siberia Exhibition of Hame Museum” Jaatinen (1998: 10).

I bought the publication, which was on sale for £3.19, and took it home to add to my collection of books with regard to reading it at a later date, which is what I did when I had time to look at it, especially the pictures that were colorful and abundant in the text.

The following year, was my step to into Higher Education as a student of Religious studies and European History, at Bath Spa University in Somerset, UK. During the end of the second semester of the first year I saw a notice on the notice board of the Religious Studies Department informing students about a visiting professor from Finland who would be presenting a lecture series about Shamanism. Initially, there was no recognition, until sitting in one of the lectures about Shamanism in Siberia that the pictures being showed on the overhead were the same ones I had seen in the book and it had been written by Professor Emeritus of Comparative Religion, Juha Pentikäinen, from the University of Helsinki, Finland. It was Pentikäinen who was giving the lecture. Needless to say, four months later, I was signed up for the Erasmus exchange programme at The University of Helsinki.

When I arrived in Finland in 2002 for the five month exchange programme as a student of Comparative Religion under the auspices of Pentikäinen, at the Department of Comparative Religion it was minus 25 degrees Celsius. At the same time, Pentikäinen was teaching classes about Arctic civilizations, indigenous religions and shamanism. These were focused on how both Sámi and Siberian cultures portrayed their worldviews through art in relation to shamanistic practices, cosmology and healing with special emphasis on the role and function of art and ritual tools with regard to cultural memory, identity, ethnicity and remembering.

As it turned out, my journey to Finland however, was not to be acquainted with Siberian shamanism, but with the Sámi of *Sápmi*, who are the indigenous people of Fennoscandia. *Sápmi* is a term used by

Sámi people for the northernmost areas of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in north-west Russia, where the Sámi people have lived for a very long time.

During my five months stay, I became acquainted with literature about what I understood were Finnish rock paintings, created by the early ancient Finns. All of the texts I read in English language, which consisted of literature emphasizing numerous titles pointing towards Finnish origins of the art seemed to be persuasive to me as an outsider, concerning interpretation of the cultural context of the prehistoric paintings.

During one of Pentikäinen's lectures on indigenous peoples and rock art, information was handed out about one richly decorated Sámi *noaidi* drum, the surface of which, was painted with symbols and figures, that had originated from what was called the Kemi-Lappmark area in northern Finland, at the times the drums were collected during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Kemi area in northern Finland, is a former Sámi area. The drum had come into possession of Swedish authorities during the time the Lutheran Church was involved in its crusade to convert the Sámi from their indigenous religion, characterised by a sacrificial tradition, which was thousands of years old, to Christianity. Some of the features painted on the drum was reminiscent symbols depicted within the rock paintings, especially boats.

I also became familiar with how *noaidi*, who is often referred to today as the shaman in Sámi society in modern context, was either a man or woman who was a ritual specialist, diviner and healer, but also an artist and tradition bearer who has extensive knowledge about the existence of other dimensions of life that were invisible.

Further interest into Sámi shamanism led to a return journey to Finland seven months after the period of study had finished in the summer of 2002 to complete my Bachelor's Degree with a view to enrolling on the Masters Programme in 2005 at the University of Helsinki. Before this time, I had also been fortunate enough to travel to the Vapriikki Museum in Tampere to see an exhibition about rock art and prehistoric culture which had some bearing on the content of the book I had discovered in the Oxfam charity shop in Bath.

In 2004, Juha Pentikäinen organized an exhibition at The University of Helsinki Museum, which was called: In the Footsteps of the Bear. Many of the artifacts, which I had seen pictured in the book: Shamans were in the exhibition, including drums belonging to the two Nanai Shamanesses Lindza Beldy and Maria Petrovna. There was also a flying shaman's ritual robe, boots and head dress which belonged to Lindza. All of these had to be handled and organized for the exhibition.

Also, during this time, I was to travel to Inari in Finnish *Sápmi* to interview Sámi elder Oula Näkkäläjärvi who lived at the side of Lake Inari. The purpose of the visit was to ascertain what he knew about the rock paintings at Hossa-Värikallio in northern Karelia. Oula and his wife Sirpa invited me to stay overnight at their family home after a long and interesting discussion about Sámi culture and history.

After the interview, which was translated into English by Sirpa, had finished, my understanding of what I had formally read and understood regarding the cultural context of Finland's rock paintings as being Finnish became ambiguous, and would therefore, require further investigation.

What I have since discovered in my own inquiry concerning rock painting research in Finland is there are close links between Sámi history and culture with regard to the relationship between the figures in the paintings and those painted on the heads of the Sámi *noaidi* drums, which survived the purges conducted by priests and clergymen throughout *Sápmi*. This subject matter is elaborated on more broadly within this study. Furthermore, during the course of my research I came across evidence of how there is a common belief, which still exists amongst the priests of the northern districts of *Sápmi* that the practice

of shamanism does not exist anymore and thus the drums of the Sámi have been silenced. As a result of such declarations, I have sought to review and clarify such claims and therefore my findings are a contribution to this Doctoral dissertation.

Apart from Juha Pentikäinen, other persons who have been instrumental in supporting my research have been: Professor of Comparative Religion Réne Gothóni, Docent Risto Pulkkinen and Riku Hämäläinen, from the Department of World Cultures (Formerly, the Department of Comparative Religion), at The University of Helsinki. Also from the Arctic Center, Rovaniemi, my supervisor, Senior scientist and Sámi artist Dr. Elina Helander-Renvall who gave me critical feedback of my research paper prior to my first publication about Sámi *noaidi* drums in 2011, which is included in this doctoral dissertation.

Another colorful character who has been important for my understanding of sacred places in both *Sápmi* as well as central and southern Finland is Geologist Aimo Keijonen from the Geologian tutkimuskeskus in Kuopio. Aimo, now retired, shared his extensive knowledge and accompanied me on several field trips to sacrificial places when the weather permitted us access there. The work and help of archaeologists Antti Lahelma from the University of Helsinki and Helena Taskinen from the National Board of Antiquities in Helsinki has also provided support for my studies and research questions.

My supervisor Monica Tennberg from the Arctic Centre's Sustainable Development Research Group helped provide the possibilities for my education by granting me an office at the Arctic Centre for my study period. Also, Professor Timo Jokela, Dean of the Faculty of Art at the University of Lapland and Professor of Art History and Tuija Hautala-Hirvioja also from the faculty who have played a significant role in their contribution to proof reading and guidance for the dissertation and subsequent papers, and who also took my studies and research aims seriously and accepted me as a PhD student. I wish to thank them for their contribution and creating the space for me to undertake the research presented to you below in this Doctoral dissertation.

Abstract

Scientific research into Sámi shamanism and cosmology over the past several decades has brought forth an intricate body of knowledge, insights and understanding concerning the religious and cultural practice of Europe's indigenous people from *Sápmi*, which is rooted in a sacrificial tradition that transverses back into prehistory. The remnants of this tradition are evident through various art forms, depicted as systems of embedded traditional knowledge by the Sámi *noaidi* or shaman, who is known as a tradition bearer. The *noaidi's* art, which is best known from the divination drums of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, collected during the midst of colonialism, has prompted a much broader investigation of both Sámi history, religion and religious practices for the following reasons. More recently, tangible evidence has emerged in historical studies, prompting further research concerning a series of parallels between *noaidi* art and prehistoric rock art; especially rock paintings in Finland and at the extensive Alta rock art site in Finnmark, northern Norway. Because of the temporal distance between the two sources of art, the subject matter remains ambiguous on account of the historical gaps between the materials. Despite these disputes, questions have come to light as to whether or not the rock art as a knowledge system, has influenced the ways the symbolism and figures have been drawn on the *noaidi* drums heads, thereby indicating the transmission or oral tradition and culture and thus, outlining a possible survival of an ancient religion and cosmology? Henceforth, prompting a series of questions in relation to the cultural heritage of rock art against the present cultural contexts, which suggests ownership by the nation states of Finland, Sweden and Norway.

With regard to the study of *noaidi* drums, their artistic content and the transmission of traditional knowledge and culture, new forms of drums are emerging throughout northern Finland, Sweden, Norway and the Kola Peninsula in south-west Russia. Some of these are made inside the *Sápmi* areas, whilst others are made in former *Sápmi* localities. It must likewise be noted, how certain drums have been made by *noaidi* and others by artists. The decoration of such instruments by Sámi and non-Sámi persons, clearly shows how the various contexts of the landscapes painted on the drumheads, has been influenced by *noaidi* drum art from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from *Sápmi*; and in certain cases by prehistoric rock art. This analysis demonstrates in what ways both the decoration of new types of drums can be seen as a method for the creation of embedded knowledge systems, which is a particular body of knowledge constructed in relation to cultural memory, tradition and identity.

The methodological approach used in order to attain the results of the investigation have been predominantly undertaken through a combination of mixed methods, drawing primarily on comparative, descriptive, phenomenological and holistic analysis of the cosmological landscapes on *noaidi* drumheads and new types of drums and through visits to prehistoric rock art sites in Finland and Finnmark, north

Norway. Furthermore, the study of photographic materials and illustrations of drums and rock paintings, as well as a series of interviews with Sámi *noaidi*'s, artists and drum makers in Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian *Sápmi*.

The results of the analysis have in fact demonstrated how there are direct correlations in terms of relationships between prehistorical rock art and *noaidi* drum landscapes, which can be linked with an ancient cosmology and shamanistic tradition. Thereby, indicating a continuity of culture and thus challenging the established views concerning how for example, that the prehistoric rock paintings in Finland might not be 'Finnish', as contextualized within various academic discourses. In turn, a critical view of some of the biased ways rock art research has taken place in Finland is also addressed in the dissertation with regard to the consequences of such claims.

The study of new types of drums made by Sámi persons and their subsequent decoration has provided a number of new and important insights and case studies regarding how the transmission of culture and identity making takes place through art. This is in direct opposition to what some representative of the Lutheran Church have had to say in the past with regard to how shamanism in *Sápmi* does not exist anymore.

The analysis conducted into new types of drums and their painted landscapes by both Sámi and non-Sámi persons has also revealed how Sámi shamanism and cosmology from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries continues to influence artists in their works and some of the various contexts these appear, especially in relation to the tourist industry. However, due to issues concerning Sámi cultural heritage, and given the fact there have been little or no scientific studies undertaken on the production of new types of drums made by non-Sámi persons, who reuse Sámi symbolism from the *noaidi* drums, the decoration of such instruments raise further discussions concerning the cultural context of the material in relation to representation and identity and what the consequences of these are.

Key words: Sámi, rock art, drum symbolism, *noaidi*, *sieidi*, drums, sacrifice, symbolism, cultural context, shamanism, cultural continuity, cultural denial.

List of papers

Paper 1

Joy, Francis. 2011. The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami *Noaidi* Drum Figures Reversed, in: Kõiva, Mare & Kuperjanov, Andres (eds.): *The Estonian Journal of Folklore, Volume 47*. Published by: FB and Media Group of Estonian Literary Museum: 113-144.

Paper 2

Joy, Francis. 2014. To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland, in: *Polar Record / First View Article*. Cambridge University Press: 1-4

Paper 3

Joy, Francis. 2014. What Influence do the Old Sámi *Noaidi* Drums from Lapland Play in the Construction of New Shaman Drums by Sámi Persons Today?, in: Kõiva, Mare & Kuperjanov, Andres (eds.): *The Estonian Journal of Folklore, Volume 56*. Published by: FB and Media Group of Estonian Literary Museum: 117-158.

Paper 4

Joy, Francis. 2015. Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism; in: SHAMAN - The International Journal for Shamanistic Research (ISSR), Volume 23, Numbers 1-2. Spring-Autumn: 67-102.

Paper 5

Joy, Francis. 2017. *Noaidi* Drums From *Sápmi*, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation. Published in *Polar Record / First View Article*. Cambridge University Press: 1-20

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1 Introduction

Within the context of this research, my purpose is to present new theories, facts and discussions about ancient Sámi symbols, some of which have their origins in a prehistoric rock art tradition that extends throughout Fennoscandia¹. A tradition, it can be said, representative of the spirit of an indigenous population whose customs and practices are alive and flourishing today. A culture that has retained its identity and rights to self-determination, which is manifest through art, cultural landscapes, subsistence and handicraft practices that create value systems of embedded knowledge and record cultural memory.

More broadly explained, systems of embodied knowledge as presented within the contexts of this dissertation refer to artifacts, handicraft products and oral traditions depicted through art and literature sources, which contain a wealth of information relating to how the Sámi have stored, recorded and made use of their history. Furthermore, how this knowledge and such customs are subsequently been reused as a traditional practice that contributes to the preservation and well-being of their society.

One of the central tenets of such a tradition is visible through the re-emergence of shamanism in contemporary Sámi society, as both a religious and cultural practice. My interest in the subject of what is today termed Sámi shamanism², means engaging with its evolvement, too, as a spiritual practice, to which

1 “Fennoscandia are geographic and geological terms used to describe the Scandinavian Peninsula, the Kola Peninsula, Karelia, Finland and Denmark” (Gjerde 2010b: 13).

2 There are different theories regarding the concepts and structure of shamanism and its origins, use and application to religions, spiritual traditions, ways of life in different cultures, and its methodological application in scholarly research. Within the Sámi context, the concept can be seen as an import from Siberia. Swedish scholar Olle Sundström (2012: 355-356), has shed new light on this discussion on the topic more recently. “Before the middle of the nineteenth century, the word *shaman* did not occur in most of the indigenous languages of northern Russia and Siberia. The exception to this was some Manchu-Tungus languages, for example Evenk, from which the very word is supposed to have its origin. It was German and Russian scientists, and later on also Russian-Orthodox missionaries, who in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries began to describe the most prominent ritual specialists among the peoples of Siberia with the term *shaman*. [...] (Znamenski 2003: 1 ff). In the various indigenous languages those religious functionaries that were to be classified as ‘shamans’ were designated with such terms as *nojđ* (in Kildin Sami), *tadebya* (in Nenets), *ŋə* (in Nganasan), *chirta-ku* (in certain Khanti dialects), *oyuun* for a male and *udagan* for a female (in Yakut), *kam* (among the Altaians), *boo* (in Buryat), and, of course, *sama*, *saman* or *šaman* (in Manchu-Tungus languages such as Nanai, Ulchi, Even and Evenk). These are merely examples of terms for religious specialists in the various languages, and there were usually subcategories as well as other categories of ritual experts besides these. It may also be said here that what present day scholars refer to as shamanism within the Sámi context, actually translates into *Noaidevuohhta*, which Rydving (2010: 73), describes as activities “[...] which designate things that ‘have to do with the *noaidi* (the most important ritual specialist)’. Therefore, today, we find in scholarly material relating to Sámi pre-Chris-

art plays a key function and role in relation to cosmology and cultural heritage. A heritage, as I will argue that extends from the prehistorical era through to the historic periods of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and into contemporary Sámi culture, with regard to an established shamanic practice and its different manifestations and continuity. This is what this doctoral dissertation is concerned with.

Sámi shamanism, is a fundamental activity reflecting many of the core values of Sámi religion, which is a representation of the vitality of the culture, its cosmology and relationship with nature and the spirit world, which since the seventeenth century has been kept a secret because as described by Lehtola (2002: 28) “the intent of Christian priests seems to have been the complete destruction of the old world-view, not just the shamanic practices.” Research in to the subject matter presents the opportunity to establish certain historical truths and facts as well as dispel myths, injustices and other forms of hysteria in relation to what has been written about the repertoire of Sámi oral tradition, its demise and alienation by persons from outside the culture (missionaries and clergymen), and in more recent times, its re-vitalization. The oral tradition is typically portrayed on the magical drum of the Sámi *noaidi*³, a person that undertook various social roles as the healer and ritual specialist in Sámi society, throughout history, who is typically referred to today as the artist and both *noaidi* and shaman. The drum is traditionally called *Gievrie* in south Sámi language and *Goabdes* in north Sámi.

It is my belief that the art and cultural landscapes of prehistory may also be associated with persons called *noaidi*⁴, where illustrations are encountered through various manifestations of rock art and sacrificial traditions. It is also beneficial to note that more recent discussions on the controversial definitions, contexts and categorizations of what is termed Sámi shamanism today, and how the cultural practice it is represented within various fields of enquiry within Norwegian and Sámi scholarship, have emerged.

For example, Siv Ellen Kraft’s paper on Sami Indigenous Spirituality: Religion and Nation building in Norwegian *Sápmi* (2009). Stein R. Mathisen’s scholarly works: Contextualizing Exhibited Versions of Sami *Noaidevuohta* (2015) and Trude Fonneland’s research undertaken at the Isogaisa Sámi shaman festival in Lavangen, north Norway, titled The Festival Isogaisa: Neoshamanism in New Arenas (2015). All studies discuss indigenoussness and Sámi cultural heritage as encountered through Sámi shamanism, which in some cases is being sold and marketed to the tourist industry and spiritual seekers, and a number of consequences have emerged as a result.

tian religion, religion of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and contemporary Sámi religious practices as shamanism and religious figures within these contexts as *noaidi* and shamans. The concept *Noaidevuohta* is mainly used by Sámi persons because they see shamanism and shaman as a cross-cultural reference, which can be problematic in terms of the autochthonous use of the concept. However, and at the same time, many Sámi persons use the concepts of shamanism and shaman to denote aspects of their religious traditions”. Because of the ambiguous nature of the term ‘shamanism’ within the Sámi context of the past, I will, where relevant, apply the term *Noaidevuohta*. This is because in the historical context, *Noaidivuohta* was a way of life, a belief system, tradition embedded in a deep mystical knowledge to which to border between what is factuality and myth is uncertain when analyzed today. Moreover, in the modern context, for some Sámi persons, Sámi shamanism may or may not be similar to these traditional ways and practices. In other words, this is a very complex matter.

3 Note for the reader. The most comprehensive description I can find for the term *noaidi* is found in the works of Håkan Rydving, a Swedish scholar of religion who works at the University of Bergen in Norway (2010: 87), who described him in the following way. “In pre-Christian Sami society, *noaidi* was the word used for the outstanding religious functionary who was regarded as capable of making journeys to distant places and to the worlds of the divinities or the departed to obtain help in times of crisis; he was curer and diviner and could also function as sacrificial priest” (Hultkrantz 1978a).

4 Within the context of the dissertation, I have used italics to help with both emphasis on and the defining of Sámi words.

During the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and right through the core missionizing period, which is when many Sámi *noaidi* drums were collected, it has been the persecution of the *noaidi* and pre-Christian shamanistic practices of the ancestors of the Sámi throughout Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish *Sápmi*⁵, which has characterised the history of what has been formerly known as Lapland in relation to Sámi history and as a result, produced an abundance of literature on this topic⁶. A persecution it may be said, which is not only known within a local context but also a global one as well, and which in some areas of *Sápmi* still continues today through various mechanism, colonialist practices and policies that are governed predominantly by Christianity (Laestadianism), and the Sovereign powers of the nation states. Otherwise put, colonialism can be seen as an illustration of the fundamental misunderstanding of the Sámi, their culture and religion, where both the strength and sustainability of culture has been reduced and discounted.

With regard to the numbers of remaining drums and also figures that have been painted on those, which endured the main onslaught of the missionizing period, Swedish scholar Rolf Christoffersson (2010: 265) describes how there are currently “[...] 71 [drums which are] considered authentic”, and these are preserved in museums throughout Europe and are decorated with intricate figures, metaphors and symbolism. Additional information by Christoffersson (2010: 260) reveals how “the thousands of pictures refer to the circa 3100 figures drawn on the drumheads”, which have survived.

The benefit of the investigation presented to you below, which I will refer to as progressive research; progressive in the sense with regard to the study of art and landscapes, which is what characterizes Sámi shamanism in relation to oral tradition, ethnicity, history, culture, cosmology and identity, this is where the main focus for the study is located.

The inquiry contains therefore, a series of historical and artistic contexts from Sámi prehistory in relation to rock art research, Sámi history from between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries throughout *Sápmi* with regard to what might be best understood as shamanic art of *noaidi* drums, right up to Sámi contemporary society, where new types of drums are emerging, bearing new artistic contexts, definitions and designs, which there is so little information about. In this case, the materials are brought together within different contexts so they present a series of unifying parallels as inter-linking forms of embedded knowledge systems, presented through art, literature studies and photographic data, which links them together. I refer to these knowledge systems in this case as defined by Ouzman (2005: 196), as systems where “Indigenous knowledge is held and developed by a specific autochthonous people, usually long-term residents of a landscape”, therefore, linking the past with the present in relation to Sámi shamanism and cosmology. The foundation of this art and related practices has its origins within prehistoric reindeer hunting, trapping

5 Note for the reader. In this case, the term *Sápmi* will be used where I consider it to be applicable to refer to the present day areas occupied by the Sámi in Fennoscandia. The application and use of the term Lapland refers to the northern districts of Lapland in Norway, Sweden and Finland predominantly in a past tense. However, this term is still used today, even for the *Sápmi* areas. In Finland, there are Sámi areas in Utsjoki, Karigasniemi, Enontekiö, Inari, Ivalo and parts of northern Sodankyla referred to as *Sápmi*. Rovaniemi is not in the current Sámi area of *Sápmi* anymore, as it was in the seventeenth century. This is also the case with the towns of Kemi and Tornio. Therefore, I consider use of the term *Sápmi* important regarding how these concepts are used, because more recently, we have come to understand how the term ‘Lapland’ has a colonial connotation of ‘Lapp’ which is demeaning for the Sámi. Sámi scholar Vuokko Hirvonen (1999: 34) has noted how “A Lapp became negative and originally a lapp (or in Swedish en lapp) was given by non-Sámi majority”. Hirvonen (1999: 35) further elaborates on how “The Sámi association in Arjeplog in Sweden told in 1920 first time that a Lapp is hurtful and not nice word at all. In Trondheim (Norway) the Sámi had their second meeting in 1921. There the Sámi asked that everybody use a Sámi instead of a Lapp”.

6 One of the most comprehensive and more recent sources is the works of clergyman Lars Levi Laestadius [1838-1845] (2002), see literature chapters.

and fishing practices, which have continued for thousands of years, as noted by Sámi scholar Lehtola (2002) who states how “Sámi heritage of pictorial art reaches back to the rock drawings of thousands of years ago”.

1.1 Importance and relevance of my research

My contribution to the study of Sámi culture, religion and history is presented to you through a variety of contexts within the scope of the dissertation. The assemblage of the materials involves a broad range of subject matter in relation to Sámi studies, new religious, spiritual and shamanistic practices, new healing systems, drum making activities, new types of drums and designs, new types of decorative symbolism and the re-evaluation of prehistoric rock art in relation to the figures and symbolism from old Sámi *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Each of the aforementioned, can be understood as systems of embedded knowledge that are considered to contain and convey spiritual power, culture, value and meaning and therefore, have purpose within the perimeters of Sámi research and education in relation to oral tradition and history in the north, and the reuse of symbolism across millennia also affirms these kinship systems⁷. Moreover, symbols and the language they convey have been used to tell stories regarding the history of Sámi culture.

Different fields of research have been brought together in such a way they provide new sources of research material for scholars, laypersons, what is called Lapland safari and tourism enterprises and many different groups interested in Sámi culture and its history. The strategy used in the formulation of the dissertation and subsequent information concerning the above, has been applied in this fashion because its objectives are directed towards addressing the title of the dissertation and research questions herein, through both what is contained within the main body of the dissertation and 5 published papers.

My analysis has been undertaken within the perimeters of indigenous research practices and I have striven within the context of the study to attempt to illuminate how, and despite over 400 years of missionizing and religious domination by Christianity and social oppression throughout *Sápmi*, the Sámi as an indigenous peoples, still, although at times quietly, maintain to some degree, their shamanistic practices today in contemporary society. These do, in modern times, vary considerably and diversely from what we know about the sacrificial traditions of prehistory and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, concerning the ancestors of the Sámi people today. However, fragments of such practices are still evident in modern society. Moreover, and as both Porsanger and Guttorm (2011: 17) have noted, “this also entails giving credit to indigenous peoples for their knowledge, respecting the knowledge belonging to a particular local community, and making Sami internal cultural diversity visible”.

Perhaps the single most important discovery obtained during the course of the research has been the gaining of new understanding as to how regardless of the suffering and attempts to obliterate Sámi spiritual traditions and material cultures and history through actions inflicted by the nation states of the Nordic countries, the memories of the ancestors of the Sámi lives on through the art and creation of handicrafts⁸.

7 For a comprehensive explanation of the different types of Sámi *noaidi* drums and their designs which come from different parts of *Sápmi*, see the work of Roald E. Kristiansen, Associate Professor of religious studies at the University of Tromsø at: <http://old.no/samidrum/>

8 According historian of Religion from Norway, Rune Hagen (2006: 625), “Lapland’s witches were famous throughout early modern Europe. From ancient times, the Lapland sorcerers had a strong reputation for wind magic, shape shifting (metamorphosis), employment of familiars, the ability to move objects (such as small darts) across great distances, and for their wicked drum playing. [...] The conjuring of these Lapland witches was so great that people believed they could use sorcery instead of weapons while in combat with their enemies”.

Thus one of the main areas where this is evident and flourishing in these present times despite this difficult history and attempts at an annihilation of the old Sámi world-view, is where new evolving shamanistic practices, including drum making are combined with existing ones in order to link the past with the present.

A short review is required here concerning some of the theoretical problems regarding the term 'Sámi religion' with regard to its application and use in a modern context, as well to both old and modern practices of Sámi shamanism because it has been a difficult context to investigate in light of what has been presented by missionary sources, for example, from outside Sámi culture between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. Moreover, and within the course of my research over the years, questions have arisen as to whether or not Sámi religion and indeed old world-view still exists because of colonialism?

I also consider it important to make a point here concerning how there are Sámi persons who prefer to use the term religion, whilst others see it as a western construct and therefore, prefer to call their rituals and ceremonies and healing practices using the drum as 'Sámi spirituality' or *Noaidivuohta*-shamanism. However, in academic discourse, when Sámi religion is spoken about from the past, it is typically conceptualized from within both a prehistoric hunting culture, again, which is not without its problems due to contextualization and cultural concepts regarding how it has been difficult to prove the existence of not only Sámi religion, but also direct historical links to the ancestors of the people we know today as the Sámi.

Typically, Sámi religion is more commonly placed and described within the context of a nomadic reindeer hunting culture, as old religion or early religion and world-view. In addition, further complexity is noted in early sources when Sámi religion in terms of homogeneity is said to have been influenced by Scandinavian religions where loans and practices have been similar as have cosmologies as Swedish historian of religions Håkan Rydving in his scholarly works: *Scandinavian—Saami Religious Connections in the History of Research* (1990: 358), has stated.

“The religions of Scandinavians and Saamis have, for decades of scholarship, functioned as sources of analogies to explain elements in one another. For the study of Saami religion answers to questions about origins were sought in Scandinavian religion, while Saami religion has been seen by students of Scandinavian religion, as a preserver and a faithful witness of Scandinavian concepts and rites that had vanished in the times reflected in the literary sources. This view has now changed. In recent decades the tendency has been to use the loan explanations more and more sparsely. Elements in Saami religion that were seen earlier as Scandinavian loans are now explained in a Finno-Ugric context, whereas the few elements in Scandinavian religion that were thought of as loans from the Saamis are more often looked upon as inherited from a common origin, a North Eurasian cultural stratum, The search for analogies has, in any case, preoccupied the historian of religions in this field, too”.

Rydving (1990: 370-371), has also rightly noted in what ways within the study of Sámi religion in a pre-historical framework, this presents various challenges concerning both interpretation and context.

“The discussion has, to a great extent, fastened in a static view of both Scandinavian and Saami religion. It has, for example, been taken as more or less self-evident that the religions of pre-Christian Fenno-Scandinavia were rather uniform. This was, however, scarcely the case. We must reckon instead with great variation within the religious traditions of the different ethnic groups. There was never any uniform Saami (or Scandinavian) religion, but important regional variations, even though the condition of the sources produces the temptation to generalize on weak grounds. Thus,

the written sources describing the southern Saami region are much more exhaustive than sources for other Saami areas, and the literary sources to Scandinavian religion describe almost exclusively Iceland and Norway, while very little is known about the religious ideas and practices of eastern and southern Scandinavia.

Furthermore, various Christian missions penetrated parts of the area at different periods, and also influenced the religious life of those who were not converted, and the majority of the sources belong to the Christian period. This causes additional difficulties in separating the Christian from the pre-Christian. The religious history of the region is thus very complex. The encounter of religions in pre-Christian Fenno-Scandinavia — involving Finns, Karelians and Russians as well as Scandinavians and Saamis—was no simple interchange of easily defined loans between well demarcated socio-cultural units, but a multiplicity of different dynamic processes. Not until more of these processes have been described on the micro-level, will it be possible to provide a tolerably correct synthesis of the religions. The whole spectrum of Scandinavian - Saami religious connections would in fact be worth a new series of examinations”.

From within a more recent description of the use of drums and shamanism amongst the Sámi from the seventeenth century onwards, and as a way to demonstrate that the practice has survived but has remained a complicated field of inquiry Rydving (2014: 144), also describes how the

“Saamis who continued to practice indigenous religious customs made a point of hiding them [drums] from the clergymen and from Saamis they did not trust. It is therefore quite logical when the period after the end of drum-time was called the period ‘when one had to hide the drums,’ not the period ‘when the use of drums had ceased’ or the like. It is important to be aware of the great difference between what clergymen and others who did not accept the traditional religious customs knew of, and the knowledge about these matters among those who tried to preserve the customs. The latter persons, unfortunately, wrote no sources, but recordings from the nineteenth and also the twentieth century show that isolated remnants of the indigenous religious customs were still alive. How these elements functioned is, however, obscure”.

Through my study of the works of scholars like Rydving, it seems to me that this obscurity has been in existence for a long-time, but now the question of the survival and continuity of Sámi shamanism and world-view has emerged in more recent times in my research as the Sámi are in the process of reconstructing their traditions. But there are still problems that exist concerning the meanings and interpretations of *noaidi* drum symbolism and figures according to Rydving.

For example, in academic study of the drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there exists a fair amount of ambiguity concerning by what manner figures and symbolism on the drums should be approached and subsequently interpreted and in what ways the instruments were used. Problems as such, have been addressed by Rydving (1991: 28) who states how “as silent, non-written sources they are impossible to interpret and use without help from the written source material”.

Furthermore, Rydving (1991: 29) has also described to what degree,

“the role of the drums as symbols of Saami resistance is well attested in the sources from the 17th and 18th centuries. For the Saamis, the drums represented their threatened culture, the resistance against the Christian claim to exclusiveness, and a striving to preserve traditional values — i.e. the

good' that had to be saved. For the Church authorities, on the other hand, the drums symbolized the explicit nucleus of the elusive Saami 'paganism' — i.e. 'the evil' that had to be annihilated".

I have also had to think carefully about this concerning theoretical problems with regard to practical considerations when I have heard Sámi *noaidi* in Norwegian *Sápmi* who were brought up in towns and cities talking about how they are embracing their religious practices again openly by contrast to what has been said regarding eradication of such traditions by the Church and its representatives. The reason being is these old ways, which have remained secretive and are also still outlawed by the Church, are now visible. What we see are in what ways Sámi persons who are practicing shamanism are getting involved in reindeer herding and fishing through and working with older Sámi people, younger Sámi *noaidi* are creating partnerships that are educational with elders and tradition bearers who are sharing their knowledge with them. This includes learning about spells and incantations, for example, regarding fishing and reindeer luck in hunting and herding.

Further commentary concerning questions and theories regarding the survival and continuity of Sámi shamanism and the old traditions and world-view within Finnish *Sápmi* has been addressed by Sámi historian Veli-Pekka Lehtola (2002: 28) who describes in what ways

"Recent Sámi research has criticized the picture of the missionizing work as too simplistic. The tendency of the Lapland missionaries to regard Sámi mythology as nothing more than a collection of underdeveloped beliefs was also reflected in the views of scholars. A typical example was T. I. Itkonen's book *Suomen lappalaiset vuoteen 1945* (Finland's Lapps to the year 1945) where he carefully differentiated "folklore" and "mythology" and later "belief in magic".

Recent research regards the old shamanism as a part of the whole world-view, rather than a religion or superstition. The varied oral tradition and *yoiks* are fragmentary remains of that world-view. Because conversion was a matter of replacing the complete world-view, it probably, despite force, was nowhere near complete in a few decades.

Old customs were preserved for a long time at least in some form. For example in *Anár (Aanaar)* [Inari], offerings which earlier would have been taken to the *Sieidis* were instead, for many decades, brought to the church at Peälbjärvi. Christian views and imagery still were filtered through the old religion. Elements of the old religion continued to survive "in mothballs" even until the 1800s".

It is my understanding that Sámi religion is a system made up of different elements, some traces of these elements may have disappeared or are still somewhat visible, whilst others remain strong. Taking this into consideration therefore, means we still do not have a complete picture of Sámi religion even today. Moreover, there are perhaps a very few Sámi people living a nomadic lifestyle as one would expect to find in the seventeenth century.

Despite this fact, hunting, trapping and fishing as well as reindeer herding practices are still at the core of Sámi identity and culture, and therefore, continue, as do sacrificial practices in some areas; practices, which can be found in prehistory and also extensively from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One other point, is I have also noted how reference to Sámi religion in the modern sense is not so common at all, but more so used within a past tense.

It should also be mentioned that Sámi religion is not only confined to healing activities, drum use and also hunting, fishing and reindeer herding. As explained within missionary sources, religious practices

are also commonplace within the home and for example, creating handicrafts, and there are traces of these that are still evident today, in the ways materials are chosen and used

What has also been important to understand concerning its relevance to my research is how usually, shamanism, or spiritual traditions is in what ways Sámi people have expressed their cultural practices in relation to healing, rituals and drum use. But this may vary from country to country and person to person. In his doctoral dissertation: *A touch of Red, Archaeological and Ethnographic Approaches to Interpreting Finnish Rock Paintings* (2008a), archaeologist Antti Lahelma (2005: 34), for example has noted how “the student of Finnish rock art cannot completely ignore the fact that shamanism is a central element of both Finnish and Sámi pre-Christian religion”. In a similar fashion, in his scholarly works: *Saami Religion, Based on Papers Read at the Symposium on Saami Religion held at Åbo, Finland, on the 16th-18th of August 1984*, Swedish scholar Tore Ahlbäck (1987), also makes reference to the term “[...] pre-Christian Saami religion [...]”.

For the purpose of this research, I will refer to the practice of shamanism and drum use as being within the context of Sámi religion, to which shamanism takes up a central role and function although the subject matter requires further scholarly debate.

Within the study of Sámi religion, I consider my research as an outsider to have value in so much as it has brought with it new ways of conducting analysis and new types of questions from a different background, which perhaps local persons who study themselves may not see or be aware of, thus creating new research paradigms. For example, enquiry into the study of new types of drums and social change in relation to how we encounter Sámi shamanism today as outsiders. Other descriptions are the creation of art, capturing the re-making of the spiritual aspects of culture in modern times and thereby, examining the important role art has played within these different contexts and settings as a vehicle for cultural continuity. Sámi scholars Jelena Porsanger and Gunvor Guttorm (2011: 18), have, through their definition of what traditional Knowledge (*Árbediehtu*) is, have better explained how both past and present are intimately linked together.

“*Árbediehtu* is the collective wisdom and skills of the of the Sami people used to enhance their livelihood for centuries. It has been passed down from generation to generation both orally and through work and practical experience. Through this continuity, the concept of *árbediehtu* ties past, present and future together”.

The reason for such a series of approaches and explanation of these points here is that these types of knowledge systems which are built in various ways are where according to Caruana (2003: 10), “art expresses individual and group identity, and the relationship between people and the land”, which as an outsider is something important I have had to learn. Therefore, a fusion between both group and individual identity as recorded and expressed through art plays a fundamental role with regard to coming into contact with, analyzing and understanding the different aspects of the living spiritual traditions of the Sámi that are characterized by reindeer herding, hunting, fishing and trapping from past to present. In other words, traditional knowledge in the form of art is central to the lives of indigenous peoples and its function can be seen as a method for unifying past with present and human beings with the realms of nature, within society, culture and religion.

In the case of contextualization's, it can be said that there are a series of relationships and correlations between Sámi shamanism, art and cosmology in terms of religion and spiritual practices, which underlie the development and sustainability of the culture with regard to identity, ethnicity, language and the

forwarding of traditional knowledge across generations and millennia. From my observations, the Sámi have developed their relationships with the natural world through direct experience, and the practices of hunting, fishing, trapping and reindeer herding over a long period of time play a central role within such processes.

Such subsistence practices as those noted above demonstrate how, and in the case of the Sámi, indigenous culture and its different manifestations have been shaped by the heritage and traditions of their ancestors, which are still both visible and evident today in modern society as new art forms and spiritual practices as new narratives emerge. From within these cyclical life-ways, it is apparent as to how both historically and in contemporary society, subsistence activities still play a role and function in forming the basis for the material culture and everyday life throughout *Sápmi*.

One could argue that the reasons why such artistic knowledge and ways of life has survived and why they are re-surfacing and evolving is because of the cyclical nature of worldviews and myths that are common practices of Sámi culture and thus, are a reflection of the resilient animistic belief systems portraying sacred intelligence in different forms related to oral history, which are inherent in the cultures of indigenous peoples⁹.

However, it must be noted that at the end of the Second World War, in Finnish and Norwegian Lapland, much of Sámi material culture had been destroyed due to the burning of both areas. This is in addition, to the long and sustained attempts at erasing Sámi religion in Finland by the Church and Kingdom of Sweden to which Finland was a part.

Needless to say, that as a consequence, many of the textual sources of material are fragmented, unreliable or were simply destroyed. One further point is that up until the missionary sources of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were compiled, Sámi history was recorded and transmitted through oral traditions, and art being one of these practices. It is likewise important to recognize also how and by contrast, much knowledge has been preserved within Sámi persons.

In this review of the Sámi as an indigenous people, their religion, cultural history and re-emergence of spiritual practices in contemporary society, I consider it important before outlining the aims of the study to define what the term indigenous actually means with regard to the continuity of culture. The reasons for needing to outline this are because these expressions of culture, help later on, with contextualizing my important argument regarding rock art research in relation to what I see as evidence for the continuity of culture as observed through *noaidi* drum symbolism and new types of art emerging today.

One example comes from Native scholar Shawn Wilson (2008: 88), who states that:

“Indigenous [...] in its original Latin it means, ‘born of the land’ or ‘springs from the land’. We also can take in another way as well, as that born of its context, born of the environment. So therefore when you create something from an Indigenous perspective, you are creating it from that environment, from that land that it sits in. Now with Indigenous peoples and their traditions and customs, they are shaped by the environment, the land, their relationship; their spiritual, emotional and physical relationship to that land. It speaks to them; it gives them their responsibility for stewardship”.

9 There are different ways the term: Sámi is used depending on the language and area, for example there are variations amongst north Sámi and South Sami, as well as Saami and Same. In the works of Johannes Schefferus [1674] (1971: 15), he notes the following in relation to what might be the original etymology given to both the Finns and Sámi. “First the name of both nations is the same, the Laplanders in their own language being called Sabmi or Same, and the Finlanders Suomi [...]”.

A second description concerning how indigenous knowledge in the form of art, which has been transcribed from religious practices such as ceremonies and ritual has been accumulated and portrayed at certain areas on the landscapes is likewise beneficial. For example, at sacred sites, which is where rock art is often encountered as religious expression, carries with it a certain significance in relation to how the site might have been chosen due to its significance and their eternalness as holy places. This time Grimm (1998: 2), writes about lifeway.

“Indigenous spokes people have described their traditional ecological knowledge as interwoven into the whole fabric, or lifeway, of their existence as a people. The lifeways of contemporary indigenous societies and the ecosystems in which they reside are vital, interactive wholes”.

On reflection, it seems as if the artistic decoration of landscapes in particular within Sámi culture, and other traditional cultures is an established way of proclaiming identity, ethnicity, expressing oral narratives through storytelling that both characterize and describe life stories, individually as well as collectively, throughout the course of time. These accounts it maybe said, play a central role in both shamanism and cosmology, thus reflecting the relationships with the cosmos, landscapes, animals and other non-human persons.

From within these cyclical life-ways, it is apparent as to how both historically and in contemporary society, reindeer hunting and herding as well as the hunting of wild game and fishing can be understood as forming the basis for the material culture and everyday life throughout *Sápmi*.

It may also be said that because indigenous peoples have not documented their history in the same written and textual manner as western cultures have, that they have often been considered to be without a history. This difference in cultures is one of the main sources of contention in the study of the history of indigenous peoples by outsiders and also criticism of outsiders by indigenous peoples because of the ways their cultures have been analyzed and misrepresented in historical research and modern discourse.

Before explaining the aims of the research, I also wish to emphasize that in certain circumstances and as a method for helping present important sources of knowledge and current theories regarding Sámi history and culture, I have made use of a number of long references within the dissertation from both western and indigenous sources, which I consider to be important. Not only because some of these texts have been translated into English from Swedish, Finnish and Norwegian, but in so far as, when my research is published, the plan is to make the document available on electronic format, so other indigenous peoples from around the world, whose cultures are somewhat different from Sámi culture, can gain access to it. Thus, electronic format means it is easier to share new and important sources of knowledge in this way.

1.2 Aims of the research

The core aims of the research cover three categories with regard to Sámi culture. Namely, research into the history, ethnicity and cultural contexts of prehistorical rock art, predominantly in Finland, but also in Finnmark, in Norwegian *Sápmi*. Furthermore, analysis of symbolism and figures from Sámi *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish *Sápmi*, and an investigation into the reproduction of new types of drums made by both Sámi and non-Sámi persons and the reuse and application both old and new types of symbolism to these drums within different contexts.

With the aforementioned in mind, the aims of the research cover sacrificial practices, the art of *joiking*, and also different types of symbols and figures that feature prominently in Sámi art. The subject matter can be chiefly divided into these contexts, all of which are intended to increase our knowledge about Sámi culture, ethnicity, identity, history, traditional knowledge and continuity of culture. My intention is

to approach the subject material using a broader-holistic methodology where consideration is given to what Aamold (2014: 75), refers to as

“Research by and for indigenous peoples, using techniques and methods drawn from the tradition and knowledge’s of those peoples. The aim is to achieve common insights that embody ‘the cosmologies, values, cultural beliefs, and webs of relationship that exist within specific indigenous communities’”.

I am grateful new directions in research ethics and practices are evolving from within both indigenous scholarship as well as western research practices and scholarship. Despite their application to scientific study being relatively recent, research ethics do offer researchers guidance on how to proceed with formulating and documenting research practices, which will benefit indigenous peoples and their cultures. These predominantly include contributions from female scholars, as well as male scholars, who have taken a central position in the formulation of research ethics and expectations regarding the decolonizing processes involved in challenging old stereotypical methodologies used throughout history.

Therefore, the implementation of new methods and approaches, which offer comprehensive guidelines now ascribed and used in Sámi research that are included as a basis for the proposed investigation, help create a more holistic and encompassing approach to the study.

I would also like to stress that as a way of not repeating the old colonialist ways of engaging with Sámi culture, three primary aims in the research and published papers are concerned with the following. The first addresses questions in rock painting research in relation to additional information regarding the links between Sámi cultural histories in the discussion about rock paintings in Finland and *noaidi* drum symbolism as addressed through previous scholarly discourse.

1.3 Rock art and *noaidi* drum symbolism research

This subject matter is widely covered in the analysis because the parallels between these two research paradigms in terms of a similar mental landscape is what links past and present generations and cultures together, suggesting the survival of a spiritual tradition from prehistory into modern time. Moreover, within Sámi culture and history, because of the ways obscurity exists regarding the systematic attempts at destruction of the Sámi world-view depicted on drums by missionaries, and therefore, interpretation and understanding of what the surviving symbolism and figures mean, because new research from rock art studies has identified parallels between *noaidi* drum figures and landscapes and rock art, the analysis of these two sources of data helps demonstrate how religious ideas, concepts, stories and representations of culture have been conveyed for the purposes of recreating and preserving cultural memory. Or, as Goldammer (2017: 1) has stated,

Systems of symbols and pictures that are constituted in a certain ordered and determined relationship to the form, content, and intention of presentation are believed to be among the most important means of knowing and expressing religious facts. Such systems also contribute to the maintenance and strengthening of the relationships between human beings and the realm of the sacred or holy (the transcendent, spiritual dimension). The symbol is, in effect, the mediator, presence, and real (or intelligible) representation of the holy in certain conventional and standardized forms.

Therefore, the need for a further investigation into the links between *noaidi* drum figures and rock paintings figures, and the relationship between these two sources of art is of special importance within the subject matter of the dissertation, despite the wanton destruction caused by missionizing.

This is because I consider my research not only re-opens the dialogue of this topic, but how, and based on the results of my analysis published in paper 2: To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland (2014) and 5: *Noaidi* Drums From *Sápmi*, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation (2017), as well as the data presented later on in the dissertation on rock art research, discussions relating to cultural heritage and how Sámi history is rooted in oral traditions, which are represented by symbolism, have revealed in what ways there is the potential for what is referred to by Lehtola and Äikäs (2009: 9) for “[...] updating academic discussion on the roots of the Saami [...]”, or what Guttorm (2011: 66), refers to as “[...] the existence of a common memory”, and therefore, re-examine what has been written about the cultural context of the rock paintings in relation to this debate with regard the art being representational of systems of embedded knowledge, forwarded across millennia.

The reasons for the need to broaden the scope of the enquiry into this particular area of research stems from my findings published in paper 2: To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland (2014) and 5: *Noaidi* Drums From *Sápmi*, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation (2017), pertaining to unanswered questions concerning theories of a direct historical link between the cultural heritage of rock paintings in Finland and Sámi religion and cosmology from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Moreover, what traverses back into prehistory from amongst the ancestors of the Sámi people, as noted by Kjellström (1987: 32), which are found amongst “certain traditional elements of Saami religion [...]”.

Another publication on the same subject matter titled: The Vitträsk Rock Painting and the Theory of a Sámi Cosmological Landscape (2016), which is not included in the dissertation, but like paper 2: To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland (2014) and 5: *Noaidi* Drums From *Sápmi*, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation (2017), has brought forth new contexts and demonstrated in what ways reconsideration can be given in relation to how iconographic parallels between predominantly Swedish, as well as Norwegian *noaidi* drum symbolism and cosmological landscapes have been investigated earlier within rock art sites in Finland and the Alta Fjord rock carving site in northern Norway.

My investigation has revealed new findings concerning parallel correlations and relationships between horned and triangular headed figures and structures in rock paintings in Finland, which I have used in my research as the hypothesis for them representing supernatural beings and gods, and horned and triangular headed spirit figures and sacrificial *sieidi* platforms and structures on *noaidi* drums. This was after analyzing all the *noaidi* drum heads from Manker’s material (1938 & 1950), and recognizing what I believe is a pattern or trait by a percentage of the drum painters (artists), predominantly from the Swedish side of *Sápmi* who have portrayed a significant number of spirit figures and sacred places that have horned and/or triangular headed features, as well as X shapes (cross figures), that are representative of sacred places. Because of the extensiveness of my findings, I decided to make comparative studies between these and similar figures found in rock paintings in Finland.

As a consequence, the results of my enquiry has meant by placing the focus on Sámi cosmology rather than shamanism and cultural continuity in my methodological approach to the investigation, new sources of information have emerged presenting broader significance of the material, thereby, demonstrating what could be considered as a direct historical link between the subject matter. Whereas and by contrast, in mainstream

scholarship in Finnish discourse, horned figures have been interpreted as shamans, and therefore, linked with shamanism, but also with a direct historical link to the material as Lahelma (2008a) has discussed¹⁰.

Justification of an approach as such is done so by demonstrating in what ways despite there are claims for a common linguistic ancestry between the Sámi and Finns, which forms a link between rock art and drum symbolism making the research theoretically important and possible, but as I have argued in paper 2: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland* (2014) and 5: *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation* (2017), Sámi ethnicity and history are both poorly represented and documented in rock art research, generally speaking, throughout the Nordic countries and particularly in Finland, in relation to what I will refer to as the established views and cultural policies of the nation states and their researchers. To elaborate further, Sámi history in terms of rock art enquiry has been at the mercy of the nation states since the art was first discovered and documented in the 1970s, concerning denial and misrepresentation of their culture.

From my observations, one of the main problems that prevents a more sound interpretation of the overall figures and structures in the rock art research is how we cannot know for sure if the variations between horned and triangular headed figures and structures are predisposed to play a particular role and are therefore, indicative of male and female supernatural beings within a cosmological order, as they are on *noaidi* drums? Equally, and at the same time, it is also important to remember how studies on Sámi shamanism has also revealed other forms of similar parallel phenomena found in rock paintings in Finland and *noaidi* drums figures and symbolism, such as boats, animals, horned moose and human figures that are flying and falling, as is presented and discussed later. But despite these problems, it still makes the materials worthy of being studied in relation to Sámi history.

Additional focus on the results of my earlier study concerning what has been published in paper 2: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland* (2014) and 5: *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation* (2017), opens up discussions on heritage, art and questions concerning representation and therefore, this is the context the subject matter engages with. Moreover, how in a broader field of enquiry, archaeological, anthropological and linguistic research practices have contributed, debated and influenced this discussion concerning dating and the cultural context of the paintings.

Another point, which makes the research difficult is that triangular structures on drums are quite common, in addition to spirit figures with triangular shaped heads and also *sieidi* sacrificial offering platforms and sacred places. Thus, an examination of Manker's work (1950), also reveals in what ways there are *lavvu* and other standing structures, such as groups of spirits and poles or rods that are triangular in shape, or have attributes as such, perhaps indicating a technique, which has been commonplace with regard to the decoration of drums but also dedication of an area that has some kind of sacredness to it, which likewise, calls for further study.

In Finland, the presence of both horned and triangular headed attributes on human-like figures within both contexts, raise a number of possibilities concerning links with ethnicity and identity in relation to Sámi history, which both Lehtola and Äikäs (2009: 8), refer to what might be a series of "[...] mythical explanations [...]" regarding cultural constructs in relation to what might be their distinctiveness as spirits.

One possibility regarding the similarities between figures and in the manner they are portrayed is they show the richness of the Sámi tradition where beliefs and practices that are akin, have survived for thousands of years.

¹⁰ See pages 42-44.

According to Sámi archaeologist Inga-Maria Mulk (2013: 2), “rock art in Fenno-Scandinavia can be divided into northern ‘hunter art’ and southern ‘farmer art’ styles. The distribution of rock art sites shows that ‘hunter art’ is found not only in the area where the Sámi people live today but also across a much more extensive area settled in former times by the ancestors of the Sámi [...]”.

As noted above, rock art research in Finland in relation to Sámi history and cultural continuity from prehistory has been typically influenced by how there are three cultures in Finland: Finns, Karelian and Sámi, who share a common linguistic heritage with other Finno-Ugric peoples according to language history studies. However, this debate is not only confined to Finland. Similar questions about heritage and culture with regard to prehistoric rock art are also being debated in Norway and Sweden with regard to Sámi history and origins.

Taking into account this Finno-Ugric association would explain why in particular, figures with horned heads at rock painting sites in Finland have been interpreted as shamans because horned shamans are commonplace within Finni-Ugric cultures, especially throughout Siberia, as I have discussed in paper 2: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland* (2014) and 5: *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation* (2017). Perhaps one area where I see problems arise is based on how the Sámi have not been confined to one country, and at the time the rock art was made, there were no national borders as there are today, which, makes research into both Finnish and Sámi prehistory somewhat difficult, as far as rock art research goes, but not impossible.

The main challenge I see in these claims is not to disprove what has been written in Finnish research, but to make a further contribution to the field of research through additional data from prehistory that has a relationship with Sámi cosmology from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with regard to a type of language as well as parallels between the figures and symbolism in relation to landscapes use and representation. This is approached predominantly through comparative and descriptive methodological enquiry in order to broaden the subject matter and is done so as a way to gain a better understanding of local history and traditions and highlight some of the problems encountered in research as a result.

Another possible contributing factor is because, nearly all the paintings, with the ambiguity of two sites in *Sápmi*, lie outside of the Arctic Circle and because there is, according to scholarly discourse, a great deal of obscurity regarding Sámi prehistoric populations in southern Finland, which could be argued, denies the Sámi shared involvement and authority in terms of cultural heritage and its preservation and protection.

As a procedure to shed further light on the controversy encountered in prehistorical research into Sámi prehistory by scholars from the nation states and in order to understand more about some of the research practices involving cultural heritage, what is described by Fossum (2006: 16), has value concerning how with regard to representation

“The images of Sámi religion that have emerged have often been of a uniform and invariable religion. There is a tendency that historians of religion have displayed an antipathy towards using archaeological material, especially if the archaeological material is not in line with the information obtained from the written sources”¹¹.

Therefore, would it not be important to establish who has the right, collectively, to be included in claims regarding cultural heritage in relation to prehistoric rock paintings? Because as described by Silverman and Fairchild Ruggles (2007: vi), “heritage is important because it provides symbolic and economic sus-

11 Translated from Swedish to English by Carl-Gösta Ojala (2009).

tenance, meaning, and dignity to human lives. It legitimizes territorial and intellectual ownership, and it is a critical factor in the formation of social identity”.

To further expand on what is defined as cultural heritage in relation to Sámi history, this is best understood as described by ICOMOS (2002), where:

Cultural Heritage is an expression of the ways of living developed by a community and passed on from generation to generation, including customs, practices, places, objects, artistic expressions and values. Cultural Heritage is often expressed as either Intangible or Tangible Cultural Heritage. As part of human activity Cultural Heritage produces tangible representations of the value systems, beliefs, traditions and lifestyles. As an essential part of culture as a whole, Cultural Heritage, contains these visible and tangible traces from antiquity to the recent past.

In Finland, according to the Antiquities Act (1963) the boulders and rock formations where rock art has been made, including some of these boulders that have been used also for sacrificial purposes are, according to The Antiquities Act (1963/295), “ancient monuments protected by law as antiquities pertaining to the past settlement and history of Finland”.

There are variations in the number of rock paintings and figures in Finland because of the different ways researchers in their respective fields have approached, interpreted and counted these historical sources and the times when this was undertaken. For example, from an inventory published by artist Kare (2000: 116-117), he says “443 paintings and figures at 70 sites”.

Lahelma (2008a: 194-198), on the other hand, counts “[...] only clear and unambiguous images” and puts the number at “486”. Rock art photographer Ismo Luukkonen (1994-2017: 1), has counted “763 figures as of December 2015”.

Because within Finnish scholarly discourse, in a kind of general consensus or blanket statement, that rock paintings in Finland are termed as being ‘Finnish’, and linked with shamanism and animal ceremonialism, by for example, eminent scholars who have researched and contributed to this subject matter, I consider it important at this point to outline some of the main sources used in the research where this subject matter has been investigated.

These are as follows. Archaeologist Antti Lahelma, who is a rock art specialist from the University of Helsinki, and who published his doctoral dissertation: *A Touch of Red: Archaeological and Ethnographic Approaches to Interpreting Finnish Rock Art* (2008a). Retired Anthropologist Anna-Leena Siikala, also from the University of Helsinki who has conducted extensive research into the study of Siberian shamanism and rock art in Finland. Siikala is perhaps best known for her scholarly works on the topic titled: *Finnish Rock Art, Animal Ceremonialism and Shamanism* (1981).

Further contributors from within the field of rock art research in relation to the study of Sámi shamanism are anthropologist Milton Núñez who is a retired professor of archaeology at the University of Oulu, Finland, and his scholarly works: *On the possible Survival of Religious Ideas from the Mesolithic to the Historic Lapps* (1981), *Finnish Prehistoric Rock Art and Local Historical Traditions* (1994), and *Reflections of Finnish Rock Art and Local Historical Traditions* (1995).

Another contributor to this discussion is anthropologist Eero Autio from the University of Joensuu, and his two scholarly works: *The Snake and Zig-zag Motifs in Finnish Rock Paintings and Saami Drums* (1991), and *Horned and Anthropomorphic Figures in Finnish Rock Paintings: Shamans or Something Else?* (1995).

Finnish artist, writer and former Rector of Tampere University of Applied Sciences in the Media and Arts Programme, Antero Kare, who published his artistic works: *MAYANNDASH: Rock Art in the An-*

cient Arctic (2000), is another person whose analysis has been directed to the study of shamanism within rock art research.

I do not believe that the Sámi have used the symbols of a culture unknown to them because they did not have their own culture or cosmology. I feel this would create further reductionism regarding the study of Sámi history or indeed sovereignty.

In terms of cultural heritage, it is likewise important to consider that if the question of sovereignty or heritage goes unaddressed in relation to rock art research, it can be used to dismiss a whole area of scholarship concerning representation, the depths of Sámi history in relation to such a topic and its potential benefits to modern Sámi culture. This may also be linked to how, and because of colonialism, the Finns and Sámi have been considered to be a national culture, thus as a way to subordinate the Sámi. To refer to the rock paintings as Finnish, places them in a new order, with no cross-cultural management, which benefits the Finns and their cultural history, when viewed from both inside and outside the culture.

As a consequence, I wish to emphasize however, at this point, that my purpose for the investigation is not to settle the issue of ethnicity and cultural heritage with regard to Sámi history in Finland, but to describe in a more comprehensive manner some of the issues that have come to light in relation to this subject matter.

Finally, in addition to what has been published in paper 2: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland* (2014) and 5: *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation* (2017), in the chapter ‘The parallels between rock paintings and *noaidi* drum symbolism in relation to Sámi and Finnish prehistories and oral traditions,’ I have presented a much more in-depth study of the drums in Manker’s 1950 volume as a method of presenting more evidence concerning the spirits found on the *noaidi* drums that are depicted with horns and triangular heads as well as *sieidi* spirits and structures that likewise have triangular shaped structures as well as being represented by cross symbols (X). What this research has revealed is in what ways the largest number of these drums are from the Swedish side of *Sápmi*, which is much closer to the former Kemi and Tornio Sámi areas of northern Finland.

1.4 Research into new types of *noaidi* drums and symbolism, and the reuse of symbolism from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

The purpose for investigating this particular subject matter is to address in what ways new types of drums and their symbolism are encountered within a modern context and their artistic and cultural relationship with the authentic historical *noaidi* drums of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are two dimensions to this particular field of enquiry. The first one investigates the emergence of new types of drums that are decorated with both old and new figures and symbols because up until the present time, data on new types of Sámi shaman drums in academic discourse is obscure. Therefore, what I have presented herein on this topic can be seen as contribution to this research paradigm.

From within this framework, the investigation aims to bring to light the ambiguous nature concerning the reuse of Sámi symbols by persons from outside of Sámi culture, and how this appears to reduce them into modern culture as souvenirs and items of jewelry from their sacred function and meaning in terms of cultural heritage and representation with regard to their value within Sámi history.

To help broaden the discussion, and as a way to further explore the topic, I have also drawn on what Sámi scholar Gunvor Guttorm (2007), has written about the misuse of indigenous peoples’ traditional

knowledge by persons from outside the culture, as a way of presenting and supporting the argument. As far as I am aware, this subject matter with regard to drums has not really been covered extensively in scientific research previously in Finland and therefore, presents an opportunity to bring a variety of issues into focus within this frame of reference, such as who owns the copyright of indigenous history and provides examples of how Sámi history has been appropriated into the tourist industry in Finland.

Amidst the aims of the study within this particular context, additional emphasis on the topic helps demonstrate the value of an enquiry as such in relation to how it brings into focus tourism, as an exploitative resource with regard to cultural integrity in relation to ethical issues surrounding the creation of new types of art on drums. These new constructs appear to undermine the sacred function of authentic drums, which from my observations, expose to what extent Sámi rights are completely ignored with respect to drums and Sámi history and the transmission of Sámi cultural history and heritage.

The case studies that are presented herein and concerned with the reuse of symbolism, effectively demonstrate the extent of complexities involved in research of this nature. Throughout this chapter, which is titled: A discussion concerning the types of issues which have arisen in relation to the production and decoration of new types of drums and the reuse of *noaidi* drum symbolism in Finland; I have included photographic evidence of new types of drums that have been modelled on the old *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to show how the symbols and figures have been reproduced on an assortment of drums.

Because the subject matter is a new type of discussion on this topic, it therefore, has much value in terms of Sámi research because it provides a clear and concise example, where Sámi religion has been assimilated into the tourist industry and modern Finnish culture, thus meaning the symbolism from the drums have become a commodity of tourism. Thus stating the obvious that Sámi culture has been adapted to consumer culture. However, it has also been interesting to note, in what ways some Sámi people also see value and use these replica drums for their own purposes. because of the artistic symbolism painted on them.

I have also felt it important to provide the reader with a brief description of the materials used to build and decorate drums with as a comparative method to demonstrate changes to customs and practices.

The second dimension to the research, which investigates the re-emergence of new types of drums that reflect *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are those built by Sámi persons and have different functions. The analysis into the subject matter has already been covered in paper 3: What Influence do the Old Sámi *Noaidi* Drums from Lapland Play in the Construction of New Shaman Drums by Sámi persons Today?, published in 2014, through the interviews detailing the contributions from Sámi drum makers Elle-Maaret Helander (2011 & 2014), Ovlla Gaup (2011 & 2013), and Lilja Takalo (2015), a Finnish woman with Sámi family history. However, through the compilation of new material, Helander's work is expanded upon in relation to the reuse of figures from rock painting landscapes, as well as new types of handicraft productions that have been decorated with modern symbols and figures that reflect those from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on *noaidi* drums, as is the case with Takalo's contribution to the study. Takalo's drum landscapes have particular importance as a research paradigm because they are concerned with the construction of oral narratives based on cultural influences and personal experiences with spirits, and in addition, portray cultural monuments and landscapes related to *sieidi* sacred places, which is where rock paintings are also found. Moreover, Takalo's contribution because of the mythical paradigm of her art, links in quite well with paper 4, titled: Sámi Shamanism, Symbolism and Fishing Magic (2015), because this analysis is likewise concerned with oral narrative and interspecies communication.

What also makes a positive contribution to the study is in what ways Helander (2011: 3) has also in terms of her making drums, described how she has “[...] put together instructions in the English language for a drum blessing ceremony, because [as a Sámi person, I do not [...] exactly know how they have made it, done it in the old times].” I also see this information as having value within the research and so have included it as well.

In addition to Helander, Gaup’s and Takalo’s contributions, other types of decorated drums are presented for analysis as a way of building evidence that demonstrates how drum making as a traditional practice continues throughout *Sápmi* in Finland, for example, by Ilmari Laiti and Ilmari Tapiola.

Also, from the Norwegian side of *Sápmi*, the interview with Gaup (2013: 1) captured how the safeguarding of traditional knowledge has taken place “through building the drum, [and in what ways] there was a sense of reclaiming Sámi identity” and Gaup did not want the skill of drum making to disappear.

To add another dimension to the study on the creations of new types of drums by Sámi persons, I have included information about drum making courses by Fredrik Prost from Kiruna who was interviewed at the Isogaisa Sámi shaman festival in 2015 regarding some of the taboos and customs associated with this craft and what these mean regarding cultural practices. In addition to the interview with Prost, Peter Armstrand also from Kiruna, who I have interviewed on different occasions, has also provided intimate information about Sámi spirits painted on his drum and how the drum functions during his work in relation to exorcism, other types of healing practices, and as a representation of Sámi culture and its history.

In terms of interviewing Nadia Fenina (2015) Lilja Takalo, and Elle-Maaret Helander with regard to a shift in traditional practices in the classical texts such as Schefferus’s *History of Lapland* (1674, first English edition), and Ernst Manker’s: *Die lappische Zaubertrommel: Eine Ethnologische Monographie 1* (1938), this kind of information in relation to Sami women with regard to the practice of drum making, use and decoration has been overlooked and underrepresented. Conversely, early accounts about women in Sámi society portray them as being employed mainly as assistants to the male *noaidi*; and not as ritual operatives themselves, and therefore, we can gain only a certain amount of insight into how women may have been involved in the dynamics of ecstatic enterprise as well because in early Sami society we may assume equality amongst the sexes would have functioned according to tradition.

In this case and as Sámi scholar Louise Bäckman (1978: 84) has stated concerning how in early research “[...] it is stressed that woman were forbidden to touch the drum; they even had to avoid the way where the drum was transported, and had no possibility of participating in all the sacred acts that were performed”. A further point to be considered with reference to a lack of involvement by women may also have been due to the fact that because of the nature of many ethics involved within Sámi religion, those engaged in ritual were not open to sharing information with outsiders; this was for many reasons but the more recognizable ones are related to customs and taboos which helped maintain the framework of society and preservation of traditional knowledge, as well as protection of language which was also under attack by the authorities. The relationship between language and culture in Sámi society was another aspect decimated by Christian domination. For this reason, the interviews with all women has much value and importance for the research because their contributions and involvement demonstrate a change in tradition.

Overall, the purpose for interviewing all drum makers was one of the core research practices I used for collecting different types of data and presenting various perspectives on drum making as a method to show to what degree Sámi religion and traditions are still alive through the contexts of the interviews. Moreover, how new types of drums are built and old symbols are reused and applied in different settings by Sámi persons.

There are very many dimensions to Sámi religion and culture that we do not fully understand, and the fact that new drums are bringing forth new systems of knowledge shows how the views of the individ-

ual are painted and represented in such a way they bring a distinctive quality that depicts in what ways worldviews of both macrocosm and microcosm are similar but also different. For instance, the correlation between the drum landscapes and in the case of Helander's artistic productions such as rattles and amulets or charms that can be seen as an extension of the drum, all do in their own unique ways demonstrate how art and drum building show some of the methods of Sáminess is represented.

Moreover, and as additional research into the production and decoration of new types of drums, also included is an outlining of various disputes these bring in terms of recent developments, traditional practices and the reuse of symbolism from within Sámi culture. One of the ways I have undertaken this task is to provide detailed descriptions of how according to the early sources, drum making and decoration has taken place in comparison to the construction of drums and their subsequent decoration today, not to bring tradition and modernity into opposition with each other but to show in what ways traditions and contexts are changing, whilst at the same time, demonstrate how past and present expand our knowledge and understanding of a continuum of both heritage and practice, some of which are deemed controversial.

1.5 Research questions

The way I have demonstrated what I have set out to achieve above, is briefly outlined below through a number of questions that have been carefully considered in relation to new types of research from my English background as an outsider. These points are supported by the sources listed at the end of the dissertation in the appendix sections, and are centered on new advances in research into Sámi shamanism and cultural history in such a way they help to bring clarification and new understandings of both past and present and how these are related to each other, from the perspective of indigenous peoples.

The context of the research, aims to provide access to information, which in the past, has been difficult to access because of the division between western and indigenous cultures and peoples. Furthermore, the questions also aim to show that Sámi shamanism and culture is not merely folk art, something of the past, which no longer exists. The main ways this has been achieved is through compiling an extensive and combined study of rock paintings, drums and drum symbolism and placing it within both the framework and context of Sámi cultural history for the purpose of providing evidence of an interrelationship between the materials and continuity of culture.

The main research questions are as follows.

1. What impact does the distortion in early publications of literature which portrays Sámi religion and culture have in terms of identity, representation and cultural practices?
2. What significance do the figures in rock paintings in Finland and those on the *noaidi* drums from *Sápmi* have in terms of understanding links with Sámi cultural history in Sweden and Norway in relation to heritage?
3. How are the figures and symbols from prehistoric rock art and the Sámi *noaidi* drums of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in *Sápmi* being reused today in construction of new types of drums?
4. Does shamanism still exist in *Sápmi* and if so, who are the people engaged in these practices and how is their individual work encountered?
5. How can the faded symbolism on *noaidi* drums be interpreted in such a way that it illuminates important missing historical information concerning Sámi cultural practices, cosmology and the role and influence water and spirits play within these contexts in relation to the creation of art and practice of shamanism?

6. Can the content of prehistoric rock paintings be a contributing factor for using art history as a valuable method for helping to elaborate on discussions concerning cultural heritage and any possible signs of ethnicity?

Each of these questions above are slightly modified by contrast to those presented in each of the titles of the five published papers included in the dissertation. However, the questions in each of the papers are more detailed in terms of the aims and subsequent investigations, and also aspire towards answering research questions.

The purpose for the investigation presented in the dissertation and the problems, which have been encountered in rock painting research in Finland with regard to Sámi history and heritage is specifically detailed and outlined through the two papers presented herein (2: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland, 2014*) and 5: *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation 2017*). Both articles address problematic questions in relation to gaps in research pertaining to Sámi ethnicity, cultural practices and history. In addition, and within the extensive introduction, there are indeed many more questions that are brought into focus within the chapters presented in the dissertation as a result of the study on rock art and links with *noaidi* drum figures and symbolism, which deserve attention because of how new findings are emerging on these subject matters.

Papers 1: *The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami Noaidi Drum Figures Reversed (2011)*, 3: *What Influence do the Old Sámi Noaidi Drums from Lapland Play in the Construction of New Shaman Drums by Sámi persons Today? (2014)* and 4: *Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism (2015)*, are concerned with the study of *noaidi* drums, narrative, symbolism and cultural continuity as seen through the production of new types of drums by Sámi persons and the reuse of symbolism and figures from the old *noaidi* drums. The publications concerning research into the old drums and their figures and symbolism can likewise be seen as a basis for the research presented in the dissertation with regard to new types of drums and the reuse of symbolism. I have given a brief overview of each of these papers below.

2 Methodological orientation

I have combined together both indigenous and western research methods and approaches as a way to create a synthesis and unified methodology, because their combination suits this type of research. During the writing of each of the 5 papers, I discovered this formula works well in particular with regard to ambiguous materials, such as the cultural context of rock art and the study of drums and their artistic content and contexts.

My formulation also takes into account the divisions between western science and indigenous knowledge, as described by Mazzocchi (2006: 2), where “western science favours analytical and reductionist methods as opposed to the more intuitive and holistic view often found in traditional knowledge. Western science is positivist and materialist in contrast to traditional knowledge, which is spiritual and does not make distinctions between empirical and sacred” (Nakashima and Roué (2002).

To elaborate further, I have found that combined research methods worked well in a research setting where a comprehension of the understanding of the worldviews of the Sámi participants as being holistic and cyclical, during interviews and also references to their works and continuity of their culture was needed.

The starting point for such a task comes from the understanding of what Mazzocchi (2006:4), states as

“By acknowledging the uniqueness of each knowledge system, we can go well beyond a mere pluralist approach to knowledge. Dialogue can become a tool for social cohabitation, as well as for discovering and enhancing knowledge. It should be based on a sense of profound hospitality because it arises from different identities and traditions, which are interested in exchanging their perspectives and experiences”.

I have chosen this formula because I am a person from outside Sámi culture, who has recorded the perspectives and experiences of Sámi persons in relation to the research presented to you within the context of the dissertation. Therefore, the methods used in my research can be divided into six sections and are as follows. Both phenomenological and narrative methods as well as comparative and descriptive research methods have proven beneficial, therefore, utilising and applying each in various combinations would suffice effectively for the research design. The fifth category is the framework that encompasses the four aforementioned and is the holistic or indigenous research methodology. The sixth method concerns the ethical approach used within the research as required by indigenous scholars. Each of these I will expand on below as a way of providing evidence of their application and use in the analysis.

Beforehand, however, and as a basis for approaching the ways and means used, and the application of methods, it is important to understand what the research questions are and some of the influences behind their formulation with regard to the subject matter.

2.1 Content of my articles, purpose of research questions and structure of the dissertation

When the paper: The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami *Noaidi* Drum Figures Reversed, was accepted for publication in 2011, I came to the conclusion that an article based dissertation would be one of the best ways to undertake the research into Sámi studies because it would allow me to explore a number of categories and contexts with regard to cosmology, shamanism, cultural landscapes and practices and how Sámi culture is presented, from within both historical and modern perspectives. I also understood how in 2011, in terms of Sámi shamanism, there were very few studies published about Sámi healing practices, which were typically concerned with what could be described as traditional folk healing practices, which differ from shamanism, in the sense that ecstasy, trance and out-of-body practices are not involved. A great deal of the material published in 2011 about Sámi shamanism was historical.

The only two sources I had come into contact with concerning traditional healing practices were: Four Sami healers, a study by Hans Sande and Sigrun Winterfeldt (1993), and Healing in the Sámi North, which was a more recent study conducted by Randall Sexton and Ellen Anne Buljo Stabbursvik (2010). Besides, I had also heard various conversations as to how there were no real Sámi shamans to be found anywhere in *Sápmi*, and those who were genuine, were not only not known, but did not speak English and were certainly not open to speaking to anyone from outside their culture about their traditions. In addition, I knew no one who made Sámi drums and this comprehension at the time, seemed to reflect what I had heard about shamanism that is did not exist anymore, particularly in Finnish *Sápmi*.

Because of the lack of information concerning present day shamanism and its practice amongst the Sámi, in combination with the significant historical gaps in Sámi history and culture, these contexts have provided opportunities for new types of research that are grounded in suitable methodological approaches and working practices. Therefore, it is important in this next chapter to explain by what means, with regard to ambiguous data about Sámi history and as a result, how previous research trends in data analysis have been prejudiced against the Sámi and their history, and in what ways these have influenced the structure of the dissertation.

In addition, it has to be understood briefly, beforehand, how actions like these, have played an important role in the ways the analysis, questions and data has been formulated, produced and represented within the contexts of the research. Consequently, there is a need to elaborate further in relation to the main questions in the investigation as a way to explain such points, which were compiled within the structure of the dissertation and how it has been organized in response to gaps in history and ambiguous research practices, for the purposes of clarifying the subject matter.

Due to the history of the practice of shamanism amongst the Sámi and its related functions, such as out-of-body flying and mythical travel, the only documented evidence available from prehistory below the Arctic Circle in Finland, has been preserved through artistic depictions that belong to oral traditions and archaeological finds with regard to sacrifice and hunting. Moreover, Sámi perspective in rock art research in Finland, is missing.

The benefit of applying comparative and descriptive approaches to the artistic source material, which covers the various contexts of rock art and *noaidi* drum symbolism and their parallels, justifies the need to re-engage with the subject matter and re-open the discussion. The data is structured in such a way in the introduction chapter, for example, it shows how the marginalization of the Sámi throughout history plays a role in the ways the cultural context of rock paintings in Finland has been determined.

As a method to engage with the aforementioned, a series of questions pertaining to the relationship between prehistoric rock paintings and drum symbolism, as well as the ways in which literature has been

published, are the devices used for presenting these points within the research. What I am not aiming at, is to make the Sámi seem like helpless victims, but to demonstrate how the Sámi have not been involved in decision making processes with regard to their own history and the heritage of their culture.

As evidence for demonstrating that the Sámi are not helpless, and as a way of structuring the parts of the dissertation that cover cultural continuity in relation to the practice of shamanism, I am including the following information. How traditional handicraft practices continue within the adaptation to modern life, and what changes are seen reflected through the continuity of tradition in relation to new types of shaman drums made by Sámi persons in *Sápmi* and within the *Sápmi* areas, despite the historical difficulty. Moreover, new drums in particular, do in actual fact, show resilience and constitute in the religious sense, towards the self-determination of the culture, maintenance of identity and they provide new examples and contexts of systems of embedded knowledge. Furthermore, the research data also illuminates how the practice of shamanism is being re-vitalized amongst the Sámi within different contexts, which illustrates the title of the dissertation and answers the research questions on this subject matter.

I have also, through the ways the headings and sub-headings of each of the chapters have been structured, sought to inform the reader of the aims and purposes of each one, as a way of providing the relevant background information, when and where necessary.

The ways the contexts of the dissertation have been structured and organized, has influenced the choice for putting the articles before the appendix section, and is done so for the purpose of allowing the reader to engage fully with the subject matter, which is formulated around the five papers in addition to what has been noted above.

There is an exception concerning the analysis of new types of drums and handicraft practices by contrast to the rock art research. In the drum analysis the data collection has been instrumental in terms of formulating an informed approach to the study, informed in the sense of receiving diverse types of information from participants interviewed during fieldwork concerning different kinds of developments within Sámi culture. In particular, the development of drums, the reuse of symbolism and practice of shamanism. Thereby, based on the data collection, the application of the research methods and their combining together to formulate the framework, which is presented below, has thus, contributed significantly to the way the dissertation has been structured.

As a method for elaborating on these contexts further, the following explains the body of the dissertation, which is formulated by the five papers.

The first paper that addressed issues related to the ways that the distortion of Sámi culture and religion is encountered in literature studies was published in 2011 and titled: *The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sámi Noaidi Drum Figures Reversed*. The paper was published in the *Estonian Journal of Folklore*, Volume 47. The analysis examines the consequences of publication errors pertaining to the symbolism pictured on *noaidi* drums collected from Finland, Sweden and Norway during the core-missionizing period throughout *Sápmi* during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

As result of printing styles used in the seventeenth century, distorted portraits and representations of religious experiences conveyed through drum symbolism and cultural landscapes were published initially in Johannes Schefferus's: *The History of Lapland* first English edition (1674). How this topic was dealt with and the problems that have arisen as a result are discussed in detail in the paper with regard to representation of traditional knowledge, identity and cultural memory. The research focused on a thorough examination and investigation of original copies of Schefferus's works that were retrieved from the archives of the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki.

Paper 1: The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami *Noaidi* Drum Figures Reversed (2011), and the chapter in the dissertation titled: A discussion concerning the types of issues which have arisen in relation to the production and decoration of new types of drums and the reuse of *noaidi* drum symbolism in Finland, are both concerned with Sámi cultural landscapes as well as identity, representation and authenticity. This is with regard to both the importance and significance of drums being representative of living cultural landscapes made up from a series of oral narratives and cultural practices, as defined by non-Sámi persons. The overall themes of both the published paper and chapter in the dissertation, that links them together, investigates the reliability and interpretation of the materials within the contexts of art, religious experience, history, traditional knowledge and oral narratives.

The second paper is a re-examination of the content and context of a number of rock painting sites in Finland, and analyzes some of the complexities surrounding the theory of a cultural origin, which has been disputed and investigated in relation to Sámi history and ethnicity. The findings from the investigation were published in 2014 in Polar Record journal, titled: To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland. The paper despite its ambiguous title, draws attention to the subject matter concerning Sámi history and therefore, specifically addresses the significance of the links between horned and triangular headed figures from both prehistoric rock paintings, and similar figures drawn on the heads of Sámi *noaidi* drums from Sweden and Norway, and what these tell us about questions of origin within Sámi cultural history, and the problems regarding the cultural context of the rock paintings.

The third paper is an article that also investigates *noaidi* drum symbolism, but in this case, the production of new types of Sámi drums made by Sámi artists Elle-Maaret Helander who now lives in Inari, Finland, and Ovlla Gaup, a drum maker and artist from Kautokeino, Norway. The focus in this case is directed towards the production of six drums in total; five made by Helander, and the sixth crafted by Gaup, which demonstrate how the symbolism from the old Sámi drums collected during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has influenced the artists in their creations. This paper was published in 2014 in the Estonian Journal of Folklore, Volume 56 and is titled: What Influence do the Old Sámi *Noaidi* Drums from Lapland Play in the Construction of New Shaman Drums by Sámi Persons Today?

More information about the interviews with the two drum makers is discussed below in the chapter: Participants interviewed in the research. The reasons for carrying out this type of analysis is based on the fact that prior to these interviews, we have very little literature about the production of new types of drums by Sámi persons, and therefore, a gap exists in this field of research, which the investigation aims to fill.

The fourth paper titled: Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism published in 2015, in SHAMAN: The International Journal for Shamanistic Research, focusses on the question concerning what appears as a bird motif inside a type of light or sun symbol on the head of a *noaidi* drum from Swedish *Sápmi*. The analysis seeks further clarification of the nature of the animal with regard to understanding the role and function birds play in Sámi shamanism, in light of what has been written previously by clergymen, missionaries and from within ethnographic research. The content of the painted drum is analyzed in a holistic way, focusing on a shamanistic narrative story, which is painted on the drumhead. The aims in this sense are to assess the information from a broader perspective in relation to inter-species communication. The objectives were to demonstrate how contact with the spiritual worlds has influenced the painting of the drum in a similar way to how rock paintings are created and the roles and functions both water and *sieidi* stones play within these processes.

The fifth paper titled: *Noaidi* Drums from *Sápmi*, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation; published in Polar Record (2017), presents an investigation into the relationship

between the horned and triangular headed figures found amongst prehistoric rock paintings in Finland and those found on 27 *noaidi* drums from Norway and Sweden from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The analysis deals with what I have discussed above concerning archaeological and ethnographical research within scholarly discourse in Finland that refers to the rock paintings in Finland as: Finnish, and as a result, the problems which arise from these contexts with regard to Sámi history and cultural heritage in Finland. The content of the research published in the paper: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland* (2014), is smaller version of this subject matter.

2.2 The formulation of the methodologies and approaches used within the research

After critically analysing early source material and writing and publishing paper 1: *The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami Noaidi drum figures reversed* (2011), it became clear that in order to conduct the research and analysis into Sámi culture effectively, a variation of different scholarly methods would need to be applied for the overall task ahead. Moreover, in 2011, so little was known in the academic research circles in both Helsinki and at the University of Lapland concerning both information and requirements for undertaking research into the culture and history of indigenous peoples and the required methods for such an undertaking.

Methods as such were certainly not mentioned or taught on any of the degree courses I attended. From that point on, the need to be effective as a researcher and the study of indigenous research methods, which relates to both the ethics involved in research as well as guidelines for conducting analysis have become a new paradigm in research practices.

Understanding and putting into practice these values, have created opportunities to work alongside and establish good working practices with Sámi persons in order to build trust, minimise biasness, help facilitate change, build new bridges of cross-cultural cooperation where all persons involved in research practices benefit from meaningful interactions. The results of this cooperation and study of literature from a number of religious as well as cultural perspectives, has not only helped me with the formulation and choice of research methods, in relation to what the Sámi have to say about their own position in shamanism, but, the experiences have brought me to this point in my academic career.

Because of the nature of the study, qualitative research methods that encompasses all the approaches used that are detailed below are adequate for this investigation and help to decolonise older and existing research methods and their approaches. Moreover, the implementation of a synthesis of approaches takes into consideration the critical importance of responsibility for undertaking analysis, which supports and helps strengthen the restoration of ecology within the religious traditions of the Sámi, as do the individual interviews that link personal narrative with the collective ones from both history and the present.

This I aim to do through demonstrating the links between rock art and drum symbolism. But, such a process is not as straight forward as it may seem. The reasons why is because throughout the formulation of the dissertation, I was constantly challenged regarding the contextual requirements for a task like this one; meaning that should it be a historical approach, artistic approach, indigenous approach, contemporary approach, or simply the implementation of new types of research methods, or a combination of all of these?

From amongst the main obstacles, which presented themselves within the research, perhaps the most difficult part concerned how to approach the subjects of shamanism and cosmology as an outsider, in an ethical way that would not reflect or echo the same mentality, attitudes and prejudices previously deployed in historical sources by clergymen and missionaries? This has not been an easy task at all.

Mainly because much of the early literature written about the culture has been published in the Nordic languages, and secondly, because Sámi people say that in order to understand the culture one has to have knowledge of the language, customs and traditions.

As a way to navigate through the unfamiliar terrain, it was decided that in order to help conduct the research effectively, one of the ways forward would be to interview Sámi persons to find out about their attitudes, perspectives, beliefs and practices.

This in itself could not guarantee success or effectiveness, even with the mindfulness, understanding and application of ethical guidelines, and was based on previous experience of Sámi persons not wanting to talk with me about their religion. Apart from my illustration in this chapter about the ethics governing my research, there is further clarification in the chapter: An explanation of my position in the research.

One of the ways I have attempted to overcome these obstacles is through analysis of the artistic data, where the goal has been to bear in mind the values of nature within Sámi culture, as emphasized by Cassirer (1965: 98), who recalls what Berg (2005: 39), says where “nature is thereby conceived as related to the human soul, or Man [and Woman] is seen as a reflection or a micro-cosmos of a bigger macro-cosmos”.

From a study of prehistoric rock art, *noaidi* drum symbolism and the landscapes painted on new types of shaman drums by Sámi persons, this belief system seems evident in the self-identification processes of both the individual artists as well as the collective community, traditional lifestyles, religious practices, cosmology, hunting and herding of reindeer, and the practices of artists, of both past and present. This is known as the process of remembering.

Despite what was presented as limitations for undertaking analysis, one of the key resources, which was to contribute to steering away from the research practices of the old world was to seek guidance from Elina Helander-Renvall, concerning the history of the practice of shamanism amongst the Sámi, and also Sámi cosmology. Helander-Renvall was a Senior Sámi Scientist and artist at the Arctic Centre, University of Lapland, Rovaniemi, and who before her retirement in 2015, volunteered her support as one of my supervisors for Sámi studies.

Elina Helander-Renvall has extensive knowledge regarding Sámi shamanism, cultural traditions, *noaidi* drums and drum symbolism, as well as some of the themes presented about rock painting research in Finland. Help and direction with the prehistorical issues in the research with regard to the cultural heritage of the rock paintings in Finland was also sought in March 2014 from Sámi professors Veli-Pekka Lehtola and Ante Aikio from the Giellagas Institute, at the University of Oulu, regarding the rock art research, *noaidi* drum symbolism and Sámi ethnicity in Finland, when I presented what was to be paper 5: *Noaidi* Drums From *Sápmi*, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation (2017), to them both.

The feedback was in both cases not only challenging the research and interpretation of figures and symbolism presented to them, but the feedback also helped with a series of options as to how to address questions and references concerning links between the disputed origins of rock paintings relating to Sámi cultural history. Moreover, how these might be formulated and then presented in the research findings and conclusions of the study within the research.

2.3 The phenomenological method: explaining Sámi religion past and present

I also wish to strengthen my point regarding the application of the phenomenological method for the study of Sámi religion as stated by Ekeke and Ekeopara (2010: 273), as to how

“[...] the phenomenological approach is necessary in the study of religion because of its attempt to understand religion in terms of essence and manifestations. Generally speaking, it can be proven that the interpretation of religious data is closely connected with the concept of religion peculiar to the individual scholar”.

In the uses and applications of the phenomenological method in the study of prehistoric rock art in relation to the parallels found amongst drum symbolism, past and present, the material has been analysed where the aim has been placed on what both Elliott and Timulak (2005: 147), refer to as the “emphasis on understanding phenomena in their own right (rather than from some outsider perspective)”. What this means, relates to, and in the case of rock paintings, their locations at sacred sites, which is where ancient peoples have made their art. Moreover, and because of the need to highlight the significance of the relationship between the landscapes, art and identity.

Another context into which phenomenology is justified as being an applicable method to the study of rock art in relation to Sámi history is related to what Ljunge (2010: 89), describes concerning how “[...] phenomenology as a theory [is] suitable for the study of prehistory”. This is because the symbolism within rock art in terms of ‘macrocosm’ is a permanent fixture related to landscape use and the meaning of place in terms of ritual and cosmology.

With regard to the construction of cosmological landscapes on *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the ritualistic division of the drum into different zones or segments can be understood as a: microcosm, which is mobile.

Therefore, the phenomenological method has value in the ways it is described by Ljunge (2010: 89), as “[...] a method that emphasizes the importance of movement through the landscape and focuses on relational conditions between different meaningful places in the interpretation of prehistoric contexts”. Otherwise explained, the ways sacred sites have been chosen for ritual and decoration can also be seen in a similar way the *noaidi* have decorated their drums, which provide clear examples of portraits detailing landscape use and notions of the sacred.

However, the phenomenological method and its applications has been made difficult because of the ambiguity concerning the ethnicity and cultural origins in the study of rock art within academic discourse. With the drums their cultural origins are obvious. It is also challenging because I have only been able to interact directly with a small number of rock art sites to conduct primary research, and therefore, had to rely on photographic material from Ismo Luukkonen for indirect interaction with symbols and figures. In any case, this is not to say the photographic material is to be de-valued in terms of secondary source material but to emphasize how the research has been impacted by the age and erosion of the paintings and their remoteness.

Despite the differences in age and context, which transverses across thousands of years, combining the phenomenological method together with narrative methods is a formula for helping to interpret Sámi history, which comprises of what Grimm (1998: 6), refers to where it is possible:

“[...] to describe indigenous lifeways as sites of conservation and sustainability not by reason of scientific conversion, but because of the significance of religious ecologies and the practice they evoke. Moreover, these experiences are themselves not isolated phenomenon but embedded experiences that call for an interpretation of religious ecology as embedded practice”.

It must also be noted that one could argue how shamanistic philosophy was in its essence ecological and how these experiences are characterised by scared narrative and affirmed by the phenomenological ap-

proach because they achieve what Elliott and Timulak (2005: 274), refer to as “[...] the human substance of reality”, which generally speaking, has been communicated across indigenous cultures and amongst indigenous peoples through art and religious practices.

The results of these combined methods provide a series of examples with regard to the title of the dissertation, clarifying how Sámi shamanism, cosmology and art, can be seen as systems of embodied knowledge and the role and function art plays within these contexts. To elaborate further, these practices are evident through shamanic and cosmological phenomena, such as spirits, and out-of-body travelling, trance and dance.

The main aims of the phenomenological method in the study of Sámi religion past and present is to demonstrate how through the art both religion and culture have been experienced, developed and evolved, and how the function and position rock art, drum symbolism and handicraft productions play as a central role within such processes. The phenomenological method also seeks to identify the parallels of religious experience within cultural landscapes between rock art and drum symbolism and figures as a way of arguing for cultural continuity and evidence of links with Sámi culture and thus, involvement in the creation of rock art, which brings into focus issues regarding cultural heritage.

The phenomenological method was also applied during interviews with both Sámi and non-Sámi persons to collect personal knowledge from each individual concerning how they have perceived and communicated the various dimensions of shamanistic experience and their attitudes, which is representative of their culture and its traditions. One of the clear benefits of understanding the subjective experience of the shamans from the interviews, is seen for example, in the art work of Nadia Fenina at the Isogaisa festival, in relation to cosmology, which is explained in more detail in the chapter about her research. In this sense, the phenomenological method is giving the Sámi participants a voice. As noted also in the chapter, the interviews and application of the phenomenological method to the research material are not conducted in such a way they provide a complete or firm picture of Sámi shamanism or cosmology, but give insight and understanding to how some of the structures relating to the traditions have survived into the modern era.

The key issue in all the interviews to which the phenomenological approach was used, especially in the chapters: Voices from inside the *Lavvu* – The re-emergence of Sami shamanism in Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia; and: The reuse, modification and adaptation of *noaidi* symbolism to new types of handicrafts made by Sámi artists in Finland today; and the chapter titled: Where Past Meets the Present: Sámi Spirits, Drums and Oral Tradition.

Each of these is concerned evidence of the continuity of the practice of shamanism within Sámi culture and how this is visible in contemporary society and thus linking past and present together through practices, taboos, customs and beliefs, which are also evident in missionary sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Moreover, because a large chunk of this research is about drums and drum symbolism therefore, using the phenomenological approach for being able to interview each of the drum makers meant that I was able to get accurate information in each case, which was not always the case in the missionary sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

2.4 The narrative method in Sámi oral history and interviews

Narrative methodology is typically associated with anthropological enquiry, which is in this case constructed through ethical research practices and the handling of culturally sensitive materials, encompassing non-textual material (rock paintings and carvings), photographic subject matter such as drums,

drum makers and their artworks; worldviews, religious practices, the formulation and distribution (sharing), of traditional knowledge through the documentation and collection of interview materials.

The use of the narrative method or perspective is justified because as Fetterman (2010: 18), states:

“Ethnographers assume a holistic outlook in research to gain a comprehensive and complete picture of a social group. Ethnographers attempt to describe as much as possible about a culture or a social group. This description might include the group’s history, religion, politics, economy, and environment. No study can capture an entire culture or group”.

Another description of the aims and benefits of the narrative approach is summed up by Leavy (2009: 27), who recalls how,

“Building on the tenets of ethnography, oral history and qualitative interview, the narrative method or narrative enquiry attempts to collaboratively access participants’ life experiences and engage in a process of storying and restorying in order to reveal multidimensional meanings and present an authentic and compelling rendering of the data”.

In relation to the aforementioned, the narrative method was employed with regard to the interviews undertaken with the participants, meaning each one interviewed in the research with regard to Sámi religion and cultural practices and the documentation of analysis pertaining to the new types of Sámi drums as well as the artwork painted on the drumheads. These are as follows. Sámi persons: Ilmari Tapiola, Elle-Maaret Helander and Ovlla Gaup. In addition, Lauri Ukkola and Esa Marlisto who are Finnish persons, as well as Lilja Takalo, who is Finnish person but who has Sámi ancestors. Each were informed as part of the interview method as to the nature of the analysis and collection of material before being interviewed as well as any possible outcomes as a result of cooperation between all parties involved.

The photographic material received from Sámi persons Elle-Maaret Helander and Aslak Paltto was treated with care and respect as a way of following the guidelines for interviewing indigenous people as Wisloff Nagell (2008: 42), emphasize where “[...] those participating in the research [...] [were] given adequate and relevant information about his or her participation in the research projects”. An identical and informed process was undertaken with the Sámi participants interviewed at the Isogaisa Sámi shaman festival in Norway in 2015. These were Peter Armstrand, Robert Vars-Gaup, Fredrik Prost, Nadia Fenina, Ingor Ántte Áilu Gaup, and also Hans Niittyuopio who was interviewed in 2011 in Karigasniemi, which is in the *Sápmi* area of Utsjoki, Finland, and is documented in the chapter: Voices from inside the *Lavvu* – The re-emergence of Sami shamanism in Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia.

I stated clearly to each of the contributors that in return for the cooperation received, immediate notification of any publications, which produced results as a consequence of the interviews would be shared with each person as a way of benefiting Sámi culture and in a wider sense, research into cultural history in Finland, Norway, north-west Russia and Sweden. However, it must also be noted as Guttorm (2008: 86) notes that the results of my research do not “[...] speak on behalf of everyone [...]”.

The aims of linking these forms in this way through the application of the narrative method is emphasized by Hänninen (2004: 72), as to how “the research concerning lived narratives aims at revealing the ‘historical truth’”. This can be seen in particular, in relation to investigating theories about the links between the horned and triangular headed figures on drums and those within the rock paintings, as well as other groups of phenomena, such as boats, human figures and animals as examples of the transmission of culture, which are reused on modern drums in order to create narratives. Moreover, highlighting the im-

portant role the narrative method plays in its application to the materials where the cyclical worldviews of the Sámi in relation to the reproduction of art and drums where historical culture is re-introduced but within contemporary settings.

Perhaps one of the best descriptions, which expresses how the narrative method is applied and used in the data collection and analysis is outlined by Longman (2014: 28). “As indicated by Bruner (1990), Connelly and Clandinin (1990), and Said (1978), using the narrative format for representing the human experience can result in research that is meaningful and accessible to other people, and at the same time avoids mis-interpretation”.

Again, the narrative research method has had benefit for helping to formulate a broader understanding of the types of knowledge, which was gained through photographing the drums that were made, and then interviewing the drum makers to find out the nature and content of the narratives behind their works concerning remembering. A kind of informed method of narrative analysis, which demonstrates the holistic ways the research has been undertaken and results of the investigation.

Due to the nature of the study, maintaining ethical guidelines and approaches places the analysis within a unified field of enquiry in terms of narrative research. When writing the articles for the dissertation it has been helpful to understand there are many aspects of reality under investigation: past and present, the seen and unseen and also there are two audiences; those who know nothing about Sámi culture, religion and history and those who do, as well as Sámi and non- Sámi persons.

The goal of the method is seen in the ways it is used to get closer to understanding how the past influences the present in terms of the creation of religious and cultural art and then how this is then transmitted into various categories in order to create and tell stories. Subsequently, these stories are linked with oral history, personal experiences, concepts of the afterlife, healing, protection, performance, hunting and rituals as embodied systems of knowledge by the storyteller as *noaidi* and shaman and artist. The two main perspectives within this method are placed on both person centred (participants), and culturally centered (Sámi), research practices.

2.5 The comparative and descriptive methods behind my research materials

The comparative method was chosen because it fulfils what I will refer to as the required cultural policy of indigenous peoples in relation to the ethical guidelines and approaches used in research into their cultures, which are addressed later in this chapter. Moreover, the methods goals and its implementation, seek to present a broader understanding and insight into the relationship between horned and triangular headed figures in rock art and on drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as well as those made by contemporary Sámi shamans and artists and their handicrafts. In addition, the analysis of other types of phenomena within both rock art and drums, such as boats and *noaidi* figures is approached in a similar way.

The reasons for approaching and interpreting the material using comparative and descriptive research methods is done so because their utilization is central to supporting the argument for evidence for the continuity of culture that consists of traditions, practices, customs, language, self-representation and cosmology as systems of embedded knowledge, which are passed on throughout history.

In his assessment of comparative analysis within the field of art history, Jim Coddington (2014: 1), states how “comparative analysis is thus central to art-historical inquiry, and it is a core methodological

principle as well for conservation and conservation science, both of which play a significant role in characterizing the art object itself and in classifying it relative to its place in the art historical context [...].”

Further indications of the effectiveness of the comparative method can be seen in the analysis of contemporary shamanistic art depicted on the new types of drums where new and old symbols are brought together. To elaborate further, what they represent in terms of continuity of culture and evidence that these traditions are still alive in *Sápmi* and how the symbols are subsequently reused. The question of representation is explained well by Aamold (2014: 69).

“One could, tentatively, understand representation as a sort of mirroring activity, the work of art as a way to show what, in some way or another, is already there. But representation may also go into what is not yet there, be that metaphysical ideas, memories, experiences as related to our environments, or the material world [...].”

The comparative method has benefits for being able to illustrate the importance of dialogue between both historical and modern figures and symbols not only through their attributes, shapes and forms but through their gestures, postures and designs, which demonstrate how these incorporate the values, beliefs and practices of the Sámi artists and shamans as representatives of an indigenous people. However, it should be noted that it is not possible to compare both rock art and drum symbolism and figures systematically because of their age, but there are different groups of phenomena such as boats, dancing figures, animals and spirits who all share remarkable similarities with each other, and as such, the method of comparison helps capture this well.

Despite the time-line between the two sources of art, the basis for the comparisons surrounding the material, former rock art research in Finland has been inconclusive regarding ethnicity, identity and the cultural context of the rock paintings and their relationships with the drums. Therefore, the application of the comparative method is used in such a way, it not only establishes the links between rock paintings figures and drum figures and symbolism but also brings into focus the cause and effects of institutional archaeology and ethnographic practices, which cause marginalization in relation to the discussions about cultural heritage and Sámi history. Institutional, in the sense they have not included involvement by Sámi archaeologists.

Moreover, Sámi linguists and historians have been involved in relation to place-name research within the contexts of rock art research but artistic research and involvement by Sámi archaeologists, artists and elders is missing in Finland because currently, there are no Sámi archaeologists working within this field of study.

As a way to navigate through what might seem like a river of complexity, the purpose of the comparative analysis combined with descriptive methods with regard to rock art research is an attempt to demonstrate what I refer to as ways of life, landscape use and portrayal of culture in relation to both sacred sites where rock art is located and also how these sites are portrayed on *noaidi* drums, both past and present, thus creating a series of cultural constructs and links between the material.

The research and approaches maintain the contextualized perspective where the analysis is kept within a local context, meaning focusing on local traditions and not compared with other cultures, such as Siberian.

Use of comparative analysis has provided a basis for what Yanow (2014: 133), refers to as “a broadly positivist perspective that places meanings – values, beliefs, and feelings or sentiments – at the centre of the enquiry [...]”. One of the most effective benefits of employing this method was understood through talking during interviews with Sámi persons about their works and history of their culture through listening to their voices and perspectives; this is one effective way of capturing such sentiments. In other words, how Sámi culture has developed and the role art plays in forming knowledge systems, and systems of communication.

The comparative method can therefore be seen as one of the critical applications used for the production of new types of knowledge, where Sámi voices are heard and represented justly and with empathy within the context of the research.

Another strong point where the comparative method is applied in relation to the study of *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is evident from direct interaction with the old sources of the History of Lapland, which are presented in the paper: *The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami Noaidi Drum Figures Reversed* (2011). Evidence of the publication errors became evident through comparison of drums, which had been published in English, French and Dutch editions of Lapponia.

The descriptive methodology and approach play a predominant role in the construction and design of the dissertation and is therefore, applied to different contexts within the research, which is used to analyse previous work by different scholars and the data that has been compiled in relation to representations of Sámi shamanism, culture and cosmology. In this sense, and as described by Dane (1990: 6), “thus, descriptive research can be used to examine change by comparing old results with new ones”.

Conversely, and broadly speaking, the application of the descriptive methodology in relation to early research material is used as a basis to re-address ambiguity and controversy surrounding publication errors, for example, in the paper: *The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami Noaidi Drum Figures Reversed* (2011), with regard to issues concerning cultural heritage, representation and identity. Furthermore, because it was effective for making descriptive comparisons between older and more recent sources possible, thereby bringing to light gaps in Sámi cultural history, which present the justification and potential for further research.

The method provides the foundation for the background to the analysis as well as outlining gaps in research and nature of the problems, which have arisen as a result. Its application in terms of rock art research acts as a framework for defining the important parallels between horned and triangular headed spirits on the *noaidi* drums and identical figures encountered in rock art through comparison, as discussed within the earlier literature sources. In addition, the method is furthermore applied to the comparative study of other types of rock art phenomena such as boats, animals and *noaidi* figures.

The descriptive formula is likewise, applied to the comparative study of the relationship between rock art, drum symbolism and figures and the forwarding of traditional knowledge. This has been explained well by Dane (1990: 7), concerning how “descriptive research captures the flavour of an object, a person, or an event at the time the data are collected, but that may change over time”. One more point in relation to how I have attempted to make the distinctions between shamanism and cosmology in rock art research for the purpose of placing particular emphasis on the horned and triangular headed figures as spirits not shamans.

The descriptive method and approaches are used to describe the new studies into the contexts and approaches used within the research, which shows the reconstruction of Sámi identity and culture through the revival and practice of shamanism and drum building. When applied in combination with the narrative method, the descriptive method is effective for placing emphasis on individual case studies-interviews with each of the participants and compiling my observations regarding their contributions in relation to their beliefs and attitudes concerning Sámi religion and shamanism, healing, the reuse of symbolism and drums. Broadly speaking, how these practices have been undertaken and what the different elements are, which are brought together that help to strengthen Sámi identity and culture.

Moreover, to provide a sense of feeling and belonging and how this relates to changing traditions and practices when compared with the older identity of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries within the context of the old hunting cultures.

One clear example of the benefits and application of the method is evident in the chapters: Voices from inside the *Lavvu* – The re-emergence of Sami shamanism in Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia; The reuse, modification and adaptation of *noaidi* symbolism to new types of handicrafts made by Sámi artists in Finland today; and the chapter titled: Where Past Meets the Present: Sámi Spirits, Drums and Oral Tradition.

The overall goal of the descriptive method and approach is to help amplify and justify how the research questions in each of the five scholarly articles are presented and then answered through the various context of the analysis. Furthermore, the method provides the necessary validation and recognition where participants were interviewed concerning their work, and the reasons why we as researchers can benefit from understanding the importance of the art in its various contexts, so we gain insight into both the practical knowledge as well as the spiritual in relation to the important function and role art plays in the lives of Sámi persons.

Justifiably, the combination of descriptive and narrative methods play a major role in the outcomes of the discourse analysis and subsequent results. Perhaps another one of the strongest points where the method has been effective, and thus, evident, has been through clarifying how the participants in each of the interviews have valued their sense of freedom whereby they have been able to share their knowledge freely.

2.6 The indigenous - holistic methodology: opening up Sámi cosmology and tradition of *duodji*

The starting point of the application and use of the indigenous research method begins from the understanding that in terms of Sámi cosmology, oral traditions and worldviews, past and present are not separated from each other and that Sámi shamanistic traditions and practices are still alive and flourishing in various parts of *Sápmi*.

Application of the method based on the premise that from the Sámi perspective, the worldview of Sámi persons is understood as containing a mental, emotional, spiritual and physical set of fundamental principles, values and views upon life, to which they are all integrated into a consistent and unified whole. The task for me as someone from outside Sámi culture is to see beyond the conditioning of colonialism in terms of the commodification of commercialization of Sámi culture, and remember that Sámi people see their place within nature as a partnership with it, rather than its enemy to be conquered.

In this sense, I would say that for example, it is important to acknowledge how the belief in ancestors and their help through dreams and cognition is a pre-requisite for understanding one of the central tenets of the cultures of indigenous peoples. Furthermore, the influence of ancestors for example, in matters pertaining to sacrifice and ritual workings still exist within Sámi society, and themes associated with such beliefs and practices are portrayed within the cyclical nature of such phenomena as drums, rock art and literature. Therefore, such belief systems play a fundamental role in constructing society, and in terms of research practices, we need to take events of the aforementioned into account beforehand, regarding the value of such a legacy left within any culture.

However, it must be said that in relation to the study of Sámi history as seen through Finnish scholarly discourse, we run into a problem in relation to rock painting research. At this first juncture, it was where I came across a problem concerning how to approach the material and its subject matter. As discussed formerly, in scientific research in Finland, by for example, Lahelma, the rock paintings were not created by either the Sámi or Finns as we know them today. But there still remains a fundamental question concerning whether or not the material is indigenous, and therefore related to Sámi oral history and

tradition, or is it rooted mainstream Finnish culture, or both given the fact each culture, does according to academic discourse share a common linguistic ancestor? My thoughts on the matter were, is there a general consensus as to regarding both the Sámi and Finns being the indigenous population of Finland? If so, it might be then possible to proceed using the indigenous research framework and methods, or should I proceed anyway and see what the benefits would be from this standpoint.

Because it seems difficult to go back into prehistory and separate these two cultures, based in what has been written through the historical record, I came to the conclusion that I did not want to get tangled up or stalled in a debate as such, but instead to conduct my own comparative analysis to cover the unknown cultural context of the rock paintings in Finland. To do this, I made comparisons with the *noaidi* drum symbolism from Sweden and Norway and am satisfied that despite not knowing who created the rock paintings for certain, there are significant links between the two sources of art, and that they were most likely created by the ancestors of the Sámi people. I arrived at this conclusion because there are too many similarities, landscapes and practices within both *noaidi* drum figures and symbols and rock art that point towards a system of knowledge that is also apparent within Sámi culture today. However, because of the complexity involved in rock art research, I do not wish to put forward the theory that Sámi culture has remained unchanged and static for thousands of years. But, because the Sámi have a long history throughout Fennoscandia, at the same time, it is important to question the denial of the possibilities and probabilities on long historical lineaments in the Sámi context.

For that reason, I chose to employ the indigenous research methodology in both the study on rock art research and approaches, and also the study of new shamanism amongst the Sámi and furthermore, production of new types of drums and handicraft products made by Sámi persons, which are part of the *duodji* tradition. To help define what this methodology is the following example is provided by Gunvor Guttorm (2014: 74-75), who notes how

“According to Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, editors of the handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies, it is ‘research by and for indigenous peoples, using techniques and methods drawn from the traditions and knowledges of those peoples.’ The aim is to achieve common insights that embody ‘the cosmologies, values, cultural beliefs and webs of relationships that exist within specific indigenous communities’”.

One of the ways I sought guidance concerning my research plan was to discuss its content with Sámi scholar Elina Helander-Renvall, my supervisor.

The main reasons for this was because in terms of interviews and the compilation of new types of data about Sámi people and their culture, I was able to clarify with Helander, how my adaptation, implementation and use of the indigenous research method makes Sámi view-points a priority, as Sámi scholar Guttorm (2014: 54), reflects on how “Rauna Kuokkanen uses the indigenous perspective and suggests it is possible to do this by listening to and honoring the people, their view points and their culture” (Kuokkanen (2009: 46). The reason for needing to make clear how the indigenous method has value for a study as such, is because the results of the data is primarily used for the benefit the study of Sámi culture. This is instead of it being misused as it has been previously, as noted by Porsanger and Guttorm (2011: 30), concerning how “it has been a common experience in *Sápmi* that information has “disappeared” into the outside world, to benefit the outside institutions and enrich information banks of mainstream societies” (Also see Kuokkanen 2007).

Therefore, my approach is best described through the interviews, rock art and drum analysis, where the indigenous approach is evident. In addition to what has been described concerning the uses and

applications of different research methods, there are two important sources of data that have emerged, which I have given priority to with regard to their value as frameworks for undertaking analysis into the study of *noaidi* drums in both a past and present context. What this means, is many important questions and issues have arisen as the Sámi (like other indigenous peoples) have addressed in relation to heritage and traditional cultural practices associated with both the position and representation of art and handi-craft practices (*duodji*), in contemporary Sámi society. These sources are as follows. Indigenous Voices, Indigenous Symbols. A Journal Published by WINHEC (2009), by the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium, Sámi University College, Norway. From within this publication, a paper presented by Sámi Professor Gunvor Guttorm, titled: Sámi Craft, a Shadow of Art in the Art of Discourse?

What has been helpful to note within the paper by Guttorm is because her experience and authority as an art professor, she tackles the questions, which have arisen in scholarly discourse concerning the contextualisation of Sámi art and how it has been interpreted and described from outside the culture. The essence of the paper addresses a number of important questions as to how combining Sámi artistic knowledge with the development of tradition, highlighting both the benefits and pitfalls of such a task.

The second source is the book titled: Working with Traditional Knowledge: Communities, Institutions, Information Systems, Law and Ethics; Sámi allaskuvlla almmuhusat / Sámi University College publications, from the DIEÐUT series, 1/2011, edited by Jelena Porsanger and Gunvor Guttorm, is a guide for applying research methods to traditional knowledge. The motivation for using this compilation of reports, which offer relatively new perspectives on how to approach research into indigenous cultures, is because there are a number clear and definitive guidelines concerning the handling of indigenous material in scholarly discourse, which pertains particularly to artistic research. I have taken into consideration these guidelines during interviews and the analysis of drums and rock paintings.

The subject of ambiguous early sources in relation to art and its ritual application has been dealt with in the paper: The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami *Noaidi* Drum Figures Reversed (2011). The research addresses two main contributions from clergymen and missionaries. The first is how early sources about the production, decoration and use of *noaidi* drums from Norway, Sweden and Finland, were compiled and subsequently introduced to a European audience. The second part of the analysis concentrates on how the artistic illustrations from these sources were in some cases published reversed and therefore, the consequences of such mistakes. This article does in its own way serve as a basis that provides a number of examples, of how research practices and in this particular case, publication errors can lead to inaccuracies concerning representation, descriptions and interpretations of source material as well as participant observations.

Therefore, with a certain amount of awareness of the mistakes and serious publication errors that has been classified as originating from within western scientific discourse, namely from the missionaries and clergymen of Norway, Sweden and Finland and also various educational establishments, there is a better understanding as to why indigenous peoples feel that new and modern research practices have much to contribute in the decolonization of methodologies.

Subsequently, a degree of sensitivity has been exercised in the way the material was documented, collected and then produced, without any direct financial gain or profit. The tasks faced throughout the research was how to approach, document, formulate and analyse indigenous knowledge (*árbediehtu*), during both the use of literature written about Sámi history and participant observation (interviews), and when dealing with obstacles presented in the research concerning how to turn this traditional knowledge into scientific material? The key point is relation to this has already been noted above in the conflict between traditional or authentic and new or modern types of drums and art.

The book: *Working with Traditional Knowledge: Communities, Institutions, Information Systems, Law and Ethics* (2011), is published in English language as well as Sámi¹². The articles in the book provided a broad framework for the research, which helped with a bridge building process for fostering the innovation aimed at conducting analysis between western science and encountering and recognizing traditional indigenous knowledge with regard to the application of research methods in their relevant context. These are described below. A further note on research is that the ethics and guidelines used in the handling of indigenous knowledge are not only applicable to persons from outside Sámi culture, but also Sámi persons themselves.

Throughout the following chapter, I will make clear a number of important references and guidelines from the book noted above which contains eight main chapters and how these coincide with my research methods, approaches and practices.

From within the context of what has been written, Sámi traditional knowledge has been described as the following by Porsanger and Guttorm (2011: 18), “*Árbediehtu* is the collective wisdom and skills of the Sámi people used to enhance their livelihood for centuries. It has been passed down from generation to generation both orally and through work and practical experience. Through this continuity, the concept of *árbediehtu* ties the past, present and future generations”.

Directions from the aforementioned contributors have been applied as guidelines for the formulation and subsequent implementation of the research methods. From the list of contributors noted above, what has been particularly helpful for steering the context of the navigation through Sámi history in relation to handling material about *noaidi* drums and drum symbolism from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; new types of drums and symbolism from *Sápmi*, as well as research into prehistoric rock painting from central and southern Finland, is the scholarly work of Porsanger and Guttorm. Both scholars work at the Sámi University College in Kautokeino, Norway, and their combined knowledge has provided the backbone for this particular chapter.

The reasons are because Guttorm is an arts professor and Porsanger, a historian of religion, and from an assessment of their writings, they have extensive knowledge concerning discussions about cultural heritage, tradition, the reuse of Sámi symbolism, and the production of new types of drums, some modelled on the earlier ones as well as new designs. These are made at the Sámi University College, Kautokeino within the production of *duodji* – Traditional Sámi handicrafts. The combination of their background knowledge relates specifically to the context my research, which is overall concerned with the religious and cultural history and practices of the Sámi as seen expressed through art and symbolism, past and present.

2.7 An explanation of my position in the research

The nature of the qualitative research undertaken in the dissertation, which is concerned with ethnographical field work, the ethnographic study of literature, participant observation (interviews), in relation to the formulation of research questions with regard to approaching indigenous peoples culture, requires attention at this point. In order to make my position in the research clear, it is also important for reasons of comparison and representation, to explain some of the different contexts where acts of racism are evident and how these have been portrayed. This is both in a historical context as well as modern one, to give the reader some comprehension as to why I need to explain my position.

12 A list of the contributors to this book and their scholarly titles can be found in the sections on literature chapters at the end of the dissertation.

One of the reasons why I refer to myself as an outsider is because I do not speak either Sámi or Finnish languages and was born and raised in England, but I study the subject of Sámi shamanism in relation to religion and culture. Thus, making my role as a researcher and interactive person working across cultures somewhat challenging concerning representation but at the same time interesting and with potential for establishing and developing relations with indigenous people. I am also aware as to how, and through conducting outsider research, there are always risks of developing biasness and assumptions and also categorization of identities and cultures, which has for example, in the case of Sámi history in particular, happened extensively through the doctrine of the Church and dominant western research paradigms.

Understanding the complexity of the past has been one of the effective ways for learning how to meet Sámi society as an outsider and to understand in what ways the Sámi are a large part of the history of the nation states of the Nordic countries and are equal in every sense from my perspective. This approach helps to breakdown the old stereotypes and discriminatory research paradigms, which are best understood through what the clergymen and missionaries did concerning attempts at ethnically inter-marrying the Sámi with the nation states and the types of applications used in this process.

For example, because the *noaidi* in Sámi society are predominantly the persons my research has been primarily concerned with, with regard to interviews, it has been imperative to understand beforehand, how and throughout the course of Sámi history, the *noaidi*, their drums and sacred sites and objects were the principle targets and victims of interviews and interrogation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Therefore, these individuals were subjected to different kinds of duress as a way of extracting information from them, by persons from both within and outside their culture.

From historical research for example, in the writings of both linguist Johannes Schefferus's first English translation of Laponia (1674), and the works of Pastor Lars Levi Laestadius, published as Fragments of Lappish Mythology (2002), whose original works were compiled and written between [1838-1845], the racialization of Sámi religion and culture is evident in many instances where information was collected, in some cases through corporal punishment.

These types of research practices were used against the Sámi in order to assimilate the culture into the nation states and outlaw the religious practices under the authority of both the political and religious establishments, which were fused together. In Schefferus's accounts, there were also Sámi informants as well who were interviewed and who willingly cooperated with clergymen, missionaries and researchers.

Being fully aware of the nature and type of issues, which still exist in relation to how stereotypes of the culture have been developed from within the missionizing period, one does not have to be a genius to understand the required level of sensitivity, cooperation and understanding that is needed in representation, participation observation and the handling and exposure to culturally sensitive material and its relational history to the land, ancestors, cosmos and religion.

The reasons for needing to know about what has happened in Sámi history is because the Sámi have their own history to tell, which is often coloured by the historical pain and grief that is left over from the brutal conversion to Christianity and the subsequent punishment and outlawing of Sámi religion and systematic attempts at decimation of their culture.

Moreover, one could make a further point and go as far as to say as to how everybody is an outsider to the drums made and used during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in relation to *noaidi* who fashioned and hammered them, even Sámi persons of today.



Figure 1. A painted wooden mural above the altar in Jukkasjärvi church, located in Swedish *Sápmi*. The picture has been carved and painted by Swedish artist Bror Hjort (1958). The church stands at the edge of the Tornio River and parts of it were constructed in the eighteenth century. Other parts were built earlier in the seventeenth century. The building was erected in the middle of an area that was a market place where Sámi people used to meet. The content of the picture shows Sámi persons being preached to by Lars Levi Laestadius. Photograph and copy write: Francis Joy (2015).

The wooden mural exhibits how the words, which are written in Swedish by the artist capture the ideology of the church at the time, and can still be found in some parts of *Sápmi* today. According to how the text is written, Laestadius is saying: Sade hi Drinkare, ni Tjuvar, ni Hor Karlar O Hor – Konor – Om Vändenneder (You are drunkards, you are thieves, you men and women are whores – Repent yourselves). I have used this information here because it is a good example of the nature of the perspectives and attitudes, which lie in the background to Sámi research and the use of the indigenous research paradigm where respect and value is attributed towards the Sámi people, their knowledge and culture is maintained so not to repeat this type of outsiders perspective, which comes from religion.

As a result, and for ethical reasons as a researcher, there is a need to understanding how important it is to be respectful towards the memory of the ancestors of the Sámi when undertaking collaborative research. Meaning that in terms of what information Sámi persons wish to share, I must understand their right to self-governance and determination. These ethics are the foundation upon, which the research and my position in it have been built.

I do not wish to downplay the value of my research because I am not Finnish or Sámi insomuch as my cultural perspectives may seem somewhat different. In this type of research, I have come to understand throughout my interactions with Sámi people over a period of 12 years, how diversity in both

approaches and methods can have the same value as insider research, providing they are grounded in the ethical guidelines, codes of conduct and the representation required for undertaking indigenous research. Moreover, Cree scholar Shawn Wilson has explained this well in his book *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous research methods*. Wilson (2008: 13), explains how a research

“Paradigm is a set of underlying beliefs that guide our actions. So a research paradigm is the beliefs that guide our actions as researchers. These beliefs include the way we view reality (ontology), how we think about or know this reality (epistemology), our ethics and morals (axiology) and how we go about gaining more knowledge about reality (methodology)”.

To expand on this further and as a way of explaining how I have anchored myself within the context of the research paradigm used throughout the analysis, it is important I define firstly, how the research question was formulated in relation to the approaches used and secondly, why I chose this particular topic as a field of research?

I have understood from the encounters with Sámi shamans and also visits to sacred sites that for me there is a sacred or holy purpose involved in this kind of research, which involves respect. In fact, some of the long trips to sacred sites throughout Finland have seemed at times like pilgrimages, where someone else’s notion of the sacred has been identified through rock paintings and anthropomorphic boulders and the offering of reindeer bones, antlers and skulls.

It has been a similar view as well regarding tracing the stories and current dwelling places of the *noaidi* drums in museums throughout Europe; the ones I have seen physically at the *Siida* Museum in Inari, at the Nordiska Museum in Stockholm and National Museum in Helsinki. Knowing these sacred sites and instruments have been so powerful and often at times dangerous because of the powers associated with their owners and use, common sense prevails where respect is due.

To elaborate further on the formulation of the research questions. After several years of investigations into Sámi shamanism in both a historical and modern context, I began to see and understand how sacred sites, prehistoric rock art, *noaidi* drum symbolism and cosmology appear to be relational with each other. In order to be able to expand on these cultural practices and their relationality with one another it has been essential to become involved with Sámi shamans and to study the literature about the history in this context further afield from Finland. This is where the approaches used in the research herein have been forged.

My conclusions were that these relational ties to drums, rock art and sacred sites are likewise evident in Sweden and Norway as well. This has created the basis for further research into the subject matter, knowing that what separates the stories of Sámi oral traditions in Finland is the concept of borders between Sweden and Norway. In other words, it seems these borders, which did not exist in prehistory, are in my opinion, used as a method to divide research instead of unify it together. The title of the dissertation – research question, is my attempt at linking these stories of sacrifice, out-of-body journeys, and encounters with both human and non-human beings together and the cultural practices that underlie these portraits of culture.

My task as an outsider and the approaches I have used to collect and present the material presented to you below as research into the oral history of the Sámi, I am hoping will be a reflection of my position in the research. Moreover, and one of the central tenets, which I am also hoping the reader will be able to distinguish is how during both the approaches used and also the results of my analysis I have followed this route, which is well articulated by Wilson (2008: 126-127).

“Considering the needs of the audience must be an integral component of how we do research. [...]. The relationship we form is an elemental component of an oral tradition and is generally

missing from written text. Words themselves, like music, laughter, crying, playing, dancing and other forms of expression, have the power to heal or harm. They can transfer information and enlighten others, but they can also be used as tools of social control and disempowerment. I can choose who I talk to, or what to share in a conversation, in a way that is not possible once my words are written down. How do I know that what I have written here will not be used against me or others in a way that was not my intention?

Accountability is built into the relationship that are formed in storytelling within an oral tradition. As a storyteller, I am responsible for who I share information with, as well as ensuring that it is shared in an appropriate way, at the right place and time.

[...] Basic to dominant system research paradigms is the concept of the individual as the source and owner of knowledge. These paradigms are built upon a Eurocentric view of the world, in which the individual or object is the essential feature. This premise stands in stark contrast to an Indigenous worldview, where relationships are the essential feature of the paradigm”.

There is another dimension, which is also allocated to my position within the research as an outsider, that not only takes into account how the collection of material is formulated and then presented to the audience in such a way it should benefit the Sámi by being returned back to them as a reflection of their shared knowledge. This concerns sharing the results of the research across four continents where the Sámi reside throughout *Sápmi*, not only in relation to the continuity of culture regarding research into new types of shaman drums, but also my new theories regarding rock painting research and Sámi cultural heritage in central and southern Finland. More about this has been elaborated on by Hodgson (2011: 5).

“Outsider perspectives are important in bringing into relief the historical or contemporary essence of a community. While insiders (people from a community) have the necessary information, it often takes an outsider to catalyze identification of and discussions about important aspects of a community that some residents might take for granted or to foster communication and learning between disparate groups. Awareness of the very useful role that outsiders can play in catalyzing a more robust consciousness of a community’s culture, heritage, and history is important for [...] [interdisciplinary research]”.

However, as straightforward as this might seem stated above, and as a result, in my own investigations and interviews with Sámi persons, for example, the on-going correspondence and relationship with drum maker Elle-Maaret Helander, interaction revealed how there is, still, to some extent, a deep secrecy and suspicion, which surrounds questions to Sámi people about their indigenous spirituality, of which shamanism takes up a central role and function today. I have been faced with responses from some Sámi persons such as: hands off our symbols and hands off our culture, in Finland.

It is also worth noting how, in Sámi culture, this secrecy and suspicion has become part of the taboos and customs of the culture mainly due to consequences of historical research practices undertaken by people from outside the culture and Christian domination through, which the Sámi people became refugees in their own nation, distancing themselves from their heritage.

In the beginning of my studies into Sámi religion and culture 14 years ago, I was also not aware of these ethical requirements. Therefore, I have found beneficial in my role as a researcher to read-study both western and indigenous research practices and combine the two together, so not to repeat colonialist ways of devaluation.

In this sense, there has been two types of research undertaken, direct research, which has dealt with both primary and secondary source material, namely old and new types of drums, interviews and fieldwork to which there are literature sources from these times, and a combination of indirect and direct research that has meant engaging with prehistorical historical research, photographs and fieldwork in relation to rock painting, which have links with Sámi cultural practices of making art. Engagement with rock carvings and paintings as primary source material has taken place during field work.

In essence, conducting research into Sámi history revolves around meeting with oral narratives in a number of different ways. Namely, material concerning life events from three different eras, prehistory; the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and from contemporary Sámi drum makers and their handcraft productions. It has been important to be critical concerning the underlying assumptions about the Sámi and their religious practices in relation to early researchers such as clergymen and missionaries.

Through reading what Sámi scholars have written concerning ethical guidelines for undertaking research into the cultures of indigenous peoples, it has been possible to formulate research questions in order to approach the subject matter from the perspective of focusing on the underlying principles in Sámi culture on, which the value systems have been built. In this sense, shamanism plays a fundamental role. In each case, the research is governed by the principles that the material should make a positive contribution to Sámi culture, and not follow the same line of enquiry implemented at an earlier time by clergymen and missionaries where it was used against them.

I also wish to make a particular note to the reader as to how the rock painting research, which takes up a significant role in the dissertation in relation to unanswered questions about Sámi culture and its continuity and my position in the research.

From the sources listed below are what have been important for the analysis with regard to understanding both rock paintings and drum symbolism and how these have been presented in literature and subsequently interpreted in relation to studying the links between prehistory and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many Sámi people do not know about these links, and it would be wrong to say that it is only the Sámi shamans in Finland who know more about the links. However, if one goes further afield, to Sweden and Norway, from my observations, these theories are better well known within Sámi circles. Therefore, I also find myself as working cross culturally.

One more point of interest is how there are no written documents from between the period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which provide comprehensive descriptions of analysis into rock paintings in Finland. Perhaps the most difficult part of this type of research is imagining how there would have been no borders in much earlier times between the Nordic countries, therefore, we cannot say that Norwegian rock art is Norwegian, Swedish rock art is Swedish and Finnish rock art is Finnish for certain. Instead, uniting the whole area as formerly one large continent, in a similar way to how the Sámi are one people across four nations.

3 Ethical orientation

The necessity for including the following chapter within the context of the research is to explain my own personal experience of what happened during the formulation of this dissertation in relation to the importance of conducting research in an ethical way and how I came into contact with certain ethical issues as a result. These experiences have been applied within my academic research in different contexts with regard to both published papers, interviews and within the main body of the dissertation.

Moreover, my experiences can be used as evidence based research, which outline various examples in relation to requirements concerning ethical guidelines for both indigenous and non-indigenous researchers for undertaking investigation into the cultures of indigenous peoples, and why these have to be addressed in such matters. At the same time, I have also discovered how as a researcher, I have to look at the forces, which have helped shape such prerequisites, for example, colonialism and discrimination, in order to better understand both the historical process that have influenced requirements for research approaches and also the contexts to which they have been or are to be applied. A good example of why at this time the necessities for a specialized discipline with regard to the handling of traditional knowledge belonging to indigenous peoples is needed, is explained well by Porsanger and Guttorm (2011: 30), in relation to mis-appropriation of Sámi knowledge.

“It has been a common experience in *Sápmi* that information has ‘disappeared’ into the outside world, to benefit the outside institutions and enrich information banks of mainstream societies. Sámi tradition bearers and communities have considered it inappropriate that their information has seldom returned to them, although they have willingly shared their knowledge with others”.

As a result of these actions and with regard to the research presented in this chapter, there are three main areas where research ethics in terms of the study of Sámi culture and history, arose that are concerned with my analysis. These areas are connected with ethical issues that I have encountered in literature studies, and also in the formulation of interviews with Sámi participants within the Sámi areas in Norway, Sweden and Finland and in the study of Sámi drum symbolism and rock art.

Before going further into this matter, it is important to briefly take a look at the driving forces behind the construction and indeed requirements for research ethics concerning the study of indigenous peoples and their cultures. It seems evident that the scholarly works of both Guttorm and Porsanger, who are prominent Sámi contributors working within the field of indigenous studies and education, has been positively influenced by the works of feminist scholars engaged in the processes of indigenous peoples gaining their independence and recovering self-identity from nation states. There is one relevant exam-

ple concerning the influence of some of the mechanisms regarding ethical conduct as debated by Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith, and her renowned works: *Decolonising Methodologies – Research and Indigenous Peoples* (2012), whose texts are quoted at length by Guttorm and Porsanger.

From assessment of the construction of ethical guidelines regarding, in particular, the study of Sámi culture by persons from outside, means many indigenous peoples still hold a deep suspicion and mistrust for researchers, in their quest for the knowledge of indigenous peoples cultures and ways of life, because of colonialism, and for example, the theft of indigenous knowledge and its mis-appropriation. As a response to such events, Smith (2012: 122), notes how “initially the problem was framed entirely in the negative, with indigenous individuals, communities and organizations reacting to research as something done only by white researchers to indigenous peoples. These reactions positioned indigenous communities as powerless and research as disempowering”.

The title of Porsanger’s and Guttorm’s article in the book: *Building up the Field Study and Research on Sámi Traditional Knowledge (árbediehtu)* (2011), and the content of the chapter has relevance for my study, because, in a similar way to other chapters in the volume, which are outlined below, it provides a number of key contexts in which, the collective knowledge that has been compiled within the field of Sámi research has been covered in many research areas.

Predominantly, these have been undertaken in Norway and Sweden, and therefore, providing significant explanations in detail regarding to what Porsanger and Guttorm describe as to how there is a need for communication and cooperation between different fields of research where traditional knowledge is handled, both inside and outside of Sámi culture. In this sense, to recognize the value traditional knowledge has towards the re-vitalization of Sámi culture and communities, which in turn promotes wholeness and sustainable development.

Amidst the overall context of what has been written and published within the book, emphasis is placed on how the work of each of the aforementioned authors who have contributed to the publication, according to both Porsanger and Guttorm (2011: 13-14), this has been done so for the purpose of

“[...] [examining] practical and theoretical aspects of documenting traditional knowledge, in e.g. the following spheres:

- Traditional Sami concepts and epistemology,
- Close communication with communities,
- Ethical and legal issues,
- The connection of traditional knowledge and cultural monuments and relics with local identity.
- The creation of digital information systems
- Social structures that are significant for the sustenance and development of traditional knowledge”.

Porsanger and Guttorm also explain additional points about the types of ethics involved in indigenous research, which describe how in the formulation of narratives and other forms or traditional knowledge, it is important not to repeat the same mistakes as seen in earlier literature sources and practices, which lacked focus and context. Moreover, a solid foundation is the basis for creating a coherent and well-developed research methodology; a design, which encompasses the living traditions of the Sámi, to the extent, this method is likewise, applied to research conducted outside Sámi culture by non-Sámi persons.

The value of adherence to these ethics and guidelines is for ensuring both accurate and adequate documentation, recording and storage of different types of knowledge, which can be used through various ways and means to benefit Sámi community.

The content of the chapter clearly states the underlying importance of the relationship with nature and how this relationship has been the foundation for both the collection and documentation of Sámi traditional knowledge, through oral, experiential and written means, and within this context, special emphasis is placed on what Porsanger and Guttorm (2011: 21), refer to as:

“*Birgejumi* [which] is to be understood as livelihood, survival capacity, and the ways people (individuals and communities) maintain themselves in a certain area with its respective resources which can be found in the natural and social environment. It requires know-how skills, resourcefulness, reflexivity and professional and social competence. It ties together people/communities, landscape and natural environment, the ecosystem, healthy social and spiritual development, and identity”.

One of the key points in this chapter is the emphasis placed on the involvement of Sámi custodians within research. Close cooperation between scholars and tradition bearers in *Sápmi* has in most cases helped enhance the development and holistic formulation of knowledge in research practices as is explained here by Porsanger and Guttorm (2011: 23). “[...] When the expertise and experiences of the elders are to be disseminated in writing, which is a new form of dissemination in traditional knowledge”, these practices appear not only in the new ways of relating to the environment learned by younger persons, but evidence shows how involvement by elders is one of the fundamental roles teaching plays in both the transmission of culture, identity building and documentation of the subject matter at hand.

How do these research ethics relate to my research? During my field work at the Isogaisa Sámi shaman festival in Norway, in August 2015, I came across some of the obstacles outsiders face when preparing preliminary preparations, in relation to pre-informed consent for interviewing shaman participants for my research as a means for constructing a working relationship within the Sámi community at the festival. Upon arrival at the campsite, I went to talk with Ronald Kvernmo, the festival organiser. This was to ask permission to undertake research during my stay at the festival, to which he gave me his authorization. I explained the nature of my research, where I came from and my intentions to interview shaman participants and how the knowledge would be used to help strengthen research into Sámi shamanism and culture.

During one of the interviews inside the guesthouse in the reception area, Kvernmo interrupted me and told the person I was interviewing not to give me too much information because I had travelled from Finland. His points were directed towards, how in Rovaniemi, Finland, the tourist industry, or non-Sámi artists, had appropriated the old symbols from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, painted on the Sámi *noaidi* drums and re-produced them to be sold for commercial purposes¹³. After listening to what he said, I had to state my case again saying the interview with the person I was engaged with and knowledge received, would not be used to benefit my personal gain or used for assimilation purposes. Kvernmo then left the area.

The interview was certainly disturbed to the level that the collection of knowledge was a very short, and therefore, nothing else could be done about it, as the participant seemed a little nervous. Thus, the interview ended after about ten minutes.

I did not take Kvernmo’s comments personally, and completely understood his concerns, as I have come to realise how, some Sámi people feel the same way about the Finnish tourist industry and the com-

13 I have written extensively about the misappropriation of Sámi *noaidi* drums and symbolism from Finnish *Sápmi*, in the chapter: A discussion concerning the types of issues which have arisen in relation to the production and decoration of new types of drums and the reuse of *noaidi* drum symbolism in Lapland, Finland, which can be found below.

modity Sámi drum symbolism has become to the consumer culture, and are therefore, resentful about sharing Sámi traditional knowledge with people from Finland. This has probably been the most significant experience of coming into contact with how Sámi people have felt disempowered concerning the appropriation of Sámi cultural heritage by outsiders and how this can affect the formulation of research ethics amongst some elders, and their roles as tradition bearers and cultural custodians, engaged in the processes of preserving and protecting what is left regarding the knowledge of the culture.

On closer examination of Kvernmo's response to my interview with one of the participants, it seems he was indeed reacting to the how in Finland and also amongst the wider Sámi communities of Norway, Sweden and Russia, they have felt disempowered by what Finnish drum makers had done concerning the collective cultural right to cultural property. In this case, the symbols from the drums, as well as rock paintings and research into their ethnic and cultural origins, in relation to how the Sámi in terms of authority, have never been involved in such discussions, thus showing a lack of respect for the culture.

As far as the ethical guidelines go in relation to the aforementioned experience at the Isogaisa festival and how I also came into contact with a series of issues within these contexts, are best explained by Porsanger and Guttorm (2011: 21), who have noted the importance of "[...] professional and social competence", during interviews and the collection of traditional knowledge. At the time, I was certain I had conducted myself in a professional and competent way when I had sat down and talked with Ronald beforehand, about my intentions for being at the camp. However, he did not say anything at the time regarding how he felt about the appropriation of *noaidi* drum symbols within the Finnish tourist industry when I spoke with him. His intervention in the interview was, I concluded, his way of making a valid point about the tourist industry in Finland and subsequently expressing his resistance to the sharing of knowledge, as the organizer of the festival.

In relation to other ethical issues, which have arisen during the formulation of the dissertation the focus is now directed towards an explanation of how research ethics and guidelines have been applied within the processes of compiling the five articles in my analysis as well as the main body of the dissertation. The reasons for needing to discuss such points is because this is exactly where the interactions with and handling of cultural property and knowledge has taken place.

The subject matter mainly covers the cultural context of rock art and also drums symbolism and creation of new types of drums in Finland, as well as interviews with Sámi persons in Norway and Sweden. Thus, for the purposes of further discussing research ethics in relation to guidelines for conducting analysis and formulating data, the following points are also beneficial to understand.

3.1 Research ethics and rock art analysis

Perhaps the most important statement, which has relevance for my rock art research and its relationship with drum symbolism, is evident in the chapter: Building up the Field of Study on Sámi Traditional Knowledge (*árbediehtu*), by Porsanger and Guttorm (2011), concerning how proposals regarding ethical guidelines can be of benefit from applying them to our research practices. These benefits can be viewed in two ways. The first is how during rock art analysis in central and southern Finland and at the Alta site, Finnmark, Norway, and through my approach to the materials, I have strived to show by what means the presence of horned and triangular headed figures on both rock paintings and Sámi *noaidi* drum symbolism, both past and present, are related to one another. This has been done through the theory of a direct historical link between the materials and therefore, evidence for cultural continuity through the parallels that link past generations with the present.

As a result, both types of art are viewed as systems of embedded knowledge and this was the way I approached the subject matter in relation to my theories about evidence of Sámi cosmology thus, demonstrating a relationship between the figures.

This helped me to understand to what degree, as recalled by Porsanger and Guttorm (2011: 50), “the documentation proves that there is a continuity from prehistory to today, contradicting many claims about [for example] south Sámi prehistory that have been taken for granted”. The theory of the artistic figures and symbolism sharing many parallels with each other, thereby brought into focus, questions regarding the collective right to cultural property (drums and rock paintings), to which the Sámi have again, in terms of discussions with the Finnish government, never been involved. In order to strengthen this argument, I have also included a chapter below about Sámi ethnicity and cultural history, when looked at from the Sámi perspective.

Already, much has been said in literature sources about the ambiguity between rock art and Sámi *noaidi* drum symbolism within studies into Sámi and Finnish shamanism, which is based on disputes regarding historical processes, dating and cultural contexts and continuity. Moreover, and which, as I have questioned, may have been done so in a way to suit the history of the Finns.

What I came to understand within a study of the published research material on these discussions, is how the phenomenon of shamanism, for example, in relation to the theories of parallels between rock art figures who are flying and falling, and Väinämöinen’s journey to Tuonela as depicted in the Finnish epic the Kalevala, for example, detailed and interesting comparisons are made with the cultures own myths. This is noted in the works of Lahelma (2008a 2008b), and also Siikala (1981).

Analysis of the material by the aforementioned scholars outlines the historical ambiguity in the ways the Sámi and Finns are referred to as being related to the same Finno-Ugric language group, and are therefore, in terms of rock art research, seem to be contextualised within the same group. I have wondered whether or not this is a policy, which conveniently, constitutes to a process of assimilation administered in a very cunning way, that seeks to further marginalized Sámi history?

The same can be said of the scholarly works of Eero Autio (1991, 1995 and 2000), in relation to horned and triangular headed figures amongst the rock paintings in Finland and those of the *noaidi* drumheads. To present evidence of links with Sámi shamanism within rock art research in Finland and yet refer to the art as: Finnish is, based on my research investigation, a contradictory term, which means that both the Sámi, their rights to their religion and local traditions has been reduced, simply based on the notion that the rock paintings are on present day Finnish territory and in some cases share similar narratives as found within the Kalevala.

Further evidence of such practices have been echoed within Sámi scholarship concerning what Porsanger and Guttorm (2011: 48), refer to in relation to how “[...] Sámi territories have been governed by the state [and therefore] have made it difficult to use and maintain traditional knowledge”.

With this in mind, my approaches and application of comparative, descriptive and indigenous methods to the research material, and coming to understand how the symbolism is related, helped constitute the ethical guidelines for creating a suitable methodology is as follows. By approaching the artwork from the basis of understanding it’s reciprocal nature and causality in relation to the reproduction of for example, horned and triangular headed figures from cosmological landscapes within rock paintings, it becomes clear how myths and stories from oral traditions have also been applied to the landscapes on *noaidi* drums for the purposes of depicting social organisation of Sámi society, beliefs, practices and customs. Through observation of such practices, and from this understanding, how the ethical guidelines played a central role thereby, demonstrating how and through the phenomenon of culture and its

processes, continuity becomes apparent, as described in Native Science (2009), and quoted by Nordin Jonsson (2011: 103), who recalls in what ways

“The holistic perspective is also present in Sámi culture and society. Man and the environment (the surroundings) are interrelated and cannot be separated. A holistic starting point or perspective is almost a necessity when *árbediehtu* is to be documented. In order to build on indigenous peoples’ own understanding, we must adopt a holistic approach that includes language, culture, practices, spirituality, mythology, customs and habits as well as the social organization of the community”.

What this means, is I do not see any separation between the rock art in Finland and the figures and symbolism of the *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Meaning that continuity seems evident and that there are indeed further traces of structures and practices, which are consistent with Sámi religion that goes back into the Stone Age period. Thus, demonstrating a shared past in terms of cultural systems of belief that have been documented and thereby recorded through art, which show clearly defined entities with horns and triangular headed features within both rock paintings and drum landscapes. It seems however, that on the drumheads, the landscapes are divided into different zones or segments, whereas, in rock paintings, these are not so evident because they are not drawn. But there is no doubt that the water levels of the lakes have also played an important role and function regarding zones and borders, because many of the paintings are situated just above the water line at a majority of sites.

Bringing further attention to links between horned and triangular headed figures in rock paintings in Finland and those on the *noaidi* drums together, as well as my theories for their links with Sámi culture and history, through the way they have been documented in Finnish scholarly discourse, helped me to experience some of the controversies involved when working with strands of evidence related to ethnicity and cultural origins as far as artistic research is concerned. For example, I have chosen the phenomena of rock art as one area of study, which brings ethical issues into focus in relation to what has been stated in the study of indigenous peoples and their cultures from Porsanger and Guttorm (2011: 35-36).

“The collective nature of indigenous traditional knowledge has been a challenge all over the world. It is generally known that laws, designed by the mainstream societies, are based on the protection of the rights of individuals, and that e.g. patent laws are primarily built on this principle. Internationally, indigenous peoples have drawn the world’s attention to many unsolved issues that concern the preservation and protection of their traditional knowledge and skills. These are, for example, the issues of providing legal protection and evidence for traditional knowledge, taking collective ownership into consideration, enhancing the legitimacy and authority of traditional knowledge, design of databases and control over the, and evaluation of the terms of possible commercial exploitation of traditional knowledge”.

Bearing in mind the contributions archaeological research has made in relation to recovering Sámi culture and history and also for understanding how the continuity of culture works, it was helpful to note what has been said about cultural heritage in relation to links between rock art and drum symbolism by both Norberg and Fossum (2011: 194), where such art is still “[...] very much a part of people’s consciousness. Knowledge of these is transmitted both by oral tradition and by the identification and documentation of sites [symbols, metaphors and figures], by earlier generations”.

Therefore, it was important for me during the documentation of what I will refer to as traditional knowledge in relation to rock paintings and their relationship with *noaidi* drum symbolism to under-

stand that a painting is not simply a painting, but in fact, creating similar symbols and figures, may also be seen within the context of following ancestral patterns for purposes of identity and self-definition. These practices are like signatures of the past, which are brought forward in such a manner they reflect the notion of the cyclicity of life and its continuity across generations. Further testament to this theory is thus seen in the chapter below titled: The reuse, modification and adaptation of *noaidi* symbolism to new types of handicrafts made by Sámi artists in Finland today.

3.2 Ethical guidelines in relation to my published articles

In a similar way, to the ethical issues in rock art research, these were again brought into focus concerning analysis conducted into the first of my four published articles for the doctoral dissertation, titled: The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami *noaidi* Drum Figures Reversed (2011), a paper which demonstrates how historical, traditional knowledge has been misrepresented in missionary sources from the seventeenth century. The analysis was concerned with following ethical guidelines where in this case, new knowledge about Sámi oral tradition, to which the drums belong, was returned back to the Sámi to help benefit the culture.

The paper: The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami *Noaidi* Drum Figures Reversed (2011), tells the story of how illustrations of *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Norway, Sweden and Finland have been depicted in the two English editions (1674 and 1704), as well as the French (1678), and Dutch (1682), editions of The History of Lapland originally written in Latin (1673), by German linguist Johannes Schefferus, professor at Uppsala University, Sweden.

Within the context of the paper, and by following ethical guidelines in relation to the study of literature sources, a careful study of the published illustrations of drums revealed how a number of widespread publication errors had gone unnoticed for over 340 years concerning misrepresentations of Sámi culture.

The core of each of the problems with the illustrations of the drums could be tied in with how the distortion of Sámi religion and oral tradition by missionaries and clergymen from the seventeenth centuries were further falsified through the drum landscapes that were reversed or inaccurate, and thereby, subsequently brought to the attention of the reader with regard to mis-representations of practices detailing the hunting of reindeers and bears, cosmological and mythical landscapes and also sacred sites.

What made the investigation into these historical sources important for the study in terms of research ethics was that by being aware of historical inaccuracies in reports about Sámi religion where readers of Schefferus' volumes would have taken for granted that the illustrations of the drums were depicting their true portraits, through my research it was possible to bring new information as to how this was not the case.

Moreover, and as far as I am aware, neither the Sámi nor scholars outside the culture (as noted in the paper: The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami *Noaidi* Drum Figures Reversed, 2011), had not noticed the images of the drums as being reversed in the later English, French and Dutch editions. However, and with the exception of Swedish scholar Lillemor Lundström, Lundström (2009), had noticed reversed illustrations between the original Latin edition: Laponia (1673), and the first English edition (1674), which had been republished in Sweden in 1971.

I wish to emphasise that the photographic pictures used in the analysis from Ernst Manker's ethnographical fieldwork (1938 & 1950), played a fundamental role in being able to distinguish the reversed publication errors of the drums that had been drawn by Schefferus.

Making sure the information about the extent of the publication errors was shared with Sámi scholars, and thus my published paper was sent to the Sámi archive at the *Sajos* cultural centre in Inari, Finland as a way of returning knowledge that would be of value for the study of Sámi history.

Through the results of the research, I was able to bring into the critical analysis various points about cultural heritage, identity and representation as seen expressed in relation to what Erik Norberg and Birgitta Fossum (2011: 198), state in their discussion about Sámi Traditional Knowledge and Cultural Landscapes.

“Cultural heritage is related to other cultural expressions such as language, the Sámi way of life, food traditions [hunting and fishing] folklore, costumes and all the traditions relating to their habits and practices. Together, they form a system that helps set the frame of reference for Sámi culture”.

All I could do in the research was to generalize about what I had perceived as the results of the publication errors and what the consequences were, and attempt to elaborate them as a way of making my points in the research as clear as possible so they could be understood as valuable scientific data. During the formulation of the results of the analysis, knowing there was a noteworthy outcome from the research meant that my contribution would have some value in relation to what Nordin Jonsson (2011: 109), says concerning how “this knowledge [...] [could] be of great significance for those trying to regain their identity and their lost heritage [...]”.

The reference by Nordin Jonsson is used here because it brings into contrast how through the investigation, it was possible to make further points about ethical practices in academic institutions (the example I have used in the 2011 publication is from the National Library of Finland, Helsinki), where illustrations and photographs of old *noaidi* drums are being sold to tourists, museum visitors, scholars ect, without any knowledge or understanding that the English edition of the History of Lapland contains images, which are reversed.

The un-ethical use of the material in this sense is a good example of what both Porsanger and Guttorm (2011: 36), refer to as “[...] possible commercial exploitation” of the material and therefore, presents a problem. Moreover, the 1971 reprint of the first English edition of Lapponia is copy written to Bokförlaget Rediviva, Sweden, as whereas the original manuscripts written by Schefferus are not copy written because they are so old, but the museums are still profiting from photographs of drums from the old texts, therefore, the situation seems quite complicated regarding copyright, representation and cultural property.

Moreover, addressing the publication errors can be viewed as an attempt to correct the inaccuracies and implications from the historical record as a way of building a bridge between past and present. Otherwise stated, this is where art history is rectified, and the results of the rectification, which has taken place through the analysis, help to understand why Sámi research in this case, in relation to drum symbolism, has to be approached and understood in a holistic way.

I have already described above the ethical guidelines in relation to rock art research but will elaborate further on these in relation to paper 2 in the dissertation titled: To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock paintings in Finland (2014), published in Polar Record.

The short investigation (4 pages), examines the parallels between groups of horned and triangular headed figures identified in the rock paintings in Finland and those found painted on *noaidi* drums from Sweden and Norway from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The article demonstrates the value of comparative, narrative and descriptive research methods and analysis regarding the links between drum figures and rock paintings. Each of the comparisons are made through interpreting the horned and triangular headed figures as spirits, because from the starting point of the cyclicity of Sámi myths and practices, the material on the drums, when seen as an extension of the rock painting tradition, allows the continuity of culture to take place.

The points in the analysis, which conform to ethical research methods and practices are visible from the perspective of keeping the research within a local context and not venturing to other cultures for comparisons with other sources of rock art, as early research has done, as has been noted in the paper. In this way, the investigation examines the local traditions and questions claims that the rock paintings are Finnish, in an attempt to provide a more holistic interpretation and description, concerning the nature of the figures and their possible representations. Instead of going abroad, I have seen the rock art as a kind of network of diverse oral narratives with various contexts and contents, but also allowed for regional variations within the Sámi context.

The reason for undertaking an approach as such is because by referring to the rock paintings as being Finnish, such a claim presents a series of disputes concerning issues of representation, in relation to the historic memory of the Sámi with regard to art, cultural landscapes, literature, religion and cultural practices.

In the study and requirements for ethical guidelines for the Documentation of *Árbediehtu*, Sámi Traditional Knowledge, Nordin Jonsson (2011: 97), has through her contribution likewise addressed this topic in her article which “[...] is an attempt to create guidelines for how *árbediehtu* (Sámi traditional knowledge) should be documented without exploiting the culture”. Nordin Jonsson (2011: 101-102), then goes on to say that

“Each project to document *árbediehtu* will have its own context, so it is not possible to develop ethical guidelines to cover every possible situation that may arise during the documentation of traditional knowledge. The guidelines developed for *árbediehtu* are therefore rather general, permitting adaptation to the various aims of different documentation projects. The goal of ethical guidelines for the documentation of *árbediehtu* is not to create uniformity with regard to documentation and traditional knowledge. Since *árbediehtu* itself is dynamic and varies between regions, individuals, ect, the guidelines must be also be flexible and adaptable; otherwise there is a risk that the diversity of traditional knowledge will be lost in the process”.

In her scholarly article titled: The Problematisation of the Dichotomy of Modernity and Tradition in Indigenous and Sami Contexts (2011), Sámi scholar Jelena Porsanger has clearly outlined a number of important points in relation to how and when working with Sámi traditional knowledge, it is fundamental to understand that within the Sámi value system (nature), past and present are not comprehended as being separate from each other, as is often the case in established western worldviews.

One of the key areas where traditional knowledge is found is in language and the use of terms in relation to Sámi cosmology-worldviews and a study of the culture. (Porsanger 2011: 225), states the following. “I do not consider the established division into binary opposites as problematic, but I share the view of many indigenous scholars who argue that division of tradition and modernity into binary opposites is hostile to indigenous epistemologies”.

These points have been taken into account in relation to what has been written in scholarly discourse about continuity of Sámi culture where there are statements that the origins of rock art in Finland has its heritage somewhere in Finnish culture, as expressed through scholarly titles published on the subject matter. Confusion arises from a lack of understanding regarding how symbolism has survived for such a long time, the mechanisms behind its use, how it has been recognised, shared and subsequently reused as a method for the transmission of culture, which subsequently brings ethical issues into focus within research practices in relation to origin and heritage.

Paper 3, titled: *What Influence do the Old Sámi Noaidi Drums from Lapland Play in the Construction of New Shaman Drums by Sámi Persons today?* (2014), offers a new type of research based on participant observation (interviews) and the use of a translator for the research.

Where relevant, and because of the perceived occurrences of mistakes and understandings due to the language barrier and issues concerning past discrimination in the ways Sámi traditional knowledge has been collected and documented, the employment-hiring of a translator for participation observation, or someone from the culture who speaks the language, or related language (Finnish in this case), to whom the participant has agreed to work with as a middle person or bridge between researcher and participant was implemented. Through the exercise, proof was gained as to how in certain circumstances there is a better chance of interpreting traditional knowledge within different categories with the help of a translator. For example, social, religious and environmental dimensions of life, in relation to shamanism and art.

Being able to have the help of a translator in relation to the documentation of traditional knowledge has been a successful basis for helping to establish cooperation with Elle-Maaret Helander who was interviewed about her drum making and decoration, to the extent she was willing to share her knowledge regarding the construction and decoration of drums and the motivation behind each of these. This was also the case in the interviews with Ovilla Gaup from Kautokeino, Norway, the second Sámi drum maker, who I interviewed in English language.

Having the understanding of no division between past and present in the Sámi value system was crucial for learning how Sámi persons see both past and present as being intimately linked with one another and therefore, in an ethical way, how the culture continues and memory is preserved through production and decoration of new types of drums, in both cases (also see Porsanger 2004: 108).

This method proved to have a number of benefits in relation to what is referred to through the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), by Guttorm (2011: 61), who recalls as to how

“Indigenous peoples have the right to practice and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature”.

Furthermore, and in addition to the aforementioned, Guttorm (2011: 61), then goes on to say how “According to this, indigenous peoples have the right to make use of, and develop their cultural traditions, customs, skills and other manifestations of their civilization”. In this sense, the ethical guidelines employed in the research and writing of paper 3: *What Influence do the Old Sámi Noaidi Drums from Lapland Play in the Construction of New Shaman Drums by Sámi persons Today?* (2014), have made another positive contribution in relation to representation.

The ways in which the research methods and approaches have been used means the stories themselves are a type of narrative with regard to aspects of the life stories of both participants; Helander’s in this case being the detailed one.

Broadly speaking, these points, which I have outlined above, help establish a suitable framework in which to test the hypothesis through the formulation of a research plan, consisting of undertaking the interviews, analysis of the research data collected and stating the outcomes of the investigation. Allowances have also had to be made for misunderstandings, suspicion and limitations concerning the disclosure

of information, especially in relation to shamanism. The reasons for this is because there are also taboos and customs concerning the use and sharing of traditional knowledge, which are either kept secret or shared only amongst Sámi people relating to religious and cultural practices.

The hiring of Jenni Laitinen who was the translator for the interviews with Elle-Maaret Helander was very important, not only because Helander does not speak any English but because Laitinen and Helander know each other and therefore, a certain level of trust had already been established, which was crucial for the interview. By assigning a translator and also being open to listening and acknowledging the chemistry between the two women in relation to what Helander was to disclose to Laitinen before the interview regarding consent, which was related to me, this helped highlight the following points as stated by Connelly and Clandinin (1990: 4).

“In narrative inquiry, it is important that the researcher listen first to the practitioner’s story, and that it is the practitioner who first tells his or her story. This does not mean that the researcher is silenced in the process of narrative enquiry. It does mean that the practitioner, who has long been silenced in the research relationship, is given the time and space to tell her or his story so that it too gains the authority and validity that the research story has long had”

As a further examination of the ethical guidelines for Sámi research with regard to the subject matter, covers a series of issues that have arisen concerning how trouble has arisen regarding the decoration of new types of drums, which I have presented in the chapter: A discussion concerning the types of issues, which have arisen in relation to the production and decoration of new types of drums and the reuse of *noaidi* drum symbolism throughout *Sápmi*, Finland.

Because of tourism and what is perceived as the exotic Sámi culture, as a result of drums being made for the tourist industry, questions have arisen as to whether or not such instruments are representing the real meanings of original drums and their symbols? I discovered throughout the course of the research how some drum makers have studied and read old texts and then made drums based on this learning. However, it is not clear as to whether or not this type of learning is adequate to represent the culture regarding ethics and the forwarding of traditional knowledge? It seems that education in handicraft and art through *duodji* presents drum makers with a series of key questions as to the motivation for making and using a drum and its intended purposes or usage.

For example, arguments and the misuse of traditional knowledge are centered on people who make drums but do not know what they are doing. It can be argued in this case how the symbols from the old drums have lost their meaning and therefore, when a drum is created, it is important to be clear as to whether it is a piece of art or a traditional handicraft production? (*duodji*), or something else such as a shaman drum? If the production is a shaman drum, then is there an awakening ritual which accompanies it?

These are interesting and important questions, which I have considered within the application of approaches and methods used in the research. It could be argued too, that one of the main reasons Sámi scholars alike have criticised people who make shaman drums is because they make experiments but do not have the correct knowledge and skills concerning what they are doing, and so may use them in an unconscious way, which the Sámi would see as not being good practice¹⁴. It seems to me that real *noaidi* drums, built for healing and divination, have been formulated, ritually constructed and decorated through a mixture of traditional knowledge and contemporary art.

14 See the chapter below: A discussion concerning the types of issues which have arisen in relation to the production and decoration of new types of drums and the reuse of *noaidi* drum symbolism in Finland

The fourth paper titled: Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Symbolism, published in: *Shaman - The International Journal for Shamanistic Research* (2015). The approaches used in the paper are descriptive, phenomenological and comparative methods based on the role and function of narrative discourse and storytelling, which are two themes that typically underlie shamanistic art. In this case an old *noaidi* drum from Sweden.

Writing this paper brought many questions into focus regarding my position as an outsider because the approach consists of the theory that the portrait on the drumhead is from a hunting-trapping-fishing scene and the use of magic, as is the content of many of the remaining *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Questions such as how can someone from England truly know what these landscapes represent if the information about them is faint and unclear, and because drums also embody sacred cultural and religious values? Also, what are the risks involved for the Sámi who have already suffered because of mis-representations of their culture and its heritage by outsiders?

The ways I have approached and given consideration to these questions was to observe the ethical guidelines in such a way that the knowledge gained and thus formulated within the writing of the paper would be returned back to the Sámi, without any commercial benefit on my behalf. In addition, the conclusion at the end of the paper was an open one, meaning that phenomenologically, the research was based on a series of theories and perceptions rather than solid facts, as an attempt to fill in some of the missing gaps in the analysis and make the research interesting.

The approaches used are justified because early research by clergymen and missionaries has not paid much attention to how the content of the scenery has to be understood within a holistic framework. Therefore, my research design was combined in a way it would help bring together different concepts within the content of the landscape of the drumhead as a means of attempting to interpret the overall story piece by piece and how the conceptualization of the *noaidi's* art, demonstrates a creative expression of different theoretical perspectives.

The first perspective concerns oral narrative and discourse and the second one, a loss of culture due to missionizing and the destruction of *noaidi* drums. Jointly, the narrative and descriptive approaches attempt to capture both the material and spiritual discourse, which is put together piece by piece within the context of the art. In other words, the approach and analysis shows the value of the use and application of magic in everyday life where fishing, hunting and trapping are concerned. "Perhaps because it focuses on human experience, perhaps because it is a fundamental structure of human experience, and perhaps because it has a holistic quality, narrative has an important place [...]" (Connelly and Clandinin 1990: 2), to play in this case.

The difficulty, which lies in the source material as I have pointed out in the paper, can be seen in the way the analysis is focused on two illustrations of the content of the drumhead depicting what looks like a bird figure inside the sun, which are secondary sources and not primary ones. However, they are the only ones available, which have been carefully reconstructed by Ernst Manker (1950), that provide a detailed description of the content of the faded landscape of the drum under investigation. I have outlined this much more extensively in the published paper.

Paper five titled *Noaidi* drums from *Sápmi*, rock paintings in Finland and Sámi cultural heritage – an investigation, published in *Polar Record* (2017), is a much broader comparative and descriptive investigation of the subject matter published in the paper: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland* (2014), concerning the relationship between horned and triangular headed figures found amongst rock paintings in Finland and those depicted on *noaidi* drums from Norwegian and Swedish *Sápmi* from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Emphasis in the

investigation is placed on the ambiguity of both Sámi and Finnish cultural heritage in relation to ethnicity and origins with regard to the rock paintings and their contextualization as being termed as Finnish, thus illustrating some of the prejudices, which exist within this field of study.

The ways the material has been approached and methods applied concerning the ethical guidelines are illustrated through the ways the investigation questions claims of sovereignty by the Finns, as well as examining the reasons why such established views exist and thereby brings into focus the Sámi and their rights to their own history within discussions about prehistory in Finland.

I have demonstrated in my argument how the Sámi have kept their cultural heritage and identity alive by forwarding it across generations and eras. Moreover, the problem of cultural appropriation has been highlighted in the paper, as an example, to show how this mechanism of colonialism works and therefore, why it is important ethical guidelines and approaches are applied in such investigations. The justification for the application of both comparative and descriptive research methods as being valid for conducting ethical research with regard to heritage, furthermore, help clarify such points and strengthen what is referred to by Norberg and Fossum (2011: 199-200).

“Several factors come into play in deciding whether or not cultural remains should be defined as Sami or not. One can generally say that they can be defined as Sami if there is a living or recorded tradition of similar cultural remains, or if local Sami knowledge links them to a Sami cultural context. Ancient remains can also be counted if research results can demonstrate a Sami history or prehistory (Sami Parliament in Norway 2005). In addition to this, there are cultural remains that are related to Sami prehistory because they are tangible expressions of the processes that led to the establishment of well-known Sami expressions. This means that even older remains may be seen in the Sami context. Thus they become part of Sami cultural landscape and they need to be treated as such” (ibid, Jørgensen & Olsen 1988; Olsen 1984; Hansen and Olsen 2004).

The material from both rock painting and drum landscapes and the figures within these areas help illustrate a core belief of the Sámi people regarding the relationship with the land. In turn this is reflected within hunting, trapping and fishing practices from which Sámi religion and cosmology has been constructed and used as a basis for social order and identity. Through the rock paintings, it is possible to see how the spirits of nature have been portrayed at sacred sites throughout prehistory, by what means landscape has been encountered and used, and likewise, within the expression of sacred landscapes on *noaidi* drums from a much later period.

Because and in terms of missing evidence in relation to how there are no drums that have survived from prehistory, except those depicted within rock art, the gap from prehistory to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries remains pervasive according to scientific research.

The dilemma of conducting research on material, which is referred to as Finnish by contrast to Sámi traditional knowledge brings into focus both ethical and what are not yet legal issues regarding cultural heritage in relation to what Guttorm (2011: 14), describes as “the connection of traditional knowledge and cultural monuments and relics with local identity”, within *Sápmi*. However, one of the central problems as I have stated within the perimeters of the investigation concerns in what way the rock paintings in Finland are in the former Sámi areas and not the present day ones and thus the Sámi are denied their history in this way.

I have also clearly stated in what ways the shamanistic paradigm in relation to Sámi shamanism has been investigated extensively within rock art research in Finland in paper 5: *Noaidi* Drums From *Sápmi*,

Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation (2017), but how and as a method for identifying additional cultural landscapes within the art, knowledge of cosmological structures from oral tradition in terms of spirits brings into focus further distinctions that need to be made between Sámi and Finnish cultures where historical research is concerned. Moreover, where more understanding is gained through the spirits on the *noaidi* drums in relation to their cultural background as seen reflected in the rock art and what this means with regard to cultural heritage? Put more eloquently in the works of Norberg and Fossum (2011: 198).

“Greater value should be placed on the contextual study of cultural heritage. Cultural heritage is related to other cultural expressions such as language, the Sámi ways of life, food traditions, folklore, costumes and all the traditions relating to their habits and practices. Together they form a system that helps set the frame of reference for Sámi culture”.

The outcome of the research examining the relationships between the *noaidi* drum spirits with horned and triangular shaped heads and similar figures and structures recognized within rock paintings in Finland does, in both cases, provide parallel examples of how a conflict of interest exists concerning ways the landscape has been used as well as the un-ethical political landscapes that currently exist within this field of enquiry.

3.3 Different materials of the research

The purpose of the next two sub-chapters is to give a detailed account of the participants who were interviewed during the research and also the types of photographic material and literature sources used. Therefore, a detailed description of each of these included in the dissertation are presented below for demonstrating research development and how the information was collected. From the participants that were interviewed during the research and whose contributions have been included in publications, four persons live in Finnish *Sápmi*, and a fifth in Kautokeino, Norway, which is also in the *Sápmi* area.

During the process of collecting research material for my Master’s Degree in 2006, the subject matter being rock paintings in Finland, which are recognised as having links with Sámi religion, I learned how contributory to the study it was to listen to what the local Sámi people themselves have had to say on this subject matter. The reason is because their knowledge on the topic is important as it comes from within their oral tradition relating to dance, religion, sacrifice, cosmology and art. Therefore, such landscapes and scenes as portrayed in rock art can be seen as significant primary source material and consequently, contains many of the values found in Sámi culture with regard to the relationship to animals, landscapes, sacrifice, shamanism and the natural world, as depicted on drums and other kinds of decorative art.

By finding out who is doing what concerning drum making and both the preservation and transmission of knowledge in contemporary Sámi society, this has enabled me to find new informants and to ask questions about the both rock art and drum landscapes, as well as their interpretation and knowledge of such forms, which relate to folklore and stories, which are the essence of oral tradition. As a result of conducting various interviews, it has then been possible to establish the kind of meaning drums and their symbolism have in both a cultural and individual context and the different perspectives associated with them in relation to identity and representation of culture.

The first interview participant is Elle-Maaret Helander, is a Sámi woman and drum maker and handicraft person who lived at the time of the first interview in Pyhätunturi, Pyhäjärvi in East-

ern *Sápmi*. The interview was translated from Finnish to English by Jenni Laitinen, who lives in Rovaniemi, and whose services were employed for the day on March 3rd 2011 at Helander's home. Helander holds regular workshops on drum making throughout Finland. The drums made during the courses are not modeled on the designs-shapes of older drums; they are a made using a new design, and decorated in such a way that some of them have a certain amount of symbols, which bear resemblance to the symbols associated with early Sámi culture and religion from the nomadic culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

The interview and subsequent publication of the article provided a unique opportunity to capture how there has been a subsequent shift in uncovering cultural practices and the freedom to do so, in Finnish *Sápmi*, which when compared with the chronic outlawing and implementation of capital punishment administered to Sámi persons in the past to persons who built or used drums for shamanistic reasons or similar practices, highlights this change.

A study of the history of *noaidi* drums, which were confiscated by explorers and representatives of the Church that are exhibited and held in the archives of museums throughout Europe, provided a basis for being able to photograph the five drums built and painted by Helander during the first interview. Moreover, and therefore to examine what value the old drums have for the drum maker and how the older symbolism influences her work and the ways the art work and drum figures are constructed and organized on the heads of five drums made by Helander. A second interview with the drum maker was conducted on 20, October 2014, at her new home in Inari.

The purpose of the interview in Inari was to photograph one newly decorated drum and a series of new types of rattles and good-luck charms, which have been painted with Sámi symbolism and these are included in the chapter: The reuse, modification and adaptation of *noaidi* symbolism to new types of handicrafts made by Sámi artists in Finland today. Six photographs taken during the interview are used here as evidence of the continuity of culture and transmission of symbolism. Jenni Laitinen also translated the discussion that was undertaken in Finnish language into English, which was transcribed into fieldwork notes.

The overall purpose of the research and interviews is to demonstrate the important role drums play with regard to cultural and ethnic markers, recovery of self-esteem and the development of traditions and how this knowledge is passed on through art.

The second interview was conducted on September 22, 2011 with participant Lauri Ukkola who is a Finnish reindeer herder and hunter from the Sodankyla Municipality in Finnish *Sápmi* and was translated from Finnish to English by Jarmo Hörkkö. Hörkkö is a Finnish man who lives in Turku, and a close associate of Ukkola's, spiritually. By contrast, Ukkola has been trained and is active as a healer in the practice of shamanism, which is expressed as a form of divination prior to hunting, and for stopping bleeding in his patients who have injured themselves. The short contribution from Lauri was used in the article published about Helander's drum making.

The reason for only including a short paragraph from the interview with Ukkola was because it supports the discussion concerning the impact of missionizing in *Sápmi* has had on both the destruction and reproduction of Sámi *noaidi* drums during the nineteen forties, which is one of the chapters in the article published in paper 3: What Influence do the Old Sámi *Noaidi* Drums from Lapland Play in the Construction of New Shaman Drums by Sámi persons Today? (2014). In a broader sense, the information from Ukkola can be seen within a much wider campaign against Sámi culture about the long lasting threat posed by the church authorities over the Sámi, and thereby helping to demonstrate how the Christian mentality of opposition and oppression and destruction of Sámi religion has continued until more recently.

The third participant is called Aslak Paltto; “a reindeer Sámi from Lemmenjoki, which is in the Inari municipality. Paltto is a journalist for Sámi radio and a drum maker” (Paltto 2011: 1). The interview took place during the *Skabmogovat* Film Festival in Inari on January 21, 2011 and was conducted in English. Paltto supplied me with two photographs of a bowl type of drum that was made as a replica of a drum that belonged to Sámi *noaidi* Anders Poulsen from Finnmark, Norwegian *Sápmi*, who was murdered in police custody whilst being tried for Witchcraft in a trial in 1691 (see Hagen 2005: 312).

The replica had been made by Sámi handicraft person Ovlla Gaup, from Kautokeino. Norwegian *Sápmi*. After receiving the pictures from Paltto, communication with Gaup was established by telephone interviews and e-mail correspondence in 2011 and 2013. The interviews in both cases were of essential benefit because as an outsider, I was able to gain valuable insight and understanding into the reasons behind the creation of both drums, and why this particular one, reflecting the one belonging to Poulsen, has been chosen as a model. As a result, Gaup’s replica was complimentary to Helander’s work, and the chapter about persecution of the *noaidi* in *Sápmi* in paper 3: What Influence do the Old Sámi *Noaidi* Drums from Lapland Play in the Construction of New Shaman Drums by Sámi persons Today? (2014), because of the history of the drum.

A further discussion is presented in the research and concerns new types of drums made by Sámi handicraft persons Ilmari Laiti and Ilmari Tapio who were also interviewed through the help of translators: Mika Aromäki (2012), and Minka Maria Labba (2013). These drums are both made within the Sámi handicraft tradition called *Duodji*.

I considered it beneficial to add the notes from a second interview with Aromäki regarding drum-making education as part of the *duodji* training at the Sámi Education Institute in Inari. This was conducted in 2015. The purpose was to find out what the institute offers to students concerning the production of new types of drums made during education at the school and what, if any are the ethical guidelines for this kind of artistic work and whether or not the drums’ students make are painted with the old *noaidi* symbols on them?

There are a further 6 interviews, which were conducted with Sámi persons working as shamans and undertaking rituals and sacrifice. Five of these took place in August 2015 at the Isogaisa Sámi Shaman Festival in Norway. The names of those interviewed are as follows: Fredrik Prost from Kiruna, Swedish *Sápmi*. Robert Vars-Gaup, from Lillehammer, Norwegian *Sápmi*. Nadia Fenina from the Murmansk, which is on the Kola Peninsula, north-west Russia. Ingor Ántte Áilu Gaup (Áilloš), from Kautokeino, Norwegian *Sápmi* and Peter Armstrand from Kiruna, Swedish *Sápmi*. The 6th participant interviewed was Hans Niittyvuopio from Karigasniemi, in Finnish *Sápmi*. The interview with Niittyvuopio took place in 2011 and was translated from Finnish to English by Seija Berg.

All the fieldwork-interview notes were transcribed and are presented in the chapter: Voices from inside the *Lavvu* – The re-emergence of Sami shamanism in Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia.

I have also included a chapter titled: Where Past Meets the Present: Sámi Spirits, Drums and Oral Tradition. The photographs of drums and fieldwork notes present the work of Lilja Takalo who has Sámi ancestors and who works as a healer in Rovaniemi, Finland where she lives. Takalo’s artwork painted on the drums provides new examples of how different contexts of Sámi art, notably, the symbols copied from the *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and new types of figures and symbols, which have evolved from her own visionary work, portray shamanism and cosmology in a contemporary setting through stories.

The reasons for presenting the work of each of these participants is because the new material they have provided brings forth their innovate ideas, insight and contributions to the study of Sámi shamanism

and the traditional knowledge. In the cases of each of the drum makers, I was able to capture their experiences of native traditions that are portrayed through their artistic work.

The interviews, in addition to understanding the content of each of the drums, were conducted as a method of being able to capture and document their relationships with history, ancestors, landscape and traditions in *Sápmi*. The interviews with the participants who are practicing shamanism themselves, carries with it equal importance because until recently, there has been so little information regarding its continuity in *Sápmi*.

One of the main portraits of how Sámi history has influenced the drum makers in their work is recognized through various symbols and figures that are sources of traditional knowledge in relation to the artwork on the old divination drums, and how the different portraits of this knowledge continue and influences the building of new drums in terms of Sámi thinking and the transmission of such knowledge.

One of the chief sources of the photographic data used in the doctoral dissertation in relation to the old drums collected between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been extracted and photocopied from the old black and white (grey), photographs from: Ernst Manker's monumental works: *Die lapplische Zaubertrommel: eine ethnologische Monographie. 1, Die Trommel als Denkmal materieller Kultur 1938; and Die Lappische Zaubertrommel: Eine Ethnologische Monographie. 2, Die Trommel als Urkunde Geistigen Lebens (1950)*. It has been impossible to visit the museums in Europe where the original drums are currently preserved and therefore, scanning the photographs has in this case been the better option. Each drum, which has been utilized for the research is outlined below. Permission to reuse the photographs was obtained from the Nordiska Museum in Stockholm.

In each of the five papers published in the dissertation, information regarding the use of photographic material is presented regarding the sources and copyright. However, in papers 1: The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami *Noaidi* Drum Figures Reversed (2011) and 3: What Influence do the Old Sámi *Noaidi* Drums from Lapland Play in the Construction of New Shaman Drums by Sámi Persons Today? (2014), there is a copy of a map, which I have discovered since using the source, is an edited version of the original copy, meaning a border area has been removed.

The information I received about the source was it was from the seventeenth century and therefore, has no copyright to it. I have since discovered that this is not the case. The original map is published in paper 4: Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism (2015), with all the relevant information concerning author, date and copyright and therefore, the same author can be credited in all three sources.

In the dissertation, all figures (photographs and illustrations), are numbered in numerical order and an explanation of the meaning and content is also described. The owner and dating of each one, which is copy written is also included. Use of these materials is critical because they support the textual analysis, and have been drawn upon from my own fieldwork and also through correspondence with other scholars and institutions working within similar subject matter. Each of these figures are numbered in the literature section at the end.

Within the contexts of the research I have included 98 figures in the different chapters, which consist primarily of different photographs and illustrations depicting drums, rock art, Sámi *noaidi*, Sámi shamans and Sámi handicrafts in the main body of the dissertation. These are essential sources of knowledge because they provide an important contribution concerning the formulation and application of the research methods and main arguments. Thereby, helping to advance the research into Sámi culture and emphasize associations between the materials, especially in relation to the roles and functions of both rock art, drums and drum symbolism and figures.

In paper 5: *Noaidi* Drums From *Sápmi*, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation (2017), there are a further 13 figures consisting of photographs and photocopies of rock art research and *noaidi* drum symbolism. The photographic data plays a fundamental role in elaborating the social change in changing paradigms of research into Sámi shamanism, culture and history, as well as highlight why, as outsiders, there are ethical requirements, which need to be taken into account when handling such materials. These points are elaborated upon in the chapter on research methods.

From my assessment of historical documents, it seems that in all early research data before the end of the twentieth century, there has been no extensive comparative analysis, which has brought both rock art and drum symbolism together for examination in order to help shed further light on questions concerning ethnicity, culture and heritage. Therefore, the contribution presented to you below aims at bringing the past into the present to show how these dimensions of reality are not divided into binary or opposing forces but how they influence culture today.

3.4 The main sources used in the research

The following list and descriptions from scholarly texts and their content are the main sources I have used in the research into both the history of *noaidi* drums and rock art analysis throughout Fennoscandia. It has been very helpful to be able to find source material written in English. However, there are also texts included in the dissertation, which were originally written in German, Finnish and Swedish that have been translated into English to help enhance the analysis.

The following sources and contribution from author Johannes Schefferus: *Lapponia* [1673], republished under the title: *The History of Lapland, First English Edition* [1674] (1971). The volume is one of the earliest sources, which both portrayed and influenced the study of Sámi religion and culture for centuries as has been noted in scholarly literature. From within this time period of Sámi history it is helpful to understand the context and climate concerning the work of Schefferus, which was instrumental in the publication of his accounts of the culture and the forces that influenced his writings as described by Aikio et al (1994: 12).

“Schefferus was a German scholar who had settled in Sweden. By the time he came to write his book, there was considerable scholarly knowledge on the subject of the Sami; furthermore, he had available to him information which had been actively collected, with support from the government, by the clergy responsible for Sami parishes and even by gymnasium and university students of Sami origin. Schefferus’ *Lapponia* became the bedrock of subsequent ethnographic study of the Sami; for centuries, its main outline would be followed by all general works on the subject”.

The publications, which have made a significant contribution regarding photographic material for the study are as follows: Johannes Schefferus [1674] (1971), and Ernst Manker (1938 & 1950). Finnish photographer Ismo Luukkonen’s research and photographic work (1994-2017), which covers the content of all known rock painting locations documented in Finland to date, has without a doubt provided invaluable sources for the study. I have undertaken co-operation work with Luukkonen at several field sites in southern Finland during the course of this research, and have been given permission to use his photographic sources, which are referenced and included herein. One further point, is in the paper: *The His-*

tory of Lapland and the Case of the Sami *Noaidi* Drum Figures Reversed (2011), additional information can be found regarding the work of Johannes Schefferus.

In terms of the study of *noaidi* drums and their symbolism, *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* [1838-1845], edited by Juha Pentikäinen and published in English (2002), is another valuable source which contains the works of Lars Levi Laestadius, Sámi pastor, mythologist and botanist from Arjeplog who worked in amongst other places Karesuando in northern Sweden as a vicar who played a leading role when the Laestadian movement began, and who has contributed greatly to the study of Sámi history and culture.

The texts of Laestadius' field work amongst the Sámi was published from "La Recherche Expedition 1838-1840" (Pentikäinen 2002: 9)¹⁵, which pertains to a collection of field notes discovered from missionaries and clergymen and documenting what he came across regarding Sámi religion and cosmology as a manuscript found in Paris that provided detailed information about the cultural beliefs and practices of Sámi society in terms of religion, customs, taboos and cosmology. His contribution is important because it provides a unique chapter from Sámi history between 1838 and 1840, and contains a wealth of information concerning drum use, sacrifice and worship; the data of which is contained in three main chapters. The Doctrine of Deities, The Doctrine of Sacrifice and The Doctrine of Divination.

The labour of Swedish ethnographer Ernst Manker should be mentioned here because the text below, which is in English provides the reader with current information about his background and research, whereas his early works are published mainly in German and Swedish. In fact, Manker's two valuable ethnographical sources published towards the end of the twentieth century in German language, which are noted in the literature section, are two of the main texts used for the study of *noaidi* drum symbolism for the analysis herein. Later works by Manker, which have benefit for the study also are his 1971 publication in Swedish titled: *Samefolkets Konst* (The Art of the Sámi Folk), and the publication of an article titled: *Sieidi* Cult and Drum Magic of the Lapps (1968).

Also to be mentioned is how Ernst Manker's vitally important fieldwork amongst the Sámi and the interviews that were collected as a result, provide highly important and detailed accounts of sacrificial practices at *sieidi* sites throughout Swedish *Sápmi*, which takes up a central position in literature that provides factual evidence of the continuity of the Old Sámi pre-Christian religion. He can also be credited on how he worked very hard with Sámi people to establish what they thought about the figures and symbols on the drums.

Whilst the 1938 & 1950 editions have provided photographic evidence of the surviving "71 drums" (Itkonen 1943-44: 68), and their symbolism, the later works by Manker is instrumental in the recognition of the relationship between rock carvings, paintings, drum symbolism and their perceived links with Sámi cultural history and therefore an overview of his work is merited here. According to his own research Manker (1971: 8), says that

"Even if it has not been proven, that this north Scandinavian rock art is of Sami origin, the fact cannot be ignored in a presentation concerning Sami art. It belongs to the same geographical area, and the content corresponds largely to the art on the Sami drums, especially motifs of reindeer and moose as the most sought after prey. The hunters wanted to catch these magically

15 In paper 2 published in *Polar Record* (2014), titled: To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland, I have made reference to texts quoted from *Fragments of Lappish Mythology*, by Laestadius [1838-1840], rather than by Pentikäinen (2002), this was because there are so many different contributors to this edition, occasionally, it is not always clear who is speaking? Pentikäinen, Laestadius, or the missionaries. In a similar and ambiguous way, both dates 1838-1840, and 1838-1845, were equally as confusing for the publication of Laestadius's work. It seems apparent that the manuscript was compiled, written and between 1838-1845.

with help of the pictures, and it has been created by hunting and gathering people, as the Sami probably were when they moved and travelled in prehistoric times [...]”¹⁶.

Because of the value and importance of Manker’s research in the dissertation, a brief but informative summary of his work in relation to ethnographical research and fieldwork amongst the Sámi, which is exhibited at the National Historical Museum (Nordiska Museet), in Stockholm, focusses on his investigation into the plight of drums collected during the Christian missionizing period and their recovery. It also provides some background information about his research as stated by Viridi Kroik (2007: 69 f.).

“In parallel to their destruction, drums were also delivered to state owned research institutions and colleges and later on transferred to the National Historical Museum (Manker 1938: 450). Over the centuries, many researchers and writers showed interest in the drums, but the most significant texts were written in the middle of the twentieth century, by the above-mentioned Ernst Manker. In the beginning of the 1930s, together with his wife, he searched European museums and collections and found around 80 Sami drums (71 + 6 ”unauthentic” + 4 without drumheads) which he presented in one of his major works, *Die lappische Zaubertrommel* in two thick volumes (Manker 1938, 1950).

The title means “The Sami witch-drum”, but nowadays they are usually called ceremonial drums, shaman drums or Sami drums. In this work Manker described the traditional Sami religion and its beliefs, where after he examined every single drum in its materiality – how it was made, what material and what kind of technique had been used, constituting the base for the classification of the drums in various form categories, related to different geographical areas (Manker 1938). A fascinating detail that sheds special light over the biographies of the drums is that the names of the former owners are written on some of the confiscated drums, most of them still readable almost 300 years later (Manker 1938).

Another source by Silvén, (2012: 177) emphasized how

“Manker’s thorough material approach was a substantial contribution to earlier drum research. It had, on the one hand, focused on the role of the *noaidi* in Sami religion and his use of the drum, on the other hand, on the supposed meaning of the figures on the drumhead, according to Sami cosmology (Manker 1938: 20; 1950: 139 ff.). However, Manker put the same effort in copying, identifying and trying to understand the signs on the drums as in his description of the other material features (Manker 1950). He interpreted the brownish-red figures – coloured by alder bark – as a kind of story-telling, about the real world and the world of the gods.

His many publications, both scientific (above) and popular (Manker 1965), made this image world accessible for generations of readers, and the symbolic figures came to inspire, among others, contemporary artists in their work”.

It should also be noted at this point also, how in relation to both the discovery of rock paintings and their appearance in scholarly literature that according to Lahelma (2008a: 29), “after all, Finland was until 1809 a part of Swedish Kingdom – a country where the first antiquarian records of rock art were

16 Translated from Swedish to English by Linda Granfors



Figure 2. The byproduct of Christian missionizing. “A Sami delegation appointed by the government studying drums in the custody of the Nordiska Museet, 1945. From the left: Mattias Kuoljok, John Utsi, Anna Gustafsson, Ernst Manker (curator), Gustaf Park, Petrus Gustafsson, Isak Parffa and Nils Erik Kuoljok” (Silvén 2012: 176). Photograph, copyright and reused with permission of Nordiska Museet 2015. The drums, which have been kept away in archives provide some idea of the issues relating to the colonial history and Sámi cultural heritage in Sweden, Norway and Finland and the complex relationship between the state and the indigenous Sámi.

already made in the 17th century (Hallström 1960: ix). A bit later but still early on, the first report of prehistoric rock art in Norway was made in 1788 (Hallström 1938: 22 [...]).” This evidence provides information about how the discovery of paintings in present day Finland was much later and is therefore, not mentioned by Manker, but those in Sweden and Norway are. Another point in relation to Sámi *noaidi* drum symbolism from Norwegian *Sápmi* and rock carvings in Norway is according to the historical record, a reindeer image was found carved into a rock at Tennes in north Norway and was discovered in the mid-1800s¹⁷.

I have drawn heavily on the works of Lahelma primarily because his doctoral dissertation is published in English and contains 5 scholarly papers. Two of those which have been particularly important are: *Communicating with Stone Persons. Anthropomorphism, Saami Religion and Finnish Rock Art*, and the second: *Politics, Ethnography and Prehistory: in Search of an Informed Approach to Finnish and Karelian Rock Art*.

Because the titles of these papers suggest Finnish ownership of the rock paintings and, therefore, there is a significant amount of confusion concerning the cultural context of the art, which refers to both Finnish and Karelian rock art but not Sámi rock art. This is discussed in further detail later on.

17 See *The Cambridge History of Illustrated Art* by Paul G. Bahn (1998: 14).

Another important source for the research analysis has been the early scholarly works of anthropologist Anna-Leena Siikala and her scholarly works: *Finnish Rock Art, Animal Ceremonialism and Shamanism* (1981). Siikala, like Lahelma does in my opinion, lack a much broader examination of sources drawn from Sámi ethnographical and historical research in relation to the relationship between rock paintings in Finland and *noaidi* drum symbolism in relation to cosmology. Siikala, in a similar way to Lahelma has the tendency to mix Finnish and Sámi shamanism and mythologies together within a kind of Finno-Ugric context and group identity, rather than keeping the study within a local context and placing more emphasis on local traditions from Sámi history in *Sápmi* and its traces in southern Finland.

Both Lahelma and Siikala could be criticised for not examining Sámi cosmology, further than the *noaidi's* journey to the mythical realm of *Sáiva*, not only in relation to shamanism, but with what Gjerde (2010b: 446), regard as various “[...] representation [s] of the main features of the universe (description of the world)”, in relation to other kinds of phenomena, in addition to scenes consistent with trance, out-of-body and ecstasy poses, as well as animal communication, which are what Lahelma in particular has analysed within the shamanic paradigm. Nevertheless, both Lahelma and Siikala, instead strived to make associations predominantly with shamanism and therefore, also justify linking the paintings with Kalevala myths and Finnish Nationalism¹⁸.

It must be noted that in relation to rock painting research and the significant study of horned and triangular headed figures, this particular field of analysis appears to have stopped at the end of the 1990s. Therefore, re-evaluating the direction where this discussion has been left is important because it justifies the need for further research. There are no former studies I know about, which raise questions pertaining to cultural heritage in relation to both rock paintings in Finland and the reproduction of new types of shaman drums in Finland, which can be used as comparative material with regard to Sámi history.

In relation to the study of prehistoric rock art, and carvings in particular, the scholarly works of both Norwegian archaeologists Knut Helskog and Jan Magne Gjerde has been important contributions, especially in research at the Alta rock carvings, Finnmark, north Norway. Helskog, now retired has conducted extensive research into shamanism and cultural heritage in Norway, publishing over 50 scholarly titles. Gjerde has over 15 scholarly publications including his recent PhD dissertation: *Rock Art and Landscapes* (2010b).

I have tended to be critical towards archaeology and its directions in relation to Sámi history and cultural heritage, meaning I have often wondered if the lack of interdisciplinary research amongst different academic disciplines, such as art, history, ethnography, anthropology and religion in relation to *noaidi* drum symbolism and its relationship with rock art, has been done so for political reasons, or for the Finns to maintain the status quo?

Moreover, proof of the survival and indeed existence of Sámi religion after the campaign inflicted upon the culture through the missionizing period across the continent of Fennoscandia, and in Finland, as *Sápmi* was burned during the Second World War, and also because the country has a small Sámi population, it might be there are only very tiny fragments of the nomadic culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which have survived. According to figures from the Sámi Parliament as stated by Sanna Valkonen (2009: 19), “More than 60 percent of Finland’s Sami live outside the Sami homelands [...]” in the north.

18 A note for the reader as to how the Kalevala is defined by Juha Pentikäinen (1998: ix). “Forged into a single epic by Elias Lönnrot (1802-1884), who collected most of the texts, the *Kalevala* has become, first and foremost, a symbol for the nationhood of the Finnish people. Providing a past, either mythological or historical, the Kalevala has served as a focus for the formation of the Finnish national identity”. I will also go into further detail later about different types of phenomena in relation to cosmological structures within Sámi religion.

Important to clarify too, is the approximate figures regarding the Sámi population in *Sápmi* or the areas throughout Fennoscandia where Sámi populations live. This is the most comprehensive listing I have been able to find compiled by Utsi et al (2005: 6-7).

“The total Sami population is an estimated 70,000. More than half – 40,000 – live in Norway, 20,000 live in Sweden, 6,000 in Finland and 2,000 in Russia. Almost 10,000 are involved in reindeer husbandry”. [Furthermore], “There is no definition of a Sami. But the Sami Parliament Act, which says who is eligible to vote in elections to the Sami Parliament, includes all those who regard themselves as Sami and use, or have used, Sami as a language in the home or have parents, or grandparents, who use, or have used, the Sami language. Those who regard themselves as Sami and have a parent who is, or was, listed in the electoral rolls for the Sami Parliament are also Sami”¹⁹

In scholarly discourse from Sweden however, different accounts of the continuity of culture in different Sámi communities throughout the north have been described for example by Swedish scholar Rolf Kjellström in his scholarly article: *On the Continuity of Old Saami Religion* (1987: 24), where reference is made to how “among religious historians it is Hans Mebius who goes farthest forward in time; in his valuable essay *Sjiele* he is fully aware that sacrificial traditions, for example, continues to live on long after the arrival of missionaries and other such activities among the Saamis”. This is important to acknowledge because as will be described later on, Sámi religion and religious practices in relation to sacrificial traditions and art are considered to have faded away because of Christian missionizing. Therefore, if Sámi religion has survived this period why should we not believe it also exists today and that Sámi *noaidi* can still be found within their societies?

With regard to Sámi religion, *noaidi* as artists, can be defined as a group of spiritual leaders or persons responsible for portraying and performing aspects of their oral history and culture through art, and whose task it has been to carry the traditions of their culture forward and can therefore be called in this sense, tradition bearers. It is also the case in *Sápmi* amongst the Sámi that elements of their religion have been translated into myths and stories, or what might be called fairy-tales, so they have survived. A good example can be found in the works of Elina Helander-Renvall in her book: *Silde - Mythic Texts and Stories* (2005). Tradition bearers are in this sense individuals who still exist today in *Sápmi* and beyond.

19 Also see the introduction in Kulonen et al (2005: 5-6) who give some variations in these numbers

4 Theoretical and historical backgrounds

For such an investigation as the one presented to you below concerning Sámi shamanism, history, religion and cultural heritage, it is beneficial that in relation to both Sámi and Finnish histories, the concept of colonialism is discussed here in the introduction chapter as well as some of the mechanisms, which played a key role within these processes are outlined. But, it should be noted, that in terms of history, is not possible to draw a general portrait of the colonies across Fennoscandia because they have consisted of structures and policies that has been created, modified and changed over time. Moreover, in academic discourse, debates about the definition of the term colonialism seem as equally problematic²⁰.

As a way to outline some of the background problems with regard to power relations and creation of political systems and religious institutions has had on cultural history in Finland a good place to start is by bringing to light the influence Christianity in its different forms has had in relation to both Finnish and Sámi cultural history and religion. The reasons why it is important to outline religion in particular is for several benefits. The first concerns how in Finland, both the Sámi and the Finns belong to the Finno-Ugric language group, but despite language associations, the origins and backgrounds of both cultures seem difficult to establish. What both cultures share in common with each other is they have been influenced and impacted by colonialism; the Finns were governed by Sweden and Russia as well as the Sámi, but in all the Nordic countries, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland, all implemented colonialism against the Sámi.

Presently, and from my observations, interactions and interviews with Sámi shamans and Sámi persons in various settings, the mentality for maintaining both the denial and existence of Sámi religion, Sámi oral and spiritual traditions and the work of the *noaidi*, are overwhelmingly evident, not only within religious establishments but also in the political and educational ones as well. In Finland, the measure-

20 One of the best references outlining the complexities of the use of the term is presented through the following by Kohn (2012: 12). "Colonialism is a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another. One of the difficulties in defining colonialism is that it is hard to distinguish it from imperialism. Frequently the two concepts are treated as synonyms. Like colonialism, imperialism also involves political and economic control over a dependent territory. The etymology of the two terms, however, provides some clues about how they differ. The term colony comes from the Latin word *colonus*, meaning farmer. This root reminds us that the practice of colonialism usually involved the transfer of population to a new territory, where the arrivals lived as permanent settlers while maintaining political allegiance to their country of origin. Imperialism, on the other hand, comes from the Latin term *imperium*, meaning to command. Thus, the term imperialism draws attention to the way that one country exercises power over another, whether through settlement, sovereignty, or indirect mechanisms of control".

ment of the alienation of Sámi culture can be predominantly seen within the backdrop of Finnish nationalism, which began in the middle of the 19th century.

In academic literature, we see a continuity of this mentality where the Sámi and their religion and oral tradition are reduced. For example, in relation to how prehistoric rock art and the symbolism from the Sámi *noaidi* drums of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from *Sápmi* have been pulled into Finnish nationalism, and are thus mixed up with regard to the development and formulation of the nation state. In addition, what seems like for the purposes of strengthening the emerging tourism industry, identity and filling in missing gaps in prehistory? As of the present time, this is a topic, which has not been adequately researched in academic discourse and therefore, it has been justifiably criticized within the context of this research.

To elaborate further on the subject matter of Christianity in Finland, and how the institution has influenced Sámi, Karelian and Finnish culture it is helpful to note the following. With regard to historical sources describing the arrival of Christianity through both Catholicism from the West (Sweden) and Orthodoxy from the East (Russia-Novgorod), the early dates are fairly minimal regarding any official documentation of cultural change. Jutikkala and Pirinen (2003: 40-41), describe in the following ways how:

“The contrast between East and West was heightened by the religious breach between them. The conversion of the Swedes to the Roman Catholic faith began as early as the 800s and was completed in the eleventh century. The Russians were converted to the Greek Orthodox faith at the end of the tenth century. [...] The first Christian influences to which the Finns were exposed apparently came from the East [...]. Soon however, the western form of Christianity, which arrived peacefully in the wake of international trade, rose to greater prominence.

From the beginning of Swedish rule in Finland and arrival of Christianity from the West, additional data concerning the build-up of Christianity is acknowledged through the ensuing points, according to Jutikkala and Pirinen (2003: 54), who state how “probably as early as the twelfth century, Swedish settlers had moved to the northern coasts of Finland. Probably, where the Christian faith also first took root. Starting in the 1250s, the colonization activity grew to the proportions of a mass movement”.

This rule by the Swedish Kingdom and implementation by force also saw the conversion from paganism to what Jutikkala and Pirinen (2003: 60), recall and note thence. “However, deviating from the hierarchical system of the Roman Catholic Church, the Finnish peasants were given a voice in decisions regarding the building of churches and other ecclesiastical obligations imposed upon them”.

On the eastern front and with regard to the arrival of Orthodoxy, the early sources speak about a divide amongst the Finns whereby during the battles for the sovereignty of Finland between Russia (then called Novgorod) and Sweden, according to Jutikkala and Pirinen (2003: 52).

“Western Finns fought on this occasion against Novgorod, but the Eastern Finns fought as its allies. [...] The battle of Neva proved to be a turning point, for it halted the advances of Western forces towards the heartlands of Russia and the Russian Orthodox Church, and in addition, sealed the division of the Finnish people”.

According to further sources, after a six hundred year rule by the Swedish Crown in Finland, this came to an end when a war between Sweden and Russia ensued among the two countries, and at the outcome as stated by October and Salonen (2015: 157), “the Russian Empire gained control of Finland in 1809”. Russian rule of the country lasted until when, according to October and Salonen (2015: 157) “the February and October Revolutions of 1917 led to Russia’s collapse. [...] Finally, Finland declared independence on 6th of December

1917". In terms of religious influences from east and west, and the establishing of religion in Finland, which is predominantly a Lutheran-Protestant country, there are also Orthodox churches to be found throughout Finland as well as the Valamo Monastery located at Heinävesi in the south-eastern part of the country.

With regard to useful sources detailing the arrival of Christianity in *Sápmi* and the conversion of the Sámi to Christianity it has been possible to obtain a general description in the following manner. According to Pulkkinen (2005b: 218),

"The pre-Christian cosmology of the Saami had been infiltrated by Christian influences from both east and west long before organized missionary work got under way. Thus the earliest sources for the ancient religion of the Saami reveal only a more or less syncretic view of the world. In the east, Christian merchants from Novgorod arrived on the coast of White Sea in the early eleventh century, and the Kola Peninsula was under the sphere of influence of Novgorod from the twelfth century on. However, missionary work among the eastern Saami did not begin until the years 1471-78, when Moscow took over the area, and subsequently in 1489 after the independent Patriarchate of Moscow was established".

As a way of shedding some light onto the cultural changes, which includes deviations in the economical livelihoods and environmental colonialism of Sámi persons and the lands on which they lived, it is helpful to note how the northern areas of Finland and Sweden were divided up into what is known as five Lappmarks, as presented in paper 4: Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism (2015). These regions were subject to heavy taxation to Norway, Russia and Sweden. In addition to taxation, the Sámi were also assimilated into the each of the aforementioned nation states thus denying them autonomy over their own lands, languages and culture. All of these practices can be cooperated into the mechanisms of colonialism²¹.

In addition to what is described above in terms of the formulation of Christianity in *Sápmi* Pulkkinen (2005b: 220), has also distinguished how

"Towards the end of the eighteenth century all the Saami had come under at least the nominal control of the Christian church. The most striking and communal rituals of the Saami ethnic religion – shamanism and the associated use of the drum and the cult of the *sieidi* shrines by the *siida* communities – had been successfully eradicated from the whole of Lapland. The church authorities were also so successful in making *juoiggus* [*joiking*] a sin that the condemnation of it passed into the popular culture as well²².

As one can imagine following these events, we see how throughout Fennoscandia there are a multitude of different worldviews, including, northern, western, eastern and also Scandinavian, from Sweden, Denmark and Norway and how these changes in culture have influenced the backgrounds with regard to study. Moreover, from within these spheres there are also various Christian worldviews as well, which have emerged throughout the course of time, each one with their oral traditions, in some cases, sharing similarities with each other, especially in relation to cosmologies and myths.

21 Because Finland was part of the Kingdom of Sweden in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there is a comprehensive account of defamation from the King and Queen of Sweden, regarding Sámi religion, culture, children and customs to be found in the works of Johannes Schefferus [1674] (1971: 28-31). These accounts are also concerned with the education of Sámi children by the state through schooling and the censorship and banning of Sámi language, thus implementation of Christianity and the languages of the Kingdom.

22 A very comprehensive source, which outlines well the arrival and implementation of colonialism amongst the Sámi, in particular, from further afield in Norway, is the scholarly works of Lars Ivar Hansen and Bjørnar Olsen (2014), *Hunters in Transition. An Outline of Early Sámi History*.

When reference is made to the Sámi in Finland, or Lapps as was a term used previously as a type of ethnic marker, focus is directed towards *Sápmi*, where many Sámi persons dwell, who live in Finland today. However, because there are also larger numbers of Sámi persons who dwell in towns and cities throughout Finland; the capital, Helsinki is home to the people often referred to as the City Sámi. Therefore, and with further reference to what has been noted earlier, although the term: Lapp is used in different contexts by scholars whose work I make reference to below, I do not consider the term is appropriate to use today, due to the association with missionizing and degradation of Sámi religion and culture, because in a past tense according to Pulkkinen (2005c: 189-191),

“Lappology is the name for the traditional study of Lapland and the Saami people. It was vitiated by numerous scientific and social prejudices, such as a search for the Romantic concept of man, social Darwinism, and so on. Lappology described Saami culture from the outside, a fact expressed by the very word from which its name is derived, Lapp, an exonym for Saami. In consequence, modern scholarship has adopted the name Saami studies”.

Today, many Sámi people are involved in Laestadianism, which is a conservative Lutheran revival movement, that began in the mid-nineteenth century in Swedish *Sápmi*; its founder was Lars Levi Laestadius. It is known today as one of the largest revival movements within Finland, Sweden and Norway and is characterised by strict rules and observations. Many Sámi people are Laestadian because Laestadius' mother was a Sámi, and so he spoke the Sámi language and became responsible for converting many Sámi people to the Lutheran religion²³.

4.1 Background to the research and definitions of art and art history from western contexts

Before commencing further into the study, it is beneficial at this point to take into consideration a number of surrounding factors, which it can be said have some level of influence on Sámi art and the background to it. This chapter is justified here because it helps create the setting for what is to come concerning the investigation into both old and new types of embedded knowledge depicted through art. To elaborate further, the aim is to present a series of examples and definitions about Sámi art, its origins and culture, as a basis for the heritage of society that show a distinct cooperation and union with the forces of nature depicted through a multitude of illustrations and textual sources. There are some, which are natural and other examples that have been influenced by colonialism. Such artworks undertaken by the *noaidi* in Sámi culture and the culture of their ancestors have been noted since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in missionary sources.

It would be helpful to start with a brief look at the worldview of Sámi culture. I believe that both fragments and traces of the origins of Sámi culture and the worldview are portrayed through religious experiences jointly within rock paintings and carvings from prehistory. Support for this theory is echoed by Mobjerg et al (2000: 32), who state how:

23 According to what has written about Laestadius in the scholarly works of Sámi historian Veli-Pekka Lehtola (2002: 38) “Laestadius' Sámi cultural background can be seen mainly in his incorporation of certain supernatural beings from Sámi mythology. [...] [As a movement] it has the characteristics of severe fundamentalist preaching and states of ecstasy”. It can be considered that the induction of ecstasy amongst followers may bear some resemblance to that portrayed in the Sámi shamanistic séance during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries within the old traditions of Sámi religion. Perhaps this is what makes the movement so appealing to many Sámi persons?

“Archaeologists and linguists are still discussing when the first Sami settlement can be identified in the Fenno-Scandia area. The Sami see themselves as the indigenous population of the area, and many similarities between the ancient rock carvings and images on the very few drums preserved seem to support this assumption”.

These early depictions are characterised by what is defined in scholarly terminology as Animism. A general description that provides an explanation of what animism is given for example, by Risto Pulkkinen (2005d: 14).

“The term is used in two different meanings: on one hand in a general sense to mean a belief that creatures (human beings, animals) and even plants and inanimate beings possess personal souls that are independent of their physical existences, and on the other hand in connection with evolutionism to refer to an original or very early stage in human religion”.

This explanation is important to understand with regard to the background to this particular study, which is partly concerned with the origins of Sámi art, identity, nation building, cosmology and religious practices, because through the definition, it is possible to comprehend how Sámi art is defined and has spiritual value. Perhaps the clearest example of Sámi art is an explanation by Sámi scholar Irja Seurujärvi-Kari (2005: 22), who describes how “Saami art is Arctic, a part of the broad spectrum of Arctic culture. Arctic cultures are characterized by an adaptation to nature and animistic religion, in which man and nature are inseparable”.

With this in mind, it could be said that Sámi art comes from a series of specific cultural and environmental landscapes from the forwarding of systems of embedded knowledge depicted through art and stories that have been contained within the history and memory of the culture with regard to cosmology and formulation of religion. By contrast, for instance, when compared with western art and what can be termed as man-made religions, which have been hostile to indigenous religions. Therefore, it would be appropriate to say how Sámi art originates from a series of basic principles that express collaboration with the powers of nature, which include the spirit world and animal kingdom and hunter-gatherer persons that were religious specialists.

The artwork of these people who were both groups and individuals, provide a fundamental basis for culture that has formed the social constructs and traditions that underlie the mythologies and cosmic order of the cultures of all indigenous peoples.

In more recent times, these art forms and cultures have in some cases been infiltrated and pulled into the western societies for various religious, political and historical reasons in order to help with the development of such cultures in their quests for nationalism, power, assimilation and domination. It would be appropriate to mention how nationalism and cultures associated with colonialism are quite young compared to indigenous cultures here in the north. Moreover, western peoples and their cultures are the people who have made the societies and their borders, not the Sámi. Examples of racial attitudes and common stereotyping towards the Sámi in terms of their religion and art are abundant for example, in the works of both Schefferus and Laestadius.

To help provide a series of definitions of how the Sámi people and their culture have been represented within the arts and literature sources in Finland, before studies into rock paintings and *noaidi* drums by Finnish scholars commenced from the nineteenth century onwards and in relation to the Sámi being an inferior race of people, there are a number of valid points, which need to be made clear next. Moreover, it is essential with regard to cultural heritage, history and the alienation of Sámi people and their culture by the Finns from this time in relation to topics dealt with in the dissertation, I consider it helpful to pro-

vide the reader with some level of comprehension in relation to attitudes and interpretations towards the Sámi and their ways of life, to show examples of blatant discrimination²⁴.

Presenting some level of insight into this subject matter is relevant because it supports the theory that rock paintings may not be Finnish at all, thus bringing awareness to the nature of the ambiguity involved in such a topic, not only in relation to cultural heritage and history but also the differences between attitudes and interpretations towards Sámi art and western art. Furthermore, and with regard to the alienation of Sámi culture through a general description drawn from Finland, one good example of evidence is presented by arts Professor Tuija Hautala-Hirvioja (2013: 490), who explains how “It is written in the book *Suomi 19: nnellä vuosisadalla* (Finland in the 19th Century).

“They call themselves Sami and think of themselves as relatives of the Finns. The Finns do not want to accept this relationship which is rather distant. A Sami is not a step-brother of the Finns or even a cousin. A Sami is small, thin, supple, with black hair and brown eyes, sometimes inactive without thinking; sometimes impetuous, lively and curious as a child with a tender heart; direct sensitive, easily disappointed, and easily frightened- a child of nature who lacks the basis and depth of the character of the Finns”.

Within the analysis into rock art studies, and as I have already mentioned, there are claims of links between the art and Finnish history and nationalism (Kalevala), as well as Sámi shamanism. It is important here to be able to further consider in what ways the links between rock art and Finnish history may have been fabricated, causing division within history even as late as the beginning of the 21st century in order to cause further misappropriation, inferiority, denial and adaptation of indigenous culture to modern western culture and therefore, it is necessary to bring these points to light beforehand. Additional literature sources suggest to me complete hostility towards the Sámi by the Finns, as is explained in relation to attitudes towards paintings depicting Sámi people through the art works of Juho Kyyhkymen as Hautala-Hirvioja (2006: 104), further explains in what manner,

“Edvard Richter wrote in the Finnish language newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* (21 October 1908): In the paintings there are Sámi moving from one place to another, the Sámi are little ugly human beasts as whom we here in south-Finland can sometimes look for payment. Sigurd Frosterus in Swedish language *Nya Pressen* wrote positively about Kyyhkymen’s landscapes, but did not mention the Sámi at all. Gustaf Strengell wrote in the Swedish language newspaper *Hufvudstadsbladet* (2 November 1908): Northern lights, red sunsets and ancient Sámi people who travel on the tundra covered with snow, are so strange that they spoil the whole artistic enjoyment (Hautala-Hirvioja 1993: 25, 84). [...]

This nationalism was based on the idea that the culture of Finnish peasants was the only homogenous national culture of Finland. It was a Finnish cultural duty to transfer agriculture to the northernmost part of Finland in order to raise the cultural level of the primitive nomads. During this transformation, the Sámi would gradually assimilate into the Finnish population and learn the Finnish language and habits”.

24 Note for the reader. In addition to the artistic sources presented above, and because archaeology is one of the main fields of study in the dissertation, there are a number of interesting theories in relation to both imperialist archaeology and nationalist archaeology discussed in the scholarly works of Siân Jones (1997). See the literature section.

Statements like these are plentiful in literature sources. Now there is some level of comprehension regarding attitudes and interpretations of Sámi people by the Finnish intellectuals and their attitudes from the aforementioned period, it would be appropriate to say that the definitions of what art is and its functions are also filled with ambiguity when considered from both western and indigenous perspectives and how, if at all, they relate to each other. The main reason being, in the case of the Sámi, it is because many Sámi artists have been assimilated into the mainstream Finnish culture and are Christianized and live the western lifestyle and have received western education, thus in some cases producing cross-cultural art.

As a result, and because the research herein concerns the study of indigenous art in relation to religion, it is important to assess at this point what scholars from both fields have made in terms of contributions and analysis concerning discussions on the subject. Consequently, there remain a number of fundamental differences between indigenous and western art, which need to be explained and thus taken into consideration within the context of the study. To begin with I am introducing the scholarly works of Anne D'Alleva (2010: 12), who emphasizes the latter.

“This process of definition is complicated for two reasons: first, the term ‘art’ has not been around very long in Western culture; and second, there is rarely an exactly corresponding term in other cultures. In Europe, the term ‘art’ as we commonly understand it today emerged in the Renaissance – earlier periods had no direct equivalent for it. The Greek philosopher Plato (c.428-c. 348 BCE), for example, used the term *mimesis*, which means imitation, to talk about painting and sculpture. In ancient Greek, *demiourgos* ‘one who works for the people’ can refer to a cook as well as a sculptor or painter. Similarly, over a thousand languages are spoken in Africa, and over six hundred in Papua New Guinea, but none of them includes a precise translation for the term ‘art.’

In defining this term, many people today would start from an essentially post-Renaissance definition of art as a painting, sculpture, drawing, print or building made with unusual skill and inspiration by a person with specialized training to produce such works. [...] What belongs in this category of ‘art’ does shift over time. It often happens that objects excluded from this category at one time now easily qualify as art. In the nineteenth century, for example, people commonly excluded the sculpture, paintings and architecture of Africa, the Pacific and other regions of the world because they (wrongly) regarded these arts as ‘primitive’ or inferior to Western art, not simply different from them.”

The scholar then goes to define what art is and what history is. I choose to use her explanations here because they are fitting to the research. Moreover, D'Alleva (2010: 14), defines “a working definition of art: [...] I’ll define art as potentially any material or visual thing that is made by a person or persons and that is invested with social, political, spiritual and/or aesthetic value by the creator, user, viewer and/or patron”. The academic definition of what is history, is short and concise but to the point. “Our word ‘history’ comes directly from the Latin *historia* which means ‘enquirer’ as well as ‘history’” (D'Alleva 2010: 14).

Because the data in the dissertation consists of a considerable amount of visual photographic material presenting artistic contexts and contents, in addition to literature studies, it is also beneficial to find out what defines visual art and its meanings. From scholar Gilliam Rose’s *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (Second Edition 2007). Rose (2007: 50), refers to the perspectives on visual art by using Victor Burgin’s (1986), idea.

“In any epoch the ARTIST, by virtue of special gifts, expresses that which is finest in humanity ... the visual artist achieves this through modes of understanding and expression which are ‘purely visual’ ... This special characteristic of art necessarily makes it an autonomous sphere

of activity, completely separate from the everyday world of social and political life. The autonomous nature of visual art means that questions asked of it may only be properly put, and answered, in its own terms – all other forms or interrogation are irrelevant”.

Discussions concerning the reuse of symbolism from the seventeenth and eighteenth century *noaidi* drums and their application to contemporary shaman drums is a topic that has not been dealt with extensively within the indigenous contexts in Fennoscandia in relation to contemporary art and persons from outside Sámi culture. But, I consider the above to be important to take into consideration in relation to these different contexts and misrepresentation, which aim to show how the building of new types of shaman drums and reuse of Sámi *noaidi* drum symbolism could be an attempt by Finnish artists to contribute towards “[...] the spiritual rebuilding and development of Lapland’s own identity” (Hautala-Hirvioja (2013: 501), within tourism.

4.2 *Noaidi* or shaman as an artist

In research history in relation to religious practices, there are two main segments in Sámi cultural history, which I have studied predominantly in scholarly discourse analysis. Namely, prehistory in relation to rock art (carvings and paintings), and *noaidi* drum symbolism during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In both cases, the focus of research has centered on the complex historical and often ambiguous de-coding of ritual and material symbolism used by the shaman or *noaidi*, which have been recorded and subsequently produced as embedded knowledge systems, as portrayed from inter-species communication; contact with other life forms, presented through religious activities and cosmological structures and landscapes, which has influenced the creation of the art.

Despite not knowing the exact meanings of numerous figures and symbols, many can be linked together because of their striking similarities. In this dissertation and thus the reason for this next sub-chapter is because I am adding two further dimensions to the study of Sámi culture. Namely new shamanism and emergence of new types of drums and various forms of symbolism as a way to show how knowledge is embedded within a community, as a system linked to identity and cultural memory. Moreover, and as these new manifestations are arising the opportunity presents itself to investigate these phenomenon more extensively, as a basis for the later chapters, which pertain to these new forms and practices.

Broader significance of the shaman or *noaidi*’s work in a past tense shows he has acted as a person that stands in the center of society, carrying out sacrificial activities, divination, healing-curing illness and disease, as well as summoning the dead for council, thereby formulating a bridge between the human and spiritual worlds through interspecies communication. The *noaidi* in Sámi society is typically represented as a cultural hero or archetype, whose vocation it was to also restore balance from discord and carry out healing and restoration work to the souls of sick and injured persons; perform sacrifice and communicate with spirits. From within these activities the *noaidi* is also known to undertake various ceremonial duties, including, through the use of the drum, out-of-body trance journeys to invisible worlds in order to access spiritual power and knowledge from powerful spirits such as gods, goddesses and ancestral spirits for the benefit of the community, group or individual.

Noaidi’s work has been presented within the cultures perspectives on the nature of reality, which is expressed through art within the different contexts of reindeer hunting, herding, fishing and sacrificial practices. Human beings, animals, plants, trees and spirits have all been important subjects represented in the illustrations, and therefore, it can be said that the *noaidi* in Sámi culture have had a special talent to see and encounter hidden worlds and gain access to the spiritual powers that dwell there.

Because the research herein is also concerned with the modern study of *noaidi*, and Sámi shamanism, questions have arisen as to whether or not there is in fact, a variation between the terms *noaidi* and shaman, and whether or not *noaidi* actually exists in present day Sámi society, and if so, what relevance does this have in terms of the work *noaidi* undertake, with regards to visibility?

The need to further clarify this point is because during the persecution times, *noaidi* went underground in order to hide their work and therefore, there are different opinions and attitudes amongst Sámi persons in Finland, Sweden and Norway within discussions concerning this subject matter, that are on-going, just like there are discussions that are on-going as to who have the right to make a drum and for what purpose? As is the case today, many Sámi people live in towns and cities and therefore, may have a different outlook upon religion and religious practices, but there are numerous examples of in what ways old traditions have been kept alive but in different forms, for example, mixed with Christian prayers and healing practices from both north America and the east.

Therefore, as an attempt to further to shed light on in what ways these uncertainties and questions have been clarified, I sought help from both Peter Armstrand and Fredrik Prost, who have both been interviewed concerning their work as *noaidi* from the Swedish side of *Sápmi*. On October 8th 2017. Through personal correspondence I wrote to both Armstrand and Prost regarding the aforementioned as a way of asking for clarification from within the Sámi community regarding the validity and applicability of the term *noaidi*. According to Prost (2017: 1),

“It is most certainly applicable. If I speak Saami with someone then there is a sort of grading where *noaidi* is the highest most knowledgeable, and *guvhlar* for instance is someone who masters healing in various degrees. Besides those two, there is other words as well. You can say shaman too, when speaking Saami but then that is almost always meant as derogative and a bit patronizing. Usually when you are speaking about someone less respected who isn't present but “thinks” he or she is a “shaman”. So the term *noaidi* is very much alive and applicable”.

Concerning the feedback from Armstrand (2017: 1), this is what he had to say on the matter.

“If I say like this, *noid* never did stop existing, when the Church and the state was hunting them, they just went underground. I think if the *noid* stopped existing, then the Sámi people will die. I think the old religion, spirits, and the shaman (*noid*) keep the indigenous people living. Lots of [Sámi] people are looking from inside of a pipe. when they live in big cities, they [have] lost the connection with the earth”.

What both of the participants have to say in no way presents a comprehensive analysis of the question concerning *noaidi*, but these are Sámi voices which do speak with authority on this matter. At the same time, the nature of the complexity involved in an investigation into the realm of *noaidi* is characterised by how the practice still remains largely secretive, which is one of the customs used in traditional Sámi healing practices, and therefore one of extreme difficulty to comprehend²⁵.

At the Sámi shaman festival of Isogaisa, I have seen firsthand, both men and women as *noaidi* at work as healers, artists and ritual specialists, skilled in sacrifice and working with the Sámi spirits and cosmology, but who are sometimes referred to as shamans, suggesting in some cases how for different people, the terms are interchangeable. I have elaborated on some of the ways the Sámi people whom were interviewed

25 For further reference to modern day healing practices amongst the Sámi in northern Norway, I recommend an edited works by Barbara Helen Miller titled: *Idioms of Sámi Health and Healing* (2015).

at the Isogaisa festival have been trained and developed themselves as healers in the later chapter titled: The re-emergence of Sami shamanism in Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia.

On further discussion about the work of *noaidi* within both historical and modern contexts one practice that stands out amongst the Sámi is how the main tool used to assist them in their work has been the drum, which in some cases is like the Native American Medicine Wheel; a structure that is a mechanism for understanding the cyclical nature of all life forms and the greater reality. Through the *noaidi* drum, balance is attained between the individual, community and nature. On some of the Sun centered drums from Norway and Sweden, there are painted pointers that are located at the four quarters of north, east, south and west, which also correspond with the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual aspects of a human persons, thus demonstrating the holistic nature of such instruments and its use in order to attain well-being. These are likewise, various types of knowledge. In addition to drum use, there are other forms of percussion such as the use of banging rocks together, using the bull-roarer as well as singing and *joiking*, which is a form of chanting native to the Sámi people of *Sápmi*.

Today, Sámi culture is largely divided between both north and south in Fennoscandia. Meaning that new types of cultural practices and artistic productions are emerging from Sámi persons within towns and cities where the landscapes and domestic lifeways are very different from those of the forests and tundra.

It is uncertain whether the term: *noaidi* can be applicable in an ancient context in relation to the creations of masses of land art that is contextualized through both prehistoric rock carvings and paintings, but this term has for example, been used in academic discourse by Lahelma. There are great numbers of rock carvings and paintings by contrast to the symbols and figures painted on drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In terms of cosmology, early sources also contain rare portraits of out-of-body journeys by the *noaidi*, to the worlds of the dead. These locations are described from seventeenth and eighteenth century sources and refer to a death realm called *Jabma Aimo*, and mythical realm or underworld located below the earth called *Säiva* as described in the work of Lars Levi Laestadius (2002)²⁶. Above the skies is a celestial heaven, which is why lunar and solar symbolism; boats that are vessels for travel, as well as the northern lights are evident on some of the painted drums, which remain in museums.

As another example of the wide ranging contexts and perspectives associated with the *noaidi* in Sámi culture appears through a short but informative discussion about the *noaidi* as an artist within the works of Norwegian Sámi artist, Hans Ragner Mathisen who emphasizes the role and function of both *noaidi* and artist as healer²⁷.

Hans Ragnar Mathisen began in the 1990s to paint drums after he had been a cultural map maker since early 1970s. Assessment of Mathisen's work suggests he considers that artists and shamans think and function in a similar way when compared, and therefore, what he has to say is important for this discussion. The following piece is an extract from an art exhibition text at the Nordnorsk Kunstnersenter (Northern Norwegian Kunstnersenter 23.10.2009 – 15.11.2009), Kulturhuset Svolvær.

“Kunstneren og *noaidien* - The Artist and the *Noaidi* (A Sami Shaman). I see the relationship between the Sami *noaidi* in earlier times and the artist today. There are certain similarities in terms of social position and ability. There are two ways to look at the *Noaidi* or the Shaman. The

26 It should be noted that the mythical world of *Säiva* has a variety of pronunciations, in north and south Sámi languages, as well as Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish, for example: *saajve, sájva, saiva, saivo säiva*.

27 I have also expanded on the discussions concerning *noaidi* as artist in relation to the reuse of symbolism and production of new types of drums in the chapter below titled: The reuse, modification and adaptation of *noaidi* symbolism to new types of handicrafts made by Sámi artists today.

missionaries saw him as a representative of the devil, and believed that he was in contact with the devil. In reality, he was the spiritual chief of the community.

He was like a lexicon and adviser on issues people could not find out by themselves. He was also a healer. The similarity I see with the artist today is that they both possess spiritual insight and influence. Both find new ways to look at things, and challenge prejudices or preconceived opinions. Using no words, but pictures, you can get people to see the world in other ways; how it was, how it should be done. Both the *noaidi* and the artist know something about the human soul and how images affect people.”²⁸

Many people of the majority cultures who are likewise motivated and inspired by such a colourful history to the extent there are cross-cultural art making processes where persons of the nation states are, in relation to shamanism, using the histories of the cultures of indigenous peoples for exploitation purposes. More about this topic is presented in the following chapters.

4.3 Sámi and Finnish pre-Christian religion

In relation to the rock art research within the content of the dissertation and the ambiguity outlined surrounding the cultural context of the paintings, with regard to the strength and continuity of Sámi pre-Christian religion up until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, I consider it important to include a brief discussion here to take a look at what has been presented through research analysis concerning debates about Finnish and Sámi prehistories and pre-Christian religion.

The purpose for this is because in order to further explain the title of the dissertation in relation to rock art research and the relationality between rock paintings in Finland and the symbols on the Sámi *noaidi* drums from Norway, Sweden and Finland, as systems of embodied knowledge, it is important to take into consideration what has been written about Finnish and Sámi cosmology and origins, due to what has been proposed regarding the cultural context of the rock art being: Finnish, and also because religion plays a central role in relation to identity, cultural memory and ethnicity.

It is my understanding that concerning what has been written about the emergence of Finnish pre-Christian religion, which according to Finnish scholar of Comparative Religion, Juha Pentikäinen (2004: 1), “it is nowadays commonly agreed by linguistic researchers that a Finno-Ugric or Uralic language had spread to Finland by the time of the Neolithic comb pottery period at the latest (c. 4200 – 2200 BC)”. If this language had come from the east during migrations, one may presume, the settlers probably brought with them various identities and ethnicities as well as religious practices. From these, the theory is that the religious practices to which bear hunting, ceremonialism and sacrifice played a central role and function, appears with many parallels to Siberian shamanism; Siberia as a whole, being viewed as the cradle of shamanism.

In archaeology also, and for example, there are numerous claims regarding how according to Lahelma (2005: 34), “[...] shamanism is a central element of both Finnish and Saami pre-Christian religion, and indeed is present in some form in the entire area populated by Finno-Ugric peoples, extending well into Siberia²⁹. However, and as a starting point for the distinction or division between Sámi and Finnish pre-

28 Original text by Hans Ragner Mathisen, translated from Norwegian to English by Paula Simonsen 2015.

29 According to Lahelma (2005: 44), “The Finnish scholar M. A. Castrén identified shamanism in traditional Finnish folk poetry as early as the mid-19th century (Castrén 1853). Siikala 2002[a] is a comprehensive, well-argued treatise on the topic.”

histories and religion, it is also important to acknowledge what Pentikäinen (1998: 20), states in relation to how and despite “the Sami people speak[ing] a language belonging to the Finno-Ugric linguistic family. The split away from the Finnish languages occurred about 2,500 – 3,000 years ago”.

In the works of Schefferus from this early time of the study of Sámi culture, heritage and history, there exists ambiguity as to the origins of Sámi religion. In his chapter: *Of the Magical Ceremonies of the Laplanders*, Schefferus (1971: 45-46), recalls the following.

“It hath bin a received opinion among all that did but know the name of the Laplanders, that they are, people addicted to magic, wherefore I thought fit to discourse next of this, as being one of the greatest of their impieties that yet continues among them. And that this opinion may seem to be grounded upon some authority, they are described both by ancient and modern writers, to have arrived to so great skill in enchantments, that among several strange effects of their art, they could stop ships when under full sail. This judgement of the historians concerning Laplanders is no less verified also of the Biarmi their predecessors. So that we may justly suppose both of them to have descended from the same original: for Biarmi were so expert in these arts that they could either by their looks, words, or some other wicked artifice, so ensnare and bewitch men, as to deprive them of the use of their limbs and reason, and very often bring them into extreme danger of their lives”³⁰.

In the effervescent scholarly works of Professor of Comparative Religion, Veikko Anttonen, in his article: *Literary Representation of Oral Religion: Organizing Principles of Mikael Agricola’s List of Mythological Agents in Late Medieval Finland* (2012), Anttonen highlights the complexity involved, in the works of Agricola, for example for compiling and thus presenting a cohesive and intelligible list of Finnish deities and spirits within Finnish paganism in relation to Finnish pre-Christian religion and its origins. Anttonen (2012: 194-195), recalls how

“using all the available sources including a massive body of archaeological evidence from the prehistoric era onwards, linguistic evidence, and collections or oral folk traditions – folklorists, ethnologists and scholars of comparative religion have shown no single, systematic, coherent ‘pagan’ theology or mythology ever existed. In addition to Agricola’s list, this also concerned the national epic *Kalevala*, compiled and published by Elias Lönnrot in 1835 and 1849”.

tise on the presence of shamanistic elements in pre-Christian Finnish religion. Unfortunately, many other central works on the subject have not been translated into English, but see e.g. Pentikäinen 1999 on Finnish mythology, Bäckman and Hultkrantz 1978 on Saami shamanism and Holmberg’s (1927) old but still very useful work on Finno-Ugric religions in general”.

30 Schefferus also describes in his chapter: *Of the Original of the Laplanders* (pp15-21), there are further discussions concerning the origins of the Sámi in relation to the Finns and Finland. He also notes similarities in the names of deities between the Sámi and Finns, for example Schefferus (1971: 15-16), states how “we may also observe that their languages have much affinity, tho they be not the very same, as shall be proved at large in a particular chapter. The Finlanders call God, Jumala, the Laplanders, Jubmal, the Finlanders fire, Tuli, the Laplanders Tolle; they call a hill Wuori, theirs Warra, and so they agree in many other words”. As Anttonen has pointed out in the early works of Agricola, how when studying different provinces in Finland in relation to Finnish folk religion, according to Anttonen (2012: 197), “Agricola did not have reason to differentiate between regional characteristics in different parts of Finland; for instance, between the provinces of Savo and Karelia. Instead he aimed to provide, perhaps for strategic reasons, an overview of pagan folk traditions by juxtaposing deities of Tavastia with Karelian ones on the basis of the knowledge to which he had gained access”. It is important to ask the question as to whether or not, other scholars have used a similar approach in the study of Finnish and Sámi pre-Christian religion and if so, how has this influenced the research?

Perhaps the matter of distinction and variations between the religious practices, traditions, and deities in terms of religion is best described in the works of Schefferus (1971: 21), who says that

“for there were Laplanders, or at least some inhabitants of Lapland before the Christian religion was introduced: such as the Finni, Lappofinni, Scridfinni, or Biarmi, as is above said, but it was very long before the Laplanders properly embraced the Christian Religion. At first, there is no doubt that they were Pagans, as all Northern Nations were, but being all Pagans were not of the same Religion, it may be enquired which the Laplanders protest”.

It is important to recognize how the Finns and Sámi, despite having similar beliefs and practices in relation to what is defined as pagan religion, worship and sacrifice, did not necessarily depict their religious beliefs and practices in the same way. To say so would, in my opinion, be a mistake, especially in relation to their worldviews, which are intimately linked with religious practices and identity. The value of acknowledging these variations is because they provide clear examples regarding how the Finns and Sámi, as Schefferus (1971: 21), has stated “[...] but being all Pagans were not the same Religion [...]”³¹.

In the works of Juha Pentikäinen (1998: 44-46), in relation to Sámi shamanism and cosmology, throughout the chapter titled: “Parallels in Finnish Folklore and Pictographs”. Pentikäinen proposes a basic vocabulary shared in relation to what he sees as parallels between Finnish, Sámi and Siberian shamanism and the division of the cosmos into a three levelled structure. In this sense, he follows similar approaches to other scholars such as Siikala and Lahelma in the ways he juxtaposes figures from the Finnish Kalevala poetry with Sámi shamanism and rock paintings in Finland and Siberian shamanism.

The question arises as to why it seems so difficult for scholars of religion not to apply a type of historical revisionism, where history is revised in order to suit the nation state of Finland and Finnish scholarly discourse, in order to advance Finnish pre-Christian religion and the development of its culture, but somehow at the same time, maintain ties with the Sámi? This to me sounds like a furthering of the colonialism ideology. It may well be the case that the Finns, Sámi and Siberian tribes share a similar worldview and they are related through language, but at the same time, is it not critical that we allow the Sámi authority over their own culture and its history in terms of religion and cosmology, despite these similarities?

Therefore, as we move across the centuries within the research, it is important to acknowledge how what has chiefly been written about Sámi shamanism, up until the present time belongs to the past and it has been thrown into the melting pot of inter-mixed cultures, which to me can be viewed as a paradigm,

31 According to Encyclopædia Britannica (2016), “The problem of the concept of a Finno-Ugric religion. Since it is not possible to find a single formula to cover Finno-Ugric cultures and religions and since the relationship between the peoples is often distant both geographically and historically, it may well be asked whether there is any utility in attempting, by means of comparative methods, to discover some common or basic substratum in Finno-Ugric religion. Many earlier scholars attempted this enthusiastically, but today there is general agreement that a hypothetical reconstruction representing the “original religion” of a single language family is virtually impossible. That ancient tradition may have been preserved in different regions, although fragmented and adapted to new conditions, is, of course, possible, and indeed seemingly trustworthy discoveries have been made that substantiate this view. One must, however, be extremely circumspect in projecting hypotheses applying to the entire linguistic group. Genetic-historical considerations are of great importance when dealing with those areas of the language family where a cultural connection has subsisted long and late. The search for a common historical tradition is not, however, the most rewarding aspect of the study of Finno-Ugric religions. The religio-phenomenological approach is equally interesting and significant. In the course of conducting non-historical studies of similarities and differences in Finno-Ugric religious material, scholars have uncovered a spectrum of basic religious forms running from Arctic hunting and fishing cultures to southern cattle breeding and agriculture”.

which could be seen as serving the interests of the Finns for political reasons. Moreover, if the rock paintings in Finland have been created by dual ethnicity, Sámi and Finns, is it the case all the information what was known about the art from within literature sources, was wiped out during the great fire of Turku in 1827?

Given the fact the Sámi are such a small population by contrast to the Finns, we would need to ask that if it is the case that the forefathers of both the Sámi and Finns have created the art, why is it that the art, which reflects both rock paintings in Finland and carvings in Sweden and Norway, is not found in Finnish culture from the same time the missionaries were converting the Sámi to Christianity, given the fact there were over 70 drums with such embedded forms of knowledge illustrated onto them? These are difficult but at the same time, relevant questions that need to be considered.

With regard to the study of Sámi shamanism and pre-Christian religion, the focus turns to what has emerged from within implementation of Christianity in the north, in relation to Sámi shamanism concerning tradition. What this means is that despite how the various branches of Christianity and Scandinavian religions have impacted and shaped Sámi religion from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, at this point emphasis is placed on what scholars have said regarding Sámi shamanism and cosmology for the purpose of understanding why, in relation to rock art research and also what has been written about the adaptation of symbolism from Scandinavian religions to the *noaidi* drums, obstacles exist in relation to the cultural origins of the art.

4.4 Sámi shamanism and cosmology

In addition to what has been said at the beginning of the dissertation regarding the terms shaman and shamanism, I consider it helpful to make a point at this juncture of the analysis to state how in the study of Sámi religion, within both past and present contexts, we do encounter terminology and interpretations of figures, symbolism and persons, depicted through art, which are thought to be loans or borrowed from another culture. The reasons I wish to point this out is because of the ways these theories have previously influenced the cultural contexts of the analysis into rock art and linguistics, thus in some cases, shaping interpretation of the material and also the ways approaches and methods have been used. Moreover, this has been outlined particularly well by the scholars of the majority cultures, thus, making discussions about shamanism, cosmology and religion somewhat colourful³². An example of such borrowings or adaptation is evident concerning how the terms shaman and shamanism are often applied in a modern context, referring to the *noaidi* and his vocation. But, these are not native to *Sápmi*, instead they originate from Siberia and are often discussed because according to Bäckman and Hultkrantz (1978: 40).

“Lapp shamanism was a variant of the Arctic shamanism in northern Eurasia. It was akin to the famous Siberian shamanism, although, as we have pointed out, perhaps less spectacular than the latter. It is difficult to tell in what respects the two forms were related. Two main factors may be adducted, the historical and the ecological factors. Lapp shamanism could, accordingly, be regarded as an off-shoot of Siberian shamanism, a case of historical diffusion, or as a late complex descended from a shamanism that once joined all peoples in northern Eurasia”.

Additional clarification of these points has been discussed furthermore by Bäckman and Hultkrantz (1978: 10), in relation to how

“Turning to the phenomenological aspects of our investigation we may ask ourselves, what is the essential unity behind the cluster of ideas and rites that is labelled shamanism?”

32 See for example, Rydving 1993 and 2010.

To early students of shamanism that answer was easy: shamanism was the religion of northern Asia, or even any primitive religion³³. This conviction was founded on the quite correct observation that the shamanic complex contains a set of beliefs, tales and ritual practices which form a well-organized net of interrelationships. Just because of this diversity of religious activities and beliefs within an integrated structure a late student of shamanism, Findeisen, prefers to call shamanism a religion³⁴. In his view it is, however, a religion that may coexist with other religions”.

Perhaps one of the best and most comprehensive descriptions of Sámi religion and shamanism is that recalled by Pentikäinen (1998: 23), who states in what ways

“Although the Sami are today officially Christianized, their pre-Christian ethnic religion still retains its meaning and function in different areas of everyday life. At the cognitive level, the ethnic religion manifests itself, for example, in cosmogonic myths about the genesis of the world and its different elements and in the totemistic myths about the marriage of the bear and the forefather of the tribe along familial terminology purported to originate from it.

Another cognitive aspect is the religious consciousness which concerns man’s relation to super-natural beings, the cosmic sphere, material success, and different phases of life. At the affective level, religion is expressed in the individual’s attitudes and experiences which are retold in memorates in which the Sami describe their encounters with, for example, the dead or with spirits. At the cognitive level, ethnic religion is expressed in rites performed by the individual or the group.

Shamanism appears to have been the religion of the Sami hunter-fisher culture: the central figure is the spiritual leader, the ‘*noid*’, who seeks knowledge of the supernatural world in trances”.

In her scientific works: *The Noaidi and his Worldview: A Study of Saami Shamanism from a Historical Point of View*, Sámi scholar of religion Louise Bäckman (2005: 30), states that in addition to healing and out-of-body journeys “he preserved and effectively transmitted traditional myths and was also able to renew them as well as create new ones. Thus, the *noaidi* also acted as a mytho-poet”.

With regard to the terminology used to express what the *noaidi* did, shamanism is referred to by Bäckman (2004: 31), as “*noaidism* (shamanism), or the behavior and knowledge of the *noaidi*, called *noitetemmie* in the language of the southern Saami and *noaidivuolta* in the northern Saami language”. In this sense, the phenomenon of shamanism as a cultural practice, has been built on traditions, belief systems and ritualistic behaviors within Siberia and is primarily referred to in terms of one of the core traditions and cultural expressions associated with Sámi religion in scholarly discourse³⁵.

If we look at both prehistorical rock art and also *noaidi* drum landscapes, there is evidence of how shamanism and cosmology are analogous as embedded systems of knowledge; intricately related, like a trinity, or interrelationship, which combines the upper, middle and lower worlds together in a unified and coherent whole. All life forms that exist within these structures also play a central role within creation myths and stories of the peoples and their ancestors who created the world. Evidence within both types of art show how in relation to shamanism, animal symbolism can also be illustrative of star constellations representing cosmological struc-

33 Czaplicka 1914, pp. 166, 168

34 Findeisen 1957, p. 200

35 For a more comprehensive view and account of the work of the Sámi *noaidi*, see the works of Bäckman and Hultkrantz, (1978: 40-90)

tures, where human beings and animals originated from. These animals and structures figure prominently in myths and oral traditions, and may have different functions. According to Pentikäinen (2005: 53).

“Cosmology is the name given to the total complex of mythical concepts explaining the structure and function of the universe (cosmography), its origins (cosmogony) and its end (eschatology). Cosmology comprises myths concerning the origins of natural and cultural phenomena and of man’s relations to them and the mythical concepts explaining the interaction between man and the cosmos”.

Within the study of Sámi art, and *noaidi* drum symbolism based on the theory that prehistoric rock art throughout Fennoscandia belongs to unknown populations, who are related to both the Finns and Sámi and has, therefore, been adapted or borrowed by the Sámi in order for them to create their own cosmology in terms of knowledge systems, to me sounds somewhat ambiguous.

In Finland, I would argue how there is clear evidence that the content of rock paintings is of a cosmological nature, due to their locations at the edge of the water. What links this context with the Sámi *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is that many of the drum landscapes has likewise been obtained from ecstatic encounters and revelations with spirits and various cosmological dimensions, which as Pentikäinen has stated above, reflects the interactions between human beings and their relations to both *sieidi* spirits, many which have triangular and horned heads, and also the spirits of the elements, hunting, and the world of the dead, whose physical characteristics are likewise. This does not only express a relationship between the similarities in terms of art in the physical sense, but also a religious one as well, where similar practices appear evident.

Furthermore, correlation between the art in terms of cosmology, as will be described later on in relation to rock art research, shows how, in terms of the spiritual aspect of creating sacred narrative, the drum and the drum beat, has been a vehicle for the creation and integration of embodied systems of knowledge in Sámi culture with regard to art and also the *noaidi*’s relationship and interactions with landscapes within the cosmos. To elaborate further, in terms of sacrificial practices, which are associated with the *sieidi*, this mode of expression, or cultural practice, embodies the forces of both life and death, that are at the centre of all myths and stories in Sámi culture.

In the creation of art and its relationship with both Sámi shamanism and cosmology, it is important to briefly look at the initiatory nature of shamanism to expand on this subject matter further.

On close examination of the rock art panels at Hossa-Värikallio and Juusjärvi, Kirkkonummi, for example, the content of the shamanistic and cosmological landscapes suggest activities which may be of an initiatory nature. Therefore, it would not seem unreasonable to suggest how the creation of rock paintings and also drum symbolism has probably been related to initiation as well, and thus the forwarding of traditional knowledge within these contexts. It may well be the case that within both drum and rock painting landscapes where human figures are flying or falling, such practices may likewise, be linked with initiation. Otherwise put, the knowledge of the cosmos and shamanistic worldview was transmitted from one generation to the next through the internalization of myths, figures and symbolism, which would have included sacrificial practices, dance and out-of-body journeys.

One striking similarity found in Sámi shamanism concerning both rock paintings and drum landscapes is how the *noaidi* have contacted their gods and divine powers through stones, and how in both cases, these structures have been decorated with illustrations, concerning mythic images, spirits, animals and human figures.

Therefore, and with regard to the theories associated with the Sámi borrowing the practices and symbolism of another culture, it is important at this point in the discussion to acknowledge what has been written about sacred narratives and art, to discuss the matter further.

4.5 Myth, sacred narrative and the role and function of art in relation to shamanism and cosmology

In the analysis presented to you in the following chapters on rock art and drum symbolism, I consider it important to engage with the ambiguous subject matter in relation to myth. This is because despite not knowing exactly the origins of the stories portrayed through the art relating to hunting, fishing and trapping practices, concerning historical sources it is evident how the art does have links with the Sámi oral tradition. Moreover, this does not mean it is not possible to construct theories and interpretations of the materials.

One of the ways of strengthening the links between past and present is through bringing together both rock art and *noaidi* drum symbolism and new types of drums to help to fill in a number of gaps in Sámi history that are characterised by the cyclical function of myths; cyclical from the point the figures and landscapes have been reused and the interviews have helped gain insight into these processes. Therefore, it is possible to interpret how trance scenes, spiritual travelling, out-of-body flying-falling and séances have all inspired the creation of myths and how these have been influential, adapted and changed. These are two of the themes that link paper 4: Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism (2015), Takalo's contribution and the chapter: Where past meets present: Sámi spirits, drums and oral traditions, together.

Therefore, the aim in this subchapter is to capture what value these stories have, with regard to some of the attitudes and interpretations scholars have placed on myths and their various contexts, because they are beneficial for re-engaging with the topic with regard to continuity of Sámi culture and how it is represented. Furthermore, these attitudes also helps us to see how central, the role cosmology plays in relation to the practice of shamanism within the context of oral tradition as depicted through a multitude of art forms.

In terms of prehistory, for instance, if we take into consideration in what manner the rock art material indicates how human interaction with the environment and the supernatural forces that govern the universe, has taken place through shamanism, within the content of the art, we can see how important contact with other dimensions of existence has been, I would say, predominantly for well-being and as a method for expressing group or cultural identity and also for giving birth to creation of stories. Moreover, it seems there are too many dimensions to the stories to be able to fully understand all the various contexts, because they may vary from group to group or region to region, but they provide an abundance of materials for study.

Likewise, it has been important to note is how in Finland, it seems the rock paintings appear to be predominantly related to the spiritual culture of the people who created them. In the case with rock carvings for example at the Alta site in Finnmark scenes are clearly visible in relation to subsistence activities with regard to hunting, fishing and trapping, but there are also spiritual landscapes within these as well, such as anthropomorphic figures, boats and human figures holding drums.

One other point is that in what specific contexts the rock paintings in Finland have originated; spring, summer, autumn, lunar or solar times and life cycle rites, is uncertain³⁶. However, at the Alta site, Fin-

³⁶ Note for the reader. I have not included Winter here based on the theory that the mixtures combined to make the substance with to create the paintings might freeze.

nmark, it seems that at least some of the areas where animals such as reindeer and bears are portrayed, these appear to have been made in the spring time because there are also bear tracks recorded in the snow; the time of the year when bears awaken from their hibernation.

In terms of opening up discussions on the importance of rock art and its content with regard to religious practices and myths, it is noticeable, to some degree, how these activities create a fundamental link between human beings and the creation of cosmology, cultural principles and distinct characteristics, which are characterized by inter-species communication with non-human life-forms. Notably, these are also encountered within such landscapes amidst historical material inside Sámi society both from past examples, on *noaidi* drums and in the present time, as new forms of shaman drums and art, which have been inspired by that from the old *noaidi* drums and rock art; as different styles, contexts and varieties emerge.

As a method for discussion the value myths have in relation to Sámi creation stories and new types of drum landscapes where new narratives are emerging, if we look briefly at the work of Sámi scholar Elina Helander (now Elina Helander-Renvall) who has written extensively about the role and function of myth in relation to cultural continuity and art, it is possible to draw on the following descriptions, which it might be said underlie the need to create art and decorate flat smooth surfaces with images and symbols. According to Helander (2004: 553),

“What is a myth in the Sami context? Sami mythology is a local expression of a larger pattern of ideas, knowledge, visions, beliefs, rituals, spheres, stories and symbols. ‘Classical’ Sami mythology, which was presented by Friis³⁷ refers to a concept with a very broad content, including myths and stories concerning gods, shamans, spirits, supernatural beings, rituals and sacrifices. The myths of the present are exactly as they are visualized, perceived, and practiced in the present”.

Because myths are evident through different art forms in both prehistoric rock art and Sámi *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there are also many dimensions to rock art to which we know so very little about. However, I would argue that because of similarities in landscapes and in some cases, identical symbolism and figures, it can be accepted there is a relationship between these with regard to the continuity of culture and maintenance of identity.

From the study of the surviving fragments within both scholarly and artistic literature it is barely possible to interpret how storytelling practices that are portrayed through the artistic decoration of boulders, reindeer horn and animal skins are intimately linked with both culture and identity in relation to myth, religion and materiality. But, it has to be understood that despite their age, the figures and symbols, which have been created through rock art and also *noaidi* drums and their reuse in modern times have been as important perhaps as cultural markers because of the ways in which according to Caruana (2003: 199), “[...] they have made an impact on the consciousness of the [...] [Sámi people]” and therefore, deserve further attention.

To begin with, it is beneficial to examine the concept of myth in order to understand its function within a religious system of beliefs and practices. For example, Raudvere (2012: 99) refers to “[...] a belief system expressed in particular narrative forms”. A more extensive description is recalled by Pace (2011: 12), in the following ways.

“The myth system, accompanied by the fantastic representations that it produces, creates a link between nature and society, between the visible and the invisible, between eros and fear, between life and death, ultimately acting as a socio-linguistic code to which we can refer in

37 Jens Andreas Friis. Lappisk Mythologi, Eventyr og Folkesagan. Christiania 1871.

order to make sense of the environment in which we live. [...] It is also a social story that gives a systematic account, in its own way and *juxta propria principia*, of the relationships between humans and the cosmos, between divine order and social order”.

In my opinion, despite rock art and *noaidi* drum symbolism representing the fragments of the memory of the ancestors of the Sámi and Sámi culture from later on, it is still possible to draw parallels and links between the two sources regarding myths. However, when it comes to making comparative analysis between art from different eras, using literature sources compiled by persons from outside Sámi culture, who did not speak the language, we run into a number of problems. This is because oral traditions and myths have either been denied, or analyzed and documented from western perspectives in order to formulate in some cases, false information about the Sámi themselves, their religion and culture. Furthermore, we cannot know or understand how these ancient hunters and nomadic peoples lived, what their thoughts were and their personal beliefs and why exactly when or where they created their art and the contexts in which they worked.

Therefore, in the case of rock art, we have a unique situation in Finland regarding its cultural contact because according to scholarly discourse, we find it appears to be caught between three cultures, namely Finnish, Karelian and Sámi, due to its age.

Earlier times, Sámi settlement areas where inherited knowledge in the forms of oral narratives such as rock paintings and carvings can be found are commonplace throughout the continent of Fennoscandia. These decorated sites, particularly in the north have extended right across the Arctic Circle further south into central and southern areas of Finland, and the research carried out at these sites has been undertaken predominantly within the last 40 years. Not by Sámi researchers but from within Finnish scholarly traditions. Because of the enormous time span within, which the art has been made, in relation to the survival of the Sámi into modernity, it would be fair to say how even so many Sámi persons do not understand the meanings and context of the art, and so they themselves could also be referred to as outsiders.

Another point is how in the study of Sámi prehistory, it is not known if the ancestors of the Sámi have been the only groups or population, which has made contact with the locations where prehistoric rock art is evident? or if there were other groups in these areas, did they also create rock art? In short, what also helpful to understand is how rock carvings and paintings can be found around the inland lakes and coastal areas throughout the Arctic north where the Sámi people have lived for thousands of years and their cosmologies are characterised by water.

Therefore, what seems apparent though, is there is a long standing tradition of hunting, fishing, trapping and reindeer hunting practices originating from prehistory that are linked with characterizations of landscape use, portraits of spiritual traditions and their mythical dimensions and beings who appear in the content of stories, which are cyclical in so far as they are because of their similarities and parallels retold over and over again in the present through art. How do we know they are retold repeatedly? Because similar figures are copied or reused in order to forward culture, history and religious practices, to which cosmology figures prominently and it is from within cosmological structures one can find parallels and links, which traverse across many millennia, which suggests to me, the actions of a culture who had a cyclical worldview within their cosmology.

To add another dimension to the relationship between myth and rock art Norwegian scholar and rock art specialist Jan Magne Gjerde (2010a: 9), says that:

“Rock art itself is often linked to cosmology, rituals and religion. According to this notion rock art are cosmological representations and can never be a reality. A reindeer can never just be a reindeer and a hunting scene clearly depicting a reindeer hunt cannot be that of a reindeer

hunt, but cosmological representations of a hunt. Through my reading on rock art, I have sometimes been amused by papers linking hunting scenes to anything but hunting”.

If my interpretation of what Gjerde says is correct, he emphasizes how the task of separating the spiritual from the physical realities in relation to art is not a straightforward matter in modern times because myths can be related to both the material as well as spiritual aspects of culture. Perhaps because for both western and indigenous researchers, our understanding of the world and subsequent exploitation of nature means that in a general sense, we lack a mythological dimension and understanding of a broader reality within the cosmos, which is where myths and stories have been created, from how people have seen the past through different mindscapes, for example.

Another dimension to this equation in relation to both rock art and the art painted on the *noaidi* drums is also concerned with in what ways within indigenous cultures, shamans have been depicted as animals due to metamorphosis or shape-shifting, which is a common occurrence in shamanism and mythology. From human to animal metamorphosis in Sámi culture is also a theme well known and therefore one of the reasons why as Gjerde has pointed out, a figure, group of figures or symbols may not be what they seem, thus making interpretation difficult. One explanation by Pulkkinen (2005a: 12), states the following.

“In the traditional Saami view of the world, the barrier between man and woman was stronger and more difficult to cross than that between humans and animals. It easily happened that humans changed into animals and visa versa, and this was possible not only for shamans [...] but also for ordinary people. The shaman on his journey to the spirit world might take the form of his animal spirit assistant, and the strongest of these assistants, the bull reindeer, was at the same time his alter ego [...]”.

Regarding interpretation, it may well be the case that our need to separate the spiritual from the physical for study purposes does a great injustice to history and indeed nature. Because one might argue, that from within the worldviews of indigenous peoples, the material and spiritual are not inseparable from each other. Instead, they form two equal parts of a unified whole and these two dimensions of reality play an equal part in myth making.

In terms of the Sámi being indigenous peoples; like other indigenous peoples, it is evident they carry the knowledge of their forefathers with them, perhaps consciously and unconsciously. One of the main contexts in rock art, which is visible in Sámi religion, religious communication and material culture is the value system within oral history that constitutes to artistic expression and cultural practices in relation to sacrifice, myths and landscape use. However, one of the reasons why Sámi history has been vulnerable for example, to Finnish archaeological survey and assimilation of the content of rock art into Finnish society is because the approaches used to study the material have often been fragmentary not holistic as Gjerde (2013: 37), explains.

“The study of rock art and landscapes during the last decades can be seen as forming three related subdivisions. The first is the study of topography or macro-landscape in relation to a rock art site or its wider landscape, such as mountain and rivers (Mandt 1972; 1978; Sognnes 1983: 1987). Second, the micro-landscape (miniature landscape) or the rock surface can be studied as an element invested with meaning, interwoven with the figures of rock art (Lewis Williams & Dowson 1990; Helskog 2001; 2004; Gjerde 2006; 2010a). And third, there is the phenomenological approach to landscape and rock art, where elements of perception and cognition are central to interpretation (Bradley 1991; Tilley 1994). Most often studies favour one over the other and the approaches are rarely combined”.

The values concerning sacrifice, which can be interpreted as an act performed in order to both maintain the balance between the physical and spiritual dimensions of life as well as a mark of respect for the life of the sacrificial quarry, and for help with acute problems, are also captured from the era of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries throughout *Sápmi* through artistic symbolism and cosmological landscapes painted on *noaidi* drums from these periods. Therefore, it is my opinion that more research is needed concerning further interpretation of the cultural and mythical landscapes within the rock paintings in Finland and those depicted on the *noaidi* drums, as a method to better examine and understand the links between these two sources of art, in order to consider broader perspectives on Sámi cultural history and religion.

4.5 The interpretation of Sámi religion in the formulation of early research practices and ambiguous methodological issues in textual sources

The aims of this next sub-chapter is to examine the nature of different issues and problematics, which lie within the formulations of early sources about the Sámi and their religious practices, which has had an impact on how the culture has been represented in cultural studies and history. Through taking this approach herein, it is then possible to gain some level of understanding where the origins of colonized methodologies lies. In addition, further insight is needed into the ways early sources were compiled during the missionizing period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in what ways an examination of the data can be of benefit because the root of these problems with regard to research practices appear to have been evident from within this era.

Moreover, the early sources of literature were compiled by scholars, many of whom were clergymen and missionaries³⁸, from the nation states of Norway, Sweden and Finland, or from the western world during the religious upheaval in *Sápmi*. As a way of helping to formulate these points so the reader has some understanding of the complexities involved in research in relation to reliability of the source materials, I see it as being necessary here to take note of the following examples that have contributed to the complexities encountered in early sources into Sámi history, as noted within scholarly research with regard to representation.

I am outlining these points here on the grounds that they likewise, help to shed further light on the difficulty faced not only in terms or reliability of source material but also the approaches, assumptions and methodologies used by clergymen and missionaries whose agendas were suited to those of both the Christian Church and Swedish State, to which Norway and Finland belonged. Because of the kinds of practices used by representatives of the Church, in the case the Sámi, these old methods need to be brought to light in view of they have been responsible for creating preconceived ideas about the Sámi, and in particular, their culture and religion.

As a way of externalizing some of the background issues relating to this topic, a good source providing a number of descriptions concerning how clergymen and missionaries acquired knowledge about the Sámi, which was in some cases fragmentary, and others not, has been discussed by Juha Pentikäinen in his scholarly works: *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* (2002). The data is presented within the context of the abolition of Sámi pre-Christian religion by clergyman Lars Levi Laestadius with regard to sources he received and studied from missionaries, clergymen and researchers during the seven-

38 In paper 1 I have provided detailed examples of the sources compiled by the clergymen and missionaries on the northern districts.

teenth and eighteenth centuries that interpreted and subsequently collected information about Sámi religion, customs, taboos and sacrificial practices during his own work to convert the Sámi to what is today known as Laestadianism. This first source is described in the chapter: Reminder to the Reader, where Pentikäinen (2002: 53), outlines how

“[...] it was not possible for these priests to uncover everything this topic encompasses. Firstly, they were not fully versed in the language; secondly, there were in effect obligated to persecute the very persons who were privy to the secrets of the Lapps and from whom they have the most important knowledge they proceeded more gently. One must not image that the majority of the Lapps were fully versed in witchcraft. It was the exclusive prerogative of the *noaides* (soothsayers) to know these magic secrets which have given the Lapps notoriety wide and far”.

Other evidence regarding various problems in literature studies and their accounts and reliability is likewise mentioned surrounding interpretations of prehistoric rock paintings and carvings, the images of which are encountered on drums. These voices come in this case from within Sámi scholarship where Lehtola (2003: 162), clarifies how

“It is difficult to get a good picture of the spiritual heritage of the Sámi, because it changed radically in connection with the Christian missionary work of the late 1600s and 1700s. We know very little about the meanings of old rock art and the symbolism of the drum figures; the ancient Sámi world-view is hard to discern from the writings of outsiders; and the relationship of the narrative tradition, which survived until a few decades ago, and of the yoiking tradition to the shamanistic set of beliefs that dates back hundreds of years is largely shrouded in mystery”.

One of the central aspects linked to the core of early research practices has been focussed on the study of the figures painted on the heads of the old *noaidi* drums. Information regarding their meanings is, in a similar way, controversial regarding how they have been interpreted, assumptions about their meanings and their subsequent documentation by clergymen and missionaries as noted by scholar of religion Håkan Rydving (2010: 50), who states that

“Most of the early interpretations of Sami drum figures are secondary in the sense they are attributable to people who had never used a drum. It is notable, however, that (at least) two explanations by owners have been preserved, although these have been almost totally neglected since they do not agree with standard opinions of what ‘ought’ to be pictured on a drum: Sami gods and mythological characters”.

What is also beneficial to take into consideration concerning conflicting attitudes about previous research are the ambiguous claims made in more recent times about the study of Sámi history, which highlights a fair amount of ambiguity amongst scholars regarding the discussions concerning the interpretation and documentation of drums and their symbolism and figures. For example, an assessment of the well-known scholarly works of Ernst Manker (1938 & 1950), by Rydving (2010: 44), who criticises Manker’s interpretations in the following ways.

“Skeptical of the seventeenth and eighteenth century explanations that viewed drum figures as illustrative of hunting, fishing and reindeer herding, Ernst Manker-the most influential of the scholars who have studied Sami drums-tried to find a more cultic or mythological meaning, and instead of figures representing Christian ideas he perceived Sami characters.

The owner of drum no. 30 [...] explained, for example, that figure 5 on the drum represented 'the sun if it will shine in fair weather,' while Manker interpreted it as 'probably the wind, *Beiggolmai* [SamS. *Biegkålmai*] or *Beiggagalles* [SamS. *Biegkegaelles*], who usually stands at this place'. The owner described figure no. 12 as a 'ferry-boat', whereas Manker views it as 'the boat offering'; no 17. According to the owner, is a 'Finn [Sami] in a [Sami] sledge', but according to Manker 'the assumption is not unreasonable, that we are here witnessing the [...] owner of the drum on a major duty in the spirit world', ect. Furthermore, Manker frequently reinterprets drum figures that in the sources are said to represent Christian phenomena as figures from Sami mythology“.

In a scholarly article titled: Sami Past and Present and the Sami Picture of the World the following concerning the scholarly works of Ernst Manker henceforth, is stated by Ole Henrik Magga (1996: 78). "Many researchers, among them the Swedish ethnographer Ernst Manker, one of the excellent scientists in the field of lappology, have noticed the resemblance between the stone carvings and the images of the Sami shaman drum”.

These variations provide good examples of how different interpretations of the same material are another problem in the study of early sources. Magga for example, refers to Manker in such a positive light because he is one of the few scholars that have put forward theories concerning the links between the rock carvings in Norway and Sweden and the images on the *noaidi* drums. Otherwise stated, Manker's theories lend support to issues concerning Sámi history in the area where rock carvings in Finnmark are located, this being a topic Magga addresses in his scholarly works also.

It is not clear in what Rydving states as to whether or not he regards Manker's theories concerning the rock carvings with Sámi drum figures as valid or not, and whether or not Manker has in mind particular theories regarding interpretation of drum figures based on the mythical dimension rock carvings because he has spoken with Sámi persons about the meaning of art. In other words, within both rock carvings and drum symbolism it is possible to find depictions of hunting, fishing, reindeer hunting practices, which belong to the material world, but these may also have a mythological counterpart as well, that are representational of Sámi cosmology.

In addition to what has been stated above regarding problems in research practices, which have been influenced by western approaches, there is another dimension in the study of Sámi history concerning the background problems to this chapter, where it is beneficial to understand how the Sámi have responded to a number of internal problems relating to their religion and analysis of the *noaidi* drums by outsiders. Again, emphasis is directed towards sources compiled by clergymen and missionaries, because the painted drums are a central part of the Sámi storytelling oral tradition, which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, did not consist of written word.

As an example of outlining the basic fundamental problems in literature studies compiled within the past 400 years, attention has to be paid to one of the main arguments of the Sámi by Kuokkanen (1996: 54), who says that

“however, the concept of 'literature' was neither a Sami nor other indigenous peoples' creation, so we can claim to have the right to redefine the concept on our own basis and priorities. If we want to redefine the concept of 'literature' from an indigenous point of view, the oral tradition has to be included”.

There are further points, which can also be taken into consideration regarding the different contexts between literature studies and oral traditions this time by Sámi scholar Helander-Renvall (2015: 1).

“The drum art is pictorial in the sense that the old drums contain pictures that translate the perceived world of old times into conscious forms of pictorial images. It is an art form that follows certain styles, motifs and ideology (worldview). Earlier, this type of art was defined as primitive because it reinforced and supported the religious ideas of the Sami of that time and because Sami, as also other tribal people, were regarded as primitive. At that time, one function of the use of the drum was to reinforce the feeling of participation in the cosmic form of existence, in celestial community. The use of drums was also part of the everyday life, based on ideas from animism. The old art transcended or overshadowed the individual. Instead, it was important that the group lived in good health and survived. Thus, the main drum events were collective”.

In an attempt to outline, a variation of the different contexts where problems exist in relation to the broader range of issues with regard to approaches and methods used previously in research practices in relation to Sámi art and preservation of the culture there is one other area of scholarship that needs to be mentioned. This centers around a general lack of understanding of the function of Sámi oral tradition, for example, within the missionary literature sources, and in this instance compiled by Schefferus (1674), and Laestadius (2002), where it has not been given much consideration until very recently in what way the Sámi have begun to stand up and illustrate how and according to Kuokkanen (1996: 55), who makes reference to the works of Vuolab (1995: 27).

“Outsiders used think that the Sami simply did not have literature before our first books were published. But we have had our own literature since time immemorial and we still have an enormously rich oral storytelling tradition. Sami storytelling emanates from every-day life and takes its place all the time, not only at a certain moment of the day – it is not a bed-time story. It is a way to pass on knowledge about our culture, people, history and survival skills. The Sami did not have books and libraries, but their libraries were their families, homes and the nature around them”.

Troubles do not only exist in relation to the ways western literature studies has interpreted and represented Sámi religion, which has been portrayed predominantly as a male institution with regard to religious practices, but also how women have been represented in western literature concerning their status and position within religion and society, especially in relation to shamanism and drum use. This in my opinion is another gap in research caused by cultural conditioning by the Christian Church and Swedish Crown. A clear example of how this has been noted is explained by Sámi scholar Vuokko Hirvonen (1996: 9).

“For example, according to Sami shamanism some things were not said about Sami women, such as the taking part in the bear hunting rituals. Most writers and researchers have described this kind of phenomena as meaning that women were lacking in something. [...] Another example is the claim that a woman was considered “unclean” during pregnancy, childbirth and menstruation. We can however, as again, are these descriptions of phenomena by the Sami themselves, or are they only products of a dichotomous and patriarchal thinking?”

In my analysis of early sources, it seems that perhaps one of the core fundamental flaws in literature is how missionaries did not fully understand in what ways artwork on the drums and the *noaidi's* vocation were two of the integral structures defining the construction of reality that was bound by tradition and religious practices. From observations for example, of both Laestadius and Schefferus' material, it seems evident that at the centre of Sámi society were divine beings, nature spirits and ancestors.

The important roles these spiritual phenomena played in oral tradition and narrative, created the essential dimensions of life, namely, the social and spiritual. A similar mentality can be found within literature about rock art research with regard to the relationships with the landscapes as well, where persons from outside the culture have been responsible for interpreting and contextualizing the material in order to suit the political agenda of the nation states.

As noted in the earlier chapters on research methods and ethical considerations, the consequences of early and traditional research practices by scholars from outside Sámi culture are being addressed within recent contributions from Sámi scholars and the Sámi continue to build and clarify their own research traditions and guidelines for study. One example is presented from Hanna Horsberg Hansen (2014: 7), who states that

“Traditional art history is founded upon narratives that have a periodical, linear structure: Primitive, Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance, until we reach modern times, emphasizing the latter as a triumphal progress of Western art and architecture. This great narrative of art as development and cultures as hierarchies excludes narratives of all art that does not follow a given ‘development’, as well as narrative of female artists and all so-called non-Western art. The common understanding of Sami art has been situated, and in many ways also situated itself, in this latter category, non-Western art”.³⁹

Apart from what has been described by Hansen above, it might be argued that another trend in western research practices related to in what ways scientific traditions have developed, is that within both indigenous and non-indigenous scholarship with regard to art history, there has been the denial and suppression of female art, spirituality and scholarship. As a result, the dark age of suppression and hostility towards women, especially within indigenous societies is likewise, being brought to light inside academic research, especially within indigenous contexts in relation to approaching the study of indigenous peoples and their roles within the cultures they live. According to Maori scholar Smith (2012: 152).

“Colonization is regarded as having had a destructive effect upon indigenous gender relations that reached out across all spheres of indigenous society. [...] A key challenge within contemporary indigenous politics is the restoration to women of what are seen as their traditional roles, rights and responsibilities”.

Below, in the chapter: ‘Previous research concerning theories about Sámi ethnicity in Fennoscandia through the interpretation of drum symbolism, rock art figures and motifs’, I have also drawn attention to the ambiguity surrounding the origins of Sámi culture in relation to rock art research, ethnicity and approaches used. This ambiguity has been the main contributor in helping to formulate the research questions in the dissertation for paper 2: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland* (2014) and 5: *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation* (2017).

I want to make a further point about this here, beforehand, because archaeological, ethnographical and linguistic research in Finland (see Lahelma 2008a, Aikio and Aikio 2001, 2003 and Aikio 2012), as I see it have been the key disciplines used to debate Sámi ethnicity and discussions concerning rock art research in Finland. Through linguistic research in particular, different theories and conclusions have been drawn about ethnicity, which are outlined below, from within Sámi scholarship. Further discussions

39 See Hanna Horsberg Hansen, 2000. *Fluktlinjer: Forståelser av Samisk Samtidskunst*. PhD thesis. University of Tromsø, P. 18-22.

are presented in the paper as to how this has influenced the dating of rock paintings for example, within archaeology and ethnography in Finland.

An explanation of the common theoretical backgrounds where linguists, ethnographers and archaeologists have become art historians in order to interpret the rock paintings seems evident. The outcomes of the research have indeed provided some sound theories and interpretations, but there is, as Lahelma has emphasized, inconclusiveness concerning the cultural origins of the art, thus creating problems regarding approaches and interpretations. The point I wish to make here, which relates to the underlying complications from past research is how apart from linguistic research, past analysis has according to Elliott and Timulak (2005: 149). “[...] influenced pervious research findings (methodology, social context, researcher theory)”

One of my chief criticisms of earlier research regardless of the conclusions that have been drawn in relation to linking rock paintings with Sámi cosmology is to show how, scholars have had a tendency for “[...] not being sensitive enough to allow the data to speak for themselves in order to reveal essential features of the phenomena” (Elliott and Timaluk 2005: 148). So far, as I have discussed in the chapter about Sámi ethnicity in Finland, there are mixed attitudes and theories about this subject matter.

In the scholarly works of Berger and Luckmann (1966: 129), the authors state the fundamental role the “internalization of reality” plays in any culture, be it Sámi or otherwise, for the forwarding of knowledge, customs and practices. Therefore, it would be appropriate to state that the essential reasons why today, Sámi scholars are requiring culturally and scientifically appropriate methodologies in research practices is an attempt to restore the lost and fragmented aspects of culture through codes of ethics that are in accordance with recovery and sustainability of traditions. Moreover, how these are essential and therefore, respectful, strengthening practices that support values, integration and wholeness.

4.6 Examples of internal issues that have arisen within Sámi research

I have already mentioned the impact of Christianity in relation to the loss of Sámi culture and traditional religious practices, the invisibility of the Sámi and their culture, rendered through the assimilations by the missionaries and their work. Nevertheless, there is one further point that has to be noted here by Muus (2010: 9), that is concerned with how “World War II brought devastation to northern Norway (Finnmark and North Troms) and northern Finland. Nearly anything built of wood was burned [...]”

These locations come within the Sámi settlement areas, and therefore, it is important to take into consideration how such destruction further impacted the losses of traditional culture and history. I consider it essential to present a number of examples below, which provide the reader with insight into the types of issues that need to be kept in mind beforehand, which were encountered during the research in relation to cultural heritage and misappropriation of Sámi culture, as a way of understanding why research into Sámi cultural history, heritage and the production of authentic Sámi handicrafts is complicated, not only for outsiders but for the Sámi themselves.

Having made this point, and as the Sámi re-orientate themselves towards the reconstruction of both culture and traditions, new discussions are taking place within different contexts related to matters where the Sámi point of view takes precedence over those from outside their culture. These varying attitudes and interpretations of practices and approaches to Sámi culture and handicraft tradition are evident through what both Guttorm and Somby (2014: 9), describe as established ways, where “[...] indigenous

cultural expressions and approaches from a multidisciplinary perspective and in indigenous contacts, [are taking place] but with a focus on the Sámi point of view”. Although it has not been said, I have been under the impression that approaching the materials from a Sámi perspective, might be one of the ways to help construct Sámi cultural heritage?

There are many different contexts in which such discussions and debates are taking place, but two that are notable are women’s studies and also research concerning Sámi religion, to which the *noaidi* drums take up a central position. A good example of how these issues are being addressed is captured through a scholarly article by Vuokko Hirvonen titled: Research Ethics and Sámi People – from the Woman’s Point of View (1996), where new methods are taught to educators, that are subsequently discussed and applied to teaching practices and published in scientific literature. This is as a result of conferences and seminars held at the Sámi University College (Sámi *Allaskuvla*), Kautokeino, Norwegian *Sápmi*, which is an academic establishment specializing in art, art and design, and *duodji* handicraft education.

I also wish to say that in the modern study of the practice of shamanism amongst the Sámi, in relation to internal discussions about new types of drums that are emerging, it has to be noted how Sámi author and *noaidi* Ailo Gaup in his three books: *The Night Between Days* (1992), *In Search of the Drum* (1993), and *The Shamanic Zone* (2005); shares his views on how important the old Sámi mythology is for Sámi people today. But many people have not retained the old knowledge needed for building a drum. However, those who have, may make drums but not paint them with any kinds of symbols for the reason that these are might be seen or misunderstood as imitations of the old drums.

There are two problems, which exist within the research into new types of Sámi drums that have value in relation to the this subject matter, which is discussed later in the dissertation. The first concerns imitations or those, which have been made as copies or models of older drums and their symbols and then there are new types of drums that have been decorated with new types of symbols, some that reflect older symbols. These new types of drums provide a fair level of understanding as to how the transmission of symbolism takes place from heritage to modern artistic decoration. Being able to identify the problem of not knowing or understanding how or why this process of transmission takes place has been one of the reasons as to why the research approaches described earlier, have been formulated and used by the author as a way of addressing this topic and collecting data through interviews and field work.

Regarding the uses of material relating to the old *noaidi* drums as well as the reproduction of new types of drums, which have been painted with the old figures and symbols, there are Sámi persons who are not in agreement with the way new drums are made and sold to tourists, and there are Sámi persons who are quite relaxed about it. Otherwise put, meaning, it depends on whom one speaks to. This information has also been beneficial to understand during the fieldwork processes because it can affect the ways in which research is approached interpreted and documented.

An example of some of the internal conflict which has arisen from discussions about the recreation of Sámi drums has been discussed in brief by Museum curator and researcher Eva Silvén in her article: *Contested Sami Heritage: Drums and Sieidis on the Move* (2012). Silvén, previously worked at the Nordiska Museet, Stockholm, where 34 of the old drums reside in both archives and in display cabinets. Silvén (2012: 179) notes the following by Durand (2010: 102). “For example, the inclusion of one of the Sami handicraft artist Helge Sunna’s modern drums in an exhibition at the Museum of Ethnography started a debate within the museum about what should be considered as ‘authentic Sami art’”.

The way in which this issue was dealt with at the time has value here in the research because it answers any possible questions, which might arise regarding the controversial nature or struggle between tradition and modernity that is a subject addressed within Sámi scholarship by Jelena Porsanger (2011).

Further relevant points by Silvén (2012: 179), with the following explanation by Durand (2010: 102), regarding the validity of new types of drums.

“The responsible museum curator and Sunna meant that the ‘authenticity’ of the drum lay in the creator’s knowledge of the tradition, the environment and the materials used, as well as in his ability to express his own vision of contemporary Sami culture. The critics, however, recognised only ‘authenticity’ in the reproduction of the traditional forms of the past centuries”.

Silvén highlights some of the conflicts that can arise, surrounding the approach, handling, processing and documentation of Sámi cultural heritage in Sweden in relation to the transmission of culture and its continuity. Moreover, it also brings into question who has the right to produce genuine or acceptable representations of culture?

Additional elaboration on the subject matter by Silvén (2012: 174), recalls how “for centuries there has been an intense circulation of Sami material heritage outside the Sami society, involving both museums and private hands”. It can be said with a fair amount of certainty that due to the ways in which the drums were collected by missionaries and clergymen, as well as those freely given by Sámi persons themselves, as noted by Silvén (2012: 179), that “not surprisingly, there are different opinions both inside and outside Sami society about this use of heritage”. Furthermore, Silvén (2012: 181), also describes how “the drums have a long history of being kept in governmental custody since they were confiscated during the Christian mission, which was one way of colonising the north and subordinating the Sami to the Swedish nation state”.

The reasons why consideration has to be given to these issues at this point is because as a result of the historical terrorism regarding religious practices many Sámi people still remain invisible and disconnected from their own heritage, especially the older generations. It is also the case that generally speaking, Sámi persons are today Christianised and so may have distanced themselves away from their ancestors and religion, which is a source of contention between for example, Sámi politicians, elders and other persons involved in discussions about cultural history and the old religion.

It has been difficult to gain any kind of collective and comprehensive understanding of attitudes and insights from within Sámi culture regarding both old and new types of drums, especially those made for healing and shamanistic reasons. However, from within the context of new data that is emerging from amongst Sámi scholarship in relation to international law and the use of traditional knowledge, discussions about ethical guidelines in indigenous research are beginning to bring these issues into focus, and for further reading, see John T. Solbakk’s: *Traditional Knowledge and Copyright* (2007). Within Solbakk’s scholarly works, there are several chapters concerning the reuse of symbols from *noaidi* drums and statements about usage and ownership of knowledge, and in particular the works of Gunvor Guttorm is an important contribution on this subject matter.

4.7 Previous studies on *noaidi* drum symbolism

Because my research comes within the long line of exploration by outsiders into the study of Sámi shamanism, I consider it beneficial to discuss some of the main scholarly sources, which have also addressed the subject matter, both past and present, with regard to *noaidi* drums and their symbolism. This is because the discussion is related to what will be presented further on in the dissertation about the reuse of symbolism through the production of new types of drums by Sámi persons, as well as the controversial reuse of symbolism by non-Sámi persons, and how the old sources have influenced the drum makers and artists in their productions.

As a method for helping to set the background for the chapters to follow on these discussions, it is important prior to this, to present different literature written on Sami culture by for example, and in particular, the works of Johannes Schefferus, because it was the combined works of Schefferus and priests from the northern districts of *Sápmi* that has contributed extensively to the early study of Sami religion and portraits of Sámi culture. Moreover, in terms of Sámi religion, their writings have characterized the relationship between the Sami *noaidi* from *Sápmi* and the magical drum used for hunting, divination, ecstasy and out-of-body travel because the magical drum and its usage has been central to the subject of extensive debate amongst scholars since some of the earliest documentation of Sami drums was compiled in Lapponia by Schefferus, published firstly according to Ahlstrom (1971: X)⁴⁰, “in Latin in 1673 [and then] introduced to English readers in 1674”.

As I have described in the paper: *The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami Noaidi Drum Figures Reversed*, published in 2011, an examination of early sources by Schefferus revealed a number of flaws in the historical data produced by priests. One of the central features in Schefferus’s analysis of the religious ceremonies of the Sámi is the presentation of the two remaining *noaidi* drums from the former Kemi *Sápmi* province in Finland, in relation to the portrayal of drum symbolism and figures. Therefore, Schefferus’ material subsequently provides the foundation for this next sub-chapter, which addresses the phenomena of drums, their symbolism and representation.

To begin with, it is the early analysis conducted by both Schefferus and Laestadius, which is outlined firstly, because the data comes from within the periods of severe upheaval and turmoil during the missionizing duration by clergymen. Moreover, it helps profile the impacts of Christian doctrine on the Sámi at the time and how the structures of their religious practices are made clear and in what ways they were subjected to domination by the nation states is described by Mobjerg et al (2000: 30).

“From 1600 until 1900 most of the information about the Sámi population and their way of life came from Christian missionaries who were sent out from the state of Denmark and Sweden.

The lack of any Sámi background left its mark on this literature, especially on its understanding of the pre-Christian religion”.

As a way to broaden understanding of the influence certain attitudes and interpretations from earlier studies had on the way the material about the Sámi and their religion was written and compiled through outsiders perspectives, one classic example concerning Schefferus and his informants is described in the following ways by Pulkkinen (2005f: 191-192).

“The German scholar Johannes Schefferus (1621-79) was appointed Professor of Rhetoric and Political Science at the University of Uppsala. He was assigned by Magnus de la Gardie, the State Chancellor of Sweden, the task of producing a description of the Saami intended for the people of the rest of Europe. Ultimately, the aim was to demonstrate that the sorcery of the Saami was not what lay behind the military success of the Swedes; a rumor to this effect had been spread in leaflets distributed to enemy [German] troops on the front. [...].

The information contained in Lapponia was mostly obtained from clergymen working in the Saami region of Sweden-Finland. Schefferus’ most important informants were Samuel Rheen,

40 I have also included the names of earlier sources than Schefferus in the 2011 publication: *The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami Noaidi Drum Figures Reversed* (Paper 1). References have been made to research papers by clergymen and missionaries which were investigated by Schefferus. These can be found on pages 119-120 in the publication.

Olaus Graan, Nicolaus Lundus, Olaus Petri Niurenius and Johannes Tornaeus, and from Kemi Lapland Gabriel Tunderus. Otherwise, Schefferus [who never actually visited the Sámi areas himself] based his facts on information from ancient and medieval historians like Procopius and Adam of Bremen and on the Norse sagas. On the other hand, he regarded the information offered by Olaus Magnus with distrust” (Ahlström 1966 and Pentikäinen 1995).

The assessment and documentation of religious customs and practices of the Sámi, portrayed the inhabitants of *Sápmi* as wild heathens who practiced paganism. In other words, it seems such a label would justify the need for modernisation of the culture through taxation, assimilation by the kingdom of Sweden and conversion to Christianity in lieu with the emerging new world, which in the Nordic countries, Sweden led the way.

Schefferus’ purpose behind the compiling of reports sent to him from the clergymen and missionaries of the northern districts of Norway, Sweden and Finland, on one hand, presented a new and interesting series of insights and understanding into Sámi pre-Christian religion. For example, such as the use of the *noaidi* drum for divination, *sieidi* worship, sacrificial practices and offerings which were undertaken in accordance with pre-Christian customs and taboos. It seems these types of activities were relatively unknown across Europe.

One of the best examples presented in Schefferus’ work as evidence of the collision between Christian state doctrine is visible between Sámi adherences to a cyclical worldview, which incorporated an understanding of the destiny of the human soul in the afterlife, and how this representation of culture and identity has been presented through textual references and symbolism as well as figures on different drumheads from Norway and Sweden. There are also references to hunting, fishing and trapping scenes, which are likewise depicted through various landscapes, including the afterlife of the souls of animals that are repetitively referred to by Schefferus (1971: 39), as “[...] Superstition [...]”. This is because the notion of the *noaidi* summoning the souls of dead animals to help with various working tasks was interpreted as the devils work. A good description by Schefferus (1971: 35), captures the disbelief rather well.

“And herein they are only superstitious but in what follows, they are impious and heathenish. At first they go to church not out of any devotion, but compulsion. Next, they stick at several principles of the Christian religion, especially the resurrection of the dead, the union of the body and soul, and the immortality of the soul. For they fancy themselves that men and beasts go the same way; and will not be persuaded that there is any life after this.

[...] Notwithstanding they believe that something of a man remains after he is dead, but they know not what it is; which was the very opinion of the heathens, who therefore feigned their manes to be somewhat that did remain after their death. A third impiety they are guilty of, is joining their own feigned gods with God and Christ, and paying them equal reverence and worship, as if God and the Devil had an agreement together to share their devotions between them”.

An evaluation of the book: The History of Lapland shows how one of the main problems with the source material produced by Schefferus was his own pre-conceived ideas and assumptions, which were for the most influenced by his own Christian belief system and values from the time. The sources, for the most, he took to be based on validity and truthfulness and which in a number of ways resonated with the values in Swedish society as dictated through the work of the clergymen, missionaries and their quest for the eradication of Sámi religion wherever possible.

As noted above by Ahlström (1966), and Pentikäinen (1995), in relation to how the Sámi and their customs and culture have been portrayed, although the material was compiled for a European audience, evidence suggests that it would have been widely circulated amongst specific audiences, such as the

ruling powers of other countries, including Kings, Queens and high ranking officials within the Christian Church and its institutions, thus justifying the need to further establish and develop Christianity to become the dominant religion throughout Europe. One of the way this was done was through a detailed description and interpretation of the symbolism and figures painted on the heads of *noaidi* drums in 2 chapters in Lapponia titled: “Of the Second or Christian Religion of the Laplanders [and] Of the Magical Ceremonies of the Laplanders” (Schefferus 1971: 24-60).

Analysis of the material overwhelmingly shows that Schefferus was very effective in accomplishing his purpose of portraying how the authorities in Sweden justified their religious and political campaign against the inhabitants of *Sápmi*, who were, according the Swedish Crown, in need of cleansing from their pagan religion and culture. This it may be said is evident through the ways both the clergymen and missionaries of the northern districts as well as Schefferus, recorded cultural practices and customs, the content of which, was then made available to the larger European audience.

However, as the text suggests, the publication of Schefferus’ work was one of the great strengths when seen presented to such a pious audience. The weaknesses lie in the fact that he did not understand how the *noaidi*’s knew how the spirits affected the lives of everyone, and the important role sacrifice played in order to cure illnesses, disease and restore balance within a family or the wider community. It seems apparent too that the decorative artwork on the *noaidi* drumheads was also not understood as traditional knowledge, which followed customs that were thousands of years old, of telling and recording stories through art.

The work of Laestadius published in its uniform title in English as *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* (2002)⁴¹, is a source that has been important for the study of Sámi religion and cultural practices with regard to understanding the nature, content and context of hunting and sacrificial activities, as well as drum usage in relation to shamanism and cosmology, and attempts at filling in missing gaps in ethnographical sources.

A further revelation into the life of Laestadius reveals how during his work amongst the Sámi as a mythologist, according to Pentikäinen (2005: 171), Laestadius “[...] collected folk legends into a system he called mythology of the Lapps; and as a mythographer he used the material of this mythology in an attempt to write their own history for the Saami people”.

Laestadius is credited on his determination to document ancient practices, which were transmitted orally from one generation to the next across many millennia and the fact that how and according to Pentikäinen (2002: 34),

“Laestadius was a man who remembered and felt in the way of the Sámi. As an ethnographer, he was an expert in listening to the oral traditions mastered by people he knew. As an ecologist, he was able to observe and listen to the nature around him. The deep knowledge of the language of nature merged with the oral traditions mastered by people he knew”.

Furthermore, Pentikäinen (2002: 17), also goes on to say how and “in the case of the Sámi people, as with many other peoples without a country, this history was remembered and transmitted orally. In oral history, the boundary between myth and history is like a line drawn in water”. Moreover, and perhaps unlike Schefferus, one of the reasons why the research produced by Laestadius is conceivably more reliable and important than that of Schefferus is because according to Pentikäinen (2002: 24-25),

“[...] Laestadius’s mother tongue was Southern Sámi. [...] In his childhood, Lars-Levi Laestadius had an opportunity to become deeply acculturated to so many essential elements of Sámi

41 The original version of Laestadius’ work was published in Swedish in 1997.

world view, life style, and mentality that his ‘cultural mother tongue’ became and remained one that he shared with the other Sámi in his Southern Sámi environment”.

One could argue that Pentikäinen’s portrait of Laestadius seems somewhat romantic by contrast to what Sámi writer Johan Turi (2011: 201), wrote about his work amongst the Sámi.

“L. L. Laestadius was a minister and a preacher, and he was very harsh and zealous, and gifted and persuasive. [...] And when there were many people gathered from many different parishes, he kept preaching and influencing them until they experienced a spiritual awakening”.

Laestadius’s observations and understanding of Sámi religion, related practices and cosmology, which is published in three main chapters in his works *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* (2002). The data has provided important missing information as to the nature and designs of particular Sámi spirits, which were painted on *noaidi* drumheads and also descriptions of how Christianity influenced the adaptation of Christian symbolism on various *noaidi* drums⁴².

Having already discussed the works of Ernst Manker earlier, I also wish to note that in combination with the works of Laestadius, I have been able to better understand how references to horned and triangular headed spirit figures, which are discussed in both rock art research and drum symbol analysis has played a key role in the interpretation of what I will refer to as the Sámi cosmological picture in prehistoric rock paintings, thus linking rock art and drum symbolism together. One of Manker’s best references to horned figures drawn on drumheads in relation to cosmology is described in the following ways according to what is stated by Manker (1968: 4)⁴³

“[...] the Lapps had a number of more abstract gods like *jubmel* or *ibmel*, who is obviously identical with the Finnish Jumala and is worshipped as the supreme god. Among the Swedish Lapps in particular the same position has been maintained by *radien-ahhtje*, ‘the father of the Ruler’, the Ancestor. His image occupies a central place on the upper half of some drums. Usually he was accompanied by his son *radien-pardne*, through whom he acted among men, and his wife, *radien-akka* (the old woman of the Ruler). This patriarchal trinity corresponds in a striking manner, to the Christian Trinity, with the Holy Ghost rationally replaced by a female being. Sometimes, this divine family was augmented by *rana-neida*, considered as *radien-ahhtje*’s daughter: *radien-pardne* was also called *tjorve-radien*, i.e. ‘horned-radien’ and is often figured on the drums with an aureole of reindeer antlers around his head”.

In a similar way, further documented accounts by Laestadius, which provide a detailed description of the use of spirit birds that assisted the *noaidi* during divination and healing work which required out-of-body

42 Reference can be found to these in the paper: To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland (2014). This information had value within my rock painting research because it helped me to understand how these figures, because of their horned and triangular headed features, stand apart from for example, human and *noaidi* figures, who are painted in particular zones on the drum skins. The information provided by Laestadius also yielded a vital link and correspondence between horned and triangular headed figures identified at rock painting locations of for example, Astuvansalmi, Ristiina and Verla, Kouvola which are in eastern Finland, as well as Hossa in northern Karelia and Humalniemi, Heinävesi in eastern Finland and those found on drums from Swedish and Norwegian *Sápmi*. This recognition is vitally important because it imparts evidence of horned spirit figures documented in literature studies, which came from *Sápmi*.

43 It should be noted that with regard to the *Akka* Goddesses in particular their names vary according to the cultural pronunciation, Finnish, Swedish, Norwegian and Sámi. The application of each name has been used how it has been written in various sources and also received during interviews with both scholars and *noaidi*.

journeys to spiritual worlds, was also a major source of information in my research for understanding what appears as a hunting scene painted on the head of drum number 63, which is published in paper 4, titled: Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism (2015)⁴⁴. The value in this case is that in their interpretation of the figure in the centre of the drum, neither Manker or Gustav Klemm (1894), could not draw conclusions regarding what the figure was, that was presented in a type of sun symbol portrayed as a portal of light, which might be linked with the mythical world of *Sáiva*.

The fact Laestadius had written extensively about the value, importance and use of birds in the *noaidi*'s work, his knowledge of Sámi cultural practices and mythology, provided new information, where by research by Manker and Klemm was fairly minimal. Because the descriptions were written in English text by Pentikäinen, who made reference to Laestadius' text in English, was also of much benefit. The compilation of Laestadius's work has been helpful in the analysis I conducted regarding the bird and use of birds as spiritual helpers by *noaidi* in Sámi culture. The extensive investigation into the significance of the bird figures is the main theme investigated and presented in the publication of paper 4: Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism (2015).

A further interesting contribution into the study of the *noaidi* drums and drum symbolism comes from Swedish scholar Bo Sommarström (1983, 1987 & 1991). Sommarström's research presents a series of what seem like complex but very interesting theories regarding links between the animal, solar and lunar figures and symbols painted on the heads of *noaidi* drums as representations of Star Constellations (astronomy), with reference to shamanism, astral mythology and the celestial heavens, which are a major feature for all northern peoples. Through the study of painted images on the *noaidi* drum heads of animal figures and their locations, which may have influenced the ways that certain features were painted in their respective settings may, according to Sommarström (1987: 212), indicate how

“this has led to observations that the zodiac can be discerned more or less clearly in mass constellations, that the positioning is decided by orientating the drum in relation to the height of the sun and thus to the Saamis' calendar, to the seasons and to the cardinal points“.

Sommarström provides a series of detailed descriptions about the structures that are inherent within the cosmology of the Sámi that are centered around the world pillar or tree, which has its roots in the lower world, trunk in the physical world and crown-branches in the heavenly realms, and the oral narratives to which many of these are related. Overall, his analysis presents a number of insights into the interconnect-edness of these different aspects of reality as seen through the drum pictures and its holistic maps of the universe, which is based on both past and present research. It may well be that Sommarström's analysis is in its own way a continuation of the work of Ernst Manker and earlier scholars who were not so versed in astronomy and a much broader of understanding of astral mythology.

Another Swedish scholar whose contribution has been important in the study of *noaidi* drum symbolism and figures within the dissertation is that of Rolf Kjellström. Perhaps one of Kjellström's best known scholarly works, which it may be said, also reflects the work of Ernst Manker is his scholarly article: Traditional Saami Hunting in relation to Drum Motifs of Animal Hunting (1991)⁴⁵. What is unique about

44 Details of the history of the drum are documented in Ernst Manker's: Die Lappische Zaubertrommel. Eine Ethnologische Monographie. 1, Die Trommel als Denkmal Materieller Kultur (1938).

45 Kjellström's work is included as one of the chapters in the scholarly edited volume by Tore Ahlbäck and Jan Bergman titled: The Saami Shaman Drum: Papers Based on the Symposium on Saami Religion Held at Åbo, Finland, on the 16th and 18th of August 1984 (1991: 111-132). The book is a good source based on different scholarly disciplines from various backgrounds and how they have approached Sámi religion and the study of the *noaidi* drum.

his contribution to the study of Sámi religion is he focusses primarily, only on the interpretation and description of animals from the material culture in relation to hunting and trapping. There is hardly any mention of their religious status of animals, which it can be said is what has drawn the attention of many scholars to the study of Sámi religion in their analysis of Sámi shamanism and cosmology.

From the Finnish side, the scholarly works of Professor of Comparative Religion Juha Pentikäinen has already been mentioned in his edited works concerning the life of Lars Levi Laestadius. In addition, Pentikäinen has made a prominent contribution to the study of the Sámi *noaidi* drum. Moreover, perhaps his best known research concerns the story of the journey of a Sámi drum, which has its origins somewhere in the seventeenth century, and its journey to the Pigorini Museum in Rome, where the drum is currently exhibited. Pentikäinen's analysis of the drum titled: The Shamanic Drum as Cognitive Map is published as a chapter in his combined works with that of Professor of comparative religion René Gothoni, in: *Mythology and Cosmic Order. Studia Fennica. Review of Finnish Linguistics and Ethnology* 32 (1987: 17-36). The story of the same drum figures likewise in Pentikäinen's esteemed works *Shamanism and Culture* (1998).

Pentikäinen presents an in-depth overview of missionizing activities in Norwegian *Sápmi* and the destruction of drums, noting some of the key figures involved in this process. He also presents a number of ways the Sámi drum can be used in relation to magic, and hunting activities. However, what stands out about his analysis of the drum in the Pigorini Museum is his interpretation of the symbolism and figures in relation to the astral mythology of the Sámi and the *noaidi's* out-of-body journey, which is re-enacted through hunting myths and oral narratives. Pentikäinen also makes similar comparisons between drums from Finnish *Sápmi*, formerly belonging to the Kemi Sámi.

Bear hunting and astral mythology is one of the specific areas Pentikäinen's scholarly analysis of the Sámi drum has paid particular attention to. The bear being a symbol of culture and oral narratives in relation to the mythologies of the Finns, Sámi and peoples of Siberia. He strives through his works to associate the bear and its symbolism with various hunting myths of peoples who are related within the Finno-Ugric and Circumpolar areas of the world and their religious practices to which shamanism figures prominently. This can be found not only on the Sámi drums but also through rock art research as well.

Håkan Rydving is another contributor to the study of *noaid* drums and their symbolism. His two books *The End of Drum Time: Religious Change among the Lule Saami, 1670s-1740s* (1993), and *Tracing Sami Traditions: In Search of the Indigenous Religion Among the Western Sami During the 17th and 18th Centuries* (2010). Both of these sources have been instrumental in the examination and interpretation of *noaidi* drum figures and symbolism. His early works covers various contexts regarding the persecution of the *noaidi*, which led to the destruction of the drums, as well as the different aspects of Sámi religion as depicted through the accounts of clergymen. His later works has been quite specific in dealing with place names, and terminologies in relation to linguistic and archaeological research, as well as examining the important role and function birds have undertaken as helpers of the *noaidi*.

In fact, Rydving's assessment of the early missionary sources produced an important understanding, concerning how there was a need to point out that despite criticism of the nature of informants who disclosed information to clergymen, according to Rydving (2010: 58), it was beneficial to understand how

“There were Sami among the authors of these accounts, but most of the authors came from other cultures, had another religion, spoke other languages and were intent of replacing the indigenous religion with another belief. Even so, their writings constitute by far the most important category of texts containing material about Sami religion from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries”.

5 Background to understanding prehistoric rock art and *noaidi* drums in relation to debates about Sámi ethnicity and history

Prior to the following chapters, which address issues related to rock art research and its relationship with *noaidi* drum symbolism with regard to theories and questions about Sámi ethnicity and continuity of culture, the next chapter is included here because it provides background to this discussion, and thus helps to elaborate on some of the dilemmas surrounding the controversial nature of the history and origins of Sámi culture within academic debate. What this means is that given the fact a great deal has been written about this subject matter from outside the culture, for example, as discussed in the chapters above, there is a need to take into consideration what the Sámi themselves have to say about how their culture has been portrayed through various historical sources, as well as in what ways scholars have been critical of western discourses on Sámi history and ethnicity.

Discussions concerning ethnicity are a subject that has proven to be problematical in the study of Sámi prehistory because according to the archaeological record, there is no single definition for the basis of origins of the culture or identity as there are no written records available from this time. However, there is the historical record compiled through archaeological and linguistic study more recently, which has contributed to such debates, and are therefore presented below, suggesting how the origins of Sámi culture lies within a synthesis of cultures, that developed after the end of the last Ice Age 10,000 years ago, according to Sámi historians and linguists. Moreover, it has been difficult to pin-point one culture from the other due to the ways both cultures and identities change throughout the course of time.

The reason a discussion about the origin of Sámi culture has value in my research is due to the fact how the dating of rock carvings and paintings as well as the lineage of their cultural context is controversial, and therefore, invites further investigation. For this reason, engagement with different sources is needed, in relation to the subject matter because in my opinion, there is evidence that previous, ambiguously researched dimensions in the rock art in Fennoscandia, when re-examined, brings forth new insight and understanding into Sámi history and religion. This new information relates to what I described earlier concerning parallel figures between *noaidi* drums and those investigated in rock paintings in Finland that

have horns and triangular shaped heads as presented in paper 2: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland* (2014) and 5: *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation* (2017).

When taking these new findings into account, the evidence provides additional theories and perspectives into what Walsh (1991: 88), refers to as how “[...] the entire lifestyle of a culture is built upon its mythic view of reality”. This view, which concerns spirits as being representative of the powers of nature as will be determined later on, has not been given adequate consideration in earlier research with regard to Sámi ethnicity and history.

By contrast to what has been published in past research, I will present my theories and arguments as to how the role, function and indeed value, art could also make as a contribution to the study of Sámi prehistory, in order to argue how quasi reasoning and the use of words in a clever way by scholars of the nation states is misleading with regard to the cultural context of rock art in Finland. Practices, that are not only apparent within missionary sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but also in modern times.

Because the rock art research is primarily concerned with prehistory, a discussion regarding different theories on the topics of ethnicity and cultural continuity are important to review. This is because with regard to paper 2: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland* (2014) and 5: *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation* (2017), and the additional chapters included here in the introduction of the dissertation, helps address and outline a number of problems regarding the cultural context and ethnic markers placed on rock paintings in Finland. This next chapter provides clarification regarding the background to the study on the subject matter in relation to Sámi history.

Moreover, rock painting research, despite knowledge that many of the symbols and figures identified in rock art research in Finland have parallels in Sámi religion from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, evidence of the scholarly titles given to published research data, seems to have attempted to assimilate rock paintings into Finnish culture, by making claims they are also related to Kalevala myths (see Kare 2000, Siikala 1981, and Lahelma 2008a), which makes the need for a re-examination of the material important as part of the study. This has also been addressed in paper 2: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland* (2014) and 5: *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation* (2017), but more enquiry is needed in order to provide examples of the different contexts this has taken place and to what level, to provide the reader with some comprehension of the mechanisms used and to what extent with regard to denial of Sámi history and misrepresentation of culture by scholars of the nation state of Finland.

The subject matter of ethnicity is not only confined to rock art studies but is it is a factor that also comes into focus in the ways different attitudes and perspectives about Sámi history have influenced the ways in which Sámi culture has been represented in terms of the reuse of symbolism outside of the Sámi areas.

A brief discussion of the nature of particular issues concerning ethnicity is included below, which is important because they aim to provide insight and some level of understanding into the reasons why Sámi history has often been pushed aside and denied at different levels in favor of the majority population in Finland.

As a way of helping to formulate the basis for the rock painting research in the dissertation, and as a method to show how the prehistoric art forms are linked with the *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in addition to what has been published in paper 2: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland* (2014) and 5: *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation* (2017), there are two important sources of information written from within Sámi culture that I have included at this point

in relation to history and ethnicity. These historical records have value because they take into account what the Sámi have to say about theories concerning their own prehistory and history, thus we are informed of the following by Aikio et al (1994: 14-16), as to how:

“Human settlement on the Finnmark coast of the Atlantic Ocean first became feasible some 10,000 years ago, at the end of the last Ice Age. The characteristically Early Stone Age **Komsa** culture, based on the use of quartz and quartzite, prevailed in the coastal region up to the Kola fjord in the east, roughly during the period 7000-2500 B.C. This Komsa culture is generally considered to have been in contact with the **Fosna** culture of the Norwegian coast. The last period of the Stone Age began in the same region approximately 4000 B.C., and continued up to the beginning of our era; during these 4000 years, contacts also began to occur with the comb-pottery culture of the south. Inland, the early age of metal begins around 1600 B.C., as an extension of the Bronze Age of the east. The Sami Iron Age which followed, roughly up to the early 1500s, constituted a relatively coherent and uniform culture throughout Lapland”.

“Archaeologists generally consider the use of the term ‘Lappish’ or ‘Sami’ for this prehistoric culture justified only at the inception of the so-called **Kjelmöy** culture; it is this culture which represents the beginning of the Sami Iron Age, even though no sharp break can be demonstrated between this and the final stages of Stone Age. The early Bronze Age, in its inland forms, is often considered Sami or proto-Sami. It is sometimes thought this culture was brought to the area by a population which spoke a Fenno-Ugric language, and that this group was large and dominant enough to convert the population of the entire area to its language, after which it developed into a Sami-speaking population. Linguistically, there is a very clear connection between the two language groups, the Sami and the Baltic Finns; they share a common ancestor, a Proto-Finnic language spoken 3000-4000 years ago” (Aikio et al 1994, 14-15).

Ptolemy places the Sami (**phinnoi**) on the island of Skandza, in northern Scandinavia. Our earliest first-hand sources of information about the Sami, the story of Ohthere, speaks of the Sami as living by hunting and fishing along the coasts of Finnmark and the Kola Peninsula; he also mentions the Kölen Mountains range” (ibid).

“The historical era of the Sami it is claimed, begins only around the 16th century. The earliest mentions of the Sami by historians is thought to be that of the Roman historian Tacitus, who in the last chapter of his *Germania*, written in the year 98 A.D., mentions a people whom he calls the fenni. Roughly the same date can be assigned to the oldest archaeological sites and finds recognized as Sami. On the basis of these, archaeologists have gradually begun to think in terms of a specifically Sami Iron Age, which is thought to have lasted for a period of some 1500 years, from the beginning of our era up until the 1600s.

The general picture of the Sami Iron Age presented by archaeologists is, however, based to a great extent on general historical knowledge, established on the basis of a few scraps and fragments of medieval documents, some descriptions in Church history, and first-hand Scandinavian information; this last, however, is in part legendary in character. The Sami begin to be mentioned in official documents more generally from the 14th century onward”.

The most important Scandinavian source of information is the story of Ohthere, dating from the year 890; this story is contained in the Anglo-Saxon version by King Alfred of England (Wessex) of Orosius' history of the world. In Ohthere's story we encounter the name **finnas**, derived from a Germanic source and known already in antiquity, and its most common attributes: trapper, fowler, fisher. But reindeer are also mentioned, and even specifically the use of reindeer as decoys, such reindeer were considered especially valuable, since they helped with the trapping of wild reindeer. [...] The Sami's own name for themselves (*Sápmi*, *sápmelas*) is also evidently borrowed, but never succeeded in replacing the term of *finn*" (Aikio et al 1994: 10-11).

"In any event, the origin of this culture lies somewhere in the Ural Mountains, where the first use of metal began with the use of copper around 2000BC" (Solbakk 1990: 22).

"The earliest available sources show that Sámi have inhabited those areas of the Nordic countries and the Kola Peninsula where there are permanent Sámi settlements today. The Sámi region extends from Idre in Dalarne, Sweden and adjacent areas in Norway south to Engerdal in Hedmark County. To the north and east it stretches to Utsjoki, Finland, and Varranger, Norway, and on to the Kola Peninsula in the Soviet Union" (Solbakk 1990: 13-14).

A further and equally important more recent discussion concerning Sámi prehistory in southern Finland is also in need of mention here, because it provides additional information on what remains as the unclear history of Sámi settlement areas, which is likewise important for understanding claims by the Finns that rock paintings in the southern and central areas of the country are termed as being Finnish. In his scholarly works: *Eteläisen Suomen Muinaiset Lappalaiset / Ancient Lapps in southern Finland* (2008), Sámi historian Veli-Pekka Lehtola has compiled a wide range of scholarly sources that debate Sámi prehistory in Finland, from contributors mainly from archaeology and linguistics.

The different theories deliberate a various range of sources, and the ones that are applicable to the discussion from archaeology, are what I have drawn upon in this instance, and are thus concerned with how the subject matter, which covers variations as to how according to Lehtola (2008: 2), the "[...] Lapps or Sámi people lived in the whole of southern Finland as late as 1000 years ago"⁴⁶, which it seems, has been mainly influenced by Sámi place names, to ambiguity in archaeological discourse by Matti Huurre and his scholarly works titled: *9000 vuotta Suomen esihistoriaa / 9000 years of Finnish prehistory* (1979).

Huurre, who as noted by Lehtola (2008: 5-7), reveals how he claims "[...] that a Lapp is a name or way of life and it does not mean race or language. [And how] Huurre's declaration also became a part of how the local histories [were understood]"⁴⁷. It is also noted how there has been a tendency in Finland in research [practices] concerning in what way Lehtola (2008: 5-7) asserts that "even if the historians notice Sámi language based names they just mention them, but trust on what Huurre says and do not continue to research further. [...] [In addition] Huurre wrote that based on archaeological findings, these reveal that probably, Lapps have been non-Sámi and became part of the Finnish peasants"⁴⁸.

To add another dimension to the colourful debate about Sámi history and culture, from the Finnish perspective, Lehtola (2008: 5-7), also reveals the following points.

46 Translated from Finnish to English by Tuija Hautala Hirvioja.

47 Translated from Finnish to English by Tuija Hautala Hirvioja.

48 Translated from Finnish to English by Tuija Hautala Hirvioja.

“Janne Vilkkuna wrote in 1999 that the question about Lapp and Sámi people is one of the most interesting in Finnish prehistory. In 2004, Jukka Korpela wrote that Lapps are not necessarily Sámi and stressed that he used the name: wilderness culture in the Middle Ages, rather than to give any ethnicity to the culture. His idea is based on the premise that Swedish speaking clerks could not make any differences between Sámi and Finns; they looked the same and their language sounded same in the ears of Swedish speakers”⁴⁹.

In order to further elaborate on the ambiguity found in discussions about the Sámi in northern Finland the following sub-chapter deliberates such points.

5.1 Concepts: Sámi and Lapland culture

In order to understand the complexities in defining Lapland culture and what might seem at times like cultural differences concerning identities between the Sámi and the Finns, included here is a short description regarding a number of the key issues and events, which have taken place in the north that have contributed to the changes in Sámi culture. These appear to have taken place during the colonialization of the Sámi by the provinces of Finland, Sweden and Norway, in order to assimilate Sámi persons into the mainstream cultures and deny their history and culture. I consider this subchapter valuable because it provides the reader with some basic understanding of how complex studies are concerning the Sámi as an ethnic minority in Finland and also the Finnish settlers who moved from the south to the north.

Much of the current literature, which deals with Lapland history in Finland, pertains to three cultures, Finns, Sámi and Karelian's. The oldest is according to Solbakk (1990: 11) “the Sámi people who are an indigenous population who form an ethnic minority in Finland, Sweden, Norway and the Soviet Union”. In rapport, Saarikivi (2011: 78); Äikäs and Salmi (2013), note how “This wide area contains not just one but many different Sami cultures, separated for example, by ten different Sami languages”.

Research into Sami culture and history has in particular over the past forty years sought as stated by Kulonen and Bulmer (2006: 5), “[...] to revise and overturn old stereotypes and to present the results of recent research on the Saami”, and focuses, in a similar way to research undertaken into other ethnic minorities which,

“[...] cannot be limited to a single discipline or branch of learning; in most cases it is multidisciplinary by virtue of its starting point alone. Research on ethnic minorities is associated with the traditions and perspectives of politics, culture, the theology, history, society, the economy, mentalities and language. [Therefore] a multidisciplinary approach [has proved beneficial as a means of] cooperation between different fields of research [that provides a framework for the study of ancient history and culture.]” (ibid).

As a result of introducing a broad spectrum of methods for the study of Sámi history, many of the texts, which contributed to scientific literature, as well as literature produced by Sámi persons themselves have helped people from both inside and outside the culture gain deeper insight and knowledge into many of the issues that are a priority within Sámi society.

Kulonen and Bulmer (2006: 6), then goes on to say how these are “[...] Saami languages, history, folklore, literature, music, the economy, the natural environment and occupations, the media, legal matters, education, art, social conditions and so on”. In turn, and according to Aikio et al (1994: 4), this has led to

49 Translated from Finnish to English by Tuija Hautala Hirvioja 2016.

“[...] the need to make the culture of the Sámi people and their ethnic aspirations, both past and present, accessible to a wider readership beyond the Nordic countries alone”.

There are several landmarks that are important, which give some indication as to how people from the south of Finland travelled north to *Sápmi*. John L. Irwin in his book *The Finns and the Lapps: How they Live and Work* (1973), is important in this case. Irwin (1973: 144), gives reference to “[...] how the Finns began to penetrate inland along the shores of the rivers and lakes, the Lapps either moved to hunting grounds further north or were assimilated by the Finns”. In addition, there seems to have been a period when as Irwin (1973: 145), recalls

“During the middle ages [when] trade with Lapps was dominated by Finnish *pirkkalaiset* or *biscals* who had been granted a trading monopoly by the Swedish crown, and these men were also responsible for collecting taxes from the Lapps. [It appears that] these measures limited the trade of the Lapps, as they had no title to their hunting grounds apart from the fact that their ancestors had hunted over them for generations”.

Two other factors that appear to have played a role in the changes in culture are furthermore outlined by Irwin (1973: 145).

“Between 1630 and 1758 when the first Finns settled in Inari, for example, the Finns colonized the whole of Kemi Lappmark, establishing their farms in the areas where the Lapps had previously hunted wild reindeer, beaver and other animals. In 1670 an edict was published permitting the Finns and Lapps to live side by side, provided they pursued different occupations”.

Sámi historian Veli-Pekka Lehtola (2002: 30), also writes that in *Sápmi*

“At the same time as the birth of reindeer nomadism, there were other upheavals caused by outside influences. From the 1500s onward, the governments of the Nordic countries attempted to convert their northern spheres of influence into fixed parts of their nations. There were three main ways in which this happened: Christian missionizing, social control and colonialization”.

Apart from the destruction of *noaidi* drums and outlawing of Sámi religion these events appear to have created a basis for extensive cultural changes in *Sápmi* as noted above by Irwin (1973). These are related to the migration of groups from the majority cultures of Sweden, Norway and Finland to the north. An example of the contention between the settlers and the Sámi is outlined through what Swedish scholar Rolf Christoffersson (2010: 260), states as to how:

“The relationship between Sámi society and the immigrating settlers was imbued with fear. The *noaidi*, the Sámi shaman, could be described as ‘a heavily fidgety overloaded person who by song and howling, furious dance, consumption of unnatural food and drink could put himself into an ecstatic trance condition’. In this condition, and in other states, he was thought to be able to hurt or even kill others through magic. The Sámi society was regarded as the very home of magic and devilry. The Sámi, from their side, feared with good reason the power of the state/church hierarchy and its ability to sentence people to be burned because of their faith”.

Although the above is not a comprehensive assessment of the history of events in the north, the information has value because it provides the reader with some insight and understanding why there is a diverse cultural identity with regard to the Sámi and their history. Another fact, which is often not considered in

research is that most of *Sápmi* was burned during the Second World War, and the Finns and Sámi fought battles side by side on many fronts there against Russian and German forces. As a result, the buildings in *Sápmi* today are mostly post World War 2, which reflect Finnish architecture⁵⁰.

Today in *Sápmi*, there are aspects of culture such as reindeer herding and tourism enterprises, which are visible that are predominantly Sámi, and there are other aspects of the same culture that are Finnish that also include reindeer herding and tourism. This means that in Finland, it is very difficult to grasp what *Sápmi* culture actually is, not only because of the many ways the culture can be encountered, but primarily due to the mixed blood and traditional ways of the people who live there.

There are Sámi persons, who are Sámi by identity, that have Sámi blood, and there are Finns who have Sámi ancestry, then there are also Sámi persons who have Finnish ancestry, so it is a very complex picture in some cases.

Furthermore and in relation to Sámi religion, I came across this mixed background issue and division of culture when interviewing Lauri Ukkola, (see below) a Finnish shaman living in Vuotso Village who is a reindeer herder and hunter, that had been taught his craft by a Sámi *noaidi* called "Hermann Rovanen" (Ukkola 2011: 1). When asked about his family background and the differences between Finnish and Sámi persons and culture in *Sápmi*, Lauri responded with the following. "[...] it's the same thing, Sámi and Lapp. [...] The difference created is an artificial difference so basically, there is no difference [...]" (ibid)⁵¹.

In relation to the ambiguous claims concerning that the rock paintings in Finland are Finnish, there is also one other point in Sámi history which has value for the discussion, which may also show how history has in fact influenced these claims. Reference to eighteenth century sources in the scholarly works of Carl-Gösta Ojala (2009: 119), who says that: "at this time, because of the perceived similarities between the Sámi and the Finnish peoples and the fact that they could both be referred to by the old ethnonym 'Finn' in the early textual sources, the hypothesis concerning Sámi and Finnish origins often merged into one common theory about the Sámi and Finns as the aboriginal population in Scandinavia".

In the case of rock painting studies and cultural history, these theories further highlight the complexity in history and culture. But with regard to prehistory and rock art research, to place the rock painting within the cultural context of being Finnish, raises a number of questions that have to further be addressed. Concerning additional background issues, it can be noted how Finland has also been a part

50 The aforementioned may also give explanations why some scholars justify the understanding of a joint cultural heritage and shared identity in relation to rock painting research and prehistory and also the reproduction of drums where Finnish persons reuse the Sámi symbolism, which is a subject matter addressed in forth-coming chapters later in the dissertation.

51 To provide an update on some of the current discussions between the Sámi and Finnish government regarding the Sámi in Finland, this is an extract from the scholarly works of Sámi historian Veli-Pekka Lehtola (2015: 65-66), "Earlier idea in 1990 was that a Sámi is also a person who is a descendant of fishing-hunting- or forest-Sámi these forefathers had to be mentioned in the papers as a person who paid Lapp tax, but this was not concerned with the forefathers before 1875, but the Finnish government left this baseline 1875 away. Now everyone who can find one single forefather who paid Lapp tax or being as a member of Sami-*siida* system could ask to have the right to get the status of a Sámi. The most of the descendants of members in Sami *siida* at the 17th and 18th century are completely Finnish with their language and culture and they have no connection with Sami heritage during many, many generations. The Sami parliament (1997) pointed out that almost 100 000 people had Sami blood or DNA, and was afraid of that if only small part of them wanted to be Sámi and could get the status of Sámi, it means that Sámi language and culture quite soon would be a part of majority, Finnish culture". Furthermore and to add another point of interest to this discussion, Lehtola (2015: 76-77) also says how "In 2013, professor Pekka Sammallahti wrote about the definition of a Sami to the Ministry of Justice, about how reliance on historical ancestors is not a good enough criteria to define who is Sami if this person has a lack of Sámi language and culture". Translated from Finnish to English by Tuija Hautala-Hirvioja.

of the Swedish Kingdom. This statement below may also be seen as another complicating factor in the issues about the origins and ethnicity of rock paintings, which have emerged since Finland claimed its independence from both Sweden and Russia. But as Ojala (2009: 119), also explains

“Erik Gustaf Geijer, professor of history at Uppsala university, member of the Swedish Academy, philosopher, politician and one of the leading members of the Romantic and nationalist movement in Sweden, expressed in his works on the early history of Sweden the view that the Finns and Sámi were the indigenous, or aboriginal, peoples in the territory of Sweden” (Geijer 1873 [1832], 1874 [1825]; cf. Bringéus 1966: 146f.; Fjellström 1977) Similar ideas on the Sámi as the oldest inhabitants of Norway were expressed by, for instance, the Norwegian historians P.A. Munch (1810-1863) and Rudolf Keyser (1803-1864).

This entanglement between cultures has inspired me to investigate the topic further as a way of obtaining a broader insight and understanding with regard to ethnicity of the Sámi in relation to what scholarly discourse in Finland refers to as Finnish rock paintings. It seems odd to me as to how for example, the Finns know so little about the roots and pre-Christian religion of their culture, but yet, block and deny the Sámi the rights to theirs.

5.2 Previous research concerning theories about Sámi ethnicity in Fennoscandia through the interpretation of drum symbolism, rock art figures and motifs

Prior to the chapters, which deal with comparative analysis with regard to rock art, drum symbolism and theories concerning the continuity of Sámi culture, the purpose of these next sub-chapters is to examine what has been written concerning the attitudes, interpretations and different perspectives on Sámi history and origins by scholars from the nation states of Finland, Sweden and Norway. To bring into focus some of the varying attitudes on this subject matter. This in turn, aims to construct a further contribution to the study of Sámi history and ethnicity, as well as highlight the need for broader research on the topic. The combined approaches and methods come into effect in the ways they are used for surveying various historical texts in such a manner, they outline themes of denial and controversy concerning the origins of the Sámi people, their language, culture and how their religion has been treated by the nation states as well. A relevant place to begin is by taking into consideration what has been noted concerning the depth of invisibility regarding the Sámi and their history as stated Sámi professor of linguistics Ante Aikio (2012: 89).

“It must be said that even though the Saami past of Finland was already recognized by early scholars such as Schefferus, the treatment of the topic by later research has often been haphazard and biased. Three kinds of problematic approaches to the treatment of the historical ‘Lapps’ have been characteristic of historiography of Finland: 1) ignoring ‘Lapps’ by leaving them unmentioned; 2) denying that the ‘Lapps’ were Saami; and 3) denying that the ‘Lapps’ had historical significance. Such problems of research history have been recently examined by Lehtola (2008).

As a way to gain a more comprehensive understanding of how for example, archaeological, linguistic and ethnographical research has approached and interpreted Sámi ethnicity and history, it is important to pay

attention to some of the theories that have been put forward in scholarly discourses from both historical and contemporary sources. Because, these voices have not only raised questions about the validity of certain theories concerning how for example, the Sámi and Finns belong to the Finni-Ugric language group, and thus share some relationality consequently. But, much of the ambiguity in the study of Sámi prehistory in relation to rock art research and both origins and ethnicity, concerns different hypothesis with regard to migration theories and linguistic criteria in relation to Finno-Ugric languages and their voyage from the east to Fennoscandia, because the Sámi are considered to be part of the Finno-Ugric language group.

Before venturing into the debate about ethnicity in relation to Sámi history, and as a method for highlighting the various complexities involved in defining what ethnicity actually represents within the realm of prehistory, it is helpful to take a look at a number of different descriptions concerning how ethnicity has been described within scholarly discourse. A number of subsequent definitions are outlined in the following ways. "Ethnicity is the term for the culture of people in a given geographic region, including their language, heritage, religion and customs. To be a member of an ethnic group is to conform to some or all of those practices"⁵². To continue, ethnicity is defined by Fenton (2004: 3), who refers to the term in the following way.

"The simplest way to state what this is, would be by saying that ethnicity is about 'descent and culture' and that ethnic groups can be thought of as 'descent and culture' communities. [...] A further step or two would be to say that ethnicity refers to the social construction of descent and culture, the social mobilization of descent and culture, and the meanings and implications of classification systems built around them".

Schermerhorn (1996: 17), presents his view on what constitutes to ethnicity in terms of a group of people.

"An ethnic group is defined here as a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are: kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as in localism or sectionalism), religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features, or any combination of these".

To provide some understanding as to what contributes to the conceptualization of ethnicity, the following is stated by Jones (1997: 56) with regard to the archaeology of the term.

"The prolific use of the term ethnicity to refer to diverse socio-cultural phenomena in the last two to three decades has resulted in considerable disagreement about the nature of ethnic groups. What is ethnicity, and how should it be defined? In the human sciences, definitions of ethnicity have been influenced by a variety of factors which intersect with one another.

These include:

- the impact of different theoretical and disciplinary traditions (such as neo- Marxism or phenomenology, psychology or anthropology);
- the particular aspects of ethnicity being researched (ranging from the socio-structural dimensions of ethnicity in a plural society, to the cultural construction of ethnic difference, to the effects of ethnic identity on individual performance in education, and so on);

52 see: <http://www.livescience.com/33903-difference-race-ethnicity.html>

- the region of the world where research is being conducted (e.g. the highlands of Papua New Guinea, American inner cities, the former Soviet Union);
- the particular group that is the subject of research (e.g. the Australian Aborigines, migrant Turkish workers in Europe, or the Jewish people (see Bentley 1983; Isajiw 1974)).

As broadly descriptive as the term is presented above, understanding its meaning and application is not as straight forward as it seems, as has been noted by Swedish archaeologist Carl Gösta Ojala (2009: 30), who states the following.

“In archaeological analyses, it has often been claimed that in certain situations, such as situations of social or economic stress in the interaction between different groups, manifestations of ethnicity might become stronger and the signaling of ethnic identity might become visible in the pattern of material culture (cf. Hodder 1979). Others mean that there is no way of knowing how ethnicity would have functioned in prehistoric societies.

Some argue that it is impossible for archaeologists to reach peoples’ self-definitions and self-understandings in prehistory, and have expressed serious doubts about the possibilities of tracing ethnic groups in the past. Another view is that ethnicity simply did not exist in prehistoric societies, as it is a phenomenon closely related to the general historical developments of the last centuries and more specifically to the development of modernism. Furthermore, the concept of ethnicity has been criticized because it is too easily misused by present-day groups for legitimizing political claims, and because it operates on a too abstract level to have any real analytical significance (cf. review in Lucy 2005).”

What seems equally important to note is how through close examination of the background issues relating to the formulation of European history by the nation states in Fennoscandia, in relation to other complexities regarding ethnicity, it is evident how the history of the Sámi people has not only been written by people from outside their cultures, mainly from the seventeenth century onwards, but it has been largely discounted within this process as being irrelevant from the history of nation states. This matter adds another dimension to how such political wrangling’s suggests the Sámi, do not have the right to their own culture and its history, and the Sámi in terms of identity, would therefore, be assimilated into the majority cultures and thus gradually lost.

Giving consideration to the aforementioned, it has to be said how with regard to the dating and cultural context of rock art, these kinds of issues in the discussion about ethnicity and Sámi history produces a significant impact on the ways we understand the antiquity of the Sámi across Fennoscandia with regard to prehistorical research. This means in terms of significance of the disputes, which are presented in relation to there being a continuity of their culture from the Stone Age period until the eighteenth century in relation to religious practices and shamanism, this obscuring of the culture, presents a series of questions regarding the ways European history has been written.

A good example of such a case has been noted by Norwegian rock art specialist Knut Helskog in his scholarly works: *Selective depictions. A study of 3,500 years of rock carvings from Arctic Norway and their relationship with the Sami drums* (1987). The scholar has also noted these problematics concerning the origins of Sámi culture, religion and continuity. According to Helskog (1987: 17).

“Throughout Scandinavia, prehistoric rock art depictions are characterised by the absence of domestic scenes – huts, interiors, food preparation and consumption in the home. The ‘inside’

possibly largely female roles, are 'denied' in the art. Rather it is 'outside' activities such as hunting, fishing and rituals, which are accorded importance. And, of course, the art itself occurs outside settlements and domestic pottery, and the domestic sphere in general, are often not the focus of decoration and symbolic elaboration. Spatiality, the 'outside' realm is often associated with death (burial) and rituals (such as ritual hoardings).

In the Neolithic in southern Scandinavia, it is the 'outside' world, which is particularly associated with symbolic elaboration and decoration. Through time, the boundary between inside and outside, domestic and wild, receives different emphasis in changing social contexts. [...] Despite alterations through time, continuities can be discerned with depictions on the Sami drums used by shamans in Medieval Norway. Such long-term continuities in the nature and locus of ritual and art have major potential implications for our understanding of the formulation of contemporary European society”.

In terms of sources of oral histories and ethnicities in the north, which is what rock art can be linked with, because it represents the earliest embedded language systems where knowledge has been recorded. I also wish to emphasize how and despite not having a full picture of the origins and ethnicity of Sámi culture, it would be true to say that both rock carvings and paintings can be seen within the context described by Norberg and Fossum (2011: 194), who reveal how in a historical sense, sacred places where this art is found “[...] are very much a part of people’s consciousness. Knowledge of these is transmitted both by oral tradition and by the identification and documentation of sites by earlier generations”.

It makes sense to me why there are no indoor domestic scenes in the art, especially if the hunters were living within the ice or caves, or perhaps travelling by boats in the summer and on skis in the winter, then the content of the art may indeed illustrate the lifestyle of a hunting, fishing and trapping culture, the practices of which, can still be found within Sámi culture up until the present time. It might also be the hunters spent a lot of time living on boats, because of the volumes of water as the glaciers melted and receded, and the high occurrence of such vessels in rock art would support this theory.

5.3 An examination on Sámi origins from western research and questions about Sámi oral tradition and ethnicity and ambiguous representation

In the approaches and methodologies used within mainstream archaeology in relation to the mapping and detailing of Sámi history and its origins, according to research by Ojala, there are conflicting views and interests with regard to archaeological constructs in the study and formation of ethnicity to the extent that such ambiguity is described by Ojala (2009: 31), in the following way.

“A comprehensive criticism of the concept of archaeological cultures has been put forth by Stephen Shennan in the introductory chapter to the book *Archaeological Approaches in Cultural Identity* (Shennan 1989). Archaeological cultures, he argues, have been seen as historical actors and as indicators of ethnicity and, thereby, they have assumed a political role of legitimizing the claims for territories and influence by present day groups” (Shennan 1989: 5).

Archaeologist Ojala has also examined the language research of Sámi linguist Ante Aikio on this topic based on loan words and place names in Finland, which are linked with Sámi, Scandinavian and Finno-Ugric linguistics. According to Ojala (2009: 137).

“The linguist Ante Aikio has criticized the earlier attempts to connect different archaeological cultures from before the Early Iron Age with Sámi ethnicity and language, and has presented an alternative model of interpretation based on results from comparative linguistics (Aikio 2004a, 2004b, 2006). Aikio argues that the loanword strata in the Sámi languages do not conform to the idea of a long Sámi ethnic continuity in Lapland. In his view, the evidence suggests that the Proto-Sámi language and Sámi ethnic identity first emerged at more southern latitudes and did not spread to the present area until the Early Iron Age (cf. also the theories of K.B. Wiklund on the language change of the “Proto-Lapp” population in the area north of the Karelian Isthmus and Lake Ladoga; cf. Wiklund 1932, and above). Thus, Aikio concludes that any archaeological culture in Lapland before the Iron Age would be best characterized as non-Sámi (Aikio 2004b).

Aikio criticizes the theory of the spread of an earlier predecessor of the Sámi languages in the area from southern Finland to Northern Fennoscandia which has been connected with the distribution of asbestos-tempered ceramics [...], as this theory, in his view, does not correspond with the linguistic chronology of the later spread and divergence of the Sámi languages (Aikio 2003). However, he also adds that, while the origin of Sámi languages ultimately lies somewhere around and beyond Lake Onega, the Sámi people genetically descend, to a large extent, from the peoples who first colonized *Sápmi* at the end of the Last Ice Age some 11,000 years ago” (ibid: 40). Thus, Aikio emphasizes language shifts in prehistory, and he concludes: “The main question that scholars in the field will have to tackle in the future is the following: when and why did the Sámi people come to speak Sámi, a language that ultimately originated far to the south and east of present-day *Sápmi*?” (ibid.).

One might argue too, that the position of archaeology in Finland and it may be said, the political Finnicization of the Sámi people in terms of rock painting research and their cultural heritage, may also be a consequence as to how up until very recently, the Sámi have not had any archaeologists working within Sámi society in Finland. As far as I know, the ones who are, are not involved in the process of rock painting research. The archaeologists who work in the current Sámi areas and the historical Sámi settlement areas where sacred sites are located are Finnish. What this means is, in terms of Sámi contributions to the study of their origins and ethnicity in Finland, we have had to rely mainly on Sámi linguistics, historical research, and Finnish archaeology.

Returning again to the debate concerning Sámi history and origins, through the scholarly works of Ojala (2009: 122), who discusses the research of “one of the most influential scholars in the history of the study of the Sámi people in the early 20th century [who] was K.B. Wiklund (1868-1934), professor of Finno-Ugric languages at Uppsala University (see Karlsson 2000)”. From Ojala’s assessment of the scholarly works of Wiklund, what is perhaps most noteworthy for this discussion is what he writes concerning migration theories and ethnicity of the Sámi people, as recalled by Ojala (2009: 125).

“One central argument in Wiklund’s reasoning was that that Sámi (Lapps) were anthropologically very different from the Nordic peoples as well as the Finnish. In fact, he claimed that it had not been possible to establish anthropological connections between the Sámi people (‘race’ is the concept used by Wiklund) and any other known people on earth. In short, the Sámi people were a separate and unique entity. Therefore, he concluded, the Sámi people must have endured a very long time in a strictly isolated area, with continuous inbreeding within the groups and limited contacts with other groups” (1947:3ff.).

Because I consider what the scholar has to say regarding Wiklund's theories about Sámi ethnicity and origins as being of value for my research, in addition, it is also beneficial to note the following by Ojala (2009: 125).

“In the 1930s, at the end of his life, he put forth a new theory on the origins of the Sámi, much in contradiction to these earlier ideas. According to this new theory, the ancestors of the Sámi had lived in Scandinavia during the last interglacial, and during the cause of the latest Ice Age they would have lived, ‘wintered’, on the ice-free edges along the northern coast of the North Atlantic and Arctic Ocean (Wiklund 1937, 1947, cf. also Ekholm 1938: 17ff.). He suggested that the so-called Komsa culture, which had been discovered in northernmost Norway and which he considered to be of glacial date, was upheld by what he called proto-Lapps. This theory would explain why the Sámi showed such unique anthropological traits, as the proto-Lapps would have been isolated for thousands of years”⁵³.

It would not seem unusual that human habitation would be evident along the coastal areas of the Arctic Ocean and the theory of the use of boats to navigate such terrain is also a possibility.

What also has value for the debate about Sámi ethnicity and origins is how oral tradition is what characterizes both rock carvings and paintings that are linked to hunting, fishing and trapping narratives and practices, also the construction of *noaidi* drum symbolism. Taking into account these points, it is furthermore important to give consideration to what has been written about the Sámi from the missionary sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which has coloured research. This is because the missionaries, both individually and collectively, waged a brutal assault on the narratives of the Sámi in relation to sacrifice and all matters pertaining to hunting, worship and religion. As a way of describing certain attitudes towards the Sámi and their culture that were prevalent at the beginning of the eighteenth century in relation to Sámi ethnicity, the following by Ojala (2009: 140), has been noted.

“There are some oral traditions about the origin of the Sámi that have been recorded in different places from different time periods. It is important to note that histories told by Sámi people have been transferred by other narrators, with their own pre-conceptions, interests and agendas. [...] The missionary and vicar in the parish of Gällivare in northern Sweden Pehr Högström (1714-1748) wrote in the 1740s that ‘some Saami state that their ancestors in the old days owned all Sweden; but that our [‘Swedish’] forefathers have conquered them and reduced them more and more’ (Högström 1980 [1747]: 39; translation from Zachrisson 1997b: 371).

Saami and Swedes were one people from the beginning, brothers; but a violent storm grew and one of them got afraid and tried to hide under a board. His offspring became Swedes, and God turned the board into a house. But the other, who was more fearless and did not want to flee,

53 A note for the reader. Ojala (2009: 125), also goes on to describe how “After his death, Wiklund's theory of the wintering of the Sámi along the Arctic Ocean was criticized, on the basis of new post-glacial dating's of the so called Komsa culture in northernmost Norway, and also ridiculed. Ernst Manker writes: “... so it happened that Wiklund, who during his life-time had been one of the sharpest and most feared critics, after his death himself fell victim to the hardest form of criticism, that which manifests itself in a pitying ridicule” (Manker 1951:225); my translation; it should be noted that Wiklund's theory was mainly published posthumously). In his study on the views of K.B. Wiklund on the Sámi, Christer Karlsson has argued that the publications by Wiklund on the history of the Sámi was an expression of a process of “Swedification” of the Sámi past, which takes place at the same time as the paternalistic and discriminatory lapp-skall-vara-lapp ideology was promoted in Swedish society” (Karlsson 2000:58).

became the ancestor of the Saami, who still live under the open sky. (Högström 1980 [1747]:48; translation from Zachrisson 1997b:371)”.

As a means of providing other contextually appropriate sources of data, which comment in relation to this discussion about the origins and narratives of Sámi culture, Ojala (2009: 140), describes one example from Norway in the following way concerning in what manner

“Knud Leem (1696/97–1774), professor of Sámi language at the Seminarium Lapponicum in Trondheim in Norway, told in his work *Beskrivelse over Finnmarkens Lapper* (‘Description of the Lapps in Finnmark’) published in the 1760s that the Sámi themselves claimed that they were the first inhabitants of Scandinavia, who had been pushed further to the north by other people who had arrived later (Leem 1975 [1767]:3, note 2; after Zachrisson 1997b:372)”.

Although, there is an abundance of rock art sites in the Sámi areas throughout the Kola Peninsula on the Russian side of *Sápmi*, I have not undertaken any physical studies within this area. However, debates concerning Sámi ethnicity have been raised in a similar fashion in the northwestern part of Russia in the Sámi areas and from the eastern Sámi literature sources it is also possible to ascertain similar information regarding reciprocal attitudes concerning migration theories about the Sámi, as noted above from Sweden and Norway, and recalled by Ojala (2009: 140-141).

“According to the Russian anthropologist N.N. Volkov, in Kola Sámi oral tradition, there are no stories about any migration of the Sámi people to the Kola Peninsula from any other place (Volkov 1996 [1946]: 113). Volkov himself considered the earlier migration theories to be false and unsupported by the factual material. He was convinced that the Sámi is an autochthonous people:

In conclusion, we have to state that the migration theories (in which Sami were called “the recent exiles to the North”) are in contradiction with the facts. Even if the owners of the rock paintings, settlements, and burial places were not the direct ancestors of contemporary Sami, they were still ethnically close. Sami culture has to be identified as the remnants of the ancient culture of the people from Eastern European forest shelter-belts. (Volkov 1996 [1946]:117)”.

Finally, there are also other sources of data, which can be found concerning creation myths about the Sámi oral traditions as furthermore presented by Ojala (2009: 141).

“In the ethnographic records there are also some examples of myths and narratives of descent and origin among Sámi groups (see e.g. Drake 1918:306). One example is the Mjandásj myth, which has been recorded among Kola Sámi groups (Tjarnoluskij 1962, 1993; cf. Sergejeva 2000b:174f.). One should also mention the poetry of Anders Fjellner (1795–1876) about the “Sons of the Sun” (see Lundmark 1979)”.

From other Russian scholarly discourse on the origins of the Sámi in relation to rock art on the Kola Peninsula with regard to ethnicity, Vladimir Shumkin (2000: 210), has a different attitude and interpretation of history in the area.

“As it is well known from historical papers (chronicles, statements), works of travelers and numerous scientific investigations of the XVIIIth- XIXth centuries, the little Saami ethnic group is autochthonous for the region from time immemorial. At the present, the Saamis populate relatively small territories within the limits of the Murmansk oblast (Lovozero Lake, some areas on the coasts of the White Sea and the Barents Sea), and some areas of Northern Sweden, Finland and Norway”.

On the other hand, Estonian researcher Väinö Poikalainen who has conducted ethnographical field work at the prehistorical remains of a sanctuary at Lake Onega in Russian Karelia says that with regard to the ethnicity of the populations/s who resided in the Lake Onega region, and according to Poikalainen (2000: 250), “post glacial population appeared in Karelia about 10,000 years ago. The first archaeological settlements there date back about 9000 years. They belong to a people whose ethnic makeup remains unknown”.

Adding further support to Wiklund’s theories of the ancestors of the Sámi living at the edges of the ice sheet as described by Ojala, Norwegian scholar Knut Helskog, in his scholarly paper titled: Ancient Depictions of Reindeer Enclosures and their Environment, Helskog (2012: 29), states that

“The earliest populations in northernmost Norway settled in the coastal and fjord area between 10000–9500 BC, when the continental glacier had withdrawn from the coast. These were small groups of people and their subsistence was based upon hunting, fishing and gathering in an environment where the land rose fast and there were strong seasonal changes in habitat and biome. The sites are found on terraces on islands and along the fjords (Olsen 1994; Blankholm 2008; Bjerck 2009). By approximately 7000 BC most of the continental glacier that covered Scandinavia had melted and people started to use the resources in the interior (Hood 2012). Sometime between 5000–4000 BC in the northern part of the County of Troms and western part of the County of Finnmark people began to carve figures into rock surfaces” (Simonsen 1955; 1961; 1979; Helskog 1977; 1988; 2011; Olsen 1994: 46; Hesjedal et al. 1996; Gjerde 2010).

As a means of providing additional information and a broader understanding of similar questions that have been asked about Sámi ethnicity in relation to rock art, parallel issues concerning cultural heritage and history have also been brought to light in a discussion about the rock carvings in northern Norway from a Sámi perspective by Odd Mathis Haetta (1996: 13).

“If you talk about the ‘Swedish rock carvings in Østfold (Norway)’, some people will think they have misheard and other will react angrily, but if you say ‘The Norwegian rock carvings in Østfold’ no one will raise an eyebrow. You will experience more or less the same reaction if you talk about ‘The Sami rock carvings in Alta’. Some will react aggressively; others will correct you and say that they are not Sami. If, on the other hand, you ask about ‘The Norwegian rock carvings in Alta’, most people will consider this normal”.

The material presented above, provides some insight into the ambiguous nature of discussions concerning the origins and ethnicity of the Sámi in each case, to show how within scholarly discourses such levels of controversy exists throughout Fennoscandia with regard to the subject matter. It is apparent how there are many different theories, which affect the study in different ways. Moreover, in the ways mainstream societies have dealt with history in the north due to politics, there seems to be opposition against the Sámi being an integrated culture, despite them still living in many of the remote areas where prehistoric rock art is found.

These observations above, it may be said, the search for other perspectives on the history of the Sámi, have led to a series of questions regarding the cultural context of the rock paintings in Finland in relation to Sámi ethnicity, identity and continuity of culture, which I want to bring to light below. This is because I will argue as to how, what rock art and *noaidi* drum symbolism do in general, is demonstrate what Guttorm (2011: 66), refers to as “the existence of a common memory”. Thus, seen reflected through oral

traditions with regard to the many parallels found within styles, designs and landscapes amidst both rock art and drum symbolism, despite the large time gap.

It is also helpful to take into consideration that in relation to Sámi history in Finland Solbakk (1990: 23), recalls how “In the Middle Ages there are numerous mentions of the Sami living in Central and Eastern Finland and in Karelia, and many place-names in this area are derived from the Sami language, recalling the time of Sami settlement”.

To add a final and more recent contribution to what has been debated about Sámi origins and ethnicity, in the discussions in relation to the subject matter, this conclusion by Sámi professor of linguistics Ante Aikio brings forth his theories in order to further clarify the ambiguous nature of scholarly discourse on such debates. According to Aikio (2012: 106).

“While Saami languages can be shown to have come to Lapland from the south, the Saami as ethnic groups did not “come” from anywhere – they were formed in their present territories through a complex social process that involved the adoption of a new language. The earlier speakers of ‘Palaeo-Laplandic’ languages belong to the cultural and genetic ancestors of the Saami even if they were not their linguistic ancestors. Thus, the prehistory of Lapland and the prehistory of Saami languages are two very different histories indeed”.

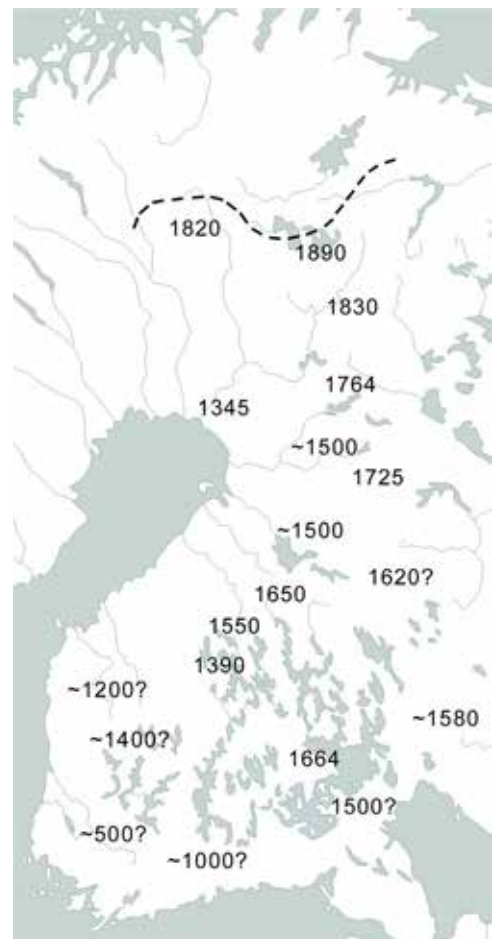


Figure 3. A map of Finland kindly provided by Sámi professor of linguistics Ante Aikio, which shows how according to Aikio (2013: 11-12), “Saami languages survived in Southern Finland until the Middle and Early Modern Ages. Many traces of the languages are found in loanwords and place-names. Saami languages once spoken in Finland have left a trace of themselves in Finnish in the form of loanwords and place-names. In the same way, unknown languages have left a trace of themselves in Saami”. In areas, which have Sámi place names, there are also rock painting locations.

5.4 Common theoretical backgrounds in previous research into rock paintings

To give the reader some idea of the scope and amount of rock paintings in Finland, photographer Ismo Luukkonen (1994-2017)⁵⁴, who has photographed all the known rock paintings in Finland provided the latest update regarding in April 2017 on this matter. A documented inventory of the current number of paintings was not available from Museo Virasto (The National Board of Antiquities) in Helsinki. According to Luukkonen (2017).

“There are 101 prehistoric paintings with identifiable figures plus three cases that have figures, but that can be younger (=104). And 20 prehistoric paintings without identifiable figures plus nine cases with controversial dating (=29). This gives the number of prehistoric paintings 121 plus twelve cases with controversial dating (=133). And after all this we still have 7 sites with red colour that can be man-made or natural. Thus the total number is somewhere between 121 and 140”

The early sources written about attitudes, interpretations and perspectives regarding the cultural contexts of the paintings in Finland, published in both Finnish and English language, have shared similar theoretical backgrounds through the ways the phenomena of shamanism and hunting magic has been viewed, and subsequently used as the dominant paradigm within the context of the paintings. For this reason, it is important to outline in this next sub-chapter what these sources are and what these sources are in English and their contributions towards this study, for the purpose of engaging with attitudes and interpretations within rock art research and how these have influenced the material published on the subject matter.

The presentation of the following material relates to my two published papers, namely, number 2: To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland (2014) and 5: *Noaidi* Drums From *Sápmi*, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation (2017), in the dissertation that deal with rock art research and Sámi history and further discussions within the main body of the dissertation for the purpose of establishing additional parallels between rock paintings and *noaidi* drum symbolism and figures.

Within the content of the following sub-chapter, addressing common theoretical backgrounds in previous research into rock paintings, the methods of comparison and description are used in this field of enquiry, and are implemented through the re-examination of attitudes and interpretations concerning what has been written and published previously in literature studies and through photographic material with regard to the cultural context of rock paintings in Finland, which has been politicized.

Within the framework of the chapter, I have also sought to establish gaps in research material and the controversial nature of the shamanistic paradigm, which has to some extent, coloured rock art research in Finland in relation to the cultural context of the paintings. What this means is the cosmological per-

54 A map illustrating all the current rock painting locations below the Arctic Circle in Finland is published in paper 2: To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland (2014) and 5 *Noaidi* Drums From *Sápmi*, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation (2017). It should also be noted that the majority of the paintings are located in the south of the country and Karelia in the east. There are also two ambiguous rock paintings in Finnish, *Sápmi*. The first is located in “Kuerlinkat, Kolari” (Luukkonen 1994-2017), and the second at the *Näkkälän sieidi* stone, which is “a large erratic boulder on the North-Western shore of *Näkkäläjärvi* in Enontekiö, Finnish Lapland” (Lahelma 2008a: 206). Both of these are not pictured on the map. This is a recent map of the rock painting locations in Finland, and was received from Ismo Luukkonen (1994-2017). On Luukkonen’s website, he has an A-Z index of all the rock painting sites in Finland.

spective has been left out. Cosmological in the sense only certain cosmological features have been paid attention to instead of the totality of structures, which are found within the rock art, that can be found on *noaidi* drums. In other words, some cosmological features, such as animals and what is perceived as horned human figures have been pulled into the shamanistic paradigm, instead of seeking a possible broader explanation for their context within the paintings.

Pekka Kivikäs, now a retired art school teacher whose article: *Rock Paintings in Finland* (2001) provides some interesting theories on the formulation of the landscape after the end of the last Ice Age that created the waterways at, which the majority of the rock paintings are located, as referred to by Kivikäs (2001: 140), around “[...] eastern Finland, in the central and southern areas of the Saimaa region, most densely distributed along the first descending streambeds of Saimaa and Päijänne [Lakes]. [...] the locations of the paintings suggest travel routes and the age of the paintings”. Sites such as Astuvansalmi, Ristiina; Haukkavuori, Konnivesi and Saraakallio, Laukaa are all focal points for his study in these regions.

Further west, in the Helsinki area, the two most famous sites, Juusjärvi and Vitträsk, in the municipality of Kirkkonummi are also examined and discussed in depth as well, see for example, Kivikäs (2001: 137-148). In addition to dating and landscape formulation, Kivikäs (2001: 146), described in what manner, “the painter has hardly ever aimed at a realistic likeness. The paintings are mostly representations of signs well known to the group, or in other words, the creator has painted pictures of pictorial signs”.

There are some discussions on what Kivikäs refers to as cosmological portraits concerning the structure of a cyclical world view that are a further element, which seems evident in the content of the paintings. In his analysis outlining the main iconography in the paintings, these theories appear to be derived through animal and what he perceives as human figures or illustrations. Kivikäs has extensive knowledge and experience as one of the early rock art investigators, whose work helped pave the ways for in-depth academic research in Finland.

His contribution to research consists of a phenomenological open minded approach to the interpretation of the cultural context of the rock paintings in Finland with a fair amount of uncertainty, and he does not attempt to solve the mysteries surrounding the ethnicity of the paintings, but however, and rightly so, Kivikäs (2001: 142), elaborates on the uniqueness of “[...] the painting of two reindeer figures in visual contact: the reindeer of Rautakannanvuori (on the vertical wall) and the reindeer of Haukkavuori (above the terrace-like formation)”.

Kivikäs also discusses in a similar way to Kare (2000), and Siikala (1981), what (Kivikäs (2001: 150), considers to be “horns that have been painted on two human figures” These indicate that like other rock art researchers, human-like figures portraying horns are interpreted by Kivikäs as human persons with a physical body and not spirits. His assessment of the data can also be credited on the understanding that certain scenes and figures in rock paintings may also reflect a cultural association between a group of figures painted on the stone terrace at Astuvansalmi, and one figure in particular who according to Kivikäs (2001: 150), “[...] is aiming her bow towards a reindeer. This group of figures cannot be explained by hunting only and should, most likely, be viewed in the context of Kola-Sámi legends about the mythical reindeer Meandash (Charnoluskii 1965; Autio 1993; Sergeeva 1994), thus linking the art with Sámi cosmology.)”

Lastly, Kivikäs’ contribution for the study is beneficial only in relation to rock paintings and a brief discussion about rock carvings, and not the symbols and figures found on the Sámi *noaidi* drums from *Sápmi*, many of which contain striking parallels to figures found in rock paintings. In the reference section at the end of the dissertation, there are further sources by Kivikäs listed.

Antero Kare in his chapter: *Rock Paintings in Finland* from his edited works: *MYANSASH; Rock Art in the Ancient Arctic* (2000), is another text written in English, which outlines rather well the complexity

of interpretation and understanding of the context of the rock paintings in Finland. Kare's artistic research, approach and assessment is exemplary in its detailed documentation and painstaking assessment of figures, symbols and images painted on different rock art panels. In particular, his focus is directed primarily at the sites of Juusjärvi, Kirkkonummi; Vitträsk, Kirkkonummi; Astuvansalmi, Ristiina; Hossa-Värikallio, northern Karelia and Saraakallio, Laukaa, in central Finland (see Kare 2000: 88-127), with regard to how the artist counts each one and then presents a comprehensive, comparative and descriptive list of the data as a way of analysing the contents of each location.

The aims and purpose of Kare's research is based on his work as an artist and therefore, to present an evaluation of the images recorded at the aforementioned sites above, as a way of establishing different theories such as "shamanism" (Kare 2000: 104), and "animal ceremonialism" (Kare 2000: 100).

In a similar way to Kivikäs, Kare makes brief reference to particular animals and what he interprets as human images, within Sámi mythology. Through the research of both Kivikäs and Kare, (2000: 125), theories are explained, which suggest "context is more important than content [where] the location and compositional invariances are dominant in the analysis". There appears to be a fair amount of reflection of what Kivikäs says in his closing words that are shared also by Kare (2000: 125).

"Animals are not portraits, they are symbols. They do not represent explicit practices but a system of language. This symbol system reflects both its subject matter, life, and its associations, thoughts. The themes are muddled memories of living and dead, animals and events. The execution of the images is carried out in the mind's eye, not through reality".

This statement by Kare seems partly true but it also has to be understood that we must be careful not to see the concrete world through western eyes meaning that the physical realm is not separate from the spiritual worlds in earlier societies, and the spiritual worlds seem to have been much more apparent and integrated in everyday life and events in the hunter-gatherer cultures of prehistory, as has been described by Mobjerg et al (2000: 29), where "mankind and nature were inseparable in the conceptual world [...]" and there has to be room in creative artistic analysis, which takes these facts into account.

In fact, the statement by Kare (2000: 125), regarding figures and motifs representing "[...] a system of language" is a statement, which has a fundamental value for the research in terms of the argument concerning linking rock art with Sámi ethnicity and linguistic research in Finland, that is discussed in the chapter: The formulation of the methodologies and approaches used within the research.

It could be argued that the horned and triangular headed figured, which I have analyzed in the rock painting research reflect as Kare (2000: 125), suggests, "[...] a system of language", which is not understood in terms of linguistic, archaeological or historical research, but is a critical theory that has to be given consideration in the discussions concerning figures and symbols linked with ethnicity and identity⁵⁵.

The reason is that within tradition in indigenous societies, language is translated into symbolism and figures through art and expressed in this way, as a way of preserving their ethnic and cultural memory. One might say how this is unfamiliar knowledge within western discourse and amongst some indigenous peoples that have been Christianized.

The scholarly work of Milton Núñez, is another contribution, which has been important as a source of information for the study with regard to his theories for a wider investigation between figures found

55 It seems evident from a study of the works of Lahelma, Siikala and Núñez that within the shamanistic and animal ceremonialism paradigm in rock painting research in Finland, much of the emphasis in terms of cosmology and spirits has been focused on the beings who dwell in the mythical world of *Säiva*, sometimes referred to as the under or lower world. The spirits of the middle and upper worlds have not, by comparison, been given as much attention.

amongst the rock paintings in Finland and the links between those painted on the heads of Sámi *noaidi* drums from *Sápmi*.

Núñez does, with regard to the parallels between rock paintings and the figures and symbols on the Sámi *noaidi* drums, make a point of acknowledging how there is reasonable evidence due to correspondences and associations between the two types of art, which according to Núñez (1995: 123), are indicative of [...] the possible survival of local magico-religious traditions from the Stone Age to the historical period”.

Special reference is also made to the work of Eero Autio (1995), by Núñez (1995: 123), “[who] pointed out in his research, which is presented below, how there is no mention of Fennoscandian Lapp shamans wearing horns, arguing that horn-like markings denote high status”, meaning that horns on human-like figures can be spirits and not *noaidi*.

Another relevant point, which is discussed in what Núñez describes, is how and typically, in Sámi shamanism, the *noaidi*'s helping spirits are usually portrayed as animal and anthropomorphic forms. However, the spirits who for example, rule over the wind, earth, sun, rain, water, childbirth, and death may not necessarily be portrayed as animal figures, but more so as human-like forms, which have certain characteristics-attributes that do, in certain cases, show their status and authority and thereby, identify them as being separate in the world picture from human beings. Horns in this case would be applicable.

Finnish anthropologist Eero Autio is a scholar whose contribution of rock painting research has been probably the most important for my research with regard to criticizing earlier interpretations of rock art analysis in Finland. In a similar way, Autio has engaged with the material through seeking further correspondences and a broader understanding of a possible cultural context for painted horned and triangular headed figures identified on rock painted panels in Finland and the heads of Sámi *noaidi* drums, and for establishing further parallels between the two types of art.

What makes Autio's research of particular interest and value is the focus for his scholarly analysis in criticizing and challenging previous interpretations also by Ernst Manker, in relation to drum figures, as well as Siikala, with regard to how horned figures painted within rock paintings and drum figures are not *noaidi*. Autio also puts forward theories based on the premise that the attributes of horns or lines on the head of particular human-like figures seems more likely to correspond with cosmology and in certain instances, totemism and how through the interpretation of what Autio (1995: 13), refers to as “[...] the emblem and the by-name of the supreme god depicted on the magic drum [might] indicate a god who may have originally been a reindeer”.

A similar theory is encountered in a statement made by Finnish linguist Arvid Genetz as early as “[...] 1891” Autio (1995: 13), according to which “Mintis” is a god and the word “*mientus*” is of Saami derivation and means a wild reindeer. In the Kola Peninsula there are legends, beliefs and rituals, which are distinctly totemistic”. Autio (1995: 16), also goes on to say that within rock painting research “it is amazing that nobody here in Finland has paid any attention to legends [...]” which are linked with cosmology.

It would appear that Autio means most of the emphasis regarding research into Sámi religion and culture has been focussed on shamanism and animal ceremonialism, and as a result, more detailed information and a broader understanding of a wider cultural context for the origins of the paintings in relation for example, to creation stories, and spirits who govern the middle and upper worlds has been missed.

A study of the material published by Autio reveals many correspondences between horned anthropomorphic figures and the heads of Sámi *noaidi* drums and rock paintings in Finland that have lines or what the scholar interprets as horns, primarily on the heads of god figures. However, in a more detailed investigation of the spirits on the drums heads presented in Manker's 1950 edition: *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel: Eine Ethnologische Monographie. 2, Die Trommel als Urkunde Geistigen Lebens*, which I

have undertaken, shows clearly that female deities such as the *Akka* group, are also depicted with horns and triangular headed designs; and therefore, not only male gods.

Also, in his scholarly works, Autio (1995: 14), does make one reference to the Mother Goddess “[...] *Madderakka*”, and how the horn-like structures on the head of the deity are similar to those identified on the Sámi god “*Tiermes*” (ibid), who is the god of thunder-rain and sky.

Autio’s analysis of all “[...] 27 figures [...]” (Autio 2000: 184), that have horns or lines on their heads, which have been painted on the surfaces of Sámi *noaidi* drums, and the horned figures for example at the rock painting location of Astuvansalmi and Keltavuori [in southern Finland and] Hossa (Taavitsainen 1977/1979; Autio 2000: 182), in northern Karelia, clearly shows correspondences between the figures and therefore, his observations regarding links with totemism need to be given credit.

I have already mentioned previously about the value of my interview with Sámi elder Oula Näkkäljärvi in Inari in 2006. Part of the reason for the interview was to gain further insight and understanding into the history and cultural context of the rock paintings in Finland from a Sámi perspective. I also found out that Näkkäljärvi had likewise, been interviewed “[...] in Turku (20.8.1988), [...]” (Autio 1991: 54), by Autio, and had provided information regarding the content and description-interpretation of figures “in the [rock painting] composition at Saraakallio [...]” (Autio 1991: 54), which is located in central Finland.

Extracts from the interview had been published in Autio’s scholarly article titled: *The Snake and Zig-Zag Motifs in Finnish rock paintings and Saami Drums* (1991). Another of the aims for interviewing Näkkäljärvi was to clear up my own confusion regarding what appeared as further ambiguity concerning a proposed cultural context for the rock paintings by Finnish scholars.

5.5 Rock paintings in Finland, Sámi and Siberian shamanism and Kalevala mythology

As a method for further highlighting some of the ways research traditions have engaged with rock art research in Finland, the following review of sources examines various attitudes and perceptions concerning in what ways Finnish scholars have connected with the material in relation to shamanism and animal ceremonialism, and how their contributions are evident within different contexts. The purpose for presenting the material in this manner is because it shows the broad spectrum of approaches in the development of historical research and cultural studies in Finland and their ambiguity regarding interpretation and research.

Earlier enquiry by Finnish anthropologist Anna-Leena Siikala in her article: *Finnish Rock Art, Animal Ceremonialism and Shamanism* (1981), as Autio, and Lahelma has stated, could be criticised for not keeping the analysis of rock painting research within a local context. Meaning, that parallels between Sámi religion and cultural practices are put aside in favour of Siberian shamanism and symbolism. Instead, Siikala attempts to make parallels between the Kalevala myth and the content of rock paintings in Finland, to the extent that what she refers to “[...] as Finland’s rock painting tradition” (Siikala 1981: 82), seems to me to be suggesting how the Sámi are a by-product of, and framed within the dominant culture. However, but who like the Finns, share a common linguistic heritage with other Finno-Ugric peoples, and therefore places the research within a much wider context.

Moreover, the extent in the differences in religious and cultural practices is not given the relevant consideration as to how in fact that many rock painting locations have very old Sámi place-names, for example, locations such as Hossa in northern Karelia is a Sámi name, which means “[...] a faraway place”

(Rissanen 2007: 82), and also Nuuksio National Park in southern Finland, which means Swan in Sámi language, but yet, Sámi prehistory in southern Finland remains obscure.

What is interesting in Siikala's article is how her theories, which are unlike those of Kivikäs, and Kare who believe that the figures and symbols in rock paintings are typically representations, is the following. According to Siikala (1981: 83), "we cannot say for sure which figures should be taken concretely and which are symbols for different idea categories". What seems evident and does indicate a potential limitation in the research is what then Siikala (1981: 84), refers to as "[...] human beings with horns [which are by all means supposed to] indicate the symbolism of the figures".

This interpretation appears to be influenced by Siberian shamanism and the Siberian shaman's ritual costume and regalia such as head dress, which is often characterised by horns. The reason for this is that Siikala's extensive anthropological fieldwork has come from working amongst Siberian shamans over many years. Moreover, in one of the main arguments in rock art research studies in Finland and as Autio (2000: 187), has rightly stated, "there is no undisputed evidence for horned shamans in Finland or in Lapland". It appears evident through analysis of the article that Siikala has pulled some of the rock painting figures into the Finnish mythology, the Kalevala, in a similar way to how Kare has produced the results of his study.

However, and in her defence, it has to be noted how Siikala (1981: 94), does go on to say that human-like figures with horns may also be "[...] pictures representing animate beings [...]". But, and in a similar way to Autio and Kare, Siikala's lacks further investigation and examination into what are described and interpreted as human-like figures in rock paintings and how these maybe linked with many examples on the Sámi drums, as well as similar figures at numerous rock painting locations.

Also worth mentioning from the article is how additional research by Siikala provides good insight into other factors, which need to be taken into consideration when examining the cultural context and theories regarding rock paintings. What this means is for example, are the differences in non-indigenous peoples and their agricultural societies, whereas, the early societies of indigenous peoples were foraging cultures. This has been described by Siikala (1981: 84), who emphasizes how "[...] the world views of primitive gathering and hunting cultures all over the world have certain structural and outlook uniformities that are not found in e.g. cultures based on farming". This understanding could be applicable when for example taking into account the cultural differences between the Finns and Sámi in relation to religious practices and cosmologies.

Notably, the Sámi being linked with hunting, fishing and trapping practices and the Finns typically with agriculture, can also be understood as a symbol of nationalism in Finland. However, and as Siikala (1981: 85), indicates "cultural variation is one very great problem: the handing down of individual features from former periods or borrowing from neighbouring cultures complicate the overall situation" and therefore, noting such problematics within any investigation into a possible cultural context of rock paintings is important.

If the use of place-names has been important in understanding ancient history through language studies and linguistic research, ethnographic and archaeological research in the discussion concerning ethnicity, and the central role and function archaeology has played through the uncovering of physical evidence at rock painting locations, then one of the major aspects of artistic research, which must be considered in this case with regard to the examination of symbolism and figures in research practice in relation to establishing links with cultural continuity, is outlined well by Siikala (1981: 86).

"In reconstructing prehistoric belief systems by methods of comparison starting from the perspective of religious ecology we can reveal the position and functional connections of individu-

al beliefs and cult practices within their cultural entity and in this way distinguish any potential similar phenomena in the culture we are studying”.

In relation to common theoretical backgrounds, one of the most important contributions, which have evolved from research into rock paintings in Finland that has been beneficial for the analysis presented herein, is the work of Antti Lahelma from the University of Helsinki. His doctoral dissertation is one of the major publications written in English, presenting a synthesis of theories and interpretations regarding a possible cultural context of rock paintings in present day Finland; thus linking the art with beliefs and practices related to a proto Sámi culture and religion, and with prehistoric Finnish culture.

The themes in Lahelma’s dissertation, which have particular interest to me, are centered on the main theories that point toward both Finnish and Sámi involvement in the creation of rock paintings in the central and southern areas of Finland as well as in Karelia, in the east of the country. Throughout Lahelma’s discussions, significant reference is made to what is described as the common linguistic cultural heritage shared by Sámi, Karelian and Finnish cultures, seeming to suggest that all groups have at some point in the past, shared similar religious beliefs and cultural practices.

According to Lahelma (2008a: 9),

“The art can be confidently associated with shamanism of the kind still practiced by the Saami of Northern Fennoscandia in the historical period [seventeenth and eighteenth centuries]. Evidence of similar shamanistic practices, concepts and cosmology are also found in traditional Finnish-Karelian epic poetry. Previous readings of the art based on ‘hunting magic’ and totemism are rejected”.

In the introduction to Lahelma’s dissertation, what is apparent is the absence of an in-depth study of the *noaidi* drums presented in Manker’s research, and it seems this might be because, predominantly, many figures, which have been analysed for the five articles in his dissertation are those related to human figures (*noaidi*-shaman), and animals such as elk, bear, fox, wolf and fish and also boats. All of these figures play a functionary role in shamanistic art as helpers of the *noaidi*.

A further point of interest, as I have emphasized in paper 5, *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation* (2017), which is where my argument is partly focussed on in the rock painting research is that in his dissertation, Lahelma uses the term: Finnish rock paintings or Finnish rock painting tradition or Karelian rock art; but never Sámi rock paintings. The Sámi are only referred to in such instances as: Saami religion in Finnish rock paintings or for example when reference is made to by Lahelma (2008b: 122), as to how “[...] natural rock formations, particularly in Finnish rock art and Saami (Lapp) sacred sites known as *sieidi*”.

Despite this ambiguity, Lahelma’s research provides some good insights into the relationship between rock painting figures in Finland and *noaidi* drum symbolism, which categorically demonstrates that many of the human-animal interactions identified in rock painting scenes do correspond with Sámi religion, animal ceremonialism and cultural practices in relation to shamanism. Therefore, establishing a series of links between the paintings and *noaidi* drum figures. One good example is his chapter on “Images of ecstasy and Trance: Geometric Figures [and] Therianthropic Figures” (Lahelma 2005: 34), which pays detailed attention to human-like figures that are falling-flying or floating, in close proximity to animals. Lahelma identifies the animals in each case as the *noaidi*’s helping spirits, which are rare portraits in rock paintings.

On the one hand, Lahelma can be merited on his research, which overwhelmingly supports the theory that scenes from human and animal-zoomorphic interaction’s that are painted on vertical stone ter-

races and boulder formations are consistent with Sámi shamanism and cultural practices. However, it is also important to point out a similar trend in Siikala's research (1981), as well as the artistic work of Kare (2000), is also repeated by Lahelma (2008a: 48), who "[...] uses shamanism as an initial hypothesis", for the focus of his investigation into the prehistoric rock paintings in Finland. In this sense, all three scholars focus solely on the phenomenon of shamanism as the dominant paradigm in their research, and interpret what appear as human-like figures in rock paintings as human beings or *noaidi* figures.

There is no reason not to believe that many of the human figures without horns or triangular heads could in some cases be representations of *noaidi*, or human persons. One of the best examples of a group of human figures involved in a shamanistic ceremony is seen painted on the panel at Juusjärvi in southern Finland, where trance and ritual costume-masks, and/or metamorphosis from human to animal is evident. However, and given the fact rock art in Finland is mainly concerned with religious events, this might be an indication that the figures depicted have some kind of sacred status and function as human beings engaged in ecstatic trance and shape-shifting into reptiles or animals.

By examining the common theoretical backgrounds, what I have attempted to do is to assess what is evidently lacking in the research discussions noted above in relation to cosmology and place my theories into the what I see as gaps within research. Moreover, considering this in a wider investigation into the importance of the roles and functions of spirits in relation to the structure of the universe as portrayed through landscape use.

In the study of Ernst Manker's material, there is no explanation as to why and given the fact that over half of the surviving *noaidi* drums, which survived the Christian purges of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that clearly depict horned and triangular headed figures within the world tree or pillar, as well as other triangular shaped structures related to sacred places, such as *sieidi* sites and entrances to both upper and lower spiritual spheres that show categorically that these figures do, in a similar way to how Siikala (1981: 84), states the importance of using methods of comparison in rock art studies when there are "certain structural and outlook uniformities [...]", and therefore, in this case in the rock paintings, there is factual evidence of horned and triangular headed attributes, which makes the figures potentially linked through their designs with Sámi spirits and sacred spiritual sites and areas.

Lahelma, Kare and Siikala in their early research, have only paid minimal attention towards seeking a broader understanding of the nature of figures from the drumheads in relation to rock painting research. It has to be considered whether a new, and broader understanding of the content and context of horned and triangular headed figures in both rock paintings and drum figures, may and justifiably so, question the claims for links with Kalevala mythology and poetry and connections with the ancient Finnish culture and thus make way to reconstruct another dimension of the paintings with Sámi religion.

We must also consider that in relation to the reasons behind the creation of rock paintings in Finland, how, according to Lahelma (2008a: 10), "the art itself contains little in terms of narrative scenes and as such only offers vague clues concerning the intended meanings". My response to this is, does this statement, create avoidance, or conveniently construct a void into which, Kalevala myths and theories about Finnish shamanism might fill? The Kalevala being linked to Christianity and Orthodoxy.

As far as I know, there are no records, which link Finnish shamanism with drums, or the types of art depicted on the drumheads. The Finnish Kalevala heroes in particular, Väinämöinen the sage does not use a drum but a Kantele as his instrument for trance and making journeys to other dimensions of reality, as Lahelma has noted. However, from an artistic edition of the Kalevala published in 1984, which presents many colourful portraits and interpretations of scenes stories relating to the magical adventures of Väinämöinen, the paintings of two shaman drums appear.

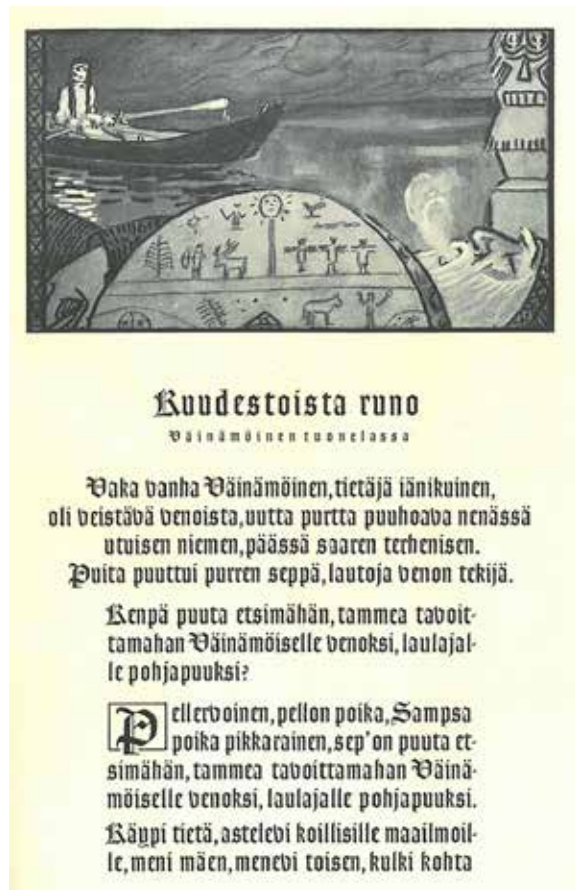


Figure 4. In this picture (left) the sage Väinämöinen is sleeping-dreaming. Next to him there is a drum, which is circular in shape and is reminiscent of decorated drums from Siberia, thus reflecting the Finno-Ugric association. This copy is taken from *Kuva Kalevala* (1984: 185).

Figure 5. The sage Väinämöinen summoning power to perform an act of healing to stop the flow of blood from the patient. There is a circular painted drum in the picture that is similar to Siberian type drums. (This image is taken from *Kuva Kalevala* (1984: 104a).

It is obvious that themes associated with divination and out-of-body travel are linked with shamanistic narrative, and these provide one of the compelling features on which the foundation for shamanism and hunting art are built upon. It must also be mentioned that Lahelma (2008a: 16), also states the following: “however, many of the arguments presented herein do not necessarily require the existence of a ‘direct historical’ connection, nor does the work depend on ethnography and folklore alone”.

As a response, it is important to make clear that an assessment of the horned and triangular headed figures and triangular *sieidi* sacrificial offering platforms and structures painted on the heads of *noaidi* drums, and parallel structures identified from within rock paintings are one of the main criteria, which when given detailed analysis may present further complications regarding the notion for joint cultural heritage between the Finns and Sámi in relation to rock paintings in Finland and the romantic notions the art is linked with the Kalevala mythology. However, what we might interpret from the art above is

the symbolism of the drums being linked with the old pagan gods in Finland, and thus the scholarly search for such parallels.

5.6 Attitudes and interpretations towards rock paintings in Finland from within archaeology and linguistic discourses

For this next sub-chapter, which is concerned with the subject matter of contextualization and approaches used in relation to the study of Finnish and Sámi prehistories the aim is to elaborate further on what has been published in paper 2: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland* (2014) and 5: *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation* (2017), about dating, mythology, interpretations of the materials, cultural continuity and various contexts in to which theories have been put forward in relation to the historical background. I have also included material about the dating of rock art at the Alta site in Norway because I consider it relevant in the discussion about the complexities involved in the dating of rock art and the methods used. In addition to the aforementioned, included is a discussion about Indigenous archaeology, its implementation, aims, purpose and representation in research practices with regard to equality.

One might for instance also like to consider how and if there had been in addition to language studies and linguistic research, Sámi archaeologists involved in these previous research findings noted in both of my published papers as well as what is to follow below, it would have meant the methodologies and ethics used in the research may have been much more varied and encompassing. Moreover, this I feel, would have provided a broader community based archaeology where both sides (the Sámi and Finns) were involved, thus forging a more solid basis for conducting research partnerships for future study. Therefore, not only placing emphasis on the shamanistic paradigm, but also the cosmological one as well with regard to Sámi spirits.

In the material below, and in a similar way to the use of data in paper 2: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland* (2014) and 5: *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation* (2017), I have drawn on the scholarly works of archaeologist Lahelma for two reasons. The first is because of his understanding of current theories and trends in rock painting research, which is presented in English language that links rock paintings with religious practices and shamanism, as well as information about methods used in dating. The second reason is that in terms of previous research and theories from different academic disciplines, such as language studies his approach to the study of rock art brings together data from several decades thus consolidating past and present attitudes and interpretations that are presented in a chronological way.

In addition to the various context discussed in rock art research in Finland, a further dimension in the study of rock painting sites also reveals how in terms of the examination of landscape use within the prehistorical period, Lahelma (2008b: 122-123)⁵⁶, recalls how

56 An important note to acknowledge here is that in Lahelma's Doctoral thesis, the paper titled: *Communicating with Stone Persons?: Anthropomorphism, Saami Religion and Finnish Rock Art*, in fact was supposed to be published in, in fact, never came out, and therefore after communicating with Antti in who informed me about it, I have referred to it in the following way: Lahelma, Antti 2008b. *Communicating with Stone Persons: Anthropomorphism, Saami Religion and Finnish Rock Art*. In Lahelma, Antti, *A Touch of Red: Archaeological and Ethnographic Approaches to Interpreting Finnish Rock Paintings*, 121-142. [Iskos 15]. Helsinki, the Finnish Antiquarian Society. The text in Lahelma's thesis refers to the paper as due to be published in: Walderhaug, E. and Forsberg, L. (eds.) *Cognition and Signification in Northern Landscapes*. [UBAS International Series] University of Bergen.

“Finnish rock art, which consists of paintings only, is typical on outcroppings of rock (usually granite or gneiss) that form vertical surfaces rising directly from a lake (Kivikäs 1995, 2000, 2005, Taskinen 2000, Lahelma 2005). Only a few paintings do not conform to this general pattern of location: in less than ten cases, paintings have been made on large boulders rather than cliffs, and a small number of sites are associated with flowing water rather than lakes”.

There are a number of specific points emphasizing that with regard to rock painting research and the decoration of rocks and boulder formations, the traditional way of painting symbols, figures and motifs on stone surfaces was more than just a way of using the surface to paint pictures on to create decoration, as was also the case with *noaidi* drums. For example, in relation to the shamanistic paradigm, Siikala (1981: 88), interprets the art in the following way. “The Finnish rock paintings can be interpreted precisely on the basis of the animal-ceremonialism typical of hunting cultures and the shamanistic belief traditions associated with it”. Evidence suggests the adornment of stone surfaces served more than a mere mundane function and that in fact according to the shamanistic paradigm and approach, Lahelma (2008a: 9), overall interpretation describes how

“The rock paintings can be thus associated with shamanic vision- quests and the making of ‘art’ with an effort to socialize the other members of the community, especially ritual specialists, with trance visions. However, the paintings were not merely to be looked at. The red ochre hand prints pressed on images of elk, as well as the fact that many paintings ‘smeared’, indicate that they were also to be touched – perhaps in order to tap into the supernatural potency inherent in the cliff and in the paintings of spirit animals”.

This theory is likewise evident in early studies into rock art research by anthropologist Siikala (1981: 87), who emphasizes how “the religions of the north Eurasian hunting cultures provide a natural basis for comparison in reconstructing the form of religion of Finland’s Stone-Age population”⁵⁷.

There is no doubt the rock paintings in Finland has different contexts to it and that there are correspondences relating to shamanism and shamanistic practices such as out-of-body travelling, trance and metamorphosis. In fact, it can be said that one of the main directions rock art research has taken in Finland in relation to both attitudes and interpretations of the shamanistic paradigm concerns comparative analysis with Siberian shamanism and cultures, which has heavily influenced earlier research.

Further value concerning Lahelma’s contribution to rock art research is evident in the ways he has also conducted analysis further afield, for example at the Alta rock art site, Finnmark, in Norwegian *Sápmi*. Supervision for his doctoral dissertation was overseen by Norwegian rock art specialist “[...] Knut Helskog (Tromsø University Museum)” Lahelma (2008a: 6). Helskog has in a similar way to Lahelma, been instrumental in the dating of various phases of rock art areas at the Alta site, using the methods consisting of the shoreline displacement chronology.

Rock paintings in Finland have also been dated using the shoreline displacement chronology methods, but there are problems with this method and its reliability, as Lahelma (2008a: 34), has pointed out.

57 I have wondered if the rock paintings in Finland have been linked with the north Eurasian hunting populations as a result of the search for the roots of the Finnish language by scholars, who have gone to the east, to the Finno-Ugric tribes because in terms of prehistoric research, there is a long history in the east, which is older than Swedish history. It may also be the case that in the nineteenth century after Finland became independent from Sweden, it was important to make this separation between both language and cultural history clear.

“The use of shore displacement method is rather straightforward along the coast of the Baltic sea, but only very few painting sites appear to have been located anywhere near the ancient coastline (cf. above). Fortunately, shore displacement also works on large lake systems of the interior where paintings are located. [...] However, paintings that are accessible from a rock ledge or terrace – however narrow – cannot be securely dated using shore displacement chronology⁵⁸”.

I have considered it beneficial to include also a recent chronology (table 1 below) of rock carvings from the Alta Fjord site, Norway, because the dating of the Alta carvings also coincides with similar dating with the rock paintings in Finland. In addition, there are also similar phenomena such as nets, animals and boats at rock painting locations in Finland, which share similar parallel features with rock carvings at the Alta site that are discussed later on in the dissertation. Moreover, by including current data regarding the ambiguity between dating using the shoreline displacement chronology in rock art research, it provides some idea as to how attitudes and interpretations regarding dating vary amongst scholars.

“Norwegian rock-art experts Helskog and Gjerde have suggested different chronologies for the rock carvings. Each phase/period lasts for roughly 1000 years, apart from Helskog’s period 1, which lasts for 200 years. The table below shows the two most recent suggestions for dating and division of phases/periods. All dates in the table are BC, unless otherwise noted”.

Masl	Jan Magne Gjerde 2010*	Masl	Knut Helskog 2012*
		25,5-26	Period I: 5000-4800
22-26	Phase 1: 5200-4200	22-25	Period II: 4800-4000
17-21	Phase 2: 4200-3000	17-21	Period III: 4000-2700
14-17	Phase 3: 3000-2000	14-17	Period VI: 2700-1700
11-12,5	Phase 4: 1700-1200	11-12,5	Period V: 1700-500
9-10	Phase 5: 1100-200	9-10	Period VI: 500- 100 A.D

It was earlier thought that the oldest rock carvings were made around about 4200BC, but recent research has pushed back the dating by about 1000 years. The rock paintings in Alta are dated to the last 2000 years before the birth of Christ. Unlike the rock carvings, this dating has nothing to do with height above sea level, and the dating of these rock paintings is more uncertain” (Helskog 1988; 1999, 2014 & Gjerde 2010b)⁵⁹.

As noted by both Luukkonen and Lahelma in paper 2: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland* (2014) and 5: *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation* (2017), because some of the rock paintings in Finland are considered to be later than the prehistoric period, it would be important to establish more

58 For a comprehensive explanation of how shoreline displacement chronology is implemented in rock art research see the scholarly works of archaeologist Oula Seitsonen: *Shoreline displacement chronology of rock paintings at Lake Saimaa, eastern Finland* (2005a & 2005b).

59 Source:<http://www.alta.museum.no/sider/tekst.asp?side=526&meny=ROCK%20ART>.

clearly, which these are and if at all, what culture or cultures they might be associated with, and whether or not, they bear any resemblance to rock art further afield for example, in Sweden and Norway, for the purpose of assessing any possible evidence for a clearer understanding of their cultural continuity, if any.

According to archaeological and linguistic research, the present theories regarding the concept of any one group as being responsible for creating rock paintings in Finland is explained in detail by Lahelma. The archaeologist also uses linguistic research contributed by Sámi scholars within this discussion (Aikio and Aikio 2001), but I still believe that this does not serve to present a comprehensive explanation to this study in terms of archaeological research. In other words, where the potential contributions of indigenous archaeology and perspectives are taken into consideration as being a means for providing a more holistic account of the various contexts in rock art, which could be used to help see the prehistorical material in a much broader spectrum.

For example, activities and events such as hunting, shamanism, the creation of cosmological landscapes, and ritual deposits associated with the art that have been left over from sacrificial acts and burial customs. Thus far in Finland, it seems that there are only a handful of rock art sites that have been excavated archaeologically around where rock paintings are located.

Understanding of the absence of Sámi archaeologists has to be taken into consideration regarding dating and analysis of rock painting sites throughout Finland because they could bring new deliberation to cross-cultural hunting and ritualistic practices, for example from research undertaken within the Sámi or former Sámi areas in Sweden and Norway portrayed within rock art as both a new approach and method of analysis with regard to the recognition and preservation and forwarding of traditional knowledge. Moreover, non-Sámi researchers do not necessarily understand the mechanisms involved in the forwarding of traditional knowledge.

We know that the Sámi have travelled with the *Siida* village to both winter and summer camps throughout Fennoscandia. According to Eidlitz (2005: 392), “the word [*Siida*] and the social organization that it designates date back to at least to Proto-Saami times”. More evidence in terms of physical archaeology could help bring supplementary diversity into the discussions on the subject matter of rock art.

It is also evident, that water has played a key role in Sámi cosmology, as has the shoreline. I have often wondered whether or not so little is known concerning extensive settlement areas where rock paintings are located in Finland, is because the *Siida* villages were seasonal and thus mobile?

It is worth considering whether or not that despite what Lahelma says in paper 2: To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland (2014) and 5: *Noaidi* Drums From *Sápmi*, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation (2017), concerning the relationships between the Finns, Karelians and Sámi and the theory of continuity, the evidence is not so clear, which would confirm that both the Finns and Karelians created rock paintings because they were part of the linguistic group, or because they share a common Finno-Ugric ancestor.

Contemplation has to be given concerning the theory that we cannot rule out that rock paintings may have been created by different Sámi groups, rather than peoples from what are different provinces today in Finland (Finns and Karelians). It might explain why there are so many striking parallels in groups of phenomena, and also why prehistoric rock art is located by water in both areas where Sámi groups currently live, or where there are traces of their habitation previously, not only in Finland but also throughout the whole areas of Fennoscandia.

As a way to conclude this chapter, I have already noted above how in traditional archaeology there is an explicit absence of the involvement of Sámi archaeologists and elders in Finland in the study of rock art in relation to Sámi prehistory. As an attempt at discussing how both indigenous peoples and scholars from

mainstream cultures might benefit from cooperation regarding the search for answers to understanding rock art, I would like to present a number of examples that relate to these matters as defined within studies from Indigenous archaeology regarding some of the benefits. According to Nicholas (2008: 1660), this subject matter, which is a large global field of research, could bring the following potential for enhancement to rock painting analysis.

“Indigenous archaeology is an expression of archaeological theory and practice in which the discipline intersects with Indigenous values, knowledge, practices, ethics, and sensibilities, and through collaborative and community-originated or -directed projects, and related critical perspectives. Indigenous archaeology seeks to (1) make archaeology more representative of, responsible to, and relevant for Indigenous communities; (2) redress real and perceived inequalities in the practice of archaeology; and (3) inform and broaden the understanding and interpretation of the archaeological record through the incorporation of Aboriginal worldviews, histories, and science”.

In her chapter: *Indigenous Archaeology as a Decolonizing Practice*, Sonya Atalay (2010: 80), defines the benefits of building an indigenous archaeology in the following ways.

“[...] Indigenous archaeology includes research that critiques and deconstructs Western archaeological practice as well as research that works towards recovering and investigating Indigenous experiences, practices and traditional knowledge systems. [...] I advocate that such research to be carried out with full collaboration with community members, elders and spiritual and cultural leaders. [...] In my view, Indigenous archaeology provides a model for archaeological practice that can be applied globally as it calls for and provides a methodology for collaboration of descendant communities and stakeholders around the world”.

Another expression of what constitutes the practice of Indigenous archaeology is a further defined explanation by Watkins (2012: 666).

“Indigenous archaeology utilizes the general elements of archaeological theory associated with culture historical, processual, and post-processual approaches, but with a shift in emphasis from the etic, empirical, and problem-orientated aspects of culture historical and processual archaeology to the more emic, reflective, and agency-orientated aspects of post-processualism. Basically, it is contextualized by the needs, values and critiques of indigenous peoples”.

Two good examples of how involvement by indigenous scholars contributes to the study of prehistoric rock art can be seen firstly, from within the context of a documentary film (28 minutes) titled: *Images from the Past* (2003), which covers research into the prehistoric rock carvings at the Alta site in Finnmark. In the film, Norwegian Sámi scholar Odd Mathis Haetta makes a point of stressing how within the carving of the extensive reindeer coral in the Hjemmeluft area at Alta and the techniques and styles that are recognisable, these are similar to the ones drawn by the first Sámi author, Johan Turi in his book: *Muitalus sámiid birra - An Account of the Sámi* (1910). Haetta noted the similar structures built by the Sámi using different forms traditional knowledge that are consistent with reindeer hunting and herding that are according to the archaeological record, 6000 years old.

The second contribution concerns rock art research in Finland where Finnish anthropologist Eero Autio interviewed Oula Näkkäljärvi “[...] in Turku (20.8.1988) [...] Autio (1991: 54), to discuss inter-

pretations of the content of prehistoric rock art “[...] at Saraakallio [...]” Autio (1991: 54), in central Finland. Autio was then able to integrate the traditional knowledge into his research analysis, which was published as scholarly literature about Sámi shamanism and cosmology under the title: *The Snake and Zig-zag Motifs in Finnish Rock Paintings and Saami drums* (1991).

Given the prospect of Sámi scholars being involved in rock painting research in Finland, it might be the case that benefit is gained in gathering a more comprehensive and detailed set of results based on shared cooperation. The structures within the reindeer coral identified by Haetta did not appear to be linked with Sámi shamanism but Sámi cosmological landscapes, art and cultural practices.

In order to understand the place of shamanism within the rock art of Fennoscandia there is a need to look into the background of the cosmological structures and worldviews, in local traditions, such as the world tree or pillar, or cosmic mountain, to which rock and boulder formations would make a perfect representation of and how such landscapes are depicted. Henceforth, why some boulder formations were chose as art galleries because of the powers inherent within them and this might help explain why some are extensively painted whilst others are not.

In a study as such and in order to create a more unifying picture of the content of rock art, correspondences relating to cosmology also need to be recognized, because shamanism and cosmology are inseparable and thus form an integrated whole in terms of encompassing a greater framework of reality. For example, where there are numerous spirits to be found within such landscapes, which are not only apparent in animal forms, and thus fit inside the shamanistic paradigm of out-of-body trance, metamorphosis and ecstasy. To describe only the phenomenon of shamanism in rock art, in order for it to fit inside a specific cultural context (Finnish) is to reduce the broader significance of the contexts and contents of the material and thus deny a much broader interpretation of the material with regard to cosmology.

5.7 The parallels between rock paintings and *noaidi* drum symbolism in relation to Sámi and Finnish prehistories and oral traditions

The objective of the following sub-chapter is to build up a study of some of the attitudes and interpretations, which have arisen within Finnish and Sámi scholarly discourse in relation to prehistoric rock art, its cultural context and continuity in both Finland and Norway. The central focus for the chapter is to examine the role art can play as a method and contributor, in an attempt to outline the historical significance of further parallels between rock art and *noaidi* drum symbolism, in addition to what has been published in paper 2: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland* (2014) and 5: *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation* (2017), based on the theories that both the Sámi and Finns share a common linguistic ancestor, which makes the research possible. This is for the purpose of bringing to light further associations between the data, which in turn, demonstrates links with the practice of shamanism and also cultural constructs in relation to the Sámi worldview, which are connected with cosmology, identity, representation and remembering.

As a way of addressing the controversy surrounding these types of issues in the research into Sámi history, photographic and textual evidence in the form of rock carvings is utilized in the discussion below, from further afield in Norway in addition to rock paintings in Finland. This is to help show how the material is used to demonstrate in what ways the relationship between spiritual practices and oral narratives have been one of the core values at the foundation of Sámi culture, which can be seen reflected through both

rock art and drum symbolism and figures. Oral narratives in this sense as being representative of ethnic markers and myths that have cosmological significance with regard to the formulation of Sámi culture and its existence, identity, cultural memory and tradition, linked with hunting, fishing and trapping activities. We must also consider how rituals have been carried out as well as customs, taboos and observations in the artwork that might be recognizable to Sámi elders for example, that we as outsiders do not know recognize or understand.

The starting point to the rock art research concerning the theoretical approach in the forthcoming chapters on this topic is that both rock art and *noaidi* drum symbolism can only be properly understood within its own cultural context, which, in my opinion, lies somewhere in the interior of Sámi history. Considering this, it is then possible to comprehend in what way the art is not separated from each other because of how rock art is confined to a distant prehistorical period with regard to the concept of time.

Perhaps the most important point, which has to be understood in the study of indigenous peoples and their art, is how motivation for defining art comes within the contexts of reproducing similar or parallel types of knowledge, worldviews, religious practices and customs as a way of maintaining, sustaining and keeping culture healthy and alive and overall well-being of its people. Thus, with this comprehension, the subject matter in this sense is approached from the standpoint that the art forms a series of interdependent relationships with each other.

Concerning the study of religious phenomenon to which rock art and drum symbolism can be ascribed, the aim of the analysis is an attempt to achieve new insight and understanding of the material for demonstrating the relationality of the art forms. With regard to the study of these types of material, the application and use of the phenomenological method can be seen in terms of what Shields (2008: 1), describes as “[...] a discourse that illumines, reveals, brings to light, collects, lets stand forth that which reveals itself and is brought to light”. Therefore, what I attempt to do in the following chapter by method of comparison by way of presentation of the materials as described by Shields (2008: 1), is for the purpose of “[...] the pursuit of a more effective study of religious phenomena”, relating to Sámi history.

Furthermore, the examination of rock art motifs and drum symbolism seeks to demonstrate, how the study of art can play a key role in the way narrative heritage has been communicated and preserved via oral traditions, which is often referred to in literature as Folklore (for example, see Pentikäinen et al 2000). It is also evidential that rock carvings and paintings share a common geographic location in terms of landscape use, because they are predominantly situated close to water. It is the same with many landscapes on drums where *sieidi* structures are located by water and other sacred landscapes such as *Säiva* and *Jabma Aimo*. Moreover, all are associated with cosmological beliefs, depicting religious experiences, sacrificial practices, habits and customs that have been characterized by hunting, fishing and trapping activities.

As an outsider, understanding the customs and traditions of another culture is by no means been a straightforward task because of the dating and age of this phenomenon. Instead of encountering Sámi culture as a completely unified whole, we have a mixed and broken picture of the past on which to draw on. Moreover, not only because of the historical issues as noted above by Christoffersson, in relation to *noaidi* drums and missionizing; and Wickler (see below) with regard to research practices, but in the case of some prehistoric rock paintings, many are faded and fragmentary.

However, from the cosmological landscapes amongst the art, which have survived, observances of these provide value and meaning in the search for the continuity of culture and tradition, which further brings into focus a direct historical link between the materials. Thus, outlining the need for a much broader and more comprehensive understanding as to how the treatment of Sámi history by scholars of the majority

populations has addressed discussions on this topic⁶⁰, in relation to how cultural narratives in Sámi religion has been occasionally obscured, minimized or even denied within archaeology in Finland.

There are variations in the different attitudes, which have evolved from within rock painting research in Finland. For example, Kare (2000: 98), states, “these were sites where folklore, music, dance and theater were born in the north”. From a study of moose (elk) and reindeer drawings from amongst the rock paintings in Finland, Kivikäs (2001: 149), interprets the role of these animals and their functions from the standpoint that “it appears that elks played a central role in beliefs and rituals tying the tribe together. It is possible that some explained their ancestral origin and perhaps various customs through stories of elks and wild reindeer. [...] both were used as central star constellations for determining points of compass”.

Further scholarly research informs us as to how the richness of these traditions and narratives concerning the theories presented above has illuminated previous research, this time by Núñez (1994: 58-59).

“Some authors have noticed the analogies between rock art representations and the figures depicted on Sámi shaman drums [...]. In addition to similarities in motifs and style, the drum pictures are always done in red (Manker 1950; Luho 1971; Siikala 1980; Núñez 1981). [Furthermore] there are still other features that link Finnish Pre-historic paintings with the supernatural beliefs of the historical Sámi. The *seid* or *seita* were the abode of the minor deities or local spirits to whom the Sámi made votive offerings and even sacrifices. These local spirits could reside in a variety of places: ‘big stones and peculiar boulders were also used as sacrificial altars. Sacrifices could also be made in grottoes or rocky caves, on cliffs, beneath or, on the summit of fjells, in fens, beside waterfalls, in lakes and springs or at a tree’ (Manker 1968: 86). At least some of these locations correspond with those sites where Finnish rock paintings are usually found”.

To my understanding, these quotes refer directly to hunting and cultural narratives. Moreover, and to note further differences in both attitudes and interpretations concerning research for example, at the Vitträsk rock painting in southern Finland by archaeologist Ville Luho, his data analysis has value for the discussion on ethnicity and theories that the rock art has its origins in the prehistory of the Sámi people. In his short but informative article titled: Suomen Kalliomaalaukset ja Lappalaiset (Finnish rock paintings and the Lapps), Luho stresses how there are parallels between the symbolism found on drums recorded by Manker and the net-type structures that have been painted at the Vitträsk site. According to Luho (1971: 13-14).

“Headless pictures of human figures have been painted in Siberia on witch-drums belonging to jeni-sei-ostjakkien, Samioid and tungus, where they show people from the underworld, in other words people from the invisible world, as it has been interpreted. On one east Siberian rock painting, on the Yakutia living area, is a horned-headed shaman with a witch-drum and a headless human figure that are depicted. On the Lapps witch-drums there are pictures of deer or reindeer, moose, humans also humans holding bows, ships; some curved, some straight and some with a curved prow as in the Astuvansalmi rock painting and so forth. Some of these pictures are as stylized as the rock paint-

60 Lahelma, in his article: On the Back of a Blue Elk: Recent Ethnohistorical Sources and ‘Ambiguous’ Stone Age Rock Art at Pyhänpää, Central Finland (2007), has also paid particular attention to the parallels between for example, boats depicted in prehistoric rock art and those on *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He also discusses the works of Ernst Manker (1971:71), who according to Lahelma (2007: 124), “was the first scholar to draw a comparison between what he calls the ‘rake-like form’ of elk antlers in both the drums and carvings of Nämforsen”.

ings, among them also X-formed humans and pictures of fish and rectangular net pictures. Also, there are headless human figures which resemble arrow headed spiritual beings.

When one considers that Lapps have worshipped vertical rock walls as *seita's* and that *seita's* have usually been located on lake shores, peninsulas, and islands, it is justified to ask what connection the rock paintings possibly have had with the Lapps beliefs and mythology. It is possible the paintings have been created by the ancient forefathers of the Lapps, or that the beliefs of the Lapps are a reflection of the beliefs of these people whose particular styles the rock paintings express"⁶¹.

Despite these differences in attitudes and theories concerning associations and parallels in the study of Sámi religion and cultural practices, a large grey area still exists regarding any kind of comprehensive portrait of Sámi history in relation to establishing a direct link to Sámi ethnicity concerning the continuity of culture between rock paintings from Finland and the symbolism on the heads of *noaidi* drums from *Sápmi*. However, these interpretations and statements above do make an important contribution concerning my research.

To give the reader some idea of further examples as to why former research practices have sought to marginalize the Sámi, and to offer some idea of the kind of terrain one must navigate through for instance in rock painting research, the following must be emphasized.

Theories of links between the figures and symbols amongst the rock paintings in Finland and those on the heads of *noaidi* drums from Finland, Sweden and Norway has also provoked conflict amongst scholars because of the inflammatory nature of both the subject matter, history and its context. As noted by Lahelma (2006: 20).

“Such claims are sometimes met with resistance or even outright hostility (Schanche 2004: 102-4), perhaps in some measure because of the political dimension of Saami prehistory (Krogh 2004). But there is also the undeniable and disturbing fact that in many parts of Fennoscandia (although possible not all: see e.g. Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2001: Mandt & Lodoen 2006: 33-45) the two phenomena are separated by a wide chronological gap. The Finnish rock paintings, for example, clearly seem to predate the formation of distinct Saami ethnic groups, making it anachronistic to associate the paintings with either the Saami or Finns”.

In my assessment of what has been written about rock paintings in Finland, Nämforsen in Sweden, and at the Alta site in Finnmark, Norway, there is evidence of what can be termed as colonial practices, which are obviously present, and the information noted above clearly demonstrates these misgivings. Such claims, which to me suggest as Norwegian Archaeologist Stephen Wickler (2007: 124), puts it, as to how there are “[...] interethnic relations between [...]” the Finns and Sámi. But if this is the case, it does not in my opinion justify that rock paintings can solely be referred to as being Finnish, or that new research is not valid when there is overwhelming evidence the content of the art is indeed linked with Sámi religion and cultural practices, simply because they are located on the present day Finnish territory. One further theory is if the rock art is without status, then there is less chance of provoking further conflict between the nation states and the Sámi and also amongst scholars.

With further reference to the arguments involved in sifting through the complexity in determining links with ancient history in Finland between rock paintings, *noaidi* drum symbolism, there is a similar one being debated in Norway regarding links between prehistoric rock carvings and Sámi ethnicity and history.

61 The text has been translated from Finnish to English by Linda Granfors 2015

In addition to what Lahelma has stated above, it is helpful to note that Finland is not unique in this sense concerning controversy and that almost identical methods of, for example, reductionism with regard to carrying out research into Sámi cultural history are also evident in Norway concerning the use and documentation of cultural heritage. Additional theories and methods where studying the interactions between cultural practices has been a contributing factor for helping to define Sámi ethnicity through various perspectives concerning the relationship to water, (to which rock art is related), as described by Wickler (2007: 118). “Sámi waterscapes represent a broad spectrum of both tangible and intangible cultural manifestations within a complex network of coastal and inland waterways. The corpus of material expressions associated with Sami waterscapes remains poorly documented for a variety of political, academic and bureaucratic reasons [...]”.

In a similar light to attitudes described above by Lahelma, as well as those outlined earlier by Lehtola and Äikäs in relation to ethnicity and the continuity of cultural history in Finland, it has been interesting to note the following. In Norway, the political tensions between the Sámi and the state are brought to light through what Sámi Linguist and professor of languages Ole Henrik Magga, the rector of Sámi University College in Kautokeino, has to say about the links between Sámi history and the rock carvings at the Alta Fjord site in north Norway, which also reflects what Wickler above has stated about the documentation of Sámi history. Magga (1996: 78), makes the following points,

“It is important to know who owns historical and archaeological research in multi-cultural areas. In the north we have many stone carvings dating back as far as 10,000 years. One of those is in Alta, and it has become internationally known. Many researchers, among them the Swedish ethnographer Ernst Manker, one of the excellent scientists in the field of lappology, have noticed the resemblance between the stone carvings and the images on the Sámi shaman drum. But, every suggestion on our part that these pictures may have something to do with our past have been usually very strongly opposed by Norwegian archaeologists”.

From a second source, and in his writing about Sámi culture and history in the Nordic countries, Magga (1996: 79), also states how. “For ordinary people, the question naturally arises: when and from where have the Sámi come to Norway? In this way we are deprived of our past in a very clever way. There is not much to say about the arrival of the Sámi people in addition to what Sámi writer Johan Turi stated: we have no signs of the Sámi having come from anywhere”.

Further sources containing early data, has been discussed by Norwegian scholar Knut Helskog who has discussed the controversial nature of research between prehistoric rock carvings and drums. However, because there appears to be no evidence of any particular group connected with the carvings according to Helskog, there is no proposed cultural context either, as Helskog (1987: 18), has stated.

“Authors such as Manker (1938, p. 224-5; 1971) and Simonsen (1979, pp. 479-82) have observed that there are pictorial similarities between the descriptions on rock surfaces and on the drums, yet there exist no analysis of possible relationships. The use of the drums is also associated with shamanism, an interpretation which is also often associated with the rock art of northern Eurasia and Siberia (Gjessing 1945, pp. 312-16; Ravdonikas 1936; Hagen 1976, pp.152-4; Gurina 1980, pp.21-4; Siikala 1984). It is quite unlikely that shamanism as reported among the Sámi is a recent arrival from Norse and Christian Religion. Rather, Sámi shamanism seems to be part of a cultural tradition among northern Eurasian hunters and fishers (Hultkrantz 1978a, b), and should be explored within that framework. Therefore, due to the possibility of shamanistic



Figure 6. (top) The boat at Alta where two persons are holding circular objects that might be drums and are amongst a group of figures that are dancing. Boats are painted on the heads of *noaidi* drums from Norway, Sweden and Finland. The *noaidi's* drum is the centerpiece of the oral narratives from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Photograph, copyright and reused with kind permission by Ralph Frenken 2013.

Figure 7. (left) A second figure at the Alta site, Finnmark who is holding a circular object reminiscent of a drum and what looks like a beater in the other hand. Photograph, copyright and reused with kind permission by Alta Museum, Norway (2015).

Figure 8. (right) A third human figure holding a circular type instrument, which might be a drum is seen here pictured at the rock carving panel in Hjemmeluft, Alta, Finnmark. The image of the figure is reminiscent of figures painted on the drum belonging to Sámi *noaidi* Anders Poulsen, who was tried for witchcraft in Finnmark. Photograph and copyright: Francis Joy 2014.

representations on the carvings, the figures on the drums might represent a continuation of some of the principles and meanings of the figures depicted on rock art surfaces in Alta as well as at other places in northern Scandinavia. It has been suggested (K. Helskog 1984a, pp. 25-27) that there is some continuity in beliefs and rituals from those expressed in the carvings to those which existed among the Sámi from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries AD”.

It must be noted too, that because of the confines often encountered within archaeological research, Helskog, as noted in paper 5: *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation* (2017), is careful not to make any associations between the drums pictured in the rock carvings and Sámi ethnicity. This is despite the Sámi group being the only group in northern Fennoscandia, as far as I am aware, which shows a tradition of at least 800 years (from the first account documented from the 12th century from the *Historia Norvegiae*, see below), of being associated with drum use. Moreover, and in relation to the continuity of traditional practices we cannot ignore one of the strongest indicative aspects of shamanism such as a human figure pictured holding a drum, which is found both within rock carvings and painted on the heads of the drums that links these practices and artistic representations together. Helskog (1987: 28), makes reference to additional points concerning drum use and rock art.

“The earliest indications of the use of drums stems from the rock carvings in Alta [...]. First there is the figure of a person beating a drum while walking behind a group of hunters, dated to between 4200 and 3600 BC. Then there are two persons holding a circular object which may be a drum, among 12 dancers on a boat dated to approximately 500 BC. [...] Outside Finnmark there is human figure at Skavberget in Troms (Simmonsens 1955, 1958) holding a circular object while in a movement together with another person [...]. The circular object can be interpreted as a drum. [...] Although the evidence is circumstantial, both rock carvings and rock paintings seem to point towards a long tradition in the use of drums, and shamanism”.

Depictions of both shamanism and cosmology in relation to the documentation of culture through artistic practices and representations are two important topics, which may help provide, through the study and comparisons of rock carvings and paintings, evidence for the continuity of culture with regard to addressing gaps that exist in Sámi cultural history because of the ways the culture has been investigated previously. Topics it should be noted, that have been studied extensively throughout all academic disciplines in Finland, which are presented within the context of this dissertation (see for example: Juha Pentikäinen 1998 & 2010; Anna-Leena Siikala 1981; Antero Kare 2000; Antti Lahelma 2005, 2007 & 2008a 2008b and 2012), Eero Autio (1994 & 1995), and Milton Núñez (1994 and 1995).

One more point in need of mention is it seems the data is still relatively fragmentary regarding residence by specific Sámi groups in central and southern Finland prior to the arrival of Christianity in *Sápmi*. However, and as note by Lahelma (2008a), additional theories, which also help strengthen possible links between the artistic symbolism painted on the heads of Sámi *noaidi* drums from Norwegian and Swedish *Sápmi*, and the rock paintings below the Arctic Circle in Finland have been discussed within academic circles in order to piece together these fragments of the past.

For example, more recently, from within archaeological discourse in Finland by Lahelma, attitudes appear to be slowly changing with regard to statements made about the links between ethnicity and rock paintings in Finland. What this means is that one of the earliest theories linking net-type structures depicted at the rock painting site at Vitträsk in southern Finland with Sámi history and the motifs depicted on Sámi *noaidi* was discussed by Ville Luho in his paper: *Suomen Kalliomaalaukset ja Lappalaiset* (1971). It would seem that from his own analysis at the Vitträsk site, and study of early research material, Lahelma (2012: 18), states that:

During the four decades that have passed since Luho wrote his text lots of new material has been accumulated. Even if there is a lot of fundamental uncertainty and open questions concerning interpretation, dating and the language history of the Finnish area, I want to be a little braver than Luho and claim, that the iconography of the rock paintings and the rituals that are connected to the painted locations, there is a clear recognisable Sámi element. It does not mean that the paintings would literally have been made by Sámi people, since the Sámi ethnicity can hardly be extended to the Stone Age.

However, it has turned out that at least in the northern parts of Fennoscandia the rock picture tradition and/or the ritual action that are connected to it has been going on (only exclusively) in the Sámi context from historical time, it is very likely, that the creators of the Finnish rock paintings have been in some way “genetically” related with the Sámi people of historical time.

The rock art of the Sámi culture in historical time was clearly fading and an esoteric tradition, which has not left no signs in literal sources. The number of sites is small and they seem by character to be marginal, but their geographical dispersion is so large, that creating the rock pictures must have been a phenomena organically connected to the Sámi culture. From the position of research, its existence is an important observation, because it makes a direct historical approach possible within the interpretation of rock paintings”⁶².

In my opinion, this is a critical statement by Lahelma concerning links with Sámi religion and its time span from prehistory into the historical period and is why more research is needed on the subject matter.

In a similar fashion to the role and function of rock paintings as described by Lahelma and Núñez, the decorated *noaidi* drum figures and symbolism from *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has also been viewed simultaneously where recorded events and encounters with spirits during out-of-body journeys and sacrificial activities were documented on the drumhead, as they were in the creation of rock art.

With further reference to *noaidi* drum landscapes and Sámi oral traditions, and similarities between figures and structures found amongst rock paintings in Finland in addition to the analysis of the 27 drum landscapes I have written about that were analyzed in paper 2: To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland (2014) and 5: *Noaidi* Drums From *Sápmi*, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation (2017), with regard to spirit figures with horned or triangular shaped heads and also *sieidi* structures, there are likewise offering platforms and structures to for example, the mythical world of *Sáiva* and *Jabmaimo*, the world of the dead, that also have these triangular structures because they are associated with the spirit world and therefore, can be viewed as attributes. In addition, there are also elaborate illustrations of the *Radien* groups of spirits clustered together who have horns and triangular structures within their construction and design. What a further detailed study after the publication of paper 5: *Noaidi* Drums From *Sápmi*, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation (2017), of these structures has revealed is that there is indeed significant evidence that demonstrates horned and triangular structures as well as structures that are reminiscent of horns, such as the letter X, that are deeply connected with spirits of the heavenly realm, elemental powers of nature, spirits on the earth and those that dwell in the forests and have importance for hunting, and the gods such as *Ruto* who are associated with the realm of the dead, *Jabmaimo*.

62 Translated from Finnish to English by Linda Granfors 2015.

It is also the case for example, on drums number 43 and 44 from the former Kemi *Sápmi* area how there are characterised by a stylistic pattern where most of the figures within the landscapes of both drums have triangular shaped features to some extent. However, in drum 43, there are also *sieidi* structures and sacred places that all clearly have triangular shaped constructions. In drum 44 on the other hand, the designs of all the figures in the drum landscape can also be found within both *sieidi* structures and supernatural beings that are represented through triangular design.

One of the most revealing discoveries in the analysis of the drum landscapes in terms of their origins was to discover that out of a total of the 27 drums examined in paper 5: *Noaidi* Drums From *Sápmi*, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation (2017), is that 22 of these were from the Swedish side of *Sápmi*. In addition, 2 from the former Kemi *Sápmi* area and 2 from the Norwegian side and one of unknown origin but possibly from the Swedish side according to Manker (1938)?

For the purpose of revealing additional groups of phenomena that support my study regarding claims for the continuity of culture and additional links between rock art and *noaidi* drum symbolism and landscapes, to follow is a breakdown of overall analysis conducted into all the drums from Manker's 1938 and 1950 inventories and what they revealed in terms of horned and triangular headed figures and structures, as well as figures of spirits and sacred places and structures that are represented with a cross symbol like an X.

From the 11 drums I counted that were of the Åsele type in the inventory, numbers, "5, 10, 14, 17, 22, 26, 31, 32, 33, 34 and 40". Manker (1938: 471, 499, 521, 536, 558, 578, 609, 620, 628, 630, 666), I found a total of 19 figures spirit with horned heads. There were 14 *sieidi*, offering platforms and sacred places, as well as spirit figures with triangular shaped heads, some which also had horns. Further discussion would be needed with Sámi scholars for deliberation about the *Radien* groups of spirits because there are complex structures to these in some cases. Meaning, although Manker had numbered them in some instances as a single figure for a group, there may be several or more spirits from this family within some groups. Furthermore, Manker is not sure of drum number 17 is of the "Åsele or Rane type" Manker (1938: 536), but within this drum landscape there are triangular headed figures representative of spirits, as well as structures of the abode of the dead and other sacred places. There is uncertainty likewise, with drum number 57, which is either "Pite or Lule type? (Manker 1938: 755).

In the next group of drums studied from the Swedish side of *Sápmi*, those from Rane, Pite, Lycksele and Torne produced the following results (see table 1).

Of course in the cases of a number of these figures, there are question marks by Manker concerning their interpretation and statuses because they have come from missionary sources and other materials within a long period of time. Regardless, because of the high number of figures that do correspond with supernatural beings and sacred structures, the evidence clearly demonstrates in what ways the significant numbers of these presents an important understanding of how commonplace these are within Sámi cosmology, particularly in Swedish *Sápmi* and also on the Finnish and Norwegian sides, therefore, possibly indicating the existence of a common memory amongst the *noaidi* with regard to cosmology.

It seems as if recording of symbols and figures from memory formed the tradition of oral narrative, thus creating a cosmological picture, which helped the drum users to remember them, and draw upon memory in order to encounter these spiritual beings from other dimensions of existence, when and where needed. Testament to this theory is found on many decorated drums where spirits, animals, human figures and cosmological forms and structures are portrayed in close proximity to each other, often reflecting sacred places on the landscapes.

From a further study of the drums, these are the numbers that do not support my study, because they have no horned or triangular headed figures within the drum landscapes. These numbers are as follows: 6, 7, 9, 11, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 28, 35, 36, 42, 45, 46, 48, 49, 52, 55, 56, 60, 67 and 72.

Drum types, place of origin, quantity	Identification of figures and attributes/contents
Regarding the 1 "Pite type drum" in the works of Manker (1938: 744).	contained a total of 7 triangular headed spirit figures.
The drum number Manker is not certain about, "which could be either Pite or Lule type" Manker (1938: 755)	contains 1 triangular headed spirit figure.
The 2 drums "from Pite numbers 54 and 57" Manker (1938: 742 & 755)	contain 8 triangular headed spirit figures.
The 1 drum "from Lycksele, number 39" Manker (1938: 660)	contained 3 horned spirit figures, with a further 2 figures of the <i>Radien</i> group, which also contain ambiguous characteristics that could be horns?
The 4 drums "from Lule, numbers, 58, 61, 62 and 63" Manker (1938: 761, 774, 778, 781)	contained a total of 19 spirit figures and offering platforms with triangular heads. What was also interesting to note on these drums was how the letter X is also representative of 11 figures that have some kind of sacred or supernatural association, such as gods or divine spirits. The X symbol is closely associated with horns on many spirit figures as well, on other drums. I will elaborate on this phenomenon later in the chapter: Further parallels and features in art, which could link rock paintings, carvings and drum symbolism with Sámi cosmology in relation to the debate about ethnicity.
The 2 drums "from Torne, numbers 68 and 70", Manker (1938: 803 & 810)	contained 11 triangular headed spirit figures and 1 horned spirit figure.
The 2 drums "from the Kemi side in Finland, numbers 43 and 44" Manker (1938: 685 & 694)	contained 10 triangular headed <i>sieidi</i> structures.
The 1 drum "from Norwegian <i>Sápmi</i> , number 30", Manker (1938: 601) and drum "number 47, with an uncertain location" Manker (1938: 710)	contained 6 figures representing both <i>sieidi</i> structures, as well as spirit figures with horns, and 2 spirit figures some of which with triangular shaped heads. Also, there looks to be several horned figures within the <i>Radien</i> group of spirits at the top of the drum?
The drum listed by Manker (1938: 654), as "number 38 is with an unknown origin"	contains 4 figures with horned shaped heads, plus a <i>Radien</i> group of figures that contains 1 or more figures with horns.

Table 1.

Drum numbers 13, 15, 23 and 64 are ambiguous because the images are not so clear, but might show horned or triangular headed figures and those with horns?

From the drums that are not included in the publication of paper 5: *Noaidi* Drums From *Sápmi*, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation (2017), I have analyzed each one recorded in Manker's 1950 edition: *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel: Eine Ethnologische Monographie. 2, Die Trommel als Urkunde Geistigen Lebens*, in a bid to search for further evidence of additional figures and structures that have horns and triangular shaped features as well as X or cross figures, to see if it was possible to understand the extent of these attributes, symbols and markings, with regard to their presence within Sámi cosmology. In addition, I have also included where the drums have their origin as a method for assessing in what way in particular, given the number of rock painting sites in Finland where horned and triangular headed figures are present, how many drum heads with similar figures and markings are from the Swedish side of *Sápmi*, because it is close to present day Finland. This was not an easy task again because of the ambiguous nature of many figures and symbols, but the investigation revealed some interesting results that do support my study.

For example, on some of the drums, although the figures referred to or suspected by Manker to be spirits may not have had horns or triangular shaped heads, but instead were carrying fork-like poles that had a Y shape at the top, which is a symbol or attribute reminiscent of horns. Furthermore, concerning the spirit figure *Bieggolmai*, the god of the wind, is also identified without horns or a triangular shaped head, but is holding poles that have triangular shaped tops, which can be seen as possible attributes associated with the wind, thus indicating a possible marker. It is also the case that on some of the drums where there are no horned or triangular figures or drum heads where these figures are ambiguous, it is possible to find snakes that are also similar in design with those found amongst the rock paintings in Finland. In a similar fashion, there are moose what have horns that are quite similar to the designs of boats at the Nämforsen rock art site in Ångermanland, and also from many rock painting sites in Finland.

Below is a further inventory of what I have found amongst drum landscapes that I consider might help strengthen my hypothesis for links between horned and triangular headed figures on spirit figures in Sámi cosmological landscapes and the figures from amongst the rock paintings in Finland. Again, I believe that because of the high incidence of drums that have originated from the Swedish side, the results justify the study and therefore, links between the art. On these drums presented in the table 2, Manker predominantly speculates or states in what ways certain figures could or might be spirit figures or have attributes representative of them.

Because of the high number of figures both identified and suspected that are painted on the all the drums in Manker's works, there is good reason to believe these are significant numbers and therefore, should be taken into consideration because what is no the border areas between Sweden and Finland did not exist when rock paintings were made and as it is well known, the Sámi travelled extensively between Sweden, Norway and Finland in earlier times.

The data presented above can be seen as a contribution to previous scholarly work on the subject matter in terms of further understanding Sámi cosmology and systems of embedded knowledge within drum landscapes, with regard to spirits and divine beings in addition to what has been understood from earlier research into the content of these painted landscapes on traditional *noaidi* drums from *Sápmi*. For example, many variances have been noted for example by Juha Pentikäinen (2010: 1), who has emphasized in what ways and typically on the surface of the *noaidi* drums these

Drum types, place of origin, quantity	Identification of figures and attributes/contents
Drum number 1, "from Lycksele" Manker (1938: 450)	On figure 17 a horned and triangular shaped head. Figure 19 also has a triangular shaped head.
Drum number 2, "from Lycksele" Manker (1938: 453)	Figure 37 "suspected spirit figure: <i>Radien-pardne</i> " Manker (1950: 227) with a triangular head.
Drum number 3, "from Åsele" Manker (1938: 437)	Figure 38 reportedly "the design of a spirit" Manker (1950: 230) that has a horned pole in his hand, which can be seen as an attribute.
Drum number 8, "from Lycksele" Manker (1938: 492)	Figures numbered 64, 65 and 70 that are holding poles that have Y shaped attributes that are also associated with who Manker (1950: 245), suspects as the "Akka Goddesses".
Drum number 9, "from Åsele" Manker (1938: 495)	Figures 7 to 10 that are triangular shaped symbols that are attributes of the "Säiva Paradise" Manker (1950: 247).
Drum number 12, "which is probably from Southern Lapland" Manker (1938: 513)	The illustration of a moose that has horns, which are reminiscent of the designs of boats at the rock carving site of Nämforsen in Ångermanland, northern Sweden and from various sites in Finland. In addition, figure 32 on the drum head is described "as a possible spirit figure" Manker (1950: 257), has a Y shaped head that look like horns.
Drum number 13, "from Åsele" Manker (1938: 516)	According to Manker (1950: 260), he interprets a triangular shape as being one of the "attributes representing the wind". In addition, figure 7 is a triangular shape and is suspected of being associated with " <i>Väraldenolmai</i> " Manker (1950: 260), who is one of the gods.
Drum number 15, "from Åsele" Manker (1938: 525)	A snake figure and X shape, which are also symbols found amongst rock paintings in Finland.
Drum number 16 "from Åsele" Manker (1938: 528)	Figure number 31 holding 2 poles with the Y shape attribute that Manker (1950: 269) suspects is the god " <i>Väraldenolmai</i> " .
Drum number 23, "from Åsele or Lycksele" Manker (1938: 564)	2 "wind symbols" Manker (1950:290), that are triangular in shape and can be attributes of the wind god <i>Bieggolmai</i> .
Drum number 25, "from Åsele" Manker (1938: 574)	Triangular shaped attributes are again evident, which the wind god " <i>Bieggolmai</i> " Manker (1950: 293) is holding in each hand.
Drum number 27, "from Granbyn, Lycksele" Manker (1938: 584)	Figures suspected of being the "Akka Goddesses?" Manker (1950: 301), holding fork-shaped poles that look like horns.
Drum number 37, "from Åsele" Manker (1938: 645)	Triangular shaped attributes that might be linked with the wind god " <i>Bieggolmai</i> " Manker (1950: 334).
Drum number 59, "from Lule" Manker (1938: 776)	Figure 2 a triangular shaped head, which Manker (1950: 402) thinks could be either " <i>Tiermes</i> or <i>Väraldenolmai</i> ". In addition, there is an X symbol also in the drum landscape.
Drum number 64, "from Lule" Manker (1938: 788)	Figures 37-39 together holding fork-shaped poles, which could be representative of the "Akka group?" Manker (1950: 416).
Drum number 65, "from Lule" Manker (1938: 791)	Three figures, 29-31 who are holding fork-shaped poles, in what Manker (1950: 418) refers to as a "standline"?
Drum number 66, "from Lule" Manker (1938: 794)	A large triangular headed figure, which Manker (1959: 420) suspects might be "the <i>Radien</i> group?".
Drum number 68, "from Torne" Manker (1938: 803)	An interesting combination of triangular shaped symbols standing on their central point at the top of the drum. These are numbered 6-11 by Manker (1950: 426), and described as possible "Anthropomorphs". Below, in the bottom section of the drum-head are the a row of 3 figures, numbered 26-28, which are described as the "Akka group" Manker (1950: 426), and two of these figures have triangular shaped heads.
Drum number 69, "from Torne" Manker (1938: 806)	A figure with an arrow-shaped triangular head. Manker (1950: 427), thinks it might be " <i>Leibolmmai</i> ", the god of hunting.

Table 2.

“[...] consists of the upper realm of the heavenly deities, the middle or human realm, and the lower realm, *Jábmuidáibmu*, or the upside-down world. They are, however, connected with a pillar having a *peive* or the sun as its center. The sun is located in the center of the whole drum surrounded by gods, people, animals, and other symbols in a symmetric configuration towards the center. The location of the figures as well as the whole structure of the drum with its oval form seems to indicate a cyclic view of life”.

From amongst the early literature sources produced by persons from outside of Sámi culture, one of the first documented accounts, which make reference to the artistic symbols and figures on the painted drum of the *noaidi* in *Sápmi*, in relation to using the instrument for divination is captured in an account from the *Historia Norvegiae*.

However, there seems to be some confusion as to the actual dating of the text, as Lahelma (2008a: 192) has pointed out “the oldest historical document of a Saami shamanic séance, included in the *Historia Norvegiae* that probably dates to the 12th century AD [...]”. By contrast, in the book: *The Saami; a Cultural Encyclopedia* the date is given as “[...] the eleventh-century [...]” (Pulkkinen 2005g: 73). From Juha Pentikäinen’s *Kalevala Mythology* (1999: 182), the date of the *Historia Norvegiae* is “[...] from the thirteenth century”, which shows the variation in the dating of the manuscript. A full description from the content of the séance can be found in the work of Clive Tolley (1994: see reference list). In addition, another source from Hansen and Olsen (2014: 345), in Norway states the following: “the first one stems from the Latin chronicle, *Historia Norvegiae*, written shortly after the middle of the twelfth century”.

What is interesting for this particular study is reference is made to the *noaidi* of *Sápmi* because of their talents by Schefferus (1971: 54), as “[...] these artists”, to describe the drums owners who painted the drums and were skilled in magic and also art. Given the fact Schefferus recognizes the role of the *noaidi* as artist is important because we find these same traditional practices as I have demonstrated in paper’s 2: *To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland* (2014) and 5: *Noaidi Drums From Sápmi, Rock Paintings in Finland and Sámi Cultural Heritage – An Investigation* (2017).

In relation to the painting, decoration and formulation of the content of each of the drums, which came into his possession, Schefferus (1971: 47), states how “as for the art, it is, according to the diversity of the instruments they make use of in it, divided into two parts: one comprehends all that to which their drum belongs, the other [of] those things which knots, darts, spells, conjurations, and the like refer”.

Other data that was compiled in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which also paid detailed attention to the artwork of the *noaidi* pictured on the drums and how the instruments were decorated, was compiled within this period by Lars Levi Laestadius in his works published as *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* (2002). Laestadius had great influence on the Sámi (see below).

A further two sources from the 20th century are compiled by Swedish ethnographer Ernst Manker. Both Laestadius and Manker relied on sources from clergymen and missionaries for their work in the northern districts, which has been accumulated during the witch-hunts throughout *Sápmi* during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In both cases, each scholar was also engaged in extensive field-work and study of Sámi culture. To his credit, Manker⁶³ also includes a short chapter in his 1938 edition about rock paintings in relation to drum symbolism. Swedish scholar Rolf Christoffersson (2010: 265), states the following:

63 Note for the reader. Ernst Manker received various sources of information from and worked together with Sámi artist Nils Nilsson Skum (1872-1951). It is not certain whether or not information about the symbols and figures from remaining Sámi *noaidi* drums were also discussed within these conversations, but it is a point of interest.

Rock painting locations in Finland	Inventory of horned and triangular headed figures
The panel Astuvansalmi	2 figures with triangular shaped heads and horns and one figure with horns whose head is round
The Hossa Väräkallio site	6 figures with triangular shapes heads. Only one of these has horns
The Sourunniemi rock painting Puumala	1 triangular headed figure
The Uittamonsalmi rock painting Ristiina	4 figures with triangular shaped heads
The Virvelahti site Naantali	one animal figure with a triangular shaped body
The Verla rock painting Kouvola	one figure with a triangular shaped head
The Hahlavuori rock painting Hirvensalmi	lone figure with a triangular shaped head, and possibly a second one
The Haukkalاهدenvuori rock painting Enonkoski, Vierunvuori	one figure with a triangular shaped head
The Humalniemi rock painting Heinavesi	one triangular shaped figure
The Kolmiköytisienvuori rock painting Ruokolahti	one figure with a triangular shaped head. There might be a second figure here, but it is not clear enough to establish.
The Ruominkapia rock painting Lemi	a figure with a round head with horns
The Uittovuori rock painting Laukaa	1 figure with horns. However, this is difficult to fully comprehend because part of the figures head has eroded.
The Saraakallio 1 rock painting Laukaa	one figure with a triangular shaped head. There are also a line of figures look as if they are dancing or engaged in a ceremony. Some of these have triangular shaped heads, but it is difficult to say how many?
The Halsvuori rock painting Jyväskylä	2 figures with triangular shaped heads
The Keltavuori rock painting Lappeenranta	one triangular headed figure with horns
The Ruusin Turasalo rock painting Taipalsaari	one figure with a triangular shaped head
The rock painting sites of the Pyhänpää rock painting Kuhmoinen	1 figure with an ambiguous triangular shaped head

In addition, the sites at Mertakallio, Litti; Sarkasvuori, Juva; Hossa, Väräkallio; Tikaskaarteenvuori, Mikkeli; Salmkallio, Pälkäne (Luopioinen) and Janiskallio, Espoo, there are also ambiguous figures that may or may not have triangular shaped heads that are controversial because of erosion. In addition, there is a snake or serpent figure depicted at Ahotaipaleenmäki rock painting at Puumala that has a triangular shaped head.

Table 3.

“Most of the Sámi drums were destroyed during the religious conflict. Around 100 were collected by the missionary Thomas von Western and taken to Copenhagen, but disappeared, very likely in the fire of Copenhagen in 1728. In the volumes *Die lappische Zaubertrommel 1-2* (1938 & 1950), Ernst Manker, curator at the Nordiska Museet, Stockholm, described 81 Sámi drums through precise copying of the pictures on the drumheads, photographs and collections of texts. Of those 71 are considered authentic”.

It is these surviving drums, which are the focal point for much contention in the study of Sámi history and its origins, throughout Fennoscandia. As far as I know, there are still not adequate studies undertaken in scientific research that investigate where the origins of the *noaidi* drum symbolism comes from. It seems rather obvious to me that the symbolism is an extension and continuity of the same prehistoric rock art tradition, which has been incorporated into the distinguished culture of the Sámi since it was formulated thousands of years earlier.

From a review of the horned and triangular headed figures and symbols from within the rock painting sites in Finland currently listed by Ismo Luukkonen, I have made of the list of all the locations these are, how many are visible and what their characteristics are. This is another method used within the research practice in an attempt to approach and present the research in a holistic way as a means of comparison and documentation of the materials. However, the inventory is not as straightforward as the symbolism and figures on drums, for obvious reasons concerning erosion of figures due to the age of the paintings, whose heads are missing in certain cases as well as paintings that have smudged.

The results of these findings, show there are a significant number of sites, 17 in total, where horned and/or triangular headed figures can be identified between rock paintings and *noaidi* drum figures and another 7 sites that have ambiguous figures that may or may not have these features.

Finnish Arts professor Antero Kare and also art teacher Pekka Kivikäs have both used a carboning technique to help make the rock art landscapes and their figures and symbols stand out in black so they are easier to count. The rock paintings as they are in red colour are sometimes difficult to make out because the granite rock on to which they have been painted is also red and pink. Therefore, it is my opinion that through combining such techniques together this could where necessary, help to make the figures and symbols stand out better.

To end this sub-chapter, I wish to say that the evidence presented above has been done so as an attempt to draw a wider parallels concerning what exists in terms of analysis and evidence of a possible relationship between the people who created the rock paintings and the cosmology on the *noaidi* drums. If we are to accept that the origins of rock paintings in Finland lies within part of a remote tradition linked with north Eurasian hunter, fishers and trappers who are unknown cultures and therefore, cannot or should not be associated with either the Finns or Sámi there are genuine and indeed reasonable questions that remain within research as to why.

However, it is my feeling much more work would be needed in order to better understand the data, given the fact there are also some horned figures that have round heads. This is in addition to other figures that do not have horns but round heads, on both drums and within rock painting landscapes. I consider that the rock painting sites and drum landscapes that have been compared with each other and analyzed have produced results that brings further questions concerning the shared Finno-Ugric linguistic heritage in Finland between the Finns and Sámi in relation to heritage, and therefore, deserves further investigation.

5.7.1 Critical review concerning interpretations of Sámi history and artistic symbolism

As a way of further discussing additional points with regard to the ambiguity concerning the continuity of Sámi culture in relation to the production, use and application of ritual symbolism between prehistory and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the following sub-chapter aims at further presenting different theories about Sámi history and the continuity of culture in relation to the links between rock paintings and *noaidi* drum symbolism.

A supplementary study of literature sources is undertaken herein as a means to further expand on attitudes and interpretations of concepts and views concerning what has been written about Sámi symbolism and its origins, as an accumulation of knowledge and cultural memory, which also highlights some of the controversies in relation to what has been documented about the Sámi and their culture.

The reason why there is a need to cover these points in the proposed discussion in relation to cultural continuity is due to the number of different ways the *noaidi* or shaman and his art has been studied, portrayed, interpreted and encountered in scholarly discourse, previously. Moreover, because these sources highlight the struggle for recognition of the Sámi's rights to their own culture and history with regard to the history and marginalization imposed upon the Sámi by both the nation states and Christianity.

Because the Sámi perspective is missing from rock art studies in Finland, it is in my opinion, why this field is deemed as problematic when attempting to link the prehistoric art with the art on the *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and also to better understand why the notions associated with cultural continuity are ambiguous.

There seems to be one particular area in rock art research and studies into the origins of Sámi culture where, because the Sámi are placed within the Finno-Ugric language group, or north Eurasian hunting culture they are not defined as a visible minority or ethnic group in their own right, but instead as a part of a larger population, thus making both their origins and continuity ambiguous. This, is in my opinion, where within colonialism, the history of the Sámi has no definition and thus open to exploitation, not only for political and religious reasons, but also for economical ones as well.

One might argue that concerning making distinctions between the Sámi and nation states of Fennoscandia, as to how the manifestations of both rock art and *noaidi* drum symbolism portrays a working relationship or partnership with nature, which is also continuously demonstrated in Sámi religion and shamanism. This is by contrast to the destruction of nature, as is often the tendency within non-indigenous cultures' where nature is seen as a commodity.

To further expand on some of the ways Sámi history has been explained, the following quote is taken from the Encyclopaedia of Religion (2005), and is relevant to present here because it has been linguistic research, which has played a central part in the study of Sámi ethnicity.

“Within the Uralic language family, the Sami belong to the Finno-Ugric group, and are thus linguistically related to many of the peoples who live on the southern and eastern borders of their territories (e.g., the Baltic Finns: Finns, Karelians, and Estonians). Anthropologically, however, they are quite distinct from all but the Ob Ugric peoples (the Khanty and Mansi) and the Samoyed speakers who live at approximately the same latitude on either side of the Uralic Mountains in Russia. This kind of linguistic and anthropological diversity has given rise to a lively but as yet inconclusive scholarly debate as to the location of their original homeland.

Present theories based on interdisciplinary research in archaeology, philology, anthropology, ethnography, and comparative religion suggest that the ancestors of contemporary Sami people

probably came from diverse backgrounds and they spoke several different languages. Some of these ancestral languages must have died out without ever having been written down, so that now their cultures can only be hypothesized from archaeological evidence and their oral traditions, as well as through genetic analysis of blood types and other molecular research⁶⁴.

There is a further detail concerning the problematic study of Sámi religion in relation to theories concerning the history of the culture, pertaining to probably, one of the main reasons why there is often controversy amongst scholars concerning the links between rock art and drum symbolism and cultural continuity.

For example, the ambiguity in linguistic research and the study of Sámi religion is also, in addition to archaeology and the study of religion, another area where uncertainty manifests itself with regard to cultural history and ethnicity in the north. This has been detailed by Håkan Rydving who says that in relation to linguistic research and terminology concerning the controversy, which surrounds loans and names given for example, to Sámi spirits that have been depicted as symbols and figures on the painted drumheads from *Sápmi* there is a grey area that has existed concerning in what ways in the past, Rydving (2010: 15), recalls how

“[...] Scandinavian and Sami religions have functioned as sources of analogy to explain elements in one another. For the study of Sami religion, answers to questions about origins were sought in Scandinavian religions, while students of Scandinavian religions regarded Sami religion as a preserver and faithful witness of Scandinavian concepts and rites that had vanished in the times reflected in the literary sources. This view changed during the 1970s and 1980s.

The loan explanations became more and more scarce, and elements in Sami religion that had previously been seen as Scandinavian loans began to be explained in a Finno-Ugric context, whereas the few elements in Scandinavian religion that has been regarded as loans from the Sami were increasingly looked upon as inherited from a common origin, a North Eurasian cultural stratum. The interest in using analogies from Sami religion decreased among Scandinavians“.

Another point to be noted is how in relation to the context of rock art studies and analysis in relation to the Sámi being descended from unknown cultures and groups, who are descendants of “ a North Eurasian cultural stratum” (ibid), it is essential to understand in what ways Sámi culture has developed and according to what Lehtola (2002: 163), has to say on the matter.

“Rock art typically depicts themes and rituals associated with hunting, fishing and animals, and lacks ‘indoor’ motifs dealing with household, handicrafts and manufacturing. The same applies to the most recent art of the magic drum. The most important findings in rock art have been made along waterways, and this art is presumable linked with people who lived in the neighborhood for a certain period as a result of their patterns and seasonal migration. The connection between Nordic hunting art and other northern Eurasian rock art is so startling that Guttorm Gjessing’s theory of a uniform Arctic culture does not seem to be unfounded”.

In further scholarly debate within rock art research concerning a possible continuity of Sami culture from prehistory until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it also seems there exists ambiguity regarding the idea of a continuity theory in terms of language and cultural terminology. For example, in a

64 For a more comprehensive description as to what has been written about the history of the Sámi, especially in terms of language and linguistics, see: <http://www.encyclopedia.com/article-1G2-3424502731/sami-religion.html>

discussion regarding the origins of the term *Sáiva* in relation to the mythical underworld and realm of the dead, which is a common feature or series of structures depicted on many *noaidi* drums, with regard to water, sacred places and also because nearly all of the rock paintings for example, in Finland are located close to water, it has been interesting to note how according to Ruppel (2005: 376),

“*Sáiva* is a Proto-Scandinavian loan word, the descendants of which include the Norwegian *sjø* and the Swedish *sjö* ‘sea, lake’. The sense of freshwater would thus appear to be the original meaning in Saami, and mythological meanings found in western Saami languages are therefore, a later development”.

By contrast, and in relation to the study of Sámi religion and linguistic terms, a further point of interest concerning how and within research practices into Sámi history the following has to be understood according to Rydving (2010: 43-44).

“It is no longer a matter of course to interpret elements in Sami culture as loans. The procedure of ignoring or reinterpreting those elements in the sources that are considered to resemble and are consistently interpreted as being borrowed from elements in the Scandinavian or Christian religions, as a means of understanding ‘the primordial Sami religion’ is, in my opinion, not convincing. The drum figures can rather be seen as a Sami innovation. [...] My own hypothesis is that the drum figures should be regarded as an internal Sami development that arose in response to the encounter with Christianity, a religion that demanded exclusiveness, thus forcing the Sami to reflect on their own religion and to give it new structure”.

Since further examples concerning how the ambiguous nature regarding the origins and history of Sámi culture has filtered down into different academic disciplines, it has been noted, in what ways this ambiguity has been used as a tool, particularly during the missionizing period but also until the present time to deny the Sámi their history.

One of the best definitions, which describes the authority and power of both the study of the Sámi and their culture by the scholars of the majority states throughout the Nordic countries is Tore Ahlbäck’s Editorial Note at the beginning of his scholarly compilation of works: *Saami Religion. Based on Papers Read at the Symposium on Saami Religion held at Åbo, Finland on the 16th-18th of August 1984* (1987). With regard to the complexity involved in the study of Sámi religion and because of cross cultural influences it is helpful to note the latter, Ahlbäck (1987: 9), states that:

“Research into the Lapps is largely concerned with the study of a minority people’s struggle to survive as an ethnic group, and research into Saami religion is largely concerned with the attempt to decide what is genuinely Saami and what is influence from the culture and religion of a superior power. This is true of research into the influence on pre-Christian Saami religion of Old Nordic and Old Finnish religion; it is true of research into Saami religion after the advent of Christianity; it is also true, finally, of research into Saami religion and culture today-under the influence from Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish societies at large”.

At this juncture, therefore, it is helpful to understand how Sámi culture has developed from what was largely a hunting culture to one, which had become semi-nomadic by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A development as such, seems to point towards a continuity of culture, however, it is not clear if this can be recognized in terms of ethnicity but oral history is apparent due to the fact that in each case the Sámi have always maintained a nature based economy and worldview, which is evident through art.

Having outlined earlier questions and theories concerning ethnicity and cultural continuity in Finnish archaeological research into prehistoric rock paintings (for example by Lahelma 2008a), the subject matter has likewise been debated within Sámi history by Sámi scholars as well. Accordingly, it could be said that there is ambiguity concerning the Sámi's own history, as notably influenced from what has been written about Sámi history and how it has been shaped by western scholars combined with cultural conditioning in relation to the impact colonialism has had.

This point has been outlined by Elina Helander-Renvall (2011: 8), who quotes/refers to Kuokkanen and Bulmer (2006), as she writes that in some cases, the Sámi “[...] have come to see themselves and their culture through the eyes of modern, Western worldview, and therefore, participate in mechanisms of dominance normally employed by mainstream postcolonial discourses”.

Despite evidence of shamanistic practices similar to those in *Sápmi* and central and southern Finland in relation to drum use and rock art traditions being found throughout many cultures including Siberia, Australia, North and South America and China, it seems in *Sápmi* and despite the Sámi having a long history here, the situation concerning cultural heritage and practices and their struggle seems fraught with difficulties in relation to many aspects of culture.

As I see it, one of the main reasons for this is because many Sámi persons have been lied to about their own culture and history as well as being stripped of it. Even if as Grimm (1998: 7), states, “broadly speaking, in indigenous communities when the sacred manifests in space-time the primary focus of attention is not on the human but on cosmological forces experienced in the land”, which characterize human life and have therefore, been translated into art. But despite this fact, invisibility still exists because depending on the situation, it is easier in some cases to deny culture than to own it.

In the study of Sámi shamanism and cultural history in relation to drum symbolism and rock paintings and the relationship between these two, there appear to be two main problems, which have influenced the ways that research has been undertaken. The first in relation to rock art research as I have stated above, is what has been portrayed as the lack of solid evidence that links the prehistoric rock art with the ethnicity of the Sámi. The second relates to disputes encountered within debates on Sámi art and history in general with regard to the interpretation of painted symbolism on the *noaidi* drums, as outlined by Swedish scholar Rydving (2005: 70).

“The drum markings offer the means for understanding the intellectual and spiritual worlds of the drum owners, but are extremely difficult to decipher. They have been interpreted for example as adaptations of Scandinavian Bronze Age engravings or runes, as a star chart and as individual compendiums of the old Saami religion. [...] Since there are only a couple of drums with their owners' explanations available, the interpretations proposed are for the most part very uncertain”.

Despite such complexity, the transmission of symbolism shows how the content of the art has played a central role and function in sustaining Sámi culture. This in turn does not suggest a cross-fertilization of cultures, as is often considered in historical research, but a unique system of language as a result of internal development instead, and a long history of traditional practices.

When viewed within this context, it is possible to glimpse how in the interior of indigenous peoples, according to Italian researcher of philosophy Vico [1744] who states that “there must in the nature of human things be a mental landscape common to all nation. This axiom is the principle of the hieroglyphs by which all nations spoke in the time of their first barbarism” (Severi 2012: 1).

Within the discussions about Sámi art and art history, it seems that despite mixed attitudes, its context and application to be somewhat similar in relation to the painting and decoration of natural materials by other indigenous peoples, for example, the Aboriginal peoples of Australia, the Inuit of Alaska and Native American peoples and their cultures from North and South America and Canada. There are many examples to be found of designs of symbolism and figures what have their origins in prehistoric rock paintings and carvings based on myths and oral narratives.

Items produced for both ornamentation and ritual usage, such as bones, antler, wood, metals, leather, and stone surfaces in both a prehistoric sense as well as a historic one, bear both a connotation of religious communication and material culture embedded at their core. Through the study of local traditions and on appearance, the decorative functions of traditional artistic practices have been recorded in many places throughout Fennoscandia, the Alta rock carvings in Finnmark, northern Norway being the largest site in northern Europe.

Examinations of the relationships between peoples and cultures, where similarities exist in the ways indigenous people have lived in unity with nature have been characterized by diverse sacrificial traditions, as is the case in Sámi culture and history through the art of memory and as a product of animism. These similarities have been well highlighted in rock art research by Helskog et al (2012).

Animistic experiences of both groups and individuals, involving encounters with invisible worlds, with and without trance experiences, that have been captured through artistic depictions are intimately linked to sacrificial traditions and hunting, fishing and trapping practices throughout the world. Another common feature in indigenous cultures is how traditional ways have been sustained through landscape uses, the creation and re-usage of symbols linked with cultural identity, memory, documentation and preservation of cultural heritage, as well as cultural and ritual practices that have been transformed into oral narratives. Sharing, in some cases, many similarities in terms of traditions, worldviews and ritual behaviors.

In his scholarly works: *The Shaman: Voyages of the Soul, Trance, Ecstasy and Healing from Siberia to the Amazon* (1995), Piers Vitebsky has written extensively and addressed a number of points about shamanism as a cultural, rather than religious practice, and the different manifestations of these traditions throughout the world. The Sámi of *Sápmi* are also mentioned within the texts.

In this sense, and up to the present time there has been little information available to us that would help advance research into Sámi shamanism concerning how in Sámi culture, the pictures and symbolism from prehistoric art and the art from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is being reused for purposes of identity and cultural representation. Instead, as will be presented later in the dissertation, the artwork and the titles of scholarly articles by academics of the mainstream culture in Finland suggest to me that due to what has been referred to above as the complex history surrounding Sámi ethnicity, there seems to be a lack of mutual understanding between Finnish research establishments and the creation and forwarding of Sámi traditional knowledge, and how this takes place. Therefore, justifying the need for further investigations on this topic.

It is vitally important that current research on the reuse of symbolism and the production of new types of shaman drums by Sámi persons be seen as a valuable contribution to the study of Sámi shamanism, history and culture, where art is seen as a vital lifeline, which links past with present and the old with the new.

5.7.2 Interpretations on rock art and drum symbolism by Sámi scholars

Despite the fundamental role and function Sámi art plays within the culture in relation to sustaining culture, identity and tradition, what has been referred to as art in both a historic as well as a modern sense by persons from both inside and outside of Sámi culture in more recent times, it seems the concept of art remains ambiguous within Sámi scholarship as we might comprehend its meaning, representation or context.

One of the main reasons for needing to further clarify such points in the following analysis and descriptions is because of in what ways the early sources written about Sámi history were compiled by persons from outside the culture and therefore, misrepresented and problematic, as addressed in the paper: *The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami Noaidi Drum Figures Reversed* (2011). As a further way of discussing other dimensions of ambiguity within the study of Sámi art and how it has been influenced by history, below, I have presented different theories and viewpoints of what constitutes to Sámi art, from within the culture, through a series of quotes as examples of different dimensions or levels to the debate. Therefore, a useful place to start is by noting what Mobjerg et al (2000: 61), have to say on the matter.

“In 1982 Nils-Aslak Valkeapää wrote an article entitled: ‘An art to remember people by.’ He began as follows: ‘In the Sámi culture there has never been art – and no artists either. It is only in recent years, when western culture has destroyed the Sámi’s potential to live their own lives that alienation from nature has led to the emergence of artists. In the Sámi tradition everything was life; a part of life in nature, of the life of nature. And many concepts and views were different – very different – from what they are now; and above all from what they are in western society, whose ideas include efficiency, specialization, the production of over-specialized people. These concepts were really different from beginning to end’⁶⁵.”

By contrast, recent historical analysis of land art in relation to rock carvings and rock paintings, which have links with the history of the Sámi is described by Veli-Pekka Lehtola (2002: 116).

“Sámi heritage of pictorial arts reaches back to the rock drawings of thousands of years ago. Despite that modern day Sámi art takes its main influences from the ideals of western art, which became familiar through schools and the world-view transmitted by the majority society. As in other arts, in Sámi pictorial art many of the most interesting works were born out of the interpretation of this contrast between the Sámi and Western worlds. The relations of today’s artists to the ancient heritage are problematic. It is natural that traditional symbolism symbols and imagery take on central role in the works of pictorial artists. However, the artists only indirectly assimilated these, because Sámi spiritual cultural traditions and history underwent a great change in the 1600s and 1700s in connection with Christian missionizing. The symbolism of the ancient rock art and *noaidi* drums has largely vanished and the whole of the past world-view is difficult to sort out from the sources that were written by outsiders”.

The Sámi scholar also goes on to say that the famous Sámi singer, artist and poet Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, who has since his death become known as a shaman, in his writings concerning the cultural context and use of Sámi symbolism in relation to art, suggests how the following needs to be given consideration in the study of oral tradition and the Sámi worldview in contemporary society. According to Lehtola (2002: 118).

“The ancient Sami imagery is a language of its own in which many meanings can be found. It may be followed as its own story. Revived once more as living life and living nature, the ancient symbols must be read in a new light as new artistic expression; they create a dual illumination that takes on a new meaning.”

65 It is not certain whether Valkeapää is making an indirect reference to the destruction of both Finnish and Norwegian *Sápmi* during the Second World War and the building of roads into the Sámi areas, which were previously un-reachable by such vehicles other than sledges and skis. Through these events Sámi and Finnish people came into closer contact with each other.

From another source written within Sámi culture, emphasis here is placed on the painted figures and symbolism on drumheads by Anna Westman and John E. Utsi (1999: 8).

“What does an old drum mean? The drums are objects which have been preserved in obscurity for hundreds of years. Objects with pictures from a time when people thought in a different way. What they meant then is perhaps something which we do not completely understand today. They were made for purposes and needs that we no longer have”.

From an excerpt in the discussions concerning the reuse and reproduction of Sámi symbolism within the last several decades and which has value for the research, a number of interesting and important points have arisen from amongst Sámi artists. These provide insight and understanding concerning the different directions artistic inheritance has taken more recently in relation to the re-application of Sámi cosmology in modern times, which links it with the history of the culture. Lehtola (2002: 118), explains in what ways

“Traditional Sami imagery and pigments are most clearly seen in the works of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Hans Ragner Mathisen. Valkeapää developed *noaidi* drum figures into new forms in his paintings and book illustrations. Mathisen became known primarily for his representations of the Sami world-view in maps on which the place names, pictures and concepts of the earth are according to Sami spirit: *Sápmi* is the center of his ‘living map of the world’. Neither of these artists had had a connection to the symbols of the *noaidi* drums passed down through their heritage. They felt a spiritual bond with the imagery of their forefathers, and they interpreted those images through modern views and experiences”.

It is important to show the attitudes and feelings towards the types of legacies that have been left in relation to art, and its history. In view of how the Sámi are an indigenous peoples, there is a trend amongst all indigenous peoples throughout the world where we see how according to Grimm (1998: 2), “the close connections between territory and society, religion and politics, cultural and economic life are the means whereby indigenous peoples have maintained and are recovering, their knowledge systems”. In fact, furthermore as described by Grim (1998: 2-3).

“Indigenous lifeways as ways of knowing the world are both descriptive of enduring modes of sustainable livelihood, and prescriptive of ecological imaginaries, or deep communal, psychic attractors between place and people that activate sustaining relationships with the community of life. It is this close relationship and conceptual reflection found in mythic stories and ritual symbolism systems that we can call a religious ecology”⁶⁶.

Understanding the cultural and ecological differences and backgrounds between western science and the traditional knowledge of indigenous peoples, their worldviews and approaches to religion, cultural practices and art helps demonstrate why there is a need for different approaches in these types of discourse. I do not wish to re-hash the past mistakes of Christian domination in my research, in relation to creating distortions of Sámi culture but to make distinctions between different methods to the study of art, culture and religious practices. Instead, so it becomes possible to see the complexities involved in artistic and historical research with regard to the context of the dissertation, thereby, highlighting the strengths and weaknesses in approaches and analysis.

66 See John Grim “Introduction” in *Indigenous Traditions and Ecology: The Inter-being of Cosmology and Community*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press for the Centre for the study of World Religions, 2001. Xxiv – xli.

Because references have already been made above concerning the reuse of symbols in Sámi art in relation to cosmology and culture, I want to continue the discussion by addressing another important dimension to on the subject, which is linked with the production of Sámi handicrafts, a tradition called *duodji*. This is because the creation of drums, and their symbolism comes within this tradition. A definition of what constitutes to *duodji* is given by Irene Snarby (2014:16 -17).

“*Duodji* is often translated in Sami handicraft although the term embraces more profound layers of meaning. Beyond form and function, the whole process of creation, from gathering materials, production and subsequent use, as well as identity and spiritual activities, are all important part factors. [...] The Sami Encyclopaedia of Artists contains four different definitions of *duodji*. The Encyclopedia explains the varying and respective connections that the term *duodji* has with folk art, handicrafts and art. According to the Encyclopedia, *duodji/ dáidda* and *dáidda/duodji* reflect two different practices. *Duodji/ dáidda* was associated with the handicraft practices that could be regarded as art, and *dáidda/duodji* had its origins in folk art, which embraced contemporary forms of artistic expression.

[...] For many Sami people, *duodji* is one of the strongest indicators of Sami identity. Their relationship with their traditions signifies deep collective values and norms. Consequently Sami traditions and the practice of *duodji* are subject to varying degrees of knowledge and understanding. Intangible knowledge is an important of both the processes and the experience of *duodji*. Nevertheless, the spiritual aspects have been largely played down for those who, for various reasons, might be perceived as being outsiders. One of the possible reasons for this is that no terms have been developed for what has been experienced or that knowledge is confidential and therefore, muted⁶⁷.

New information and perspectives on *duodji* and art continue to be redefined within Sámi scholarship and it is beneficial to understand the issues, which have been outlined from within this context pertaining to how outsider attitudes and interpretations has influenced art and handicraft practices. In this case from Sámi Professor of arts Gunvor Guttorm (2014: 54), who states the following.

“The interest in *duodji* in various fields of study has been, and continues to be, constant. We who have chosen to study it from a Sámi perspectives are acquainted with the work of earlier art historians, anthropologists, ethnologists and geographers, linguists and other scientific experts. Over and over again I have been reading and studying the work of scholars such as Ernst Manker, Knud Leem, Konrad Nielsen and other written material describing the *duodji* of the Sámi. It is important to study these from an indigenous point of view also, especially when evaluating the ideological perspectives from which they were written. Rauna Kuokkanen (in her text 2009) uses the indigenous perspective and suggests that it is possible to do this by listening to and honoring the people, their viewpoints and their culture”.

What remains now is to be able to identify and understand what the indigenous perspective is from within the study of indigenous cultures in terms of approach to the study of Sámi art and handicrafts from within this context and against the backdrop of western culture. A multitude of these points through a variation of different scholarly sources by Guttorm (2014: 51-52).

67 Maija Dunfjeld. 2008. Tjalehtjimmie: Form og Innhold I Sorsamisk Ornamentikk. Snåsa Saemien Sitje, P 17

“I think that the indigenous approach and methodology are meant to make all people aware of this gap. It has been stressed that indigenous people have been engaged in self-definition and self-determination for some time strengthening their positions both politically and professionally (e.g. Minde 2007, 9-37).

The observation primarily displays ‘our needs’ rather than ‘their needs.’ Nancy Marie Mithlo writes that it is not necessarily the means of creation or the content of the art that are most important when choosing the indigenous approach; rather, it is the purpose behind the art’s creation and presentation (Mithlo 2012, 192). So what does the word ‘purpose’ include? Mithlo explains how the indigenous approach and its prerequisites should be included in other societies and the broader art world. This can be done by “appropriation into the mainstream’s faults, that is, the incorporation and reworking of damaged images and portrayals of Natives by “non-Natives” (Mithlo 2012, 191). I agree with her here, but the reworking process takes time. As I see it, this is part of self-determination in an indigenous perspective. [...] Western methodologies are used in indigenous methodologies as well, but what is special in the situation of indigenous people are sections like decolonizing, improvement mobilizing and healing (Tuhiwai Smith 1996: 116)”.

What I would describe as being critical to also understand in this discussion about *duodji* and in relation to the history of Sámi art and tradition with regard to *noaidi* drums in both a past and present context is that according to Guttorm (2014: 61), “the term ‘*duodji*’ is an invention that has been used by the Sámi people for centuries. Over time, as the use of ‘*duodji*’ changed, the content of the term also changed slightly”.

By understanding that what the Sámi refer to as *duodji* helps me as a researcher to gain both a new perspective and insight into the intangible cultural history and heritage of the Sámi where outside research about drums has been undertaken and why some Sámi people do not like persons from outside their culture doing research on drums because the instruments are considered as being a part of the *duodji* tradition. It seems evident to me that we do not only study drums solely in terms of research material and analysis but as Guttorm (2014: 60), recalls, in fact we are also approaching “[...] inherited knowledge of the Sámi language [...] [where] connections are made to the local area and to the people and animals living there”, to which most of us are not familiar with.

As a way of demonstrating how the tradition of *duodji* relates to the link with the symbolism and figures in prehistoric rock art to *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that are in some cases, redefined and modified and applied to modern drums, it is helpful to understand the following points. The study of new types of shaman drums, which are produced today in *Sápmi* do, as study material, provide a method for attempting to further clarify the ambiguous nature concerning the cultural origins of rock art; examples of these are presented later in the dissertation.

5.7.3 Further parallels and features in art, which could link rock paintings, carvings and drum symbolism with Sámi cosmology in relation to the debate about ethnicity

The following sub-chapter is important with regard to the title of the dissertation and what has already been discussed above, concerning the relationality between prehistoric rock art and historic drum symbolism of the Sámi because it brings into focus additional phenomena in relation to further questions concerning the creation of art as systems of embodied knowledge and cultural markers, particularly



Figure 9 shows from top left to bottom right four crosses from rock art landscapes in Finland. The pictures at the top left and right are from Saraakallio site at Laukaa. The picture at the bottom left shows a cross symbol below a moose at the Siliävuori rock painting at Luumäki. The landscapes in the picture at the bottom right shows a cross at the Astuvansalmi rock painting at Ristiina. There is also one ambiguous cross shape at the Vetotaipale, site in Puumala. In addition, to the right of the 2 boats on the rock face, at the Ruominkapia rock painting at Lemi there is an cross-like structure, possibly with a head, which is reminiscent of a *sieidi* structure found on *noaidi* drum landscapes. What has likewise, been interesting to note is how there is an almost identical cross symbol portrayed at the Transfarelv rock art site at Alta, Finnmark as encountered amongst the rock paintings in Finland and drum landscapes. Photographs and copyright Ismo Luukkonen (1994-2017).

pertaining to both shamanism and cosmology. Moreover, the following discussion aims to strengthen the argument for presenting supplementary features that have parallels and associations with the practices, structures and expressions found between prehistoric rock art in Finland and *noaidi* drum landscapes from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The purpose of presenting the photographic materials below is an attempt to build on what has already been discussed where the art is allowed to speak for itself in terms of relationality. Moreover, what might be considered as a series of cultural constructs, which become evident through examination of these different sources of data that have value within the subject of Sámi cosmology, ethnicity and heritage.

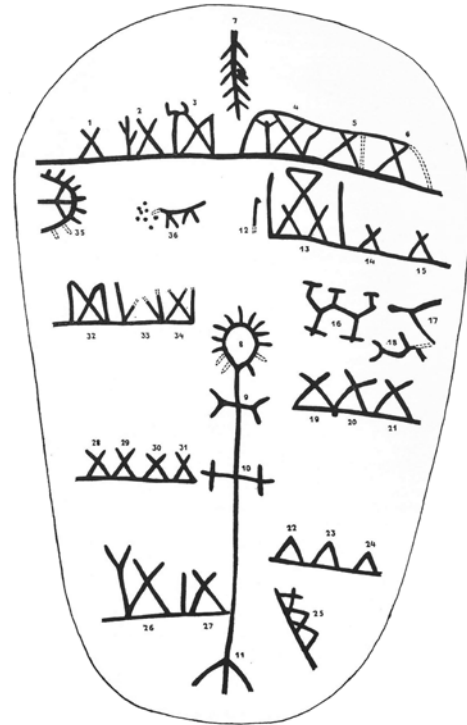


Figure 10. (left) This photograph of a pinewood Saami *Sieidi* carving (reproduced, with permission, from Istvan Racz 1972. Copyright Nordiska Museet, Stockholm) has value in this presentation about cross symbols as cultural markers. As can be seen, the image has a triangular shaped head and facial features similar to some of the figures in rock paintings and on *noaidi* drums, but it also has 2 crosses carved into it, which are reminiscent of those found on both rock paintings in Finland and *noaidi* drum landscapes, perhaps indicating a symbol of power with regard to the *noaidi* and his spirits or identity marker.

Figure 11. The Illustration of drum number 66 from "Lycksele" Manker (1938: 794). I have chosen this image because the original drum skin is badly split, but still visible enough to see the drum landscape. From the seventy drums in Manker's inventories, this one has many crosses on it, which are according to Manker, associated with spirits and mythic structures. Therefore, indicating crosses have been used extensively on drums as markers that have some cosmological significance. Reused with kind permission of Nordiska Museet.

For the presentation, I have applied a comparative approach to the materials as a method for bringing together a series of crosses found at rock paintings at 3 sites in Finland, which are almost identical to parallels found on *noaidi* drums, which are representative of spirits and sacred places, such as *sieidi* that might suggest identity markers and expressions encountered through attachment to the celestial landscapes in both cases. From further analysis of the drum landscapes, I was able to count a total of 35 drums which contained crosses of various sorts, ranging from supernatural beings, to markers of protection and which signify the sanctity of a place, as well as representations of the power of the *noaidi*. Nearly all of the drums analyzed came from the Swedish side of *Sápmi*. I could not find any crosses as such on the 2 Kemi Sámi drums. These are the drum numbers I have counted that contain the X symbol. 1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 45, 46, 52, 55, 56, 59, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67.

In addition to crosses, there is another category of figures that can be included in the analysis concerning in what ways human and spirit figures with their arms raised in certain postures, found amongst rock paintings in Finland, rock carvings from Sweden and *noaidi* drum landscapes share similar features. These may have significance in relation to ritual poses, because there seem to be quite many of them to be merely a stylistic technique used by the painters. However, we cannot be certain, but the similarities do make an interesting contribution to this study.

From an examination of all the rock painting sites in Finland I have been able to identify 11 locations where these figures have their arms raised in what could be termed as a ritual gesture or pose. These are as follows: Kolmiköytisienvuori, Ruokolahti; Niinivuori, Savitaipale; Hahlavuori, Hirvensalmi; Halsvuori, Jyväskylä; Juusjärvi, Kirkkonummi; Keltavuori, Lappeenranta; Saraakallio, Jyväskylä; Riuttavuori, Rautjärvi; Uutelanvuori, Kouvola (Jaala), Pakanavuori, Kouvola and Siliavuori, Luumäki (Luukkonen 1994–2017).

As a way to support the theory of raised arms being cultural constructs expressing ritual gestures within Sámi society in terms of value and identity, I have likewise, also noticed that on Ernst Manker's illustration of a Sámi *noaidi* drum from the former Kemi *Sápmi* area in northern Finland that has been published in 1950. The drum is currently the property of Städtisches Museum für Völkerkunde, Leipzig, Germany (Manker 1938: 686), there are many figures in human form representing both human beings, spirits and a *noaidi* that have these same expressions. Therefore, the question arises as to why this occurrence is as such, is it simply a painting technique used by the artist, or something of a more ritualistic nature?

These features and actions simply cannot be ignored or seen as coincidence. Moreover, and because there is a *noaidi* in the drum landscape who is holding a drum and hammer with arms raised, it seems to me these are ritual gestures displayed by Sámi people and Sámi spirits, which have something to do with what I would define as identity, cultural markers and ritual landscapes; landscapes in the sense that figures in the upper, middle and lower worlds are all portraying similar poses and gestures. The original photograph of the drum in Ernst Manker's: *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel. Eine Ethnologische Monographie. 1, Die Trommel als Denkmal Materieller Kultur* (1938) shows how the painted figures on the drumhead are too faded to see clearly. In this case, the illustration below provides a better description.

In a comparative assessment of the drums and figures from both Norwegian and Swedish *Sápmi* in Ernst Manker's: *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel: Eine Ethnologische Monographie. 2, Die Trommel als Urkunde Geistigen Lebens* (1950), I can only find one human figure: number 21 on drum number 26, a *noid* [*noaidi*] which has both arms raised above his head in a similar way to those depicted in both rock paintings in Finland and on the Kemi Sámi drum. The only other figures exhibiting slightly, similar expressions are spirits. These points have to be taken into consideration because they have both validation and meaning in the research and discussion concerning theories about Sámi ethnicity, history and the continuity of culture in Finland, in light of what has been stated above.

Bringing the similar types of figures and their expressions together for analysis and investigation, is done so to show the significance of the past and for the benefit of understanding a possible theory for the creation of certain signatures and expressions with regard to identity and defining features that might be linked with ethnicity. Through these depictions it is my conclusion that they provide further evidence of links between the rock paintings and drum symbolism. Moreover, it is my theory that these similarities between the figures and their gestures might be because they represent cultural codes that express shared values and customs with regard to how the Sámi are preserving what has been handed down to them from earlier generations.



Figure 12. (top left) The first example, is a human figure who is dancing with arms raised seen here on the painted panel at Pakanavuori, Kouvola, Finland. Copyright, photograph and reused with kind permission by Ismo Luukkonen (1994-2017). This image suggests to me it is a male figure because his penis is visible between his legs. It may also be the case that the genitals are evident because the pose it related to ecstatic expression or trance.

Figure 13. (top right) Here too is depicted a human figure with raised arms, close to a large snake seen at the Keltavuori rock painting, Finland. Photograph, copyright and reused with kind permission by Ismo Luukkonen (1994-2017).

Figure 14. (bottom left) A photograph of the Juusjärvi rock painting, Kirkkonummi. The dancing figures all have their arms raised as does the figure that is symbolically in the water close to the pike, which has its mouth open. Photograph, copyright and reused with kind permission by Ismo Luukkonen (1994-2017).

Figure 15. (bottom right) This painting, which is from the Haukkavuori, Mäntyharju site is of particular interest because it shows a human figure that is probably a *noaidi* travelling upside down to the lower world. In this picture he has his arms raised. These expressions seem too significant and many in number to be coincidental. Photograph, copyright and reused with kind permission by Ismo Luukkonen (1994-2017).



Figure 16. (left) A drawing of one of the second frame type drums from the Kemi Lappmark area, which is an illustration taken from Ernst Manker (1950: 357). The drumhead is divided into three segments, which reflect the cosmology of the Sámi, consisting of an upper, middle and lower world on the cosmological world axis. In the bottom section to the left are the *Akka* goddesses with their arms raised. In the middle area on the left side is a *noaidi* holding a drum and 'T' shaped hammer, which was used to beat the drum with. The traditional way of expressing the *noaidi's* journeys into the spiritual worlds was to paint a cosmological portrait on the drumhead that included many different symbols, figures and metaphors encountered, which had symbolic meanings and representations, many that were hidden. What makes this drum of particular interest with regard to cultural expression and identity is every one of the human and spirit figures depicted on the drum have their arms raised. The human figure in the rock painting at Pakanavuori has his arms designed in the same way many of the figures here exhibit. Reused with kind permission of Nordiska Museet.

Figure 17. (right) A copy of a selection of illustrations taken from Arvid Sveen's book: *Rock Carvings; Jiepmaluokta Hjemmeluft, Alta, Finnmark* (1996: 17), which discusses the author's theories concerning similar artistic images between rock carvings and *noaidi* drum symbolism.

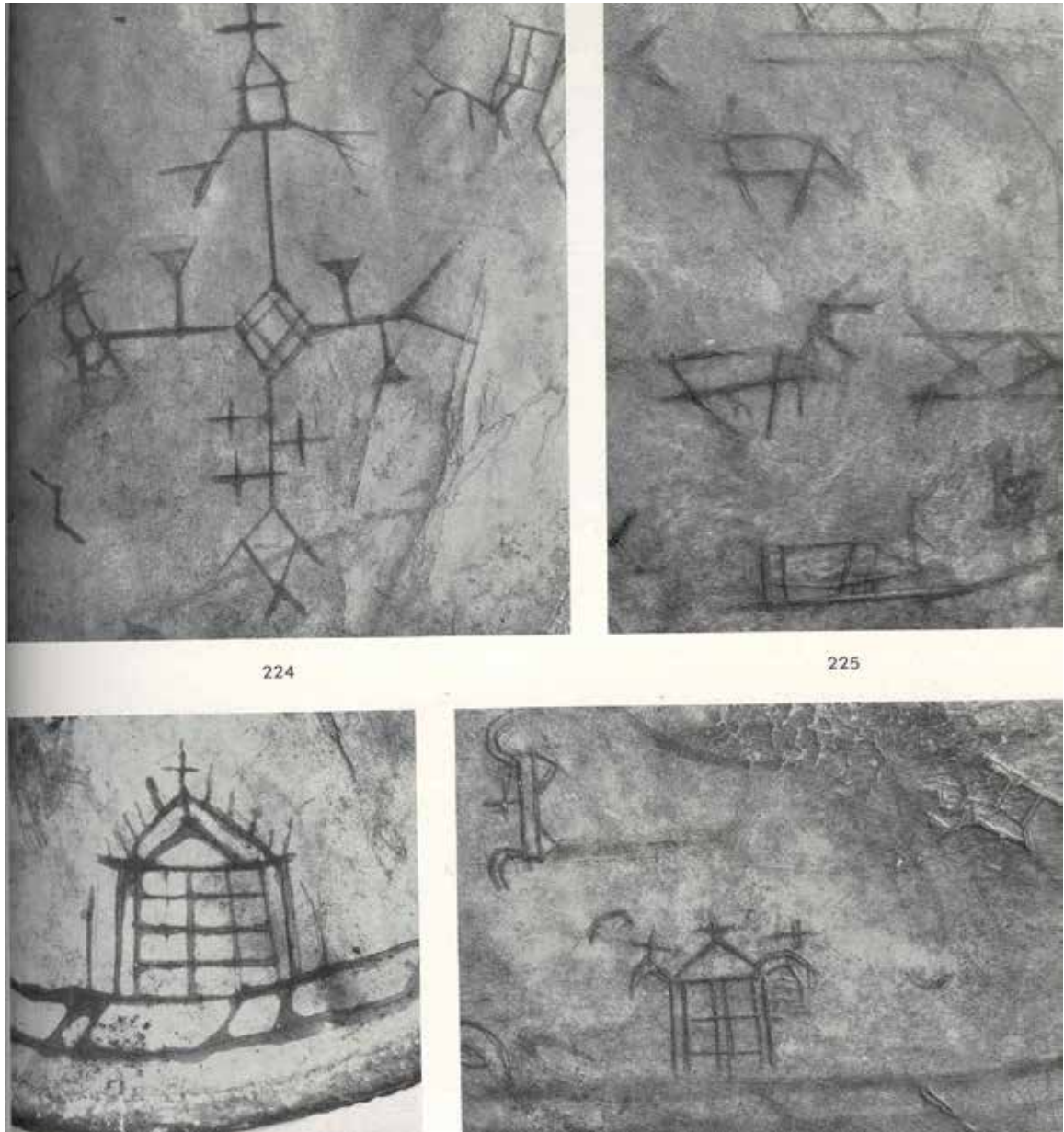


Figure 18. To add another dimension to the cultural practices regarding techniques used by Sámi *noaidi* for making art is the examination of a series of drum engravings, which show how structures have been made on the heads of different drums by slicing or scratching the skin with a knife or sharp instrument before being filled with coloured dye. These designs and their creation and decoration are what I would call typical examples of embedded practice for the purpose of recording knowledge and memory. It could be argued the way in which such illustrations for example of “the sun, reindeer and place of the dead” (Manker 1950: 225), have been created is a similar embedded practice used in the creation of rock carvings. However, the rock carvings have only been painted red more recently to make the figures stand out. But, recognition of these similar ways of decorating membranes appear to have been ignored in scholarly research in terms of cultural practices and the possibility of shared values.



Figure 19. (top left) A photograph taken in March 2016, of a stone bearing two rock carving, which is displayed at the Västerbottens Museum, Umeå, Sweden, as part of the: Rock art in *Sápmi* exhibition. The figure has a triangular shaped head with what look like faint horns. The figures arms are also outstretched as if in a kind of ritual pose. From the information I was able to obtain from archaeologist Peter Johansson from the Nämforsen rock art dwelling, Ångermanland, northern Sweden where the art has its origins. According to the data, the stone is one of five, which 'was found on the island of Notön and weighs about 25kg' The dating is ambiguous for this area but the stone itself was discovered in 1989. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2016.



Figure 20. (right) A carved figure on the other side of the stone is holding what might be a staff or tool of some kind. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2016.

Figure 21. A second illustration of one of the two Kemi Sámi drums from the seventeenth century, taken from Manker (1950: 357). What has been interesting to note from a comparative observation is the designs of many of the figures bodies and ways their arms are positioned is almost identical to that of the triangular headed figure on the stone from Notön, Nämforsen. These parallels could be a typical example of a Sámi knowledge system of communication. Reused with kind permission of Nordiska Museet.

To broaden this discussion further in relation to Sámi history, identity and rock art, Norwegian artist Arvid Sveen (2006), has likewise noticed the striking ethnographic parallels between rock carvings at the Alta Fjord in Finnmark and those depicted on the heads of *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from Sweden and Norway.

The parallels presented above are one of the most convincing associations between the two different types of art. Sveen (1996: 17), also says that:

“[...] the figures depict bear, reindeer, aquatic birds, men with drums, skiers and hunters with bows and arrows. The left column contains rock carvings from Jiepmaluokta, and the right column figures from a Saami magic drum. In the 12th century, and possibly also long before that time, the Saami shamans used drums for producing ecstasy to predict the future or to look back into the past. These drums had motifs from pre-Christian Saami mythology, from the underworld and the realm of the dead, from life of the Saami people and from nature.

The age of the figures is not known but they are taken from magic drums confiscated by missionaries in the 18th century. This means that for 2,000 to 7,500 years may separate the rock carvings and the magic drums. ‘This set up has been specifically chosen to point out the similarities in both motif and form language between the rock carvings and the magic drum figures. The person who made the drums has probably not seen the rock carvings, which again may indicate that such figures had very long traditions. Magic drum motifs from Ernst Manker, *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel*, Stockholm”.

The relationship between rock paintings and drum symbolism offers a credible argument of a historical link between the two types of art. Despite not knowing whether or not the culture that preceded the Sámi, in terms of ethnicity created the paintings, there is credible evidence in rock art studies that there is a type of continuity between the use, language and expression of the symbolism.

In other words, it seems to me that there simply cannot be so many parallels by coincidence and given the facts that the figures and symbols of rock carvings and paintings in northern, central and southern Norway, Sweden and Finland correspond with many other parallel and expressive types of art pictured on *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in *Sápmi*. To close this sub-chapter, the question of ethnicity is indeed, still unanswered, but, what the art does is demonstrate the durability and continuity of tradition in this case.

5.8 Drum symbolism, rock carvings and paintings

I have included this next sub-chapter here in the dissertation because in a similar fashion to the previous one, it raises further important questions concerning ethnicity and cultural history throughout the north in relation to rock art research, cultural and ritual landscapes. In addition, the content is presented in such a manner it provides additional evidence of relationality between symbolism, motifs and cultural practices that have been extracted from the rock art of prehistory and the *noaidi* drum symbolism from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries throughout *Sápmi*. The chapter contains photographs as a method in order to follow-on what has been presented above, because the data lends support to a broader discussion concerning questions about Sámi ethnicity and history. Moreover, where further parallels can be identified between both shamanistic and cosmological phenomena in relation to bringing to light more evidence regarding cultural behavioral practices and their transmission, which suggest affiliation with Sámi identity.

These parallels amongst the figures and symbols are indicative of a common heritage that provide a series of links that seem to be consistent with what I will refer to as ancestral knowledge and cultural representational symbolism.

The main point is to demonstrate how these are themes included in the art and value systems of the Sámi are distinguishable with regard to the forwarding of traditional knowledge that re-tells stories belonging to oral tradition and narrative. For the most part, expanding on the kinds of practices, structures, and behaviors that express and mirror these organisms and therefore, seem to have their roots in explicit spiritual practices in terms of how the ancestors of the Sámi have related to the world and their environment, especially water.

Thus demonstrating how such systems have been described within what Anschuetz et al (2001: 178), states concerning how, “ethnohistorically known groups have full ritual calendars, and a rich cosmology that structure, organize, and inform on much of their landscape, which community members perceive and with, which they interact”.

One might consider for example, in both Finland and Norway, if the rock art is not considered to be Sámi, Norwegian or Finnish, based on how there is no way of knowing the ethnicity of the people that have been termed as early settlers or migrants, to these areas, then one needs to ask, if this is the case, who does the art belong to?

Prehistorical research, and especially in relation to rock art, cosmological principles and structures in the north, seems to be trapped in a revolving door between what Anschuetz et al (2001: 179), refer to as “[...] defining the culture concept”, and in this case, whether or not rock art sites represent what Anschuetz et al (2001: 179), define as “[...] ethnic landscapes [...]”, from which Sámi, or as Anschuetz et al (2001: 179), puts it, where “[...] sociocultural identity is a fundamental one and already is well established in existing research”? Moreover, it is apparent that the sociocultural identity of the Sámi is evident on drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but because the rock art is so old, research into this subject matter is as such made ambiguous, insomuch as what could be perceived as the struggle between nationalism and ethnicity.

Within the context of Christianity implementing its doctrine against Sámi religion, Lars Levi Laestadius has written about the domains of different spirits in relation to the cosmology of the Sámi in his chapter: The Doctrine of Deities (see Fragments of Lappish Mythology (2002). Examples of encounters with the spiritual aspects of various invisible dimensions of life relating to the spiritual orientated population, which have been pictured by the human participants, have been documented through what appear in some cases as x-ray images of animals, human figures and spirit beings that sometimes have unusual physical features and characteristics. What these art forms reflect is in what ways, as described by Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005: 9), “indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing are recognized as complex knowledge systems with an adaptive integrity of their own [...]”.

Such phenomena can be recognized in scenes depicted within prehistoric rock carvings at for example, the Alta site in Finnmark, Norway, Nämforsen, Sweden⁶⁸, as well as through rock paintings throughout Fennoscandia, which also includes the rock carvings at Lake Onega on the Kola Peninsula in Russia. Notably, all of these areas either still are, or have been, linked with Sámi groups.

More recently, other forms of art also linked to rock carvings and paintings, which are a manifestation of the spiritually orientated population, is the traditional Sámi handicraft decorative art *duodji*, which consists

68 Concerning Swedish rock carvings and paintings, a thorough description concerning the chronology of the material from Nämforsen is presented by Lars Forsberg (2000), and also Thomas B Larsson and Sven-Gunnar Broström (2011). See reference section.

of patterns, symbols and designs made in similar styles are found on household goods, clothes and textiles, produced by Sámi persons throughout all the Nordic countries and those living in north-west Russia.

Through the study of the narratives related to rock carving figures, rock painting images and drum symbolism, it seems the spiritual life of animals has been portrayed closely with those of the human world, and are therefore, perhaps best understood within the concept of a cyclical worldview, characterizing the concepts of rebirth or re-incarnation of both human and animals souls into other states of being following the death of the physical body.

Evidence of the holistic view of the cosmos and concepts of rebirth is understood via the ways in which grave customs where both human and animal bones were known to have been buried in anatomical order and positioned in certain directions as a way to ensure their transition into the afterlife. Manker has discussed this topic in his scholarly works: *Samefolkets Konst* (1971). As noted earlier, there have also been similar practices for animals such as reindeer, bears and moose that were ritually hunted and killed for food and subsistence so that their spirits would be reborn again in the afterlife, which are in adherence to customs related to renewal, sustainability, cultural values, that maintain cosmic order.

An extensive explanation surrounding these customs is also found in the works of Laestadius (2002), and also Pentikäinen (2007). Evidence supporting the observations of customs and taboos in the Sami texts are seen in the ways rules for treating animals respectfully are clearly defined and observed, according to Coppélie (2008: 190),

“The bear ceremonial practiced by the Sámi in former times after bear hunting (Fjellström, 1755 [1981]), as well as Turi’s accounts of wolf hunting corroborate that Sámi showed great respect to all animals, even predators that could cause the loss of the herd and jeopardize the family’s means of subsistence. Through narratives, we are given general rules about how to behave with didactic illustrations. The stories exemplify the consequences of cruelty toward animals. They indicate that all beings - frogs, rats, animals, humans - should be treated respectfully, otherwise we could also be treated badly in retaliation”

In the study of Sámi religion, natural sacrificial locations such as *sieidi* places, which formed cosmological landscapes in relation to the structures and forms of rock and boulder formations along coastal areas and by lakes and rivers as well as in the forests and tundra, and also wooden *sieidi*s, which were created from tree stumps, demonstrate how important the relationship with the landscape has been from both a religious as well as social meaning. Moreover, how spiritual entities who reside in such sacred places in the physical world were, as helpers and providers of power and luck when summoned for help and assistance, in times of need. Accounts of the function and reverence to *sieidi* stones is described within many references for example, by Schefferus (1971); Laestadius (2002), and Lahelma (2005).

Another typical phenomenon linked with the spiritual life of the Sámi people has been boats that are portrayed in quite similar forms and designs. Depictions of boats are found in many cultures in the world, but throughout Fennoscandia they are encountered on magical drums belonging to the Sami of Norway, Sweden and Finland, and also on the rock paintings in Finland, for example, at the sites of Saraakallio, in the municipality of Laukaa; Ruominkapia, Lemi; Patalahti, Asikkala; Astuvansalmi, Ristiina; Kintahunvuori, Kouvola and Pyhänpää, Kuhmoinen.

In September 2017, a news bulletin from Norway revealed how there had been a new discovery of the rock carving of a boat on a mountain, which was reported by independent newspaper Norway Today revealing the following information.

“This summer, the retired geologist Ingvar Lindahl reported about the founding of a new rock carving in Efjorden in Nordland. Surveys show that the carving, which depicts a boat, is probably between 10,000 to 11,000 years old. It is therefore probably the world’s oldest depiction of a boat.

It’s extremely huge, it is a world sensation that will go into the history of science in a very, very big way, says archaeologist from the University of Tromsø, Jan Magne Gjerde to NRK. In the Stone Age, the sea level was higher than today, and by looking at the submergence such carvings can therefore be dated according to the archaeologist. The carving is very difficult to detect and only emerges when the sunlight comes directly in from the side. The boat is just over 4 meters long. You have the keel, the line of the rail, and when you arrive here you have a very nice round of ending with the trunk of the boat.

It is impossible to properly describe such findings as this, it is totally unbelievable, says Gjerde. A scientific publication of the discovery is scheduled for some time later in 2017⁶⁹.

Because many of the major rock art sites are situated close to water, I consider that a discussion concerning the historical remains of different types of boats used by the Sámi in both inland and coastal areas in northern Norway is important. This is because in relation to how Sámi history has been interpreted, archaeologist Steven Wickler has made a number of further important observations, and descriptions concerning the relationship to water, Sámi religion and hunting practices. In addition, it is worth noting how in the earliest account of a decorated Sámi *noaidi* drum from the 12th century, described in the *Historia Norvegiae*, also refers to the motif of a boat. In other words, special attention has been paid to boats with regard to Sámi history.

One key point, which has value in terms of cultural history and associations with water is noted through the following by Wickler (2007: 118).

“The most prevalent and widely recognized component of Sami waterscapes is both direct and indirect evidence of watercraft. The potential for direct material evidence includes physical remains of vessels ranging from simple log boats and rafts to a variety of wooden boats and large seagoing craft. These remains can be found in diverse contexts including wrecks on land and underwater, stray finds, boat building sites, boat graves and other burial contexts as well as ritual contexts such as offering sites. Indirect or proxy evidence for vessels includes rock art depictions and other graphic representations, boat shelters and boathouses”.

Boats, it has been noted by for example, Kare (2000), Lahelma (2007), and Rydving (2010), in rock painting and rock carving research throughout Fennoscandia, are found in significant numbers. Generally speaking, the vessels are known worldwide as a universal symbols or archetype in various contexts. Extensive number of boats are also located for example, at the rock carving sites of Alta site in Finnmark, north Norway and Nämforsen, north Sweden that are both straight in their design as well as curved. The boats demonstrate how important journeys to spiritual worlds was a part of the religious and cultural practices, and travels to different domains could take place either through the sky or along the waterways and then into the earth and onwards towards the land of the dead or the mythical world of *Sáiva* for example.

I have asked questions concerning the significance of the location of these groups of boats in particular at Saraakallio, in central Finland and why they are located in such a high place on the boulder formation

69 Norway Today. Small and Big News From Norway (2017: 1)

as well as why so many are grouped together in this particular orientation? No one seems to know, but as a point of interest, and through the study of boats on the *noaidi* drums by Swedish scholar Bo Sommarström (1987: 218), who acknowledges how “the solar system [has been painted] on the drum skin”.

In the case of certain rock painting locations, I am also of the same opinion that at large sites such as Astuvansalmi, Hossa and at Saraakallio, there might be a similar mentality depicting the structure of the cosmos and its different levels. It would not seem unreasonable to suggest that a group of boats in such a high position (pictured below) might be reflecting some type of celestial journey, perhaps relating to offerings to the powers of the upper world. Evidence of this theory is also discussed by Sommarström with regard to the work of another Swedish scholar, Bo Lundmark (1982: 73), who has also made comparative research into the significance of boats depicted on *noaidi* drums. According to Sommarström (1987: 211-212).

“In this context, he has used statistical methods to support certain hypothesis, such as the one that the boat-like motif on the drums is connected with Saami offerings in birch bark boats at Christmas time and more generally with the moon cult. Particularly interesting from my point of view is the fact that he also thinks in terms of positioning, i.e. emphasizing how significant it is that this boat symbol ‘occurs almost without exception [...] on the upper field of the drum,’ which is important since ‘this positioning coincides remarkably clearly with the symbol of the moon on the drum where this is represented”.

What might also add some explanation to my theory of offerings to the powers of the sky is how the boats are placed on top of each other and not in any straight order, as one might expect if they were representing a possible mythical journey. It might well be as both Sommarström and Lundmark have indicated, that the positioning of the group of boats right on top of the cliff by the waters edge, when viewed in terms of cosmology could be seen as representations of sacrificial vessels.

One other theory, which would offer support to this is, as can be seen in the picture below, there is a ledge directly underneath the paintings where for example, offerings could be made, on a type of altar. These then would be an almost identical match for Sámi cultural practices.

From another scholarly paper, which addresses theories concerning the relationship between boats and cosmology from rock carving sites in Norway it has been noted by Wrigglesworth (2007: 258), how,

“Water is usually associated with life, fertility, birth, death and regeneration. It gives life, but can also take life and is thus a powerful symbol. If the landscape were divided into different zones, the rock carvings may have served as a transition from the burial to the water – helping the dead cross a liminal space from the living to the Netherworld. This is supported by the fact that the ship is the dominating motif, and can be seen as a metaphor for the journey to the Netherworld”.

This image is an important piece of data because it shows that also, despite their being no rock paintings of moose (elk) in *Sápmi*, this type of historical evidence in terms of cultural symbols and embedded systems of knowledge with regard to Sámi history, are likewise apparent in the physical sense. Meaning, that boats in rock art with moose heads at their stern, are not merely fantasies or figments of the imagination and that such vessels actually existed. What is also interesting to note is that similar boats with moose heads have been depicted extensively in the Nämforsen rock art, Sweden and also as described by Lahelma (2007: 118), “Russian Karelia and Siberia”.



Figure 22. (top left) Approximately 9 boats that appear to be curved are painted in close proximity to each other on the painted panel at Saraakallio, Lauka, central Finland. These are located at the top of the stone terrace and are not so visible from below on the shoreline, which might indicate that how, and because of their positioning, they are associated with offerings or mythical journeys to the upper or celestial world. Photograph, copyright and reused with kind permission by Ismo Luukkonen (1994-2017).

Figure 23. (top right) A curved boat image painted on the wall at Astuvansalmi. The design of this type of boat from the prehistoric rock painting also has pointed features, similar to the ones on the drum as well as at the Nämforsen site in northern Sweden. Photograph, copyright and reused with kind permission by Ismo Luukkonen (1994-2017).

Figure 24. (bottom left) A curved prehistoric boat image from the rock painting site of Saraakallio in Laukaa, central Finland 2015, which shows a moose head at the stern of the boat. Photograph, copyright and reused with kind permission by Ismo Luukkonen (1994-2017).

Figure 25. (bottom right) Three flat or straight shaped boats from the Alta site containing human subjects that are hunting. Two of the boats have moose heads on their stern. Photograph, copyright Francis Joy 2014.

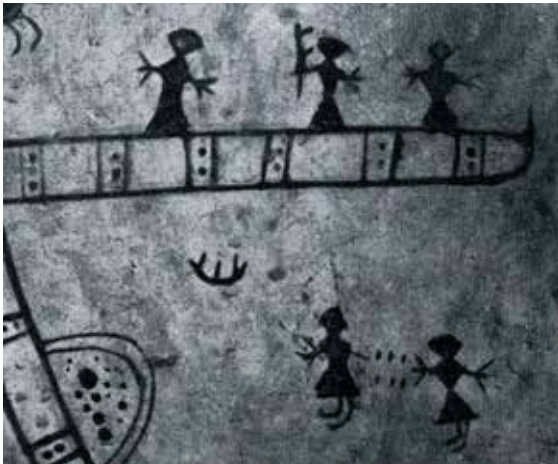


Figure 26. (top left) A combination of flat and curved boats from the Alta site, which exhibit moose heads, but in these examples, the boats are travelling in the opposite direction to those above. Photograph and copy write Francis Joy 2014.

Figure 27. (top right) According to Leena Ruonavaara (2016: 1), from the National Board of Antiquities in Helsinki “the artefact was found 60 cm deep in a bog while digging a trench in 1955. The location was 250 m SE from the Haavikko main building in Lehtojärvi, Rovaniemi. The elk head was partly damaged by spade and the loose parts have gone missing. The elk-head has probably been a figurehead of a boat. The C14-dating is 5790 BC, i.e. Finnish Mesolithic”. Photograph by Timo Syrjänen, Copyright: National Board of Antiquities 2016.

Figure 28. (bottom left) A small curved boat illustration painted on the lower section of a drumhead, which has originated from the former Kemi Lappmark area in northern Finland. A similar design is evident when compared to those pictures above from Astuvansalmi and Saraakallio. Taken from Ernst Manker (1938: 686). The boats from the rock paintings in Finland presented above as well as the one in this image look remarkably similar to 4 of the drums seen pictures on drum number 1 in Manker’s 1950 edition. Furthermore, it must also be noted too, as to how the segment on which three figures are standing in the image above looks similar to the bow of a boat, even the end is curved upwards. Reused with kind permission of Nordiska Museet.

Figure 29. (bottom right) A copy of drum number 65 by Ernst Manker (1950: 417), a curved boat is seen as figure number 15 on the drumhead. The drums origins is from “Lulea, Sweden” (Manker 1938: 791). In a similar way to the design of the boat on the Kemi drum, pointed features are recognizable on the vessel. Reused with kind permission of Nordiska Museet.

From my observations, a closer examination of the language behind the symbolism of rock paintings, carvings and drum images in relation to links with Sámi culture and boats indicates a series of metaphorical representations where the construction and creation of protraits and certain types of designs of figures and symbols plays both an individual as well as collective role in the formulation of oral narrative.

It appears as being evident how these metaphors represent an underlying series of cultural constructs, traditions and worldviews. There are however, differences between the structures of the cultural landscapes portrayed on the drumheads, and those symbols and metaphors depicted in rock paintings, and carvings because of the variations between Sámi groups in Norway, Sweden and Finland. For example, one case is the *noaidi*-shamans out-of-body journey, which is depicted within both rock paintings and drum symbols. Furthermore, these variations have to be considered as being normal, which does not reduce their value or representation.

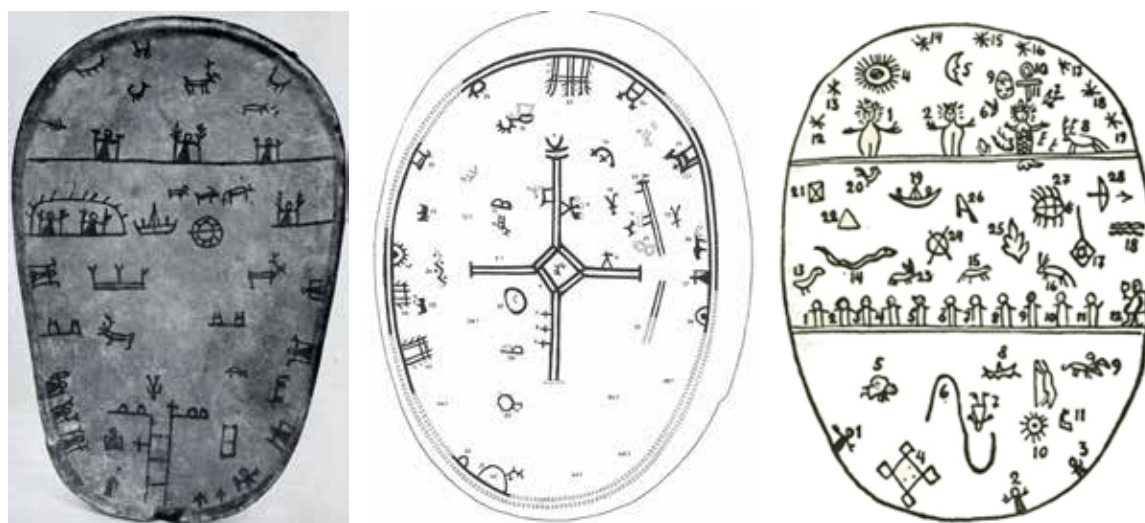


Figure 30. (left) In terms of the continuity of culture and cultural practices the figures in the rock paintings and on the drumheads that are falling-flying could also be viewed as cultural markers, which are thousands of years apart in terms of historical continuity. In the lower part this bowl drum, which comes from “Lulea, Swedish Lapland” (Manker 1938: 786), a *noaidi* figure is captured falling-flying and upside down, travelling towards the under or lower world. On the border line at the top of the drum stand three spirits of the upper realm and a further three who are linked to the earthly realm are pictured on the left side of the drum standing together in the lower-bottom section. Reused with kind permission of Nordiska Museet.

Figure 31. (center) The mental landscape of the *noaidi* is captured on the painted drum number 4 from “Åsele, Sweden” (Manker 1950: 232). Figure number 18 is upside down as if flying or falling towards the mythical under world or world of the dead on the right, which is portrayed as two lines. There is also a boat in close proximity which bears a cross. Reused with kind permission of Nordiska Museet.

Figure 32. (right) In the lower section of an illustration of a drum, which does not exist anymore, and the landscape is divided into three zones or segments. In the middle section is a curved boat. In the lower section is a human figure (number 7), next to a large serpent or snake, that is upside down as if falling or flying. (Manker 1950: 216). The fact the drum is divided into three segments by horizontal lines, shows it is a north Sámi design or type. Reused with kind permission of Nordiska Museet.

From my observations of material, the whole construction of the content of the cultural landscape of the drum, as well as many rock-painting images appears to be centered on a culture, which has been influenced and characterized by its relationship to nature, and the out-of-body activities of the *noaidi* and his role and function as a result of this relationship. A wider explanation of this theory is described by Sámi historian Veli-Pekka Lehtola (2002: 28), who recalls how

“In the old culture, human relationships with the two realms of reality, the physical world (“this side”) and the spiritual world (the other side), were bridged by the activities of special men and women – *noaidi*. Just as the world was divided into the seen and the unseen, the tangible and the intangible, so human beings were composed of two parts: the body souls and free souls. In a non-active state – in dream, trance or coma – a free soul may leave the body and take on another form outside of the person. The *noaidi* had the skill to reach this state at will. It is described in different ways. The *noaidi* in trance leaves the body and moves as a spirit or breath of wind.

They have the ability to change into a wild reindeer or hide under the reindeer’s neck or hoof; they can fly over the tree tops or travel under the ground; they may swim in the shape of a fish; and the Sea Sámi recount that they may even move mountains. The traditional shamanism was an integral part of the hunting culture. Shamanic activities were related to crisis situations in a village or family; the *noaidi* attempted to find a remedy. The greatest crisis for this people dependent on nature, were illnesses and problems concerning obtaining a livelihood. Illness and



Figure 33. (left) A human subject in close proximity to a pike, which looks as if he/she is falling. The image is painted at the site of Juusjärvi, Kirkkonummi in southern Finland. Photograph, copyright and reused with kind permission by Ismo Luukkonen (1994-2017).

Figure 34. (right) A human figure that is upside down as if falling, is captured in the rock painting at Verijärvi, Mikkeli. The location of the painting is just above the water line. Photograph, copyright and reused with kind permission by Ismo Luukkonen (1994-2017).

disturbance of the balance between the two souls and between the two realms of reality. The *noaidi* in the spirit form, leaves and goes to “the other side” to restore harmony”.

From a rock painting at the site of Juusjärvi, Kirkkonummi, as well as depictions from Haukkavuori, Mäntyharju and Verijärvi, Mikkeli in southern Finland, all exhibit metaphorical human figures who are falling-flying and engaged in out-of-body travelling, which have been captured from thousands of years ago. In a similar way, *noaidi* figures that are engaged in travelling to the mythical world of *Sáiva*, or *Jabma Aimo*, the world of the dead, painted on the heads of drums from Swedish and Norwegian *Sápmi*, are engaged in almost identical modes of behavior, thereby demonstrating how these cultural practices have survived for thousands of years.

Metaphorical representations of the *noaidi*'s and his relationship with nature and the cosmos appear to be governed by symbols and figures. It seems these are the main characterizations used to depict cultural landscapes that have played an important role in binding the structures and organization of Sámi society together into a whole. From the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in *Sápmi*, drums are a primary source of data, which show how the formulation of cosmos has taken place within the content of the decorated oval drumhead; the oval shape being a symbol of the cyclical nature of the Sámi universe.

At the same time, it seems the out-of-body journey by the *noaidi* has remained one of the fundamental ways of expressing the holistic religious practices of the culture, outlining the relationship with nature, and how the role and function of this person has been to bridge the gaps between the human realm, the invisible worlds and nature. On close observation of both drum figures and rock paintings it seems obvious that similar patterns exist, which link the symbols and behaviors together through a system of knowledge linked to language.

In the anthropological study of different cultures, by for example, Sherry Ortner (1973), one of the common methods applied in the study of underlying structures and core elements has been to break these components down into systems, which are then analyzed as individual units as a way of gaining different understanding as to what the core elements in societies are. Moreover, the relationship between human beings and the animal kingdom as well as human beings and spirits, and how these relationships function. An extension of the *noaidi* is the painted drum and its symbols. On the drumhead, exists a multitude of core rather than key symbols such as boats, reindeer, moose, human figures, *noaidi* figures and spirits who are located in what Ortner (1973: 1338), refers to as a “[...] kinship system”, representing the structure and cyclical worldview of the culture as well as a common memory. All of these symbols are also found in rock paintings and carvings; therefore outlining a number of core elements associated with the root practices of the culture.

Laestadius (2002), provides an in depth and detailed description as to the different zones or levels, which exist in Sámi religion and cosmology from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the drums were studied by the missionaries. Analysis of what Laestadius has written, concludes that for example, with regard to the variations of accounts provided by clergymen and missionaries, as presented by Pentikäinen (2002: 72), how in the “ranking and classifying of Lappish Gods, the *noaides* presumably did not divide their gods into classes. Yet the missionaries accounts occasionally include a ranking order of sorts, which insofar as they rely on statements by *noaides* can serve as a basis for the clarification in order to become better aware of relationships”. A further example, is presented by Pentikäinen (2002: 72).

“The deities of the Lapps” states Jessen “were grouped into three classes: high above, above and on the earth,” to which can be added a category ‘below’, and such mythological beings which

while not designated or worshipped as deities were still considered supernatural beings and played a vital role in the mythology”.

The information provided by Laestadius is to a greater extent ambiguous with regard to the classification of spirits. “This, of course, is a consequence of the fact that the deities of the Lapps were different in different Lappmarks” (ibid), and therefore, a mixture of names and terms in Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish is not helpful for this discussion, but as Håkan Rydving (2010: 57) has noted,

“There is a tendency to harmonize terms and names from different sources, disregarding geographical distribution. In addition, information from one area or perhaps one individual is sometimes generalized and made to apply to the entire culture, without any discussion of the principle of selection. However, regional differences in religious matters make it possible to talk about regional religions”.

To his credit, Pentikäinen does provide evidence of the types of complexity involved in understanding the regional variations and origins of the names, structures and terminology, which relate to the role and function of deities in *Sápmi*, at the time material was compiled by clergymen and missionaries. The reason I want to briefly discuss the role and function of spirits here is to show how close the spiritual world has been to the human world, not only from the times the drums were collected, but because the content of rock art also overwhelmingly expresses these practices as well, so they have much in common despite the large time gap.

What the human figures in both rock paintings and on drums that are flying-falling do have in common with each other, is ritual actions that bring about the transformation of the self into a spiritual state in order to travel and express the relationship with nature. These practices are at the core of shamanism and cosmological orientations.

As a way of establishing a further brief, but informative description of the spirits in Sámi society, I sought a more comprehensive explanation of examples of the more important ruling powers from Elina Helander-Renvall (2015: 1), in relation to this discussion.

“When western researchers talk about Sami gods, they are using western terminology. I also use sometimes the word ‘god’ or ‘goddess’ because westerners understand the “value” or contents of this term. Sami people talked about *Beaivi*, *Diermmes*, *Sarahkka*, and so forth when talking about these High spirits. Sami have own terminology, such as ‘*bassi*’ and ‘*áldá*’ to talk about sacredness of things, persons and places. The spirits have to be related to the realms of sky (*Diermmes*, *Rádien*), earth (*Sarahkka*) and underground (*Jápmeahkka*). These are the layers many researchers talk about and you can see on drums.

Perhaps there was some kind of hierarchy among the gods, or some of them were more popular than others (for instance, *Beaivi*). Some were important in the context of home activities (*Sarahkka*), others in the context of hunting (*Leibolmmai*). Beings that many researchers think as gods belong to the realm of sacredness. We have also beings, such as earth spirits ‘*Ulda*’ (*Gufitttar*), who are not necessary sacred. Yes, we have ancestral spirits, that many times appeared in dreams, for instance when giving advice about the name of a child. Many times you can see the sun figure or world tree in the center of a drum. Perhaps ‘center’ in the Sami shamanic thinking is dependent on the context.

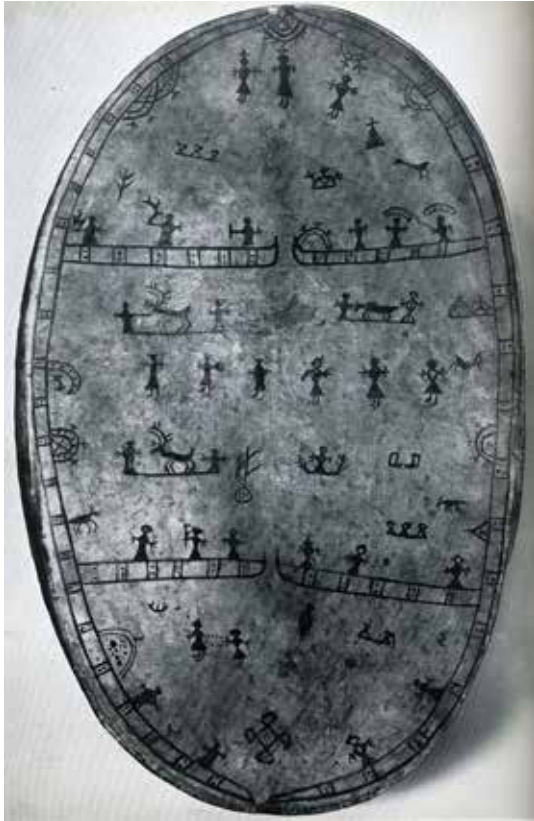


Figure 35. (left) The drum is one of the only two remaining drums from the former Kemi Lappmark province of Finnish *Sápmi*, and shows how the content of the drumhead is divided up into three segments of zones by horizontal lines, which are also similar to the north Sámi drum. The spirits who watch over these zones are pictured above the enclosures, which separate each of the segments Ernst Manker (1938: 686). On closer observation of the segmental structures, there is a resounding similarity between their shapes and that of the bow of boats. In this sense, the drum might be seen as an entire vessel on which the spirits were travelling. In addition, there are in the top, middle and bottom sections triangular structures, which are *sieidi* sacred places. Although the images are not clear because the picture is rather dark, there are also sacred places at the edge of the right side of the drum that likewise, have triangular shaped figures of symbols contained within them. These shapes are reminiscent of those found in rock paintings in Finland. Reused with kind permission of Nordiska Museet.

Figure 36. (right) A *noaidi* lying in a trance whilst his assistant watches over him. The illustration is taken from the Dutch edition of the History of Lapland: *Waarachtige en aen-merkens-waardige Historie van Lapland* (1682: 87). The content of the picture shows the *noaidi* in a trance with a bowl drum covering his back, perhaps used as a vessel for travel. Gathered around him are his assistances who are singing and protecting him whilst he is in a magnetic trance. This is an unusual portrait because usually, the séance took place inside the *kota*-tent, which is pictured in the background.

You find the expressions of the categories of sacredness, center, contexts and layers, among the drum pictures. The western categories are not airtight. Transformation of shamans, animals, persons ect, show that the reality has many faces. For example, the category of 'personhood' has many meanings in indigenous contexts [...]."

On all of the remaining drums, the metaphors symbols and figures which are depicted of the powers that ruled or governed particular spheres and areas of cosmos, clearly demonstrates how the structures from within the worldview had been interpreted by the Sámi *noaidi* and then transcribed into art as a way of retaining knowledge and creating structures. The application of the symbols inscribed upon the drum-head provides numerous examples as described in this case by Ortner (1973: 1340), of how

"Symbols can be seen as having elaborating power in two modes. They may have primarily conceptual elaborating power, that is, they are valued as a source of categories for conceptualizing the order of the world. Or they may have primarily action elaborating power; that is, they are valued as implying mechanisms for successful social action".

A closer examination of the presence and statuses of ruling powers within Sámi society reveals how the function of the symbols and their interrelationships with each other corresponds with these powers. Through the different ways in which the symbolism has been used for embodying and portraying the powers of the cosmos, it becomes clearly obvious why organization of the spirits in their respective roles in different places within the drumhead is important as defined in relation to the creation of a cosmology and social order, by Ortner (1973: 1344), "[...] for providing cultural orientations"; for the *noaidi* to undertake their vocation into different aspects of realities.

Moreover, the grouping of figures such as the *Akka* Goddesses and the *Radien* groups for example, around the world pillar or above and below zones or borders, demonstrates what is made reference to, by Ortner (1973: 1343), concerning how "[...] [symbolism] extensively and systematically formulates relationships-parallels, isomorphisms, complementarities, and so forth-between a wide range of diverse cultural elements". When brought together, these form a major part of what Ortner (1973: 1339), refers to as the "[...] value system. [...] [thereby the use of the drum and the out-of-body journey by the *noaidi* becomes the] vehicle for cultural meaning". Another possibility would be how the journeys into non-ordinary reality subsequently depicts varying aspects of the conceptual framework containing the richness of life, which is then transcribed into art depicting the relationship with nature.

To conclude this chapter and in addition to the similar designs and structures of boats within the landscapes of rock carvings, paintings and *noaidi* drums in relation to travelling both spiritually and for the hunting of fish and birds, I believe that given the fact as to how the human figures who are flying and upside down with their arms raised shows a cultural practice relating to both gesture and pose, which is evident across thousands of years and related to travelling within various contexts. These expressions do, when combined with other similar parallels presented above, provide further examples of relational cultural landscapes and the value systems of the Sámi, which characterizes their relationship with nature, cultural memory and in what ways within these practices identities have been formed.

Through an examination of the drum figures we can see how the past (rock art) continues to live on through art on the drums and the ways to *noaidi's* have done this, provides further evidence of the critical role posture and pose may play in cosmological landscapes and cultural narratives for reflecting and retaining these memories.

6 Construction and decoration of old and new drums and problems associated with the reuse of heritage

Chapter 6 brings together a selection of photographic material and textual data, which covers in detail primarily, what has been written about the old Sámi *noaidi* drums that still exist from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in terms of their construction and decoration, which can be seen as part of the *duodji* tradition. This tradition regarding drums and their decoration is typically characterised by the animistic worldview of Sámi culture; meaning that Sámi religion and cosmology, which is an integral part of the culture and especially the spiritual world has been a major influence in the ways the drums have been constructed, decorated and used. In turn, this cultural practice translates into representations regarding the formulation of identity, forwarding of traditional knowledge and cultural heritage, which is handed down from the past generations as a central part of tradition. Accordingly, one might also argue how the origins of this artistic heritage lies within the prehistoric rock art traditions of the Nordic countries and Kola peninsula in north-west Russia.

For many Sámi persons the *noaidi* drums represent roots and ancestry that Sámi people feel they have lost or been disconnected from because of colonialism and thus remain alienated from the religion of their ancestors. However and at the same time, for a multitude of Sámi persons, the drums provide a sense of community, identity and belonging. The drums may also be seen as a symbol of resistance against assimilation, thus separating Sámi culture and identity from that of the nation states.

Incorporating the drums and their symbols back into the lives of today's Sámi culture has been made difficult because the drums remain in museums in other European countries.

In paper 3, titled: What Influence do the Old Sámi *Noaidi* Drums from Lapland Play in the Construction of New Shaman Drums by Sámi Persons Today? (2014), an in-depth discussion and analysis of new kinds of Sámi drums made by Elle-Maaret Helander and Ovlla Gaup has helped shed some light on the old Sámi cultural practice of drum building and decoration in the modern time and the research has likewise captured the oral narratives behind their creations. By contrast, the following chapter examines a series of issues that have been brought into focus with regard to Sámi cultural heritage concerning how new kinds of

drums are being made and painted by non-Sámi persons, who recreate and subsequently use the old *noaidi* drum landscapes and symbolism as a way of creating shaman drums, by way of their creations.

Placing the focus of representation of culture inside the study, shows the benefit of the research for the purpose of engaging with what might be considered as a loss of identity by the Sámi in relation to the reuse of symbolism by persons from outside the culture.

I contextualised the interviews with Elle-Maaret Helander and Ovlla Gaup concerning paper 3: What Influence do the Old Sámi *Noaidi* Drums from Lapland Play in the Construction of New Shaman Drums by Sámi Persons Today? (2014), as a stepping stone from the past, which brought up-to-date evidence of the resurrection of Sámi spirituality and production of new types of what might be best termed as shaman drums in *Sápmi*.

I also wish to state that undertaking research into this subject is a sensitive as well as complex task due to the nature of the historical and cultural issues involved, which I provide a brief history of below.

To add another dimension to the discussion and analysis, there are also various categories of jewellery that are likewise, being recreated from the pictures of animals and spirits that have been painted on the old *noaidi* drums, by a Finnish company in Rovaniemi who markets these replicas as everyday items; and using their sacredness as a sales pitch.

6.1 The Sami *noaidi* drum and the animistic worldview of Sámi culture

Because the *noaidi* drums and their decoration are not something that suddenly appeared in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there are also theories from within rock art studies (Helskog 1987), indicating the use of drums within the Stone Age period in for example, Finnmark and also striking parallel similarities between symbols and figures, suggests there has been a long and on-going continuity of such practices. Therefore, and whilst bearing in mind the title of the dissertation, the opportunity to be able to capture and understand how cultural shifts and developments are taking place, where today, we can see how both prehistoric rock art and *noaidi* drum symbolism as systems of embodied knowledge has for a very long time influenced Sámi artists in their works.

From within scholarly literature written on the subject matter of *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and their constructions, designs, creations and usage, there are descriptions, which refer to the instruments and decorative symbolism as a type of Cognitive Map (see for example: Pentikäinen 1998 and Keski-Santi et al 2003).

Traditionally, the substance used to paint the markings on the drumhead was made from alder bark, which was either chewed or boiled beforehand.

From the scholarly work of Ernst Manker (1950), and his detailed compilation of art work from the drumheads, it is obvious how different manifestations of these animations of spirits and other types of phenomena were portrayed by the *noaidi* through art. A study of the works of Manker demonstrates how the structure of the *noaidi* drum varied in different parts of *Sápmi*, but yet all seem to have a common theme regarding the cyclical worldview of the culture and the role and function drum landscapes portray in terms of establishing and maintaining cosmic order, particularly through sacrifice and worship.

On some drums mythical epics were also painted where the *noaidi* with the assistance of helping spirits would hunt a celestial reindeer or bear. A description of such events is seen on a drum, which is currently in the Pigorini Museum in Rome as noted by Pentikäinen (2007).

As a way to expand on the complex animistic worldview and cosmology of the Sámi, the following descriptions illustrate how important the zones or segments on drums were for helping to shape the cosmological landscapes, which underpinned the universe, a comprehensive explanation concerning a description of *noaidi* drums is provided through an account by Sámi scholars Anna Westman and John E. Utsi (1990: 10).

“Frame and Bowl: The frame-drums *gievrie*, from the South Sámi area, were made in an oval shape. The frame was called *Gievriegisa*. The pine or spruce from which it was made should grow straight and regular. It should be a flexible material that one could heat and bend into a bow-shape, and either sew or rivet together. The handle and wooden crosspieces gave the frame its proper form. Over the frame was laid the wet, defurred reindeer skin which was fastened over the frame while it dried. The leather was fixed to the frame with threads made from sinews.

The skin used for the drum came from a special animal: *stainnak* – a sterile reindeer cow, *rod-nu* – a reindeer without a calf, or from a *miessi* calf. Finally, on the smooth skin the cosmos one inhabited was drawn or painted. On the back, the part of the drum that was turned towards the body, were hung different amulets of silver and brass, or pieces of bone and teeth from different animals. They have the drum power and noise. Small pieces of tin were also driven into the frame, one for every bear that was caught, giving the drum increased strength.

In the northern area the pine and spruce were also used, but there it was the boles and knots of the roots that formed the body of the drum. *Goabdes* or *meavrresgárri* are the names for these bowl-drums. The body of the drum was hollowed out into a bowl leaving two linear gaps which made a handle. Sometimes they did not take much time to decorate the wood, but on other drums we find beautiful ornamentation that attests to great artistic skill and craftsmanship. Sun and Fields: It was not just in the shape of the drum but also in the pictures themselves that the southern and northern traditions were different. In the centre of the frame drum, was a squared cross with four radiating lines which symbolized *Beaivi*, the sun and its power. Round the edge of the drum were then grouped the different pictures and figures.

In the North Sámi area they chose to divide the drum-skin into different ‘fields’, in layers: the upper, lower and middle worlds. Those with enough skill could move between these, independent of time and space. On the drums from the Central Sámi area the two traditions are combined. Here we see both a layered and solar-centered world”.

In addition to what has been noted above, more information providing further detail about the construction of drums and elaborating on earlier scholarly sources, with regard to the variations encountered within shapes and forms of different types of instruments is expanded on by Swedish scholar Rolf Christoffersson (2010: 100-103).

“When it comes to construction, there are two types of Sámi drums, frame drums and bowl drums. These two types correspond with the tambourines with only one skin and a puka according to the common drum typologies. All known Sámi drums have one skin, these are often characterised as frame drums, which means they have objects which are added and these create sound. The frame on which the drum skin was stretched, was made of a plank or slat of wood which was curved most likely around a template. The ends of the strip were riveted together with lead-, copper or brass rivets or sewn together with sinew thread.

The bowl drums were made out of a piece of wood which had been hollowed out, which had naturally grown into a suitable form, often a so-called burl. The bowl drums are unique given the fact they are only found amongst the Sámi. All other shaman drums are of the frame type. Hallström thought that the bowl drum was more interesting ethnographically, he suggested that ring drum, and one preserved example, can be seen as an explanatory link between the two types. In both cases, the drum skin was fastened with sinew thread which was tightened through holes in the wood.

A special type of angle frame drums of which only two or three are preserved. The two that are described by Manker for example, numbers 43 and 44, are relatively big in formation. The construction is an innovative way to create a strengthened frame that tolerated the pressure from a larger skin which has been tightened around the frame. Hallström considered in his article 1910, that it was in his typologies a question of a pair of “reluctant” drums. K. B. Wiklund called them “box type” because of a misunderstanding of the construction. Ernst Manker published a more specific more specific research in 1937. The frame is built on top of an edging with an L profile. By making V-formed cuts in the base of the L you can bend the strip so that the grooves go together and strengthen the frame.

Since the frame is not a round circle the angles of the grooves must vary. Most likely the angles were cut in right to give the desired rounding through practical attempts during the manufacturing process. Most likely, the fitting of each frame half with the middle part. Manker presumes that the pieces of the frame were steamed in hot water to get the soft, rounding they have” (Hallström (1910: 88 & 99), Manker (1938a).

The Sámi drums have a richer world of signs and figures that are painted on the drum skins than most other ceremonial drums. Usually the shaman drums are circle round, even if oval or egg-formed exist. The Sámi drums are egg-shaped or oval. The Sámi names are *goavddis* or *meavrresgárri* (saN), *Goabdes* (saL) and *gievrie* (saS)⁷⁰.

To add to what has already been noted above, a further assessment of descriptions of *noaidi* drums in research conducted at an earlier time, is likewise continued by Christoffersson (2010: 103).

“The drums can be studied according to different categorizations. They come from different parts of *Sápmi*. A more certain categorization would most likely contribute to our knowledge about differences and similarities between different areas. But of the many drums we know of [...] there are very few which we can say where they have originated from, and likewise, is the case with the drums that are spoken of in literature”⁷¹.

Christoffersson (2010: 237), has also included a chapter concerning how the drum was used from accounts provided by missionaries. “Samuel Rheen (1671; 1983: 33), tells how the drum was used to tell fortunes”.

It “is used in an excellent way for the following reasons

- 1, to determine how things are in strange and faraway places
- 2, to determine fortune and misfortune, concerning health and illness

70 Translated from Swedish to English by Linda Granfors 2015.

71 Translated from Swedish to English by Linda Granfors 2015.

- 3, how to cure sicknesses
- 4, to perceive what the Gods required for sacrifice, and to which of their Gods they should offer the animals. They want to sacrifice for either Thor, *Storjunkar* or the Sun” (Rheen 1671/1983: 31f & 33). 72.

In addition to what is written above, further reference to missionary sources from the works of Rheen (1671/1983: 31f), are discussed by Christoffersson (2010: 237), for the sake of clarifying how and in a much wider context the drum was used for divination and healing.

“Thereafter, Rheen describes how to proceed in these different cases. No matter what the question was, the procedure was about the same. The pointer was put in place, and then “a big bunch of brass rings [...] on top of the sun picture,” where after the *noid* struck the drum with the hammer so that the rings started moving.

A second way of devising is the way the drums are built, a third way of devising has to do with the differences in the drum skin pictures. There is also a fairly big difference in size. Ernst Manker is giving probable origins for the 71 preserved drums that he found authentic. In the first case the idea of the drumming was that the *noid* would go into trance and from his visit to other levels of the world inform decisions and wishes of the powers.

In the second case, of health or sickness, the answer was given directly by the pointers movements on the drum skin. If the pointer went “straight around and according to the sun, [in other words, clockwise] it meant luck, good health and well-being”. If not, then the opposite. When it comes to the third case, curing sickness, the drumming should take place in a more extensive ritual involving both the *noid* and the gathered community. Here the *noid* got knowledge of whether the affliction or the sickness was something natural or had been caused by witchcraft. In order to become cured the sick person or the relatives had to promise a sacrifice according to what the *noid* prescribed after he had been negotiating with the powers.

In the fourth case, that can obviously follow the third, one would find out to whom the sacrifice should be offered and where. A hair from the sacrificial animal was fastened on the pointer, the brass rings, and when the *noid* was drumming the pointer went to the picture on the drum which represented that God that should receive that sacrifice, according to Rheen: “*Storejunkar*, Thor or the Sun” (Rheen 1671, 1983: 34)⁷³.

There is also a brief description regarding the conflicting ideas about the drums functions as detailed by Christoffersson (2010: 246-247).

“The drums of the Sámi were therefore considered only useful for taking away evil, in other words for witchcraft. But for the Sámi it was instead a “means of praying” which through you could find out the will of the gods and ask advice of the powers, one of the many methods for divination that the history of religion knows”⁷⁴.

72 Translated from Swedish to English by Linda Granfors 2015.

73 Translated from Swedish to English by Linda Granfors 2015.

74 Translated from Swedish to English by Linda Granfors 2015.

Another aspect to the Sámi drum is its function as a musical instrument, which is not a topic scholars of shamanism in Finland have covered extensively. However, this subject matter has been addressed by Swedish scholars Rolf Christoffersson (2010), and Bo Sommarström (1991). A brief mention about the role of the painted drum as a musical instrument is warranted here because in the interview with Elle-Maaret Helander (2011), one of the drums was used as an instrument used during *joiking* performances by her daughters, which shows how they can have a multi-functional purpose. In relation to the Sámi drum being used as a musical instrument, according to Christoffersson (2010: 151), the following information has been presented.

“One early reason why I paid so much attention to the Sámi drum, was as I have told, that I found that it was not considered to be seen as a musical instrument but was called a sound tool and a witch drum. Otherwise, a not uncommon perception has been that music has a link with magic. Here it seemed to be the contrary. In general, drums are seen as musical instruments and are to be found in for example, symphony orchestras, jazz bands and in military music. What could make the Sámi drums so different from other drums? I also found that the perception that the Sámi in the same way were seen as different from other people – that they were seen as unmusical.

Gradually they were seen as being able to produce an unmusical song called *joik*. When it comes to the drum it has still in our time been seen as something not associated with music, an attitude which is no longer possible considering what we now know about ethnomusic. The Sámi drum was also a musical instrument played in music fundamentally different from the western art music. So, there is proof enough for an indigenous Saami music. Meaningful evidence of this is the drum that created a Saami sound landscape. According to sources [by] Niurenius [1640s] (1983, 21), it was heard over an extensive area. Traditional Saami music was considerably different from the music of the surrounding Scandinavian north peoples’ music, but has many similarities with the music of other indigenous people”⁷⁵.

The information above has provided both insight and depth into the custom of building, decorating and using *noaidi* drums for a variety of purposes, thereby demonstrating a legacy that is built on systems of knowledge passed from generation to generation within Sámi culture.

6.2 A discussion concerning the types of issues which have arisen in relation to the production and decoration of new types of drums and the reuse of *noaidi* drum symbolism in Finland

Having outlined in detail above what has been written about the construction and decoration of the *noaidi* drums, as a reminder to the reader, before commencing with the following chapter, it is helpful to take into consideration what has been published in the paper: The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami *Noaidi* Drum Figures Reversed (2011), predominantly concerning the mis-representation of the only 2 remaining Sámi *noaidi* drums from the Finnish side of *Sápmi* and the problems concerned with representation of cultural knowledge and landscapes that have been impacted by colonialism. The subject matter in the paper, pertains to analysis of a series of publication errors in literature sources, meaning the illustrations of the drums, positioning of the painted zones and symbolism and the implications that have arisen from depictions of these drums, which are reversed in each of the sources presented in the research and why these are problematic as far as authenticity, and reliability goes.

75 Translated from Swedish to English by Linda Granfors 2015.

Therefore, I am anticipating the subject matter presented below will invite further discussions about a whole range of additional types of issues that have emerged concerning the reuse of *noaidi* drum symbolism and how these issues maybe further investigated with regard to the production and decoration of new types of what I will here refer to as shaman drums, in relation to representation of Sámi culture and authenticity. In terms of location, for this first case, the focus is placed in the former *Sápmi* areas of Rovaniemi and Kemi in northern Finland.

The investigation centers on within what ways Sámi cultural symbolism has been used as part of oral tradition to educate other persons within their culture about the sacred and the profane, which translates into a relationship with landscapes and the place of the Sámi within nature. In this sense, symbolism has been used to tell stories about the history of the culture. Symbolism has been one of the important methods used in order to convey religious concepts and experiences regarding events where inter-species communication has taken place between the human world and realms of the sacred.

Because of the ways the drums containing many forms of sacred symbolism from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were stolen from the Sámi and sent to museums throughout Europe, the value of these missing dimensions of culture have always been revered as being the very core of Sámi spirituality and identity, which is rooted in oral traditions and characterized by the sacred powers of the Sámi cosmos. Recent problems have arisen in relation to the appropriation of these dimensions of the sacred because of in what ways replicas of the old decorated *noaidi* drums are emerging, which can be bought for example, at souvenir and gift shops, and hotels. These are made by local artists in Rovaniemi and also local businesses such as Finnish company Lappituote in the area of Kemi. The Lappituote company produces a whole range of different types of drums imitations of traditional Sámi costumes and textile products decorated with the *noaidi* symbols from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries⁷⁶.

Drums as such play a central role and function amidst the tourist industry and its related enterprises in relation to mystical stories and experiences about Arctic culture where the use of new types of shaman drums play an important role within this context.

The complexity involved in research with regard to gathering information about the production of new types of shaman drums made by Finnish persons where Sámi designs of drums and the migration or reuse of symbolism by persons from outside Sámi culture are evident, has not been a straight forward task. But, what has been discovered can be considered as being important for analysis in terms of discussions about cultural property, heritage, identity, memory and integrity of the Sámi in both a past and present context thus highlighting problems in relation to ownership.

Because of the nature of this sensitive topic, during the collection of the photographic evidence and interviews, it was explained to each participant how the material would be used for research purposes, to which their consent was given.

76 <http://www.lappituote.fi/index.php?1>. Such has been the extent of misuse of Sámi symbolism in Finland, that in November 2008, articles addressing the general misuse and appropriation pertaining to the reuse of Sámi symbolism and cultural heritage appeared within the media. The first was published by YLE, which is Finland's national public service broadcasting company, and titled Restrictions on Use of Sami Cultural Symbols see: https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/restrictions_on_use_of_sami_cultural_symbols/6117478. The second article also published in November 2008 by Ice News: News from the Nordics, and titled, 'Finland's Saami Protect their Cultural Symbols', see: <http://www.icenews.is/2008/11/18/finland%E2%80%99s-saami-protect-their-cultural-symbols>. A third article published more recently by YLE Uutiset is titled 'Saami people are trying to stop exploitation of indigenous handicrafts' (2015) https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/sapmi/saami_people_are_trying_to_stop_exploitation_of_indigenous_handicrafts/8485815.

The purpose of approaching the material using comparative and descriptive methods in this type of research is to show the emotive language of drum symbolism and drum designs, which have in the past, conveyed religious experiences. Moreover, how the drum makers have, through examples of their works, conferred to us through their handicraft productions and representations, captured various landscapes, figures and symbolism in order to produce their works. The information about the drums helps determine the results of the research in terms of the meanings associated with the material in relation to Sámi history in *Sápmi*, development of culture and some of the grievances the Sámi hold in relation to this.

I have chosen in addition, to present the photographic and textual material in this way because it not only allows the handicrafts persons to speak about their creations, but the materials provides clear examples concerning how data has been used for marketing purposes. Moreover, each example conveys how reproductions of both drums and symbolism might be seen as being problematic for the Sámi when viewed from different perspectives.

Since moving to Rovaniemi, formerly a Sámi area, which is presently the capital city of what is still termed Lapland today, from Helsinki in 2010, and as an explanation of some of the background issues, which are contextual to this next chapter, I have become aware of the growing demand in contemporary society for virtual tourism excursions into the deep nature of Arctic and northern culture. Rovaniemi, which was destroyed during the German retreat from northern Finland during World War II, and the modern city, especially the Santa Claus theme park, has areas within the capital that have been built to foster the growth of tourism industry.

In addition, folk tales and stories about animals, northern lights, and also astral myths during these excursions are used to characterize the magic of Rovaniemi and surrounding areas. These are typically organized by Safari companies and have importance for storytelling evenings, which often take place around a fire in the *Lavvu*, which is a reindeer herding tent⁷⁷.

As a way of gaining a more comprehensive explanation of the kinds of processes and issues that surround the creation of new drums and the reuse of Sámi symbolism by persons who are not Sámi, I contacted Elina Helander-Renvall (2015: 1), who stated the following points.

“Finns use Sami shamanism and symbols in their commercial activities as tourist display or selling. Then there are Finns who re-produce and use the “Sami” drums without commercial purposes: they can be neo-shamans, new-agers, healers and people who enjoy using drums and symbols as decoration, gift to friends, etc. We do not know much about this group. Sami follow traditions, as they use the drums. Non-Sami drums and Sami symbols drawn by non-Sami may lack traditional Sami spiritual sensibilities and spirits connected to drums. People usually do not understand what makes a Sami drum spiritually strong”.

As a further basis for what is to come regarding the presentation of new types of drums and jewelry which are imitations of Sámi cultural heritage, I intend to show how the reproduction of Sámi religious artefacts and heritage not only has a negative impact on Sámi culture and history but what kinds of legal issues come to light as a consequence. It seems Sámi history and religion in relation to the drum symbols and designs is viewed as something from yesteryear rather than a living, vital culture and tradition in the north.

Because of this ambiguous belief, evidence suggests that Finnish businesses in particular, tend to think the symbols do not belong to anyone anymore and therefore, can be used freely and without any obligation to the Sámi people or their culture.

77 I should also mention how I have heard of occasions when there have even been English people employed by safari companies who have dressed up in traditional Sámi costumes as reindeer herders at Rovaniemi airport, with a reindeer, in order to welcome tourists to the city.

One helpful source, which plays a fundamental role in this type of descriptive and comparative analysis that outlines many of the legal issues involved in the misappropriation of Sámi cultural heritage is an informative book edited by Sámi scholar John T. Solbakk titled: *Traditional Knowledge and Copyright* (2007). Within the different contexts there is an important chapter by professor of Sámi handicraft Gunvor Guttorm, whose discussions are focused on the subject concerning the ownership and reuse of Sámi traditional knowledge titled: *Duodji – Sami Handicrafts – who owns the Knowledge and the Works?* A topic of which, in Finnish *Sápmi*, it may be said, there is a fair amount of obscurity with regard to the legislation concerning the reuse of the symbolism from the old *noaidi* drums without any understanding or recognition of how the heritage of the Sámi would be protected by intellectual property laws.

6.3 Who owns the copyright of indigenous history?

The problematics involved in the reproduction of new types of drums, reuse of symbols and ownership, by persons who are not Sámi and without permission, is set against the backdrop concerning what has been described by Helander-Renvall (2015: 1), as how,

“Among the Sami, shaman drums are still treated with respect as they give expression to existence of spirit beings and sacredness of life. In addition, every historical drum and its symbols are still important for the identity, inscape and cohesion of Sami people as they mark out the inner energizing aspects of culture”.

Equally, it can be considered in what ways Sámi drum makers and especially those who practice shamanism may not consider this tradition as being changed beyond recognition, and secondly, how the figures and spirits, for example on the drums did not fall into history because of colonialism, but in fact they are still very much alive and revered within the culture, for many people.

In relation to these matters, the issues I have addressed herein are chiefly concerned with the Sámi as an indigenous people, but I use the interviews and collection of photographic material in such a way they remind us of what our role as outsiders can be in indigenous research for bringing evidence to light concerning the following points described by Aamold 2014: 71).

“In order to achieve greater understanding of today’s art, one should therefore investigate how it inquires into, questions and challenges a wide range of matters, some of which extend globally. The examples are abundant, such as art that deals with problems of ecology and nature, of human sovereignty and the law, ect. These issues urge scholars not to step aside in the processes of research. Their ideas and convictions, roles and positions are part of the processes of interpretation and understanding”.

To begin with it is important to ask the question concerning the production of new types of drums and reuse of *noaidi* symbolism for economical purpose in relation to what Guttorm (2007: 89), refers to regarding “Who owns the rights to the knowledge? In Recommendations for the Indigenous Peoples Declaration that the Working Group on the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (WGID) has formulated, §12 reads as follows” according to (Simpson 1997: 32).

“Indigenous peoples have the right to practice and revitalise their cultural traditions and costumes. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their culture, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual performing arts and literature, as well as the right to the

restitution of cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property taken without their free and informed consent or in violation of their law, traditions and costumes”).⁷⁸

Because there are different ways and perspectives insomuch as looking at some of the arguments for the unauthorized reproduction of new types of drums by persons from outside Sámi culture, where the old symbols are reused, it has crossed my mind whether or not these actions are one of the ways of attempting to preserve or even honor both the history and the memory of the Sámi *noaidi* from *Sápmi* and the value this history has as a part of the Arctic culture?

It could also be argued likewise, that one of the consequences, which has to be taken into account concerning the ways the old drums and their symbolism as systems of embedded knowledge, are reduced to tourism art is by transforming and reproducing copies of the original instruments in such a way by persons from the nation states, and how this does according to legislation, seem outright disrespectful. The reasons being because of their sacred nature and function in both a religious and social context and also given the fact that any of the profits or income, which come from sales to the souvenir shops and safari companies do not go to the Sámi.

What these different issues bring to light is how the reproduction and selling of drums in this sense creates cross cultural issues relating to ownership. When viewed in this way, such practices suggest a further extension of colonialist practices seen in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries where drums were sold to explorers for museum collections and home decoration for example. However, similar types of behavior as described in this modern sense, means to satisfy the insatiable appetite of the tourist industry at the expense of assimilating Sámi history into alien contexts. Furthermore, the questions concerning the influence the loss of access to heritage of drums and their symbolism by the Sámi from museums throughout Europe have also to be taken into account because these issues remain unsettled.

As a way to further expand on this subject matter and as a matter of comparison to the issues about the use of traditional knowledge belonging the Sámi throughout *Sápmi* in relation to *noaidi* drum designs and symbolism, in an interesting and informative article about indigenous artefacts belonging to the Aboriginal peoples in Australia in the British Museum in London, titled: To Return or Not: Who Should Own Indigenous Art? By Jason Farago (2015: 1), the author asks an important question regarding for following points, which I see as having some bearing on how certain artists and businesses both inside and outside of *Sápmi*, operate.

“Does all culture form part of a global heritage that should be available to everyone, even after centuries of war and colonization? Must everything be presented for universal understanding, or is some knowledge correctly kept secret?”

For many indigenous Australians, the objects in the London and Canberra exhibitions are not the material remnants of past lives, but very real connections to their history and their ancestors. They have a point – one that museums have ignored for too long. It remains all too common to see cultural works by indigenous peoples treated as natural history, to be filed away with rocks and bird carcasses, rather than treated as a vital culture in its own right”.

From my own observations, it seems evident that in the reproduction of new types of drums there is no comprehension by the Finnish tourism industry in and around *Sápmi* of how important the history of

78 A note for the reader. The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is not Draft anymore; it actually was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2007. Also, generally speaking, UN declarations are normally not legally binding. “Finland signed the International Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples when it was originally put forward.” See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Declaration_on_the_Rights_of_Indigenous_Peoples.

Sámi culture is to the Sámi in terms of their pre-Christian religion and cultural memory. One gets the impression that because of over 400 years of oppression by Christianity and the state in Finland, that the practice of shamanism in *Sápmi* does not exist anymore and has been discontinued as a traditional way of culture.

In other words, the reuse of symbolism and creation of new types of drums that have been modelled on authentic ones because of their spiritual essence and status are indicative of how the Sámi history is taken for granted and legislative procedures concerning the reuse of symbolism are ignored or simply not known about, which seems to justify and play a key factor in the use of traditional knowledge belonging to Sámi culture. It should also be mentioned how probably the vast majority of drum reproductions are sold to tourists who visit the north and thus know nothing about local traditions and history.

6.4 Examples of replica drums and their content

As a method for further highlighting the aforementioned points noted earlier regarding different perspectives and contexts in relation to examples of reproduced drums that have been used in exhibitions and in performances as well as those sold to a souvenir shop, it is helpful to acknowledge the value and function photographic materials play for helping to bring legal and copyright issues to light.

The new data below presented through figures 37-48, arises from my subsequent investigation into this topic outlined above, and can be seen in the ways the artwork depicted on the drums and in some cases, the manner in which the instruments are made and decorated. These examples help reflect the treatment of these historic artefacts and furthermore, demonstrates how Sámi religious symbolism is used in the modern society on drums made by persons from outside the culture. Directly below the older drums are a series of replicas created by participant A, who is a Finnish artist that wishes to remain anonymous⁷⁹.

I should also like to highlight further areas of complexity regarding the reuse of *noaidi* drum symbolism by persons who are not classed or considered as being Sámi as a way to inform the reader of the some of the difficulties encountered in relation to ethnicity between the Finns and Sámi and who is classed or accepted as a Sámi person and who is not.

In addition to what I Lehtola and Sammallahti stated earlier regarding the definition of a Sámi in Finland, according to Sámi scholar Solbakk (2006: 14).

“In Norway a Sami is a person who has Sámi as his/her first language, whose father, other or one of whose grandparents has Sámi as their first language, or considers himself/herself a Sámi and lives in entire accordance with the rules of the Sámi society, and who is recognized by the representative Sámi body as a Sámi, or has a father or mother who satisfies the above-mentioned conditions for being a Sámi by Nordic Sámi Conference in Tromso in 1980”.

Solbakk (2006: 14) then goes to say how “Finland’s Sámi Parliament uses a similar definition. A Sámi refers to a person who consider himself a Sámi, provided that he himself or at least one of his parents or grandparents has learned Sámi as his first language.”

79 From personal communications with this lady, I was informed recently by her how and despite her having “[...] a lot of forest Lappish blood on both sides of her family and from her mothers side this shaman Aikia Aikianpoika (Aikia Aikiason) [...]” (Participant A 2017: 1), in her family background also, she is still not a Sámi person.



Figures 37-42.

According to more recent scholarship by Lehtola (2015: 62), “the Finnish government made this definition wider in 1995: A Sámi can be person who is descent of fishing-hunting- or mountain Lapp if the Lapp had paid Lappish tax. The Sámi Parliament did not accept this but it stayed in the law”⁸⁰.

From top left to bottom right. (Figure 37), a portrait of drum number 63 in Ernst Manker’s inventory of the remaining drums (1950: 410), from Swedish *Sápmi*. Photographs reused with kind permission of Nordiska Museet. I am using the illustration rather than the black and grey photograph of the original of the drums because the figures on the original are very faded. Below the image is a richly decorated replica, created by participant A, which is a bowl drum type. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2014.

80 Translated from Finnish to English by Tuija Hautala Hirvioja.



Figures 43 and 44. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015

The landscape on the second drum, from top centre, is originally from Foldalen in Hoylandet, Namdalen, Nord-Trøndelag in central Norway. This information and image is taken from: *The Ancient Religion and Folk-Beliefs of the Sami* (1994), see the bibliography. Directly below this image is a reproduction of the drum made by participant A. Both old and new versions of these drums are the bowl type used for exhibitions about the storytelling tradition in *Sápmi*.

The third black and grey image pictured top-right is drum from the former *Kemi Sápmi* area from Finland. The image in this case is taken from Ernst Manker's volume from (1938). Directly below is a replica, which is a frame-type drum on sale that has been photographed by the author in Piesku Oy, a souvenir shop in Koskikatu, Rovaniemi. Beside the two reproductions on the bottom left and centre of the picture, are drum beaters which are made from a combination of willow and leather. These are new types of beaters as well. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2014.

The drum on the left side is a replica of the second drum from the former *Kemi Sápmi* area, the original one being in Leipzig, Germany. The content of the original drum can be found in the paper: *The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami Noaidi Drum Figures Reversed*, published in 2011. The second drum is a replica of an illustration pictured by Ernst Manker (1950: 216), which is presented in the sub-chapter: *Drum symbolism, rock carvings and paintings*. The original drum, which does not exist anymore, is thought come have originated from the area of Kemijärvi, was also a part of the former *Kemi Sápmi* area in Finland. As far as I know, this is the first drum I have seen, which is a recreation of a drum that does not exist anymore. Both of these drums pictured above are on sale at Piesku Oy.

Another series of cross cultural issues concerning cultural heritage and property rights is encountered through this elaborate bowl-type drum also on sale at Piesku Oy (figure 45), which is a replica of the 1732 Norwegian *noaidi* drum from Norland, which can be found in Manker (1938: 732-737). The original instrument was collected during the missionizing period and has been discussed and can be found pictured in paper 3: *What Influence do the Old Sámi Noaidi Drums from Lapland Play in the Construction of New Shaman Drums by Sámi Persons Today?* (2014).

The price of the reproduction drum, which is handmade, is 790.00 euros. It is evident how closely the symbolism has been copied onto this drum from the original one.



Figure 45 and 46. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015.

Figure 47. A way of demonstrating how extensive replica drums and their decorations have been made, above are eleven miniature decorated drums, which bear the almost identical cultural landscapes as seen on the original drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from Norwegian and Swedish *Sápmi*. These were made by participant A. The drums are sold to private customers and souvenir shops. It is also the case that some Sámi people buy these drums as well. Photograph and copyright: Francis Joy 2013.

One more point to be made, which is important to acknowledge in terms of cultures, ethnicity and contexts is how in the souvenir shops, the labels on drums are presented as being ‘Lappish’ and not Sámi, which suggests a misrepresentation given the fact that some people see Sámi and Finnish people who live in what is referred to as Lapland as Lappish. On the other hand, the Sámi see the term Lappish as derogatory.

The photograph at the top is of gold jewelry, which consists of animals, spirits, God and Goddess figures and symbols from the *noaidi* drums of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The second photograph shows silver jewelry also consisting of spirit figures, solar and lunar symbols as well as *noaidi* figures and animals. Taigakoru is a Finnish company⁸¹.



Figure 48. An information sheet hanging close to where the drums are sold at Piesku Oy, which contains different symbolism found on the *noaidi* drums as well as the interpretations of what they represent. The information has been copied from earlier sources collected by clergymen and missionaries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and also formulated by Ernst Manker (1938). These symbols are used for marketing purposes. Photograph and copyright: Francis Joy 2015.

Figure 49. Two factory-made drums in different sizes are pictured here on sale in souvenir shop Piesku Oy. These have been manufactured by Lappituote, in Kemi, a commercial business producing Lapland souvenirs. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015.

Figures 50 and 51. Two photographs taken from a display cabinet at Taigakoru, Rovaniemi. Photographs and copyright: Francis Joy 2015.

81 There is also a description in Finnish language of all figures and animal symbols and what they mean and are to be found on the shop’s website: www.taigakoru.fi

6.5 The reproduction of Sámi handicrafts



Figures 52 and 53. Photographs, copyright and reused with kind permission by Johanna Ihme 2012.

A bowl drum made by Finnish artist Johanna Ihme who built the drum as part of an educational project at the Sámi Education Institute in Inari, Finnish *Sápmi*. This drum is an example of a reproduction of Sámi handicraft, made by a Finnish artist.

Ihme (2012: 1), revealed the following information about the instrument. “The drum is made out of birch Pahka – birch burl-gnarl. But the hammer is made of reindeer antler and in the handle there is a braid made out of reindeer leather”.

The reason I want to make use of this drum as a good example of cross cultural issues relating to the reproduction of drums in *Sápmi* is the bowl-type drum is traditionally a Sámi innovation, but, and furthermore, as stated by Ihme (2012: 1), “the drum was part of an exhibition in Korea. The exhibition was Cheongju International Craft Biennale 2011, Between Tradition and Future: Craft & Design from Finland”.

Moreover, it is important to emphasize that in a discussion with the drum maker, Ihme (2012: 1), told me that “the drum did not contain the *duodji* trademark, because I am not a Sámi person and therefore, not authorized to use it”. To further clarify information about the *duodji* productions and their trademark as a representation of Sámi culture, Hartikainen (2006: 11), states how

“The Nordic trademark of Sámi handicraft – the Sámi *Duodji* trademark was adopted in 1980. Its purpose is to show and guarantee that the product is a genuine Sámi handiwork. It is also

a guarantee for high quality. The trademark was adopted by the Sámi council, which is a pan-Sámi organization of cooperation. It authorizes handicraft associations to grant their members the right to use the trademark”.

One might for instance consider that just because of the absence of *duodji*-trademark does not necessarily mean that it would be allowed to misappropriate Sami cultural symbols, ideas, technique, etc, despite the drum being made through admiration of Sámi culture.

Within the aims of the research, the physical material presented above is essential for bringing these points related to Sámi cultural heritage and reuse of traditional knowledge to the attention of the reader because it is important to demonstrate how the colonial history in Finland has had a direct impact on the different ways drum symbols have been encountered and interpreted in both a historic as well as modern context, by scholars from outside Sámi society as well as Sámi persons in relation to heritage and representation of culture. I do not see this in a completely negative way, but the material demonstrates the need to further point out the subsequent on-going conflicts within *Sápmi* and the reasons why it is important to comprehend what some of these are.

One could argue how the effects of the colonialism period, it can be contested, still plays a direct role with regard to in what ways Finnish people have adapted through cultural appropriation⁸², Sámi symbolism and aspects of religion and religious practices in *Sápmi* in relation to shamanism, and what can be referred to as an expression of shamanic identity especially within cultural tourism and marketing.

Many of the drums that are made today in Norway, Sweden and Finland by non-Sámi persons for the tourist industry appear to be constructs that attempt to capture the atmosphere of the old Sámi hunting culture in *Sápmi* and the magic associated with shamanism, as seen in for example, the works of Schefferus, which somehow, and at the same time, seems to send conflicting representations regarding the revitalization of Sámi culture. In other words, how the sacredness of the symbolism is often associated with the magic of *Sápmi* and therefore, used for commercial purposes to market new types of drums for the tourism industry, which attempt to reflect Sámi culture and history in *Sápmi* where the notion of cultural memory is carried forward. Some artists see their works as a mark of respect for Sámi people and their traditions.

An example of this could be Johanna Ihme's drum above, which has not been painted with any types of symbolism, thus indicating that although its design is modelled on the old *noaidi* drums, it is not designated for such purposes because it has not been decorated as has been the tradition with *noaidi* drums earlier. However, both the reindeer bone beater and drum type are consistent with the styles used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for divination by the *noaidis*, and thus might be interpreted as both an expression and some kind of representation of Sámi culture.

It is also important to stress how during the core of the missionizing period, there is evidence that the Sámi adapted Christian symbolism, such as churches and images representing Christ, for example, onto the *noaidi* drums in some cases, which it may be added, outsiders in modern times might interpret as the fusion or assimilation of cultures together?

82 The term appropriation is defined in The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary as the following: "The act of taking or using things from a culture that is not your own, especially without showing that you understand or respect this culture" (see: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/cultural-appropriation>). A second reference concerning the definition of the term appropriation is taken from the English Oxford Living Dictionaries, which states in what ways appropriation is described: "the unacknowledged or inappropriate adoption of the customs, practices, ideas, ect. of one people of society by members of another and typically more dominant people or society" (see: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/cultural_appropriation).

I have also learned that there are differing attitudes towards what persons from outside Sámi society may understand in relation to definitions and development of art and crafts to which the production of new types of drums belong. Therefore, persons from outside the culture who make drums using the old symbolism may not take into consideration what has been stated below with reference to the spiritual traditional practices, which are unique to the Sámi in *Sápmi*. At this point in the discussion, it is helpful to take into account what Sámi scholars have to say about cross cultural studies, in this case Guttorm (1995: 153-156).

“The concepts of art and culture are relatively new to the Sami, but we can assume that what they encompass has been recognized so that art and culture have been manifested according to the Sami people’s own understanding of their implications long before the terms became part of the language. In the rhetoric of cultural policy as well the theme has long been to preserve and develop Sami culture, a fact which would confirm that one at least has had a sense of what culture meant. ‘Culture’ is a loan word into the Sami language.

There is no traditional concept that covers the whole spectrum of meanings of activities which comprise the components of culture. The closest one can come is Sami *vuohki* which is best translated ‘Sami ways’, that is, way of being, way of living, mentality and values. ‘Art’ is called *dáidda* in Sami, in contrast to applied art and handicrafts, for which the term is *duodji*. *Dáidda* is in this context a new Sami word for that which is ordinarily defined as art, that is, ‘art’ as opposed to ‘craft’.

Modern *duodji*-products are works of art in both form and craftsmanship, but, traditionally, *duodji* has always been connected with the object’s practical function, which is not solely to be displayed for its esthetic qualities but rather to be used in everyday life”.

According to Gaski (1997: 1),

“It is a fact, however, that even among the Sami handcrafted items are more and more often becoming objects for display instead of for practical use”. There is, however, an important connection between *duodji* and *dáidda*, from applied art to art in the modern sense. *Duodji* comprises creative activities, which are both intellectual and material, so a writer can equally well be called a *sátneduojár*, a Sami word meaning a crafter of words, or *girječálli*, a writer of books. Artists like Iver Jåks, Aage Gaup and Ingunn Utsi receive inspiration from the *duodji*-tradition for their sculptures.

The principle behind their esthetic is to use organic materials, allowing wooden sculptures to be exposed to wind and weather and eventually decompose and disappear without a trace. In a way, this is parallel to the traditional Sami relationship with the natural environment, where the hand of nature erases all traces of Sami migration and settlement, perhaps only leaving behind the ring of stones around a campfire or the folklore surrounding the meaning of a place name. The Sami structures have never been formidable, and our cultural monuments are, above all, memories of culture, transmitted orally, as reminders, rather than physical legacies such as a cathedral or a statue”.

In addition to what has been stated by both Guttorm and Gaski, an understanding of the kind of influence the old symbols have on new artistic productions created by non-Sámi persons in contemporary

society in terms of the invention of new types of drums and their decoration has been helpful in considering how important in accordance with traditional ways and conceptual thinking, that Sámi artists see the links between past and present as part of a unified whole, and not as separated parts of their history. Moreover, symbols, which were produced in prehistory and also from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are not frozen in time, as outsider research has a tendency to comprehend, and perhaps persons from the Finnish side who make drums.

Therefore, in the on-going discussion concerning who owns the heritage of the *noaidi* drums and their symbolism there is a need to acknowledge the types of political, social and modern landscapes and terrain's one has to cross in order to understand these issues in-depth.

6.6 Mind the gap - misappropriation of Sámi traditional knowledge

Having made the points above about the reuse of symbolism and creation of new types of drums, this next sub-chapter is presented here because it helps broaden the discussion surrounding the differing contexts regarding the reproduction and use of the material presented in the previous sub-chapter. There is a need now to address further issues, which I consider to be of value that are concerned with protection and ownership of knowledge in terms of cultural heritage and art in relation to what Sámi scholars have to say concerning the misappropriation and misuse of their heritage. Accordingly, a further discussion of the material helps contextualize the differences between indigenous culture and western culture, which outlines a number of points concerning what can happen when according to by Guttorm (2007: 63-64), heritage becomes a

“[...] consumer product where interests are in focus, and when there is a discussion of rights to own a collective heritage that comes to expression in some objects. [...] Cultural and artistic expressions have long been regarded as free. Historically, indigenous peoples have experienced that majority populations have categorized, made us of and ‘represented’ indigenous peoples’ cultural expression, and often used this knowledge for their own benefit”.

Furthermore, there are an additional number of important explanations with regard to the protection and heritage of drums, their usage and symbolism in accordance with legislation and the rights of the Sámi as an indigenous people, as outlined furthermore, by Guttorm (2007: 79-80), who states the following.

“Rock carvings, drum symbolism, ornamentation on things like knives and spoons, and tin thread embroidered ornamentation are forms of expression created by our fore-fathers to cover different needs. Rock carvings, drum symbols and ornamentation are symbols that are tied to the spiritual. We regard these ornaments, drum symbols and rock carvings as a common heritage and property. In our days, the symbols have been used by both Samis and others in completely different contexts than in rituals dealing with hunting and healing or rituals tied to shamanism. We cannot say with certainty how the symbols on the drums and rock carvings have been used during the hunting culture, but they have without doubt been important in the preparation for hunting and in healing contexts”.

It may well be that given the fact that as Guttorm has stated, that there is no resulting truth as to how the symbolism from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries depicted on drums have been used, as well as the fact that certain Christian symbols were also adapted and used on drums by the Sámi *noaidi*'s because of threats of punishment. One theory is that due to the age of these, it might offer one explanation

and some insight as to why, for example, drum makers from outside Sámi culture consider they can be reused and applied to new drums without any consequences. Giving consideration as to how, according to what Guttorm has stated above concerning cultural property, some artists may not even think that any laws are being violated within this process of reuse because no one knows about their requirements and as a consequence, the impacts of unethical use.

In light of what has been stated above, there is a need to give further consideration to what has been presented as the legislation that protects Sámi cultural heritage in terms of the reuse and misappropriation of symbols and art, which apart from drums can be found on tee-shirts, in books, plates, cups, lamps, key rings, kitchen items, blankets, towels and clothes. It would seem that because symbols in general, not just in Sámi culture but throughout the world, are used, reused and adapted throughout the course of time, further discussions on such issues are needed. Moreover, it appears there is a line of distinction between the reuse and modification of a symbol by a Sámi person-artist and someone who is not Sámi. Guttorm (2007: 81), then explains this in the following way.

“How, then, are the different symbols used that are found on drums today? When it is acceptable to use them, and when can it be deemed as misuse? Symbols found on drums, rock carvings and ornaments on other *duodji* objects are transformed into new times and by transformation, they have received new content”.

I did not realize that there appear to be particular grievances held by the Sámi against the reuse of their symbolism in Finland, which supports what I have discussed above, until I read the scholarly works of Guttorm (2007: 84-85), who explains how:

“Many outside of Sami community use symbols that have been tied to the pre-Christian religion and other symbols as well. Often, the symbols are used to lure tourists for the purpose of sale. I feel that the symbols are not being used in an ideal way, but with a commercial objective in mind.

On the Finnish side, the Samis have often regretted that Finns have incorporated Sami symbols in their own culture and commercialism. An example of this is the mass production of souvenirs using drum symbols. Seija Risten Somby writes in her thesis that for *duojárat* on the Finnish side, the *duodji* brand has been a blessing for distinguishing between tourist *duodji* and forged *duodji*. Unfortunately, however, *duojárat* on the Norwegian side buy a lot of “false *duodji*” and sell it in their shops and stands along the road (Somby 2003). By false *duodji* she means, amongst other things, mass-produced, factory manufactured articles”.

The discussion above is meant to cover only the subject matter concerning the reuse of symbolism on drums and through jewellery productions. It seems that drum making is not an issue as such, but it is the decoration of the drum, which raises the point of conflict. But, and as both Somby and Guttorm have stated, there are many other handicraft products, which have both their origin and decorative symbolism within Sámi history that are likewise mass produced, under the guise of ‘admiration of Sámi culture’, therefore, it is not only an occurrence in Finland.

My interpretation of what is happening concerning the reproduction of drums by Finnish artists, which are decorated with Sámi symbolism could be a manifestation of the what Hautala-Hirvioja (2013: 501), refers to as the “[...] spiritual rebuilding and development of Lapland’s own identity”, which might be linked to the past destruction of *Sápmi* by German forces in the Second World War and also as a way

for the Finns to adapt aspects of Sámi culture, given the fact that according to scholarly discourse, both share a common linguistic ancestor linked with the Finno-Ugric cultures.

One other point is I have wondered if the reasons why Finnish artists see the use of Sámi *noaidi* drum symbolism as an attempt to recover their own traditions and the practices of their ancestors? In other words, are these actions a result of them trying to compensate for the losses of their own prehistoric religion because of Swedish and Russian rule, within the context of the implementation of and adaptation to Christianity?

As far as I know, and after reading what Guttorm has to say and also other Sámi educators and cultural historians, such as Solbakk (2007), Horsberg Hansen (2014), and Snarby (2014), it seems evident there are clear guidelines for reproducing *duodji* handicraft items and reusing symbols. For the most, it appears these guidelines in Finland have, at the expense of copyright laws, been swept aside and literally ignored. On the whole, no one wants to discuss these problems, because it would require further discussions on ethnicity and cultural heritage to which in the case of the Sámi in Finland might be discounted further.

From the evidence presented above and with the exception of the drum made by Johanna Ihme at the Sámi Education Institute in Inari, it seems clear that the new types of drums that are made and decorated with *noaidi* drum symbolism by persons from outside the culture, can be seen in both a positive and negative light, and thereby ambiguous in terms of being representative of Sámi culture and identity because of different values and cultural contexts.

It could be the case that the persons who are producing drums and reusing symbols are dedicated to the cause of preserving and maintaining Sámi culture and its history. But if the artists have not been authorized to reuse the material then these are ethical concerns that are justifiably problematic and therefore, raise a series of questions about misappropriation of Sámi culture. However, it is important not to forget, as Guttorm has noted, how this is also happening within Sámi culture as well, through Sámi people who sell such reproductions.

One further matter that needs to be mentioned at this point concerning the research undertaken in the paper: The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami *Noaidi* Drum Figures Reversed (2011), which discusses the consequences for the Sámi in relation to publication errors where drum symbols and figures appear reversed in the publications listed in the paper. The document also discusses how museums make money from these reversed publications, which are exploitative to persons who do not know such illustrations are reversed and therefore, not accurate copies.

I am reminded as to what Porsanger and Guttorm (2011: 34), have to say concerning how “the issue is about the use of local traditional knowledge as a rich local resource for the good of the community and for its sustainable development. Benefiting can also take place at the level of local institutions”. In this sense we not only see the impacts of mistakes in literature, but also in possible misrepresentation of Sámi culture in terms what kind of transparency is available to customers who buy drums and literature associated with them in terms of their authenticity, from the people who consider themselves to be representing Sámi culture are in fact not Sámi persons?

Furthermore, and has been discussed within the development of Sámi education with regard to artistic and handicraft productions in the past in relation to missionizing and the study of indigenous peoples by the mainstream cultures, and those handicrafts made in contemporary society, it has been noted by Guttorm (2009: 55-56), that

“If a craftsperson creates a work of craft and calls it a piece of Sámi craft, the people who look at it but are not familiar with Sámi craft may get the idea that the work is a collective product, a

work of craft made by “a Sámi” and not by N.N. This keeps up the view that a work of craft represents Sámi culture instead of craftspeople representing both themselves and Sámi culture”.

I wish to emphasize this point here because there are different attitudes amongst Sámi artists and handicraft persons regarding who may or may not be authorized or allegeable to reproduce drums and decorate them with traditional symbols, and as a consequence, which are considered authentic and those that are not. These important and indeed controversial issues and questions are also discussed later herein, because there is a grey area for example, as to how artists from outside Sámi society and who make drums cannot be representatives of the culture.

Apart from the Sámi being marginalized by the nation states as noted earlier, there is another deficiency concerning the culture, but this time in scholarly material. As I have stated above, the practice of shamanism amongst the Sámi is known from within the context of a male institution. But, yet, there are mixed views and conflicting reports regarding the practice by women.

To conclude this chapter, we could say how on the one hand, the reversed symbolism and reproduction of new drums can both be considered as a reflection of what happened in history in relation to missionizing, which shows these practices are still present.

On the other, and in the case of the drum made by Johanna Ihme, in one sense we could say that her artistic abilities and skills are evident through her beautiful handicraft production, which reflects a good example of work representing Sámi history and shamanism in *Sápmi*. But yet again, one might also say that based on what the legislation concerning the copyright laws about the reproduction of traditional knowledge of indigenous peoples states, the research illustrates what kind of problems may arise through this type of education, in relation to how the design of a traditional bowl type *noaidi* drum is made at a Sámi education institute by a person who is not Sámi, which is then exhibited as a representation of a Finnish design.

The same can be said of the works of participant A, who is a Finnish person married to a Sámi person, as well as drums and other items containing *noaidi* symbolism made by Lappituote and the reproduced symbols and figures from the *noaidi* drums manufactured as jewelry by Taigakoru. As a consequence of the information, which is coming from Sámi scholarship regarding legislation, which protects Sámi cultural heritage and the tradition of *duodji*, there is indeed a need for a much broader understanding and perhaps investigation into the legal implications involved in the unmonitored reproduction of such crafts as those presented above by for example the Sámi Parliament in Finland to hear what they have to say on these matters.

Furthermore, questions and analysis concerning the different perspectives that have become evident through the reproduction of *noaidi* drums and their symbols by Sámi persons is needed in order to broaden the research into this topic.

Paper 4 in the dissertation: *Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism* (2015), elaborates on the themes associated with missing historical information concerning Sámi cultural practices in relation to drum symbolism. These studies into the reproduction, creation and use of symbolism in contemporary Sámi culture, can be seen as being unique in the sense they help to illuminate the old symbolism from the drums in terms of missing historical information with regard to us understanding them as systems of embedded knowledge that carry such value with regard to identity, they are still reproduced hundreds of years later.

7 Voices from inside the *Lavvu*

Within the context of the discussion concerning new types of drums emerging within Sámi society, I have included a chapter below, which is based on 6 interviews that were carried out in Norway Sweden and Finland since 2011 with Sámi persons who are engaged in shamanic practices. The purpose of the interviews and the reason for including it herein was to answer a series of question regarding training and the transmission of traditional knowledge across generations with regard to Sámi religion and its visibility and continuity today.

This type of investigation has brought a wide range of new information forward into the study of Sámi shamanism and it also demonstrates how for example, in a broader way, there are other aspects, which are evident and therefore need to be considered such as *joiking* and sacrifice that are also found within the old Sámi religion, thus, demonstrating cultural continuity.

Between August 18th and 23rd 2015, I attended for the first time the Sami Festival of Isogaisa which has been held annually since 2010. The venue was located amongst the mountains and fjord in the town of Lavangen in the Tromso municipality, north Norway. The camp site and main festival area was situated behind the guesthouse Fjellkysten within the woodland area.

Included in the purpose of my visit, was likewise, an attempt to gain insight into the rise of the practice of shamanism amongst the Sami in Norway, since shamanism was recognised as an official religion in the country in 2012. The ethnographic fieldwork sought to discover, whether or not through a synthesis of research approaches and methods, it was possible to determine whether or not Sámi indigenous religion, and its related practices were recognisable by both comparison and contrast to what has been documented about this phenomena in earlier sources and its existence in the modern era?

I saw the visit to the festival as a chance to discover who the Sámi *noaidi* are in contemporary society and where their present day knowledge comes from with regard to the practice of Sami shamanism. What I was to discover throughout the course of the visit, is that as Juha Pentikäinen has stated (1998: 23), “although the Sami today are officially Christianized, their pre-Christian ethnic religion still retains its meaning and function in different areas of everyday life”. Therefore, and because Isogaisa is known as a Sámi shaman festival, I sought the opportunity to see what evidence remains of such practices and in what contexts they emerge?

The foundation for this next chapter was created through what I came to understand as an opportunity for us in the academic world who are not Sámi persons to gain both insight and understanding into Sámi healing practices and how this knowledge is encountered within different contexts.

7.1 The re-emergence of Sami shamanism in Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia

At this point in time, I consider it important to make the distinctions as to how time after time how in terms of information about the practice of shamanism amongst the Sámi, there was an openness and approachability in both Norway and Sweden within the people who were willing to discuss the topic. By contrast, in Finland it seemed as if the strict Laestadian and Lutheran Christian ideologies still exists and that from within the people I approached for interviews, it was apparent that fear about practicing or even talking about Sami religion still overshadowed freedom of speech and right to religion, and as a result, how some Sámi people have distanced themselves from their heritage.

One of the main reasons for this, I believe, and without sounding judgemental, is because of how the parents of the interviewees were Laestadian; humble-silenced people who prompted a further question as to why the Finnish Sámi were so quiet by comparison to the Swedish and Norwegian Sámi? From my observations, it is still apparent that the effects of Christianity regarding the denial and repression of Sami religion, still exists in Finnish *Sápmi* within the church and also political establishments.

The scope of the problem is too broad to be discussed here, but for research purposes these background issues need to be brought to light as to why the Sámi have been robbed of their spiritual heritage and as a result, why Sami spirituality is still within many families and the Church, outlawed in Finland, despite their being a Religious Freedom Act, which is part of the Finnish constitution.

It must also be said that generally speaking the early sources by for example Schefferus (1674), and Laestadius (2002), which contain many accounts by missionaries and clergymen from as early as the sixteenth century do not provide a clear or comprehensive portrait of Sámi religion, because as Juha Pentikäinen (1998: 22), has noted.

“The problems which confront us when dealing with sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth and even nineteenth century sources are complicated by the fact that many missionaries or traveller-compilers garnished their accounts with selections from earlier published and unpublished reports on Lappland. As source references are usually lacking, critical textual analysis is one basic method of source criticism”.

Therefore, in order not to repeat these kinds of approaches, before my visit to the camp, I formulated a number of questions, which had arisen in my research, concerning the level of visibility of Sámi ethnic religion to which the practice of shamanism belongs, and how could the practice encountered through asking the following questions.

Who are shamans in the contemporary Sami society and what kind of work are they undertaking? Moreover, are they following the traditional ways of their ancestors? Can they be seen as mediators between the spirit world and the profane and if so, in what ways? Furthermore, do they need to have ecstatic experiences and visions? Do they need to get acknowledgement from their own (Sámi), local or from a wider (Sámi/non-Sámi), society? Do they need to know and practice healing sciences? Do shamans need to practice shamanism? If so, in which way? Do artists automatically turn into shamans if they paint old drum symbols?

I understand there are a multitude of different practices and features that encompass this phenomenon, which is why there is a necessity for research on this topic in an attempt to discover more about it. Moreover, the practice of Sami shamanism does not only consist of using a drum. The nature of the healing art as I have discovered, includes drum building, sacrificial practices, rituals and specialised areas of

healing and *joiking*, oral narratives, storytelling and also the depiction of artistic visionary work by people who have undergone different types of training and education.

Each of these practices show some relationality of how the Sámi have preserved and used their history in different contexts. Moreover and in terms of embedded knowledge systems, these traditional ways have a direct bearing concerning how the preservation of Sámi culture and its well-being is taking place in contemporary society.

Presented to you in the following chapter are the extracts from 6 interviews undertaken with Sámi persons; four which were conducted at the Isogaisa Sámi shaman festival with Sámi drum maker and *Noid* Fredrik Prost from Kiruna, Sweden; *Noid*: Robert Vars-Gaup who is a Norwegian Sámi; Ante Ailu Gaup who is a Master *Joiker* from Kautokeino; Nadia Fenina a Skolt Sámi from the Kola Peninsula, Russian *Sápmi*. The fifth interview was conducted in 2011 with Hans Niittyvuopio who is a reindeer herder and story-teller in Karigasniemi and Ivalo which are municipalities in Finnish *Sápmi*. Hans lives in Karigasniemi. The sixth interviews took place in Kiruna, in 2014 with Peter Armstrand who is a Sámi drum maker and *Noid* from Kiruna, Sweden. In the case of the interviews with Nadia Fenina and Hans Niittyvuopio, I sought the help of translators for Russian to English and Finnish to English; the information of which is included below; as are the dates and locations the interviews took place.

The overall aims of the research and interviews presented to you below are in order to provide answers to the questions detailed above and to establish what kinds of training or education each individual had undertaken as a way to help with determining not only how the fragments of the old traditions has survived but also how traditional knowledge has been passed on and in what ways? Some of the information was very brief and some more extensive. Also, I have attempted to formulate and present the material in such a way it provides different examples of the variations involved in healing practices, performances and rituals, but does not give a general overview of Sámi shamanism or healing practices; but instead, of individual case studies.

The utilization of the knowledge, which was collected, is, in addition, for the purposes of presenting the attitudes and interpretations concerning the rise of neoshamanism amongst the Sámi that consists of elements of the old tradition and those that have been imported from within, for example, contemporary shamanic practices from the United States of America and Mexico.

Each of the interviews was compiled through fieldwork and notes as well as photographs of each of the persons involved as a way to support the research. In each case, permission was sought prior to undertaking the interviews. Furthermore, and in relation to the title of the paper, the content of the chapter also demonstrates how the shamanistic practices and art in modern society relates to those from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and where possible, thus showing some level of relationality, as systems of embodied knowledge.

For this research, I have employed phenomenological, narrative, indigenous, comparative and descriptive research methods because they fulfil the main functions of the research in relation to the development of Sámi traditional knowledge, in a holistic way. The first is that I consider these methods the most suitable for a research paradigm where such an observation is undertaken involving a collection of individual case studies. The second function concerns the ecological approach to studying each of the participants in their native setting and not outside their culture, which from my awareness enabled them to open up and share information with me from an empowered standpoint.

In turn, the data collected and analyzed in this type of environment through participant observation, allowed a variety of different contexts to emerge where each of their contributions would make a valuable increase in the knowledge on the subject of Sámi shamanism and also help to answer the title of the dissertation and research questions. Moreover, through placing the research within the perimeters

and ethical guidelines required for Sámi research practices, such an exercise is contributory towards the study of Sámi culture, where the Sámi benefit from having the knowledge returned to them, as I agreed with each of the participants prior to the interviews.

Furthermore, the phenomenological method creates a sound basis for the implementation of the methodological approach noted above, because it helps to contextualize the research as various categories and manifestations of Sámi religion, which helps with describing how present day cultural practices are also found in historical literature. Thus making it possible to capture attitudes and interpretations, which are conducive in producing the results of the study.

In relation to the background, or religious setting, and the rise of shamanism amongst the Sami it is helpful to understand how and according to Norwegian scholar Trude Fonneland, “Norway has been increasingly engaged working to recover the indigenous traditions of their country and ancestors. A Sami version of neoshamanism has been established; along with a new focus on Norse traditions as sources for the development of neoshamanistic practices, notions and rituals” (Fonneland 2015: 33). Fonneland (ibid), also goes on to say that

“As a manifestation of these trends, a local shamanic association concerned with the preservation of both Sami and Norse shamanic traditions was granted status as a separate religious community on March 13, 2012, by the County Governor of Troms, Northern Norway. This means that according to the laws regulating religion in Norway that they may perform religious ceremonies like baptism, weddings, and funerals, and, additionally, obtain financial support relative to membership”.

7.2 Interview with Fredrik Prost



Figure 54. Fredrik Prost. Photograph and Copyright Fredrik Prost 2015.

The first interview was undertaken on Saturday August 22nd with Sami *noid* (a term, which describes a Sámi shaman, in Swedish terminology), and drum maker Fredrik Prost from Kiruna, Swedish *Sápmi*. The photographs from the drum making course included below, which Fredrik was teaching, were taken beforehand on Wednesday August 19th.

The reason for meeting with Fredrik in this capacity was because it is the first time I have seen Sámi drum making in this respect, outside of Finland. Therefore, the interview took place in two parts because on the first occasion, he was still teaching the participants. However, I was able to ask permission to take photographs after explaining my research into the study of Sámi shamanism and art. Fredrik agreed to us sitting down together on the grass outside the guesthouse for 30 minutes where I could inform him about what I was doing and the aims of the research.

I realized how important it was to be clear with him and also to explain that the use of the material would not be done so for any financial gain, or otherwise, but contribute to the study of contemporary Sámi drum making, which so little is known about.

I felt that the topic of drum making was very important within the study of Sámi history, and thereby show how shamanism is visible through the descriptive information from both photographic data and also the knowledge Fredrik shared during the course of the interview. Moreover, the study of drum making would help benefit the research because it has not been studied, really, since Manker compiled his works in 1938 & 1950. Therefore, this contribution, although fairly minimal, does provide some level of insight and understanding into modern Sámi drum making, from the Sámi perspective.

From the interview the following information was received from Fredrik Prost (2015: 1-2).

“I have been drum building for the last 13 years, as an artist and handicraft person. I was taught drum making by an old Sámi man in my village, but I learned my craft at the Sámi school in Jokkmokk, Sweden. I have been teaching drum making since 2006.

The late *noaidi* Ailo Gaup is the inspiration behind my drum making. I was his student.

I paint the [oval shaped] drums for the Sámi people using the old symbols. The drums I make for example, Swedish and Norwegian people, these are round and without symbols. I use traditional materials such as pine and birch wood for making the drums and alder dye for painting the symbols.

There are many non-practical issues to be considered in drum making such as what parts of a tree to use and the type of skin – this is a family tradition.

I have had several *noid's* in my family, one who is still alive in my grandparents generation – everyone knew something.

The drums I use myself for healing work, and I use *joiking* to accompany this. My work revolves around both Sámi and non-Sámi persons and groups.

Because of the ethics in our culture, I do not advertise myself as a healer-*noid*, but instead as a handicraft person. I help whoever asks.

Isogaisa has been important for me because it is located in nature. Ailo Gaup used to have a festival called ‘Shaman Gathering’; and I used to attend that also. Now we do not have to live in secret anymore. There has been internal social control from within Sámi society not to share the knowledge with people from outside the culture. But, I consider one of the positive effects of modernization has had, has been to open our culture up”.

In my analysis of Prost’s work, which came through observation and questions, it has been important to recognize how the differences in identity and culture are portrayed through the shapes and designs of the drums and the same materials being used, which is pinewood and birch. The oval shape has been attained



Figure 55. The tent at Isogaisa where Prost is teaching both Sámi and Norwegian people the art of drum making. Photograph and Copyright Francis Joy 2015.

Figure 56. Prost uses a clamp to help secure the drum frame together using clamps whilst participants look on. Photograph and Copyright Francis Joy 2015.



Figure 57. Both oval shaped (Sámi type-construction) and round type (non-Sámi type-construction), drum frame shells are visible here on the table. Photograph and Copyright Francis Joy 2015

by bending a single strip of wood that has been given its form by the size of the handle, are typical and consistent with the frame type designs as seen through the drums during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as portrayed in the works of Ernst Manker (1938 & 1950). However, one textual source, which also mentions the oval shape drum can be found from Schefferus (1971: 53).

“I shall give an account of one of those, described in Wormius’s study, who says that the Laplanders drum, which they use in their magic, and by beating, which they discover those things they desired, is made of an oval piece of wood hollowed, in length a foot, in breadth, ten inches; in this they make fix holes, and put a handle to it, that they may hold in the left hand, whilst they beat it with the other [...]”.

On analysis of the photographic data and interview material, it is apparent how the oval shape design of the drum frames is something that Prost has strived to uphold. It seems evident how the shape and form of the drums in Manker’s 1938 & 1950 inventories have been influential in the ways the new ones have been constructed, based on tradition. The round frames, which also have handles are designated for the Norwegian or non-Sámi participants involved in the drum making course. In both cases, the frames and handles are left to dry before the skin is attached. It would be fair to say that this is a new paradigm in the study of Sámi drums and drum making activities.

What I have been able to conclude from my observations about Prost's work is how the procedures involved in his drum making in this way, are one of the key practices where it is possible to see the forwarding of traditional knowledge and practices, which are rooted in Sámi religion and cultural history. Also, his explanation about the types of tree parts to be used and which kind reindeer skin, regarding its thickness would be suitable, is ecological knowledge. There are also similar descriptions in the works of Manker (1938 & 1950), which he collected from amongst the Swedish Sámi.

The fact Prost is teaching drum making at a festival and he also allowed me to photograph his work, confirms a shift in the taboos and customs associated with this practice. Typically, the drum making amongst the Sámi has been kept secret in the past, and still is, to some extent today.

7.3 Interview with Robert Vars-Gaup



Figure 58. Robert Vars-Gaup in his Sámi traditional dress holding his drum. The outer side of the instrument is decorated with symbols, which in this case are not visible. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015.

The second interview was undertaken with the youngest of the Sámi *noid*, Robert Vars-Gaup on Saturday August 22nd, at the Isogaisa festival. I had met Robert formerly in the spring, in Kiruna, at the home of Peter Armstrand. Gaup, although somewhat shy, did show interest in my research and so it made it easier for us to talk about Sámi shamanism both past and present. I asked him if it would be possible to conduct an interview with him at some point in the future and he was in agreement with it.

I understood from reading information on the internet about his courses and also drum meditations on YouTube he was quite well known throughout Norwegian *Sápmi* and also experienced in his work as a healer and teacher. In a similar way to the work of Prost, Gaup's work would help provide further evidence of the living traditions of Sámi shamanism in *Sápmi* and how the old traditions have influenced his work.

Moreover, another important element in the interview was to learn about how, in a similar way to Prost's learning, the traditional knowledge and powers had been passed on from other family members, which shows to some extent, how the old ways were not completely eradicated because of the Christian missionizing work in Norwegian *Sápmi*. Also, the interview presented the opportunity to find out what the types training and education Gaup had received from within Sámi society as well as some of the methods that he used during healing and ritual events.

Robert is known as Lynx, which is a medicine or shaman name for someone who carries with them a particular type of knowledge about nature.

During the interview, which was written down as field notes, Gaup (2015: 1-3), revealed the subsequent information.

"I live 12 km away from Isogaisa, in Lillehammer, Norway. My grandmother worked as a healer in Kautokeino, Norway; my great grandfather had an offering stone, which still stands there today. It is called a *Sima* stone, an offering stone. Many people use it. I am related to Ailo Gaup. He used to hold vision quests and take people up to the stone.

I learned my craft from my grandmother and aunt but I learned more about Sami *noaidivuohta* by attending Ailo's *Saivo* School. My grandmother did healing work but also used words from the bible – but I saw her as a shaman. She was a Laestadian but kept the old traditions as well. When she learned me healing methods with water and plants, I did not know where the knowledge came from, but I understood the words from the bible are just a tool. Then I understood the *noaidivuohta*.

My learning took place in my 30s. She came to me and recognised I had something in me. I already knew this in my 20s. When my friends became sick, I started to give healing to them and they started to get better. I still have much to learn.

I have been coming to Isogaisa since it began. The festival is very important to me because I can meet other people and share knowledge and support each other.

The main methods I use in healing depend on what the problem is. I use the drum, water, sun, mountains, the forest powers; everything that is around me, which are available to me. The drum is used mainly for trance work because it makes it easier to connect with these powers.

I have five drums I use mainly, but five more, which are community drums that I allow other people to use when I am teaching them. People arrange courses that I teach.

This year (2015), I received money from the Sámi Parliament-Norway to teach three shamanism courses to people, both Sami and Norwegian persons who want to learn how to heal. Not all of my family like what I am doing, but since the support from the Sámi Parliament, they have accepted my work much more.

Here at Isogaisa, I am working in different ways, undertaking drum journeys with groups; individual healing and also ceremonies with older shamans, together.

People take contact with me for different reasons and I use the guidance I receive through the drum to help them. Sometimes, I just speak with them and they begin their healing process. A lot of people need help with mental problems, so helping them break repetitive patterns is useful.

Here at Isogaisa, I work in ceremony as a representation of Sámi culture with shamans from other countries. Since shamanism became a religion in Norway, I have become more relaxed to work. I can also come out from being hidden away – it’s fantastic to experience. I think it is very important because the earth needs our help. The earth is not a dead rock we walk on – with great intelligence – she is life, which we walk upon”.

In the study of Sámi shamanism, it is important to contrast the practice today with the historical landscapes of the seventeenth and eighteenth landscapes to show, how despite the best efforts of the priests, these traditional ways have survived, and therefore the knowledge helps provide a link between past, present and continuity.

The analysis from the knowledge Gaup shared with me, revealed a number of different points, which have importance concerning the study of Sámi shamanism. The first is how his practice upholds the values within Sámi culture from both past and present, the ecological aspect with nature as a power, which is alive, flourishing and accessible in a trance state through the use of the drum. In other words, through maintaining the practice it helps keep the traditions alive. The early material for example, by Schefferus (1674), conforms how in Sámi history, shamanism has been the fundamental basis of the religious tradition, which is rooted in a relationship to nature.

The interview also revealed how the drum is used for different purposes and that the instrument is still one of the foremost tools used by the shaman in order to go into an altered state of consciousness and as such can be understood as a vital link to nature. One of the ways this is evident is discussed by Gaup regarding offerings made to the *sieidi/seita* stone within his family. This kind of worship is also mentioned in the early sources in relation to the various gods and spirits to whom the Sámi made sacrifice to, and also the numerous names given to them in different areas throughout *Sápmi*. One example is presented through the accounts of Sámi sacrificial tradition with regard to offerings to the god *Storejunkar* and the various manifestations and guises under which the god made contact with them by Schefferus (1971: 38).

“But perhaps this distinction of name is used by the Laplanders which border upon Norway, especially in Lulapland [Luleå], from his habit and clothing; and because he used to appear in another dress to them of Lappinia Kiemensis [Kemi Lapland] and Tornensis [Tornio Lapland], therefore they did not worship him under that name, but by the common appellation of Seita, from whom they believe that they receive the benefit of hunting, fishing, and fowling”.

The results of the interview also revealed how the sacrificial tradition is also still alive in some parts of Norwegian *Sápmi* and is still an important framework in which the shamans in contemporary society use for maintaining ties to both culture and identity. Perhaps however, one fundamental importance that was revealed is how, in Roberts family, both Sámi and Christian elements are mentioned, perhaps brought together to help aspects of the old traditions to survive?

This practice, although seen as notorious according to some of the adepts of Christianity, has a long history amongst Sámi *noaidi* and therefore, has been mentioned in a negative way in the early work of for example, Schefferus (1971: 35), who stresses how “a third impiety they are guilty of is joining their own feigned gods with God and Christ, and paying them all equal reverence and worship, as if God and the Devil had made an agreement together to share their devotions between them”.

There are additional sources describing how in Sámi religion, different religious elements were used for beneficial purposes, as has been noted by both Olsen and Hansen (2014: 314). “However, even if elements from other religions including Christianity were incorporated into the Sámi religious corpus,

it does not necessarily mean that the Sámi also adopted their Christian meaning. By being recontextualised, these elements were also reinterpreted and given new meanings”.

Another example, which shows that there has been a long standing tradition of the practice of shamanism and communication with spirits within families and how these cultural practices are passed down from generation to generation is also found in the works of Schefferus (1971: 46).

“As to bequeathing their familiars to their children, they suppose it the only means to raise their family; so that they excel one another in this art, according to largness of the legacies they receive. From hence, it is manifest, that each house hath particular spirits, and of different and quite contrary natures from those of others. And not only each different family, but single persons in them also have their peculiar spirits, sometimes one, two, or more, according as they intend to stand on the defensive part, or are maliciously inclined to design to be upon the offensive [...]”.

Gaup’s healing work, although the information received in the interview did not specify it, seemed to suggest that one of the reasons why he works with people with mental health issues is that as a Sámi person and shaman, his authority within his own community can be seen as a stepping stone for other Sámi persons and their families who are still suffering from the effects of colonialism.

7.4 Interview with Nadia Fenina



Figure 59. Nadia Fenina stands with her drum, which is a bowl type, and ceremonial dress. These designs are homogenous to Sámi culture and are typically and geographically associated with the Norwegian and Swedish Sami *noaidi* from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Sámi symbols and figures copied from the old drums that have been burned into the wood are recognizable on the rear of the drum, thus highlighting how the symbols have in recent times migrated to Russian *Sápmi*. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015.

The third interview was conducted with Skolt Sami *noaidi* Nadia Fenina on Sunday August 23rd, at the Isogaisa festival and was translated from Russian to English by Svetlana Sedneva. I considered

this interview to be of much value for the research because it was the first time I have met a Sámi *noaidi* from the Russian side of *Sápmi*.

Based on the information I received from the interview with Nadia, which is presented to you below, my analysis concluded that her functions as a healer, artist, poet, ritual specialist and tradition bearer would help to enrich the study into the practice of shamanism in contemporary Sámi society.

In this interview Nadia Fenina (2015: 1-2), shared this information.

“I come from the Chaporov family. I live in Shongui, 36km from Murmansk city. I have been working as a *noid* for twenty five years, but for the first ten years I did not practice because I was learning-receiving training from different groups. The first time I was invited to attend groups in Estonia. In 1989 or so, my teacher visited me twice. I did not have at the time the idea to be a shaman. He told me to pick up the drum and begin working, so that is what I did for the first 10 years.

Now, I do very much work and have a very good praxis and have learned the Sámi worldviews. I have studied plant medicine and use the plants for healing, for myself and others who need help. These are local plants.

This is my 5th visit to Isogaisa. When Ronald Kvernmo came to the Kola Peninsula trying to find a shaman, the people told him about my work and so we have cooperation.

We have *noid's* in our family and it was their spirits who have chosen me for the work. That I understand now. When I was a child, I was known as a crow and I was called upon to look at people's injuries, for example, to see if a leg is broken or was holding trauma. I do not have a crow as a helping spirit, this was a name people called me. I have been on national television in Russia and Italy. Some people respect me, some love me, and some hate me.

I am collecting historical stories about my family which have been published in a book; I paint and am a poet. Apart from using the drum, I make handicraft items to help people. I sing now, this began when I was 40 years old. In earlier times, it was very difficult if you were a shaman. The authorities took you to the psychiatric hospital.

I use the drum for meditation and concerts to relieve the fear in people about shamanism, and helping people this way.

I spend a lot of time in the mountains and in nature where we make ceremonies at sacred times of the year. Usually, we meet at the new and full moon times. During these occasions, we seek help for our own difficulties and those of our families and friends. At Midsummer we do a solar ceremony at the top of the mountain for the Sun.

I made my drum from reindeer skin and birch burrell. I have burned symbols onto the back of the drum, thereby, reusing the old symbols. I have information about symbols from our area.”

The starting point of the analysis and the theme, which I believe is the strongest one from the interview is concerned with the art work depicted above through figures 60 and 61 with regard to Sámi shamanism, concerns certain aspects of Sámi tradition in relation to human-animal relations. The content of this art-work is very important given the fact Fenina is from the Skolt Sámi area and speaks Kildin Sámi language, because during the interview, she did not wish to provide any information about the animals. At the time, I did not understand why. Later on, I learned that there are certain customs and taboos about keeping the relations and contexts between Sámi persons and spiritual animals secret, as is explained by Helander (2002: 7):



Figure 60. The ritualistic art painted by Fenina portrays a Sámi shamanistic séance where there are 4 persons dancing around the fire and a blue print of their animal spirits: bear, eagle, fox and reindeer; dancing around the northern lights in the sky above them. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015.

Figure 61. In a similar landscape to the painting above, four Sámi persons dance around the fire by the *Lawu*. In the sky up above them are animal spirits, reindeer, wolf, owl and bear. “Both of paintings called ‘the dance with spirits’. They were created five years apart. The painting to the left is painted for my granddaughter. The other was painted after an order, and it is in Murmansk” (Fenina 2015: 1). Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015.

“[...] the eagle as a sacred being is one of the things that Sámi either do not talk about or have forgotten it. These are things not revealed to outsiders because the Sámi seldom share spiritual knowledge and wisdom even when talking among themselves about certain animals and in the context of certain rites such as Bear Hunt. They camouflage the sacred by using certain terminology”.

As a way to further elaborate on the taboos associated with the notion of secrecy in relation to eastern Sámi traditions and the structures, which help encase the teachings and traditional knowledge within the context of what seem like kinship responsibilities, where knowledge and information is passed from for example, parents to children and grandparents to grandchildren it has been helpful to understand the following. It seems that in certain cases, there are obligations for withholding sacred knowledge to persons from outside Sámi culture because to share such knowledge might cause illness, misfortune, or in the worst case, death. A typical example of such a belief system in relation to Skolt Sámi customs from the Russian Kola Peninsula has been well documented by Itkonen (1948: 349), in relation to totemism.

“The Skolt Sámi believed that each person had a guardian spirit, which is invisible and its name is *kád’dz* ‘companion’. It is inherited from father to son and from mother to her daughters, and they are not allowed to transfer it to anyone else. The adults do not talk with children about these, otherwise the children will die, and only from twenty years of age the child is capable to face this spirit. It looks like an animal. Fedotov family have a sheep, Letov a horse, Gayrilov burbot. It is possible to have some kind of insect as well. Every family might have their own elf when they go to the forest for hunting. Happy *Kád’dz* are bear, reindeer, sheep. Fish are regarded as peaceful spirits but difficult ones are cat, dog, and wolf”⁸³.

The concept of totemism is a scientific construct emphasizing the mythical relationship between human beings and animals, which in the information provided by Itkonen, suggests the need to protect animal intelligence to persons not only from outside Sámi culture but also from other Sámi families. Moreover, through Fenina’s artworks, the Sámi worldview comes into focus regarding what all indigenous peoples understand in relation to creation stories and the origins of human beings who evolved from mythical beings and ancestral spirits.

A broader explanation of the function of totemism is explained in the following way by Pulkkinen (2005e: 417).

“Totemism, a concept in primitive societies according to which social groups such as extended families or clans (groups of persons related by patrilineal, or more rarely matrilineal, descent) have close relationships with particular animals or less commonly plants. The usual explanation for this is that the progenitor of a patrilineal family or clan was the animal (or plant) in question. The marital systems of totemic societies are often exogamic, i.e. marriages are only permitted between members of different totemic communities. The killing and eating of a totem animal is taboo except for ritualistic purposes. According to many evolutionist theories of religion (Evolutionism), totemism represents one of the earliest stages in the development of religion”.

What has also been helpful to notice within the context of the art works is the presence of the drum, an instrument used for the inducement of religious ecstasy and inter-species communication. Yet, from a study of the drums by Manker (1938), there are no Russian Sámi drums, which have survived the colonialism era on the Kola Peninsula. The only two to be found pictured in Manker’s inventory are considered to be not genuine drums. Therefore, the drum Fenina has made, is clearly influenced by the Norwegian and Swedish Sámi bowl-type drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

It could therefore, be argued that we encounter through the artistic work of Fenina, the religious consciousness of the Sámi *noaidi*, thus bringing forth the ancient Sámi worldview into a modern context to which the drum plays a central role and function. There are a couple of other points that are also worth mentioning in relation to Fenina’s vocation.

The first relates to her work with plants. In a brief discussion of Sámi healing practices in relation to the application of plant medicines to illnesses and diseases, it seems there is, in a similar way, evidence of how from amongst the sacred knowledge about human and animal relationships described to you above and its distribution amongst families is described, there is a similar practice when it comes to the use of plants. For example, in her short but informative article titled: *The Healing Power of Plants and Trees: Sápmi – Sami Healing Starts with Loved Ones*, Helander (2002: 6), recalls the following.

83 Translated from Finnish by Susanna Pääkkölä

“Traditionally, Sami healing activities start in an integrated manner with the family and tribe. The learning takes place there. Through personal illnesses as well as those of loved ones, one develops a relationship with healing and plant knowledge. The use of each plant that results in a cure, tells us something about which ingredients in the plant are most active. Such beneficial plant knowledge and experimentation is first shared with the family circle and people who use natural medicine, herbs, ect, are in fact taking responsibility for their own well-being as well as the well-being of their families and others”.

One last point to be mentioned here in the analysis of the work of Fenina, is how in the two artistic portraits, the genders of the human figures who are dancing and playing drums are both male and female. By contrast, in historical sources of accounts of drum usage, these tend to be typically associated much more with the activities of men. Therefore, we see a new paradigm in the study of Sámi shamanism and art, whereby women are taking up a more visible position as drum users within the ranks of Sámi culture in contemporary shamanic practices.

7.5 Interview with Ingor Ántte Áilu Gaup



Figure 62. Master Joiker Ingor Ántte Áilu Gaup (Áilloš). Photograph and Copyright Francis Joy 2015.

Because the tradition of *joiking*, which is a distinctive Sámi way of singing in relation to shamanism and the performing arts, the fourth interview was undertaken with Ingor Ántte Áilu Gaup (Áilloš) on Sunday August 23rd 2015. Gaup is a famous Sámi performer, and the purpose of the interview was to find out about the work he is doing at Isogaisa and his own knowledge of this traditional artistic expression. I do

not have a picture of Gaup using his drum, but he was using it in a name giving ceremony for the child of Mikael Gaup, the famous Sámi actor, during the festival, which was accompanied by *joiking*. During the interview, although relatively short Gaup (2015: 1), revealed the following about his work.

“I see my role to try and give an opening to know *joik* as an art form. To open people to the traditional ways of singing and to understand the art of *joik*. Because *joik* is one of the strongest elements still alive which is so close to our spiritual language, I run small workshops open to everyone who is an open hearted person. The traditions are changing; there is a transition taking place. The *joik* is the oldest art form of singing in the whole of Scandinavia. I know *joik's*, which are five generations old. I have studied old *joik's* and how the rhythms and scales have been used.

Isogaisa is very important because it is giving an open hearted and open mind to people who are searching for spirituality from indigenous people. People here find it in themselves; I see it here in workshops.

Because we do not allow any alcohol or drugs on Isogaisa – people can be themselves and open up to love. We are not here to be an enemy to other religions. Here we look and share the similarities rather than the differences. Everybody is equal and so we share our love with one another.

In 2007 the release of my CD titled: *Áilloš Yoikur*, the first track called ‘Consolation’ was nominated for an award [and so had a huge impact on many people. This CD], is what I did together with Tromsø Symphonic Orchestra with musical arranger Kristin Mellem and my musicians who are also featured in the album. The opera singers name was Solvei Kringlebotn”.

Although the contribution from Gaup does not include any kind of terminology about shamanism, it is my theory that in this sense, he has chosen not to speak directly about it because there might be certain customs or taboos involved in it, which he upholds, considering I am someone from outside the culture. However, the information where he did reveal his observations about how old the tradition of *joiking* is, is certainly a point of interest. For example, during the missionizing stages of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the *joik*, which can be traced as far back as then, was considered so powerful it was a crime to use it; the reasons for this was the *noaidi* were able to attain ecstasy through its use, where in certain instances, the soul left the body and travelled into other dimensions of life, either in the spiritual worlds or to other destinations within the physical world to obtain knowledge, undertake healing or cause harm.

In an account by clergymen Samuel Rheen to Johannes Schefferus about the voyage of the *noaidi's* soul during an ecstatic state where the drum was used, Schefferus (1971: 56), recalled the following details.

“That several persons also, as well men and women, are permitted to be present at this ceremony, is asserted by Sam. Rheen in his history, where he says that the drummer sings a song, called by the *Joiike*, and the men and women that are present sing likewise, some in higher some in lower notes, this they call *Duura*. Next as to the casting themselves on the ground, there are various relations, some think them not really, but only in appearance dead; others are apt to believe that the soul departs from the body, and after its travel abroad, returns again. But without doubt, this is false, for it is impossible, for either man, or devil, to restore the soul to the body it hath once left.”

During the Isogaisa festival, I listened to Gaup *joiking* in different contexts and noticed how the tones of the *joiking* performances changed depending on the contexts to which it was being applied. In addition to observing *joiking* during the name giving ceremony of Mikael Gaup's child, which was performed by

Sámi shaman Eirik Myrhaug, it was evident how Gaup used the *joik* to bring together the child's parents, grandparents and relatives who were all present in the *Lavvu*.

What came to mind concerning analysis of the events, which were unfolding during the performance of the name giving ceremony, was the level of thought given by Gaup concerning the presence of the child's distant ancestors who were in the other side of life and how he may have used a particular type of *joiking* to invoke them also to be present and give blessings to the child as part of the ceremony. This, in itself would also show how the *joiking* tradition also extends into the afterlife, which is in accordance with the cyclical worldview and holistic nature of Sámi religion and therefore, has much importance for both the person doing the *joiking* as well as the recipient/s.

A recent examination of early scholarly sources also revealed how according to what has been documented in early missionary sources, Laestadius (2002: 133), recalls how, according to Jessen (p28) "The Lapps believed they would go to *saiwo* after death and enjoy greater bliss the more they honored them with *joiking* (song) and drumming while alive".

To reflect further on the use of *joiking* as an art form or as Gaup (2015: 1), refers to it as "[...] spiritual language [...]", which is utilized during life-cycle rites, and in terms of using its application to such circumstances as it was used to call upon and bring families together in such a way, the art can be seen in such a manner it creates a facilitates a meeting point between the worlds. Moreover, this kind of atmosphere as described in the missionary sources, seems to have been common in the old Sámi nomadic culture.

It must likewise be noted how during the Christian missionizing, *joiking* was considered sinful and an act of witchcraft by the authorities, when it was accompanied by the use of a drum by the *noaidi*, it was punishable in a number of ways, including the death penalty. In terms of the name giving ceremony performed by Gaup at the Isogaisa festival and the presence of the child's immediate family, it was overwhelmingly evident the *joiking* created a unique and somewhat extraordinary atmosphere.

7.6 Interview with Hans Niittyvuopio



Figure 63. Hans Niittyvuopio in his colourful Tunturi Sámi (Fell Sámi) costume and hat standing beside the fireplace. To his right shoulder can be seen the seita boulder in the fireplace which is almost circular in shape. Photograph and Copyright Francis Joy 2011.

The purpose of this next interview is to demonstrate how the missionary work in the Finnish parts of *Sápmi* did not completely eradicate the knowledge of sacrificial cultic practices and offerings related to the pre-Christian Sámi religion, and therefore, the following sub-chapter provides new insight and understanding as it captures more recent sacrificial activities as described through two meetings with Hans Niittyvuopio, who is an elderly reindeer herder from Karigasniemi in northern *Sápmi*, Finland.

The discussions, which took place, were conducted in Karigasniemi and Ivalo, on Wednesday 6th October 2011, and were translated from Finnish to English by Seija Berg.

From this interview, the following information was disclosed by Niittyvuopio (2011: 1). “I am an 80 year old Lappish reindeer herder who is the proprietor, along with my wife and son, of Muotkan Ruotku, which is a holiday (fell), village located in the Karigasniemi municipality of northern Finland” (ibid). The building is at the side of the main road which links Karigasniemi and Inari together. Niittyvuopio (2011: 1), then revealed how

“I am from a reindeer herding family from Karigasniemi who speaks Lappinkieli, the old language of Lapland. I became accustomed to the ways of my father and his father’s father and five brothers who were also reindeer herders, tunturi or fell Lapps, and who made sacrificial offerings to holy seita stones whilst fishing and travelling with the reindeer across the mountains. The term Lappalainen, which belongs to people who speak the old Lappish language means these people are reindeer people”.

The reason the location and interview holds special interest for the study and recording of oral history is that because of the impacts of Christianity and conflict as a result, people in *Sápmi* are usually reluctant to share or speak about sacrificial practices, especially with persons from outside the culture. I have understood that the reasons for the silence are because of taboos and customs, which are associated with such activities, have for the most, remained secret. In other words, sharing information of such a personal nature has been considered to bring bad luck and misfortune upon the family or individual, as described in the works of Laestadius (2002: 104), who refers to missionary sources and how:

“Högström also mentions that the Lapps do not want to show these sanctuaries to strangers because they fear that the deity might resent it and cause some harm to be done to them; they have related to me numerous examples of people who out of curiosity have come too close to or touched the stone gods and consequently have lost their health, ect.” (Högström Ch 11: 9).

However, it can be ascertained from the nature of the interview that speaking about such activities away from the seita stone where the sacrificial offerings originally took place, after 50 years has passed by, may not hold as much danger as it would have around the time the sacrificial events took place?

I also wish to make a point of how it has been important to place the analysis within the context of the historical background of the sacrificial tradition of the Sámi. Therefore, within the course of this next sub-chapter, I have found it beneficial to examine the attitudes and interpretations of missionaries and clergymen who campaigned long and hard to eradicate such practices in relation to Sámi shamanism and religion, by contrast to the information received from Niittyvuopio. This is due to how the Churchmen interpreted the nature and function of seita stones and their indwelling powers.

I have already above in the sub-chapter concerning the interview with Robert Vars-Gaup, touched upon how the Sámi have sought to benefit from making offerings to holy and sacred stones in relation to hunting, fishing and trapping practices. It seems evident however, that although in at least material

compiled by Schefferus, there are a number of certain features of which it would be beneficial to discuss beforehand. One of these related to how many holy stones were given specific names of different Gods, for example: *Storejunkar*, Thor, and *Tiermes*⁸⁴. According to Schefferus (1971: 38), “they did not worship him [the god] under that name, but by common appellation of *Seita* [...]”.

There is also an abundance of information regarding the locations of many of these sacred stones as well as some details of the nature of the rituals, which were performed to petition the power within the stone for help and also for purposes of worship. Because of the landscape setting, which is described by Hans, below, I feel it is relevant to include at least some data from the missionary sources, which help to show how the sacrificial tradition encountered within, for example, the contexts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can be seen reflected and is apparent within the interview material and information provided by Niittyvuopio, also. Prior to this, it is advantageous to understand how in terms of cosmological landscapes where *seita*'s can be found, Schefferus (1971: 39), describes the following.

“But the place where *Storejunkar* was worshipped, was upon some peculiar mountains, and on the banks of lakes: for almost every family hath its particular rocks and hills appointed for this business. Some of the rocks are so high and craggy that they are impassable to any but *Storejunkar*. But it must not be supposed that he lives only in rocks and cliffs of mountains, but also on the shores of lakes and banks of rivers, for there he is also particularly worshipped [...]”.

In addition to what is described above, and it might be furthermore said, that perhaps another of the reasons why the clergymen and missionaries regarded the worship and sacrifice directed towards *seita* stones as being evil and therefore outlawed such practices, is also due to what Schefferus (1971: 41-42), describes next concerning their authority and status.

“[...] in an island made by a cataract of the River Tornatrask called Darra there are found *seita*, just in the shape of a man, one very tall, and hard by 4 others something lower, with a kind of cap on their heads. [...]. These stones are not set up by themselves, but lie 3 or 4 together, according as they find them, the first of which they honour with the title *Storejunkar*, the second they call *Acte*, or *Storejunkar's* wife; the third his son or daughter, and the rest his servants. And this they do because they would not have their *Storejunkar*, who is Thor's Viceroy, in a worse condition than other Roial [Royal] Prefects, whom usually see thus accompanied by their wives, children, and attendants”.

To further elaborate on the links between past and present observance and worship of *seita* stones, from the data collected during the interview, the short story continues in the following way and has further importance because it is concerned with the local oral history behind the Suusjärvi *seita* where according to Niittyvuopio (2011: 1), who elaborates on how

“In the restaurant of the village [Muotkan Ruotku, there], is a fire place which was built in 1966. What makes the fireplace unique is the fact one of the stones used in its construction is that of a fishing *seita*, a sacrificial stone brought from Ivalo by a builder; a Finnish man who initially did not recognize the stone for its holy significance and powers”

84 Both Schefferus in his chapter Of the Heathenish Gods of the Laplanders, and their Manner of Worship at this Day (1971: 37-45), and Lars Levi Laestadius in his two chapters. The Doctrine of Deities, and the Doctrine of Sacrifice [1838-1840] (2002), provide extensive information about customs and practices associated with the sacrificial traditions of the Sámi *sieidi*.

From a broader explanation concerning the history of the stone Niittyvuopio (2011: 2), expressed in more detail in what way,

“If the stone would have been known, it would have been left in its original location. In the Kari-gasniemi area, especially along the Tenojoki River, there are many fishing seita stones and places of workshop, which have been important holy places for the Lappish and Sámi people. The seita stone was known as a holy stone before it was used to build the front part of the fireplace, and was owned by Samuli Valle, a Lappish man, who was a fisherman and reindeer herder.

The seita’s original location was 1km away from Samuli’s land. The builder who is now deceased lifted the stone onto a trailer and brought it by car to its current location. The weight of the stone is approximately 30kg”.

“After purchasing Muotkan Ruotku in 1976, I learned from Samuli Valle that the seita had disappeared, and Samuli knew who had taken it, as the builder of the fireplace had been looking for stones for construction work. The realization was made soon after that the builder had used the seita in his fireplace construction.

After climbing a ladder inside the building and observing the stone from above to see if I could locate any relevant human or animal features which are quite often visible on seita stones, I told Samuli that I could see a man’s face, which was smiling and on the head was a hat which was like the one used by the Lapps called The Four Winds Hat, but it had one of the pointers missing from it, and Samuli replied, ‘Oh, Jesus and the devil!’

Once I had been made aware the stone was a seita stone, every spring when the fishing season started, I hung up above the stone a salmon so the fat could run down over the seita and feed it, as a way of ensuring good luck and prosperity for the coming year with fishing.

I also have a private seita stone, which I have used for many years for sacrificial purposes, especially for reindeer offerings. In 1959, I met a lady from Helsinki who was a student at the University of Helsinki, and who was visiting Muotkan Ruotku. I felt an instant attraction between us, but she had to go back to Helsinki to continue with her studies. At the time, I was dating a woman who was a teacher from Inari, whom I was living with.

Sometime after meeting the woman from Helsinki, I sacrificed a white reindeer calf to my private seita to ask for help regarding my feelings and significance of the meeting with the woman. The seita told me to leave the teacher, and to wait. In 1963 after the woman from Helsinki had graduated, she came back to north and me and her were married soon after, and therefore she became my wife.

My son Sampo has managed the family business for the last 20 years, [and Hans informed me that after making sacrifices at his private seita], my son found a wife who was living 1km away from the stone. This was 14 years ago from this day, when Sampo was 32 years old. The spirit of the seita has guided us both to our wives” (ibid).

From the description above revealed by Niittyvuopio, an assessment of it makes clear that he has magical knowledge of both the inner and outer workings of the sacrificial practices and acts of worship in relation



Figure 64. This is a photograph of a seita stone where the facial features of a mouth, nose and eye is clearly visible. The image was received from Hans shortly after the interview took place. It is a natural formation in the landscape in the Karigasniemi area and remains a secret. Photograph, copyright and reused with kind permission by Hans Niittyvuopio 2011.

to influencing the seita spirit to help him with his wishes, the execution of which, revealed a successful outcome. Because the reindeer calf was a white one, it reminds me of the oral narrative about the mythical figure of *Myandash*, which is linked with the eastern Sámi on the Kola Peninsula, and how sacrifices of white reindeer were made to him in order to ensure good hunting. However, in Hans's case, not the hunting of animals, fish or birds, but instead, the successful hunting of a wife.

It could be said that this story from Niittyvuopio is unique to me because from the missionary sources of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, I have only read about similar acts of sacrifice performed in order to obtain good fortune and success in relation to the hunting of food for sustenance.

There is no doubt that this interview is of critical importance in the study of Sámi religion and shamanism, in terms of sacrificial practices and the value such a revelation of the tradition has in terms of understanding traditional knowledge and insight into the powers, which dwell within the natural landscapes throughout *Sápmi* and beyond. Moreover, how in this case, inter-species communication conducted through sacrificial acts by Niittyvuopio has taken place in order to help him with his life and building of a family.

One of the more visible aspects that is evident in this interview is how in terms of research ethics into Sámi culture, in what ways the traditional knowledge is connected with the seita stones, which are seen by the Sámi as cultural monuments that in turn, are linked with identity and the development of Sámi ecological knowledge.

7.7 Interview with Peter Armstrong



Figure 65. Peter Armstrong kneeling with his healing drum, outside the *Lawu* where he gives healing in Kiruna, Swedish *Sápmi*. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2014.

The Interview with Sámi *noid* Peter ‘Four Bears’ Armstrong was conducted at his home in Kiruna, Sweden; on Sunday August 24th 2014, and a second interview conducted via Skype on Wednesday September 3rd 2014, from Rovaniemi. The interview consisted of 2 parts; the first concerned Armstrong’s healing work, which is presented below. The second interview was to document his work as a handicraft person and drum maker. This information is not included below but will be published at a later date.

The purpose of the interviews were an attempt to gain both insight and understanding of traditional Sámi healing practices in relation to what has been written about these in the missionary sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Furthermore, and to help with formulation of the research data and subsequent analysis, the study has been conducted through the application of descriptive, phenomenological, indigenous and comparative research methods in such a way to help achieve the following goals. The combination of the methods outlines the different contexts and characteristics of this particular case study, for the purpose of assessing present day shamanistic phenomenon with regard to Sámi shamanism and how these practices can be linked with older accounts from drum use and the use of holy stones, and stones, which have healing power, in relation to exorcism and healing illnesses, as described within the missionary sources. Moreover, the approach to the subject matter is conducted in a way it demonstrates how aspects of the old traditions are still visible through Armstrong’s work.

One further point is that in terms of New Age healing practices, these were not discussed in detail during the interview processes but are mentioned briefly in the documented material. My theory was these practices have been like stepping-stones for Armstrong, which have helped him re-connect with various aspects of Sámi culture, the practice of shamanism and other forms of healing.

From the first interview Armstrong (2014: 1-2), shared details about his work and life, which is outlined in the following ways.

“I am 49 year old healer and artist living in Kiruna, Swedish *Sápmi* with my wife Eva and am a forest Sámi. I work full time at a school in Kiruna, taking care of children who have a hard time in school, for the past 2 years. Prior to this, I worked for 13 years as a care assistant, taking care of elderly persons.

My ancestors originated from North Norway. In my family history, my great grandfather on his mother’s side of the family was a *Noid*; and they lived in the village of Lainio in Northern Sweden. My grandmother was also a healer. The village my family lived in was a Laestadian community (Protestant), so the healers never talked about the healing work they did, because to do so was interpreted as heresy by the church authorities.

My Sámi family name is Mange, who were coastal Sámi. The name Armstrong is Swedish from my father’s side. I am considering changing my name back to Mange.

In Swedish Sámi society, some of the shamans have been given the permission from the Swedish state to give original names back to Sami people. These are undertaken through name-giving ceremonies, which usually take place in the forest, at Sámi festivals or where relevant. From my understanding, there is nothing written from the past regarding how Sámi people have married and conducted ceremonies, therefore, we have to create our own; to take back the culture and traditions.

My teachers’ in Sweden have been fellow shaman John Russell-Møller who is Danish and lives in Copenhagen and who specialises in exorcism work. John has helped strengthen my healing work. My wife Eva who is Swedish practices the Sedr Tradition, and uses herbs for healing as well as undertaking ceremonial work using the Nordic Traditions. Eva has also been an important source of support for my development.

The name: Four Bears was given to me by John⁸⁵. John made a shamanic journey on my behalf to seek guidance. During the trip, four bears appeared: a black bear, a polar bear, a brown bear and a spirit bear. From thereon, Four Bears has been my middle name. The Four Bears are my guardian and helping spirits who assist with healing and divination work and also supply information when and as needed. I work extensively with the animal kingdom, stating that each animal has its own knowledge and wisdom to teach you.

In our culture, the Sámi healer works mostly with pain relief and extracting the pain out of peoples’ bodies that have physical discomfort. The healing usually takes place in the *lavvu* or in my cabin. The healing work can also be done from a distance. On occasions, the drum is used,

85 A link to the website of John-Russell-Møller where a description of his work can be found is available at the following address: <http://www.shaman.dk/>

other times I send the bear spirits to help those suffering. I also send the bear spirits to help protect people who are in danger.

My healing abilities started one day when my son's mother complained of pain in her back. I pulled the pain out of her with my hands. During my childhood days, I spent every weekend at my grandparents' home in Lainio; where I experienced them doing healing work on occasions. From this period, the experiences encountered during time at the grandparents' home led me to undertake training as a healer, in order to become a professional person in my adult life.

The type of spiritual healing I was trained in was Reiki healing⁸⁶ for which I became a Master Practitioner. In addition I have also trained in Inca Tradition from South America in Munai-Ki which means: I Love You, in terms of energy.

This is a knowledge system for opening up one's self as a healer. The traditional teachings are complementary to the Sámi worldview and cosmology where nature is animated and all living things are believed to have a soul/spirit. However, in Kiruna, my work as a healer is largely accepted but because of Christianity, there have been accusations of me doing the work of the devil and evil. When growing up in Kiruna, Sámi religion was mixed with Christianity; nowadays, it is ok to be a Sámi person, but when I was younger, it was not, one had to be Swedish.

The effects of the past colonialism are still evident whereby; I am only now learning to speak the Sami language, because Sámi people were not allowed to speak their own language earlier. Mainly, people from the northern areas of Sweden are speaking Finnish language. In addition, none my family were allowed to wear their traditional Sámi costumes (*ghakti*), or speak the language, otherwise punishment was administered, for example at school, where I recall an account of my uncle being dragged by his hair down a flight of steps by the teacher.

One of the stories, which have survived about my great grandfather who was called Vaakina-Pekka (1859 – 1952), and his abilities was published in a book titled: 'Lainio –Our Home Village', on the 650th centenary of the village of Lainio in 1984. The story describes extraordinary events where Vaakina-Pekka reportedly walked over a swollen river without being swept away. Vaakina-Pekka was known for his humility and fear because of his magical knowledge. In the village he was one of the most famous *noids*'. The tools he used for his healing work included a snake skin and a stone which was kept in a special box that had never seen the light of day".

On analysis of the content of this first section of the interview, the information disclosed by Armstrand reveals, in a similar way to other Sámi *noaidi*'s, who have been interviewed, traces of a number of consequences regarding the effects of colonialism against Sámi religion and also his family, and the loss of culture in relation to ritual practices where name giving and baptism are concerned. Furthermore, one of the clear aspects of the loss of traditional parts of shamanism, and the teaching of its methods and applications might be seen as to how Armstrand's training into rediscovering the fragments of his own

⁸⁶ Although there are various types of Reiki healing, which is considered to have its origins in Japan and Tibet, I am enclosing a link to the International Centre for Reiki Training, which provides a comprehensive description of the healing system and what a Master Practitioner does. <http://www.reiki.org/faq/whatisreiki.html> In a similar, way with regard to Peter's training in Munai-Ki, I am likewise, enclosing a link to a description of the healing system by shaman and founder Alberto Villoldo. <http://munay-ki.org/>

cultures shamanistic practice is how he has been taught by “[...] John Russell-Møller” (Armstrand 2014: 1), who is from outside of Sámi culture.

Although Armstrand did not specify it, my theory is that he chose Russell-Møller as his teacher because according to Armstrand (2014: 1). John specializes in “[...] exorcism [...], which consists of the removal of harmful energies from a person’s body.

My reason for theorizing in this way is because Armstrand has also stated how he extracts pain from the bodies of people who need help, which can be seen as a type of exorcism, and there are also indications that exorcism work also involves divination and sacrifice in relation to the releasing spirits and other harmful intrusions, which may cause a person to lose their health through sickness, or in the worst case scenario, death itself. It may be said that release work is undertaken to help a person regain their life back or heal from illnesses.

From the old sources concerning the history of Sámi *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one example of such a description is seen in a story about the use of the *noaidi* drum, noted earlier, which was sent to the Pigorini Museum in Rome, in relation to a young man who becomes ill and his father calls upon a relative, who is a *noaidi*, tries to save him through using the drum and divining for a cure for his boy. This is done by changing the course of his fate, which is thus described in the scholarly works of Juha Pentikäinen (1987: 28), who makes reference to “Paolo Mantegazza concerning the use of the drum on the basis of the Naerø manuscript of 1723⁸⁷”. This story is outlined by Pentikäinen (1987: 29), in a chapter titled, The Shamanic Drum as Cognitive Map.

“The brother-in-law beat the drum the third time, with many exorcisms, but the ring went back to its earlier place, i.e. the road of the dead, and stayed there, until the father, in addition to the two reindeer, promised to sacrifice a horse to the *noiade* of the reign of the dead, if he runed in such a way that the dead would allow the ring to go to the Lappish huts, and so the father could be sure that his son would live”.

This story is important because it demonstrates how Sámi *noaidi* have been skilled in such practices and thus, suggesting some of them specialize in this kind of work. There is also a further description from Pentikäinen’s data concerning exorcism in relation to the use of a stone, which also has relevance for the analysis, because as emphasized above by Armstrand (2014: 1), his “great grandfather who was called Vaakina-Pekka”, also used stones for healing purposes. In addition, there are also further accounts (below) where Armstrand is pictured using stones for healing purposes. What is more, Pentikäinen (1987: 29), further recalls in relation to the boy’s life being saved, how with regard to the *noaidi*’s actions.

“Finally, he took the following measures: he went down to the shore and picked up an oblonged stone. Having consecrated this stone with many exorcisms and incantations, he hung it in front of the hut; then he threw himself in front of it, face against the ground, and said a prayer; he then asked *Mubben-aibmo* (Satan), the reason why the ring refused to abandon the road of the dead, although such splendid gifts had been promised to him, to the dead and to the *noiades* of the reign of the dead”.

87 According to Pentikäinen (1987: 32), “Paolo Mantegazza was professor of Anthropology in the University of Florence. In 1880 he published a book *Studii antropologici sui Lapponi*, with Stephen Sommier as his coauthor, studying the physical anthropology of the Saami”.

To be approximate with the dating of the shamanistic séance described above in order to save the young man's life, I refer back to early source again where the material then recalls how, and as noted by Pentikäinen (1987: 29), "this Lapp named Johan, to whom all this happened five years ago and who is now in service in my parish in Helgeland, has told this story, together with other Lapps and their wives, in my presence in my house in the January of the present year 1723 (Mantegazza 1881, 287 ff.)"⁸⁸. Although, there is no mention of it in the material, the question still remains whether or not the *noaidi* held the drum over, or close to the young man's body to use in such a way for the purpose of exorcising the illness from the victim's body, but this has not been fully understood by the observer?

On the whole, it is evident that exorcism has been a practice, which the Sámi *noaidi* has been skilled in and used in combination with the divination drum whilst engaged in healing and extraction work.

During the course of the interview, additional personal knowledge about healing techniques and traditional knowledge was also shared by Armstrand (2014: 3), which revealed the following information.

"I have also learned through many years of experience how to work with the local spirits in Kiruna who live in the mountains close to where our home is; in order to help people. It is a Sámi belief that the mountains throughout *Sápmi* have both on and within them, many healing and powerful stones that can be used to help heal people. My great grandfather also had this knowledge and used it to heal and help people in the village of Lainio. In fact, I recall a story that a woman related to me who knew my great grandfather and who went to see him for some help regarding red wart-like spots, which appeared on her nose.

The *Noid* made a spell using a stone where he made a banishing ritual commanding that the warts would disappear and not return as long as his bones were on the earth. The warts subsequently disappeared. At the beginning of the 1990s, I met the woman who told me that his great grandfather's bones must have disappeared because 30 years after his death, the warts returned to her nose.

The Sámi spirits play a very important role in the healing work I do. I call upon them to help provide knowledge, insight and guidance when helping other persons, and also in my development as a healer. During ceremonies, I call in all the *Akka* Goddesses: *Mádderáhkká*, *Sáráhkká*, *Uksáhkká* and *Jouksáhkká* into the circle, who help protect me and the circle.

Bieggolmai – the Wind man is another strong spirit called upon for the cleansing and purification of a ceremonial circle where people are gathered. *Horagalles* – the God of thunder is another important helping spirit when called upon for help with healing work. In fact, I remember one woman whom I was giving healing to in the *lavvu* and when I called in *Horagalles* she began shaking.

The drum I use for healing is a bowl type drum I made myself, four years ago, from birch Pahka (burl), and it has a reindeer skin sewn onto it. Prior to using this drum, I used a frame type drum.

The instrument is painted with acrylic paints on the skin, and inside the drum with Sámi symbols, which have been burned on. I also continue to search for old Sámi symbols. When the Sámi spirits give me symbols, I can use them as well for healing and to put inside the drum.

The use of the drum is important because the vibrations from the drum go deep into the body and help to release pain, which many people who come for healing, have. For some people, I

88 Ms. of Naerø 11 ff. Cited in Mantegazza 1881, 287ff.

cannot use the drum because it is too powerful for them, and the healing power raises issues, which they might not be strong enough or willing to face.

One of the old Sámi healing methods I use during the healing is the use of two flat stones, which is the 'stone to bone' technique. For example, if a person has shoulder pain, one stone is placed on the shoulder and held over the painful area, whilst the second one is used for tapping in order to remove the harmful energy-pain.

Another healing technique is used to treat inflammation, where powder from a fungus is directed to the affected area because it contains a natural anti-biotic. Some people do not think it is a good idea to share this old knowledge with persons from outside of Sami culture. [However, he continues]: we have to because it is disappearing so rapidly”



Figure 66. Peter Armstrong demonstrates the stone to bone healing technique on Eva Armstrong, on the area where she has pain, which in this case is applied to the base of the neck and shoulder area. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2014.

Figure 67. Another common medicine used in healing is the common fungus *Lycoperdon perlatum* or puff-ball as it is widely known. The fungus also has the name: The Devil's Snuff Box, which is used as a medicine in Sámi traditional healing practices. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2014.

Figure 68. Peter Armstrong sprinkles powder from the fungus onto Eva Armstrong's arm as a demonstration of how it is used to treat skin infections. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2014.

In addition to what has already been shared above, Armstrong (2014: 4), revealed specific knowledge and photographs about the drum he uses for healing work.

“The old Sámi tradition has been a sacrificial tradition. Today, I make sacrifices-offerings to the fire. I use ingredients such as tobacco, coffee, tea, salt, meat, bread and chagga, which is in Finnish language called Pakurikääpä; a fungus that grows on the birch tree, is also used as offerings. There is also a chagga ceremony. Sacrificial offerings are also made to the drum, where chagga tea is drunk and then I blow the spirit into the drum before healing begins.

On another occasion when my older drum was broken, it was offered to the fire, so its spirit was returned back to the source. The ashes were later scattered-returned to the forest.

One of the ways I use techniques for helping to strengthen my mind for the healing work is by bending spoons. My techniques are ones, which soften the steel spoons, and this is how I help people heal.

Both Peter and Eva share similar beliefs, lifestyles and practices regarding nature and work with the spiritual worlds, and they teach others spiritual development”

In a discussion about serpents, which possesses magical powers that relate the Sámi oral tradition in *Sápmi*, there is a further point of interest in relation to both Armstrong’s use of stones for healing and also his great grandfather’s “[...] snake skin and a stone, which was kept in a special box that had never seen the light of day” (Armstrong 2014: 2).

From the missionary sources compiled by Laestadius there are several chapters about the sacred healing powers of both serpents, their skins and stones, which might have some direct relevance concerning what seems like similar customs and practices associated to both Armstrong and his great grandfather’s work as healers. The following is recalled by Laestadius (2002: 115).

“It is said that when serpents gather in the spring to play and mate, each larger flock of serpents has a serpent king who is very large and white in colour. This serpent holds a small, flat and white stone in his mouth and plays with it; he throws it up and down and receives it in his mouth like one would receive balls. If one can get possession of this stone, it can bring him anything he wants”.

More importantly, Laestadius (2002: 117), has also and noted how “incidentally, snakeskin is a part of the Lappish art of healing and is considered a diuretic. Even the snake fat is used in ointments for arthritis, ect.

Analysis of Armstrong’s drum and its painted content also revealed further points of interest in relation to how old and new traditions are combined together, thus linking past with present.

To begin with I will address the decorative content of the drumhead, which depicts a Sun symbol divided into 4 segments. It has been interesting to note in terms of comparison and cosmology that on the old drums of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from Swedish *Sápmi*, which are sun centered drums, how many of the deities positioned around the sun symbol are gods who rule over the weather and natural elements. This could be attributed to the fact that in the semi-nomadic culture of that time, the hunting of animals and divination in relation to those practices, were chiefly undertaken by men, and therefore, the major deities such as Thor, *Storejunkar* and *Tiermes*, in addition to the gods of the elements of wind and sun were also encountered as male powers. As I have also discussed earlier, the seita sacrificial sites were many throughout *Sápmi* and so the male gods were attributed with these places. From the



Figure 69. (top left) The painted sun symbol on Peter Armstrand's drum, which is divided into four sections. "The sun's rays are also painted around the outside of the circle as a way to illustrate its healing power" (Armstrand 2014: 8). Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2014.

Figure 70. (top right) Instead of a reindeer bone hammer-beater, which have been used in the Old Sámi religion for divination, a wooden beater with a felt head is used to beat the drum with in this case. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2014.

Figure 71. (bottom left) The four female Sámi deities of the *Akka* group are pictures in the sun symbol which is divided into the four quarters of north, south, east and west. "Mádderáhká, the Mother Goddess of the earth is pictured in the top left section. In the top right section is *Uksáhká*. The bottom left section is *Jouksáhká*, and *Sáráhká* is pictures in the bottom right section of the drum" (Armstrand 2014: 10). Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2014.

Figure 72. (bottom right) A rear profile of Peter's bowl drum used for healing, depicting a feather, grouse foot and a divination ring. A sun symbol has also been burned into the wood. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2014.

missionary sources by for example, Schefferus, it is noted in many cases how the *noaidi* used the drum to determine the will of the gods in relation to sacrifice⁸⁹.

What is evident within the cosmological picture on Armstrand's drum is despite him using it for healing and divination, these practices are not concerned with hunting, fishing and the trapping of birds. However, on the back of the drum, there is a grouse foot, or claw and a brass ring. It has been interesting to note how if we again turn to the missionary sources, we find the following information with regard to the decoration of a bowl drum, which is the same type as Armstrand's. Laestadius (2002: 156), states thus.

“Leem describes the *noaide* drum which comes from Finnmark in the following way. A drum which resembles a bowl has been found in Finnmark, the bottom which has two oval openings cut into it. To either end was tied a fox's ear, muzzle, and claw.' From this I conclude the meanings of the holes cut in the sides of the drum: they were made so that one could hang different kinds of markers such as bear's teeth, ears, claws, ect”.

To elaborate further on the significance of hanging items from the rear of the drum, with regard to representations and symbols of power, further associations are found between descriptions of the *noaidi* drums from the missionizing times and Armstrand's drum. As Laestadius (2002: 158), recalls.

“Lexicographers Lindahl and Öhrling observe that brass was then of greater esteem among the Lapps than Gold or silver when it was a question involving their superstition, such as rings used as amulets ect. The Lapps apparently believed that brass was a metal which could oppose curses, charms, and the influence of evil spirits”.

The focus briefly turns back towards the Sámi goddesses painted onto Armstrand's drumhead for the purpose of analyzing what might be a cultural shift. My review of the *Akka* goddesses inside the sun appears to have two recognizable paradigms to them. The first concerns how Armstrand does not live as a reindeer herder. He lives in a remote area of a town in northern Sweden and works in a school. Therefore, his own cosmology seems very much concerned with the domestic sphere of people and family life. The *Akka* goddesses are very much affiliated with the earthly life of family, childbirth, baptism and human affairs as well as protection of family members and the dwelling place. For me, this seems evident as to why the four goddesses are at the centre of his own personal cosmology. Much has been written about the goddesses in the works of Laestadius, where it seems evident there were also *sieidi* stones, which were sacrificed to, as a way of petitioning for help in life matters and also reindeer hunting and the birthing of calves⁹⁰.

Another aspect of Sámi traditional handicraft practices in relation to shamanism is making amulets, which he carves from reindeer antler. A further story is shared concerning how he made a special protective one for a woman from southern Sweden. Armstrand (2014: 3), recalls the following:

“The woman's husband was going to Afghanistan to work for the United Nations and she asked for an amulet that would protect him against being shot. In this sense, the spirits help and guide

89 In *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* (2002: 152-170), all the data from early sources in relation to use of the drum for divination and sorcery as well as sacrifice, is primarily concerned with male gods. The same can be found in the works of Schefferus (1971), in relation to the chapters titled: *Of the Heathen Gods of the Laplanders, and their Manner of Worship* (37-45, English edition) and also in the chapter: *Of the Magical Ceremonies of the Laplanders* (45-60).

90 The chapter: *The Doctrine of Deities* in the works of Laestadius (2002: 71-136), covers extensively the different deities within the cosmology of the Sámi. Information about the *Akka* goddesses can be found from pp80-88.

me when making them, regarding their designs and decoration, with animals such as snakes, lizards and owl's for example.

In another example, a woman from Norway who ordered an amulet, after wearing it for some time, she contacted me and asked why burned markings had appeared on it? I told her how sometimes these things cannot be explained, but the amulet is doing its job.

Helping people is very important. Nowadays, it is important for me to learn more and more about the Sámi religion and that the church does not take away all the knowledge about Sámi history. Learning about our history is the way we preserve and maintain our identity and culture as our ancestors have done, for which they were persecuted. Now we strengthen the culture”.

7.8 The shaman's way – analysis of interviews

A recent publication titled: *Nordic Neoshamanism* (2015), which draws on various shamanistic traditions in a discussion about the rise of the practice of shamanism throughout the Nordic countries and Estonia. There are two chapters in the book, which reflects what Armstrong and other Sámi healers are, in a similar way to him, doing regarding rebuilding the shamanic traditions that incorporate various New Age healing practices, rituals and ceremonies from different cultures, combined with older traditions that are assimilated into different contexts in contemporary society. The first chapter, titled: *The Rise of Neoshamanism in Norway: Local Structures-Global Currents*, by Trude Fonneland (2015: 33), who describes how,

“Prior to the late 1990s, neoshamanism in Norway differed little from neoshamanisms found elsewhere in the Western world. Since then, practitioners of neoshamanism in Norway have been increasingly engaged in working to recover the indigenous traditions of their country and ancestors”.

Perhaps the driving force behind this movement is reflected through a discussion in a second chapter in the book titled: *Shamanism-A Spiritual Heritage?: The Significance of the Past in Shamanic Discourses*, written by Torunn Selberg (2015). From within the context of what has been written by the author, the sub-chapter, which has value in terms of the work of Armstrong and other Sámi healers engaged in recovering the traditions of their families and ancestors is emphasized by Selberg (2015: 91), where “the past [is used] as resource and mythology”.

In this sense, there is an abundance of literature on the study of Sámi shamanism throughout the Nordic countries, which has much to offer to shamans and shamanism, and also scholars who study this phenomenon. The reason is that in the past shamans were not allowed to be who they are, it was denied to them. The early missionary resources for example, here in the north where according to Selberg (2015: 93), “[...] narrative also indicate that being a shaman is not something they have chosen; rather it is something they are”. Thus, the early literature sources, collection of remnants of past knowledge and practices, and the sharing of this information is one of the central tenets used during the empowerment process where Sámi shamans can step into their power in order to regain their position within their own culture.

In the data presented above, I have attempted to show how there are different dimensions to the role and function the shamans or *noaidi/noid* takes in relation to the work they do. I have received information in textual and illustrative format from both Robert Vars-Gaup and Peter Armstrong concerning the symbolism from the old *noaidi* drums of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and its meaning, interpretation and use. This shows further evidence of how and despite Sami culture in terms of drums

being in the museums throughout Europe, that the shamans are using a combination of local knowledge and research material to help them with their work, which is chiefly related to drum making.

I also see a new paradigm in the work of Robert Vars-Gaup, whose work has been recognized by the Sami Parliament in Norway, as to how the politicians have provided financial assistance for the value the work and teaching has, and the sharing of that knowledge with both Sami and non-Sami people. This is also the case with Ingor Ántte Áilu Gaup (Áilloš), and his learning and education about the use of *joik* within his own culture and how important these sources of knowledge, which have been documented have been for his work and what he teaches.

Concerning the decoration of drums and people who do these automatically becoming shamans, I wish to state the following. I have discussed the impacts of drum making by persons from within and outside of Sami culture in the dissertation already. Evidence presented above clearly shows how Peter Armstrand and Robert Vars-Gaup have both undertaken training prior to their vocation as drum makers who reuse symbols on their drums. In Gaup's case, it has been endorsed by the authorities in the Parliament. The discussion concerning Armstrand's drum making and decoration reusing symbols is to be debated in future analysis.

The information concerning Nadia Fenina is of special importance because so little is known about the revival of shamanism amongst the Russian Sámi on the Kola Peninsula and especially the use of plants to treat illness. What she did make clear in her interview was how she underwent a long period of training prior to beginning her work and the important influence her ancestors have within that process. It is apparent that the motivation came from outside of her local area in the practical sense probably because of the destruction of Sami religion by Christianity within the Kola Peninsula, but the spiritual inspiration came from deep within her own family.

The research and interview conducted with Hans Niittyvuopio is one of the rare examples of someone who has both Finnish and Sámi ancestry but whose knowledge of the sacrificial rites and magic performed at the seita stone show an ancient form of mediation between the spiritual and human worlds and how this tradition is maintained for example by feeding the seita in Muotkan Ruotku annually. The unique personal communication provided by Niittyvuopio also shows how the tradition of Sámi religious cultic practices have survived despite the missionizing period, and been carried on into the 21st century, and therefore is in need of further study.

Through the contribution by Fredrik Prost, I have tried to show how important the training and education by Ailo Gaup has been for drum making and healing work and how this knowledge has been combined with traditional Sámi handicraft practices. Henceforth, Gaup is a widely recognized *noaidi* who ran an educational programme (school), and his pioneering work has undoubtedly been critical for Sámi *noaidi* to build their confidence, knowledge and extend their practice. In other words, the *noaidi*'s inherently recognize the value of the knowledge their own culture has and subsequently reuse it in modern times.

However, as has been stated by both Ántte Áilu Gaup (Áilloš), and Prost, there have been voices raised against the use of the old symbols and knowledge, especially when it comes to sharing it with persons from outside the culture. The reasons for this I believe, may have been explained by Gunvor Guttorm in the chapter in the dissertation titled: A discussion concerning the types of issues, which have arisen in relation to the production and decoration of new types of drums and the reuse of *noaidi* drum symbolism in *Sápmi*, Finland.

What this means is the conflicting opinions indicate how oppositional attitudes do not only apply to Finland but can be found throughout Sámi society in general, and will no doubt be an on-going dis-

cussion within both Sámi culture and academia as the revival of shamanism continues throughout the north. Prost's information is a good example of how traditional knowledge in matters related to healing is combined with knowledge relating to *duodji* handicraft practices and how the past continues to live on through the art of drum making.

What I have been able to attain during my fieldwork is how for many Sami *noaidi*, that within Sami families, the practice has been kept secret to avoid punishment by the church and authorities in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia and also, as a way of preserving some of the elements of the old traditions. Therefore, it is difficult to provide a single definition as to what constitutes to Sami shamanism in the general sense, but there is evidence that the practice does continue amongst Sámi persons and these contributions bestowed above as individual case studies show the different ways shamanism is expressed within the culture, and thus presented today.

It would be unrealistic to expect the practice to be encountered on the scale it was during the semi-nomadic times of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Meaning the culture has changed but not the people. Instead, the shift or changes in tradition that are evident, indicate the practice to be more urban than it was when it was used for divination purposes concerning the hunting of animals, fishing and trapping, but having made this point, this is yet another area yet to be investigated.

In relation to the transmission of culture amongst the Sámi, the literature sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which outline some of the practices of the *noaidi* from these times, can be seen as systems of knowledge, which are being embedded within Sámi culture today in relation to the types of practice that have been described in this chapter, with regard to identity and the idea of a common memory. Furthermore, a study of Sámi shamanism has, generally speaking, been missing from discussions in academic discourse. It is not up until the last 10 years that this has started to change.

8 The reuse, modification and adaptation of *noaidi* symbolism to new types of handicrafts made by Sámi artists today



Figure 73. A modern day Sámi drum depicting both old and new symbolism, consisting of a Sámi *noaidi* holding a drum, and the four *Akka* goddesses positioned at the each of the quarters of north, east, south and west. The old Sámi sun symbol with the new Sámi flag in the centre captures how the culture adapts and changes. The drum has been made by Sámi drum maker Peter Armstrand from Kiruna, Sweden. Photograph, copyright and reused with kind permission by Peter Armstrand 2015.

The aims of the following chapter are concerned with a range of different context in which the work of the Sámi *noaidi* is presented. These are both historical and modern. They cover topics from the role history has played concerning attitudes and interpretations of drum use with regard to Christianity, as well as the re-emergence of the practice of shamanism amongst the Sámi and key events that have been influential within these processes, which in turn have been meaningful for the publication of literature sources by *noaidi*, that have sought to re-animate Sámi shamanism and culture.

I have also included for reasons of comparison, and as a basis for presenting a framework for the study, detailed information about how a drum awakening ritual is carried out in accordance with drum making activities by Sámi artist Elle-Maaret Helander, with regard to consecration of an instrument in modern times, in contrast to how a drum would have been awakened-consecrated in old time as a part of the *noaidi's* ritual behaviour.

The chapter also examines the role of *noaidi* as artist, teacher, drum maker and handicraft person and in what ways these contexts are encountered through new types of drums, rattles and artistic landscapes and re-use of old *noaidi* drum symbolism and figures, which are combined in some examples with new ones. In addition, I have included a discussion that covers the subject matter of ethics within Sámi handicraft production in relation to the creation of drums for different purposes. The reason for this is because the dialogue reflects the different dimensions involved in the creation of traditional handicrafts and for what purposes they are created for in order to maintain some level of both standard and practice with regard to their context.

The purpose for investigating the aforementioned subject matter is because old and new symbols, figures and drums which are all representations of Sámi culture are very important because they provide examples of in what ways these productions are linked with the rock paintings in Finland, as well as rock carvings from the Alta site in Finnmark, Norway, which bring into focus the subject matter of cultural heritage.

In addition, the creation and decoration of new types of handicraft products and accompanying rituals bring into focus techniques that are used for embodying knowledge systems from previous generations within Sámi history. These consist of old *noaidi* drums and their symbolism as well as prehistoric rock art, which are brought into the present and thus made available for the future as new knowledge systems that have been constructed in such a way they are representational of the fusion between both old and new types of cosmological landscapes, and different shamanistic paradigms and activities.

Within this context of new types of knowledge systems, my aim is likewise, to demonstrate in what ways the reuse and production of different kinds of artefacts, can be seen as being fundamental to the well-being of the Sámi, in terms of cultural heritage and the forwarding of traditional knowledge, as a means to examine what types of handicrafts are emerging, which reflect Sámi history, the practice of shamanism and cosmology as well as identity.

As a method for creating the foundation for this discussion, I have considered it necessary to have a look at what have been identified as key components behind the ascension and development of Sámi shamanism and the re-emergence of the drum with regard to the creation of literature sources, which have been influential within this phenomena.

Overall, through their designs and decoration, new types of handicraft products can be seen as a reflection that affirm one of the key statements indigenous peoples are presently making in relation developing their culture and traditions for the purpose of sustainability and transmission. The following is described in Guttorm (2011: 61).

“Indigenous peoples have the right to practice and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature” (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007). According to this, indigenous peoples have the right to make use of, and develop their cultural traditions, customs, skills and other manifestations of their civilization. In many projects concerning traditional knowledge, the transmission of knowledge is part of the self-determination process”.

Within the aims and context of the study, the material presented below in both photographic and textual format is for the purpose of bringing into focus new sources of knowledge and contexts, which has been made available through the interviews conducted with each participant. It has been my task to assess and construct the data in such a way it provides insight and understanding into the nature and function of the knowledge and different perspectives that are emerging and associated with it in relation to Sámi art, cosmology and shamanism.

To help contextualize the meaning of each of these items that have been photographed that are presented below, and to be objective, I have addressed each of the art forms to help with what Elliott and Timulak (2005: 147) describe as the “use of special strategies for enhancing the credibility of design and analysis”. A broader understanding of the materials aims at capturing the language of the visual artistic symbolism painted onto the new productions of drums and rattles. In this way, the materials provide new examples of handicraft designs where the transmission of cultural knowledge is manifest in both the contexts of reproduction and development of tradition.

For the investigation, both phenomenological and descriptive methods are applicable, as well as the narrative method in this case, because the approach to the analysis has its foundation by way of understanding the value of *duodji* and other independent handicraft practices as presented through scientific discourse by Sámi scholars who are specialists in their respective fields. To elaborate further, the application of the indigenous method and ethical guidelines within the course of the study are visible through the ways the interviews were conducted and how the knowledge from the participants embodies the values and traditional practices of Sámi culture. Meaning, information was received by listening to what each of the participants had to say about their creations and then used in the formulation of the chapter below.

The phenomenological method is applicable and evident in the ways the materials have helped contextualize the different types of drums, as well as the reuse of old symbolism and the creation of new types of symbolism and practices, as manifestations of Sámi religion and culture, both past and present and in what ways these are linked to each other. The application of the descriptive method also parallels the phenomenological one, whereby past and present manifestations of Sámi religion in terms of drums and symbolism help to establish the results of the research; thus the descriptive method captures the essence of each of the participants, their works, attitudes interpretations, and comparisons.

The use of the narrative method is evident through the examples presented in the research, concerning my collaboration with each of the participants and therefore, can be seen as holistic research, especially in terms of the relationship between drums and identity, which for the Sámi are a key component.

I have not found any direct terminology for the meaning given to the creation of the old drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries currently residing in museums around Europe from this period. However, my understanding of these instruments is that they fit within the context of the Sámi *duodji* handicraft tradition. This is because they were made and decorated in accordance with traditional handicraft practices, and therefore, hold the memory of landscapes, culture and persons who build them.

Therefore, the data presented below outlines what *duodji* is and in what ways it is possible to gain new understanding about distinct types of knowledge in relation to the production of handicrafts as the Sámi open up concerning in what ways in Sámi society, *noaidi* are, in certain cases, also ranked as artists within their own right because they have the spiritual insight of vision, which is used in this way for maintaining culture.

The collection of new data, which is a combination of both photographic and literature has much value for study purposes because it validates the experiences and knowledge of the participants interviewed in the research and also brings forth new perspective on research into indigenous peoples, in this case the Sámi. In this way, the analysis makes it possible to encounter some of the changing perspec-

tives of research into indigenous cultures through the ways indigenous scholars are challenging western methodologies and approaches used in artistic research, with regard to cultural history and present day investigation.

From within this field, a modernized term has evolved and as a result is being directed towards new forms of discourse and collections of data from individuals as well as groups and cultures. The term is according to Longman (2014: 19), called “[...] Aboriginography [...]”; and it is important to give a brief explanation of it here in this chapter and also in relation to the background to the research chapter for the following reasons.

“Aboriginography translates to writing from the original and indigenous source. It represents a dominant inclusion of Indigenous references and a primary research methodology that is derived directly from Indigenous people. The approach is to essentially prioritize Indigenous knowledge and voice over and above subjective interpretation and theories” (ibid).

More has been written about this in the research methods chapter from the Sámi standpoint, as well as the chapter above concerning the misappropriation of Sámi traditional knowledge by Finnish artists who are making replica Sámi handicraft productions. However, I wanted to recall it briefly here, because it is a new cross-cultural perspective, which has had to be integrated into my research and therefore, discussed.

The reason there is a need to discuss what *duodji* is and how it is represented within the context of the study is because from within my research, I have discovered how there are Sámi persons that are making drums who do not have the *duodji* training and knowledge and those that do. There are also Finnish artists who have the *duodji* training as well but who are not authorised to use the *duodji* stamp on their productions. A good example of this is the drum presented above built by Johanna Ihme, presented earlier.

In the study of the reproduction of new types of drums, I have often wondered whether or not one of the main reasons why persons from outside of *Sápmi* want to make or purchase drums is because of their interest in Sámi shamanism and what they see in terms of the value Sámi art has within this context. Perhaps the interest comes from the various ways the content of the painted symbolism show the reverence for nature, which lies at the heart of shamanism, nostalgia and also how the spiritual life of animals has been closely linked with that of human persons with regard to helping spirits that are animals.

It may also be the case that people know *noaidi* have been individuals that have cured disease and illnesses through the use of magical spells and incantations, and the assistance of spirits to help with healing and restoration work, which has brought balance and order to their lives. In this sense, the drums provide power and illumination of the spiritual tradition in *Sápmi* that might be instrumental in inspiring people from other cultures to investigate their own spiritual traditions.

The artistic data from the tradition of drum making and application of symbols is mainly known from within cultures that have developed over thousands of years. Having said this, what collecting research on new types of drums as well as interviewing the drum makers themselves, has provided, are new primary sources of research materials, containing the stories that have been told by the persons who made the instruments and shared their knowledge with me. As a result, these sources yield first-hand representations of indigenous knowledge, spirituality and the transmission of culture. For example, the two drums pictured below by Armstrand, which are copies of animals at the Alta rock carving site in Finnmark, Norway, provide rare models of new types of drums with controversial figures painted on them, which may also have a political angle.

Why controversial? Not only because they are drums, which depict rock carving figures, but how scientific research says there is no factual proof that Sámi persons have made these carvings at Alta. To

put it more simply, to Armstrong, his beliefs and manifestation of his artwork states something different.

It has been central to the research to understand how and from my own observations, there are two contexts of literature that can be viewed as being influential in the modern production of drums and rattles and how these items have been decorated. The first is the oral knowledge received from Sámi *noaidi* who have been interviewed and have spoken out about shamanism and Sámi religion.

Because shamanistic knowledge has previously been kept secret, the participants named below can be understood as practitioners that have made a valuable contribution in the production of drums by giving me access to what they know. The second context, concerns the literature containing drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as Schefferus (1674), and Laestadius (2002), as well as new studies on these sources which have been published within the past several decades (see Rydving 1993, Pentikäinen (1998), and Hultkrantz and Bäckman (1978a).

These must also be understood as being influential in relation to how drums are very much linked to identity amongst the Sámi, because within the context of these sources are primary sources of material, which the Sámi *noaidi* in modern society have studied for themselves. Yet, this matter is not as straight forward as it seems, because although old knowledge is being mixed with new, there is still reluctance to share certain parts of it, especially with persons from outside the culture, for example as explained by Snarby (2014: 17).

“For many Sami people, *duodji* is one of the strongest indicators of Sami identity. Their relationship with their traditions signifies deep collective values and norms. Consequently Sami traditions and the practice of *duodji* are subject to varying degrees of knowledge and understanding. Intangible knowledge is important for both the processes and the experience of *duodji*. Nevertheless, the spiritual aspects have been largely played down for those who, for various reasons, might be perceived as being outsiders. One of the possible reasons for this is that no terms have been developed for what has been experienced or that knowledge is confidential and therefore, muted”⁹¹.

Nevertheless, there are now new sources of knowledge emerging from the *noaidi* themselves, concerning what they have shared with scholars from Norway and Sweden who are not Sámi persons. Therefore, in the case of new types of drums, there is an opportunity to investigate the different attitudes, interpretations and understandings with regard to the context of drums within the framework of *duodji*.

Furthermore, Snarby (2014: 16), also elaborates on how the tradition of “*Duodji* is often translated as Sami handicraft, although the term embraces more profound layers of meaning. Beyond form and function, the whole process of creation, from understanding nature, gathering materials, production and subsequent use, as well as identity and spiritual activities, are all important factors”.

As a starting point with regard to the emergence of new types of drums and ritual objects as well as the rise of drum practitioners and revitalization of the old traditions from within Sámi society, and to set the background for the analysis it is beneficial to examine and to comprehend what might be the forces behind this revival and shaping of shamanism and its structures in contemporary Sámi society?

A general place to begin concerns a brief look at the events that might have contributed to the rise and interest in Sámi shamanism. Moreover, it is helpful to understand how across *Sápmi* it seems some of the events in Norway might have been instrumental within these processes; this includes the emergence of literature concerning *noaidi* drums, as well as interest in Sámi cultural heritage, which is kept in museums.

91 Majja Dunfjeld. 2008. Tjaalehtjimmie: Form og Innhold I Sorsamisk Ornamentikk. Snåsa Saemien Sitje, P 17.

To further elaborate on some of the key events that have contributed to the surge and interest in shamanism, according to Norwegian scholar Trude Fonneland (2015: 35), in her article: The Rise of Neoshamanism in Norway, the researcher states the following.

“Precisely when the interest in and the revitalization of symbols and beliefs from the pre-Christian Sami religion began is unclear. Political upheaval and struggles in the Sami community in the late 1970s, such as the protests related to the expansion of the Alta-Kautokeino River, can nevertheless be highlighted as a spark for some of what today is expressed within the neoshamanic environment in Norway”.

Within the context of the events, which has emerged both within and after the Alta conflict, it seems there are several Sámi *noaidi* from the Norwegian side whose activities have brought Sámi shamanism back into focus in a number of ways. *Noaidi* such as the late Ailo Gaup, poet and author who passed away in 2014, but who published three books: *The Night Between Days* (1992); *In Search of the Drum* (1993), and *The Shamanic Zone* (2005). Also, the late Biret Máret Kallio, *noaidi* and scholar, who lived in Norwegian *Sápmi* and whose article: *Noaidi – The One who Sees* (1997), describes the role and function of the drum and its importance.



Figure 74. (left) New examples of how in this case prehistoric rock art has influenced the Sámi drum maker. Above is an oval shaped “moose skin drum with a pine wood frame, which has been decorated with two reindeer images from the Alta rock carving site, Finnmark, Norway” (Armstrand 2015: 1). The painting and drum were made in 2015 and shows two reindeer that are copies of the original prehistoric carvings. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015.

Figure 75. (center) A second oval shaped “moose skin drum with a pine wood frame depicting a male, female and a sibling moose from the Alta rock carving site, Finnmark, Norway” (Armstrand 2015: 1). Both of these drums have been made and decorated by Peter Armstrand. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015.

Figure 76. (right) A photograph of Sámi *noaidi* Ailo Gaup playing his drum. Photograph and copyright Sarahkka Gaup 2015.

Biret Máret also explains how important animals are for the *noaidi*, which is a valuable description in modern times, because animals feature prominently within drum markings. However, my own understanding is it has been the pioneering work of Ailo Gaup, which appears to have had the largest influence and impact on the rise of neoshamanism.

In particular Gaup's story of his own personal search which is published in his 3 books, but *The Shamanic Zone* (2005), can be considered a major source, which illuminates Sámi shamanism and its history from within the culture. Workshops conducted within this framework were based on the content of *The Shamanic Zone* (2005).⁹²

Gaup's education and training took place in the USA under the tutelage of Michael Harner who runs the Foundation for Shamanic Studies. Gaup (2005: 11), recalls how "I studied shamanism in a group in the USA for six years". What is more, I believe that his real work began when he returned to Norway and ran a 3 year training and educational programme called *Saivo* shaman school, in Norway. On analysis of Gaup's work and life journey teaching shamanism, it seems evident he combined methods of Core Shamanism from his training with Harner and also Sámi methods, as he came into contact with various *noaidi*'s, who taught him. I believe Harner's methods were gradually replaced with Sámi healing practices.

One important source in terms of Sámi cultural heritage, concerning knowledge about old *noaidi* drums and the revival of traditions, is an article that is a publication in the Journal of Tromsø Museum, Norway, called Ottar. In edition no 4, published in 1997, the story of the rediscovery of a *noaidi* drum titled: *Runebommen fra Velfjord*, tells of the events surrounding the "[...] remains of a Sami shaman drum discovered in Henriksdal, which are the side valleys of Lomsdalen, Velfjord, in 1969" (Vonheim 1997: 10)⁹³.

The discovery of the drum was very important but what was more significant was an account given by Kristine Andersen Vesterfjell, of the figures, which had been painted on the drum and the story behind it. This has both been captured and described well by Elina Helander-Renvall from her conference paper: *Changing Traditions and Applications: Sami Sacred Symbols for Living*, which recalls the story of the drum.

8.1 *Gievrie*, a drum, from Henriksdalen

"One of these hidden drums, in Southern Sami *gievrie*, was found in 1969 in Henriksdalen, Velfjord, Norway. Central to my note here in relation to the old drum are two related persons: Reindeer herder Nils Andersen Vesterfjell and his sister's daughter Kristine Andersen Vesterfjell. They lived in Velfjord in a place called Nordfjellmark. Kristine helped Nils with reindeer herding. A museum man Harald Ström visited them in September 1965 and asked if they knew anything about Sami shaman drums. Kristine answered that she had seen a drum under a rock in Henriksdalen in 1929.

After a while Nils fetched an old drum stick and showed it to Harald Ström. The drum Kristine told about and this drumstick had been in the family's ownership during several generations. Later on, this Henriksdalen drum was discovered under a rock in the mountains in 1969.

It has been officially documented that the last user of the drum has been Nils Johan Johannesen Vesterfjell. Perhaps he put the *gievrie* under the stone in Henriksdalen during his last trip

92 For a brief description of Gaup's works visit [www.http://www.dfr.no/sjamanzononeworksops.htm](http://www.dfr.no/sjamanzononeworksops.htm)

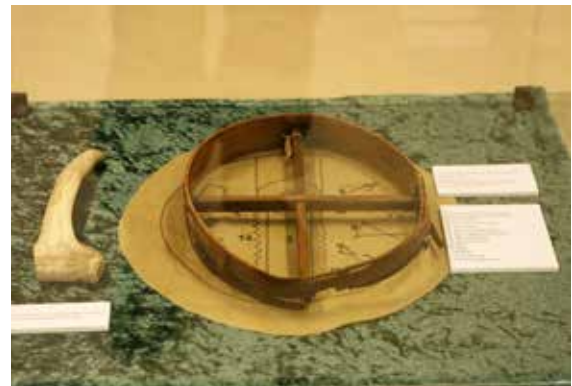
93 Text translated from Norwegian to English by Magnus Lange 2013.

there, before he died in 1871. Nils Johan Johannessen (1819-1871), was grandfather (=father's father) of Nils Andersen Vesterfjell (1881-1972), and Kristine Andersen Vesterfjell's (1910-1987), mother's grandfather.

Both Nils and Kristine claimed in 1965 that they never had seen anyone to use the drum. However, Kristine drew a picture of the drum with its symbols. She explained in detail what these symbols symbolized and how the drum earlier was used. Later on, as the drum was found, her knowing became verified" Helander-Renvall (2014: 11).

The images on the drum are described by Kristine Andersen Vesterfjell:

1. sky bridge
2. dice made of reindeer horn
3. sky (or heaven)
4. light (good side)
5. dark (evil side)
6. human figures
7. human figures
8. reindeer
9. hut
10. church
11. mound
12. heaven's afterglow" (Vonheim 1997: 11)⁹⁴



Figures 77 and 78. Photographs of the Velfjord drum. Number 77 shows the remainder of the frame and also the reindeer bone hammer used for divination purposes on display at the Helgeland Museum, Mosjøen, Norway. Figure 78 shows the drum on top of a sheet of paper, which has been painted with representations of the original figures. Each of these figures that I have made reference to above, have been numbered as described by Kristine Andersen Vesterfjell. It may well be the case that the discovery of the drum and the value of the story of its history, play a crucial role in the reproduction of drums by the local Sámi in some cases. Photographs and copyright Helgeland Museum 2015.

94 Text translated from Norwegian to English by Magnus Lange 2013.

What is quite interesting in this description is how the dark side is where the church is described on the drum, suggesting it was a place of evil. This is a new kind of explanation and shows how some of the Sámi *noaidi*'s described what they saw as the alien Christian religion and what they considered as its destructive ideology.

To add a further twist to the research, it is important to understand how in the past, we could say in what way artists of the rock painting era and creators of the divination drums, as emphasized by Grande (2004: 35), appear to have produced their “[...] works of art for intrinsic or prophetic reasons, without a thought of personal gain or the vicissitudes of market taste, [...] precisely because of the spiritual and lasting values these artists projected into their art”. It seems today we find a combination of these values in modern Sámi society.

These recordings capture and reflect the past in a number of ways, which inform us how essentially important it was to use symbols as a language that helped portray their worldview, and both drums and boulder formations that were chosen for painting were the mediums for such a task. Confirmation of these theories in the modern reproduction of drums and other *duodji* handicraft items is provided by Snarby (2014: 17), who describes how

“Some *duojárs* (practitioners of *duodji*) emphasize the importance of preserving old patterns, customs and links with local traditions out of respect for their knowledge of the past. Other practitioners work on expanding their *duodji* practice. They work on bringing old knowledge into the future by, for example, incorporating contemporary elements [...]”.

A broader explanation of different contexts and perspectives to which new types of Sámi drums have appeared is emphasized by Håkan Rydving (2005: 71).

“In recent years, the drums have had a renaissance as symbols of the Saami culture, and the church’s negative attitude has (particularly in the South Saami area) changed to such a degree that replicas of ancient drums have even been used in church services. As a genuine expression of Saami aesthetic tradition, the drums also serve as an important source of inspiration in the present-day Saami visual arts. Many artists make replicas of old drums or create works of art or installations containing elements inspired by the drums. Drum figures have been eagerly copied in non-Saami as well and used both as illustrations and logo types for companies and municipalities. This recent phenomena has raised the question of whether the figures could be made the copyright of the Saami”.

It would also be true to say that the reuse of symbols by the Sámi on new types of drums can be seen as one of the major applications used in the restoration of knowledge, retaining cultural memory and revitalization of the culture.

8.2 Another example of the continuation of Sámi traditions and symbolism through the artistic work of Elle-Maaret Helander

The ways in which I have created the foundation for the next part of the discussion concerning new types of Sámi drums and as a method for encountering the Sámi artist as *noaidi* and handicraft person, it is important at this point to look at what is termed: the Awakening Ceremony. During the interview with drum maker and artist Elle-Maaret Helander in 2011, I received an information sheet from her, which is given to persons who buy a drum, so they may awaken it for their own uses and dedications. For reasons

of space and also out of respect for the information, the content was not included in the text from the interview, which was published in paper 3: What Influence do the Old Sámi *Noaidi* Drums from Lapland Play in the Construction of New Shaman Drums by Sámi Persons Today? (2014).

Instead, I have chosen to add it here because it creates the opportunity to make comparisons with its content by contrast to what has been written formerly, concerning ceremonies as such amongst the Sámi, and the knowledge received from Helander provides a good example of how the information helps bring together a mental picture of the *noaidi's* involvement as artist and handicraft person in modern times. Thus helping to define the various contexts she is working in.

The information on the sheet, which has been translated to English, captures quite well, the importance of cultural memory. Such knowledge illustrates an integrated, defining characteristic of indigenous peoples concerning the use of new types of drums, and the essential role and function ceremony plays within this context. On the whole, the information provides a good example of in what manner, the past influences the present and how traditions change and adapt in order to re-construct an established practice and embody the powers of nature, which is a typical application associated with shamanism and drum use.

Inaugural Instructions for the Drum by Elle-Maaret Helander (2011: 1-2).

“The Saami/Lappish drum is neither a drum of a witch nor of a shaman. The drums outward appearance can be like a drum of a witch or of a shaman. But the definitive purpose of use determined for which use the drum is inaugurated. Only a witch can inaugurate a drum as a drum of a witch.

Engage at first the four elements for your drum: fire, water, air and earth. First take a piece of earth in your hand and rub your drum with it. Place the earth back to the same place from where you have taken it. Next you go to somewhere near water. Sprinkle water with your hand over the drum's membrane (only small drops).

Raise the drum up in the direction of the sun. Allow wind and air to come into your drum. Last, you warm the drum next to a fire. Now you have all four elements in your drum, too.

In the following way you inaugurate the drum: Choose a place in the terrain that is a bit higher than the surrounding land, at the peak of an elevation or a fell with its own midpoint of the nature, a big stone, a standing dry tree, a stump or an old tree. Light a fire in all four points of the compass. (Control the directions with a compass).

You keep the drum in your hands and beat the drum gently. Walk clockwise around the fires as follows: (Please read the first instruction until the end and learn, which powers you get for the drum from, which point of the compass).

Via the midpoint you walk to the fire in the north and twice around it. At the same time you think about or ask for those things, which are linked with powers of spirits. From the north you charge so just those powers for the drum and yourself, you want to use later.

You walk back to the midpoint and once around it. Then you walk to the fire in the east and twice around it. At the same time, you think about the future and everything that belongs to it. The sun rises in the east; the new day brings new things, in the beginning of new things and the learning of new things. From the east the drum gets power for the coming of new things.

You walk again once around the midpoint and then to the fire in the south and twice around it. At the same time, you think about physical powers. Have strength enough for this moment, grab the powers. From the south, you get these powers.

Finally, you walk once again around the midpoint and then to the fire in the west and twice around it. The sun sets in the west. In the west are situated the time of the ancestors, the past and the history. They help you with new coming things. At last, you walk back to the midpoint. Remember to thank.

In this way you have charged the drum just with those things you need. You do not need to ask for things, you do not want for your drum. But anyway, you have to walk around all fires.

You cannot use a drum, which has not been inaugurated, but only as a decoration. After the inauguration the drum is personal and is not borrowed. The drum is an instrument, which can be used as all other instruments. Best way you can use the drum as background for stories. It gives rhythm and atmosphere.

Now you have a personal drum – congratulations!

Respect this drum a lot; it is from now on your helper in your life”.

For the purposes of comparison, and to show how important cultural memory is for the Sámi, I felt it would be beneficial to include a description of the Inauguration of a *noaidi* drum, which has been described by Finnish scholar Uno Holmberg (1915: 100), who notes how:

“Hallström describes according to inherited knowledge how the new witch drum was initiated for its use. The whole *Kota* community should be present and take part in this sacred performance. Full grown women should hang copper trinkets on the drum for decoration. The performance itself happened in the following way. The Lapp would sit in the most important place, take his hat off his head, place the drum against the fire and turn it so, that the trinkets would strike against the drum membrane; that he would do until he heard, that the leather when heated had become tight enough.

After that he would bend forward, knock with the flat side of the hammer on the drum membrane and mumble something to himself. Then he would make some strange movements with the drum, amongst others; hit the drum against different objects in the *Kota*. And finally place the three cornered arpa on the membrane, and begin to make it jump”⁹⁵.

The differences between these two ceremonies can be seen in the ways the one by Holmberg is concerned with the old hunting culture in *Sápmi* and missionary sources, where divination figured prominently as a means of securing food and herding reindeer.

By contrast, the ceremony from the data provided by Elle-Maaret Helander demonstrates the important role the landscape and natural elements play in terms of ritual, for the purpose of consecrating the drum using the different compass points. It likewise, elaborates on the significant role fire plays, which is a symbol of the force of life amongst *noaidi* and shamans. Helander also states the importance of the

95 Translated from Finnish to English by Linda Granfors 2015.

dedication of the drums purpose, which it may be said, is meaningful in the modern world in terms of knowledge that is shared from within Sámi society. From a comparison of both sources, it seems evident there are traces of the old ways in Helander's ritual guidelines.

During a second interview with Helander, which took place at her new home in Inari, Finnish *Sápmi* in 2014, I put to her a series of questions about the motivation and purpose of new types of shaman



Figure 79. (left) An intricately decorated new type of *noaidi* drum by Helander (2014: 5), who reveals how “the drum landscape contains both Sami and Christian elements. In the top section is God, Second section: old Sami spirits-gods, 3rd church people are Christian people who believe in the church. World of the dead below. The overall content of the picture shows that Christian and Sami all go to the spirit world-afterlife; this they share in common. Christian beliefs and Sami beliefs are together in harmony, believing in the same God. The drum is made from reindeer skin and pine wood”. What has been interesting for me to note as a researcher is the large structure in between the human figures is almost identical to ones in Manker's books, where the *Radien* spirits or gods dwell, which it typically portrayed in the top section of the drum head and upside down. Likewise, the fact Sámi people have horned shaped heads is another significant feature in terms of culture. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2014.

Figure 80. (top right) A selection of rattles, which are a new type of ritual equipment. Each one is decorated with Sami symbols that have both old and modern characteristics to them. The materials used in these constructions are as explained by Helander (2014: 5). “Willow wood for the handles and reindeer leather for the surface. The content of each of these is as follows from left to right: a wolf, trust symbol, reindeer corral, bears paw and rich man”. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2014.

Figure 81. (bottom right) A selection of rattles. These are according to Helander 2014: 6), likewise made from “willow wood and reindeer leather. The coloured thread used to bind the leather to the wood represents Sami colours. The content of the symbolism on the heads of each rattle is as follows. A kota, moose, cradle, snake, a trust symbol and a second cradle”. These are Helander's own designs. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2014.

rattles she had made and how important the reuse of *noaidi* symbolism from the drums is within this context. To follow, were additional questions concerning what the creation and application of new types of symbols means in terms of continuity of culture and the forwarding of traditional knowledge onto the rattles, and one drum, and peoples' attitudes were towards practicing the old ways?

The reason for adopting this method in the interview was an attempt to gain both insight and understanding of the role and function of the female *noaidi* as artist and handicraft person within this particular context and thus bring to light the different perspectives in which her knowledge is evident. From the interview, there are 6 photographs included below that support the textual data, each one showing Helander's work.

To elaborate further on the knowledge associated with the creation, decoration and use of the rattles presented above, during the course of the interview, the following understanding of the types of issues that are attached to the artist with regard to Sámi religion, was shared with me by Helander (2014: 6).

“The rattle is my invention; there is wood and there is leather. The purpose of the rattle depends on who buys it. Some buy for music, others for children. Some people use it for spiritual purposes; I tell them it can help with cleansing and repairing the energy field around a person.



Figure 82. (left) New types of lucky charms, which have been decorated with various symbols, from top left to bottom right the following is described by Helander 2014: 6). “The sun, plant god, three holy men, the bow woman *Jouksáhkka*, a moon symbol and the god of the world. In the middle section of each of the charms are several pieces of reindeer bone which is fastened on with leather. These can be hung inside one’s home, or in the car as a symbol of protection and prosperity”. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2014.

Figure 83. (center) A second selection of rattles made by the artist. The symbols painted on the surface of each of these is described by Helander (2014: 6). “A boat, *Bieggolmai* the wind man, a trust symbol, two lucky Jay birds, and a rich man”. Unlike the lucky charms above, these rattles have small pieces of reindeer bone inside them and not fastened to the outer side. Coloured threads representing the Sami tradition are also bound together and used to fasten the leather to the wood. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2014.

Figure 84. (right) In a discussion about other forms of handicraft work, as presented in the image above, Helander (2014: 6), elaborated on how “the plant god who has a horned head, which signifies him as a deity has been painted on a piece of reindeer leather parchment and sewn onto a recycled blanket that will be used to make a woman’s bag with” The reuse of such figures, which have horned heads, reveals to us more about their relationship with older *noaidi* drum figures and the prehistoric rock art from Finland. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2014.

There was a relative in Karigasniemi who called me a Witch. Today I can laugh about it, because in the old days I would have been hanged because of it. A few years ago, Sami people were afraid, but nowadays they are not because they know me. It used to be a problem for me.

[...] I see the connection between building a bridge between past and present, but older Sami people who are Laestadian [Protestant], are not ready to acknowledge what has happened in the past. The younger Sami people however, are, more open. Some people ask if I believe in God; they think I cannot believe in God if I make drums. One woman asked “oh, you go to church?” I can say quite straight forward to people that ask me if I go to church. Once I said on the radio that how can Sami people judge their forefathers’ to hell, because the forefathers’ believed in the same God but worshipped a bit differently? I agree that when a person is ripped away from their past, there is nothing in the present to which people can lean on – turn to.

Speaking about breaking the spell from our pasts – it would be important that Sami people would learn about rituals, but it will not happen in my lifetime. Sometimes, I have found it really difficult to live here in *Sápmi*. I am not rejected but have been made to feel like an outsider in my own culture. Of course, I have mutual things with other Sami people, but on the other hand, they think I am a bit different. I don’t speak about the ordinary or boring things.

I would like to be remembered as a person who maybe gave some keys to Sami people to accept their culture and past. Maybe the handicrafts are not as so important as the drum. I would like to be remembered for the drum. The drum making was forgotten [in the past] so I hope it will be appreciated for bringing the drum back to life, it is important because it was feared”.

Apart from what made the outcome of the interview important for obtaining new data in relation to the decorated handicraft items and the knowledge underlying the pictures and symbols, another very essential link to Sámi prehistory was discovered. This was visible within the designs of the horned figures (spirits), painted onto the drumhead, lucky charms and also the plant god pictured above.

Such figures are consistent with ones depicted in my analysis into rock paintings in Finland and those horned and triangular headed figures on the *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from Norwegian and Swedish *Sápmi* and they are primary examples, of how figures as such are still visible and play an important role in terms of identity and cultural memory today. Moreover, to be able to produce such results in this particular research in relation how these figures have been reused in such a way has provided critical understanding and conformation of how the horned figures and their designs are still regarded as representations of cultural markers from within Sámi cosmology.

Obtaining this new information as a renewed version of an ancient belief system, subsequently strengthen my theories concerning links with the identity of the Sámi in rock painting research as the figures demonstrate the vital role and function they still play in modern society in terms of the forwarding of traditional knowledge.

The art depicting the horned headed figures on each of the instruments by Helander also presents specific and detailed information concerning the title of the doctoral dissertation with regard to the relationality between Sámi shamanism, cosmology and art, as systems of embodied knowledge

The horned and triangular headed figures, which I have presented in the rock painting research, are only known from prehistory and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These new productions depicting both what Helander (2014: 6), refers to as “[...] the plant god and the bow woman Jouksáhká” are of vital importance because in order to answer the questions in the title of the dissertation, I am demon-

strating, how, through my research such horned and triangular headed figures continue to be reused as artistic forms of traditional knowledge and thereby showing how the figures appear in different landscape settings. As a result, it is then possible to turn these new sources of artistic indigenous knowledge and meaningful information into scholarly data within Sámi studies.

The fact that each of the horned figures has been painted onto the drum, as well as to make lucky charms with, and on the leather parchment, shows that despite them being old spirits these representations still hold much value for the Sámi, thereby, illustrating how tradition is still alive and functioning within society.

8.3 Further examples of new types of Sámi drums, their designs and decorations

To continue with the discussion concerning the reproduction of drums and reuse of symbols and figures in Sámi society, there are two more drums made by Sámi persons from within Finnish *Sápmi*, which are presented below. These were photographed in Inari and were made by handicrafts persons Ilmari Tapiola who lives in the Utsjoki municipality, and who works at home; and Ilmari Laiti who is a northern Sámi man and teacher of Sámi handicrafts at the Sogsakk Centre (Sámi Education Institute), in Inari where traditional Sámi handicrafts are made.

The aims of the research in both cases is to show how the tradition of drum making continues amongst the Sámi and the important role and function symbolism still plays in the reproduction of new drums and reuse of *noaidi* drum symbolism within these contexts.

However, and beforehand and as a method for understanding what goes on regarding the ethical considerations in relation to making and producing of new types of drums at the Sogsakk Centre, as part of the handicraft education programme, which runs there, I felt it was necessary to make contact with Mika Aromäki who is the Coordinator at the school as a means for gaining insight into the attitudes and practices that govern the creation of new types of drums and what these are? The information from the interview, which took place by telephone on October 7, 2015, produced the following data from the interview with Aromäki (2015: 1), who provided this information.

“Anyone can make a drum here, not for spiritual purposes but physical and practical ones. For example, people who train as wilderness guides have chosen to make Sámi drums. There are different types that are made depending on the materials which are available.

The courses are part of the vocational education programme for people who wish to make traditional handicrafts. Drums that typically are made by persons from outside the culture are done so without being painted with figures or symbols. There is not much stress of emphasis placed on shamanic drums from the past.

The drum, which is not painted does somehow reflect the present area in Finland, because painted drums are a thing of the past. People from other countries who take the education do not have information about the old drums.

The teachers do not teach what they do not know about concerning the history of the drums, so they do not want to upset anyone. If a non-Sámi person started to play around and create figures on drums the Sámi would not feel ok about it. The old drum designs are still made [for example, bowl and frame types] but there are variations in their shapes. It is difficult however, to claim they are modelled on the old drums.

However, it could be different in Norway [at the Sámi University College in Kautokeino] they have more spirituality there but it depends on the person and the spirituality of the teacher”.

The dialogue with Aromäki is important because it reflects some of the points that have been noted earlier regarding the unethical practices and unregulated production of drums and decoration of them using *noaidi* drum symbolism and how sensitive this matter is to the Sámi in terms of history, education and culture. However, making a drum that is to be used for display purposes might be a different matter as I have discussed below.

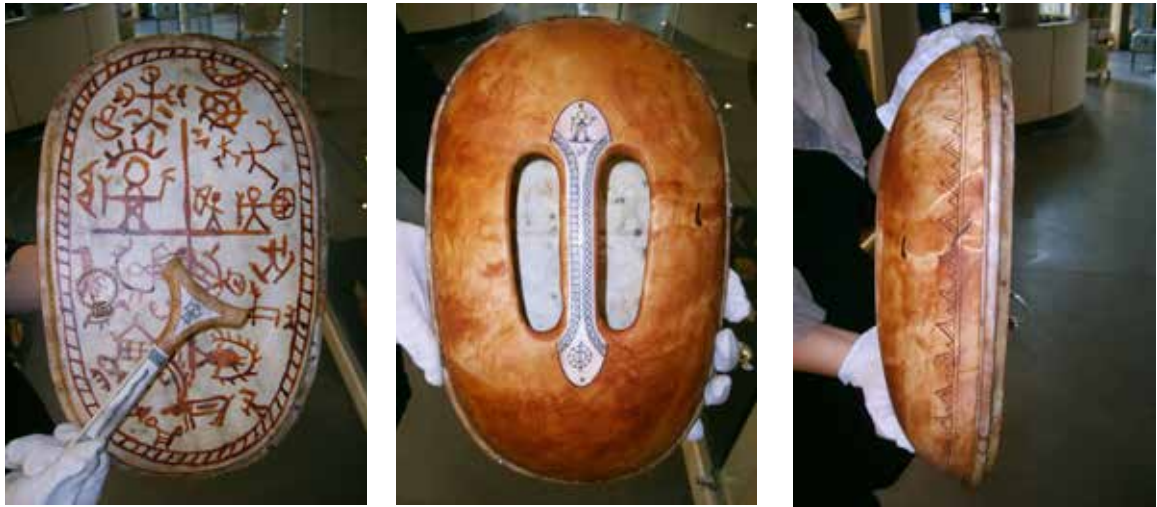


Figure 85. (left) The maker of this drum is Sámi handicrafts person Ilmari Tapiola who lives in the Utsjoki municipality. The instrument was on display at the Sámi Sajos cultural centre in Inari, Finnish *Sápmi* at the time the photograph was taken. The photograph shows the decorated bowl drum with beater. The instruments have been constructed from a birch gnarl-Pahka, reindeer skin and reindeer bone. “The substance used to paint the drum with is red dye from the birch tree” (Tapiola 2013: 1). Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2013. Taken with kind permission of the Sajos Centre, Inari⁹⁶.

Figure 86. (center) The rear of the drum which illustrates the handle and design of the bowl frame giving it its shape and form. The skin has been sewn on to a wooden template around the drumhead. The area where the handle is cut out is elaborately decorated with a piece of reindeer bone as well as two decorative patterns that are consistent with Sámi art. Such patterns can also be found on a variety of knives and traditional handicraft products made from bone, antler and wood. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2013. Taken with kind permission of the Sajos Centre, Inari.

Figure 87. (right) A side profile of Ilmari Tapiola’s drum. The wooden template is visible onto which the reindeer skin has been sewn. There are also a series of zig-zag patterns that have been burned onto the wood. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2013. Taken with kind permission of the Sajos Centre, Inari.

⁹⁶ The interview with Ilmari Tapiola was conducted with the assistance of Minka Maria Labba, who translated the text from Finnish into English.

The figures pictured on the drumhead do not appear to be arranged in any cosmological order, and seem to have been copied from different drums, which survived the Christian purges in *Sápmi* from between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as from prehistoric rock art. Each of these are placed in their respective positions on the drumhead as seen divided into four segments. The silver rings hanging from the drum is what was placed on a specific figure before the drum was struck, to help determine the will of the spirits during divination in the shamanistic séance. The drums measurements are not known.

In a study of designs and patterns on Sámi handicraft products Manker (1971: 80), reveals how “the patterns are more or less geometric”, which are quite often created in “double pairs of lines, and also zig-zag patterns” (Manker 1971: 83).



Figure 88. (left) A photograph of an old Sámi drum from the former “Lule province in Sweden from the mid-1600s”, which is listed as number 64 in Ernst Manker’s 1938 (pp786), inventory of the surviving drums from *Sápmi: Die lappische Zaubertrommel. Eine ethnologische Monographie. 1, Die Trommel als Denkmal materieller Kultur*. Reused with kind permission of Nordiska Museet.

Figure 89. (center) A bowl type drum built by Sámi artist Ilmari Laiti from the Inari municipality in Finnish *Sápmi*. The drum was according to (Aromäki 2012: 1), “built in 2009 and was loaned to the Sajos centre for their exhibition as a representation of a Sámi handicraft product line. The materials used for the construction of the drum are reindeer skin and bone, as well as a birch wood-gnarl⁹⁷”. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2013. Taken with kind permission of the Sajos Centre, Inari.

Figure 90. (right) Rear view of the bowl drum, which has been decorated extensively with cuts in the wood that seem to reflect those found on the drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and many similar patterns can be found in Ernst Manker’s: 1938. *Die lappische Zaubertrommel. Eine ethnologische Monographie. 1, Die Trommel als Denkmal materieller Kultur*. Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2013. Taken with kind permission of the Sajos Centre, Inari.

97 Note for the reader. Both the questions and information about the drum was relayed by Mika Aromäki who works with Ilmari Laiti at the Sogsakk School in Inari, who put the questions to Ilmari on my behalf. The answers were received via e-mail correspondence.

At the top of the reindeer bone handle is one of the *Akka* goddesses, and in the lower section is what looks like a lunar symbol with two rays emanating north and south.

On the drumhead above on figure 88, the three reindeer and to the right of the boat just above the centre of the drum landscape is a moon symbol, which is similar to the one on the rear of Ilmari Tapiola's drum on the decorated strip of reindeer bone, thus showing the influence in this case of how the symbols from the early culture are reused and thus gain continuity. An additional point of interest is how the *Akka* goddesses depicted in both the upper and middle section of the drumhead are holding what look to be tree branches, which have some resemblance to the item the goddess on Tapiola's drum is holding.

During the construction of the drum (figure 90), Aromäki (2012: 1), revealed how "the aim has not been the imitation of a shaman drum. The decorative symbols that have been carved around the frame as can be seen here are [...] symbols of the special days from the Sámi calendar".

Furthermore, Aromäki (2012: 1), also described how "the dimensions of the drum are approximately 50-60cm x 40-50cm". One further point is how the three decorative reindeer bone pieces, which outline the handle have also been adorned with traditional Sámi patterns, thus illustrating what Manker (1971: 83), says with regard to how there is "a huge variety of these different patterns", which appear as original forms of Sámi art.

Both of these new handicraft productions and designs, which have been decorated with symbolism in their own unique ways are important sources of data because they do in each individual case, demonstrate the different roles and function drums play within modern Sámi culture, in a similar light to drums made for example, by Elle-Maaret Helander.

As both drums pictured above are north Sámi bowl type, these designs are unique to the Sámi in Finland in the sense that the bowl types that were collected during the missionizing period between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were from the Norwegian and Swedish parts of *Sápmi*. Although there is no evidence, the theories that bowl types of drums may have also existed on the Finnish side much earlier in addition to the frame type cannot be ruled out completely.

Through the designs and techniques used in the decorations of the drums in both cases we find associations with Sámi shamanism and cosmology through variations of different settings and perspectives in relation to myths and the cyclical year. The different symbols and division of the drum into four quarters by Ilmari Tapiola for example, suggests the reuse of symbols, which represent the shamanism and cosmology from the seventeenth century.

Giving further consideration to the title of the dissertation and how these drums presented above can be associated with rock paintings as well as the transmission of symbolism-traditional knowledge across millennia it is important to make a point concerning the pictures depicted on the drumhead by Ilmari Tapiola and continuity of culture.

Through an examination of the mythical line, which divides his drum into 4 quarters, it is evident that on the right side, below the line is the symbol of a man wearing skis. This picture has also been presented earlier in the work of Arvid Sveen from his book titled: *Rock Carvings at Jiepmaluokta Hjemmeluft, Alta Finnmark* (1996), and from a seventeenth century *noaidi* drum, thus showing the reuse of the symbol in this particular artistic production.

By contrast, the symbolism carved on the back of the drum made by Ilmari Laiti represent and express the sacred festival times, which are associated with both the sacred and mundane aspects of life, related to narratives and stories, which are contained within this context.

It may be said that the work of Elle-Maaret Helander, Ilmari Tapiola and Ilmari Laiti represents a new generation of artistic works representing *noaidi* and artists who can be identified through their work as

bearers of tradition and knowledge holders. In this sense, their contributions to this study illustrate one of the fundamental roles as preservers of cultural memory from as far back as prehistory up until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and then on into the present time, where aspects of the culture are defined through art. However, I also want to emphasize that I have no evidence as to whether or not Laiti and Tapiola have undertaken any kind of *noaidi* training in a similar way, or otherwise to Elle-Maaret Helander?

Within the above study, the presentation of the new kinds of data shows a change in traditional ways. The first is represented by the work of the female *noaidi* as a drum maker and how this is captured within the context of art and handicraft design and production; a vocation, it can be said, which has not really been identified or known within Sámi society from earlier times.

The occupation of the drum makers does likewise, bring into focus the custom of heritage practices, where art is used for the transmission of culture and nation building, a tradition, which embodies the knowledge of past cultures. This is evident for example, through the ways the reuse of prehistoric rock painting figures has taken place, as well as their application to drums and rattles.

As a way of further elaborating on the discussion of the emergence of a new generation of shamans and *noaidi* in Sámi society and as further evidence regarding the materialization of new types of drums, healing practices and ritualistic behavior, which is consistent with the forward of Sámi traditional knowledge, the following chapter seeks to further highlight the transmission of Sámi cultural symbols onto additional new types of drums, which are used within different contexts.

9 Where past meets the present: Sámi spirits, drums and oral tradition

The purpose of this next chapter is to elaborate on how the symbols and historical narratives from the old *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries throughout *Sápmi* continue to influence a local artist in her work, who has come from both a Finnish and Sámi family. In this data presented below, I interviewed Lilja Takalo who is a Master Storyteller living in Rovaniemi, and who owns an arts and crafts shop in the Santa Clause Village, Napapiiri, where she sells drums and handicrafts to the tourist industry.

The interview took place in Rovaniemi in March 2015 with the assistance of Jenni Laitinen who translated the conversation from Finnish to English. A second interview with Takalo took place in November 2015 to clarify further points from the first interview. This was translated from Finnish to English by Tanja Takalo, Lilja's daughter. To further clarify several points about the Sámi family heritage in the family, I also spoke with Tanja in 2017.

As I have emphasized in the article about the artistic work and drum making of Elle-Maaret Helander (2014), there are gaps in academic studies in Finland and in relation to knowledge and information about the appearance of new types of drums, which are decorated with the old *noaidi* symbols of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from *Sápmi*. The information about similar kinds of data is mainly published in newspapers and cultural and New Age magazines. Therefore, the study below is justified because there is a necessity to gather available information, which is reliable, as a way of finding out what the artists who are also healers in contemporary society both inside as well as outside of *Sápmi* are doing with regard to artistic productions and what I will refer to as reusing Sámi art and fusing it together with new symbols and stories.

The interview and presentation of Takalo's work is linked with what has been published in paper 4, titled: Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism (2015), which investigated the mythical and cosmological narratives and landscapes in Sámi shamanism with regard to the role and function spirits and ancient monuments such birds and *sieidi* sacred places play as helpers of the *noaidi* and as symbols of culture as painted on the head of an old *noaidi* drum from Swedish *Sápmi*. The core of the research is focused on the complexities involved on interpretation of symbols, figures and landscapes because of how these spirits and sacred places were deemed as evil by Christianity and therefore, outlawed.

In addition, the main themes covered in paper 4: Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism (2015), are viewed in a similar light to the photographic materials and textual data compiled through

the interviews with Takalo with regard to inter-species communication and the role and activity associated with spirits and animals as symbols and representations of culture, which are what translate into oral traditions and narratives. These are then depicted through art by the *noaidi*, typically as maps or guides for hunting, fishing and healing practices.

The research demonstrates in what ways artists and drum makers today continue a tradition that has existed and developed through time, despite the colonial past, and therefore, in this case, carries much value for study purposes. But in this case, we have a kind of paradox where the analysis in paper 4: Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism (2015) is concerned with the loss of knowledge, whereas new knowledge is collected from the interviews with Takalo. What these have in common with each other is they show how and despite a loss of culture, new forms of myths and stories are emerging and therefore, continue on into the present time.

Other variations between the materials is seen in how I have put forward theories in paper 4: Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism (2015), concerning the cosmological landscape and in what manner it has been painted in order to seek power for help with fishing magic, whereas in Takalo's narratives, many of the themes are concerned with healing and the higher spirits associated with the Sun, Moon and animals. However, there are 5 of Takalo's drums that make reference to the power of the Sun and also light descending from above to earth, whereas, in the paper: Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism (2015), because what I interpret as a sun symbol seems to be below the earth and water, I have suggested this could be a mythical sun related to the *Säiva* world where the spirits live. In each case, the value and importance of the powers associated with light are clearly a recognizable factor in the drum landscapes and the influence of this within these different worlds.

Another similarity is how paper 4: Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism (2015), is concerned with spirits on the shorelines and those associated with water, such as fish and birds. But Takalo's spirits are more concerned with mountains and forests and the spirits just under the earth. However, both subject matters (fishing narrative and the use of power for healing) provide an important contribution towards understanding the value spirits and animals have within Sámi shamanism and culture and in what ways these are portrayed through ritual art in relation to food sources, sacrifice and divination.

This case study of Lilja Takalo is presented in such a way its two aims are to show how the healing arts have been linked with artistic symbolism and shamanism by the artist in contemporary society. Furthermore, how old *noaidi* symbols are combined and modified with newer ones in order to paint and thus create innovative mythical landscapes on new types of drums, which embodies past and present knowledge as a method for preserving and transmitting culture.

The combination of both old and new symbols and the stories they depict are important sources because they capture the drum makers experience and perceptions of Sámi history told through narratives and cosmology, thereby, illuminating the different perspectives depicted within the colourful landscapes of shamanism and mythology, which are the essence or oral tradition and storytelling. Moreover, the drums provide inviting examples of how systems of embedded knowledge are formulated, recorded and preserved amidst different drum landscapes from and within both past and present contexts.

Through introducing the 8 drums below, I aim to demonstrate how the shaman and artist function and think in a similar way, and as a result, how shamanism is still encountered today as part of the old culture in the former *Sápmi* area, in relation to cultural memory, remembering and for constructing identity. In addition, bringing to light the role and function art plays within this context.

During the interviews, I asked for interpretations and explanations of the narratives or stories on the drums, whilst bearing in mind how personal they are to the drum maker. Each example is testimony to

the continuity of the tradition of drum making in the former *Sápmi* area and presents further evidence of the relationship between the healing arts, shamanism, art and what I will refer to as local knowledge.

In the following chapter, I also explore what has been written about the shaman healer as an artist and storyteller. What makes the work and contribution of Takalo of value for this type of research is because of how Takalo has a mixed family background in terms of culture and thereby, her work brings into focus cross-cultural art and handicraft productions and traditions.

Because these new types of drums and their decoration are not made within the tradition of *duodji*, it does not mean that these cannot be studied or the use of the narrative and descriptive methodological approaches cannot be applied in combination. But the question remains as to how or what context these should be studied, Sámi history, Finnish history or both? Or perhaps within the context of Arctic history? As someone from outside of both cultures, I see my task as to bring forward this knowledge in such a way, it helps to illuminate the subject matter and highlight some of the issues, which are encountered in what could be referred to as cross-cultural research.

In order to increase support for the presentation concerning the creation and decoration of new drums in relation to the legacies of the Sámi *noaidi* and the continuity of tradition and its development and how this branches out in modern times, included below is a sub chapter about Lilja's work as a healer. The purpose for including this information is to demonstrate how such practices are continuing in the family. This helps to set the background for understanding the spiritual aspects of drum building, meaning what value the instruments and use have within shamanism and for reflecting Sámi cosmology.

To follow this, is a second sub-chapter concerning local history about mythical beings that live under the surface of the earth, and whose inspiration play an important role in the creation of art, subsequent decoration of drums and healing work.

An appropriate place to begin as a method to help reflect on the historical dimension of the research, I am also including information about Takalo's family background, which was received during the interview with Takalo (2015: 1), because from

“On my father's side of the family there is Sámi blood. However my grandfather who lived in Kelontekemä when he was a child, passed away before I got to know him, but heard stories about him from my father. My father spoke the Sámi language as a child but then lost it when he had to go to school. My grandfather was a healer and used herbs for making remedies. My grandmother also had the ability to ‘see’ and my grandmother's brother was a blood stopper”⁹⁸.

The following information in relation to healing work was likewise stated by Takalo (2015: 2-3).

“The method of using a drum is very old, for example, not only in Lapland but also in Egypt as well. I offer healing using the drum. The method is that I drum close to the body. The theory is that vibration from the drum eases tensions in the body. I have had some success with healing ovarian cysts. There was a woman who received 7 healing treatments, 30 minutes each, over a 2 month period. The lady had already planned a surgery. Before the healing, the tumor was the size of her fist, but was reduced to the size of her thumb. My opinion is that the use of the drum helped the body reduce the size.

I have given healing to medical doctors at a conference in Helsinki. A German researcher had a positive experience also. A veterinary doctor in Savukoski who was giving vaccines to a reindeer

98 A blood stopper is a person who used spells and incantations to stop injuries from bleeding.

herd developed a problem with her arm due to the work. The hand was clasped shut and the doctors could not do anything. Through the use of the drum, the hand opened again naturally. I gave 2 healings to her using the drum and the arm returned to its natural state”.

Throughout the course of studying the practice of shamanism amongst the Sámi in *Sápmi*, it is not uncommon to hear some people speak about their encounters with other dimensions of life and quite often a working relationship with certain spirits or powers. During the interview, I asked Lilja Takalo a question concerning the inspiration and motivation, which lies behind the artistic work and where it comes from, and during the conversation, it became apparent as to how important Lilja's father's influence and knowledge has been for her work. Takalo (2015: 3-4) made reference to how,

“When I was born, my father gave me my own power song. Throughout my life I have kept this and it is through it, I do ceremony for people. When my father saw me making drums, he suggested I could do the drum healing. My father whilst in Petsamo understood how the shamans in Siberia do the healing, whilst the person stands. They worked by holding the drum close to the patient's body” (Takalo 2015: 3-4).

“My father had a relationship with the underground spirits called: Maahinen [Goblins]. There is a creation story about these local spirits. People from my family have a relationship with these people. Adam and Eve had some children they were not allowed to have. They made illegitimate children – not married. When God came to how they were doing in Paradise, Adam and Eve hid the children under the earth. These spirits are human-like about half a meter tall and live similar lives to human beings. There are many stories about how people and Maahinen can meet. They can help people.

I was once hiking in the wilderness in Lapland with my brother and his friend near Pokka, between Inari and Kittilä. I have some relative near there. There is a lake they used to fish in. Because we walked so much, the rubber boots I was wearing caused blisters. I was wondering, how can I walk back, because the blisters are so bad? We passed a spruce tree, which had reindeer skin shoes hanging from the branches. They were not there when we passed earlier.

One story from my childhood; my father told me that at the full moon the Maahinen people would run 20cm above the snow, so they do not leave and prints. My father used to tell me to listen for them singing. I have seen them many times. When people would build a barn for cows and build the barn on Maahinen's place, they would come and warn you about it. If the advice was ignored the barn might burn or accidents could happen. These spirits can help-give advice or they can cause trouble” (ibid).

As the inspiration behind the drum making comes from having contact with Maahinen, and therefore, Takalo then revealed the following information concerning the drums.

Sannan Putikki in a boutique in Muonio, which sells a variation of different shaman drums constructed from wood and reindeer leather, which have been decorated with old symbols as well as new ones. For sale there are a number of drums made by Takalo who does not have the *duodji* training. The drums presented below were photographed in November 2014. During the interview I asked Takalo (2015: 7-8), about their content.

“The drums are constructed using reindeer hide. The most expensive drums are made from Rowan and oak wood. I also buy ready-made frames made by a person from Kittila, which are made from plywood. [...] The materials and colours used to paint and decorate the drums with are leather, acrylic paint; the skins are coloured with the juice from berries and tree dyes. When I make expensive drums I use tattoo style, where the hide is scratched and worked so grooves appear in it, where these are filled with reindeer blood, ash or reindeer urine and fat. The colours are made from a mixture of these substances. Reindeer urine is used because sometimes for the colour and it is long lasting.

I put the old symbols around the edges, but when I make a drum for a person, I think about what the person needs in their life. Usually, it is light and happiness. This is reflected through the Sun symbol on the drum. [...] Typically, the Sun is the most important symbol. Animals are important and they have a specific meaning. For example, the eagle comes and flies above my head when I have drum rituals. [...] The Sun symbol is activated when the person buys the drum and uses it”.

“The drum was used as a compass in the old times, so the stars were often painted on there, so a person could find their way home at night. Quite often, there is a bear in the drum. When a Sámi person wanted to rest in the winter time, they could become like bears and find rest. I put the bear wherever I feel it needs to go. My father has seen that the Skolt Sámi roll around a tree of life so they will have the bears power, way of being and way of sleep.

In every drum picture there is a Maahinen. When I apply the dyes and colours to the drum skin, their faces are often visible. I mix –combine the old *noaidi* symbols with new ones. In the Kalevala there is a big moose. On the drums there is a large reindeer born of the Sun. I paint many drums with a Sun symbol. The Sun god *Jubmel* created the earth from a reindeer calf; from the bones came rocks, from flesh came soil and plants.

The heart of the reindeer calf was hidden in the center of the earth. From that heart, comes the heat and power to grow everything. It is said that a lonely wanderer in the fells can hear reindeer calf’s heart-beat. Some people have gone there for that purpose. So the stories I tell, speak about a Sun-tree by a house where people would bring Sun-porridge as offerings and there was also a living tree in the house, which was also a Sun-tree, beside the fire place.

This was the tree shamans could access the three levels of the world, the upper, middle and lower layers of the cosmos. The tree outside near the house was like a telephone. People would knock on the tree, speak their messages and then people in the next village would receive the information” (Takalo 2015: 1-8).

Takalo (2015: 1), also articulated how,

“the colour of the drum represents the Sun’s influence. The first Sámi person came from the Sun. There are 3 levels to the drum and the Sámi person brought the first light to the physical world. All four directions are very important because in the old times the drum has been used as an oracle, for example, which lake to catch fish in. One important question the shamans asked from the drum was from which direction came the groom or bride? That was the link to family, well-being and life.

The world tree is at the centre. It is also an image of how the first Sámi person came down into the earth this way. The tree has been important in Sámi culture. In old times the Sámi had a large log by the fire place and it was a symbol for the tree of life. Usually, nearby the house was a birch tree. After midwinter and the first sunrise, porridge was made and taken to the tree. Also, people have a certain telephone tree. If members of a family wanted to communicate with other families, they used a tree. They made a drumming noise on the tree which their relatives picked up. The Sun tree was usually a birch tree and telephone tree was a pine. I like to make round drums because it symbolizes the life of a Sámi person which goes around and back to the sun”.



Figure 91. (top left) Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015.

Figure 92. (top right) Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015.

Figure 93. (bottom left) Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015.

Figure 94. (bottom right) Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015.

In this case, Takalo (2015: 1), revealed by what way, within the narrative on the content of the painted landscape, the art,

“expresses the sun reindeers and the Sámi sun god *Jubmel*. He created the reindeer for the people and this is why the reindeers are always called the cattle of the sun. The story tells *Jubmel* created the earth from a reindeer calf. Bones became stones and flesh became soil and the blood water and *Jubmel* hid the baby reindeer’s heart at the middle of the earth.

If you know how, you can listen to the reindeer’s heartbeat in the wind. It says that the lonely wonderer in the fells can hear the heartbeat of the reindeer. Almost every drum I make has a sun god. This lady is the wise women in the drum. In Sámi culture, the grandmother has been the keeper of the wisdom”.

By contrast Takalo (2015: 1), communicated about to what degree,

“the landscape on the drum shows the winter season and how it receding as the first sun beams break through the darkness and cold. The moon is at the bottom and now they are changing places with each other. The sun’s power is growing again as the moon recedes. The Sámi gods of wind, thunder and god of fertility overlook the landscape from the upper top section of the drum.

In *Sápmi* and in Finland too, the Finns have sewed a piece of rope with knots and it was called the rope of the wind. Every time the person opened one of the knots they tried to get wind for sailing. The bigger the knots the more power they asked for. The smaller, the softer.

When the Sámi people showed these types of ropes to the Vikings, they knew if the Vikings would open the biggest knots first it would bring a big storm and they did not know this. In *Sápmi*, there are many stories of shamans who could control the wind and storms. This is why the God of wind has been important and portrayed on many drums”.

The centre-piece on this drum illustrates what Takalo (2015: 2), describes as in what way,

“there is the arrival of the son of god. The Sun is father and earth is mother. When the heavenly sun father and earth mother unite, then there is a birth takes place. The symbol of the eagle is important to me and when I have done the baptism for visitors using the drum.

The eagle has usually appeared and when I have done healing work and has appeared many times. The eagle is a messenger from the spirit world and is a symbol for power and shows the direction a person should go in. It is like the raven who is also a messenger. These are also Maahinen around in the landscape. I try and hide them to some extent because they are very special to me”.

The content of the drum illustrates what Takalo (2015: 2), refers to regarding by what manner,

“the son of the reindeer brought the sun to this world and it carries the sun around the universe in its horns and especially white reindeers are message bringers from the sun. The white reindeer symbolizes the light. I use the old symbols because they connect past with present and the ways of life here in the north. Every evening the young people in the village came to listen to my father’s stories.

The old world where I grew up does not exist anymore, and we heard stories, which fired our imagination. It is important for me when I make a drum for a person they get something more than just an item, so the wisdom is painted in the drum”.



Figure 95. (top left) Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015.

Figure 96. (top right) Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015.

Figure 97. (bottom left) Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015.

Figure 98. (bottom right) Photograph and copyright Francis Joy 2015.

According to Takalo (2015: 2), here we have,

“the tree of life in the centre. God of the sun is sending down the light through the tree. When the first reindeer brought the sun and then the god of the world brought the light. Then god set the fire alight. The symbols in the circle represent the cycle of life. Here are the helpers depending on, which stage you are in your life in the circle.

The journey starts from the point at the top (left), and so the reindeer marks the place where the life begins. Reindeer is everything to the Sámi people, food, clothes, transport and life”.

Towards the end of the interview, Takalo (2015: 2), recalled why,

“the moon is in the center in this drum. For the Sámi, the moon has had the same use and value the dream catcher has been to the Native Americans. Sámi have had a moon ring, which was placed at the top of the *lavvu*. Its purpose was it helped to clear the smoke out of the *lavvu*. There was also piece of reindeer leather, which helped to protect the fire place from snow.

The fire place was also a holy ring. The moon beams brings light, health and long life to the people and the moon ring channels this power into the *lavvu* for the people, for example in the middle of the winter when there was no sunlight but moonlight instead.

There is a *lavvu* pictured on the left with 2 persons inside it and reindeer of life above. At the bottom of the drum in the south, the ladder represent the gateway to the underworld where the shaman went to get help from the spirits there, when problems arose and the heavenly gods could not help them with”.

For a contrasting view Takalo (2015: 3), revealed how, and in the case of this particular drum,

“the shades on the drumhead shows how the sun light has been brought down to the earth and the green represents life blooming, and the son of god is there, who has brought life back to the people. The circle represents the early summer time when life starts again after the long dark winter. This is when the midnight sun begins and there is a celebration with the sun god. The night-less night. I can say in here that these are my father’s stories. No one can say if these are true. He was told these by his father and other relatives.

The stories have been passed on from generation to generation. There are also collective stories how people have experienced nature. I still have a connection to my past generations who are still helping me with my work.

When my father was a child his family made drums but I do not know if or how they painted them. He was taught his craft by his parents and other relatives from the family, so the knowledge was preserved and passed on from generation to generation.

This has been the tradition in *Sápmi* and also spiritual animals, who were helpers within the family, were also passed to future generations. In the old times they painted drums with the reindeer blood and people have been afraid to speak about these types of stories because they have been called lunatics. No blood has been used in these examples above”.

On further assessment of the material presented above, the handicraft productions are sources of knowledge, which distinctively illustrate how Takalo has encountered the Maahinen spirits and their presence on the drums is evident within the context of the art.

What in this case makes the artistic work interesting is on some of the drums it is apparent that copies of old symbols and spirits are present but laid out in different ways and colours, for example, in a circle. This is a new way of embodying knowledge through encountering spirits when compared with how they are presented on the old *noaidi* drums, but the new stories accompany these more recent designs and expressions.

It could be said that the designs on Takalo's drums do, in a similar way to the work of Elle-Maaret Helander, bring past and present together, meaning the old symbolism is combined with images and landscapes from shamanistic journeys to meet with the Maahinen spirits. Moreover, her artwork follows a traditional practice amongst Sámi artists as is described by Gullickson (2014: 15), where "instead of representing chronological order, history and the present are interwoven". Takalo's work also reminds me of a short story I came upon within what is known as the Lapland storytelling tradition, which conveys through a book titled: A Story Teller from Lapland by Andreas Alariesto (1900-1989), a shaman who was known as "Polvari-Jaako of Riesto [who] often bargained with the devil. [...] Jaako Alariesto (b. 1823. d. 1880s), the last known sorcerer, shaman and healer in Sompio, was Andreas Alariesto's grandfather's brother" (Kuusikko 2006: 107).

The painting in the book, which shows Jaako meeting with the devil is where "they talked about how to get bigger catches of fish" (Hautala Hirvioja et al 2009: 107). The story seems somehow typical of the devil being associated with underground beings who were considered to be malevolent by the Church and that all such powers, such as the Maahinen who also lived underground were part of his kingdoms.

The explanation by Takalo regarding how the shaman goes to the underworld to get help if the powers of the higher world's cannot help, can be seen as one of the fundamental collisions between the Christian tradition and Sámi cosmology, and thereby, bringing to light a number of issues with regard to the theology of hell and its realms as denoted by priests and missionaries in their quest to annihilate Sámi religion. This subject matter is also broadly covered in paper 4: Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism (2015).

Apart from traditional figures such as animals, *noaidi*, solar and lunar symbols, there are also *sieidi* sacrificial places that are evident on the drumheads, which link the themes furthermore, with Sámi oral history. Such locations were also designated by the church as places where the devil was worshipped, via sacrificial offerings such as fish and meat. Seen in a positive light, these places represent cultural monuments across the landscape that are still characterised by reverence and offerings to the spirits and indwelling powers, which reside within.

Further assessment of Takalo's work in this sense shows how she follows another traditional practice by artists from the north who as Gullickson (2014: 21), has stated "[...] emphasized the mystical quality of the landscape by adding historic monuments". In this case, we see how intimately landscapes are interwoven with identity and cultural memory, as is also seen in paper 4: Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism (2015), with regard to what I have interpreted concerning the shoreline where the *sieidi* structures are, where the spirits take up residence, when sacrificed to, therefore, giving them spiritual significance and value. However, because these drums and their images are sold to tourists and the fact they have not been made within the Sámi tradition of *duodji*, in some cases there might be arguments concerning linking the preservation of cultural history and heritage with unethical economic consumerism, and therefore, lead to what Gullickson (2014: 27), describes as by what method "narratives around identity often involve dualistic tension between different cultures".

In my experience of conducting research with Sámi *noaidi* and Finnish shamans, I have been under the impression that because of the division, which has been created by Christian missionizing amongst the two cultures, and also through current issues in relation to land rights and cultural heritage, the role of the drum makers and the re-emergence and reuse of both drums and their symbolism has in one sense been one of the ways these artists have sought to reconcile both cultures and the larger global community by means of keeping the storytelling traditions alive.

It could be argued that despite not having *duodji* training, the selling of drums through the tourist industry by Finnish and also some Sámi persons has some level of involvement within the context of reconciliation. I am reminded of the quote above by Helander when she speaks about everyone worshipping the same God with regard to religion.

I feel the subject relating to the production of new types of drums and their decorations, which are not made within the *duodji* handicraft tradition needs to be discussed further as a way of assessing what, if any value or context or category these sources of art might be placed to further elaborate on what has been stated by Guttorm (2007: 67).

“Earlier, it used to be common for others to call someone a *duojár* if that person mastered certain handicraft-related knowledge. Today, a person who has formal training e.g. has a certificate of completed apprenticeship in *duodji*, can hold the title *duojár*. Today, the person who makes the *duodji* holds the rights to the *duodji*, followed by copyright rules that are found in, for example, Bonu and Bildkonst Upphovsratt I Sverige (BUS)”.

In a study of what has been written about the *duodji* tradition, Irene Snarby (2014: 16), states the following points. “*Duodji* is often translated into Sami handicraft, although the term embraces more profound layers of meaning. Beyond form and function, the whole process of creation, from understanding nature, gathering materials, production and subsequent use, as well as identity and spiritual activities, are all important factors”. My question here is what happens when a drum maker with Sámi ancestry who is not trained within the *duodji* tradition and therefore, not a master of the tradition, but a master of storytelling, or has received no authorization to use traditional knowledge in the form of old *noaidi* symbolism, builds and decorates drums, but takes into account and shares similar values to what Snarby describes above? Furthermore, what implications does this hold for the drum makers?

It is important to consider, based on for example, what Guttorm has stated about the *duodji* tradition and its requirements for the reuse of traditional knowledge, what kind of validity and status do these new types of drums have with regard to both the preservation and representation by the artists of local traditions and history, which is evident in what Snarby (2014: 17), states, concerning in what manner “they work on bringing old knowledge into the future by, for example, incorporating contemporary elements [...]”?

This is a very complex matter to say the least because according to what has been earlier stated regarding legislation, there are two further points, which need to be taken into account. The first is explained by Guttorm (2007: 64-65).

“Cultural and artistic expression have long been regarded as free. Historically, indigenous peoples have experienced that majority populations have categorized, made use of and “represented” indigenous peoples’ cultural expressions, and often used this knowledge for their own benefit. *Duodji* is in a particularly vulnerable situation in the discussion about rights to creative work because many of the *duodji* objects have developed over longer periods according to need, and are regarded as necessities for the collective.

Today, laws and guidelines give individual designers the right to their creative work, e.g. the Patents Act, the Copying Act and the Design Protection Act. The Copyright Act will protect the work and its originator. The copying Act will protect against illegal copying and wrongful use, and ensure financial compensation on duplication. This means that the owner will receive financial compensation when the works are used in special contexts, and beyond that, the body of laws protects against wrongful use. But when there is talk of collective rights to cultural expression, it is more difficult to draw up laws that can apply. This is why the Samis have participated and still participate in drawing up of laws that can protect cultural expression that has its genial soil in a collective property right”.

The second point, which I have included below, has value for the discussion as well, because I believe it may provide the answer to questions about a gap that exists concerning what drum makers may need to know but do not. In addition, and likewise, a subject matter for us as researchers to recognize and therefore, be aware of, regarding what could be identified as a common problem in relation to a lack of information, awareness and the required legislation, which, it could be argued, artists and drum makers who reproduce and use *noaidi* symbolism might be oblivious to. This is because they either do not have *duodji* training or have not been told about such necessities and requirements. Guttorm (2007: 66), elaborates on such points,

“*Duodji* includes all forms of creative activity that includes domestic, industry, handicraft, works of art, woodwork and light industry with a basis in culture (Sameting 2001: 2). In other words, the Sameting has emphasized that the concept is anchored in a Sami activity and reality. In that way, *duodji* as a Sami activity has received a Sami political confirmation. But how should we then understand Sami activity? A Sami who has grown up in a ‘Norwegian’ environment where one, for example, has learned to use a Norwegian *bunad* (national costume), and perhaps learned to use Norwegian *rose-maling* (rose painting), can say that this is his or her Sami tradition because that is what he/she knows, and then both the Norwegian *bunad* and *rosemaling* become *duodji*.

The description is broad, and this is a weakness in the concept. Because the concept is so broad, all forms of handicraft activity are *duodji*. But at the same time, it is natural that the concept is movable and changes because people’s ways of expressing themselves and needs change. And this means that traditions also change”.

I have tried to understand the positions of the drum makers within the context of my research. However, further questions need to be clarified regarding whether or not the legislation noted above extends to those persons in the nation states who have Sámi ancestry but who have not had a traditional upbringing, for example with reindeer herding, hunting or fishing? In the case of Sámi people in Finland who have been raised in the Finnish environment, and perhaps because by comparison to the larger Sámi populations in Sweden and Norway, it might be the case that this legislation, and also based on the fact that there is much more education and awareness in Norway and Sweden regarding cultural property rights and also the sharing of traditional use as well as guidelines for its use, is there is a definite lack of information on the Finnish side?

I would have to ask the following questions as to whether or not there is a fault in communication, which might be contributory to drum makers and artists who either have Sámi ancestry or those artists

from the nation states who use *noaidi* symbolism that do not know about the required legislation because as has been described in relation regarding the need to protect the old knowledge from misuse as noted by (Snarby 2014: 17). “Nevertheless, the spiritual aspects have been largely played down for those, who for various reasons, might be perceived as being outsiders. One of the possible reasons for this is that no terms have been for what is being experienced, or that certain knowledge is confidential and therefore muted”⁹⁹.

What is important to ask is whether or not this withdrawal or withholding of knowledge is creating a repetitive circle because of the missionizing history and fear, which exists between the Sámi and nation states, but especially here in Finland?

We could criticize the drum makers for not adhering to the guidelines concerning the use of traditional knowledge as presented above from within Sámi scholarship, but if these guidelines are not taught for example in mainstream education in schools, colleges and universities, then one could consider that whether or not determining a workable solution to help bridge these types of cultural gaps might create the potential for a possible end to hostilities and division through new educational programmes, which were beneficial to all concerned?

The contribution by Takalo demonstrates the value of local traditional knowledge, preservation of local traditions and memory and how this information may be seen as being cross-cultural in some instances because of the different contexts and backgrounds it engages with. But, it can also be the case that although not spoken about, how some people might feel as if they are trapped between worlds or cultures as well as between past and present, and as a result, there is a genuine lack of access to information through the absence of effective communication in relation to cultural heritage and the use of traditional knowledge.

Moreover, it is true that in certain cases, both Sámi persons, and Finnish persons who have Sámi ancestry maybe reluctant to open up the complexity involved in *Sápmi* in many families because of the painful history of the culture and the conflict Christianity has caused within both of these cultures, in addition to the on-going political segregation as a result of assimilation policies and denial of the rights of Sámi people to their own culture and traditions.

99 Kvist, Per (ed.). 1996 “Aage Gaup: Samtale Med Liver Jåks Om Aage Gaup Kunst”. Pamphlet. Tromsø: Tromsø Art Society, no 6.

Published articles

THE HISTORY OF LAPLAND AND THE CASE OF THE SAMI NOAIDI DRUM FIGURES REVERSED

Francis Joy

Abstract: The Sami are the indigenous peoples of northern Scandinavia and the Kola Peninsula in Russia.

Up until the periods between the 17th and 18th centuries the Sami practiced an indigenous form of shamanism, characterised by hunting and animal ceremonialism. After the crusade against the Sami and the practice of their ancient nature religion by the Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish priests and missionary workers, a subsequent number of Noaidi-Shaman drums were collected and in time exhibited in different museums throughout Europe, where many still remain today.

The Noaidi drums have been vital sources of information for scholars outside Sami culture, as well as the Sami themselves. In the 1670s, Johannes Schefferus, the German scholar and linguist wrote about the history of Lapland which was translated into Latin under the uniform title *Lapponia*. English, French and Dutch editions soon followed as did a German edition. This article discusses some of the implications for researchers due to a number of significant errors recently identified in these original manuscripts and furthermore, what this means for the Sami history, religion and culture today?

Key words: divination, errors, figures, illustrations, Lapland, priests, publications, reversed, Sami Noaidi

In the winter of 2002, I travelled to Finland to undertake studies in Circumpolar and sub-Arctic animism and shamanism, as an exchange student at the University of Helsinki, and a student of comparative religion. This was under the auspices of Juha Pentikäinen, professor of comparative religion, whom I had met in the fall of 2001 when he was visiting Bath Spa University in the UK, to present a series of lectures about Sami and Siberian shamanism, where I was a first year student, studying religious studies and European history.

Soon after the arrival in Helsinki, an invitation arrived concerning a conference on Finno-Ugric Shamanism about the minority peoples of Siberia. The title of this event was *From Taiga to Tundra*, and was to be held at the Museum of Cultures in Helsinki, organised by Institute for Cultural Research, Department of Finno-Ugric Studies in University of Helsinki, and the M. A

<http://www.folklore.ee/folklore/vol47/joy.pdf>

Castren Society, chaired by Professor Pentikäinen and the President of the Society for Shamanic Research in Hungary, Mihály Hoppál. Both scholars were amongst a host of others, to present a series of lectures about the Sami and Siberian peoples and their respective cultures and religious practices.

As part of the conference, there were a large number of historical and cultural artefacts on display at the museum, which included shaman drums, costumes and garments, ritual and ceremonial items, hunting weapons and a series of wooden animal figures and deities. These had all at one time served as the religious implements of the Nenets, Khanty, Mansi, Selkup and Sami, the native peoples of the northern areas of the globe. The extensive display was titled *The Siberian Collection*.

Documented on one of a number of information sheets given to the audience, was a brief introduction to two Sami Noaidi/Shaman¹ drums which had originated from the Kemi Lappmark area, in present day northern Finland. The larger of the two drums measured approximately 83cm in height, which seemed like a master-piece in itself, and was currently the property of the National Museum of Antiquities in Stockholm.

In April of the same year (2002), the opportunity to take a trip to the far northern areas of Scandinavia to visit several of the museums in Lapland began on an overnight train to Rovaniemi, the capital of Finnish Lapland. After a visit to the Arctic Centre in Rovaniemi, to see what could be learned about the Sami, indigenous people of the north, through a fine and colourful series of exhibitions. To follow this, a further journey commenced across the border in to Norwegian Lapland to the Sami Museum (Sámiid Vuorká-Dávvirat) in Karasjok. The first initial encounter with the old noaidi drums in the museum was with a plastic replica of one collected at the times the noaidi of Lapland were persecuted during the 17th century witch hunts conducted by the Swedish church; it was hanging suspended from the roof on several ropes.

After asking a few questions to a female member of staff about the drum, she told me in no uncertain terms that both the Norwegian and the Finnish Sami did not have any of their own drums in their respective museums, and that there were several Norwegian Sami drums in the United Kingdom in the British Museum and in Cambridge University Museum.

It was during the investigation into the plight of the Norwegian drums in the UK, via a visit to the Siida Museum in Inari, Finnish Lapland that a second encounter with another drum took place, namely, with the larger of the two Sami noaidi drums from Kemi Lappmark, which was on loan from Sweden, and on exhibition there. Whilst at the Siida museum, the chance to take a couple of photographs of the drum would serve as an important factor for what was to unfold.

Once back in Helsinki, I made some comparisons between the black and white copy of the drum which was in the first English publication of *Lapponia* from 1674, and the newly coloured photograph taken at the Siida Museum. On close observation it became obvious that the portrait of the drum from the black and white copy and the coloured one were somehow different, but it was not initially clear why.

After the initial observation of these differences and a careful study of both the images of the drums and the layout of the painted figures on the surfaces of the drums, it became evident that the images were reversed when compared with each other. Initially, what had happened, as to how or when this had happened and to what extent these differences varied in the literature that had been published almost 340 years previously was not understood and therefore, this needed to be investigated further. What was to unfold is the purpose for writing this article.

INTRODUCTION

This article investigates the plight of the two known Sami Noaidi drums that have originated in Kemi Lappmark² (Manker 1938: 685) in present northern Finland. The larger of the two is currently the property of the National Museum in Sweden, and the second, a slightly smaller drum is owned by the Städtisches Museum für Völkerkunde, Leipzig, Germany³ (Manker 1938: 686) and can be seen on display there.

The preliminary aim of this article is in this first instance, to give the reader a brief introduction to the subject under discussion of both the origins and the history of the drums in question. This is followed by an examination of the sources and material of which there are chiefly four different publications, including documentation of the drums case histories, originating in Sweden during the latter half of the seventeenth century. These sources by and large pertain to the events which took place as the Swedish crown asserted its colonial powers through Christianity over the indigenous peoples of the northern areas of Lapland, thus bringing about religious change. At the time, there were a number of priests who figured prominently as informants for the church, and who were predominantly responsible for the religious change amongst the Sami; their tasks were centred on the collection of data about the drums and the activities associated with their usage. This information and motivations by the priests have played a key role in the publication of a series of books about Lapland life and customs titled in English *The History of Lapland*, which are the texts under investigation here.

The second aim is to assess the literature that has been written about the drums both historically and more recently and to clarify the problems encountered in this task. The motivation for the enquiry focuses primarily on the positioning of painted zones and sun centred systems (and non noaidi drum diviners used)⁴, in relation to the different publications, which the noaidi used traditionally to divide the content on the drums into three different levels, as a way of structuring their animistic world view. The relevance and indeed importance of the zones for understanding and interpreting the different elements in Sami culture and religion, has by and large been one of the most debated subjects amongst scholars since Ernst Manker produced his esteemed works. His *Die lappische Zaubertrommel. Eine ethnologische Monographie 1*, from 1938, which is an in-depth study of all the Sami drums currently preserved in various museums around Europe. Following this, a second edition from 1950 is titled *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel. Eine ethnologische Monographie 2*. It is published with different content which pertains to analysis and interpretation of the symbolism that can be seen pictured on the surface of the drums.

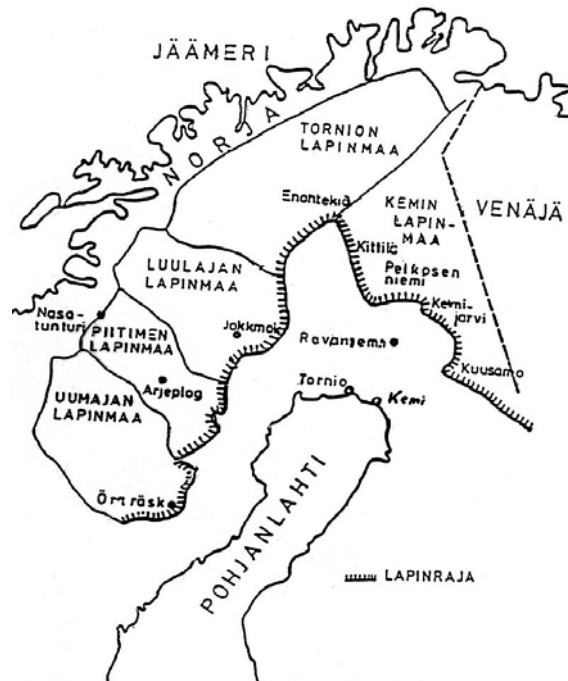


Figure 1. An old map of Scandinavia showing the division of the northern parts of the Swedish Empire into the five Lappmarks. The map also shows the Lapland border: Lapinraja. Received with grateful assistance from Risto Pulkkinen.

Both of Manker's editions include analysis and discussion of the two drums from Kemi Lappmark and their individual history in addition to different typologies, and origins and description of 75 other drums, making a total of 77 drums (Itkonen 1943–1944: 68). Manker's second publication discusses, in addition, the positioning of painted human, animal and divine figures, trying to illustrate how the Sami world-view was presented and how it varied considerably, firstly by region and area; and secondly, according to the noaidi's experience and interaction with the spirits in these zones and the way in which this was then documented on the drum which served as a kind of Cosmological Map prior to and during hunting.

These early sources have been used extensively in the study of comparative religion, folklore and ethnography since their publication; it is only recently, that after analysing them, a number of historical problems became apparent concerning the positioning of the figures on the drums. These were in the early "foreign" publications, and therefore, the discussion which is to follow seeks to clarify and understand what the implications are for scholars of comparative religion and folklore who aim to study Sami religion and how this, in turn, impacts on cultural history and religion.

THE DRUMS AND THEIR HISTORY

The remaining 71 (Itkonen 1943–1944: 68) Sami noaidi drums have been preserved throughout Europe in various museums in Italy, Sweden, France, Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Great Britain (see also Manker 1938). They were collected from the northern areas of present Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia, initially by "missionaries and explorers in the 17th and 18th centuries and sold and shipped to private [collectors] all over continental Europe" (Pentikäinen 1998: 27). It would seem that as interest in the drums as religious artefacts, as well as the priests' accounts of their usage in rituals dedicated, to the arts of divination and prophecy became more widespread, the drums gradually "found their way to the museums" (Pentikäinen 1998: 27).

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Sweden as a kingdom was in the process of seeking to expand its territories throughout the northern parts of Scandinavia and up into the far reaches of the northern areas of Norway and Finland. The drive into Lapland by the Swedish Empire brought news to the towns and cities further South of "evil rumours about the inhabitants in the far north, [which] cast shadows of a barbarous paganism on protestant Sweden (and it might be added) whose, astonishing victories on the German battle-



Figure 2. This is Rheen's illustration that he sent to Schefferus, depicting a Sami noaidi moving through different stages of consciousness into a trance state where he depicted initially on the left side of the picture "preparing himself for the trance by beating the drum with his hammer; on the right he is lying in a trance whilst his soul, aided by the alter ego" (Pentikäinen 1998: 39), or guardian spirit, as the noaidi begins his journey into the world of spirits. This illustration is taken from Ernst Mankers: *Die lappische Zaubertrommel. Eine ethnologische Monographie* (1938).

fields were said to be due to the witchcraft of Lappish sorcerers in the armies of Gustavus Adolphus." (Ahlström 1971: XI)

Also, and at the same time, "the Swedish state had performed a blessed and noble deed by introducing the gospel and enlightenment in otherwise godforsaken tracts [into its culture]. But the distances were vast, the churches few. Pagan evil still had plenty of room at its disposal. In other words, the devil was at large in Lapland." (Ahlström 1971: XI)

Therefore, and with much conviction, the confrontation of the nature religion of the Sami in the far north by Christianity assured that clergymen and missionaries alike frowned upon the Sami arts of using the magical drum for prophecy, fortunetelling, and divination. These were activities related primarily to sacrificial ceremonies concerning the successful breeding and hunting of animals, and successful outcomes in business and life affairs via the use of magic, these were interpreted by the church fathers as solely "devilish practices" (Schefferus 1674: 54).

In 1670, the High Chancellor of Sweden, Magnus de la Gardie appointed German linguist Johannes Schefferus to investigate claims of sorcery and witchcraft amongst the Sami in the northern areas of Sweden, Norway and Finland.

The undertaking was seen at the time, merely as an attempt to clarify the rumours of such practices that had earlier been provided by priests and missionary workers who sought to convert the Sami to Christianity. The outcome of Schefferus's investigation concluded that there was no basis for this so called witch hysteria in the north.

As Schefferus had never been to Lapland himself, information was sent to him at Uppsala from "the priests of the northern districts [who] wrote down accounts of the Lapps in their parishes. These reports were then forwarded to Schefferus for editorial rewrites." (Lundström 2002: 1)

The names of the priests whose manuscripts were sent to Schefferus, and which contained information about the Sami communities in the northern areas, were namely Samuel Rheen, Olaus Graan, Nicolaus Lundius and Johannes Torneus; and from Kemi Lapland Gabriel Tunderus. It is helpful at this point to make it clear to the reader that among these informants there were chiefly three priests whose contributions were considered important by Schefferus. The first is by the Swedish clergymen Samuel Rheen.

"Rheen's description concerns mainly the Lule Sami. He provides information about their customs and their pre-Christian cosmology. The report included pictures of a shaman's drum and a shaman falling into trance. Rheen's report (*En kortt relation om lapparnes lefwarne och sedher, wijd-Skieppellser, samt i många stycken grofwe wildfarelser* (A short account of the Lapps' life and customs) was the first of the sources for (Schefferus's work) to be submitted about 1670." (Pulkkinen *et al.* 2005: 337)

Reports that were sent to Schefferus by other priests from the northern districts are considered problematic as far as authentic source material goes. This is because during Rheen's assessment of Sami culture and customs, the material he formulated and sent to the "Swedish College of Antiquities (which had by all accounts) requested clergymen working in Lapland to supply information (to) Schefferus, (had been) circulated among the other clergymen in Lapland, with the result that many who subsequently contributed source material (to Schefferus) based their accounts to a considerable extent on Rheen's report." (Pulkkinen *et al.* 2005: 337)

In addition to Samuel Rheen's reports, another priest whose past work was criticised after examination by Schefferus was Magnus Gothus Olaus (1490–1557). Olaus Magnus was the author of one of the earliest accounts of the pre-Christian religion of the Sami, included in his major work *History of the Northern Peoples* (Pulkkinen *et al.* 2005: 251).

“Magnus Gothus Olaus was Swedish priest, Archbishop of Sweden (and ethnographer (whose work according to what has been written) contains a fair amount of fanciful material. His description of a shaman falling into a trance was almost certainly not based on something he had personally witnessed. It follows the pattern of Saami legends. He (also) talks about Finnish seers and witches. In his (collaboration with the Swedish priests) Johannes Schefferus puts right many of the misrepresentations of Olaus Magnus, and in fact his work was to a great extent written in order to correct many of the rumours regarding the sorcery of the (Sami) arising out of the descriptions of Olaus Magnus.” (Pulkkinen *et al.* 2005: 252)

The third informant, who could be considered as one of the most important with reference to the Finnish drums originating from the Kemi Lappmark area is Gabriel Tunderus, “a Finnish clergyman working in Lapland who converted the Kemi Saami to Christianity. As a result of Tunderus’ missionary work, the Kemi Saami renounced practices connected with their ethnic cosmology, including the use of the shaman’s drum.” (Pulkkinen *et al.* 2005: 418)

By all accounts, the information which was sent to Schefferus by Tunderus was written at the time as manuscripts. These manuscripts were later published in a serial publication about Swedish language and ethnology. The title of the article is *En Kort Underrättelse Om The Österbothniske Lappar: som under Kiemi Gebiet lyda*. This was published in Swedish in 1905 in *de svenska landsmålen och svenskt folkliv XVII: 6*, in Uppsala⁵ (it was later published again in *Svenska landsmål ock svenskt folkliv*, 1910). Other manuscripts produced by Tunderus describe the Kemi Lapp bear hunting rituals which were intricately woven into the Lappish pre-Christian religion⁶.

THE MATERIAL OF THE STUDY

Schefferus’s task of collecting and editing the material presented by the Swedish priests produced a detailed and thorough assessment of Sami culture and beliefs which was finally published in 1673 in Latin under the uniform title *Joannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Lapponia* (see Schefferus 1673); it included an inspiring and probably one of the most important chapters (number 11), with reference to the art of the noaidi and the history of six particular noaidi drums, titled *Of the magical ceremonies of the Laplanders* (Schefferus 1674: 50). At the beginning of chapter 11, the pages contain illustrations of the six

Sami drums, including the two Kemi Lappmark ones and the hand held instruments-hammers, used to play them with, which are the purpose of this study.

The rumours in Europe that the Sami noaidi were an essential part of the victorious Swedish army appear to have been instrumental as well as a very important motivation for the publication of *Lapponia*, first printed “in the basic Latin version in Frankfurt am Main titled *Joannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Lapponia* in 1673, and then introduced to English readers in 1674” (Ahlström 1971: XI-2), titled *The History of Lapland wherein are shewed the original manners, habits, marriages, conjurations, &c. of that People*. Written by John Scheffer, Professor of Law and Rhetoric at Upsal in Sweden, at the Theatre in Oxford, MDCLXXIV (1674), in a 147 page volume. The book was “to be sold by George West and Amos Curtein”. In addition, “a young English student by the name of Acton Cremer did the translation from Latin to English” (see Lundström 2002)⁷. This edition was later republished in 1971 in Stockholm with the same illustrations.

There are two further publications from the Latin edition that have been translated into English, the second from 1704 that contains illustrations of the six drums, and being of the same title *The History of Lapland*. This edition was printed for Tho. Newborough, at the Golden-Ball in St. Paul’s Church-Yard, by R. Parker under the Royal-Exchange.

The third, a smaller edition is titled *The History of Lapland*, printed for R. Griffith, in London, 1751. This edition has no drum illustrations in its content at all.

Other publications of *Lapponia* include a translation into German titled *Joannis Schefferi von Strassburg Lappland*. The German edition was printed at the publishing house Martin Hallerborden/Buchhandlern, in Frankfurt am Main und Leipzig, in 1675.

The French translation *Histoire de la Laponie*, was published in Paris at Chez la Veuve by Olivier de Varennes (chez la veuve Olivier de Varennes – by the widow Olivier de Varannes), au Palais, dans la sale royale, au vare d’or, in 1678. The edition was translated by Augustin Lubin (see Schefferus 1678).

The Dutch translation was published in Amsterdam in the year 1682, titled *Waarachtige en aen-merkens-waardige Historie van Lapland*, by Jan ten Hoorn, Boeckverkooper, Over’t Oude Heeren Logement. It is not clear who the translator was for this edition (see Schefferus 1682).⁸

The extensive research and study of material undertaken by Schefferus and notably that which is concerned with the Sami drums is far from conclusive and according to the foreword written by Gunnar Ahlström in the second printing of the English edition published in Sweden in 1971:

“Schefferus went to work making himself familiar with what was written before on the subject, he had access to more authentic field material. Local officials in the North, clergymen, bailiffs, and other reliable informants were requested to send him reports and observations. He never went up to the latitudes himself but he saw fur-clad little people at the winter markets in Uppsala.” (Ahlström 1971: XI)

It is important to take into account this because it helps to establish how Schefferus was influenced by what could be described as a lack of knowledge about Sami culture and customs as well as field-work experience. Having said this, Schefferus can be merited on the pictures of ritual objects and artefacts, received from his various sources, that have been used for publication in the Latin and German editions. At the same time, the illustrations seen on pages 51 and 52 in the first English edition from 1674, which described the only two known Kemi Lappmark Sami noaidi drums, and the other two English editions published in 1704 and the republished edition from 1971, as well as the French and Dutch editions, need to be discussed in greater detail with reference to publication to clarify errors that were made in these earlier editions.

Both Swedish (Schefferus 1956) and Finnish (Schefferus 1963) publications have illustrations of the drums in them which are taken from the original Latin edition and are correct illustrations of all the drums.

THE DRUMS ILLUSTRATIONS AND THE PROBLEM OF INTERPRETATION

The questions raised in this study are primarily concerned with the importance of the structure of the zones on the drums and designation and positioning of each of the figures and smaller structures within these areas such as animals, deities, human figures and sacrificial areas, that have been recognised as giving valuable insights for helping us to understand to some degree the nature of the content and territory depicted on the surface of each drum by the noaidi, as having both depth and value for study purposes.

The first two illustrations have been taken from the original Latin publication of 1673 (microfilm), of the two Finnish drums E & F from Kemi Lappmark which are exhibited below. In addition, and to try and avoid confusion, Ernst Manker in his assessment has used numbers to category the drums. There are numbers 43 (drum E) and 44 (drum F). Several other illustrations which are similar are not of very good quality in their appearance, this is because of the quality of the printing and publication at the time.⁹



Figure 3.



Figure 4.

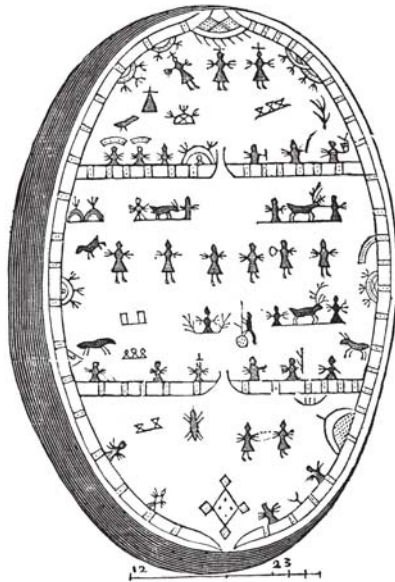


Figure 5.



Figure 6.

Figure 3. Drum E from Kemi Lappmark. The illustration of drum E shows the profile of the side and bottom of the drum as being to the right hand side in the picture. The overall portrait of the drum shows its contents divided into three levels or layers. In this picture, in the top zone on the left, there are three figures that are visible and are numbered by T. I. Itkonen as numbers 1-2-3. The figure in the middle

appears to be holding a forked object which is pointing upwards in its left hand. In the middle zone on the left hand side, can be seen two antlered reindeer figures facing west, to the left, and in the bottom zone on the left, there are two figures, numbered 5-6 by Itkonen, who have dots between them. The size of drum E is recorded to be “85 x 53 x 11.5 cm” (Itkonen 1943–1944: 69).

Figure 4. Drum F from Kemi Lappmark. The illustration of drum E, also shows the side/edge profile of the drum as being on the right hand side, the lines are running horizontally and not vertically. Like drum E, drum F is also divided into three zones or levels. In the top zone to the right hand side, there are three animals, two which have antlers, who are facing towards the left, west. In the middle zone on the left side, there are several figures standing close to each other. The figure of the far left is holding a circular object which has a cross in the middle of it indicating what could be a drum in one hand and a hammer used to play the drum in the other hand. In the lower zone at the far left side there are two figures that look as if they are wearing hats which are hanging from their heads. Finnish scholar Itkonen has recorded the size of drum F as being “66 x 42.5 x 10 cm” (Itkonen 1943–1944: 71).

Figure 5. Drum E from Kemi Lappmark. The side/edge profile of the drum is pictured on the left hand side in this illustration taken from the republication of the original English copy first published in 1674, and shows what looks like the grain of the wood. The same figures seen on the drums from the original Latin edition can be found facing in the opposite direction. For example, the figure in the top zone that is holding what looks like a forked branch is now on the right side. The reindeer figures in the middle zone that were on the left facing west are now on the right facing east. The two figures in the bottom zone, that have what look like dots between them are now on the right side.

Figure 6. Drum F from Kemi Lappmark. The side/edge profile of the drum is on the left side and is opposite to the profile on the Latin drum, and also indicates a kind of grain in the wood. The three animal figures, two which can be identified as reindeers, standing on the top zone are found on the left side facing right, and east, as opposed to the same ones on the Latin publication, that are on the right side facing west. The lines that can be seen on the drums from the 1674 English translation run vertically and not horizontally as is the case in the original Latin publication.

Figure 7. Drum E from Kemi Lappmark. Taken from the French publication of 1678 (microfilm). The lines which are much finer in detail are running vertically in the same fashion as the illustrations in the Latin publication. The figures are also reversed by comparison with the original Latin edition and again this is seen through the two reindeer figures positioned in the middle zone on the right facing towards the east.

Figure 8. Drum F from Kemi Lappmark. Taken from the French publication 1678 (microfilm). The lines here also run vertically and the side/edge profile of the drum is to the left; the figures are also reversed when compared with the illustrations in the Latin publication

Figure 9. Drum E from Kemi Lappmark. This is the illustration from *The History of Lapland* second English publication, dated 1704. The right side is slightly distorted in the microfilm image, because it has been printed against the fold in the book. The figures on both the right and left sides of the drum are reversed in comparison to the original Latin publication.

Figure 10. Drum F from Kemi Lappmark. This is the illustration from *The History of Lapland* second English publication, dated 1704. The illustrations of figures on the right and left sides are reversed when compared with the illustrations seen in the original Latin publication.

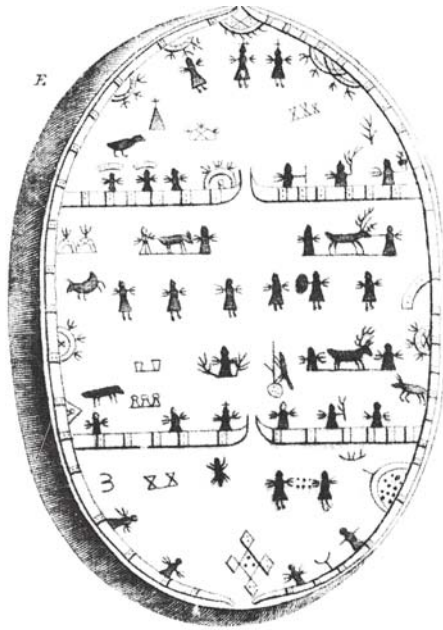


Figure 7.

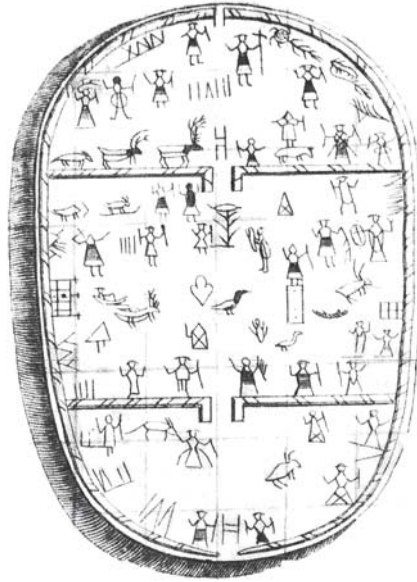


Figure 8.

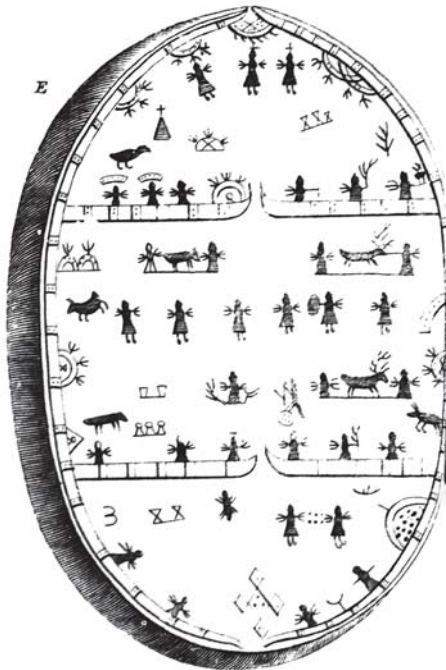


Figure 9.

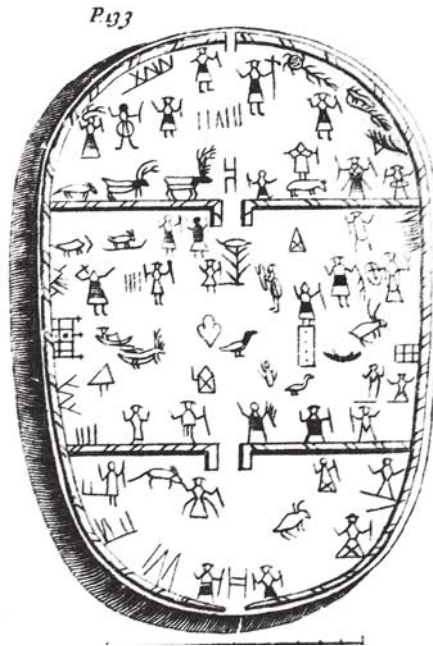


Figure 10.

In Manker's inventory of the drums, *Die lappische Zaubertrommel. Eine ethnologische Monographie 1938*, drum F is documented to have been received by Schefferus from "Henrici Flemming who was an officer in the Finnish cavalry" (Manker 1938: 32)¹⁰. Drum E on the other hand, was received by Schefferus from Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, "the Chancellor of the Kingdom" of Sweden (Schefferus 1674: 49).

The two drums pictured next are the same drums from Kemi Lappmark but the illustrations used here are taken from the first English publication from 1674, (which was reprinted in 1971). The illustrations in the English edition were taken from the original Latin one¹¹.

There appear to be two main reasons why these illustrations vary as they do, and may to a greater extent at this present time be unrecognised simply because the variations happened three hundred and forty years ago. Therefore, the task ahead is to examine and then present to the reader how extensive the mistakes/variation run?

Swedish scholar Lillemor Lundström points out that in the first English edition which was re-published in Sweden in 1971, "the illustrations in the book consist of 25 woodcuts made in compliance with the author's own drawings" (Lundström 2002: 1). The woodcuts, as I understand it, are where the figures are carved to make them stand out for printing purposes, and the pictures are printed with the text.

Lundström does make a distinction between the Latin and English publications by clarifying that

"the English edition is the first translation of *Laponia*, originally published in Latin and printed in Frankfurt am Main 1673. The text of the translation is partially curtailed but does contain all the illustrations belonging to the original (though in a slightly different style and often reversed), and the author was never able to read his text in proof, as the original edition was published in Germany, and therefore has a number of misprints." (Lundström 2009)¹²

One may consider during the times the literature was published, the printers and publishers themselves were not as interested in the subject as the academics were, and therefore, mistakes were bound to happen.

Further enquiry into other publications of *Laponia* revealed that illustrations of the two Kemi Lappmark Sami drums pictured in the French edition published in 1678, have been printed on pages where there is no text at all, and the mistakes that are obvious in their illustrations appear to be due to the fact that both the drums and the figures which are pictured in this edition are portrayed the same way as is seen in the English edition, everything is re-

versed because of the way the illustrations in the book have been printed. However, and in addition to this, the side/edge profile of both drums in the French edition are not illustrated in the same way as the English drums where the lines are running horizontally; the lines in the French edition run vertically, the same way as the lines seen in the Latin publication, but the side profiles of the drums are positioned on the left side, as seen on the English publication. Therefore, it may be assumed here the illustrations used in the French publication were taken from the English one, but it is not clear how the side/edge profiles were made as they were.

I consulted Sirkka Havu from the National Library of Finland, who specialises in rare books, and was to discover that apart from using woodcuts, some publishers also used copper plates for printing purposes, onto which images were engraved without text. This could be the case with the illustrations from the French edition and it may indicate the answer to the question concerning the same illustrations being used/copied from the English publication for the French one, thus in preparation for publishing by Oliver de Varennes in Paris, the edges of the drums were engraved. However, what happened in between is a mystery.

Investigation into the publication of the French edition of *Lapponia* in Paris in 1678 revealed some interesting points concerning whether or not the same illustrations were taken from the English 1674 edition. The first point is according to the preface in the book, Olivier de Varannes, the publisher, was given a manuscript of *Lapponia*, but there is no mention who or where it came from. Furthermore, the King of France at the time Louis XIV made strict copyright laws declaring that there were to be no other publications made from the original for a period of ten years, and if any person was found to have produced a copy of the book unlawfully, the penalty was a 3,000 livre-pounds fine and confiscation of all material related to the book¹³, which suggests the book was of great importance to the French at the time because Sweden had close political and military ties with France.

It is also worth noting that the second English translation, dated 1704, has copies of the drums which have been engraved on copper plates before printing. In the preface of the book the publisher states the following: “this translation we now present to the world, is done from the last edition in the original Latin, and collated with a French translation printed in Paris, which contains several addenda that the translator had from the author, all of which are here taken in. The copper cuts we here make use of were done in France by Monsieur Bols.” (Schefferus 1704: Introduction) Therefore, the prints of the drums in this edition are the same as those in the French edition, which states the obvious, the illustrations in the 1704 edition are also reversed.

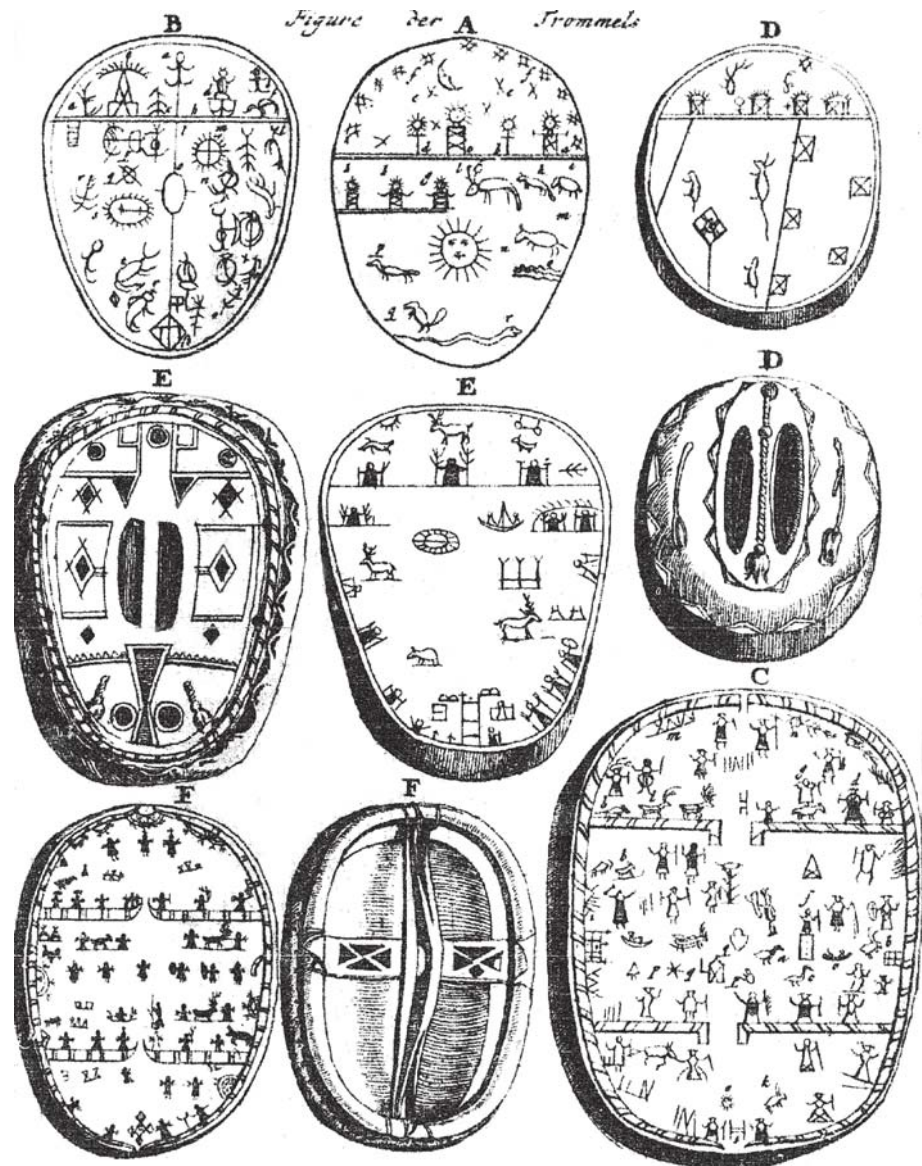


Figure 11. Taken from the Dutch publication of 1682, which is on microfilm. These illustrations show both front and rear designs of the drums labelled: E and D. By contrast to what is presented above, the drum which is labelled E, is shown in all other publications as drum C. Also, there appears to be some confusion concerning the Kemi Lappmark Sami drum on the far right at the bottom concerning a mix up of the letters used to identify the Kemi Lappmark drums. The rear of the drum in the centre on the bottom line is marked under the letter F which is correct. However, its size is the same as drum E which is to the left, but in Manker's inventory of the same drums, the design of the drum corresponds with the rear of drum F which is labelled as drum C. In this case in the Dutch publication drum F which is marked C is much larger?

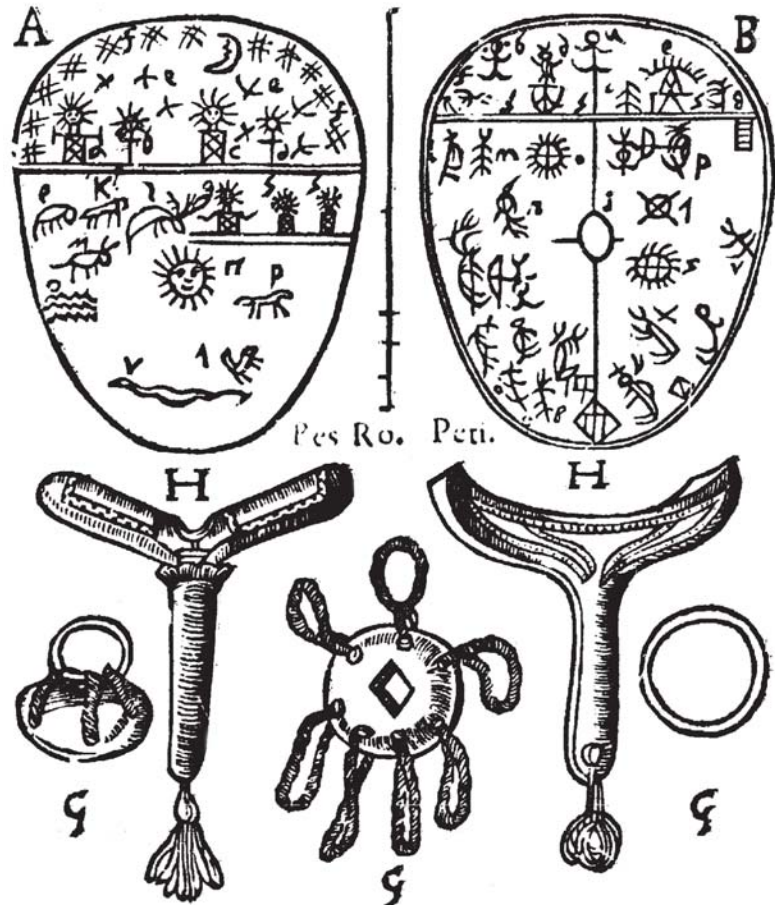
The Dutch edition of Schefferus's *Lapponia* published in 1682 has within its pages illustrations of 6 Sami noaidi drums on an engraved plate. The three drums at the bottom of the plate can be identified as the Sami drums from the Kemi Lappmark area, the ones on the far left and right are facing outward, the middle one is pictured from the rear. The drums are recognisable as the Kemi Lappmark ones because the illustrations are reversed as seen in the English publication, therefore, indicating that all the illustrations may have been taken from the English or French publications. The lines on the edges of the drums also run vertically and are positioned on the left side.

The mistakes that have become evident concerning the two drums from the present Finnish Lapland area are also apparent with four other drums also illustrated in the same chapter in Schefferus's *History of Lapland*. These four other drums are labelled A, B, C and D; and are all pictured in Schefferus's first Latin publication *Joannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Lapponia*, in their true portraits. In the first English publication of 1674, the 1704 second edition as well as the republished edition, and the French and Dutch editions, the drums and their contents are presented in reversed order as well.

I have provided illustrations of the four other drums from Schefferus's publication, thus highlighting the mistakes. The drums A & B from original Latin edition of 1673 are presented first so the reader can, on careful examination, see the true positioning of the drums and the illustrations of the figures. The landscape in drum A shows several important features to it which need to be recognised for study purposes. In the top zone or area of the drum there are four figures, and a picture of the crescent moon which is slightly to the left side. Below, is a kind of platform on which three figures are standing, this is situated on the right hand side of the drum. Underneath this is a sun figure in the centre of the drum.

A further point in need of clarification concerns drum A pictured in Schefferus's Latin edition, where it is pictured with three other drums, whereas in Ernst Manker's publication (*Die lappische Zaubertrommel eine ethnologische Monographie*), the drum is also being played by a Sami noaidi, who is accompanied by the devil like figure. The picture is the one sent to Schefferus by the clergyman Samuel Rheen, and the one used in the illustration on page 4 above. The location of the origins of the drum A, is Lule Lappmark according to Manker (1938: 393) which is in Swedish Lapland. There is mention of the drum in Manker's book in the chapter *Nicht erhaltene Trommeln*, not existing drums.

The landscape in drum B shows an area at the top of the drum where to the left there is an elevated figure with raised arms and what look like horns on its head. Below on both the right and left sides of the larger area of the drum are

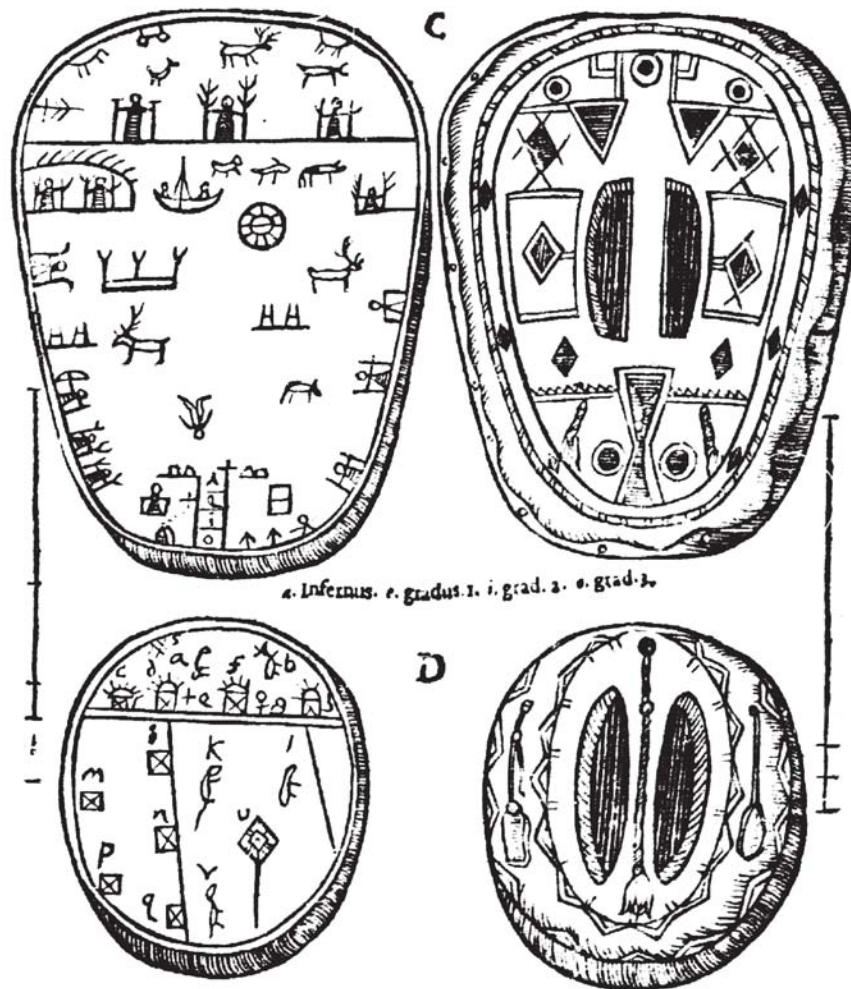


Notarum Explicatio.

In Tympano *a.* Thor. *b.* famulus eius. *c.* Stoorjunkare. *d.* famulus eius. *e.* aves. *f.* stellæ. *g.* Christus. *h.* Apostoli eius. *i.* urfus. *k.* Lupus. *l.* rangifer. *m.* bos. *n.* fol. *o.* lacus. *p.* vulpes. *q.* sciurus. *r.* serpens.

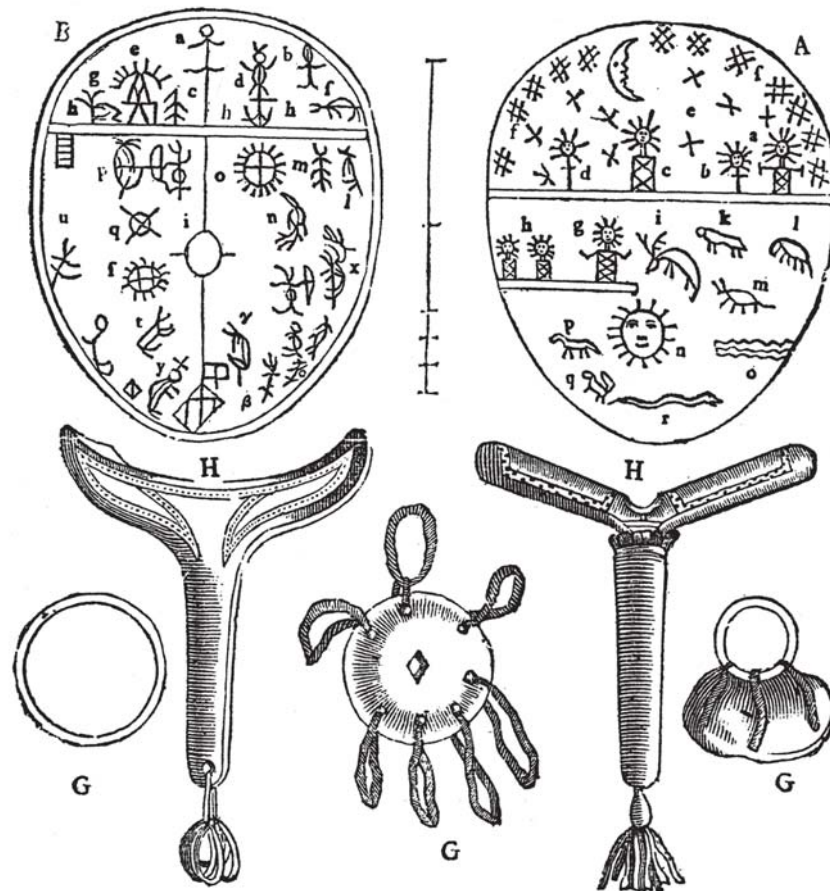
Q 3 iia

Figure 12. Above is an illustration of drums A & B (from microfilm), and the bone hammers the Sami noaidi and more general drum diviners used as instruments to strike them with, as well as the copper rings which acted as a guide during divination. Also, the names of the figures on the drums in Latin.



a. notat aves. b. vulpes nigras. c. Tiuur, deum. d. Thoor, deum.
 e. malleum Thoronis. f. Stoorjunkare. g. idolum ligneum. h. fa-
 mulum. i. stellam. k. bovem. l. hircum. m. stellam. n. lunam. o. So-
 lam, p. stellam. q. idem. r. lupum. s. Norias fiord. i. e.

Figure 13. Drums C & D from the Latin publication 1673 (microfilm).

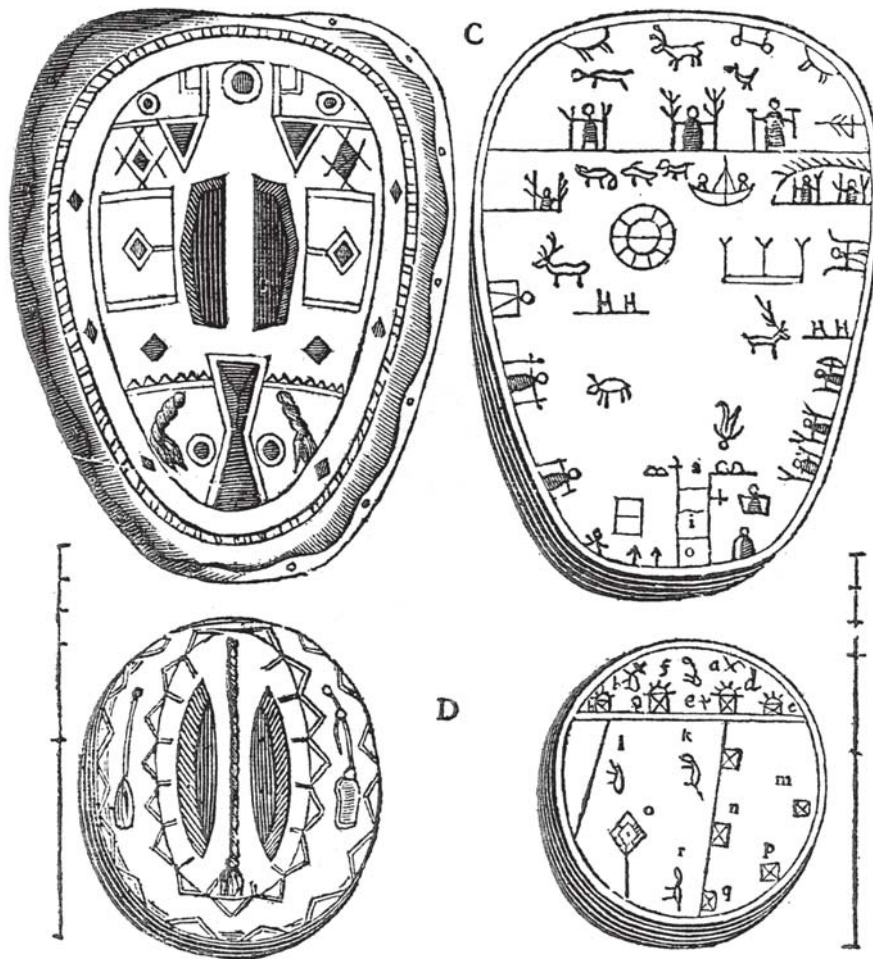


The Explication of the Figures.

In the Drum A. a marks Thor. b Thors Servant. c Storjnnkare. d his Servant. e Birds. f Stars. g Christ. h his Apostles. i a Bear. k a Wolf. l a Rain-deer. m an Ox. n the Sun. o a Lake. p a Fox. q a Squeril. r a Serpent.

In the Drum B. a denotes God the Father. b Jesus Christ. c the Holy Ghost. d S. John. e Death. f a Goat. g a Squeril. h Heaven. i the Sun. l a Wolf. m the fish Siik. n a Cock. o Friendship with the wild Rain-deer. p Anundus Eerici (whose Drum this was) killing a Wolf. q Gifts. r an Otter. s the friendship of other Lapps. t a Swan. u a sign to try the condition of others, and whether a disease be incurable. x a Bear. y a Hog. z a Fish. v one carrying a Soul to Hell.

Figure 14. Drums A & B from the English publication 1674 (photocopies). On analysis of the drums and the positioning of the figures themselves, when contrasted with the Latin drums, most of the figures are reversed. Note that the text describing the figures on the drums is not clear because these are photocopies from the 1971 republication of The History of Lapland.



The explication of the Figures.

In the Drum C. a denotes Birds. b black Foxes. c Tinur, a God. d Thor, a God. e Thors hammer. f Storjunkare. g a wooden Idol. h his Servants. i a Star. k an Ox. l a Goat. m a Star. n the Moon. o the Sun. p a Star. q another Star. r a Wolf.

Figure 15. Drums C & D from the English publication 1674 (photocopies). The case is the same with these drums as well, the figures are reversed.

circular shapes with lines across the middle which look like creatures with many legs, or even a figure representing the Sun?

Drum B is also located in the book, in the chapter about not existing drums, *Nicht erhaltene Trommeln*.

In a similar fashion to drums A & B, drums C & D are also divided into zones with the names of the figures documented below in Latin. The significant characteristics on the face of drum C show in the top zone three Divine like figures, and above them animals facing right to the east. Below the top zone is a large area and in the left hand corner at the top, there are two figures, holding poles/sticks, who are in a kind of enclave. Just to the right of the centre, is a Sun motif. The divided areas on drum D show four different zones. The figures in the top part are not easy to identify clearly. However, what is important to recognise here are the motifs in the zones to the left and centre of the drum. The left side has square box-like structures which are marked by a cross from corner to corner, and the zone in the centre of the drum shows three animal figures facing right to east. Drum C, pictured in all Schefferus's publications is recorded by Manker as "probably being from Lule Lappmark" (1938: 788). The drum was on display in the National Historical Museum, Stockholm. Drum D, from the Schefferus publications is also pictured in Manker's inventory.

These magical drums appear to have been drawn by hand and then examined in detail, giving a descriptive account of animal figures such as reindeer as well as solar and lunar symbols which are apparent on the drum surfaces. The presence of deities is also evident on the drum. According to the analysis of the drum figures here, the figures of Thor's servant and what are referred to as Apostles are seen on the same drum, indicating the contrast between Paganism and Christianity amongst the Sami the time the drums were collected around 1670, and this is important to acknowledge as it shows both the cultural and religious change at the time.

Firstly, the argument presented here is used to clarify the extent of the different errors found in *Lapponia*, and to state the obvious, that Schefferus is not at fault with reference to the variations of these drum illustrations pictured reversed in the early publications. Secondly, the aim is to consider these implications caused by the presentation of this material which reached a global audience during the seventeenth century. It may be added that the use of this material still continues to some extent in the countries aforementioned, to the present date and these mistakes are not necessarily obvious. It is also worth mentioning that both the United Kingdom and France have drums in their museum collections which are on exhibit there. Therefore, these pictorial mistakes have both historical and cultural implications for scholars as far

as the use of these sources as primary source material goes when analysing the structure and content of the drums for religious purposes and understanding Sami culture.

A further point in need of clarification is that these original copies are all very highly priced and valued from what I have been able to determine because of their age, without any awareness of these errors.

As scientists in the field of religious, ethnographical and cultural research, the challenge of interpreting the drums and the literature associated with them in relation to the study of comparative religion has been clearly outlined by scholars such as T. I. Itkonen (1943–1944), Ernst Manker (1938, 1950), Håkan Rydving (1993), Tore Ahlbäck & Jan Bergman (1991), and Rolf Kjellström (1991), all of whom through both field work and in depth textual analysis of the early material published in relation to the religion of the Sami and their culture, stress not only to the complexity which surrounds the specific usage of the drums for a wide variety of ceremonial and cultural activities, but more problematically the context through which interpretation of painted illustrations ranging from humans, animals, gods, goddesses, human and animal like figures in different zones actually takes place outside of Sami culture by scholars.

The challenge of understanding the drum illustrations with reference to certain symbols carefully selected and painted in the areas within the zones and representing for example places such as mountains, and holy offering places, known in the physical environment, presents further difficulty because some of the drums were painted both for individual usage as well as collective. Furthermore, they were illustrated in a religious sense as well in relation to culture and cosmology, but at the time they were collected by the priests, the drums were in some cases subject to interpretation by the priests themselves rather than those who had made them.

The current understanding of the division between different areas on the surface of a drum is that they represent physical and psychic realities or spiritual worlds, namely the top level where certain deities reside as the “celestial sphere of the drum” (Pentikäinen 1998: 26), the middle zone as representing the physical world, and the lower part of the drum in most cases is a representation of the area where the dead reside.

Previous material produced by Manker, Kjellström and Itkonen has, for example, discussed the complexities surrounding the interpretation of the variation of the painted figures on the drums constructed before conversion to Christianity took precedence, during the time when the Sami were in the process of being converted to Christianity, and after conversion to Christianity in certain areas had taken place. By the fact that many of the symbols on drums constructed at different times are mixed with both Christian and Sami

symbols and representations, the task of interpretation is difficult in relation to understanding these “psychic landscapes” which were in a gradual process of change.

In addition to this, the early Sami cosmology or world-view shows animatistic, animistic and totemic features. “Nature was regarded as animated; meaning each important feature, mountain, hill lake, waterfall, grazing area etc., had its own local deity. The powers of nature, sun, thunder, wind, frost etc., were personified in god-figures, sickness and death in evil spirits of demons.” (Whitaker 1957: 296) This point in itself creates misunderstanding because in a modern sense the scientific world-view deals with concrete everyday physical reality. Also, it would be true to say that many of these personifications of spirits and deities would have varied considerably in each area.

Totemism on the other hand, in the Sami pre-Christian society was a “concept according to which social groups such as extended families or clans have close relationships with particular animals” (Pulkkinen *et al.* 2005: 417). Totemism is here understood in a modern way as broad concept and not presupposing particularly a fore father relationship. There are many examples of the ties between the Sami and animals, such as the bear and reindeer which are featured on many of the divination drums. The positioning of these figures is known to have been of crucial importance for the Sami using the drums to bring balance and alignment in the relationship between human beings and the natural environment, for example, in relation to hunting which is one of the central features in shamanism.

Seen depicted in its true context on drum F from Kemi Lappmark, on the right hand side in the top corner of the middle zone, is the illustration of a bear in its den sleeping, therefore, we can assume this is during the winter months.

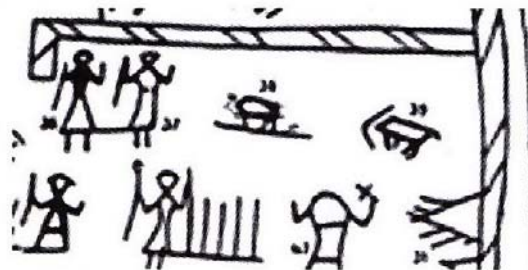


Figure 16. This illustration is taken from the 2005 publication: *The Saami: A Cultural Encyclopedia*, page 33. It shows one of the rare images of a bear in its winter hibernation on the Kemi Lappmark drum F, currently on display in Leipzig. In the earlier copies this location is reversed. Here the bear is numbered as image 39 in the right upper row.

Needless to say, the location of the bear in its den seen in the publications which show the figures reversed, positions the location on the left side. The problem caused by this error needs to be made clear because it is understood the “bear had a special cultic position in Saami culture” (Pulkkinen *et al.* 2005: 33). In addition, associated with the bear were a number of very specific taboos and certain ritualistic practices adhered to stating the relationship between the bear and human beings, a very old custom well documented in Sami folkloristics with reference to astral mythology and cosmic order, as well as bear hunting ceremonies, and the events which took place both before and after, which included songs about the animal sung in association with the drum images before hunting begun. All of these activities contributed to the maintenance of their livelihoods as hunter people.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THESE PUBLICATION ERRORS

The difficulties presented to scholars of the history of religion with regard to analysing and interpreting the information on the surfaces of the drums has been well documented by both Nordic scholars Rolf Kjellström and Bo Sommarström in their analysis of how the information was collected by clergymen, missionary workers and explorers alike. For the most, explanations of the ways in which a drum scene was interpreted in accordance with the positioning of each figure by the noaidi, are not known because the drums were collected at a time when “the drums represented their threatened culture, the resistance against the Christian claim to exclusiveness, and a striving to preserve traditional values” (Rydving 1991), and therefore illustrations without commentary from the artists themselves present a great risk for error of judgement and interpretation by those outside the culture.

It is almost certain the structure and content of many of the drums were both influenced and characterised with reference to hunting by both solar and lunar activity as well as the orientation of the different elements of earth, air, fire and water, and understood within the four cardinal points of north, east, south and west. These factors are in addition to the structure of the Noaidi’s cosmos as seen portrayed within the three cosmic levels or zones through which the surface of the drum was divided into.

An early reference clearly stating the importance of this found on page 49 in the first English edition of *Lapponia*. Schefferus states that:

“I have observed that several of their drums have not the same pictures upon them. They are described differently in which the figures are distinguished so as to refer to several places, of which there are chiefly

three. In the first stands *Norland*, and other countries of Sweden which are placed on the South side of the drum, and are represented by a line from the rest, in this also is contained the next great city, where they traffic most, as in drums made at *Torne*, or *Kiemi*. On the North part, Norway is described with all that is contained in it. In the middle of these two stands *Lapland*, this takes up the greatest part of the drum, here they picture herds of reindeer, bears, foxes, wolves and all manner of wild beasts, to signify when, and in what place they may find them.” (Schefferus 1674: 49)

The quote by Schefferus is crucial because for example, it shows how important it was for the Sami to know the specific positioning of the figures on the drums with reference to using the instrument for divination to secure a successful outcome prior to hunting when they were travelling, for example, on harsh migration routes during the months between summer and winter. It is also worth noting that in the 1980s the interest amongst scholars, with regard to the Sami noaidi drums belonging to the Scandinavian countries, was as such that, a symposium was held in Turku, Finland on August 19–20, 1988, titled *The Saami Shaman Drum*. The organising committee – Rolf Kjellström, Håkan Rydving and Tore Ahlbäck – pointed out that:

“there were a number of different ways that the Saami drum might be approached, e.g. an analysis of drum illustrations or individual drums, categorisation by region and/or type of Saami drums, the role of the drum in Saami society and religion, the significance of drum music from the shaman’s ritual ecstasy, drum illustrations as a source of information on the Saami world-view.” (Ahlbäck & Bergman 1991: 7)

The material presented at the symposium was published in the book titled *The Saami Shaman Drum*.

I want to outline in particular here the conclusions of one of the contributors, namely Rolf Kjellström, who focuses on the importance of the positioning of figures on the drum F from the Kemi Lappmark area. Kjellström refers to a group of three animals in his presentation, two of which can be identified as reindeer because of their antlers and are illustrated in the top zone on drum F. He makes it clear that when analysing reindeer which are the most commonly occurring figures on the drums “often the reindeer figures stand alone on one of the three upper rays of the sun figure, or on the left-hand edge of the drum but rarely on the right-hand side, or floating freely in the middle of the picture surface” (Kjellström 1991: 117). At the end of the chapter Kjellström lists a small chapter regarding the “different ways of classifying drums with refer-

ence to images and positioning of drum illustrations (which includes) the connection between figures and positions in relation to signs on the drum” (Kjellström 1991: 133).

What this evidence does show that the publication errors of the drum illustrations that have been formulated and then presented in the first and second editions of the English editions, as well as the French and Dutch ones by the publishers, and although unintentional, these mistakes complicate the opportunity for further understanding or insight into the content of each of the scenes on the drum. Instead, this takes us away from understanding these expressions of Sami nature religion and culture at a time of religious change, and therefore, for a number of reasons this makes the material misleading not only to scholars, contributors to the history of religion, but to the Sami themselves.

Due to the extent of these errors, there is a need for the mistakes in the material to be brought to the attention of the institutions, museums and establishments where copies of *Laponia* are held, because for example, and more importantly, should scholars from the aforementioned countries of France, Great Britain and Holland, or any other country for that matter, use these drum illustrations which are reversed from the original copies for producing material¹⁴, but perceived as true illustrations without any knowledge of the errors, then these mistakes will keep on repeating themselves.

CONCLUSION

How do these mistakes affect the ritual practices and also the world-view of Sami culture and religion? The task of the scholar of comparative religion is to study and analyse the differences and similarities between religious rituals, concepts, and different approaches taken to ascertain the reliability of source material of religious phenomena. In this case, the analysis has been between different editions of the same source material published at different times in different languages, in different countries.

The importance of the positioning of zones and figures on the drums has been essential for the Sami community for understanding how the landscape, of both the physical and mythological worlds, was ritualised and then portrayed in association with how the function of the cosmos was interpreted and understood within their culture which formed a sense of unity amongst the people. This understanding was then expressed in a holistic way within Sami religion as an expression of maintaining a state of cosmic order between the different levels of existence, especially the realm of nature.

It was understood that what took place on the earth was reflected in the skies and in the world of the ancestors, thus highlighting the relationship between the supernatural world, where certain deities or totemic ancestral spirits resided, and the physical world and how, for example, the animals in the physical reality were related to those in the spiritual realities.

Both the content and layout and positioning of figures that have been painted onto the surfaces of the drums, such as animals, humans and deities who have played a central role in the Sami world-view, hunting and community, have historical value within Sami culture because the drums have been pictographs used for recording different chapters throughout history in Lapland. A good example of this from both a religious and historical point of view would be the historical differences portrayed on the drums depicting “the religion during the hunting stage and the religion of the nomadic stage” (Hultkrantz 1983: 11) showing when and where reindeer had become domesticated. Another example would be the appearance of Christian symbolism such as crosses and the positioning of churches in certain villages or towns, which were previously unknown on the earlier drums.

More recently, a further hypothesis has been put forward, suggesting that the content, positioning and layout of animal figures on some Sami drums correspond with certain “star horizons” (Sommarström 1991:136) in the sky, which represents the theory of totemism. If this is the case, then the differences seen on the drums which are presented here, change the understanding of both the relevance of the figures in their positions in the sky and their geographical locations of the mythological world, as well as the hunting areas on the tundra. We know that because of seasonal variation when the Sami migrated between different locations on migratory routes for hunting and fishing, a way of recording these locations, which included rivers, mountains and caves (where bears were sleeping), was on the surfaces of the drums, which is why they are sometimes referred to as maps.

The aim of this article has been to clarify the importance of the survey of the Sami noaidi drums and this undertaking has established a number of errors relating to the way in which the material has been published in France, Holland and the United Kingdom with reference to historical data and Sami culture and religion. Therefore, it can be stated these illustrations in the English, Dutch and French editions cannot be relied upon as any kind of authenticity, because the illustrations have a number of important features which are portrayed as mistakes due to the ways in which the editions have been printed. Although these mistakes do not necessarily make the editions invalid, however, the reliability of these sources as material which represents the knowledge of the noaidi as seen portrayed through the intricate symbolism illus-

trated in detail on the drums, and also the position of the drums as cultural and historical artefacts and representations of Sami religion and culture, need to be made clear due to these historical inaccuracies which misrepresent the Sami, Sami culture and religion.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere thanks to the following people for their help and assistance in writing this article. Professor Elina Helander-Renvall from the Arctic Centre, Rovaniemi. Docent Risto Pulkkinen from the University of Helsinki Department of World Cultures. Tim Pye from the Rare Books Reference Service at the British Library. Kristiina Nayho at Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki. Pascal Cotroux for the translation from French to English and Sirkka Havu from the National Library of Finland.

NOTES

- ¹ The term *shaman* today is generally not applicable in Lapland amongst the Sami; its origins can be found in the early Russian sources. In Lapland the traditional healer has been compared to a Medicine Man or Woman known as Noaidi.
- ² A further point for the reader's attention is the usage of the terms: 'Lapp', 'Sami' and 'Saami' throughout the article. The terms 'Lapp' and 'Lappish' have been used extensively and particularly in early literature mainly by outsiders and is considered derogatory by the Sami. The application of the term in this article is used only in quotes from literature. The term 'Sami' is the Finnish word used when referring to the native people of northern Scandinavia, as is the Swedish word Saami. Both of these are also used in quotes from English and Swedish literature in this article. Furthermore, both of these are used today to help distinguish the native people of Lapland from those who live there but whose roots maybe elsewhere.
- ³ The museum is nowadays called Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig (Leipzig Museum of Ethnography) and it is a part of the Grassi Museum.
- ⁴ The word noaidi is used here as a technical term to point out to all the drum users. According to Risto Pulkkinen, at least on the more southern parts of Sápmi the drum was not the privilege of the noaidi only but the use of the drum (in divining) was each person's right.
"Recalling Ancestral Voices is a project dedicated to recording the material cultural heritage of the Sámi. The project was launched in April 2006 and ended in November 2007. In Finland, the Sámi Museum Siida is participating in the project, in Sweden, the Ájtte Museum in Sweden and Varanger Sámi Museum in Norway." (This quote is from the web site address below). The discussion about the Sami noaidi drums can be viewed in a wider scientific context with reference to previous

research, seminars and discussions about drums, as well as a number of other indigenous artefacts in relation to Sami cultural history. The information about the project is in Swedish, Finnish and Sami language. <http://www.siida.fi/heritage/english/index.html>

- ⁵ The list of manuscripts that were received at different times by Schefferus, and contain in particular the writings of Rheen and Tunderus, as well as information from other priests of the northern areas, can be found in the National Library also under the title *Lapponia*, which is as a compilation of sources given to Schefferus.
- ⁶ For information about the manuscripts concerned with bear hunting rituals made by Gabriel Tunderus, see *Fragments of Lappish Mythology*, edited by Juha Pentikäinen, English translation (Laestadius 1997).
- ⁷ See the foreword at the beginning of the book.
- ⁸ On-line research into the current sale prices of the 1674 English edition and the French and Dutch editions at a Antiquarian book sellers revealed the cost for the original copies are as follows: English 1674 edition on sale in Stockholm, Sweden: 2,420 euros, French edition on sale in the United States, California: 801.00 euros, and the Dutch edition is on sale in the Netherlands: 1,250.00 euros.
- ⁹ According to the British Library catalogue, there are copies of *The History of Lapland* on microfilm and in digital form, distributed to a number of institutions in different parts of the world. I contacted Tim Pye from the Rare Books Reference Service at The British Library and he supplied me with the following information. One of the most comprehensive and reliable sources for identifying the various editions of a particular work is the English Short Title Catalogue (<http://estc.bl.uk>) (the catalogue also indicates which institutions around the world hold copies of a work). The ESTC lists four distinct English editions of *The history of Lapland* – two published “at the Theater in Oxford” in 1674 (ESTC nos. R8773 & R183263), one printed in London “for Tho. Newborough” in 1704 (T146952), and one printed in London “for R. Griffith” in 1751 (T111934). The catalogue records for the 1674 editions attribute the translation into English to Anton Cremer. The Library’s 1704 and 1751 editions have been digitised and are available via Eighteenth Century Collections Online, a subscription database that is available in many libraries and universities. One of the 1674 editions has also been digitised and is provided by the Early English Books Online database, but the digitised images are taken from copies held not by the British Library but by the Huntington and University of Illinois Libraries, both located in the United States.
- ¹⁰ Translated from German to English by Kristiina Nayho at Finnish Literature Society.
- ¹¹ The University of Helsinki does not have the first English publication on microfilm and therefore, I have used photocopied pictures in this case.
- ¹² Comparison of some illustrations with their sources and derivations. Lillemor Lundström has created an on-line version of the 1674 English edition of *The History of Lapland*, and addresses the issue of reversed images by correcting them for this version of the original English text. He states the following: “The illustrations in the 1674 English translation of the book are imitations of those in the Latin source text from 1673. Apart from being mirror-images of the originals, some noteworthy changes were made; a few of these are commented below. As in the main text, I have here

reversed the English illustrations back to their intended orientation, and then individually reversed all letters in the legends, as well as colouring these and any scale bars red. Chapter X contains two illustrations, both depicting the worship of idols. In the original, the idols' heads are crudely shaped as described in the text, while their English counterparts have been changed to have clearly visible facial features, contrary to the description." Sourced from: <http://old.no/samidrum/lapponia/> this is the web address where the corrected pictures of the two Finnish drums from Kemi Lappmark can be viewed in the chapter *Of the magical Ceremonies of the Laplanders*: <http://old.no/samidrum/lapponia/chap-xi.html>

¹³ The translation from the old French text to English which can be found in the introduction in the book was made by the grateful assistance of Pascal Cotroux.

¹⁴ On a visit to the National Library of Finland in Helsinki, the cost for a photocopy of the illustration of the drums from the First English Edition was ten euros and no one there had any knowledge concerning the errors.

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Note

To all our relations: evidence of Sámi involvement in the creation of rock paintings in Finland

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ABSTRACT. Research undertaken between 1960 to 1990 into what was once a rock painting tradition in Finland, lacked a clear understanding of parallels between the painted figures found at rock painting locations in the southern and central areas of the country, and the motifs painted on the heads of Sámi shaman divination drums from Lapland. However, due to the discovery and analysis of the content of more rock painting sites in Finland from 1990 up to the present, a more comprehensive framework has emerged in which scholars from across different academic disciplines have discovered many more similar characteristics linking the rock paintings and drum symbolism. These recent findings point towards the survival of a nature based sacrificial religion from the Stone Age era in Finland. The source of this was shamanistic in its essence, and is seen portrayed on rock and boulder formations by hunters similarly to how figures were illustrated on drum heads by the Sámi shamans from the nomadic era of the 17th and 18th centuries in Lapland. This more recent recognition strengthens the argument for Sámi involvement in the creation of rock paintings in Finland.

Introduction

In Finland there are many colourful and symbolic pre-historic rock paintings. These were created from within an emerging hunting and fishing civilisation in the central and southern areas of the country and have historical links with a much later Sámi culture from Lapland. Artists from the ancient hunting culture are responsible for decorating horizontal and vertical stone terraces and boulders close to rivers and waterways. The stylistic art which has been produced using substances such as iron ore and red ochre have both ritual and economical dimensions.

Recent ethnographical research in Finland reveals that there are '128 rock painting sites that are currently recorded [...] to the present day, 96 of which have figures that are identifiable' (Luukkonen 2012: 1; Fig. 1). Data provided from within the field of archaeology in Finland informs us that the paintings have been dated 'to ca. 5000–1500cal. BC' (Lahelma 2005: 29). According to Seitsonen (2005: 5) 'Finnish rock-art has been interpreted using ethnographic (Kivikäs 1990: 21), functional (Simola) 2001: 41) and shamanistic (Lahelma 2001: 6–7) frames of reference'.

Distinguishable symbols are portrayed mainly through abstract and schematic stick figures, and include, motifs of animals, humans, boats, handprints and spirits. There are solitary figures, as well in pairs, and sometimes groups of figures interacting with each other. The overall content of rock paintings helps emphasise the strong ties between human beings, animals magic and the natural world.

Many of the painted images found within rock paintings throughout Finland appear in a similar fashion on the heads

of Sámi shaman divination drums from Sweden and Norway. The symbolic artwork in both cases is like a signature of the inheritance of past generations. Drums were comprehended as instruments through which when beaten with a reindeer bone hammer, various forms of communication could take place with beings in the spiritual worlds. According to Manker (1938) many of the instruments were passed from generation to generation along with the shamanistic skills. The drums came to the attention of Christian priests and missionary workers to whom were designated, during the 17th and 18th centuries, the task of converting the Sámi from their nature religion to that of the church, amidst accusations of witchcraft and sorcery throughout Lapland (see Joy 2011). Drums in this sense have been used as an expression of culture and identity that dates back many millennia. A number of drums have been recorded by Manker as being over one hundred years old at the time they were confiscated by the church and collected by missionaries; providing evidence for the transmission of culture.

The Sámi shaman drum has three primary functions, the first relates to divination in matters related to fishing, hunting and problem solving. The second function is that of ecstatic entrancement in which the shaman with the assistance of helping spirits undertakes soul journeys into the world of the dead or realm of the gods-spirits for help and advice with community, family and individual affairs with life and death situations. The third function is concerned with fortune-telling and prophecy and healing.

The frame of the shaman's drum was typically made from pine or birch wood, which had reindeer skin stretched over it as a type of membrane that was then painted with symbolic metaphors representing a cognitive map of the shamans out of body encounters and experiences in the realms of the spiritual worlds. The three worlds consisted chiefly of three different dimensions, an upper or celestial heavenly realm where the ruling gods and goddesses resided; a middle world, of everyday affairs which was represented as a blueprint for the spiritual side of the physical everyday world; and a lower or nether world where the spirits of the dead live.

Previous research into rock paintings in Finland and Sámi shaman drum symbolism

There has been a tendency in early scientific research in Finland, since the majority of the rock paintings were discovered between 1960 and 2000, to link the artwork with Siberian culture and the roots of Finnish culture. According to Autio (1995: 13) 'In principle, it is right to use Siberian material as a basis for interpretation but when making conclusions, we must first of all bear in mind the methodological guidelines which should be followed when dealing with local folk tradition'. Evidence of this trend by scholars is found through quotes taken from three scientific publications that have examined and assessed the content of rock paintings in Finland. For example Pekonen (1999: 5) who searches for comparatives to Finnish rock paintings in Egyptian mythology states: 'Perhaps an ancient Egyptian [who] used [...] pictograms, would find it easier than ourselves to interpret the messages written by the Finns [...]'. In a similar way Kare (2000: 101) writes that: 'The most powerful symbols of the Finnish nation are

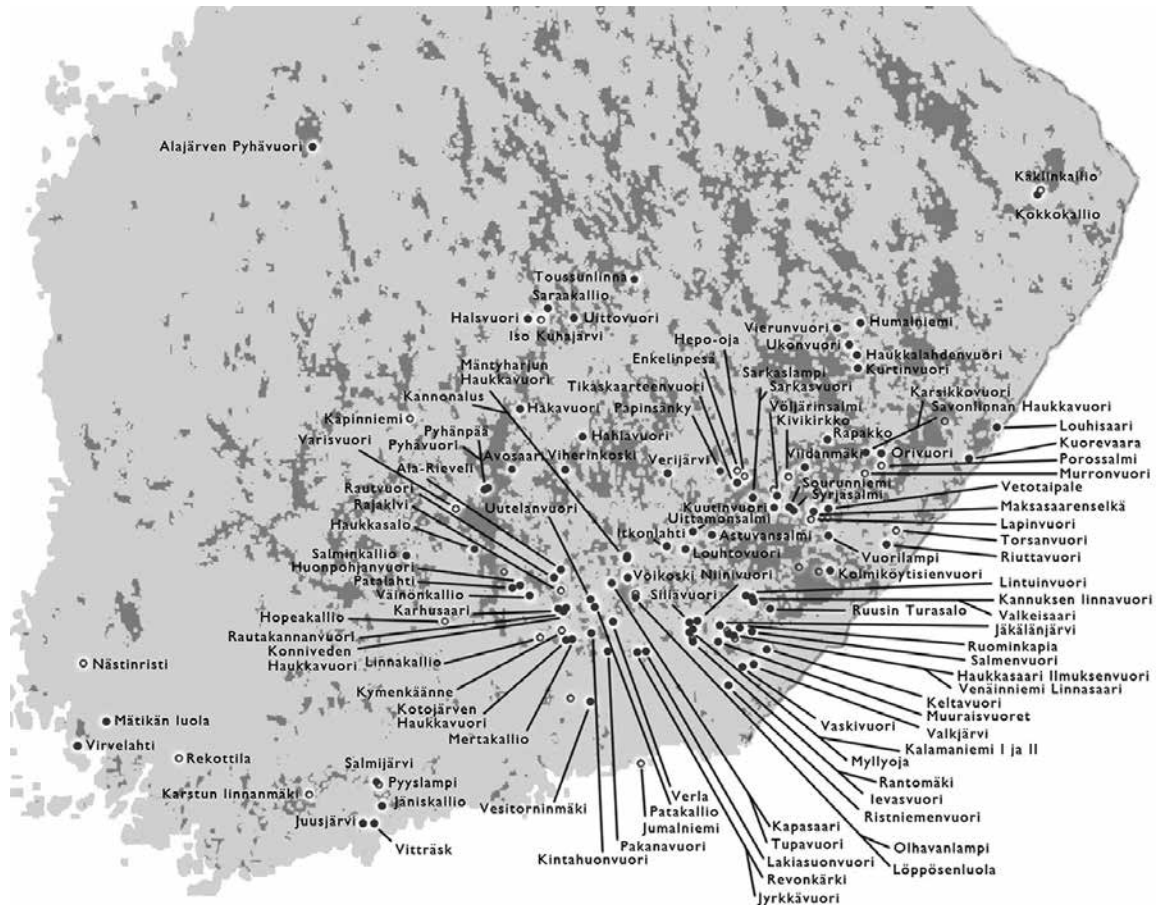


Fig. 1. A map showing where the majority of the paintings are located around the Saimaa Lake region in eastern Finland. The sites also extend north towards the central part of the country. Luukkonen (1994–2011).

animals and landscape [...]. Rock art is governed by the same invariance's: the environment, the landscape situation and animals'. Also, Kivikäs who has written extensively on the topic of rock paintings in Finland states that 'Tyypillinen Suomalainen kallonmaalaaus sijaitsee avian vedan äärellä' [Typical Finnish rock paintings are located by the water's edge] (Kivikäs 1995: 16).

Reading between the lines, evidence suggests that the main reason for this way of thinking is not only because the rock paintings have been interpreted through Finnish eyes, but as the result of the way in which Sámi history has been recorded and interpreted by persons from outside Sámi culture. The first historical documentation was formulated by priests within what was known as 'Lappology [which is] the name for the traditional study of Lapland and the Saami people' (Pulkinen 2005: 189–191). More recently, however, research is directed towards gaining a wider understanding of Sámi culture and in particular previous Sámi occupancy in the central and southern areas of Finland, which has helped to examine rock paintings and drum symbolism in a new light (see Lahelma 2001, 2005).

There are three invariable themes found within the symbolism of the rock paintings in Finland that are consistent with motifs painted on the Sámi shaman drums from Lapland: animals, human persons-shamans and spirits. Previous research which has discussed the links between the symbolisms from the hunting and nomadic cultures, has had a trend of associating

horned and triangular headed figures in rock paintings with human persons or shaman's (see Kare 2000; Siikala 1981). The grounds for this explanation arise from the practice in early research by Finnish scholars who compared rock paintings in Finland with those in Siberia. One basic problem with this orientation is the influence of the Siberian shaman's ritual dress which has consisted of, for example, reindeer horns and a robe made from animal fur and skin, which has been equated with particular designs in Finnish rock paintings, thus leading to a number of unreliable interpretations.

New findings in rock art research in Finland, reveal resemblances between groups of Sámi spirits

From a comparative study of rock paintings in Finland (for example Figs. 2, 3) by the author, it has been possible to identify and subsequently re-define a number of parallels between the horned and triangular headed figures found painted at the locations mentioned below. Comparisons are made between these two paintings through analysing the horned and triangular features on the heads, with those found on Sámi gods who are portrayed in their respective positions on the membranes of two shaman drums collected during the eighteenth century from 'Lycksele and Åsle [which are two municipalities in] Swedish Lapland' (Manker 1938: 471, 620).

Figs. 4 and 5 are drawings of two 18th century Sámi shaman divination drums from the former Lappmark provinces



Fig. 2. A horned figure with a triangular shaped head seen painted on the rock formation above the waterline at Keltavuori, Lappeenranta. Photo by Ismo Luukkonen.

in northern Sweden. The author has chosen these illustrations because the figures on the original photographs of each of the drums cannot be seen clearly. Fig. 4 originally from ‘Lycksele Lappmark, Sweden’ (Manker 1938: 471) portrays in the top section of the drum, triangular and diamond headed shaped gods-spirit figures (images 1 to 6 which are numbered) whose legs are wide apart, and who have pointed features on the tops of their heads. The figures are known as the ‘Radien group’ (Manker 1950: 234–235), who characterise the celestial heavenly realm of the Sámi cosmological picture, and are located on the border area between the earthly and heavenly realms. Image 5 is described as ‘Tiermes – Horagalles, [the thunder god] and Image 6 as Bieggolmai the wind’ (Manker 1950: 235). Bieggolmai is holding what are similar to two shovels in his hands. ‘The gods high above include first Radien Atzhie who was the greatest and highest of all gods’ (Laestadius 1838–1840: 73). Fig. 5 is a drum originally from ‘Åsle Lappmark, Sweden’ (Manker 1938: 620). It also depicts the gods who have triangular shaped heads. In the top northern section of the drum (figure 36 upside down) these are a group of three gods representing the ‘Radien group’ (Manker 1950: 322). Below in the centre of the drum on the world pillar at the right side is a god figure which has a triangular shaped



Fig. 3. A triangular headed figure painted on the rock formation above the water at Uittamonsalmi, Mikkeli. Luukkonen (1994–2011). Photo by Ismo Luukkonen.

head that is holding what look like two shovels in his arms, the heads of which are also triangular shaped. The deity is called ‘Bieggolmai, the Windman’ (Manker 1950: 320–322). At the centre of both drums there is a rhomb symbol which represents the Sun in Sámi cosmology. The rhomb symbol is characterised by 4 gateways, north, east, south and west. The northern and southern gateways on the vertical axis of the rhomb symbols have much significance in Sámi culture. This is because from these exit points, the Sámi shaman travels to meet with the celestial powers in the north, and the spirits of the departed in the south.

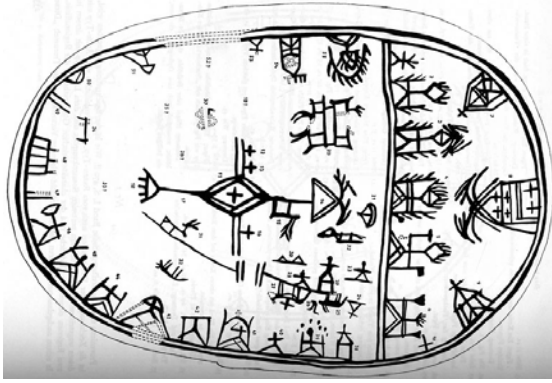


Fig. 4. , Sámi shaman drum from Lycksele Lappmark, northern Sweden (Manker 1950).

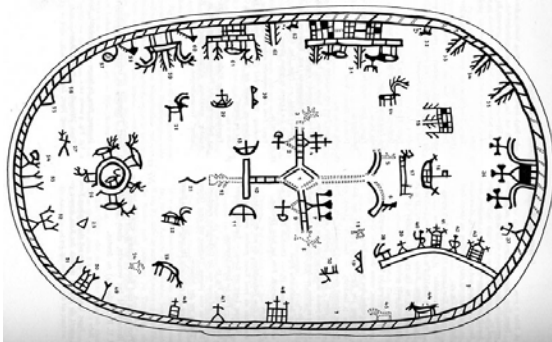


Fig. 5. Sámi shaman drum from Åsle Lappmark, northern Sweden (Manker 1950).

From what has been written about the Radien group by Laestadius who was involved in the conversion of the Sámi from their native religion to Christianity, Laestadius says that from within the Radien group, one of the deities is called 'Zhioaarve Radien [whose task it was] to send down the soul to the mother womb at the moment of conception. [...] Zhioaarve, according to Lindahl and Öhrling's [two clergymen] spelling, tjårwe, actually means horn, cornu; it is a metonym for might or the expression best of its kind' (Laestadius 1838–1840: 74). It is also helpful to take into account that notable variations would exist in the locations and numbers of gods on drums from different municipalities throughout Lapland, as is demonstrated above by the positioning of the deities on the two drum heads.

The importance of shedding light on the quote by Laestadius with regard to the presence of horns on Sámi spirits is essential, not only because the reference is one of the few found in literature about Sámi history, but it confirms that horned and triangular headed spirit figures have existed in Sámi society prior to the drums being collected. One can consider how the pictures presented above of the two figures from rock paintings in Finland have physical characteristics reminiscent of those presented above from the two drum heads from Sweden. The shapes of the heads on each of the rock painting figures possibly portray a more archaic and early portrait of spirit figures found within the early cosmology of the hunting and fishing civilization.

Concluding remarks

Scholarly discourse has in the past been reserved about drawing conclusions concerning the relationships between Finnish rock paintings and the figures on the heads of Sámi shaman drums from Sweden and Norway. However, as more and more of these parallels become evident, the many similarities which are now being clarified can no longer be ignored. As has been demonstrated above, apart from being able to place the notable and physical characteristics of the two rock painting figures in comparison with those of the Sámi Gods, this recognition helps to strengthen the evidence for Sámi involvement in the creation of rock paintings in Finland.

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WHAT INFLUENCE DO THE OLD SÁMI NOAIDI DRUMS FROM LAPLAND PLAY IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW SHAMAN DRUMS BY SÁMI PERSONS TODAY?

Francis Joy

Abstract: The suppressed history of the Sámi in Lapland contains within it large gaps which span across lost generations of religious specialists called Noaidi. The Noaidi in Sámi society was a healer, curer, diviner and ritual master. One of the important instruments associated with the work of the Noaidi is the magical drum referred to as goavddis, which was richly decorated with symbols and structures depicting an indigenous worldview and cosmic order. The art of the Noaidi has been one of the main inspirations and influences for the preservation of Sámi culture and heritage, to such an extent that new types of decorative ‘Shaman’ drums are emerging in Finnish and Norwegian Lapland. These new drums reflect both typologies and worldview of the Noaidi from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and provide some level of insight how the transmission of culture continues today.

Key words: Sámi Noaidi, drum, divination, structure, shamanism, Lapland, new drums, symbolism, persecutions

INTRODUCTION

The Sámi are the indigenous people of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia who have lived as a hunting, fishing and reindeer herding culture for the past several thousand years. The Sámi areas in northern Scandinavia are known today as Sámi. Presently, the Sámi have their own language and culture. Sámi society still consists of traditional subsistence activities such as reindeer herding, hunting and fishing; traditional ways of organizing the society and its occupants are called Siida and land, which form a type of coherent narrative for the structures within Sámi society. Relations to the Siida and land are the pillars within society which have helped to transmit Sámi culture and identity in both a modern as well as historical context. Currently, throughout the Sámi areas in Finnish Lapland there are three languages spoken, North Sámi, Inari Sámi and Skolt Sámi. Tourism is an option of course

<http://www.folklore.ee/folklore/vol56/joy.pdf>

but many Sámi work within the education and ‘services’ (school, health care, shops, restaurants), i.e. the modern sector of working life.

One of the colourful dimensions which is prominent from within the history of Sámi culture is a specific type of art created by persons called Noaidi’s who are perhaps better known from outside Sámi society as shamans. The Sámi noaidi from the Pre-historic era as well as from the time when Christianity arrived in Lapland around the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, have through tradition been persons’ responsible for depicting metaphors and symbols from visions and out-of-body travelling to other worlds, via many natural forms of art which has come from a long standing oral tradition. For example, the earliest traces of work related to the noaidi, is encountered through prehistoric rock carvings and paintings found extensively throughout the Nordic countries and Kola Peninsula in Russia, indicating that the Sámi are a visual culture.

Scholarly research undertaken during the 1990s by Autio (1995), Nunez (1995) and Joy (2011; 2013) has prompted further investigation by the author into what appears as evidence of significant a number of rock carvings from the Alta site in Finnmark, Norway and rock paintings from central and southern Finland from ancient hunting and fishing cultures. These sources of traditional knowledge which can be linked to Sámi identity and cultural Pre-history have strikingly similar motifs and figures that are also recognizable from amongst the nomadic art from Lapland painted on noaidi drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the missionizing began. Rock carvings and paintings are situated close to water where they are depicted on flat and vertical stone terraces and boulder formations. Most sites display an array of different figures including animals, humans, spirits, lunar and solar symbols and geometric patterns and shapes. The reason for creating artwork close to the water’s edge is because the shoreline may have represented a membrane between the physical and spiritual dimensions, a type of border region between the living and departed.

Like other indigenous peoples, the emotional and cultural ties to the past historical legacy of ancestors and interactions with spirits are recorded through art. The Sámi saw nature as a huge well of inspiration which provided a basis for decoration and expression of the spiritual aspects of the material culture. It is also common knowledge too amongst the Sámi, that in a past tense in Lapland, the noaidi has been the only person with the authority to paint the magical drum which has been a strong feature in relation to identity. Evidence and analysis of the nature of drum symbolism shows how the inspiration and knowledge has been drawn upon from interactions with the animal kingdom for building and decorating noaidi-shaman drums which are important sources of strength for the Sámi. The usage of symbols and the transmission of culture

with regard to utilizing illustrations from rock carvings and paintings to noaidi drums shows how the symbols have played an essential role in strengthening and maintaining Sámi identity which has seen a radical shift into modern-urban life from the traditional hunting and fishing culture.

Before the Christian priests and missionary workers arrived in Lapland during colonialisation era of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, shamanism was the fundamental basis of a religious tradition that was rooted in a relationship with nature, ancestral and ruling spirits, and close ties with the animal kingdom. Due to the widespread conversion from a nature based religion to Christianity, there are beliefs from within the Lutheran Church in Finland that shamanism does not exist anymore in Lapland which is incorrect. By contrast and in Norwegian Lapland for example, in the municipalities of Kautokeino, Karasjok within the Finnmark area in the far north of the country, traces of the practice of shamanism and traditional Sámi healing are still evident today.

The cultural and religious upheavals caused by Christianity has encouraged extensive research into the nature and context of the persecutions which took place during the colonial era throughout the Nordic countries which saw noaidi drums confiscated and destroyed in their hundreds. Information presented from court records from the 17th century Witch trials in Norway for example from; the scholarly work of religious historian Rune Blix Hagan (2005; 2006) from the University of Tromsø, Norway informs us of the following. Hagan states that the Sámi noaidi-shaman was one of the most feared and at the same time revered figures ever to have emerged from within the nomadic reindeer culture throughout Lapland. "From ancient times, the Lapland sorcerers had a strong reputation for wind magic, shape shifting (metamorphosis), employment of familiars, the ability to move objects (such as small darts) across great distances, and for their wicked drum playing" (Hagan 2006: 625). The description presented by Hagen is only one dimension to the position of the noaidi in Sámi society. On the other hand and when viewed in a different light, the noaidi was also a person who was an artist, ritual and visionary specialist, storyteller, healer, diviner and magician. As both men and women, the noaidi was also a bearer of tradition, and knowledge holder within Sámi society and inter-species communicator. The application of painted symbols to drums has been one of the main ways of recording stories and sacred narratives. The early portraits presented of noaidi's throughout Lapland, were compiled through distorted images by priests and missionaries to suit both the Swedish state and Churches political and religious agendas. Many of the sources (for example, see Schefferus 1674) speak about a culture in Lapland which was illuminated by spirits and ancient gods and goddesses of the sky, earth and realms below the earth and water called Säiva, described as a mythical underworld, as well

as Jabma-Aimo, the world of the dead. Both Säiva and Jabma-Aimo appear to have very important destinations to where the noaidi travelled extensively, to communicate and work with spiritual beings with whom the noaidi, through sacrificial activities, trance and out-of-body travelling and with the aid of a drum, formed a working relationship with. On many of the old drums, images and structures of both Säiva and Jabma-Aimo stand out extensively, indicating that relations with the spirits in the afterlife have also played a functional role in Sámi society. It is the author's opinion, that one of the explanations why so many rock paintings in Finland and carvings in Norway are located at the water's edge is because the art has been one way of recording visions and interactions with spirit beings, especially animals who have resided in Säiva and Jabma-Aimo. The nature and content of zones and borders which divided the cosmos into different levels are depicted through rock paintings, carvings and drum symbols that emphasized that the vocation undertaken through journeys to the world of the ancestors and above the earth by the noaidi. Knowledge for example, of the abode of the departed has been one of the main features which are found painted within the cosmological structures of Sámi worldviews in different sources of art. Furthermore, within written sources pertaining to the history of Lapland, early material which presents evidence of the use of the decorated drum by a Sámi noaidi is recorded in one of the

oldest document that describes a shamanistic séance, [and is from] the eleventh-century *Historia Norvegiae*; [where] the markings on the drum are mentioned as containing only figures representing whales, a harnessed reindeer, skies and a boat with oars. They have been interpreted as representing the means of transport for the shaman on his journeys or his spiritual assistants (whales). (Pulkkinen & Kulonen & Seurujärvi-Kari 2005: 73)

Illustrating no doubt that drums have been an integral part of the culture for a long time.

PAINTED DRUMS AND OUT-OF-BODY TRAVEL

The magical drum as a sacred vessel was used for different reasons, including the practical use for divination where the noaidi sought the will of the spirits in matters related to fishing, hunting and problem solving. In addition, another common use was for ecstatic entrancement associated with healing purposes where the use of the drum was employed to induce a state of ecstasy via the application of rhythmic chanting and singing in the form of joiking. Joiking creates

tones which produce various sounds, and has been a customary practice used by noaidi's to help shift from mundane consciousness into trance states. When shamanizing the noaidi with the assistance of helping spirits undertakes soul journeys into the world of the dead below the water or inside the earth in order to return lost or stolen soul parts to a sick or injured person. Journeys were also made upwards into or realm of the gods/spirits, which were of a celestial nature, for example, who controlled the weather and helped with successful hunting. The drum as a sacred vessel was also used during sacrificial activities where sacred boulders and carved wooden idol type posts called Sieidi which quite often resembled human or animal forms were approached. Offerings of tobacco, meat, fat and fish were typically made to the residing spirit as a way of invoking help and advice with community, family and individual affairs with life and death situations as well as fortune-telling and prophesying. Sacrifice was performed through appeasing the spirit residing in the boulder or wooden idol which then offered power in return.

On many drums, symbols are placed within a type of network which included a host of features such as the heavens, northern Lights and Milky Way, where the Sámi deities of the upper world resided. In the middle world – physical reality which was concerned with hunting and fishing activities, there were spirits who took up residence in sacred hills, mountains and boulders across the landscape. Below the earth in Jabma-Aimo was where Rota the god of illness and death resided and who the noaidi made extensive sacrifices to as a way of alleviating sickness and disease. The co-existence of all of these elements was both the essence and portrait of a definitive archaic worldview characterized by sacrificial activities, reindeer herding, hunting and fishing, which spans thousands of years.

Variations in the cosmological structures of the universe which could differ in accordance with the noaidi's experience and understanding of the rotational shifts throughout the cyclical year are also evident. As a sacred instrument, the drum for the Sámi had as much significance and value as a bible or Holy book might have, and in some instances, such was the reverence for the vessel, sacrifices were offered to the spirits who had taken up residence inside and were associated with it. Typically, the noaidi made contact with the spirits through the drum when seeking for example, the desired power for successful hunting, healing and divination.

Decoration of the drum was vitally important too. The pictorial content on each of the drum heads which were made of reindeer hide were painted with red dye from alder tree bark that had been boiled or chewed before usage. "The red colour of alder bark, symbolizing blood [is a substance utilized as a medium that acted as] a key to control the elements" (Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2007: 60).

The red colour of alder dye also had religious significance for hunting, and was seen through the deity who is called:

[...] *Leaibealmmái* – the alder tree man [who] was the God of Hunting. The alder tree was regarded as a sacred tree. With dyes made from the bark, the people painted figures on the *goavddis* – drum. *Leaibealmmái* had control over the wild animals of the woods. (Solbakk 2007: 34–35)

USE OF THE DRUM AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH INTO SÁMI SHAMANISM AND THE NOAIDI DRUM

Previous scholarly research into Sámi shamanism has described in a number of ways the drum might be used by the Sámi noaidi for healing, divination and making out-of-body journeys to other worlds. From these observations, the drum has been labeled as a ‘Cognitive Map’ in literature, and the pictures drawn on the drum head formed the mental landscape of the noaidi. For example, Pentikäinen (1998: 39), informs us that:

the drum is a key to the cosmology of the Sámis. The shaman had an intimate relationship with his own drum which was often made by him. The figures of the drum were a kind of cognitive map for the trip of the shaman’s ego-soul between the three levels of the universe. [...] The cyclic world-outlook of shamanism became manifest in the oval shape and the heliocentric figures on the drum.

According to Keski-Santi et al (2003: 120–122):

[...] the definition of a map is shaped by cultural contexts and that within different cultures maps can vary in both appearance and use. For the Sámi, the drum was metaphorically speaking, the shaman’s sleigh: the drum itself, the drumming and decoration of the drum skin together functioned as a map. This map was created by an individual shaman’s spiritual journeys, which he or she had made for the benefit of, and on behalf of, the community that he or she had a calling to serve.

By contrast, Swedish Sámi scholar Louise Bäckman also informs us that:

all noaidi did not have similar experiences during contact with the gods, or ‘other reality’, but all noaidi were acting within a culture that supplied each with the same frames of reference. Noaidi were brought up with the

same religious traditions, and interpreted experiences in a traditional way, but in accordance with personal experience. (Bäckman 2004: 30)

One important source which has presented a deeper insight into the role and function of the noaidi in Sámi society is provided by Sámi historian Veli-Pekka Lehtola in his book: “The Sámi People: Traditions in Transition” (2002). Lehtola provides a description of Sámi shamanism from inside the culture which has historic ties to the past and present:

In the old culture, human relationships with the two realms of reality, the physical world (“this side”) and the spiritual world (“the other side”) were bridged by the activities of special men and women – noaidi. Just as the world was divided into the seen and unseen, the tangible and the intangible, so human beings were composed of two parts: the body souls and the free souls. In a non-active state – in dream, trance or coma – a free soul may leave the body and take on another form outside of the person. The noaidi had the skill to reach this state at will. It is described in different ways. The noaidi in a trance leaves the body and moves as a spirit of breath or wind. They have the ability to change into a wild reindeer or hide under the reindeer’s neck or hoof; they can fly over tree tops or travel under the ground; they may swim in the shape of a fish; and the Sea Sámi recount that they may even move mountains. The traditional shamanism was an integral and essential part of the hunting culture. Shamanic activities were related to crisis situations in a village or family; the noaidi attempted to find a remedy. The greatest crises for this people dependent on nature were illnesses and problems concerning obtaining a livelihood. Illness is a disturbance of the balance between the two souls and between the two realms of reality. The noaidi, in spirit form, leaves and goes to the “other side” to restore harmony. (Lehtola 2002: 28)

Further research from scholars within all major academic disciplines across the Nordic countries from the 1980s to the present time has made a significant contribution towards understanding the different uses and activities associated with the magical drum. For further examples see the following: Pentikäinen (1998), Laestadius (2002), Sommarström (1991), Ahlbäck and Bergman (1991), Hultkrantz and Bäckman (1978; 1985), Holmberg (1964) and Manker (1938; 1950). During the course of the 1980s in the Nordic countries, interest into the “remaining 71 drums” (Itkonen 1943–44: 68) which survived the colonialism era and were collected from the Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian Lapland when the reindeer and fishing culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries appeared to have reached its peak. Within this period, the remaining drums

and their decorative content, which are currently preserved in various museums throughout Europe, were extensively analyzed within the sources noted above.

Perhaps one of the foremost and comprehensive literary sources that has emerged in relation to the study of Sámi noaidi drums has two volumes and contains extensive photographic records of all the surviving drums, and was published in German by Ernst Manker (1938) and titled: *Die lappische Zaubertrommel. Eine ethnologische Monographie. 1, Die Trommel als Denkmal materieller Kultur, volume 1*. A second volume (1950): *Die lappische Zaubertrommel: eine ethnologische Monographie. 2, Die Trommel als Urkunde geistigen Lebens*, analyses the many symbols, figures and structures painted on the drum heads. Both of Manker's editions have been used widely and extensively within all academic research fields as source material. Because a number of the sources above have been formulated by persons from outside Sámi culture, methodological problems exist in research into how the use of the drums were recorded during the colonialism period. The reason being that interpretation of figures which figured prominently in the so called Witch hysteria, originate from accounts provided by preists, and are therefore, to be treated with a certain amount of caution.

AIMS OF THE RESEARCH AND METHODS USED

The aims of the research is to bridge one of the current gaps which exist in relation to Sámi culture throughout the Nordic countries today, and concerns a lack of data discussing the production of new types of shaman drums which are emerging, as Christian influence begins to lose its grip in Lapland. There is a wealth of knowledge and information published about the old drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but we have no data of any kind about modern drums made by Sámi persons, especially those that are engaged in the practice of shamanism. Furthermore, previous enquiry throughout the past thirty years for example, has sought to study the Sámi noaidi mainly as a religious specialist from within a historical context, and not as an artist or handicraft person. Therefore, the proposed aims in the paper are concerned with examining the influence the painted symbolism from the old drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have had on the production of six modern drums made by Elle-Maaret Helander who lives in Finnish Lapland, and Ovlla Gaup who is a Sámi from Norwegian Lapland. Both drum makers are artists. The material presented herein has been collected through fieldwork and collaboration with the two Sámi persons as a result of interviews conducted between 2011 and 2013 in Finnish and Norwegian Lapland which is introduced

below. To help set the scene and in order to describe the role and function of the noaidi in a historical context, an explanation of Sámi shamanism and use of the drum has been presented above as a foundation for the task ahead. What is also required to support the above is photographic evidence of older drums and their different typologies. The old drums from the reindeer culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries played a vital role in the construction and continuity of culture and identity. When gathered together, rock carvings, rock paintings and drum symbolism illustrate how religious practices recorded as oral heritage appears to go back thousands of years. Reasons for making use of the historic material within the paper are to show the level of influence as well as contrasts noaidi symbolism has in relation to the reproduction of those symbols painted on new types of shaman drums and decorative artwork by the two interviewees.

The formula of analyzing and describing the usage of the noaidi drums from earlier sources, and presenting the material as photographic evidence helps strengthen the analysis because it covers the wide range of uses of the instrument and provides the reader with knowledge of its value and importance as a religious tool. A comparative presentation of material supports the enquiry which draws comprehensive links and parallels between the influences the drums of the old reindeer culture has with regard to the ways they were built-constructed, and the application of shamanistic art, by contrast to the production of new drums in modern society. Overall, the background-historical information is essential for creating the basis for the new analysis. Moreover, both the approach used and methods employed help to show how continuity of Sámi culture takes place, and present a number of the factors and techniques involved in drum making amongst the interviewees that have both similarities and differences. The evidence presented in this way, is done so as an attempt to capture the motivation behind the art. A suitable model for the research warrant's a descriptive approach using a comparative methodology that demonstrates how the past influences the present with regard to the reproduction of drums and artistic symbols, and subsequently helps to determine the outcome of the research question. The content of the chapters are presented in this order because they strengthen and support the aims of the study.

In addition to making descriptive comparisons between past and present in relation to noaidi drums and their symbols, it is beneficial beforehand to have some insight into the Sámi handicraft tradition in Lapland which is called *Duodji*. *Duodji* is a term used to describe authentic Sámi handicrafts that are handmade by Sámi persons, within a large number of artistic designs and various handicraft productions that have been decorated with intricate patterns and forms produced from within the culture. *Duodji* items are decorated with

different symbols and patterns that transmit culture, and are recognized as sources of traditional knowledge, brought into form through products such as knives, bowls, clothing, leather and bone items, made using natural materials and dyes, many of which are decorated with intrinsic patterns which express “[...] an inner human creative process” (Solbakk 2007: 64). It is amongst the traditional practices of making Duodji handicrafts and creating art that one is able to encounter the noaidi drums in both a historical and modern context. Certain drums are used in a shamanistic way, whilst others perform a decorative or cultural function. Drums are one of the central manifestations of cultural heritage on which the noaidi’s painted patterns and designs as intricate symbolism are found that reflect the worldview of many generations, and their relationship to the natural world.

MATERIAL OF THE STUDY

The overall content of the proposed paper has three main sections to it. The first section (above) contains literature sources that present an overview of material of the Sámi noaidi drums and drum symbolism from between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from the Lapland areas in Finland and Norway. Motivation for using literature studies in this way is to help introduce the noaidi’s role as an artist and bearer of both tradition and culture, from a perspective which creates a foundation for the contemporary analysis of drums made by Sámi interviewees which is presented in the last section. To help support the proposed analysis, it is important to become acquainted with material which gives a brief introduction to the persecutions of the noaidi in Lapland as a way of highlighting the painful historical legacy passed on from generation to generation. The reason for including this dimension of cultural history is done so as a way of providing a certain level of understanding towards the historical landscape being navigated through which is where the origins of the research into Lapland by priests comes from. The treatment of issues concerning persecution is warranted in this case from the point of view of awareness, for persons from outside of Lapland culture. The emphasis being the impact of colonialism and Christianity with regard to the noaidi drums usage and persecutions of noaidi’s in a long and brutal campaign throughout Lapland by the church. From literature produced from within the colonialism period that extends from the seventeenth century until very recently, evidence shows that the banning of the use of Sámi language which has been portrayed through two fundamental elements, namely, art and culture, had a serious impact on both the identity and self-esteem of the culture. These issues have to be taken into consideration

because they continue to influence Sámi attitudes, thinking, culture, art and religion, and from more recent observations, the way new drums are produced and the pictorial narratives which accompany them.

As a way of conveying the chapter outlining the persecutions, included is a photograph of a painting by “Esa Marlisto [who] is Finnish speaking [artist] [...] born in Tampere, Finland. [Marlisto] has [also] lived in Göteborg in Sweden” (Marlisto 2013: 1). [Marlisto’s] painting has “no specific historical document behind it, but [from the author’s point of view the art] presents a general portrait of Sámi history” (Marlisto 2013: 1). The reason the picture has been chosen as a part of the analysis is because “this particular portrait [of a dead noaidi] exhibits the humiliation of [being stripped naked and] being tied to a religious icon, [in the form of a wooden Sieidi]” (Marlisto 2013: 1) and left to die. Moreover, the portrait helps capture the atmosphere as to why Sámi noaidi’s and some handicraft persons are reluctant to give interviews and disclose information to persons from outside their culture, regarding drum making and religious practices.

Information from Marlisto’s bio stated that the painter’s exhibition titled ‘Saami symbolit’ (Saami symbols) exhibited in 2013 at the City Library in Rovaniemi, which is the capital city in Finnish Lapland, was a collection of works with this type of content was inspired from the artist’s visits to:

Northern Canada in 1971, where contact was made with indigenous people of the new continent. The second contact with indigenous people was in Greenland in 1976 where Marlisto met Eskimo persons. In 1989 in Sweden Esa learned about the Sámi, who he sees as the indigenous people in Finland who are ‘our’ indigenous people, and remembered what he had seen in Indian and Eskimo societies previously. As a result, Esa began to study Indians’ and Eskimos’ and recognized the similarities between Sámi histories. He started to call the Sámi ‘Our Indians’ and this is where he got the motivation for the theme. (Marlisto 2013: 1)

One further important source of information included herein that follows on from the chapter on persecution, is the chapter titled: ‘Old Sámi drums as sources of traditional knowledge for Sámi society today’. This section, like the previous one, also has associations with persecution, and within the content is a photograph of an old drum from Finnmark, Norway which belonged to Sámi noaidi Anders Poulson. Poulson was tried for witchcraft in a Norwegian court in “1691” (Hagan 2005: 309). The reason for choosing the drum is because according to Norwegian scholar Hagan, and by contrast to the information about the remaining drums which survived the Lapland purges, this particular drum “[...] has been preserved, and it is one of the few drums containing symbols and fig-

ures that have actually been described by the drum's owner" (Hagan 2005: 309). The description of the use of the drum in this example has been recorded and is presented in the paper below. Hagan also informs us that whilst Poulson was in custody awaiting a decision concerning a previous ruling against him where he had "[...] been found guilty of evil sorcery" the old shaman was murdered while sleeping in a hut the day the following on the court ruling (Hagan 2005: 312). Additional information by Hagan states that after the shaman's death:

Poulsen's well-used magic drum ended up in Copenhagen, in 1694. Today we can find the several centuries-old magic drum where it naturally belongs: in the Karasjok Sámi Collections (Sámid Vuorká Dávvirat), Finnmark. The drum was consigned to the Sámi Collection, in 1979, by the National Museum of Copenhagen. (Hagan 2005: 309)

The grounds for placing special emphasis on Anders Poulson's case and the preservation of his drum, is to illustrate the influence it has played through the reproduction of a replica of Poulson's drum. The replica was made by Ovlla Gaup, the Sámi handicraft interviewee from Kautokeino, Norway, and is presented within the context of the study as well. Although the information provided by the drum maker is short, the prototype made by Gaup is a good example of how the historical events surrounding the original drum has influenced the drum maker, and as a result, the instrument is presented as an art form which represents "[...] the maintenance of Sámi culture and identity" (Gaski 1997: 1). In other words, how traditional knowledge survives and is carried forward. As a way of gaining background information about the drums creation and story behind it, telephone interviews with Ovlla Gaup were conducted in 2011 and 2013.

To follow the presentation surrounding the explanation by Poulson and the description of his drum, the chapter further includes photographic material of two more drums, one from Finnish Lapland and the second from Norwegian Lapland. These photographs are examples taken from amongst the "remaining 71 drums" (Itkonen 1943–44: 68) that have survived the Lapland purges of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Documentation of each drum is detailed in Ernst Manker's (1938) edition. Currently, all the surviving drums collected from the Sámi, are preserved in museums in Italy, Sweden, Germany, Britain, Denmark, Norway and France. The photographs of the historical material help to characterize the diverse illustrations of individual spirits and deities; human figures and animals that formed the mythical worldview. Illustrations of figures which are both individual as well as in groups are placed within cosmological structures on the drum heads painted by the noaidi; the structures on each drum have been created from the noaidi's knowledge and experiences. Included too in this section, is information about the collection of materials by the noaidi

used to construct drums with, which was translated from German to English by Martina Schäfer. The drum presented from the Finnish side of Lapland is one of the only two known remaining Sámi noaidi drums that have originated from the former Kemi Lappmark area in Finland. The instrument which is seen presented herein exhibits both frontal and rear views. The reason for presenting both sides of the drum is to illustrate the typology of the instrument which is the frame design; considered by Manker (1938) as a type associated with the Finnish Kemi Sámi. The frame drum consists of a piece of wood bent into an oval shaped which had a handle in the center in the form of a cross piece. The Kemi drum is the segmental type which means through the noaidi's artwork and cosmological picture, the landscape is divided into three segments on the drum head that consists of upper, middle and lower world structures and figures.

Figure four is an additional illustration of a Sámi noaidi from the seventeenth century who is beating his drum prior to falling into a trance. The image is included because it shows the divination ring on the drum head which is being struck with a reindeer bone hammer before the noaidi falls into an unconscious trance. Bronze or copper rings acted as a pointer or guide during divination which helped determine the will of the spirits. A bone hammer used for beating the drum with was typically made from reindeer horn which was Y shaped in its design. Two more photographs are included in the historical section presenting, both front and rear views of the Sámi drum from Norwegian Lapland which is decorated with spirits and deities who have extensively influenced the artistic productions of Sámi persons. The Norwegian drum is a bowl type drum, and is made from a burrell from a birch tree. As is evident, the cosmological structure on the drum has five levels to it. The instrument is a Sun-centered drum meaning the painted landscape is created around the image of the solar symbol thus highlighting how important the reverence for the sun in Arctic cultures, and therefore, how the world picture is structured around it. The cosmological structure of the bowl drums exhibits the variations to different levels, for example, upper, middle and lower worlds but also realms just above and below the earth.

To provide the reader with some idea of the geographic locations of the main areas where the drums in the historical section of the paper have originated from; enclosed is an old map of Lapland which was divided up into different regions by the Swedish state during the colonialism period. This map (see Figure 1) was provided by Risto Pulkkinen who is a Docent at The University of Helsinki.

The third section of the paper examines the transition from noaidi drums to modern 'shaman' drums, and in this case the research material is presented through five drums which have been made by Sámi drum maker, artist and



Figure 1. Photograph of an old map of the former Lapland provinces which were divided into different Lappmarks for taxation purposes. On the left side is the Kemi Lappmark area. Many noaidi drums were subsequently collected and destroyed from the Umea, Pite, Lulea areas of Sweden as well as the Finnmark municipality in northern Norway. Drums were also collected and destroyed from the Tornio and Kemi areas of Finland which are presented on the map.

visionary, Elli-Maaret-Helander. Elli Maaret is a Sámi woman, “originally from Utsjoki municipality on the Tenojoki river, near Karigasniemi, [the area] is called Rovisuvanto” (Helander 2011: 1). The area is geographically located in Finnish Lapland within the Sámi homeland. Helander who currently lives in Pyhänturi Pyhäjärvi in Eastern Lapland comes from an agricultural family where there was no reindeer or fishing activities. The background information and inspiration for Helander’s drum making began after undertaking a basic course in core shamanism in “1997 with Finnish Shaman Reino Knappila from Helsinki” (Helander 2011: 13). Additional learning was then undertaken through a drum building course in Finnish Lapland in “Inari at SAKK, an educational center for Sámi people” (Helander 2011: 1). Further influences on her path as a drum maker have come from Helander’s two daughters who are musicians. As musicians, the girls have, for a long time, been performing “traditional old songs with joiking music” (Helander 2011: 2), in public performances and at concerts. Joiking is the ancient form of singing which is native to Sámi culture and is a strong feature of identity for both man and women.

Because the author does not speak Finnish or Sámi language, one of the ways to try and overcome potential language difficulties prior to the interview with Elli-Maaret, was to employ the services of Jenni Laitinen, a Finnish woman who speaks English, currently living in Rovaniemi, Finland. Jenni offered to translate the interview with Elli-Maaret Helander, who also speaks Finnish. Having to employ a translator brought to mind how perhaps one of the reasons why so little is known about the practice of shamanism amongst the Sámi at the present time. The reason being is adherence to traditional ways, customs and taboos, usually, the Sámi do not speak about their religion to persons from outside the culture, especially with regard to shamanism and noaidi drums. The customs and taboos are one reason, but perhaps the underlying factors are because of what happened to Sámi religion during the Christianization of the culture between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the subsequent persecution which followed, by the priest and missionaries who were from outside of the culture. What this means is it is important to explain that as a result of the historical events which have taken place in Lapland, this type of investigation deals with culturally sensitive material in relation to using pictures of the old drums. Another key point to mention is many Sámi persons, especially the elders, do not speak English; they speak either in their native language or Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian.

The essence of the interview with Elli-Maaret Helander was to try and establish how the old drums influence the present, and what the motivation behind the artwork was and where the inspiration for the designs comes from. Material provided through the interview has produced a rare insight into one of

the most controversial topics within Sámi history in relation to ritual art. As a result, important and notable contrasts were made evident during the interview that emphasized a shift in Sámi culture and traditional handicraft production with regard to drum making activities, which had much value for this new type of research. By comparison to the drums that survived the Christian purges of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these as far as is known, were all owned by male noaidi's, indicating the role which has been a part of the tradition from earlier times. However, the content of Helander's drums although obviously somewhat different from those of the hunting culture, do still bear strong resemblance to ancestral drums with regard to portraits of animals and spirits that are native to Sámi culture, cosmology and religion. Illustrations of figures painted on the drum heads by the drum maker are still associated with rituals, myths and stories found in Sámi culture and also relate to the role of the noaidi in Sámi society around which a substantial amount of Sámi art is produced in relation to identity. Elli-Maaret holds regular workshops on drum making throughout Finland and does not produce or sell drums for souvenir shops because "[...] she does not want to commercialize her work" (Helander 2011: 8). After each drum is constructed it is painted with motifs that are the artist's designs.

During the interview at her home, permission was given to photograph 4 drums that had been had made previously, and to document the nature of the stories behind the painted-decorative content on each of the drum heads, and rear views of two of the drums. Special attention was paid during the collection of data as to how the new illustrations reflected elements of the old culture. The purpose of observation was to try and capture the way symbols which are part of the intangible cultural heritage of the Sámi were adapted to modern culture and society through the artists work. A photograph of a fifth drum made by the Elle-Maaret that was on display at the Sámi Siida museum in Inari, Finnish Lapland is also included below, and was photographed in 2012. In addition to the four drums photographed at Elle-Maaret's home, the drum from the Siida Museum also has value for the study because part of the content of the art shows many of the Sámi spirits and deities who are recognizable on drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries presented in the paper. Thus indicating how both of these phenomenon's' and their representations continue to play a role in Sámi society as a way of transmitting and preserving culture, identity and sacred narrative.

The second interview in the research was with Aslak Paltto, a Sámi journalist from a reindeer herding family from Lemmonjoki, in Finnish Lapland who is a drum maker. The interview with Aslak was conducted in English at The Siida Museum in Inari during the Skábmagovat Indigenous Peoples Film

Festival in February 2011. The purpose of interviewing Aslak was to ask the participant about his knowledge of Sámi shamanism and use of the drum in Finnish Lapland. Although none of the text from the interview with Aslak is presented in the paper, he agreed to provide two photographs of a reproduction of a bowl type drum which was made by Ovlla Gaup from Kautokeino that is mentioned above, as belonging to noaidi Anders Poulson.

Later In 2011, in a telephone interview with Gaup, the following information was received.

In 2001 Gaup undertook a handicrafts course at a Sámi Duodji school in Jokkmokk, Sweden. The reason for choosing Polson's drum was because it is the only surviving northern Sámi drum, and Gaup is a northern Sámi. Through building the drum, there was a sense of reclaiming Sámi identity and Ovlla did not want the skill of drum making to disappear. (Gaup 2013: 1)

The photographs have much value for the research because and “the shape and design of the drum [despite it reflecting the same bowl typology] was a new model, Ovlla's own design” (Gaup 2013: 1).

THE PERSECUTION OF SÁMI NOAIDI'S AND THE COMPLEX HISTORY OF LAPLAND

One of the most investigated fields of enquiry in relation to noaidi drums and the practice of shamanism in Lapland concerns the conquest by the Lutheran Church, its missionary workers and priests during the colonial era throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The authority of the church interpreted Sámi religion and religious practices to be evil and a serious threat to the political climate of the Swedish Kingdom of both which Finland and Norway at the time were a part of. The conquest by the state took place during the Church's drive to assimilate the Sámi who at the time were referred to as the 'Lapps' into mainstream society by hunting down noaidi's, putting many to death and confiscating and burning their drums in the hundreds. Such was the impact of the conversion and terrorism that the religio-cultural upheaval subsequently administered to the Sámi, in turn brought about a significant loss of traditional culture and identity in relation to traditional religious practices. Sámi historian Veli Pekka-Lehtola states that in Lapland up until the 18th century “the traditional shamanism was an integral and essential part of the hunting culture” (Lehtola 2002: 28). After this time the practice appears not to have vanished completely but gone underground and become secret. “The



Figure 2. Above is a portrait from an exhibition at Rovaniemi City Library which shows a dead Sámi noaidi-shaman, shot by four arrows. The picture has been painted by Finnish artist Esa Marlisto, who has portrayed the persecution of the Sámi people through his art. The title of the picture is: 'Shamaanin Marttyyrikuolema: The Martyrs death of a Shaman'. The text describes the artist's sentiments:

When the Reformation [missionaries and priests] came to Lapland they looked down on the Sámi people and thought they were lower. All the tools were taken away which were used for practicing Sámi religion. Also, the Sámi language and joiking, everything was wrong according to the outsiders. In my opinion, this was a pure execution. (Marlisto 2013: 1)

The content of the painting shows the noaidi stripped naked and tied to a wooden Sieidi which has anthropomorphic features to it, that has been constructed from a tree trunk to which sacrificial offerings and worship would have been made. The noaidi's drum is on fire behind him, and the painted images from the drum head as well as the spirit from the drum are travelling towards the sky, thus indicating how the symbols were alive and with power.

noaidi's most important instrument was the noaidi drum [which became one of the main symbols of resistance against the church]. It was a tool to enter the ecstatic state as well as a "map" the noaidi used for orientation in the other realm" (Lehtola 2002: 29).

From this period Sámi religion and related practices were outlawed by the Swedish Church and state to such an extent that many people rejected and denied their own culture and identity; the traces of which are still apparent in Lapland today.

During the course of the Witch persecutions throughout Lapland

many chose to hide the drum since they then could continue to use it. To mark their ethnicity openly with the drum was not a realistic choice since the superior force was too great. Threats and punishments were used to force the Saami to abandon their religion and take away the drums. (Berglund 2005: 137)

Although there is no written evidence regarding the types of torture and punishment administered to noaidi's who refused to hand over their drums, one account from Norway states the following:

[...] Carl von Linné, one of the greatest enquirers into the laws of nature, of the Enlightenment. Linné also obtained a drum, with which he was depicted on several occasions. In 1732 he travelled to Lapland and then visited the Norwegian coast, for example Tørrfjorden north of Bødo. Linné (1732 [1965]: 103) wrote that he had heard that drums were taken from the 'Laps'. If 'the Lap' refused to hand over the drums they opened a vein in his arm. Then 'the Lap' fainted, begged for his life and gave up the drum. (Berglund 2005: 140)

In relation to the above, in an interview with a reindeer herder called Lauri Ukkola from Vuotso village which is one of the Sámi areas close the municipality of Sodankyla in Finnish Lapland in 2011, the informant described how he remembered that as a boy after the Second World War had ended, there were drums in some of the houses in Vuotso village, and "when he was in school, the priests collected the drums from attics and houses and burned them. They were the Sodankyla priest's" (Ukkola 2011: 4). This account shows how the mentality of the priests from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was still persistent some three hundred years later, and it may also be added can still be encountered in the Sámi homelands in Finland at the present time in relation to the denial of Sámi culture and outlawing of their native religion and practices.

OLD SÁMI DRUMS AS SOURCES OF TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE FOR SÁMI SOCIETY TODAY

Accounts of witchcraft from the Finnmark province of Norwegian Lapland which have been published through the scholarly work of Norwegian scholar Rune Hagen's (2005) 'Traces of Shamanism in the Witch Trials of Norway: The 1692 trial of the Sámi Shaman Anders Poulsen', who describes for example both light and dark aspects of Sámi sorcery, the darker being referred to as "The black arts of Sámi shamanism" (Hagen 2005: 314), and that the Sámi, like sorcerers in most cultures did use black arts against their enemies.

Another account from a slightly later time describing the usage of a Sami noaidi drum and its different functions was given during the period from the Witch hysteria and executions in Europe at the trial of Sami noaidi Anders Poulsen in Finnmark, northern Norway in who was an elderly man charged under the Witchcraft act.

[...] Poulsen's description of what kind of magic could be produced by the magic drums is of particular interest. He identified the following six areas of use during his February 1692 interrogation:

If someone had cast a spell upon another, Poulsen – by the aid of his gods – could remove the spell and reverse its power. He could thus send the spell back to whoever had first cast it [...].

He could track down thieves, and retrieve stolen property by consulting drum. He would play until God punished the thief, and the thief would then dry up like a fig [...].

By the power of prayer and music he could cause good luck to fall upon his people's reindeer: insuring that the reindeer would not be killed by wolves.

He would also play upon his drum to help relieve the pains of child-birth for laboring women. The drum's Maria images (Section C, no 1 and 2) were known to alleviate suffering.

In a similar manner, he could discover how his family was doing at home while he was far away from them. He could know the situation other people were in even though they might be several thousand miles away [...].

In addition, Poulsen said that he heard voices when he lifted the drum above his head. It was as though two people were talking to each other [...].¹ (Hagen 2005: 317)

To provide some understanding and insight into the process of divination below is a description outlining the procedure by the noaidi, prior to falling into trance and receiving answers and guidance to questions.

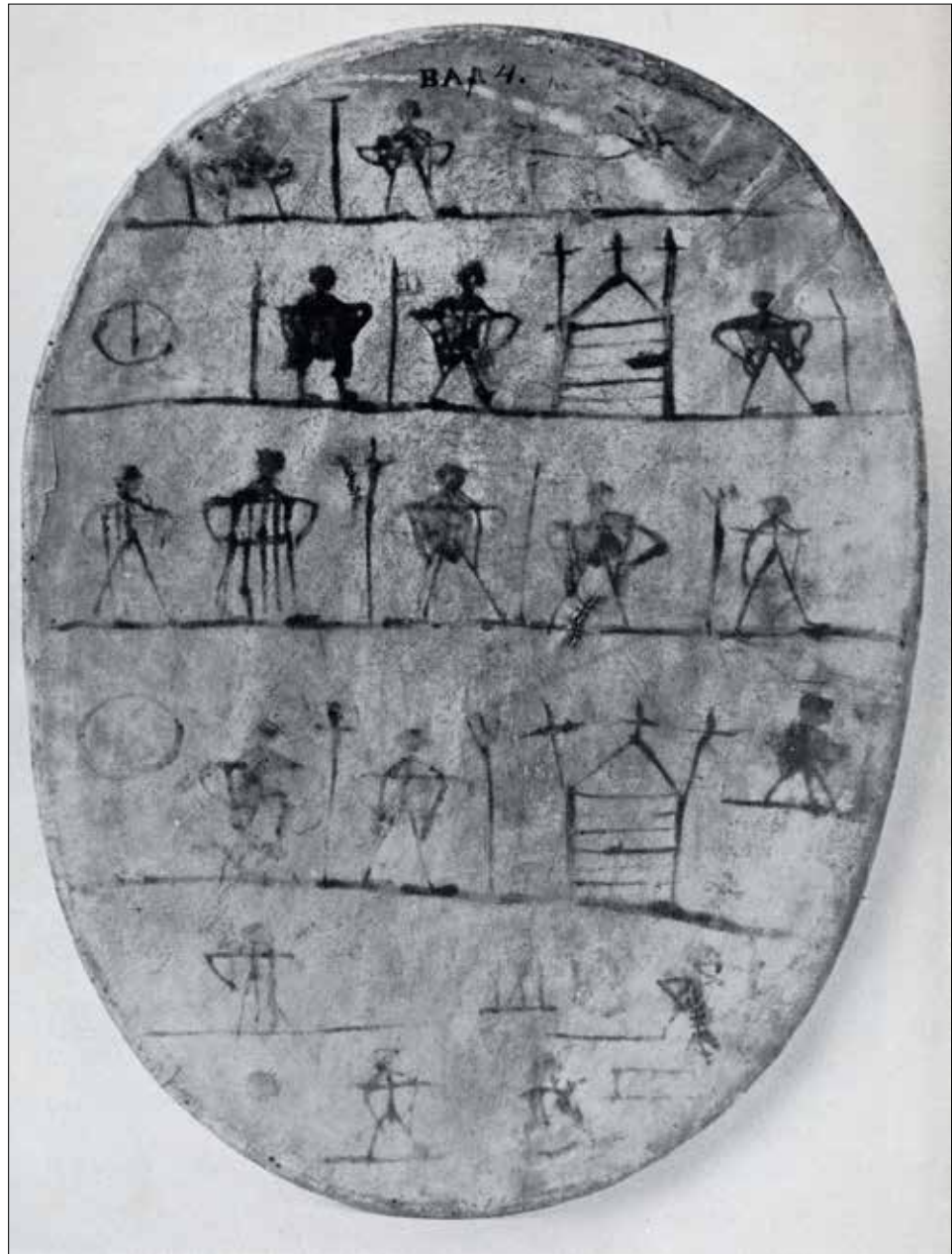
When the noaidi was going to use the drum, he/she placed a triangular object, “a <<pointer>>” made of antler, on the drum skin. The <<pointer>>-called *vuorbi* or *bajá*-<<Baya>> further south, could also be a small copper ring, which was called *veaki*-“Weiko” (which means copper). He or she would then hit on the skin with a mallet made of antler called *bállin* – “Ballem”, “Palm”. The *vuorbi* (which today means “lot” or “destiny”) moved about on the drum skin and touched upon the different figures that were drawn there. The noaidi interpreted the will of the gods based on the figures the ring touched upon, and where it finally stopped. (Solbakk 2007: 30)

Typically, the Sámi noaidi drums are made from pine, spruce and birch burrell’s-wood, for the bowl types, as well as strips of wood which were cut from the trees for the frame type. Ernst Manker states that during the search for timber to build a drum with, it was important the tree was in many ways set apart from other ones, in its shape and form, and in particular the way it had grown, and “it was better if the tree had been hit by lightning” (Manker 1938: 191), because via this outcome the wood was seen to obtain special powers.

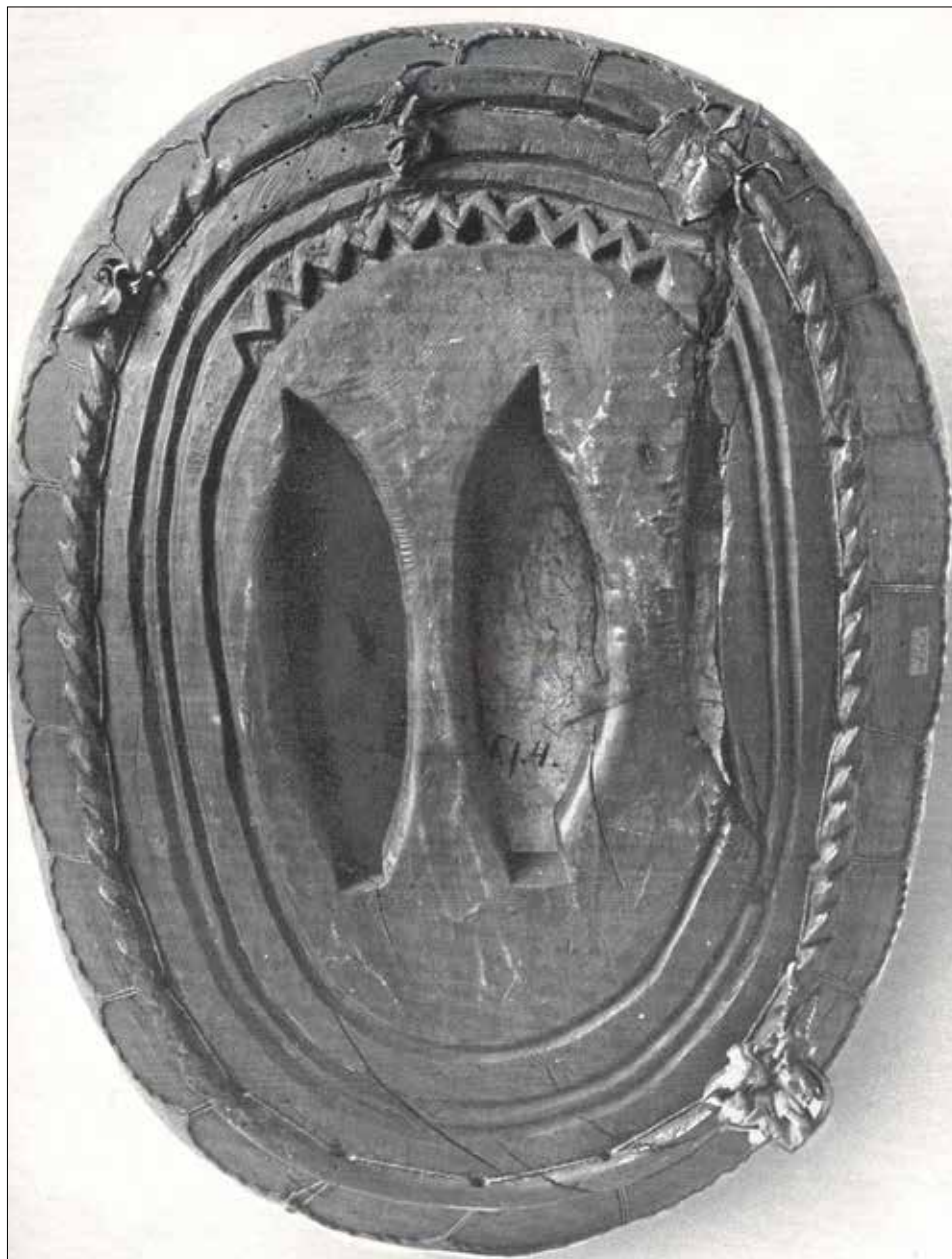
Collecting the necessary materials for constructing a drum had both practical as well as ritual significance which in Manker’s inventory of the drums (1938) the religious aspect seems somewhat lacking because the practical reasons for drum building overshadows the ritual ones. Seemingly, during the search for



Figure 3. A noaidi beats his drum with a reindeer bone hammer, which has a bronze ring lying on the surface, he then falls into a trance. The illustration is taken from Schefferus’s *Laponia*, the original Latin edition 1673, and shows the drum to be of the bowl type.

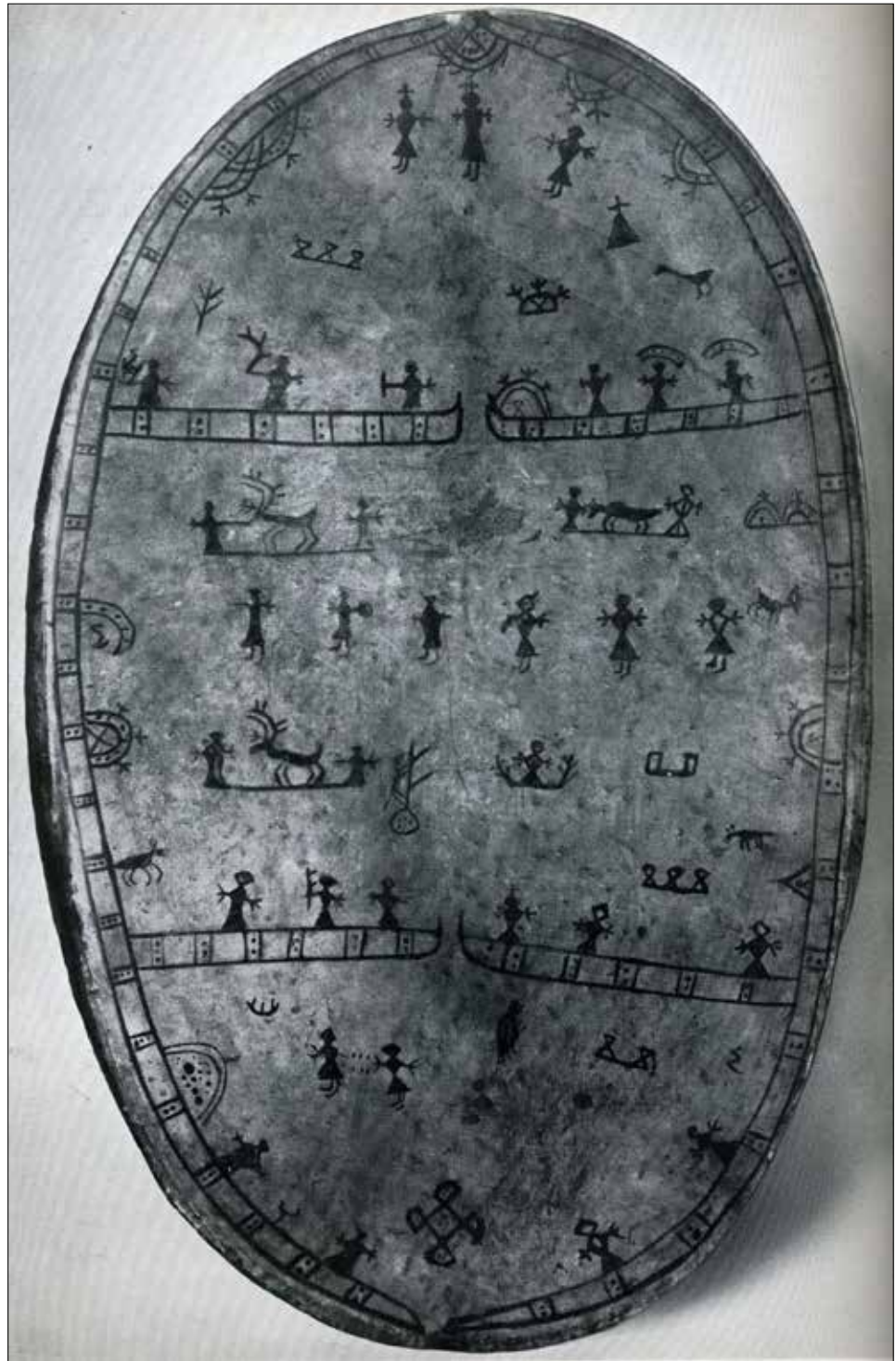


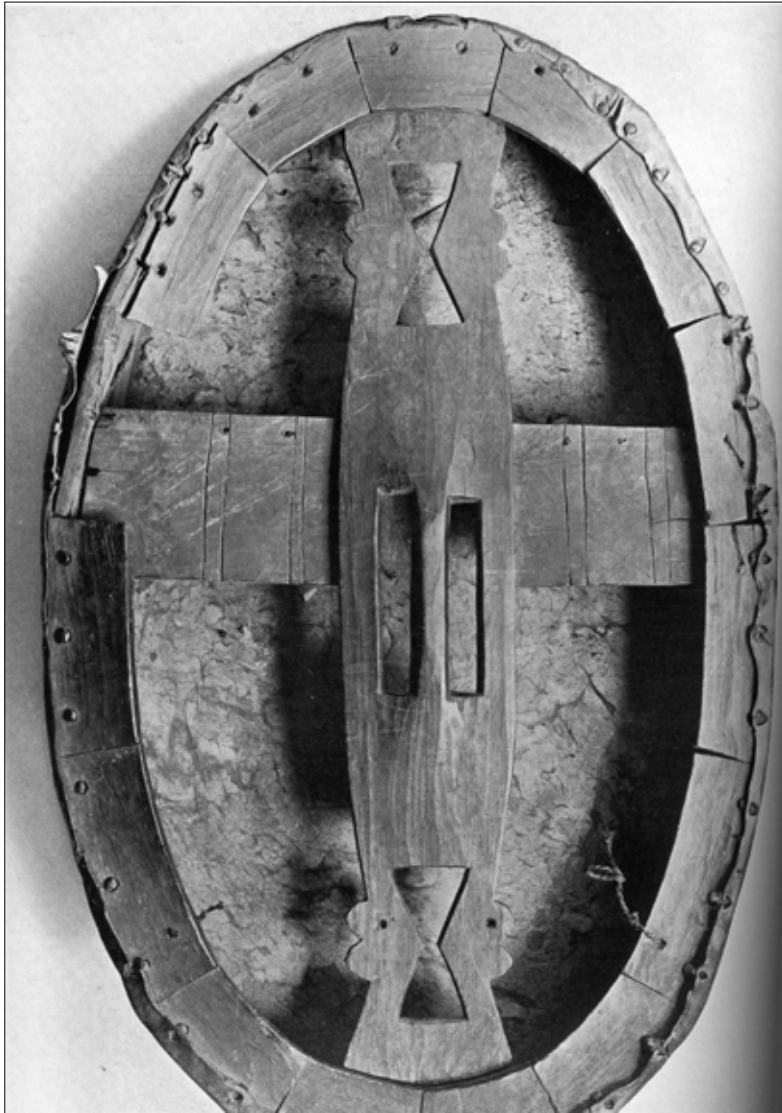
Figures 4 & 4a. This is the old black and white picture from Ernst Manker's book, showing both frontal and rear views of "drum no 71 from Finnmark. [The dimensions of the drum are] 43.8 x 32.8 x 9.9cm" (Manker 1938 drum no 71: p. 814; text & pictures pp. 813–815). This drum which is of the bowl type originally belonged to the Sámi Noaidi Anders Poulson in at the beginning of the seventeenth century and is currently the property of Sámiid Vuorká-Dávvirat in Karasjok (Hagan 2005: 309).



[...] the symbols on the drum skin are arranged into five rows or rooms. They symbolise different Saami gods but also have Christian symbols such as a church, The Holy Spirit and Saint Anna. [...] The drum is of the goadbes [bowl] type and is today in The Saami Collections in Karasjok. (Berglund 2005: 145)

On the top right side it is possible to make out the symbol of a reindeer. The content of the drum also shows the influence of Christianity from this time.





Figures 5 & 5a. *The frontal and rear views of a large drum which is one of the two only surviving drums from the Kemi Lappmark area in Finnish Lapland, and is of the frame type. The instrument has its origins from the beginning of the seventeenth century and information about its history is described in detail by Johannes Schefferus in *The History of Lapland* (1674), first English edition. The instrument is currently displayed at The Siida Museum in Inari, Finnish Lapland, on long-term loan from The Museum of National Antiquities in Sweden. The size of the drum is recorded to be “85 x 53 x 11.5 cm” (Itkonen 1943–44: 69). Photograph by Manker 1938. The content of the drum head shows in the upper section of the drum, spirits in their respective positions. In the middle section are human figures with reindeer, and the lower section portrays spirits and structures from the world of the dead.*

relevant wood-materials, for construction a tree that was to some extent ‘unusual’ in its physicality had value for the Sámi according to Manker:

the type of wood to be used was due to the mechanical properties of the wood and not because of any religious observance. The wood was chosen for its strength and resonance, and it is possible the religious customs were built over this. Due to the influence of the sun, the wood received some rotational structure; one explanation for this was that the sun and gods chose-favored the tree. (Manker 1938: 190)

Because there were only “[...] 71 drums” (Itkonen 1943–44: 68), which survived the Christian purges of colonialism, many of the remaining drums examined in scholarly research have been divided into two classes.

Observations made by Archaeologist Inger Zachrisson in her analysis of the old noaidi drums, tells us they “[...] belong to two types. The oldest is considered to be the so-called ‘frame (sieve) type’, most of which have a frame consisting of a single strip of wood bent into a circle. According to Manker, in the Saami area this type of drum was gradually displaced, principally southwards, but also northwards. In its place came the so-called ‘bowl type’, which thus seems to have developed from the former, and is known only from Saami culture. [...] The ‘bowl type’ was more widely dispersed than the ‘frame’ one [...]” (Zachrisson 1991: 81).



Figures 6 & 6a present a black and grey photograph of front and rear views of a bowl drum. The image has been taken from Manker’s 1938 edition. The instrument has an unknown origin, however, and according to the documentation by Manker, it may have originated from “Norland (Norway) and is dated as 1732, and currently the property of The National Museum of Ethnography, Copenhagen. The drum is labeled as no 52. [The dimensions of the drum in centimeters are] 42.7 x 36.3 x 9.9cm” (Manker 1938: 732–737). This type of drum which has a sun at its center was specific to areas in Swedish and Norwegian Lapland. The painted drum head shows many figures in all five zones, as well as a celestial reindeer in the top section.

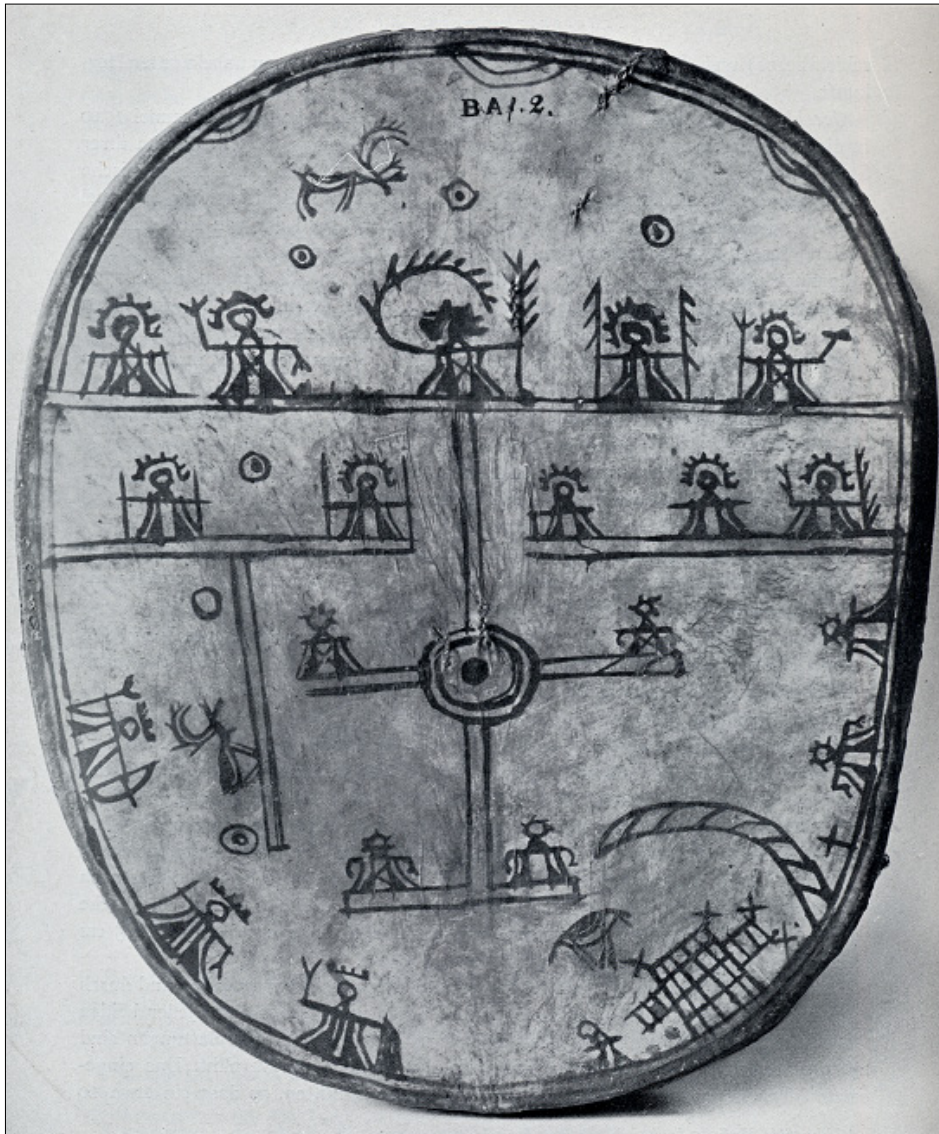


Figure 6a exhibits the rear view of the drum which has seven bear claws hanging from it that are amulets. Typically, bear hunting was done in the spring when the bears were waking up from hibernation. Sometimes the number of claws indicated the number of bears killed by the noaidi. According to Risto Pulkkinen, “The bear had a special cultic position in Saami culture. [...] The Saami consider all animals sacred...but the bear to be the most sacred of all. The bear was believed to come from the Säuva [the mythical underworld] (Pulkkinen 2005: 33).

NEW SÁMI DRUMS, NEW CONTEXTS, ILLUSTRATIONS AND DESIGNS

Rock carvings, drum symbols, ornamentation on things like knives and spoons, and tin thread, embroidered ornamentation are forms of expression created by our forefathers to cover different needs. Rock carvings, drum symbols and ornaments are symbols that are tied to the spiritual. We regard these ornaments, drum symbols and rock carvings as a common heritage and property. [...] In other words, drum symbols, rock carvings and ornaments have been important in religious contexts; others have functioned as storytelling, while other symbols have had a decorative function. (Solbakk 2007: 79–80)

The five drums presented in this chapter are made by Elle-Maaret Helander. Each of the drum frames is made from “Aspen wood [and the frames have been covered with] reindeer skin that Elle-Maaret handles herself” (Helander 2011: 2). The coloured inks used in the decoration process of the skin are “acrylic, in addition to [dye from the alder tree which is used to colour the skins before painting. The basis for using the red dye is it helps to] bring up the Sámi spirit tradition [...]” (Helander 2011: 5–6). Through observation, it is apparent that the drums are of a frame type which is a new design, and both the techniques and materials used to decorate them with are also modern. In the creation of a new drum as the preparations are made for painting the skin “Elle-Maaret puts borders [around the edge of the drum first before painting the content inside]” (Helander 2011: 4). The motivation for making drums has several factors to it. The first which could be considered most important is that because of the dread installed into Sámi persons by the church, and the forbidding of traditional culture, Helander “[...] wants to take away the fear especially from the old Sámi people [...] even if she is considered a bit weird, she accepts it” (Helander 2011: 1). Prior to learning how to make drums, it was only as recent as “[...] in the 1990s, Elle Maaret started to get to know the old ways. The first push was that the daughters [who are musicians and performers], needed the drum” (Helander 2011: 2). Building drums and studying the culture has been an empowering experience as well as brought healing and a sense of reconnection to traditional ways, to what was previously forbidden within the culture. One of the traditional roles of the noaidi in Sámi society has been the artist and storyteller, where the application of images such as animals, human beings and spirits have emphasized the relationship with nature and the interconnectedness of life.

The inspiration for painting the drums with many of the symbols, some of which reflect the old hunting and fishing culture does according to Helander:

[...] come from the spiritual world; about forty percent [...]. [Because] she does not want to copy the pictures [from elsewhere, the artist] creates her own pictures, and pictures come from stories [...] from the Sámi tradition, but Helander [also] creates her own images from her own beliefs and how she sees [...] [the spiritual dimensions in life [...]]. (Helander 2011: 3)

The construction of drums in earlier times was an activity which took place amongst families in Lapland.

Decorations could signify affiliation with a particular group, or they could be purely ornamental. There are traces of ancient religion in modern superstitions connected with the acquisition of raw materials, the work or how the object is used or handled. These superstitions also included spells for ensuring success, and there are superstitions for avoiding bad luck. (Pulkkinen & Kulonen & Seurujärvi-Kari 2005: 76)

There are many old taboos and customs associated with shamanism with regard to the making of a new drum for an individual in relation to traditional shamanism in Lapland. During the interview, the question was asked from the author as to how members of Sámi society have reacted to her role as a drum maker with regard to the Witchcraft persecutions that have taken place previously and how the artist deals with the potential stigma which may arise as a result of her work. The response was as follows:

after an interview on the local Sámi radio, speaking about shamanism [when Helander] went to the city and was walking in the neighborhood and met her mother's relative, the relative [...] [moved far away to avoid contact] because she was afraid. [Elle Maaret] is considered a witch and that is [something bad in Lapland when viewed from within Sámi society due to legacy Christianity has left behind [...]]. (Helander 2011: 7–8)

In Finland, most people are Laestadian's [Protestant, and therefore,] everything [...] [regarding] shamanism is a sin, [or] considered to be a sin [and] people are [...] brainwashed to be afraid of this old wisdom or ways; so when Elle-Maaret has come to old ways, people are [...] afraid of her. [...] Even if Helander believes in these shamanistic ways, it does not mean that she does not believe in God, because God is in the shamanism also. [In her own childhood home and upbringing the family] were Laestadian, [Protestant, however], not as most Laestadian, but really religious [where] all the old beliefs were sin so she did not hear them when she was a child. (Helander 2011: 1)

Further questions were put forward in the interview regarding how interaction takes place with persons who ask for a drum to be made for them and how the symbols or content on the drum head is produced with reference to choices and motivation.

[...] when Elle-Maaret wanted to make a drum and she knows who the drum is for, she thinks about the person [as she is] making the drum; then the drum will have his/her energy also [...]. (Helander 2011: 3)

If the picture comes from somewhere else, from [...] [the clients] head or mine, then it is put together in a certain way. But if a picture comes from a story, it is put [...] [onto the] drum in the way the person understands it, or who buys [...] the drum. [Elle-Maaret] has to understand what the picture is about, so [it is essential] [...] the spiritual pictures are understandable; so the person [whom the drum is for] should [also] understand and get the idea of the name from the drum [as well]. (Helander 2011: 6)

The aforementioned references being made are with regard to symbols, human figures, animals and structures which are put into the content of the surface on the drum head.

The third research question was directed towards finding out how after a drum has been built, it becomes alive or empowered. With each drum, there is an information sheet which is provided that has

English instructions for this blessing ceremony. It is one Elle-Maaret has made [from] her own kind of blessing ceremony, because we cannot know how they have made [...] [the ceremony] in the old times. Some people who buy a drum [may] say it's a Witch drum, but I say it is not a Witch drum. It can be a Witch drum only if a Witch has blessed the drum for that purpose. [...] Everyone blesses their own drum to the purpose they use it; it can be blessed [...] [for] bad use or another. (Helander 2011: 3)

Additional information regarding the blessing or consecration of the drum also revealed the following.

When Elle-Maaret started to bless the drums she was combining different things, [...] [such as those] she read, and was [...] [deciding] what she wanted, what was needed to be in those drums. Of course, there are lots of Sámi ways, but also these universal [ones too] because all of the people who come to the workshops are not Sámi. (Helander 2011: 3–4)

The blessing and awakening of the drum is compared by Helander as “[...] like a couple’s marriage ceremony [...]” (Helander 2011: 3). As a matter of respect

for the work Elle Maaret does, the author has decided not to add the nature and content of the blessing ritual in the paper.

Below are the examples of Elle-Maaret's work presented through five photographs (Figures 7–11).



Figure 7. This is a picture of one of the first drums made to assist both daughters in their performances as singers and musicians. The content shows a combination of both Christian and Sámi figures.

The Holy Trinity at the top, with crowns is father and Holy Spirit, the son is the third figure. Sara-Akka is the mother figure [in the center]. Moon on the right side represents the sky. Reindeer represents reindeer herder's daughters. Reindeer also represents their father. A family portrait – two daughters pictured on the drum. (Helander 2011: 11)

The border area just above the middle of the drum which stretches right across divides the drum into two segments, the upper world and the middle world. On top of the drum is a hammer made from reindeer antler which is used for playing the instrument. What is interesting about the content of this drum head for research purposes in relation to the artwork from the old drums influencing the new one above, is that similar features above the heads of the three deities on the drum head can also be recognized over the heads of deities on the old drum from the former Kemi Lappmark (Figure 5a) which presented above, thus demonstrating some level of influence.



Figure 8. “The second drum has a reindeer mark as seen on the ear of a reindeer which is a personal symbol. Inside the ear is a shaman. [The] drum was made at a time when Elle-Maaret was finding the spiritual path in Sodankyla. [This is a representation of a] more personal drum [which has a] sun symbol in the centre. On top of the sun-are weekend God’s, middle is Sunday, left Friday, right Saturday. The shaman who is inside the ear is protecting the reindeers, and asks help from the weekend gods. These gods are from the lower heaven, Friday, Saturday, Sunday men, and sacred men” (Helander 2011: 11).
The marking of reindeer calf ears with a knife, means that a particular design is like a signature of hereditary ownership within families and organizations, and therefore the animals are recognisable though their markings.



Figure 9. A decorated drum made by Elle-Maaret Helander on sale at the Siida museum, Inari. Central illustrations portray two Sámi men in their traditional costumes hunting a bear with bows and arrows. The presence of the bear in this picture highlights the value and importance the animal has for the Sámi. On the heads of the two hunters are hats with the four points (winds) on them. These designs were outlawed also by the church. Painted around the edge of the drum are many Sámi spirits and other symbols which represent the culture. At the top are three Goddess figures with their arms outstretched who appear to reflect similar Goddesses on the bottom section of the drum in Figure 6 above, showing again how historical art is utilized in this instance to decorate the new drum.



Figures 10 & 10a, showing a drum which seems somewhat typical of the old Sámi drums that were usually oval in their shape. This one is divided into three segments: upper, middle and lower regions. The overall content of the drum:

depicts the story about a shaman who transforms himself [through a combination of rhythmic drumming and joiking] for example, into a snake and he also has a number of spiritual guides [which are animals seen here as a fish and reindeer, and the spirit of a holy boulder [called *Sieidi* in Sámi language]. Above his body is his free soul which looks like a combination of human and animal features. In his left hand he has a drum which is divided into four segments representing each of the four quarters and elements associated with each of these; in his right hand he holds a hammer which is

What Influence Do the Old Sámi Noaidi Drums from Lapland Play



the instrument used to strike the drum with. [The next part of the ritual drama is where] the shaman shape-shifts into a snake and [the hole where] the shaman goes in to the lower world, extends from the middle world into the lower region, which is recognized by the Kota's and this is where the Sámi people live [in the afterlife]. Of course on the surface of the drum the space is limited so the artist cannot draw everything she sees but that's the content of her visionary work illustrated onto the skin where the shaman goes to the lower world to get knowledge. (Helander 2011: 6)



Figures 11 & 11a. A drum with a bear in the centre.

Sun is in the centre divided into four sections, the bear is effecting everywhere in the world, going far beyond this world. The symbol with the [three] crosses [on it] are [the] moon. [The] bear is a symbol also of the great bear [or plough constellation which has a major influence on Arctic culture]. The four sections on the drum represent the four continents, meaning we are all the same, everyone has a dwelling. The man in the picture represents native medicine men-healers, kota [a sacred tent where shamans work]. Elle-Maaret wishes to symbolise all peoples or different races in harmony. Kota is a home for everyone, same sun for us all. Reindeer represents the animal kingdom. (Helander 2011: 11)



Figures 12 & 12a. Two photographs of a replica of noaidi drum belonging to Anders Poulsson in at the beginning of the seventeenth century from Finnmark. The drum was made by Ovlla Gaup from Kautokeino, Norway and was sold to the Alta Museum, Finnmark. The materials used in the construction of the drum are as follows:

the drum frame-bowl is made from birch gnarls [pahka in Finnish], which has been hollowed out and it is approximately 50cm in height. This type of drum figured prominently in Norway in earlier times. The bone hammer is made from a combination of reindeer bone and birch wood. At the rear of the drum on the handle is a strip of decorative reindeer bone with traditional Sami patterns. The bronze ring is also included which was used as a pointer during divination by the noaidi. The symbolism and structural content on the drum head has been painted using red dye from the alder tree bark, which is the traditional substance used to paint drum with. (Gaup 2011)
Photographs by Aslak Palto 2011.



CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Analysis first and foremost shows that despite the cultural upheaval administered to the Sámi through colonialism by the church, that there are indeed elements of the old religion and culture which have survived. By contrast to the noaidi from the reindeer society three hundred years ago, the people today in Lapland who make drums and undertake healing work are referred to as shamans, a term which has originated in Siberia. The results of the study show that making drums for a Sámi person is a way of sustaining culture and to some extent cultural heritage and identity. The drum building process is also recognized as one way of overcoming and healing certain aspects of the past. The research presented above does not present any kind of definitive portrait of the practice of shamanism amongst the Sámi today in Lapland but does help to emphasize the influence which Sámi Pre-Christian religion plays in modern society.

Many of the drums made in earlier times were constructed from birch and pinewood. Aspen by comparison, is not very well known as a resource for drum making, but still used as a valuable material for construction. The reproduction of cultural symbols on contemporary drums moreover, emphasizes the importance of communication in the same way the old drums did. Both Gaup and Helander's handicraft productions clearly demonstrate the influence of the noaidi's art from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries whereby, and despite the time span, modern drums do have importance as transmitters of culture, identity and worldview. In a broader sense, the new research shows how the production and analysis of modern Sámi shaman drums is one of the resources used for conducting research into aspects of Sámi religion and culture, thus providing insight and understanding into how the society also has its own heritage practices that help sustain the culture where symbols are used as mediums for communication.

The content of Helander's drums (Figures 8 and 9) which portray pictures of the central position of a shaman in each of the events is very interesting, because in each case the person stands out in world picture, thereby illustrating the role, position and importance of the shaman's status as in intermediary between the spirits and society as well as a protector. By contrast, from amongst the figures on drums 7 and 11 which does not include any shaman, the focus is more concerned with communication between the human world and spirits, thus emphasizing that a belief in the world of spirits still exists and is an important element in modern society in relation to art and expressing culture, whether taking care of family matters or petitioning for hunting luck.

There is a variation between Gaup and Helander's work; meaning both have been influenced by historical symbolism, however, the fact Helander uses her intuitive faculties as well as the content of dreams and Sámi narratives is one way of combining old symbols with new ones. With regard to new drums emerging in Lapland, there are certain attitudes amongst people that are very mixed concerning how the drums are made and by who, which is beyond the scope of this paper. The outcome of the research overwhelmingly shows the value the use of symbols has in relation to drum making and cultural memory. Information in Ernst Manker's 1938 volume demonstrates that many noaidi in Lapland inherited the drums of their ancestors who taught them the craft of shamanizing; meaning they did not build their own. It would be ridiculous to believe that the drums build by Helander, by contrast, cannot be used shamanistically. In fact, one might consider the symbols painted on the drums and the ways in which the information has been received by the drum maker is in one way an effective method for helping create the right circumstances for persons with shamanic abilities to be effective in their workings.

A consecration ceremony used for awakening the drum and dedicating its purpose can be found in Uno Harva's book titled *Lappalaisten Uskonto* (1914), which means 'Lapps religion'. It may be the case, aspects of the dedicating ritual described in this book have influenced Helander in her work and that such has been the extent of colonialism throughout Lapland that these fragments are all which have survived. Having made this point, nothing remains the same, and therefore new types of drums indicates the adaptation to change which incorporates ancestral knowledge and wisdom into the artistic work of both Helander and Gaup. However, for persons from outside the culture to use the ritual for awakening the drum with regard to Sámi cultural practices seems somewhat controversial.

The fact Helander who could be viewed as an intercultural teacher does not commercialize the drums she makes is another feature of Sámi culture in relation to the ancient religion; signifying a certain level of respect for both the culture and ancestors as well as keeping the work within the ethical framework of Duodji traditional handicraft practices. It is true that many Sámi persons have been supportive of the reproduction of new drums which have been instrumental in allowing them to openly undertake healing work and break through the restrictions imposed on cultural practices for the past three hundred and fifty years in Lapland. Overall, the research shows that shamanism is still an integral part of the life and worldview of Sámi people today.

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NOTES

- ¹ Concerning alleviation of childbirth pains in women, in section C of Poulsen's drum which was divided into 5 sections, A,B,C,D,E, Maria is quoted as being "(Jumal Enne or Jumal Ache) – Mary, Christ's mother, God's woman. She helps with child-bearing woman and offers remission of sins" (Hagan 2005: 316). Poulsen was never sentenced for his involvement in so called sorcery; because he was murdered in jail.

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Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism

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Such was the impact of the Lutheran Church's conquest against the Sámi, the indigenous people of the Lapland, between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries that the Sámi noaidi drums which were tools used to assist the shaman in out-of-body journeys, trance, healing and divination, were sought after, collected and destroyed in their hundreds. The zones or borders painted on the drum head divide the instrument into cosmological zones or structures in which recordings portrayed as symbols were made of scenes related to hunting, fishing and trapping practices. Of the remaining drums found preserved in museums throughout Europe, researchers still face difficulties regarding the analysis of complex intricate and artistic symbolism portrayed on the drum skins of particular drums where there are no records of ownership and interpretation of the drum content which is what this paper addresses.

Today, the indigenous people who live in the northernmost areas of Finland: Utsjoki, Inari, Enontekiö and parts of Sodankylä municipality are referred to as the Sámi/Saami:

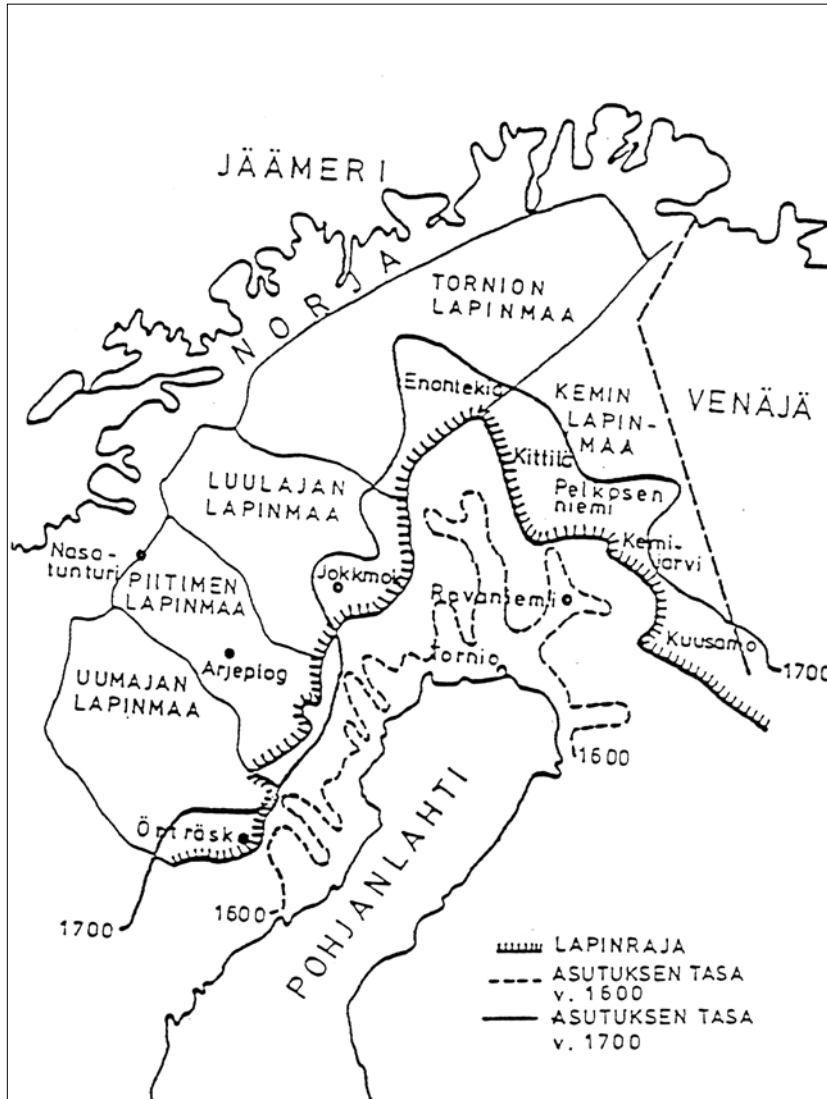
The present-day dwelling area of the Sámi (the Sámi region) extends from the northern parts of the Kola Peninsula in Russia to the north of Finland, Norway and Sweden, over both sides of the Kōlen mountains towards the south to Trondheim in Norway and Idre in Dalecarlia, Sweden. (Aikio et al. 1994: 50)

The Sámi Home Lands throughout Scandinavia are known as Sápmi, and these areas have within the past thirty years undergone significant change due to climate change and globalization, which have contributed to change locally. In modern society, many Sámi people run successful businesses through the service sector and modern working sector in general, as well as tourism enterprises which have helped accelerate certain developments within the culture. In many cases tourism is combined with other economic activities.

Traditionally, Sámi were hunters and fisherman peoples both on the lake and water ways as well as coastal areas around the Baltic and Arctic seas for at least the past seven thousand years. The Sámi are chiefly recognized today through their current occupations which are reindeer herding, hunting and fishing, and have their own language and culture. Wild reindeer hunting turned at some point in the past into reindeer pastoralism. In modern times, traditional society consists of reindeer, Siida and land, in which many elements of the old hunting culture can still be found.

Research into the history of the practice of shamanism amongst the Sámi in Lapland has drawn widespread interest from all major academic traditions, with regard to understanding the role and function of the *noaidi* in Sámi society, who is today referred to as the shaman. Extensive investigation based on accounts provided mainly by priests and missionaries involved in eradication of Sámi religion and religious practices throughout the four nations of Lapland: Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula, Russia, has demonstrated why the *noaidi* and his/her drum was such a threat to the Swedish Church. For example, apart from the belief in a multitude of spirits and beings in different realities in which humanity co-existed, the drum was used as a tool for ecstatic enterprise by those who specialized in such a vocation. The presence of these two elements in Sámi society was in direct opposition to the world-view and doctrine of the church and state. The diversity of Sámi religion is encountered in the most comprehensive way through the paintings on the head of the *noaidi*'s magical drum. A typical drum served as a type of cognitive map on which the *noaidi* portrayed different aspects of both the physical and spiritual aspects of tradition and culture, exhibited through two distinct types of designs made from pine and spruce tree wood of which the forests of Lapland are abundant:

The frame-drums, *gievrie*, from the South Sámi area were made in an oval shape. . . . On the smooth skin [made from reindeer hide] the cosmos one inhabited was drawn or painted. On the back, the part of the drum that was turned towards the body, were hung different amulets of silver and brass, or pieces of bone and teeth from different animals. They gave the drum power and noise. . . . In the northern area the pine and spruce were also used, but there it was



Map. 1. A seventeenth-century map of Scandinavia showing the division of the northern parts of the Swedish Empire divided into the five Lappmarks. The map also shows the Lapland border: Lapinraja. The Lule area can be seen at the left (Luulajan Lapinmaa). The grid lines noted below (right): “Asutuksen Tasa [describe the settlement area in the 1600s, and the settlement area in the] 1700s. Map and text republished here after Vahtola (1982: 155) by courtesy of the Research Institute of Northern Finland, University of Oulu.

the boles and knots of the roots that formed the body of the drum. *Goabdes* or *meavrresgarri* are the names for these bowl-drums. (Westman et al. 1999: 10)¹

It was not just in the shape of the drum but also in the pictures themselves that the southern and northern traditions were different. In the center of the frame-drum, the southern drum was a squared cross with four radiating lines which symbolized *Beaivi*, the sun and its power. Round the edges of the drum were then grouped the different pictures and figures. In the North Sámi areas they chose instead to divide the drum-skin into different “fields,” in layers: the upper, lower and middle worlds. . . . On the drums from the Central Sámi area the two traditions were combined. (Westman et al. 1999: 11)

An extensive explanation of a typical search for adequate materials for the building and construction of different drums is explained in the work of Swedish ethnographer Ernst Manker (1938: 182–93).

The role and function of the *noaidi* in Sámi society was that of an intermediary between the world of ancestors, animal kingdom and both male and female spirits. In the middle-physical world communication was sought between spirits who took up residence in boulders and rock formation on the landscape known in Sámi language as *Sieidi*. *Sieidi*, in certain cases portrayed human and animal like physical features, and were appeased through sacrificial offerings in relation to hunting where the drum was consulted as an oracle through divination. A second and what might be considered as more dangerous vocation was the task of making out-of-body journeys and liaising and negotiating with the ruling spirits and occupants in the world of the dead, for example, for the recovery and healing of sick and injured persons who has lost their souls. Each *noaidi* was said to possess a number of guardian or helping spirits:

The helping-spirits were animals with whose assistance the *noaidi* could make his soul journeys, and the protective-spirits were dead relatives who could aid him with advice. . . . He could use . . . [the drum] to help his community in times of crisis, but he could also use it for his own purpose, both good and bad. (Westman et al. 1999: 13)

¹ Birch wood was also widely used in the construction of drums throughout Lapland.

Communication was also established with the Varalden and Radies families who were higher spirits in the upper or celestial world. Sacrifices were often made to both of these spirits “. . . to obtain luck in reindeer herding, and to slow down the coming of the end of the world” (Helander-Renvall 2005: 20). In addition to the use of the drum for divination by the Sámi *noaidi*, rhythmic chanting in the form of yoiking has also been a practice which has contributed to the inducement of trance when shamanizing and healing. The themes embodied by the *noaidi* when yoiking are consistent with those of animals for example: reindeer, wolf, bear, dog; and special places in nature such as rivers, trees and boulders, to which lyrics were sung in the form of stories related to the landscape remembrance and hunting.

Activities such as these noted above were interpreted as allegiance to the Christian Devil by the priests of the northern districts in Lapland who, therefore, sought to eradicate Sámi religious practices through corporal punishment and death sentences to those who refused to give up their native religion and convert to the ways of the church. During this cultural upheaval and the drive by the apostles of the Church of the majority populations, the Christian belief system was subsequently administered throughout Lapland via high taxation and destruction and confiscation of hundreds of *noaidi*-shaman drums, during the colonialism period, which were collected and burned by the priests.

Such was the consequence and response to the loss of Sámi culture and traditions caused the arrival of Christianity in Lapland that some three hundred years after the first drums were collected, examinations of symbols and figures from amongst the surviving “71 drums” (Itkonen 1943–4: 68) to be found in the archives and display cases of museums throughout Europe, has been extensive. This is a way that both the Sámi themselves and also scholarly research have tried to understand and interpret the culture of their ancestors. Each of these drums is found in Britain, Italy, France, Denmark, Germany and Sweden (see Manker 1938), and tell their own stories of a hunting, fishing and trapping culture which translated a relationship with nature into art. Close observation of the content of many drum heads shows various Christian symbols and figures such as Jesus Christ, Mary and other biblical characters and metaphors that are present. These symbols reflect the reality of the enforcement of an imported religion upon a nature religion. Birgitta Berglund informs us that:

On occasion the Saami tried to fit their drum to the Christian religion. As Rydving (1995: 161–2) has shown this does not mean that the religions of the Saami and the Christians were mixed. The reason was to make the drum more harmless and thus avoid punishment. The reason why the missionaries collected the drums was [because of] their reputation as the most important witchcraft tool that the Saami had. (Berglund 2005: 137)

Research into literature from the colonialism period has to some degree helped scholars in their understanding of how important the drum was for the Sámi and also the crucial role it played in helping to structure Sámi society and worldview. However, because much of the information about the use of the drum and study of the pictorial events on the drum head was compiled through a number of unreliable sources provided by people from outside Sámi culture, namely, the priests and missionaries; a fair amount of ambiguity exists regarding translations of figures and symbols, their contexts, meanings and interpretations by persons who collected the drums, and even the Sámi themselves. Additional evidence supporting this reality is described by Sámi historian Veli-Pekka Lehtola who makes reference to:

. . . the violent changes in connection with Christian missionizing in the 1600s and 1700, [whereby] most of the symbolism of the *noaidi* drums was lost; [and because of this] it is difficult to reconstruct completely, the old world-view from sources written by outsiders. (Lehtola 2002: 28)

The use and application of language in the form of songs in Sámi society in relation to culture and identity has played a major role in narrative and oral transmission of cultural history and cosmology throughout antiquity which includes songs used during hunting and fishing, as well as the re-enactment of cultural myths, during reindeer herding, life cycle rites, healing and journeys to the realm of the dead. In Sámi society, everyone has participated in the singing which was passed down from generation to generation. It may also be said that the use of the yoik has been instrumental in the inducement of trance, the use and application of magic in cooperation with the use of the drum.

During the *noaidi*'s ritual activity, the yoiking which is a form of narrative was also used to help cast a spell, enchant or bewitch a person or animal or direct punishment to a thief to make him pay for his actions. The songs and their content were not features Christian priests con-

ceived as being important, because by association, with the use of the drum and inducement into a shamanic trance, the songs were seen by the church to be used for the practice of malevolent magic and conjuring up the Devil as Norwegian scholar Rune Hagen reports:

Christians immersed in demonological concepts of shamanism believed that Satan himself gave these drums to the Sámi. The drum, an instrument of the Devil, enabled a sorcerer to summon his demons, which were believed to reside in it and were revived by striking it . . . the witches of Lapland were known to cast their evil spells across vast distances. Their spells could even be carried upon the northern winds to provoke illnesses among people far to the south in Europe. (Hagen 2006: 626)

Therefore, the yoiking was just as despised by the priests as the drums were and because of:

. . . this connection to the Sámis' pre-Christian religion [it] is also the reason why the Sámi yoik has been banished from schools in Sámi areas all the way up to the present. (Solbakk 2007: 11)

From observation, the yoik has at least two recognisable dimensions to it, the first is singing to help establish an altered state of consciousness and the second is how the *noaidi* sings about his calling of the spirits and out of body travelling to other dimensions. Another important point is that scholarly research shows that one of the very early ways Sámi pre-Christian religion is also evident throughout the Nordic countries is through rock carving and rock paintings, especially in Finland where some paintings are thought to be 7,000 years old. Scenes of trance, flying, out-of-body travel and interactions with spirits and animals painted on rocks and boulders share many parallels with symbols painted on *noaidi* drums.

All the surviving Sámi *noaidi* drums are decorated with a range of symbolism which is complex and varied with the exception of those that have faded because of their age. The pictorial content of the original versions were painted with red dye from alder tree bark which had been boiled or chewed before usage:

The red colour of alder bark, symbolizing blood [is a substance which was utilized as a medium that acted as] a key to control the elements. (Mulik and Bayliss-Smith 2006: 60)

The red colour of alder dye also had religious significance for hunting, and was seen through the deity who is called:

. . . *Leaibealmmái*—the alder tree man [who] was the God of Hunting. The alder tree was regarded as a sacred tree. With dyes made from the bark, the people painted figures on the *goavddis*—drum. *Leaibealmmái* had control over the wild animals of the woods. (Solbakk 2007: 34–5)

Aims of the Research

In 2010, the author conducted an investigation into a number of publication errors relating to symbols and figures on a selection Sámi *noaidi* drums which were collected by priests and missionaries during the Witch hysteria era from between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries in Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian Lapland (see Joy 2011). The careful study was for the purpose of being able to rectify the ways in which Sámi religion and culture in Lapland has been portrayed and therefore, interpreted such as the relationship of the *noaidi* to the spirits which was recorded as information representing metaphors and combined features of sacred narratives belonging to an oral tradition that spanned thousands of years.

As a further study to what the author has carried out previously, the proposed research in this paper has two aims which are as follows. The first task is an attempt to fill in a number of gaps in previous research that examine the role of the art of a Sámi *noaidi* within the context of sacrificial activities in relation to the pictorial content of a drum (number 63 from Manker's 1938 inventory) that has its origins in the Lule Lappmark area of Swedish Lapland which is located close to the border with Finland, and has survived the colonialism period. Lule has been a significant place of interest for scholarly research into Sámi history with regard to the campaign of the Church. According to Norwegian scholar Håkan Rydving:

Parts of the Lule Saami areas were for a long time looked upon as “the most heathen” by the ecclesiastical authorities. It was the religious situation in the northeastern part of the Lule Saami area which dominated the debate in Swedish Parliament of 1738–1739 and resulted in the establishment of an official state agency for ecclesiastical work among the Saami. (Rydving 1995: 23–4)

Analysis herein is undertaken through an investigation into the decorative symbolism painted on the drum head, with regard to defining the overall context of the art, which as will be demonstrated, relates to a portrait of fishing magic exhibited through the way the owner of the drum perceives the nature of reality and relates to the world. Beforehand, and as a way of acknowledging the need for the relevant ethical considerations during research involving culturally sensitive material, which is in this instance are the drums figures. The author takes into account the holistic worldview or perspective on reality that coincides with approaches used when involved in research into indigenous artifacts and culture. The way ethical considerations are followed herein is by giving recognition to the importance of relating to the data within “the practice of Indigeneity as a ‘whole system’ . . .” (Jonsson 2011: 103). Through comprehension of the nature and context of the research material in relation to shamanism and Sámi art, it is imperative that “all aspects of life, both tangible and intangible [are understood, and furthermore, how these] are interconnected and cannot be separated from one another” (Jonsson 2011: 103). Emphasizing these points helps to clarify the approach and methods used and how they relate to the research material under investigation. Only by placing the data within a holistic worldview; it is then possible to gain a wider interpretation of the content and nature of events that are under examination. By contrast, previous research undertaken into the drum in question by Manker (1938) and Gustav Klemm (1894) has not allowed for the possibility of holistic interpretation of events on the drum head which means that the spiritual aspect has quite often been falsified, denied or misunderstood, especially by the clergy.

The focus of the research is directed towards strengthening contextual evidence which through interpretation of the activity painted on the drum head attempts to link the related events as being associated with a portrait concerning the use of power to secure a successful outcome for catching fish. This intention is expressed artistically by the drums owner at some time prior to engaging in fishing, trapping and hunting activities. By associating the artistic content of the overall scene, with Sieidi spirit involvement that is also portrayed in the picture, a number of parallels appear to become evident which the author makes clear, thus supporting the theory of the use of magic. Being able to identify what these parallels are demonstrates their significant meaning and value in the wider picture, and can be placed within the content of activities of

the *noaidi*, who from an evaluation of the structures in the symbols on the drum, has extensive knowledge of magical practices which could be associated with a type of fishing narrative in relation to the fishing and perhaps the coastal Sámi. The drum presented in the research is one of “the remaining 71” (Itkonen 1943–4: 68) Sámi *noaidi* drums collected by priests and missionaries.

The motivation for presenting an alternative explanation in addition to what has already been presented concerning the events on the head of the drum through previous research by Manker and Klemm, and what might give further support to alternate theories, is that within the field of the study of religions, if we link religion and religious art together which also includes magic, the term “Dynamism” becomes applicable to magical art within this context. Dynamism is a scientific word that loosely defined means it seeks to explain:

. . . a universal, immanent force or energy underlying—either logically or chronologically—all religious (and/or magical) beliefs and practices. [It is believed] that dynamism at its earliest, religion comprised a belief in a multitude of supernatural, personal beings with whom human beings interacted. (Alles 1987: 527–31).

A second applicable description of how this force is encountered for example in relation to the *noaidi*'s interaction with the Sieidi sacrificial boulders is found in a description by Sámi scholar Elina Helander-Renvall, who uses the term “Animism” in relation to how human persons relate to their environment. Moreover, an animistic perception of the use and direction of power is seen depicted on the drum head whereby in relation to inter-species communication and the creation of ritual art:

It is important to understand the role and function of the landscape and certain places and features within the landscape in specific areas. This is because within these places, communication, and what will be referred to as mythic discourse, takes place between humans and non-humans, and this dialogue is known to benefit human beings in their daily lives and activities. (Helander-Renvall 2009: 1)²

Finally, the worship of natural features on the landscape that hosted supernatural powers as well as the beings who resided in the mythi-

² Scenes from this discourse has in the past been painted on the drum heads.

cal underworld called Säiva can be traced as far back as the Neolithic age in Finland where pre-historic rock paintings are located. These powers were not comprehended through the concept of linear time as is the case in the Christian worldview, but the movements and shifts within nature were encountered as a cyclical chain of events. Therefore, this concept of time and space with regard to cosmology, structure, positioning and thinking, and presentation of an indigenous cultures religious symbolism differs remarkably from how religious symbolism is presented and analyzed in Western schools of thought, which is how the research was conducted by and large by priests. Another main reason for these differences is that in Sámi culture the *noaidi* when viewed as an artist have “. . . organized their experiences of the world into narratives” (Moen 2006: 4). This type of organization seems evident through the illustrations on the head of drum number 63 (see figs. 1, a, b, c, 2, 3).

The second aim in the research is concerned with Sámi Cosmology and seeks to bring to light, evidence to what is perceived as a loss of culture and worldview in relation to the author’s recognition of the absence of the water element and related content, such as fish, water birds, and other animals on the heads of the remaining drums which have survived the Christian purges (see the chapter below: “What Studying Drum Number 63 Has Revealed about Sámi Shamanism and Cosmology?”). These observations have been made by making comparisons with drums that have a high content of reindeer, moose, bears and snakes for example, and explains the theories behind how the destruction of hundreds of drums has contributed to this loss from amongst the coastal or fishing Sámi.

The Material of the Study, Approaches Used and Previous Interpretations

The pictorial content of the drum under investigation is recorded in Manker’s monumental work (1938; 1950). The book which is a collection of the surviving drums and ethnographical inventory describes each one, how the different types were made and “. . . their individual history in addition to typologies, and origins and description . . .” (Joy 2011: 117). The instrument which is catalogued as:

. . . number 63, is a bowl type drum made from birch wood is currently the property of The Ethnographical Museum of Dresden, Germany (Museum für

Völkerkunde Dresden); the drums history can be traced back to 1668. (Manker 1938: 780–1, translated from German by Martina Schäfer)

Information about the drum is very fragmented as is described by Manker, and there is no indication as to who owned it and what it was used for, other than the artistic content on the drum head. A description of all the individual figures on the painted skin is given by Manker (1950):

Manker's second publication discusses, in addition, the positioning of painted human, animal and divine figures, trying to illustrate how the Sámi world-view was presented and how it varied considerably, firstly by region and area; and secondly, according to the *noaidi's* experience and interaction with the spirits in these zones and the way in which this was then documented on the drum which served as a kind of Cosmological Map prior to and during hunting. (Joy 2011: 117)

The author's analysis of the drum and the methodological approach is kept within the context of a local study in relation to narrative-story telling, and is applicable because narrative is a common theme associated with shamanism and mythical discourse, which relates to the events that are presented through the pictorial content on the drum head. The main focus of the analysis of the drum symbolism is placed, firstly on a bird like figure located inside a light or Sun symbol at the center of the drum head. The bird in this instance is an unusual feature. From observations, the animal appears to be interacting with a spirit residing in a Sieidi sacrificial boulder, positioned on a border area between the water and land. In this case the border area separating the land from the water or the middle world from the lower one is defined by a mythical line that transverses across the drum head. Quite often, certain deities took residence in Sieidi boulders, which were appeased and subsequently sacrificed to by the *noaidi*. Manker has also documented these spirits in his 1938 edition.

To support the investigation, submitted in the paper are two illustrations as pictorial evidence that are sketching's of the original drum. The purpose for using the drawings instead of photographs for this particular study is because the original black and white photographs presented in Manker's 1938 edition are very faded and not reliable or suitable for presentation, and it is very difficult to make out the images. On both of the sketched illustrations (fig. 2 is from the 1938 edition and fig. 3 is from the 1950 edition), the content is somewhat clearer and portrays the drums symbolism more transparently, showing a significant number

of fish and water birds in both sections of the drum, as well as Jabma Aimo, the world of the dead which is characterized by crosses. There are some slight variations between the two drawings of the bird in the center of the sun in each picture. Regardless, the main focus for the study is to examine the relationship between the bird figure in the Sun symbol and the lines and structures in which fish and water birds appear to be encased or captured-trapped. The use of the material in this format helps with attempting to present a wider interpretation of the significance of the events through the use of narrative, as an overall explanation in relation to the content of what could be described as a rare account, portraying magical activity presented through the Sámi *noaidi*'s art. The positioning of the birds have proven earlier, as Manker has stated, to be something of a mystery with reference to the roles they are playing, as well as their relevance on the drum head.

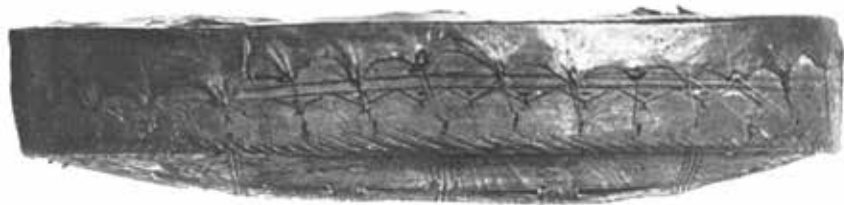
Earlier theories presented by Manker and Klemm which appear as straight forward and logical given the ethnographical approach used. However, and as will be emphasized, the content of the whole picture has to be interpreted from a broader perspective when considering the role of oral narrative and magic featured in hunting epics in Sámi society. Manker refers to the bird in the sun symbol as “a sacrificial animal, Klemm thinks it is a human and Edgar Reuterskiöd says it cannot be known” (Manker 1938: 411), which provoke further points of interest for the discussion.

A Portrait of Sámi Magic or Something Else?

A study of the material below has revealed that drum number 63 is the only drum photographed and documented in Manker's inventory portraying a large number of fish. The instrument and its content has a strong and recurrent theme with water and the features are encountered through what initially looks like a type of portal observed via a membranous layer of some kind, where fish and water birds are connected together as if trapped or under selection by means of a spell, influence or enchantment. The presence of this unusual web-like structure seems like it could be a representation of a circuit of power in the scenery; suggesting a type of magical interaction with the water element and fishing and can be observed within the content of the lower section on the head



a



b



Figs. 1 *a* (top left), *b* (below left) and *c* (above top), are photographs of bowl drum number 63 from Lule when viewed from different angles. The illustrations on the skin of the drum head are barely visible. On the rear and side profiles of the drum, the attachment of the reindeer hide to the birch frame can be seen and also the decorative patterns that have been cut out to give the drum its own character and signature. These photographs have been added for the benefit of the reader so the extent of the fadedness and condition of the skin is evident; giving proof as to why it is not possible to refer to the original illustrations in this case (after Manker 1938: 782–3).

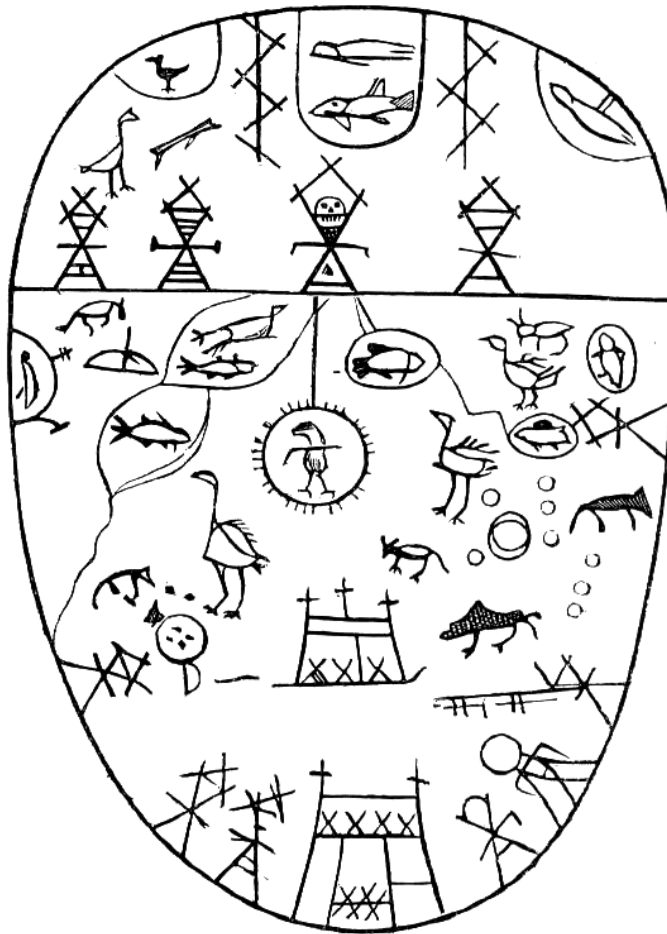


Fig. 2. From Manker's (1938: 60) inventory drum number 63. The bird like figure is evident in the Sun-light as are the net like strands which surround the fish and birds. A Sun symbol in this location appears unusual, but it may well be associated with Säiva, the mythological underworld of the Sámi. Quite often, the *noaidi* summoned a Säiva bird to help him, with his out-of-body journeys, and this encounter often took place in a tunnel, portal or opening from which spiritual light from the mythical world of Säiva was visible. In the upper section in the third structure from the left, a spirit figure is visible in a sacrificial boulder that appears to have a link with the bird in the Sun motif.

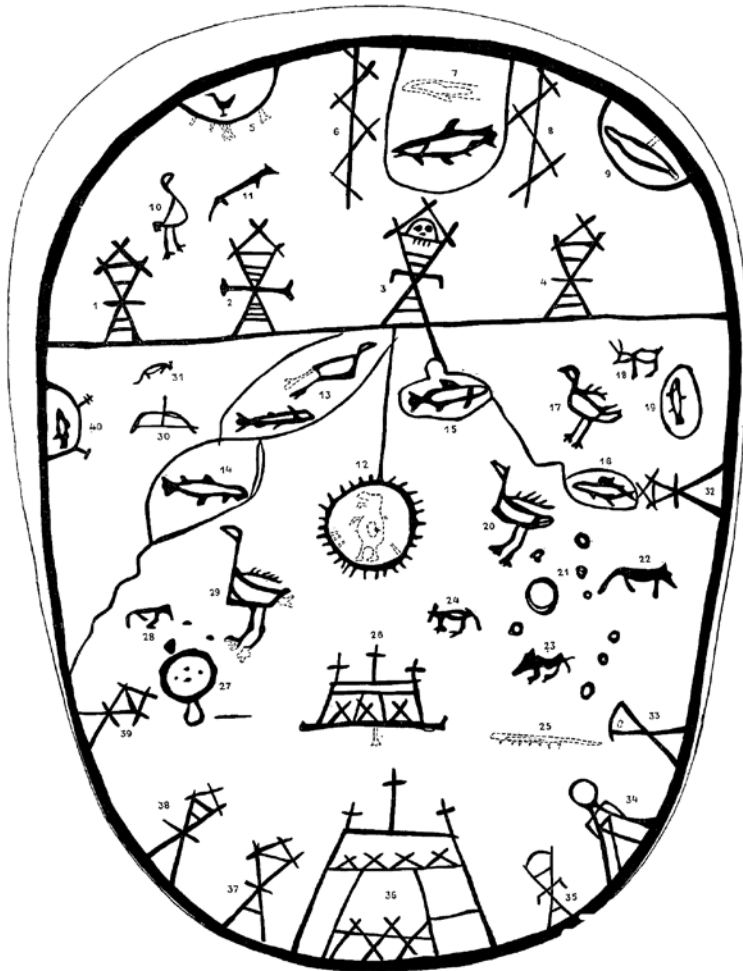


Fig. 3. Drum number 63 taken from Manker's second volume (1950: 410), where each figure on the drum head is numbered. There are clearly some discrepancies between the two figures in the Sun symbol; this image could be compared to a spirit figure which characterizes an animal with human features and this is not an unusual occurrence found in shamanic phenomenon, as spiritual birds may have some features that are human-like.

of drum. Rydving (1995: 62) believes the drum “probably belonged to a hunter or fisherman.”

The content of drum number 63 is interesting by contrast to the other 70 drums in Manker’s inventory which still have skins on them, mainly because of the number of fish present in the top and upper section of the middle zone. What appears unique about the imagery of the black and white illustrations on the two sketching’s is the instrument has perhaps one or two reindeer images in view, and the rest of the layout and positioning of other animal figures can be associated with water. Therefore, the content which consists mostly of a mixture of fish and water birds informs us how the drum can be primarily linked with river-lake or the coastal area where fishing and trapping were prevalent.

Another significant feature in the center of the instrument is what appears as the sun-like symbol with bird type figure inside it, distinguishable by its legs and feet. The bird figure gives the impression as if it has been drawn in such a way that there are the human features of two arms present across its body, and clawed feet, which makes an interesting point because it is not usual to see this type of image located in the middle of the Sámi *noaidi* drum in the rhomb or sun symbol, if this is what it represents. Typically, it is more common to find a reindeer in the center of the symbol as a representation of “Beaivi or Beaivvás the Sun [who] is one of the most important spirits or gods of the Sámi” (Helander-Renvall 2009: 5), but there is no evidence to suggest that Beaivi is portrayed here with what look like the features of a bird. Instead, it is probable the bird figure is associated with the mythical world of Säiva.

Furthermore, the image could be suggesting the bird is a representation of a diver or something similar, making it an intriguing illustration in this location because the diver bird in such a form could be indicative of one of the helping spirits associated with the Sámi *noaidi* and his work. Moreover, birds are known to have associations with the symbolic descent from the physical world by swimming down to the mythical underworld of the Säiva people to reach them and visa versa. For this reason, the image could be placed into the category where it is portrayed as that of a bird who has been summoned from Säiva to help the *noaidi* perform his work. In Sámi society, establishing contact with the mythical Säiva people from the lower or underworld is known to have been important for helping to secure success with fishing and trapping, as some of the pictures on the drum head are indicative of. The

Säiva people were considered to have supernatural abilities as ancestral beings and spirits who helped the *noaidi* where necessary.

If the lower section of the drum is examined closely, we can see that one of the contributory factors for this type of journey was because the souls of the fish and birds were understood to reside in the Säiva realm, and therefore, contact was made with the supernatural powers located there through sacrifice and magic to help influence events during fishing and trapping to ensure a favorable outcome.

To give additional support to this theory, the use of spirit birds as helping allies of the *noaidi* in Lapland is well known, and is mentioned by Lars Levi Laestadius in his *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* where the shaman had an “. . . underworld bird, sorcery bird” (Laestadius 2002: 210–11). A more recent contribution from a source found in another publication is provided by Sámi scholar John T. Solbakk (2007: 25) who gives a description from what is described as a typical shamanic séance where the Sámi *noaidi*, at the start of the shamanizing “. . . called his *noaideloddi* (*noaidi* bird)” whose job is to go and bring the *noaidi*'s helping spirits from the world of the dead (Säiva) to assist him with the task ahead. It appears too that birds are found as a common feature as helping spirits of shaman's as Mircea Eliade (2004: 479) informs us how in many cultures and in certain ritual events “the symbolism of magical flight [and] two important mythical motifs [that] have contributed to give it its present structure [are] the mythical image of the soul in the form of a bird and the idea of birds as psychopomps,” and this adds a further point of interest for the narrative due to the fact that birds are associated with both the upper and lower regions of the cosmos in the shamanic worldview. However, and according to Finnish scholar Risto Pulkkinen, “the Saami shaman did not act as a psychopomp, a conductor of the soul of a dead person to the next world, which was generally one of the functions of the shaman in Siberia (Pulkkinen et al. 2005: 387). If this is the case, it means the Sámi *noaidi* would not have undertaken the role of psychopomp in the guise of a bird.

Giving further consideration to the above, what the image of the bird in its present location on the drum head is indicative of, is in addition to the connection between the spirit in the Sieidi, in the top section of the drum, third from the left, and the line which runs vertical below joining the sun symbol with the bird inside it together, the symbolism of the image offers a further explanation. The picture seems as a typical portrait showing the co-operation between the Sámi *noaidi* and the

spiritual being whose joint effort is helping to secure the fish and birds as food sources. Through the projection of magical power, in a similar way to how lightening descends, to both render the fish and birds helpless or to direct them through manipulation towards the *noaidi* in some way which he will be able to catch them.

My theory when placed alongside the earlier interpretation by Klemm and Manker's, presents a wider interpretation whereby the illustrated events in one sense confirm a trapping scene taking place, but the very essence of the content might illuminate a mythical–narrative story of the *noaidi*'s soul's journey into the world of the souls of animals to communicate with them. A narrative activity found the world over in shamanic cultures, when there is a need to secure luck in the search for food. In helping to give support for determining the latter, this type of narrative of travelling between worlds, has in a similar fashion, been recognized at rock art locations previously where sacrificial acts have been performed (Joy 2007).

Given the fact a type of sun symbol with a bird figure inside it is located in the center between the two lines, demonstrates to us how the bird has a central role in orchestrating the events taking place in the spiritual realm with assistance from the Sieidi spirit whose power helps secure success in the hunt before these actions become apparent in the physical reality sometime after. The bird could also represent an alter ego of a *noaidi*, and simultaneously also a bird ancestor, *lodde-máddu*, or 'a soul of the prey'. Sámi believe that animals/birds/frogs have a *máddu* (soul) of their own. The bird within the Sun in this sense would be a spirit who helps a *noaidi* to spirit travel in a safe way and gives him/her information to secure successful fishing and hunting.

Concerning the line formation in the lower zone of the drum which has several circular structures to it; initial observation gives the description of what resembles a type of net or something similar. In Manker's (1950) edition, Manker refers to Klemm's interpretation of events on the drum head at the point in the top section where the lines meet and the spirit figure whose face is visible in the third structure from the left as being "the god in the picture [who] has a human face and a link to the *Noaidi*, and is a symbol of a link to the magical world" (Manker 1950: 409–11). This for me would seem like a reasonable interpretation.

However, what Klemm also refers to with regard to the circular structures containing the fish and water birds, is clearly visible in the picture and has a further explanation consistent with sorcery. Klemm's

interpretation of the lines is they are “water lines—lines of the river” (Manker 1950: 409–11, translated from German by Martina Schäfer).³

My understanding of the events taking place and the interpretation of the lines circling around the game animals is they are symbolic representations of strands of magical energy-power sometimes referred to as *mana*; and *mana* has associations both with spiritual beings and their powers as well as human beings who have strong magical abilities, such as the shaman or witch. Through closer observation and given the fact the lines appear to originate from directly below the Sieidi spirit, which according to Manker, “judging by the double hammer-like arms, [might represent] the Thunder god Tiermes. . . . Reuterskiold’s reference to figure 3 is Thor” (Manker 1950: 409, translated from German by Martina Schäfer). With the summoning of electrical power the lines then descend into the lower section of the drum but not the top section; the two lines below can in a physical sense be associated with the way the water flows indeed as Klemm suggests. However, a more holistic explanation is these rapids or currents had value and purpose beneficial to the *noaidi* when directing/summoning magical power to capture prey and perform trapping techniques, as water also has associations with shape-shifting in mythical cultures. Furthermore, the spirits at the edge of the water were known to travel from Säiva into the physical reality when summoned by the *noaidi* through sacrificial offering, and some Sieidi sacrificial places were believed to be entrances to this mythical realm.

Giving further consideration to these new interpretations, the imagery on the drum is an indication of a person who as Rydving (1995: 62) has suggested, “. . . [the instrument] probably belonged to a hunter and fisherman,” but someone who was also a *noaidi* as well, and whose skills in magic are presented in what appears as a rare and unusual narrative-portrait of events. Through the illustrations we see how the focus is directed towards the mythical underworld and the utilization and harnessing of the power of water in addition to the assistance of the Sieidi spirit for trapping luck. The work of the *noaidi* when viewed in this sense is that with the assistance of the bird spirit and Sieidi, he

³ There is no mention of Klemm in the bibliography in the book, but in Manker’s (1950) volume, the following reference to Klemm is found “Klemm, Gustav, 1894. Allgemeine cultur-Geschichte der Menschert III Leipzig.” Also, in Johannes Schefferus’s accounts in chapter on the Gods of the Sámi (1674: 40; 1971: 37–45), he discusses three main ones, Thor, the Sun and Storjunkar.

used magic to “. . . capture the soul of the prey and led it to the hunting ground of his people” (Pulkkinen et al. 2005: 388).

A further point of interest with regard to the type of phenomenon on *noaidi* drums from Lapland is the association with Säiva, the mythical world which was sometimes portrayed upside down. In the upper section of the drum head there are three birds and a fish inside a structure similar to the ones in the lower section, but there are no lines associated with these as is the case with the fish and birds below in the lower section. On the drum at the right side in the top section a bird is pictured upside down.

Another question needs to be asked here as to whether or not this animal is associated with one of the Säiva animals in the mythical underworld of the Sámi, as it remains something of a mystery but, and has been described by Pulkkinen, according to sacrificial offerings which were made to the spirits in this region. The “sacrifices to the Säiva spirits were made upside down . . .” (Pulkkinen et al. 2005: 375), because they mirrored the world below. A further development with regard to the significance of those animals in the top section of the drum positioned up above the Sieidi spirit is they have had a soul counterpart in the heavenly realm as well, as it is not uncommon either in shamanic cultures that the duality of the soul has existed, and in this way some birds have mythical counterparts in the upper or celestial region of the cosmos too.

At this point, it seems important to ask the question as to why there are so few drums which can be recognized as belonging to the sea-coastal or fishing Sámi by origin in Manker’s inventory which show wider aspects of fishing and trapping practices where the presence of water is as strong. This is by comparison to those drums through which the content is consistent with reindeer herding and hunting of land animals and the mythic stories and portraits symbolizing interaction with reindeer herding, pastoralism and the tundra?

What also has value and is important to try and piece together within the portrait on the head of drum number 63, is the coastal-fishing Sámi made widespread use of the sacrificial fishing Sieidi boulders’ to secure luck for fishing at the beginning of the spring and autumn seasons when the hunting and trapping time commenced, on occasions as a substitute for the drum. In the picture, what the images of these sacrificial platforms or Sieidi formations actually reveal to us is two different aspects of the same sacrificial tradition. This is visible where the use of the drum is indicated through

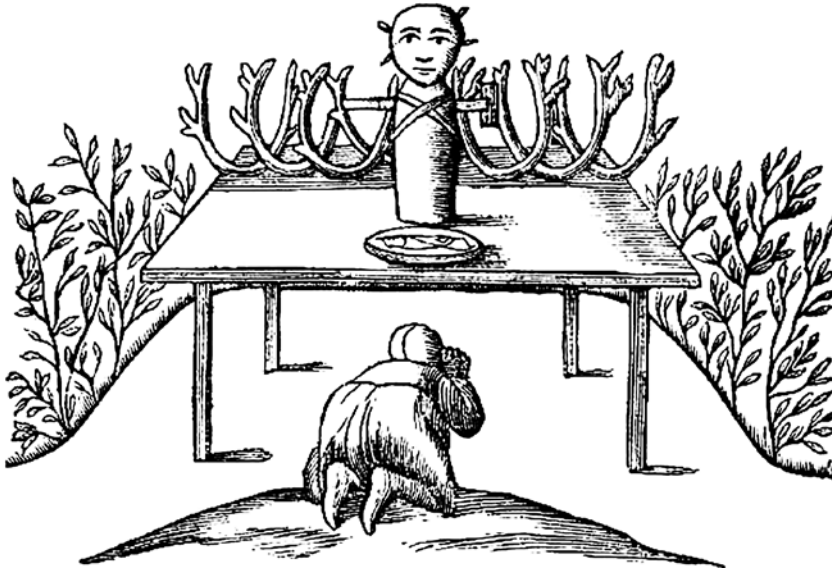


Fig. 4. An illustration taken from Johannes Schefferus's *The History of Lapland* (for a more comprehensive description visit: <http://old.no/samidrum/lapponia/illustrations.html>), which shows a table that has been constructed from wood. Both large boulders and smaller stone Sieidi as well as wooden Sieidi were situated by the water.

the *noaidi*'s journey in trance down under the water with assistance from the bird, to capture the souls of the game and these he has documented on the head of his drum, and also the interaction and possible role of the Sieidi which looks as if it is supplying power to help the *noaidi* in his task.

When this portrait of events is given further consideration in addition to the involvement of the Sieidi spirit, we see how the process is intricately woven together through the use of magic and what might appear as the application of certain visualization techniques often depicted in out-of-body shamanic spirit journeys. Although Sieidi worship is linked with securing a successful outcome in fishing, trapping and hunting matters, the drum in Sámi society has primarily been used as an instrument for trance, but as noted above, also widely used for divination when needed, especially when seeking out food sources.

Furthermore, the practice of shamanism amongst the Sámi was not only linked to drum usage. Sieidi worship has been a common form of shamanic communication where at times, the *noaidi* used singing and

chanting (yoiking) to induce trance or ecstatic possession on certain occasions as the act of shamanizing was reinforced and then executed by making sacrificial offerings to the spirit who resided in the boulder or the Sieidi in the form of a wooden post. In all cases, the activity was a way to acquire power for making spirit journeys, through the application of rituals associated with hunting, fishing and trapping where the *noaidi* agreed to share the catch with the resident of the boulder or by covering the boulder with fat and blood beforehand as a way of feeding it and establishing contact with it. This is why many families in Lapland have at one time in the past had their own private Sieidi which also protected the members of the family and their property and the spirit was summoned to help with hunting and other tasks, when needed.

In helping to determine the latter further, the presence of the bird in the sun symbol, as well as the presence of the Sieidi spirit, and the lines encapsulating the fish; all of these three elements portray the main structures for making not only narrative possible, but also an act of magic. In each case, transcending time and space, thus showing not only how the picture illustrates the location and position in the inner and outer worlds of the person who decorated the drum head, but, a real life fishing-trapping drama-epic taking place which appears to have dimensions to it both above and below the landscape. The nature of the events pictured are commonplace within magical cultures and societies where the practice of shamanism has been used during hunting and fishing activities that are also intimately linked to narrative and mythic stories.

Another point that has relevance for this part of the discussion is if we look back on reflection at the early literature written about the Sámi and involvement with water and animals from this realm, the earliest recorded account of a drum which bears any significance of the Sámi *noaidi*'s relations to animal powers who reside in the water and the presence of the concept of narrative, this is provided through a description of the interaction with water in the:

. . . oldest document that describes a shamanistic séance, [and is from] the eleventh-century *Historia Norvegiae*; the markings on the drum are mentioned as containing only figures representing whales, a harnessed reindeer, skies and a boat with oars. They have been interpreted as representing the means of transport for the shaman [*noaidi*] on his journeys or his spiritual assistants (whales). (Pulkkinen et al. 2005: 73)

The content of this account reveals that water animals-mammals have carried much importance much earlier for the coastal-sea Sámi.

It should be added too, that what is viewed as an act of magic within the overall content of the drum head, inside the top section at the center is the spirit or god type of figure on the sacrificial platform or wooden structure which is located close enough to the edge of the water is important to acknowledge as well, because the zones or border areas where the land meets water are known for being important focal points and meeting places for the Sámi *noaidi* and the spirits. In other words, these areas are where earth, heaven and water meet. Moreover, these areas were understood as transitional points where sacrifice was made in particular which in turn helped to influence events so the spirits power could help yield a successful outcome as might be the case here. This is why many Sieidi boulders and rock paintings are found located at the edge of lakes and rivers, between the worlds figuratively speaking. Throughout Lapland as has been widely known that through the use of magical practices amongst the Sámi:

. . . the desired affect is conceived as of being obtained mechanically by the correct performance of a particular procedure, for example, the casting of a spell. (Pulkkinen et al. 2005: 39)

Of the remaining drums, number 63 is one which appears to have this type of content portrayed on it.

In addition to analysis of the figures and interpretation of the events taking place on the head of drum number 63, a further discussion with regard to Sámi cosmology is included below. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight how the pictures on the drum head also has a similar landscape features which has been a part of cultural identity to the *noaidi*'s of Lapland for hundreds if not thousands of years, which is portrayed through the relationship to ancient culture that had strong ties to water. In this case, the Sieidi's and similar figures in rock paintings which are located at the water's edge in Finland.

The illustrations in fig. 4 above has a similar theme to it as is seen on head of drum number 63 except there is no visible evidence of the direction or currents of power coming from the Sieidi-spirit figure in the center of the table who is surrounded by reindeer antlers. The fish offering is clear though in this case which symbolizes an act of sacrifice.

It appears that the literature which has been written with regard to sacrificial activities and Sieidi worship in some sources (e.g. Schefferus 1674;

Holmberg 1964), lacks the kind of holistic understanding and interactions between the human and spiritual realms, as seems evident through the content depicted on the drum head. One of the reasons for this lack of knowledge is because the illustration on fig. 4 above, which was given to Schefferus, was one of two images of the Lule Sámi engaged in the sacrificial act and was drawn by Samuel Rheen who was a Swedish clergyman and ethnographer. Rheen, whose Christian worldview varied considerably from that of his counterpart, the *noaidi*, whereby, there may have been no personal encounter or experience of the realm of the supernatural. The priests were for the most, lacking in knowledge and understanding with reference to their comprehension of the animistic nature of the Sámi holistic worldview which was cyclical, as has been explained above. A further point and one that has additional value in bringing this discussion to a close is within the content of the drum head, as I have already mentioned, we are presented with a rare insight and account of the use of magical power by the Sámi *noaidi* and to some extent how this works with reference to hunting, fishing and trapping practices in this individual case. Therefore, and for the most, the essence of witchcraft-shamanism and the use of benevolent magic taking place is captured through the pictures on drum number 63, portraying the finer details of how magic is used in this case to achieve its means.

Evidence from both the segmental and the bowl types of drums shows extensively how the pictographs and figures on the instruments have helped the Sámi form their visual culture through their relationship to water and the landscape. Water has been of the utmost importance for helping to define zones and mythical borders between the physical reality, sky and the lower worlds of *Säiva* and *Jabma Aimo*, and using such motifs as: boats, *Sieidi* structures, fish and water birds to represent these. As noted above there is additional evidence the Sámi drum pictures from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are intimately linked with rock paintings too because there are many parallel symbols and figures between the two types of art. In the case of the Skolt Sámi from the Kola Peninsula from the Russian north, there are similarities between the contents of rock carvings and paintings. One could argue how these symbols are part of a chain, which links present to the past; a formation of structures that were only known to, and comprehended by Arctic cultures, and these were the primary symbols used in the transmission of culture from one generation to the next. Moreover, in prehistory when the rock paintings and carvings were created, the east and western directions (axis)

appear to have had a broader significance in the worldview from that time because of the role and function water played.

The Finnish scholar Anna-Leena Siikala (2000: 129) notifies us that “mythic traditions have been slow to change; they carry the voices of the past to the present day.” Furthermore,

. . . the most basic fundamental areas of cultural consciousness are related to the community’s worldview and basic values; mythology is constructed as a representation of precisely such basic structures of consciousness. (Siikala 2000: 127)

For the most, water appears to have two main dimensions or levels to it, the first is the necessity of food for survival in the physical realm where for example, fish, game birds, seals and beavers that were hunted for their skins, dwell, and then the second and much deeper dimension was the myths surrounding the *noaidi*’s excursions to the land of the dead: Jabma Aimo, and Säiva the mythic underworld. Apart from being located at the bottom of the lakes these realms were furthermore characterised by an island or cave beneath the water or in a mountain, lake, river and sea where mediation between the *noaidi* and the spirits took place in times of need. “The water route leading to the other world, particularly the land of the dead, may be a feature shared by all Uralic groups” (Siikala 2000: 132), and another common feature from ancient Sámi culture which is evident in the coastal areas where the Sámi have lived at one time and affirms the significance of water in relation to the dead are where stone burial cairns can be found.

It is important to acknowledge these points, because the mythical lines painted on drum heads marked the border between the living and the departed. The choosing of the locations for the creation of rock carvings and paintings are also significant because the sites are mostly found close to the shorelines of lakes and rivers throughout the Nordic countries and Sámi areas in the Russian north, also affirming the concept of a mythical line between worlds. When Christianity began to influence the way people were buried after death, a transition occurred from the edge of the waterway which was substituted and directed towards the church yard (inland), it may well be that some of the drums show this whilst other do not, as in many cases, the place of the dead is located in the south on the drum head number 63.

At the site of the Taatsi Sieidi in Mounio in western Lapland where there are no rock paintings, and also at Hossa-Värikallio in northern

Karelia, Finland, where there are many rock paintings, additional evidence of Sieidi sacrificial boulders resembling human and animal faces and profiles have been found at the water's edge. In both cases ancient rites of sacrifice and hunting activities are evident directed towards water as are cosmological structures in the decorative art.

What Studying Drum Number 63 Has Revealed about Sámi Shamanism and Cosmology?

Before embarking upon further discussion concerning Sámi shaman drums with regard to Sámi cosmology and sacred narrative, it is beneficial at this point to inform the reader how the next chapter in the article is intended to highlight one of the missing gaps in research into Sámi cultural history. The way this has been done is by presenting the findings from recent observations which have become apparent through analysis of a number of sources previously published about the Sámi shaman drums and Sámi culture. My intention is to build on previous claims that a comprehension of a shared or fixed unified cosmology as well as a common religious belief system (Rydving 1991: 28–51) amongst the Sámi is not immediately evident in relation to fishing activities when considering what has been written about the *noaidi* drums and the drum symbolism from the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries. According to the *Cultural Encyclopaedia* of the Sámi:

Cosmology is the name given to the total complex of mythological concepts explaining the structure of the universe (cosmography), its origins (cosmogony) and its end (eschatology). Cosmology comprises myths concerning the origins of natural and cultural phenomena and of man's relations to them and mythical concepts explaining the interaction between man and the cosmos. (Pulkkinen et al. 2005: 53)

On the other hand, according to another definition:

Sami mythology is a local expression of a larger pattern of ideas, knowledge, beliefs, rituals, legends and symbols. Many myths are connected to shamanism. According to the Sami worldview, nature and the entire world are alive. This explains the existence of many spirits and divine beings. These spirits reflect the

consciousness, creativity and purpose of the cosmic world that we live in. The drum symbols tell a lot about the Sami worldview. (Helander-Renvall 2009: 3)

From within the artistic context of Sámi history, of both drum symbolism and rock paintings each of these mythic discourses are governed by the artistic symbols and lines on the drums dividing the content into zones or segments. These lines help give meaning and structure to the drum head in a similar way to how the ancestors of the Sámi who made the rock paintings, have related to their environment and expressed their relationship between the culture and nature. The decorative symbols and zones on the Sámi *noaidi* drum make up a complex form of networks that link many aspects and dimensions of the physical and spiritual realities from a distant and more recent past together. A good example of the variation of material is seen through drum number 63, the content of which is unlike any other drum where the events appear to transcend time and space.

Within this context, reference is made outlining the importance of the relationship between the pictorial content of Sámi *noaidi* drums and rock paintings and sacrificial Sieidi stones with regard to visions and out-of-body journeys. As emphasised above, it is known that the Sámi relied extensively on assistance from Sieidi spirits who resided in boulder and rock formations close to rivers and lakes, which were often, appeased for help with fishing and trapping luck. By contrast, the absence of, in particular, hunting scenes related to water from the majority of the surviving drums may indicate what could be regarded as missing pieces of historical information. This information concerns the lack of a wider understanding in relation to how, on many of the existing drum heads, there appears to be a deficiency of the types activities and related symbolism representing the close ties with the water element and fishing activities. Bringing this point to the attention of the reader within this chapter is for the purpose of highlighting how the locations of many sacrificial boulders and almost all the rock paintings in Finland are located close to water, and what this actually tells us? It tells us that reliance of Sieidi has been documented for example by Schefferus (1674) and Laestadius (2002), but yet, if Sieidi worship and sacrificial activities have also played a significant role and function in Sámi society and worldview in relation to narrative and story-telling and fishing and trapping activities there appears to be a large gap in

pictorial art with regard to these events painted on the heads of the remaining drums.

For example, the appearance of such a diverse number of symbols of reindeer, moose, bears, beaver, foxes, wolves and martens, depicted on the remaining Sámi *noaidi* drums, as well as the presence of moose and reindeer that are recognizable in rock paintings suggest the following. These symbols indicate the influence and status those particular animals had amongst the forest and mountain Sámi by comparison to the needs and lifestyle of the Sámi who lived by the waterways and coastal regions.

With such variations like the ones presented by the animals on the drums, it may be argued that it is not immediately evident the Sámi have shared a unified cosmology in the past, but the structure and focus for their religion and cosmology was dependent on where the ruling spirits lived and functioned in relation to the relationship to the landscape, sacrificial traditions, ancestral relations, previous myths and cultural conditioning. It is by acknowledging the possible absence of iconography which is related to the fishing Sámi who lived close to the waterways, and their worldview, by comparison to the worldview of the Sámi who lived in the forests and travelled the tundra, it might be possible to interpret this as a loss of traditional knowledge and culture in relation to colonialism.

In Manker's (1938) inventory of the remaining drums, a number of variations within the different types are evident and seen in the different processes involved in construction as well as drum symbolism which mostly depict animals such as reindeer, bears, wolves, foxes, moose and a variety of water birds that have similar representations to each other in their locations. These animals can be found on travel routes and within the oral history associated to a greater extent with inland hunting. With the exception of a few, many of the remaining drums and their cosmological content show the importance of the north-south connection which is typically longer in design than the east-west pathway to the horizon. This of course, is also by comparison and when contrasted for example, to the drums of the southern Sámi which indicate the importance and indeed vertical significance of stellar and lunar observance as central themes in their totemic understanding of the influence of zodiac-animal signs and their positioning in the heavens. These are depicted through hunting myths associated with different star constellations and cosmology, as well as the spiritual beings that dwelt in *Säiva*.

Such signs in the heavens appear to have been influential in the way animals were painted on the drum heads in their respective locations.

Typically, in the center of many of the surviving drums are symbols representing the four directions. We can see how the four directions, not just north and south (the vertical points) have been important and have an equal place in Sámi cosmology and worldview. However, it seems that when describing the *noaidi*'s journeys to meet the spirits of the middle world on the horizontal axis (east-west), which would be consistent with activities around the rivers and lakes with regard to fishing and trapping, the contrast in content is lacking significantly by contrast to the vertical axis.

These aspects of the Sámi worldview portrayed on the drums does provide a fair amount of information about the vertical aspects of Sámi cosmology but not the horizontal ones, because the focus has been in most cases the study of the Sámi *noaidi*'s journey from north to south and visa-versa.

Another indication as to why a wider representation of the interaction with water element and fishing is not portrayed as one of the central themes in Sámi cosmology on the drum heads with reference to the symbolism which supports this hypothesis, is the drums that once belonged to the fishing Sámi and which I am suggesting is a crucial piece of information missing here, is presented by Juha Pentikäinen in his research into the *noaidi* divination drums from Lapland:

A greater collection of drums was sent by Von Western to Copenhagen where, however, about 70 of them were burned in a fire in 1728. (Pentikäinen 1998: 34)

As I understand it, Thomas Von Western was instrumental in converting the coastal Sámi of Norway and Sweden to Christianity. Therefore, during these events, in addition to the hundreds of drums which were burned before the fire in Copenhagen, and those which were hidden in the forests as Sámi religion went underground, it would be conceivable as to why there are so few drums portraying a similar level of ritual symbolism on them which is consistent with the worldview and activities associated with Sámi culture, fishing-trapping and the water element.

A further point of interest in this matter is in her research into the origins of Finnish shamanism undertaken by Siikala. She makes a clear

distinction about the role, importance and function of water in early hunting cultures in the north:

I came to the conclusion that the oldest layer of religious imagery does not represent an Arctic but a subarctic culture, existing in the milieu of the northern “taiga” type. It was a culture, furthermore, in which waterways occupied a crucial role. (Siikala 2000: 130)

This, in addition is no less true for the Sámi and their cosmology. One of the elements which characterized sacrificial activities amongst the Sámi is the relationship with water and fishing–trapping, because the powers associated with it are considered to have been linked to the reciprocal relationship to the ancestors and spirits of the mythical underworld of *Säiva* and the powers that dwell there who features prominently in everyday life and activities:

The *saiva* lakes and mountains were inhabited by both human and animal beings. The names for the human inhabitants of the *saiva* in the old sources were *saiva olmab* (*saiva* men) and *saiva neidab* (*saiva* women). The *saiva* spirits selected, taught and empowered the Saami shaman (*Noaidi*). (Pulkkinen et al. 2005: 374)

What appears evident is that at some point during the middle ages, there may alternatively, have been some type of change where there was a shift inland from the coastal areas, and at the present time this is not fully understood. Having made this point, what could be the perceived loss of many drums belonging to the fishing and coastal Sámi may have relevance for what might be a piece of crucial historical information which is missing, where the fragments of Sámi cosmology have disappeared.

Concluding Remarks

I have attempted to show that passing underwater has been one of the main activities for gaining access to and from other realities which exist outside of time and space within Sámi culture. All the elements and animals in ancient culture associated with the watery realm have been of key importance in both a material as well as spiritual sense. The pictorial events on the head of drum number 63 has demonstrated that fishing magic may have been used in order to secure quarry through

inter-species communication, and the role Sieidi stones and their indwelling spirits have played. Yet, a wider context of this phenomenon is by and large missing from Sámi pictorial art on drum heads where fishing is concerned.

The use of magic by the Sámi, whether benign or malevolent, contributed to the Witch hysteria that spread throughout Europe throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Most of the documentation about the use of magic has come from priests and church records, through which the culture has been represented. This information has not been reliable in many cases, but in the case of drum number 63 the interpretation of the scenes depicted on the head of this drum, based on what little has been known previously from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has sought to provide a more comprehensive interpretation and insight into the use of what appears as benevolent magic by the historical and elusive Sámi *noaidi* from this time. Furthermore, if the lines on the drum head which surround the fish and water birds were on their own without the presence of the bird in the Sun type of symbol, then Klemm's interpretation would have been more convincing. But, and because of the location of the bird with its human like features and its connection to the spirit in the Sieidi stone, these characteristics and actions make a wider interpretation possible which could be shamanistic in their very essence.

Due to the brutal and sustained campaign against the Sámi by the Church, the events did in time, lead to the loss of Sámi traditional world-view, knowledge and cultural practices which resulted in a change of the traditional way of life that had been characterized by the relationship to the animal kingdom, hunting, fishing-trapping and natural world, and this is what the paper has attempted to bring to the attention of the reader.

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Noaidi drums from Sápmi, rock paintings in Finland and Sámi cultural heritage – an investigation

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ABSTRACT. A new, extensive examination of figures with horns and triangular shaped heads in prehistoric rock paintings in Finland reveals remarkable parallels with similar attributes on the Radies and Akka groups of spirits, pictured as male and female powers of the sky, earth and underworld, painted on the heads of indigenous Sámi noaidi drums from Swedish and Norwegian Sápmi during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. What makes this particular study of interest is that the cultural context or origins of rock paintings in Finland remains ambiguous. They are contextualised as being ‘Finnish’ according to academic literature. This paper explores these theories further and presents the findings of this investigation. In light of these findings, a re-examination and re-interpretation of the cultural context of rock paintings in Finland concerning Sámi pre-Christian religion and cultural heritage is prompted.

Introduction

Rock paintings in Finland are richly decorated with colourful red figures and symbols, including moose, reindeer, birds, snakes, human beings, human shape-shifters, boats, animal spirits and human-like spirits, which bear the hallmark of a multitude of aspects from a culture that has historical links with the Sámi, the indigenous peoples of northern Fennoscandia and northwest Russia – a large area that today is called Sápmi.

The methods used to create rock paintings and drum symbolism would have varied but,

[...] the red paint used to draw the figures confirms that decorated rock painting panels [...] drew on a combination of materials: iron oxide, red dye from the alder tree (leppä), animal fat and blood have provided both the traditional texture and colour for painting and the means of strengthening and weather-proofing the pictures (Joy 2007: 78–79).

The extent and shade of the drum symbolism is observed via the red colour of the alder dye used to decorate the drum, which also had religious significance for hunting through the deity,

Leaibealmmái—the alder tree man [who] was the God of Hunting. The alder tree was regarded as a sacred tree. With dyes made from the bark, the people painted figures on the goavddis – drum. Leaibealmmái had control over the wild animals of the woods (Solbakk 2007: 34–35).

According to Luukkonen (private correspondence):

There are 98 prehistoric paintings with identifiable figures plus three cases that have figures, but that can be earlier (=101). 19 prehistoric paintings without identifiable figures plus 9 cases with controversial dating (=28). One naturally destroyed site had an identifiable figure, it is not included above. This gives the number of prehistoric paintings is 118 plus 12 cases with controversial dating (=130). In addition, there are 13 sites with red colour that can be man-made or

natural. Thus the total number is somewhere between 118 and 143.

The iconography of rock paintings can be placed within the spiritual spheres of an early cosmology, which is representative of religious activities related to hunting, fishing and trapping practices. Many of the sites portray figures that may have formed part of a series of complex multileveled world views, which are, according to academic study by Lahelma (2008a; 2008b) and Siikala (1981), substantially characterised by shamanism and animal ceremonialism.

The majority of the illustrations were painted on flat vertical stone surfaces close to water. These locations (shown in Fig. 1) are mainly in southern Finland around the Saimaa and Päijänne Lake waterways, but they also extend to central and western Finland, as well as northern Karelia in the east.

Currently, and in terms of the line of descent, the rock paintings in Finland are not listed as part of Sámi cultural heritage. Instead, the paintings are considered to be part of Finnish cultural heritage, suggesting Finnish origin.

Today, Sámi prehistory or cultural heritage is not recognised below the Arctic Circle in Finland. All of the painting sites, with the exception of two, are located below the Arctic Circle in present-day Finland.

Whether the paintings belong to Sámi or Finnish culture is difficult to ascertain because the concepts of identity, culture and ethnicity are relatively modern. However, it is important to understand, according to academic discourse concerning ethnicity and Sámi history in Finland by scholars such as Aikio and Aikio (2003) and Ikonen (1948) that ‘historical sources mention ‘Lapps’ still living in parts of central and eastern Finland in the 16th century AD and both oral tradition and occurrence of hundreds of Sámi place names in southern and central Finland strengthen the hypothesis that Sámi groups have populated Finnish rock art regions until fairly recently’ (Lahelma 2008b: 138).

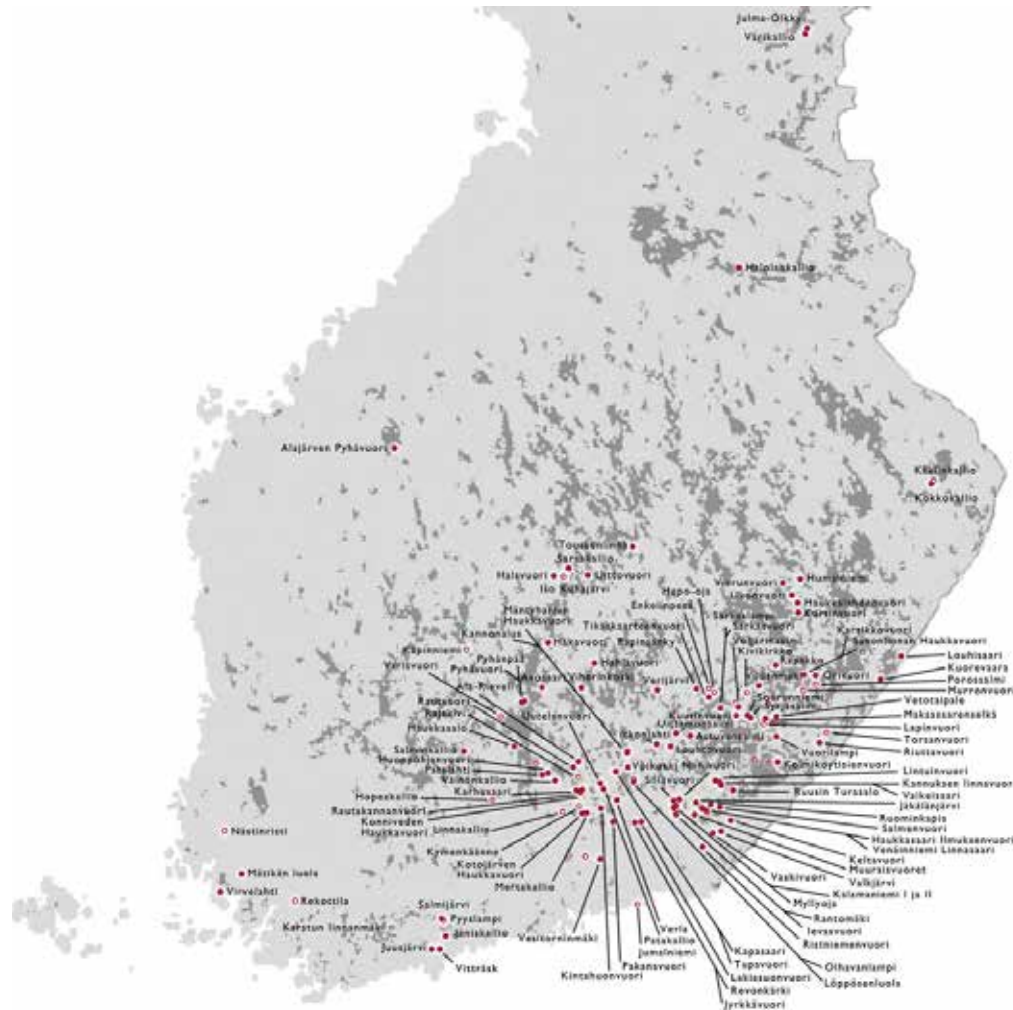


Fig. 1. A map showing sites of rock paintings in Finland. The red dots show the locations of the paintings below the Arctic Circle, in northern Karelia in the east and in central/southern Finland, where the majority of the paintings are found. Despite there being two rock painting sites recorded in Sápmi these have not been included on the map, possibly for political reasons. Copyright: Luukkonen (1994–2016, <http://www.ismoluukkonen.net/kalliotaide/suomi/>, accessed 29 March 2014).

Furthermore, across Finland there are sacred places that the Sámi call *Sieidi* (in Finnish, these sites are called *Seita*). *Sieidi* typically consist of large boulder formations, hills, peninsulas or shore stacks. Many *Sieidi* sites are located close to water, but are also encountered in the forests, hills and tundra. Some are characterised by human, animal and anthropomorphic facial profiles and bodily features. According to both Finnish and Sámi traditions, such locations are thought to have supernatural powers and to host guardian spirits. These sites figure prominently in Sámi religious experiences (Schefferus 1674; Laestadius 2002).

At some *Sieidi* sites in central and southern Finland there are prehistoric rock paintings of human-like figures with horn-like features and triangular shaped heads that are remarkably similar to spirit figures painted on the skins of Sámi *noaidi* (shaman) divination drums. (Note that the terms *noaidi* and *shaman* are interchangeable; ‘shaman’ is a cross-cultural concept originating from Siberia and ‘*noaidi*’ is the original name given to drum diviners and persons who performed sacrificial and magical acts in Sámi society.)

The decorated drums originally came from Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish Sápmi. They were taken by

missionaries and clergymen between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries during the colonialism campaign against the Sámi, spearheaded by the Lutheran and Orthodox churches. The oval-shaped noaidi drums were typically built from birch and pine with a reindeer skin membrane covering the frame, upon which symbols and figures were painted, depicting aspects of both the spiritual and material cultures, as a kind of cosmological map of the universe.

The drumheads were typically divided into three zones or borders portraying an upper celestial world where higher spirits resided, a middle world or physical reality where the spirits of the elemental powers of nature and hunting are portrayed, and a lower world divided into two levels. The first was a mythical underworld called Sáiva, where the Sámi noaidi undertook out-of-body journeys to establish contact with his helping spirits and ancestors from whom he was taught his craft. The second level, often considered as the underworld below the world of Sáiva, is associated with the realm of the dead. However, some drums display as many as five zones.

Such instruments were used for a multitude of purposes including divination in relation to hunting and trapping of animals, as well as fishing. The drum was also used as a tool for seeking directions when herding reindeer, guidance for hunting bears and wild reindeer, and sacrificial offerings in worship. In a spiritual context, the instruments were used for healing, to help induce trance states and out-of-body journeys into the spiritual worlds, and for fortune telling and prophesying.

The Sámi noaidi, being the ritual specialist and artist in Sámi society, also used a unique form of singing and chanting called Joiking when using the drum. Joiking is another way the noaidi induced a state of trance in order to change his perception of reality from the mundane to the spiritual, and to summon his spiritual helpers.

There are currently 71 drums that are considered to be authentic preserved in museums throughout Europe (Christoffersson 2010: 265). The drums are decorated with intricate figures, metaphors and symbolism, and 'the thousands of pictures refer to the circa 3,100 figures drawn on the drumheads' (Christoffersson 2010: 260).

Aim of this research

There has been a series of publications describing the relationships between rock paintings and Sámi noaidi drum symbolism. The main focus of this study is to examine these publications and the terminology used to contextualise the rock paintings in Finland as Finnish, and consequently, what this means for Sámi history and cultural heritage in Finland.

There has been extensive research of the rock paintings in Finland with a focus on shamanism and hunting magic as the main paradigms for interpretation of the cultural context.

This investigation will focus on cosmology and explore the correlations between prehistoric rock paintings

in Finland and landscapes pertaining to Sámi cosmology from noaidi drumheads.

The data is presented through a series of photographs and illustrations with the importance placed on the recognition of relationships between figures with horn-like features and triangular shaped heads. The figures may represent social norms and possible cultural markers in relation to identity and systems of embedded knowledge that are homogenous within Sámi cosmology from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, despite the temporal distance between the two sources of art. The parallels between the visual material supports the need for a much broader investigation, bringing to light similarities between the figures that are unexplainable given the time scales between the prehistoric paintings and drum figures.

The similarities between the figures justifies a challenge of potentially biased claims in previous reports of Sámi cultural history in Finland within Finnish academic research in relation to rock art and the impression of ownership and cultural heritage. This is despite the illustration of how religious activities and practices identified in rock paintings have been associated with Sámi shamanism by, for example, Lahelma (2008a; 2008b), Núñez (1995) and Autio (1991; 1995).

This paper seeks to add another dimension to rock painting research in Finland with reference to theories about Sámi history. Moreover, the investigation brings forth new evidence that has emerged from within the study of the prehistoric art in relation to 'cosmological landscapes', in addition to shamanistic phenomena. Thereby, presenting additional links with Sámi religion. We will discuss potential theories concerning the identities of particular figures in the rock paintings, as well as provide a broad overview of the history of Sámi culture and religion in Finland, and how such landscapes from prehistory relate to Sámi cosmology from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Methods

Both descriptive and comparative methods will be employed for the contextualisation of the analysis and its direction. These methods are applied to photographs, illustrations and literature that discuss prehistoric rock paintings in Finland and Sámi religion from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries throughout Sápmi.

The aim of the analysis is to broadly assess and interpret the photographs and illustrations of the art, and to determine if there is a line of descent across millennia from the rock paintings as accumulated and embedded forms of traditional knowledge to Sámi religion and cosmology depicted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Lahelma's material is used extensively in this paper because it provides the most up to date and comprehensive synthesis of research material pertaining to rock art research published in English. An anthropological study by Siikala (1981) and art history studies by Kare (2000) are also used to a large extent. According to these academic

discourses, the ethnic origins of rock paintings in Finland remain presently unknown.

Presentation of the problem

There are two central problems within research concerning the study and contextualisation of horned and triangular headed figures in rock art in Finland. The first pertains to how there has been a trend in data analysis regarding the material, which has linked these types of figures with shamans in ritual costumes. One example of the shamanistic paradigm and subsequent attitude and interpretation of these figures at rock painting sites is described by Siikala (1981: 94) who states how ‘the human bearing horns or what look like owl masks in the Finnish rock paintings can in fact be interpreted as people shamanizing (see Sarvas-Taavitsainen 1976: 43)’.

The main reason for linking the figures with shamans may be the relationship between the Finns and Finno-Ugric cultures, which has been discussed extensively in relation to Siberian shamanism and Kalevala mythology by, for example, Siikala (1981), Kare (2000), Kivikäs (2001) and Lahelma (2001; 2005; 2007; 2008a; 2008b).

Despite various interpretations within Finnish scholarly research, shamanism has tended to be the dominate paradigm.

Interpretations given to ritualistic scenes in the [rock] art include hunting magic (Sarvas 1969), totemism (Autio 1995) and shamanism (for example, Siikala 1981, Lahelma 2001, 2005). Of these, shamanism is commonly favored today (for example, Miettinen 2000 calls it a ‘canonical interpretation’), even though alternative interpretations still persist alongside the shamanistic one (Lahelma 2008b: 123).

Furthermore,

[...] these paintings are generally thought to reflect the religious beliefs and rituals of the Subneolithic Comb Ware cultures that populated the Finnish Lake regions between 5100–1500 BC (for example, Edgren 1993: 84–6); Huurre 1998: 269–87) (Lahelma 2008b: 123).

By referring to the horned and triangular headed figures as shaman figures in costumes in terms of Finnish prehistory in relation to their identities given the geographical location in Finland, the traditions of Sámi, Siberian and Finnish shamanism as well as Kalevala mythology appear to have been mixed together in order to draw such conclusions. Horned figures have been found in rock paintings in Astuvansalmi, Ristiina; Hossa-Väräkallio; and Uittamonsalmi, Mikkeli, where the majority of figures are found. There are also human figures present who are not wearing or portrayed with triangular shaped heads or horns, thus suggesting a distinction between the two types of figures by the artists.

The second problem concerning the study of the material is that there is a general lack of understanding regarding an explanation of the reasons why the figures have been made distinctive through the notable traits of

horns and triangular shaped heads in the rock paintings, for example, which might be representative of identity markers, relating to spirits rather than shamans and what this means, if anything, with reference to cultural markers that are indicative of both homogeneity and heritage? Figures with horns and triangular shaped heads are well established as being associated with Sámi spirits from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as seen in Manker’s (1938; 1950) systematic study of Sámi religion and cosmology, as well as in Laestadius (2002). As a result of such analogies, a further investigation into the history of Sámi culture and cosmology, and rock painting research in Finland, as well as a discussion of ethnicity and cultural heritage, is needed.

It is important to note that amidst rock painting research, with regard to analysis into Sámi shamanism, the cosmological perspective in relation to spirits has been mainly elaborated on with regard to the Sáiva spirits that reside in the earth, from whom the Sámi noaidi learns his craft and with whom he establishes a working relationship. Meaning that the focus has mainly been placed on the narratives associated with the Sámi noaidi’s out-of-body journey and other types of phenomena, such as zoomorphic animals, related to trances, scenes, ecstasy, metamorphosis and the journey down into the earth below the water.

A focus as such tends to narrow the material to the extent that the feasibility of important homogenous cultural markers presented in the manner of spirits depicted in human form within the rock paintings have not really been given the consideration they deserve as a way of interpreting additional narrative scenes and myths in relation to Sámi cosmology and the powers of the middle and upper worlds of the cosmos. Instead, there are a number of other interesting theories that have been put forward concerning cosmology by, for example, Lahelma (2008a: 9) that have been placed on ‘[...] traditional Finnish-Karelian epic poetry’, thus linking the paintings with Finnish nationalism and mythology. One could ask the question as to whether or not an emphasis as such with regard to the probable depiction of Sámi myths in the rock art in Finland has to some extent reduced the prospects of additional interpretations?

Other examples of suspected reductionism include ‘there are no narratives known in Finnish paintings [...]’ (Seitsonen 2005a: 5) and ‘the art contains little in terms of narrative scenes and as such offers only vague clues concerning the intended meanings’ (Lahelma 2008a: 10). I could argue how this might be the case within the Finnish context, but what about Sámi narratives in relation to cosmology?

These claims bring into focus not only questions concerning the contexts of the art, but also highlight why in terms of identifying any possible ethnic origins, through attitudes as those noted above, any prospective cultural context of the paintings remain purposefully ambiguous.

Assessments from data provided within the field of archaeology, which has been conducted using the Shoreline

Displacement Chronology, suggest that the dating process is made difficult by large variations in the dating of the paintings in different areas and sites. Furthermore, a second and more complicated theory is that the origins of the rock paintings may not belong to either the Finns or Sámi, but to unknown cultures. Presently, these are the dates that have been recorded:

‘According to current understanding, the paintings of the large Lake Saimaa region date from approximately 5000–1500 cal. BC (Jussila 1999; Seitsonen 2005a), and similar dating’s have been suggested for other areas as well (for example, Seitsonen 2005b). This locates the paintings mainly within the period of the Subneolithic Comb Wares cultures, which practiced a hunting-gathering-fishing economy. However, the rock painting tradition appears to continue to the early part of the Early Metal Period (1900 cal. BC – 300 cal. AD)’ (Lahelma 2005: 29).

Archaeological, ethnological and linguistic study, which are the main fields that have engaged directly with the study of prehistory in Finland with regard to Sámi and Finnish cultures and their origins, suggests prehistoric rock art pre-dates Finnish and Sámi cultures by several thousand years.

In an attempt to establish further insight and understanding of the complexity that surrounds Sámi and Finnish cultural history in Finland and to highlight these points further I contacted Ante Aikio and Pekka Sammallahti who, in 2013, were both Sámi professors of linguistics at the University of Oulu, Finland. My questions were concerned with the existence of Sámi place names in areas where rock paintings are located and what their theories are on this matter in relation to Finnish culture, and what relevance this has in terms of ethnicity and the discussion concerning the origins of the rock paintings?

Concerning the ethnic connections of rock paintings in Finland, it seems quite clear to me that for the most part they cannot be either Finnish or Saami. The reason is that rock paintings are mostly too old to be connected with any modern or historical ethnic groups. Ethnicities such as Saami and Finnish are products of ethnogenetic processes that have taken place during the last 1500 years or so, whereas rock paintings in Finland are usually thousands of years older. Labels such as Finnish and Saami shouldn’t really be used on the level of remote prehistoric periods when the rock paintings were made, because Finnish and Saami languages and ethnicities (or, indeed, any modern languages and ethnicities) cannot possibly have existed back then. So I think you are absolutely right when you say that the rock paintings predate Finnish culture? But they also predate Saami culture (Aikio and Sammallahti, personal communication 2013).

It seems apparent that there has been a trend in academic discourse in Finland, despite the theories concerning the creation of rock paintings by unknown cultures, to place

the cultural context of Sámi shamanism within the realms of Finnish prehistory and culture.

To follow are a selection of published papers and quotes from within Finnish academic discourse that show how the rock paintings have been assimilated into Finnish culture and history.

- Reflections on Finnish rock art and ethnohistorical data (Núñez 1995);
- Finnish rock art and [...] rock painting tradition (Siikala 1981: 81–82);
- Finnish rock art, animal ceremonialism and shamanism (Siikala 1981);
- Communicating with stone persons: anthropomorphism, Saami religion and Finnish rock art (Lahelma: 2008b: 121);
- Politics, ethnography and prehistory: in search of an informed approach to Finnish and Karelian Stone Age rock art (Lahelma 2012);
- How rock art has inspired a ‘[...] return to Finnish roots [...]’ Kare (2000: 100);
- Reflections in Finnish rock art and ethnohistorical data (Núñez 1995). Núñez also introduces the theory of links with the historical culture of the Sámi, but in relation to sacrificial and sacred places.

Of course, it has to be understood that the Finns have the right to consider the paintings as part of their heritage, but as there are many scenes that are consistent with Sámi shamanism and cosmology from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it seems evident that these publications create a bias concerning the historical record of rock paintings.

Rock art research and Sámi history in Finland

Therefore, the central argument in this paper is concerned with how these designations allow the impression that Finnish and Karelian cultures are somewhat distinct from Sámi culture or that Sámi culture/religion fits inside Finnish culture. This might be because the Karelian and Sámi languages are similar, or because the Finns, Sámi and Karelians are part of the Finno-Ugric language group. However, in my opinion, it still does not justify such terminology.

One explanation for positioning Sámi culture inside Finnish culture when discussing rock painting is that Karelia is where many of the poems for the Finnish National Epic, *The Kalevala*, were sourced ‘[...] compiled and published by Elias Lönnrot in 1835 and 1848’ (Anttonen 2012: 195). Another possible theory, which supports my proposed enquiry regarding the dominant stance in rock painting research in Finland by the Finns, is that by assimilating Sámi culture and avoiding the use of titles such as: ‘Rock paintings in Finland’ or ‘Sámi rock paintings’ or ‘Finnish and Sámi rock paintings’, this practice is indicative of how an absence as such, provides a further platform for the acculturation of the art into Finnish history perhaps for the purposes of what Ben-Amos (1999:

xi) describes as helping to '[...] transform the Kalevala from a 'National Epic' into shamanistic poetry [which] enriches its symbolism and establishes the poem for a new position in world literature'?

Given the fact that Finnish archaeologists and anthropologists have carried out most of the research into rock art, these are indeed controversies that need to be brought to light and investigated with regard to establishing whether possible political or scientific motives for making such claims are justified? In other words, how labels, such as Finnish rock paintings/rock art, have created a potentially biased representation.

Despite numerous references to Sámi religion in rock painting literature from Finland. Many claims are representative of the colonial practices and mentalities against the Sámi that are well established in Finland, and in Sweden and Norway, which threatens to further assimilate the Sámi and their cultural history into Finnish society.

One could argue that the rhetoric might be an attempt to fill in some of the gaps in Finnish prehistory, but at the expense of Sámi religion and cultural history.

As a way to elaborate further on the problem of ethnicity and origin in relation to rock painting research in Finland and to be able to identify further motives for claims of exclusiveness regarding a cultural context for the paintings by the Finns, Sámi historian Lehtola (2002: 11) states:

The Sámi language belongs to the Finno-Ugrian language family. That means that Sámi is related to Finnish, not to the Scandinavian languages and not to Russian or any Indo-European language. The current thinking is that Sámi and Finnish forefathers spoke a common language 3000–4000 years ago.

Another way of providing additional views and theories in relation to the nature of the controversy regarding Sámi culture and possible links to the rock painting tradition in Finland is explained in detail:

[...] Finns, Karelians and Saami can all be seen as descendent communities (to borrow a term used by Cunningham, 2003) of Subneolithic Comb Ware populations is today considered probably the most by archaeologists, geneticists and linguists alike (for example, various authors in Fogelberg 1999 and Pesonen and Westermarck 2003). This view of Finnish prehistory, which because the dominant paradigm in the course of the 1980s, replaced an earlier theory that posited a relatively late (Early Iron Age) migration of Finnish speakers that would have replaced an indigenous Saami population (for example, Kivikoski 1967). Some critical voices have been raised against the continuity theory, as it is known in Finnish archaeology. For example, Fewster (1999) a political motivation behind the post-World War II shift from migration theories towards a notion of eternal Finnishness, and as Ante and Aslak Aikio (2001) point out that the archaeological continuity does not necessitate a linguistic or cultural continuity as far back as the Subneolithic. [...] But it should be noted that even its

critics tend to agree that in the light of the present knowledge the notion of continuity remains the most likely option (for example, Aikio and Aikio 2001: 14) (Lahelma 2007: 121).

Further elaborated by,

[O]n one hand, it is perfectly possible that a single culture has produced different kinds of rock art for different purposes. Even though the Finnish rock paintings appear rather homogenous in terms of style, location and subject matter, it may be unrealistic to expect that all of them could be fitted into a single, all-encompassing interpretation. However, on the other hand, I do not wish to downplay the otherness of the Stone Age past. There is no reason to believe that the religious practices recorded in the historical period have remained largely unchanged for millennia. Even if there is an evident continuity, changes have probably occurred (Lahelma 2008a: 49).

In addition to discussions concerning linguistic and archaeological research in relation to Sámi cosmology and mythical landscapes, questions have also been raised in academic discourse regarding the origins and development of the Sámi language, which may have also influenced how the titles of scholarly research papers have been created because of the ways myths and cosmology are intricately related to language. Once again, Lahelma states:

There certainly exists a close relationship between myth, cosmology and language (Cook 1980) – a relationship that is plainly brought about by comparative studies and reconstructions of Indo-European and Finno-Ugric mythologies for example (Dumézil 1958, Siikala 2002b). Although the Finnish/Karelian and Saami pre-Christian traditions differ considerably, there is a core of shared cosmological concepts, myths, beliefs – such as those associated with water-birds, bear ceremonialism and especially shamanism – that point towards a common origin (Holmberg 1927; Napolskikh 1992, Siikala 2002a, 2002b) (Lahelma 2007: 121–122).

Even though a comprehensive understanding of the origins of Sámi and Finnish religions and cosmologies is lacking, the Sámi perspective in rock painting research in Finland is missing, despite proposals for a common origin. Does this mean that all the religious practices were also similar or even identical to each other? To elaborate further, cosmology is often linked with creation myths, and because of this, Sámi ethnicity and culture remain poorly represented in rock art research. Instead of placing more emphasis on cosmology, shamanism and modes of travel we would have to ask whether or not investigation into the shamanistic paradigm has influenced the way researchers have sought the roots or ethnic origins of their own culture? The shamanistic precedent must be understood to be only one dimension of the study of Sámi religion as Lahelma explains:

Perhaps the single strongest argument that associates the art with shamanism of the kind practiced by the Sámi are scenes that depict falling, diving and shape-



Fig. 2. A photograph of a painting of a figure with a triangular shaped head and two arms at Sourunniemi, Puumala in southern Finland. Photograph copyright: Ismo Luukkonen (1994–2016, <http://www.ismoluukkonen.net/kalliotaide/suomi/>, accessed 29 March 2014).

changing humans in Finnish rock art anthropomorphs. The falling humans are usually accompanied by an elk, fish or a snake... these scenes are an almost perfect match with Sámi shamanism (Lahelma 2008a: 52).

According to Lehtola and Äikäs (2009), one of the most problematic approaches used in the study of Sámi history has been that:

[T]he Sámi have always been divided into different cultural groups that have adapted to different surroundings in different periods of time... Questions concerning the roots of the Sámi cannot be responded to by a single answer, and it is not possible to pinpoint an exact moment when the ethnic group called the Sámi would have come into existence. It is perhaps better to consider the development as a set of diverse processes that are connected to the problems of ethnicity but that may not necessarily be simultaneous or parallel. Ethnicity changes all the time at different levels. Some, possibly defining, features may remain intact century after another (Lehtola and Äikäs 2009: 10).

If it is the case that there might be ‘some, possibly defining, features’ (Lehtola and Äikäs 2009: 10) or that rock paintings may not belong to either Finnish or Sámi cultures, further questions are raised. Can we categorically say that all the research into Sámi history in relation to rock art has been made or represented adequately? Furthermore, if studies within rock art have lacked broader investigation into the traces of Sámi cosmology within academic discourse, then are there outstanding problems which need to be addressed? Could it be that perhaps one of the reasons why broader studies have not been carried out regarding discourse into Sámi cosmology within rock painting research is because to do so might reveal certain historical truths that would challenge the established views with regard to the cultural context of the rock paintings and their ethnic background or the value that rock art research may have within this study?

It is possible that similar styles of painting depicting figures with triangular shaped heads have remained over such a long period because the rock paintings are in such remote places.



Fig. 3. A photograph of a figure with a triangular shaped body painted on a panel at Virvelahti, Naantali, on the southwest coast of Finland. Photograph copyright: Ismo Luukkonen (1994–2016, <http://www.ismoluukkonen.net/kalliotaide/suomi/>, accessed 29 March 2014).

The aim of the analysis presented in this paper is to demonstrate how, in light of discussions concerning ethnicity and heritage, the artwork provides some basis for the long history of these traditions, their continuity and the underlying value that the figures seem to have had in terms of identity and cultural memory and as systems of embedded knowledge.

Materials

To expand on the theories concerning the significance of horned and triangular headed figures in Sámi history and traditions from rock paintings in Finland and on noaidi drums from Norwegian and Swedish Sápmi, and the similarities between them being representations of spirits not shamans, 12 illustrations are presented to bring the figures into focus for comparison.

A study of the images shown in Figs 2 and 3 suggests that their particular shape and design may have been carefully chosen.

The pictures shown in Figs 4 and 5 as well as the figure from a noaidi drum (Fig. 6), and have similar features with

reference to triangular shaped heads, and therefore, have significance and value for the study.

The image shown in Fig. 7 is not like the other stick figure images with triangular heads; nevertheless it helps to provide additional evidence of the symbolic features of such attributes, which have been seen on similar figures located on divination drums.

It is important to recognise in the painting shown in Fig. 8 is that human figures have normal characteristics where their heads are round, in contrast to the two figures with triangular and horned attributes. The differences indicate that certain figures were given specific features to distinguish them from ordinary humans.

At the top of the panel in Fig. 5, an illustration shows the body of either a large moose or reindeer without a head. Both the size and position of the figure have relevance when comparing with a number of reindeer figures on Sámi noaidi drums. Many drumheads exhibit a sacred or celestial reindeer or moose that is usually located either above, or in close proximity to, the vertical axis, which has the Sun at its centre that points north. This figure



Fig. 4. A digitally retouched photograph depicting a stick figure with a triangular shaped head interacting with a moose from a rock painting in Verla, Kouvola. Photograph copyright: Ismo Luukkonen (1994–2016, <http://www.ismoluukkonen.net/kalliotaide/suomi/>, accessed 29 March 2014).

and its position may be a portrait of a cosmological structure, which may be found elsewhere in Sámi culture. A reindeer in such a position may represent a typical portrait of a mythical being linked with the structure of a cosmological picture that represents a celestial destination in the sky between the star constellation of Perseus and Cassiopeia, which is located on the Milky Way. The reindeer is one of the most sacred animals to the Sámi. Below the headless reindeer/moose image, there are two painted stick figures that have triangular shaped heads that are reminiscent of spirits painted on noaidi drums.

In contrast, on Sámi noaidi drums, mainly around the middle and lower rays of the Sun that point east, south and west, we can find a number of spirit figures with triangular shaped heads and horn-like features. In some cases, the figures are just stick figures personified as the natural forces related to the upper and middle worlds. In the images there are different types of composition with distinctive features that separate them from each other,

for example within the landscape at Hossa (Fig. 5), such as humans, animals, figures with triangular shaped heads and a dancing figure that resembles a werewolf or spirit character with thick horns that look like ears, which may be a symbol of authority. It is important to observe how the artist has purposefully portrayed the differences in each of these characters.

In Fig. 6, positioned on the centre of the Sun cross, that represents the World Tree or pillar, in the middle of the drum, on the western section of the rhomb symbol that runs horizontally is 'Horagallis' (number 2), the thunder god, who is seen holding what looks like a hammer with a short handle in his right hand (Haetta 1995: 17). The triangular shaped head in this portrait is indicative of a holy or spirit figure.

There are two further figures with triangular shaped heads. The first, located on the vertical axis that runs south (number 6), is another god figure, namely 'Muddenolmai' (Haetta 1995: 17). The second figure (number 7) is 'Ailikes-olmal' (Haetta 1995: 17) located on the left



Fig. 5. A photograph of the upper section of a painted panel at Hossa-Värkallio, northern Karelia. Copyright: Kivikäs 1997.

of the southern vertical line. The figure holding a bow at the bottom of the drum (number 40) is 'Jukasakka' (Haetta 1995: 17), known to the Sámi as the 'Bow-woman, teacher of hunting' (Helander-Renvall 2005: 38). There is also a human figure (number 44) holding a bow who has a triangular shaped head, described by Haetta (1995: 17) as a 'Sámi on a bear hunt'.

At the centre of the drum shown in Fig. 9, we see Horagalles again holding large hammers in each hand (Manker 1950: 243). Horagalles is pictured in the same location on both drums (Figs 6 and 9). Below the central axis of the drum, facing south, there are three spirits in the same position as seen on the drum from Norway who do not have triangular shaped heads. The image of the rock painting from Astuvansalmi shown in Fig. 10 is important because the figures holding the large hammer is similar to the ones featured on the drumheads, because of the timescales involved these links may seem tenuous, but this is still a point of interest.

In the image shown in Fig. 11, on the right side pointing east a figure with a triangular shaped head is

evident (number 6). The figure is described by Manker (1950: 250) as 'Bieggolmai der Windmann', the god who rules over the wind. There is a reindeer on the left of the central axis, which is positioned above the spirits, and also one to the left facing west.

Around the central axis of the drum in Fig. 12 there is a range of Sámi spirit figures that have triangular shaped heads and what in some instances look like one eye, as well as the figure that is inside the rhomb symbol representing the Sun, in the centre of the drum. 'Horagalles' (number 3) and 'Bieggolmai' (number 7) are also depicted (Manker 1950: 270). Two reindeer are illustrated above Horagalles and Bieggolmai.

Above the central pillar on the two ridges or borderlines are seven Sieidi structures, which have facial features. These have triangular shaped heads and bodies. Thus demonstrating how sacred places and spirits can have the same attributes and characteristics, as identity markers, and Sieidi places may also have these features because of how spirits take up residence in them during sacrificial offerings and worship.

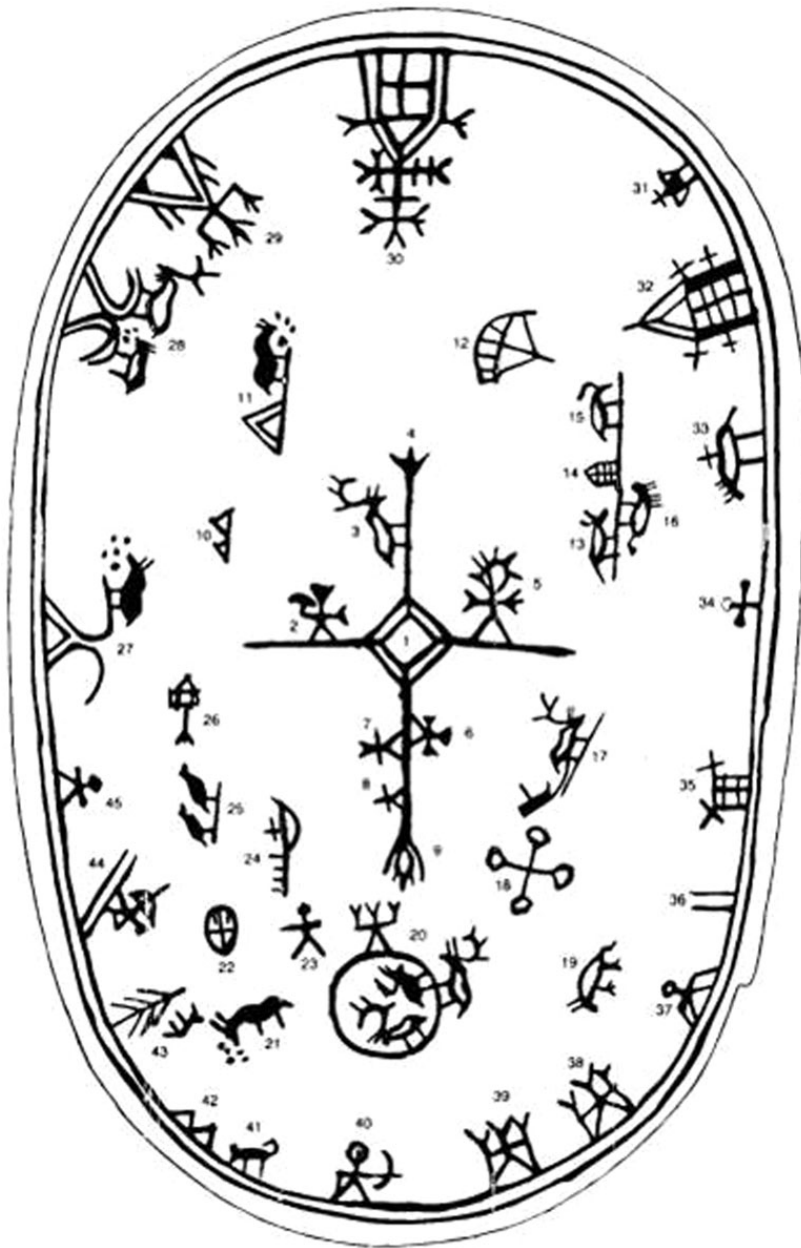


Fig. 6. An illustration of a noaidi drum (number 30) from Norway. Copyright: Manker 1950.

These portraits demonstrate that the same figures can be found in different positions within the mythical landscapes with regard to cosmology and the structure of the universe. Furthermore, the triangular structures of the figures on the drums are similar to the figures in the rock

paintings at Virvelahti, Naantali (Fig. 3), demonstrating links between these types of paintings.

The painting in Fig. 10 depicts a male figure that appears to be engaged in a ritualistic gesture because of the way his arms are raised. He also has a triangular shaped



Fig. 7. An image of a figure with a triangular shaped head and raised arms as if dancing, from the Hahlavuori rock paintings, Hirvensalmi. Photograph copyright: Ismo Luukkonen (1994–2016, <http://www.ismoluukkonen.net/kalliotaide/suomi/>, accessed 29 March 2014).

head and has horn-like features, which may represent a human figure in a ritual costume (Siikala 1981; Kare 2000). This image is important because its attributes and design appear to show a remarkable similarity with Sámi spirits found on the drumheads from the seventeenth centuries from Swedish and Norwegian Sápmi. Could the horned figure at Astuvansalmi be a type of transfiguration of the figures with the triangular shaped heads?

The portrait of a figure with pointed features on his head carrying what looks like an axe or a hammer in his left hand is reminiscent of the Sámi god Horagalles as depicted on the drums. Could the fact that the figure is wearing what look like horns indicate his status and authority as a deity in a primitive form? On closer examination of the shape of the head illustrated on drum number 30 (Fig. 6), it is characterised by horn-like features reminiscent of the horns seen on the shown in Fig. 10. The paintings at Astuvansalmi are dated at ca.7000–5700 (Pentikäinen 2007: 2e).

According to Haetta (1995: 13), Horagalles (also called Dierpmis) was associated with storms, lightning

and thunder, and the life giving rain that followed in their wake.

[Horagalles had] power over the health and well-being of people, their life and death. The Sámi, therefore, feared thunder – and offered sacrifices. Horagalles was frequently worshipped. He was depicted as a person carrying a hammer or an axe. Haetta (1995: 13)

The figures on the lower section of the drumhead in Fig. 13 (numbered from 49–54), all have attributes that could be identified as horn-type structures or markers designating authority and power. What makes these figures of special interest and adds another dimension to this debate is these are described by Manker (1950: 320) as the Sámi Goddesses of ‘the Akka group; Uksakka, Sarakka and Juxakka and Maderakka’, who are linked with the earthly realm of the cosmos. The illustrations and their designs are crucial to recognise within the rock painting research because they clearly demonstrate that both male and female spirits are assigned horned and triangular attributes on their heads in Sámi cosmology, embedded systems

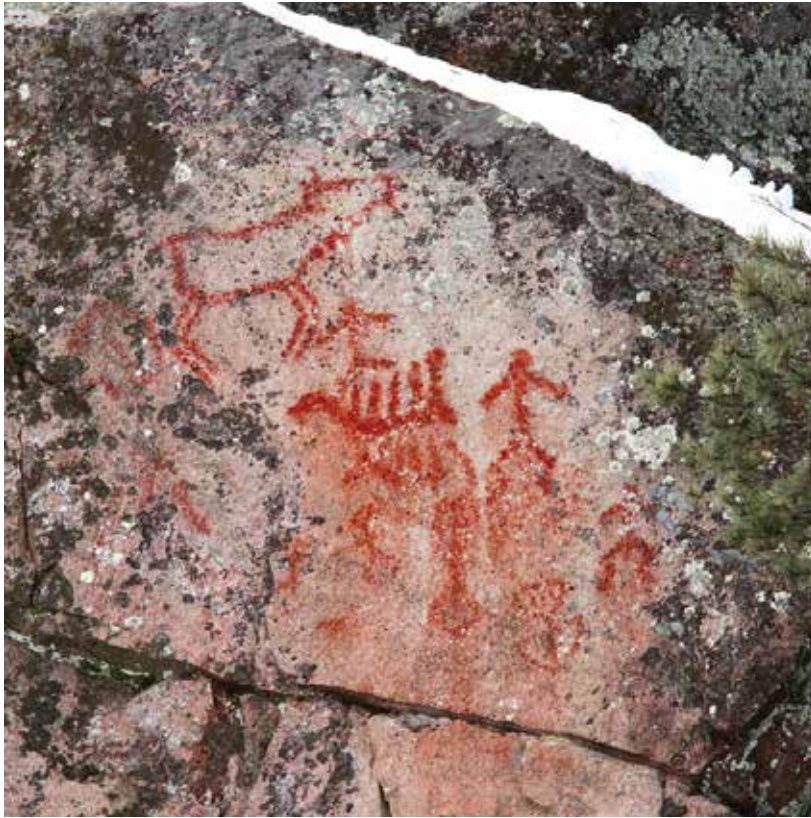


Fig. 8. A reindeer, boat and three or four human figures appear in the painted section of a rock terrace at Uittamonsalmi, Ristiina. The figure in the bottom right of the image has a triangular shaped head with two horns that are faint and also has facial features of eyes and a nose, as well as a triangular shaped upper body. Below the boat image is a second figure that has a triangular shaped head. Photograph copyright: Ismo Luukkonen (1994–2016, <http://www.ismoluukkonen.net/kalliotaide/suomi/>, accessed 29 March 2014).

of knowledge and could therefore, be termed as being associated with self-identification.

The use of the drawings of the figures from the drum-heads by Manker is important because they demonstrate how horns do not appear to be attributes designated to noaidi's in Sámi society. In the assessment of figures with horns in Manker (1950), there is one noaidi figure that has horns holding a drum, painted on drum number 22 (figure 44) from Swedish Lapland. The image is so faint on the original drum that it is not possible to see whether or not there are horns on the figure. The figure could be the spirit of a deceased noaidi holding a drum, because dead noaidi figure prominently within Sámi myths and traditional stories.

The evidence clearly shows how figures with horns and triangular shaped heads can be found on the Radien and Akka groups of figures within cosmological landscapes, alongside the spirits representing the weather and elements, who reside on the central pillar in the middle

world picture. Typically, the Radien group resides in the celestial or heavenly realm of the cosmos, as depicted on many drums. Horn-like structures are also found on paintings in sacred places, such as Sieidi sites.

In some cases, spirit figures with horns and triangular shaped heads are also positioned away from the central axis on the drum heads, for example, the Akka Goddesses in Fig. 13, signifying that they were dynamic not static, indicating that the religious traditions were animated and varied.

The comparative study of the figures found in rock paintings in Finland and on drums has helped to demonstrate how the features of horns and triangular shaped heads are interchangeable and can be modified within each illustration, for example, the same spirit figures can have either feature or both. Furthermore, there are many depictions of the same spirit figures that have matchstick heads and bodies, as well as being portrayed as large Sieidi structures on other drumheads, thus again,

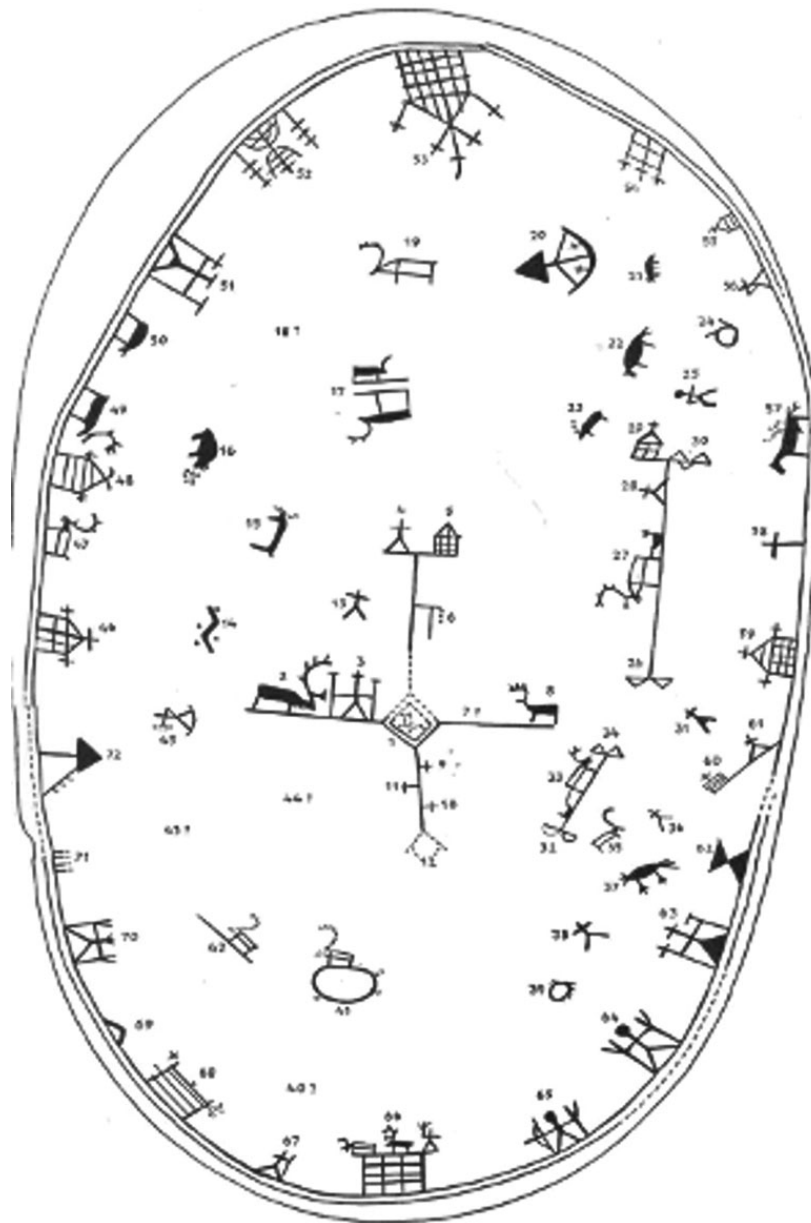


Fig. 9. A second illustration of a noaidi drum (number 8) from Lycksele Lappmark, Sweden. Copyright: Manker 1938: 492.

showing variations representing Sámi spirits within the cosmological picture of the universe.

Comparison of the groups and solitary figures with each other clearly shows that despite not knowing what the relationship between the figures in the rock paintings and noaidi drums are, evidence suggests there are many

similarities between the two sources of art, which appears to be centred on an expression of religious identity, systems of embedded knowledge and structures within the culture, in terms of religious practices and the Sámi picture of the world. Thereby, demonstrating a type of inter-connectedness between these two types of figures



Fig. 10. A painted panel from Astuvansalmi, eastern Finland, showing a male figure that appears to be engaged in a ritualistic gesture because of the way his arms are raised. He also has a triangular shaped head and has horn-like features, which may represent a human figure in a ritual costume (Siikala 1981; Kare 2000). Photograph copyright Joy (2014).

found within the cosmology of the Sámi, which extends back to prehistory.

The horned figures on the painting at Astuvansalmi (Fig. 10) and those on the drum heads from Swedish and Norwegian Sápmi that are holding a hammer (Figs 6 and 9) may represent the god of thunder.

[A]mong the south Sámi the god of thunder was worshipped for the sake of the reindeer and sacrifices to him could be very large. A big wooden hammer (two fathoms long) sprinkled with blood was dedicated to him (Rydving 1992: 26).

The variations between the figures on the drumheads are important because despite the fact they originate from different areas of Sweden and Norway there is clear evidence they have similar designs and attributes to the figures in the rock paintings in Finland.

To add further support to possible links between the figures from rock paintings in Finland and noaidi drums from Norwegian and Swedish Sápmi, rock carvings from Norwegian sites also depict images of drums carved in stone. In prehistoric rock carvings at Alta, Finnmark

in Norwegian Sápmi, there are similar horned figures, which resemble the figures painted at Hossa, Värrikallio, in northern Finland (Fig. 5).

The earliest indications of the use of drums stems from the rock carvings in Alta [...]. First there is the figure of a person beating a drum while walking behind a group of hunters, dated to between 4200 and 3600 BC. Then there are two persons holding a circular object, which may be a drum, among 12 dancers on a boat dated to approximately 500 BC. [...] Outside Finnmark there is human figure at Skavberget in Troms (Simonsen 1955, 1958) holding a circular object while in a movement together with another person [...]. The circular object can be interpreted as a drum. [...] Although the evidence is circumstantial, both rock carvings and rock paintings seem to point towards a long tradition in the use of drums, and shamanism (Helskog 1987: 28).

Results

The photographic material presented demonstrates that the figures with horn-like features and triangular shaped heads are significant in prehistoric religious practices and cosmology.

Perhaps the most important point that needs to be taken into consideration is that on the drumheads both horned and triangular headed figures appear mainly in groups in close proximity to each other, which it could be argued differ from the ones at rock painting sites where they tend to be solitary figures or two figures together. However, for arguing in favour of these figures representing spiritual beings, rather than noaidi's; attributes as such do, in both sources of data, help to strengthen the theory of the associations between the figures.

The nature of these figures imply that for purposes of identity and homogeny, and as a way of portraying the value system of the culture in terms of historical memory, the horned and triangular headed features and their designs in the rock paintings in Finland seem to reflect the divine attributes associated with spiritual figures on the drums, thus helping to construct the cosmos and portray a view of the world that is very similar to that of the Sámi, which sets them apart from the human realm in terms of noaidi figures. I believe this is what these figures have in common despite the temporal differences.

Given the occurrence of horned and triangular headed figures, such parallels have to be considered as a possibility for evidence of Sámi knowledge systems in the outcome of the research, because for example, the noaidi is the person who communicates with the spirit worlds. Furthermore, the use of horned figures to represent gods/spirits/divine beings is reiterated throughout the literature pertaining to Sámi cosmology compiled by Manker (1938; 1950). For unknown reasons, this has not been given the attention it deserves in academic research into rock painting history in Finland with regard to the study of Sámi religion and cosmology.

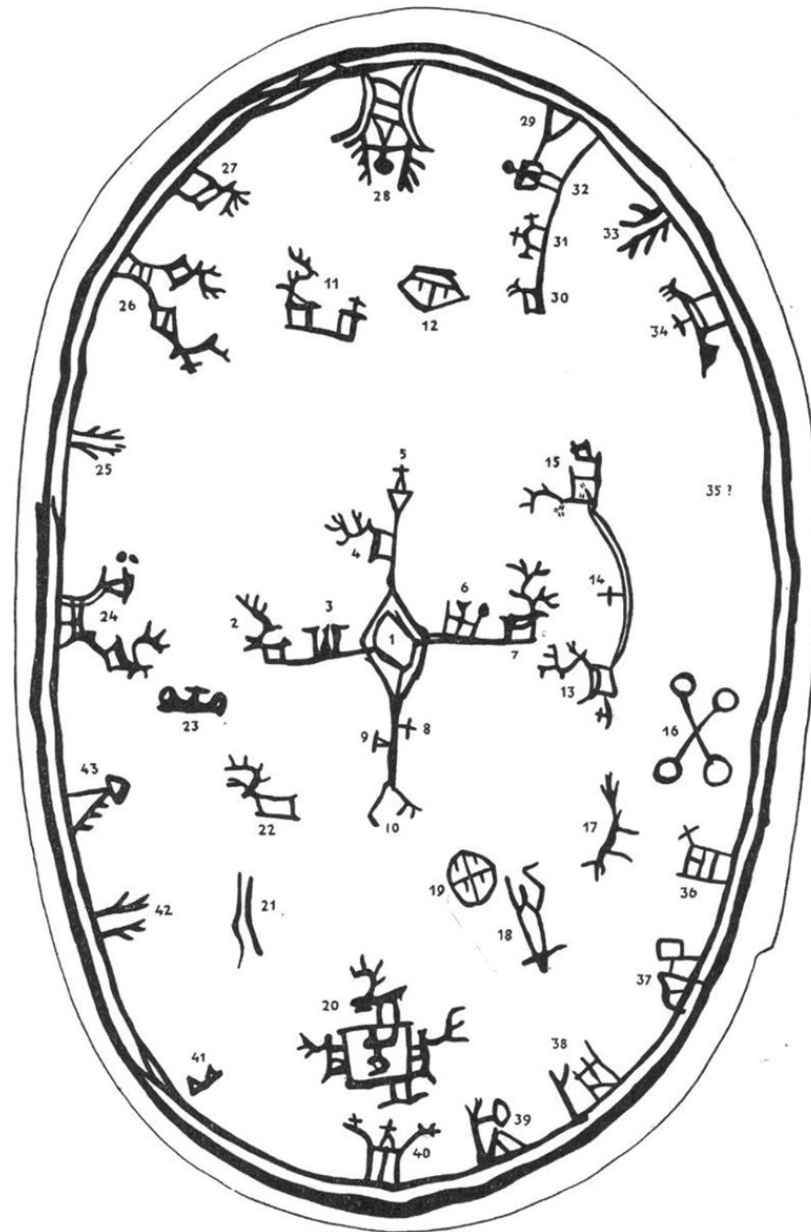


Fig. 11. A third illustration of a noaidi drum (number 10), from Lappmark, Sweden, shows the central axis in the Sámi world picture. Copyright: Manker 1950: 250.

With further deliberation, it might explain why there are so many striking parallels in overall groups of artistic phenomena in rock paintings, and why prehistoric rock art is located in areas where Sámi groups live or where they have travelled previously.

Concluding remarks

The primary aim of this paper was to demonstrate how, through the careful comparison, description and interpretation of cosmological features and structures found within Sámi noaidi drum figures from the seventeenth

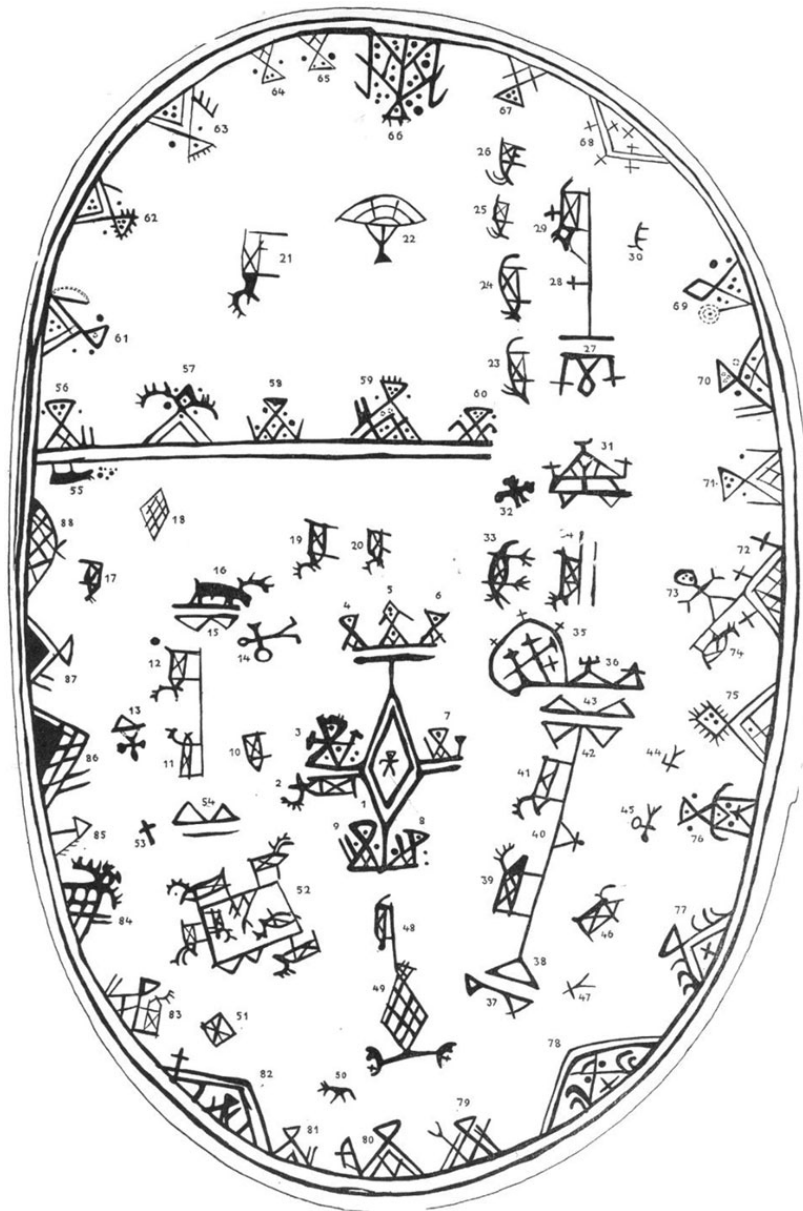


Fig. 12. Drum (number 17) from Lapmark, Sweden (Manker 1950: 270).

and eighteenth centuries and prehistoric rock paintings in Finland, a series of striking parallels between two aspects of cultural representation are recognisable. At the present time, there is no other data that has produced these types of results; therefore, the research demonstrates that this is a field of enquiry, which has not been investigated comprehensively. The results broaden our understanding of the links between rock paintings and

drum symbolism, not in terms of shamanism but cosmology and an inherent value system within a longstanding history.

To say that we have absolute proof that in terms of ethnicity, the culture that created the rock paintings is the same culture that we know today as the Sámi might not be totally reliable, but given the ways Sámi religion and cultural history has been treated through the mechanisms



Fig. 13. The lower section of drum number 32 from Åsle Lappmark in Swedish Sápmi (Manker 1950: 319).

of colonialism the facts presented here cannot be ignored and deserve further investigation.

There are patterns of design behaviour as well as consistencies that are apparent that convincingly show how people have related and interacted with the world around them, and this has been documented through a unique type of artistic vocabulary, which has been constructed in such a way that it has transferred across what could be the same culture.

The theories surrounding the cultural heritage of the rock paintings in Finland and their relationship to noaidi drums are ambiguous. The aim of this study was to question the established views on rock art in Finland, which links the paintings primarily with shamanism, hunting magic and Finnish culture. The cultural context of the rock paintings in Finland remains ambiguous and needs to be further challenged because there might be a conflict of interest regarding prehistory in southern and central Finland when it comes to Sámi history.

Criticism in the paper has been aimed at how the established views in Finland are consequential for the Sámi, due to the fact that early research into the history of the culture tends to have focused on forming some kind of shamanistic identity with the past and Kalevala mythology, which may have been beneficial for Finnish culture and the development of the mythology such as the National Epic. Questions of ethnicity in terms of linguistic research and the facts outlined above help to strengthen the argument concerning how both the study and value of art may also be a determining factor in helping to understand the ambiguous nature of ethnicity in Finland in relation to religious identity, homogeneity and the value art may have in this process.

Questions still remain concerning whether the rock paintings influenced the symbols found on the surviving drums from Sápmi or whether they were borrowed. The conclusion is that transmission seems more likely, but in the sense of the symbolism inherited through traditions and cultural practices that have been a series of internal developments, which have helped to sustain hunting, fishing and trapping practices and the crucial roles that

spirits play within these activities in relation to worship and sacrifice.

Both the decoration of boulders and drum skins are mechanisms for systems of embedded knowledge regarding the transmission of culture and memory, and this mentality has been well documented throughout Sámi culture for at least 1,000 years to the present. Therefore, these findings present a further challenge concerning the meaning of a historical link between the paintings, and what, if any, are the consequences for interpreting ancient history?

In conclusion, this paper adds further evidence to the study of Sámi religion as portrayed through ancient art history and cultural practices by demonstrating how recognition of the association between the figures may have helped advance Sámi research and taken a step towards understanding the remaining aspects of an ancient civilisation that spans thousands of years.

By giving consideration to Sámi traditional knowledge, hunting and artistic practices, the established links between the rock paintings and noaidi drum symbolism, which despite temporal distances do show one of the central aspects relating to the continuity of culture, and how the figures appear to be intricately related to each other in what could be called an indigenous value system and markers of identity.

Recognition of these figures and their links with each other as a group or groups, highlights how combined interdisciplinary research can make a valuable contribution towards understanding how the study of Sámi shamanism alone is, in terms of Sámi religion and cultural history, insufficient in matters concerning the ethnicity of culture and cultural heritage in Finland.

Figures with horns and triangular shaped heads

From an inventory of all the known rock painting sites in Finland, as of 2016, there are at least 15 locations where figures with horns or triangular shaped heads are evident. In addition to the sites discussed in this paper, there are paintings that feature figures with triangular shaped heads

at: Uttamonsalmi, Ristiina; Haukkalahdenvuori I, Enonkoski (close to the Astuvansalmi rock paintings); Vierunvuori in the municipality of Heinävesi; Humalniemi, Heinävesi; Kolmiköytisienvuori, Ruokalahti; Pyhänpää, Kuhmoinen; Ruominkapia, Lemi; Hahlavuori, Hirvensalmi; Uittovuori, Laukaa; Kalamaniemi II, Luumäki; Sarakallio I, Jyväskylä; and Halsvuori, Jyväskylä.

Of the 71 drums documented by Manker (1950) that are painted with figures, there are a total of 27 that feature male or female spirit figures with horns and/or triangular shaped heads (catalogue numbers: 5, 10, 14, 17, 22, 26, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 47, 50, 53, 54, 57, 58, 61, 62, 63, 68, 70).

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10 Summary

The results of the analysis and design of the dissertation as well as the five published papers brings forth a significant investigation and contribution into the study of Sámi shamanism, cosmology and art from three time periods: prehistory, the phase between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the present time. Linking these topics and eras together is the concept of art. The examination and revision of earlier material by the author, combined with new forms of data collected within these processes has woven a series of new approaches and contexts for the investigation of Sámi cultural history and tradition and these are summarized below as the major points within the research.

The collection and use of photographic material compiled in the dissertation has played a key role in strengthening theories and the methods used in the analysis as well as creating new paradigms with regard to the study of Sámi cosmology, shamanism and culture. Through a combination of the published articles and chapters contained within the study that supports these papers, the material not only brings forth new understanding regarding Sámi studies but it is an example of in what ways research can be developed and the different areas where this takes place.

The main research questions and subjects in each of the chapters have continuously demonstrated the importance of linking the past with the present with regard to understanding the impact of colonialism and what is termed as their conception of a never ending link between past and present.

The research into the relationship between prehistoric rock art and *noaidi* drum symbolism presents material that brings into focus significant parallels, which link past and present generations and cultures together. Moreover, cultural practices presented through art that span thousands of years, which question theories that there is no evidence for a direct historical link between the data and therefore, the Sámi may not have taken over the traditions and cosmology of an unknown culture. However, without further study, we do not know this for certain.

Through the use of multiple methods in indigenous research, the study of historical data brings into focus just how and in addition to archaeology and linguistics as scientific disciplines and their endeavours to broaden the inquiry into prehistory in relation to the study of rock art, by what methods art history and interviews with Sámi persons combined with these practices can be seen as a contributory approach for helping to chaperon new insights and understanding to the historical record in relation to the ancestral roots of the people we know today as the Sámi and their predecessors.

The rock art research in Finland has also demonstrated the attitudes towards cultural differences through the scholarly titles given to the publications presented in the two published papers in relation to this subject matter. There are more examples of photographic evidence of horned and triangular headed figures from rock painting sites in Finland that will be used at some time in the future to re-engage with this discussion, in addition to the ones already published.

An enquiry into the ethical issues concerning the existing concepts outlined in scholarly titles given to rock art in research in Finland as well as the production of new types of drums by persons from outside of Sámi culture have created the potential for new approaches and insights towards further understanding aspects of Sámi history and its relevance today. The analysis plays an important role in outlining the ongoing and potential impacts regarding the misappropriation of Sámi cultural heritage and what effects these may have on Sámi society in terms of further strategies of assimilation and misrepresentation of culture.

Concerning the Sámi *noaidi* who were interviewed; their work affirms in what ways there is still a core practice of shamanism existing within the culture. This is in contrast as to how the Sámi are usually very reluctant to share intimate details about their religion and how they engage with it, with persons from outside their society. The interviews combined with the photographic material introducing new types of Sámi drums and their decoration play a critical function as evidence of societal change but at the same time make known the issues noted above.

The drums made and decorated by both Sámi and non-Sámi persons validate the core practice of handicraft traditions and making art and show just how important this is within the Arctic culture in the north. The research has shown in what ways the Sámi drums are an internal resource used in identity building and the transmission of both knowledge and culture, whereas it could be argued that in relation to the representation of Sámi culture, the drums built and decorated by outsiders for marketing purposes are not necessarily viewed in this case.

Further investigations regarding what could be referred to as local tourism and unethical developments of sectors within this industry where Sámi religion and cultural heritage and the life styles of Sámi people are concerned, does not suggest any evidence of strategies that are respectful of the Sámi as an indigenous peoples, are in operation or have been implemented and are therefore, unregulated.

What has been interesting to note within the context of the research concerns what has been identified as a type of shift where the Sámi *noaidi* is very much seen as an artist, whereas in the missionary sources, the emphasis is placed on sacrificial activities, divination, conjuring and the use of magic and healing. Although, and as the research has shown, the study contains information about certain healing practices and methods that are consistent with Sámi traditions, the majority of participants who have been interviewed place a strong emphasis on the importance of art, because it is one of the key markers of identity and culture, as well as the visionary work of the *noaidi*.

What is likewise apparent in relation to the aforementioned is what ways, within the formulation of art, stories and myths pertaining to cosmologies, spirits and ancestors as well as modern life are all strengthened, documented and remembered.

The contribution by the author regarding learning and knowledge, which has been gained as a result of interactions with Sámi persons has been increased significantly, thereby, forging more awareness of the types of issues that can be encountered within research into the cultures of indigenous peoples, whilst at the same time, expanding on some of the ways to navigate through such unfamiliar terrain.

11 Conclusions

The title of the paper is Sámi Shamanism, Cosmology and Art, as Systems of Embedded Knowledge. As the rock art analysis is an extensive contribution to the study of Sámi history, culture, religion and symbolism investigated in the dissertation in relation to local Sámi traditions, I will begin the conclusion with this subject matter and then add my comments with regard to the analysis of both *noaidi* drums and new types of drums in relation to key findings, the main arguments and limitations of the study.

The data presented from this investigation into prehistoric rock art and my contribution to the subject matter concerning its relationship with the drum symbolism has been made evident to the extent that the results and conclusions in the analysis suggest additional links with Sámi history and religious practices in relation to cosmology, shamanism and cultural heritage. These phenomena, as kinship systems of embedded knowledge, which has been carried forward across millennia can be further understood as being related to each other, as the research by Lahelma (2008a, 2008b and 2012), Luho (1971), Autio (1991, 1995, 2000) and Núñez (1981, 1994 and 1995), have likewise, theorized in their scholarly research.

Through the results of my research it has been possible to further establish a significant number of analogies with regard to expressions and body language of figures, their postures, structures, designs, styles and the practices of presenting the art by the artists, from so many different locations, across three continents (Norway, Sweden and Finland). This has been a contributory factor in the analysis, despite not having a clear or concise understanding of the ancestors of the Sámi as an ethnic group within prehistory.

In addition to shamanistic practices such as flying and falling that is depicted through human figures at prehistorical rock art sites in central and southern Finland with regard to out-of-body travelling, who are engaged in identical practices found within Sámi shamanism as portrayed by human (*noaidi*) figures on drums from *Sápmi*, now additional evidence has emerged regarding other types of corresponding landscapes in prehistoric rock paintings in Finland. These findings point towards a relationship with Sámi cosmology on *noaidi* drums as well. For example, X symbolism representing sacred places and horned and triangular headed figures, which I have interpreted as possible representations of spirits, have created new paradigms in the data analysis.

However, I would argue that earlier research focussing on cosmological structures, attributes and cultural markers, such as horns and X type symbols on both drums and within rock art landscapes and what if any, a possible relationship between these may exist, has been fairly minimal because the practice of shamanism has, in relation to the emphasis placed on out-of-body travel, taken up a central focus in academic enquiry.

In the two published papers, titled: To All Our Relations: Evidence of Sámi Involvement in the Creation of Rock Paintings in Finland (2014), and *Noaidi* Drums from *Sápmi*, Rock Paintings in Finland and

Sámi Cultural Heritage – an Investigation (2017), as well as the content in the chapter titled: The parallels between rock paintings and *noaidi* drum symbolism in relation to Sámi and Finnish prehistories and oral traditions, and chapter titled: Further parallels and features in art, which could link rock paintings, carvings and drum symbolism with Sámi cosmology in relation to the debate about ethnicity; these findings have helped establish in what ways serious consideration has to be given to the following points.

Being able to identify other categories of figures such as X symbolism in addition to what have been previously interpreted as shamans' with horns, in the prehistoric art in Finland, which could be spirits, who likewise, show remarkable parallels through their designs, shapes and attributes with the Sámi spirits on *noaidi* drums in relation to cosmology, cannot be mere coincidence.

It is likewise important to remember there are boats, human and animal figures in rock art, which are reminiscent of those depicted on *noaidi* drums as well. Therefore, my role as a researcher with regard to questions in relation to Sámi cultural heritage, has been to bring this new evidence forward in such a way, it raises some fundamental questions regarding the relationship between these two sources of art and their cultural context. In other words, the differentiation between these analogous categories of figures (shamans, human, animal, X symbolism and spirits) shows just how such forms may have been designed and used for specific purposes regarding cultural expression and as identity markers and as a way of remembering. Thereby, raising further questions for future research concerning Sámi ethnicity and cultural heritage in Finland, which is what the study of rock art has been concerned with.

From an overall assessment of the links between rock art, *noaidi* drums and their figures and symbols as well as the emergence of new types of drums and handicraft items and their decorations, which include the migration of symbolism and figures from prehistory into contemporary culture, I would conclude how there is evidence with regard to the Sámi and the continuity of their traditions, as noted by ICOMOS (2002), concerning exactly how “as an essential part of culture as a whole, Cultural Heritage, contains these visible and tangible traces from antiquity to the recent past”.

Accordingly, there is a myriad of specific symbolism and cultural practices that have been recognised time after time by scholars from different Nordic countries, which suggest that despite an enormous time span that continuity of culture is apparent in relation to Sámi history in Finland. One can also find an interesting discussion about Sámi rock carvings from Padjelanta, northern Sweden, which is presented in the scholarly works of Tim Bayliss-Smith and Inga-Maria Mulk (2001); meaning the Sámi are known to have created rock art.

In turn, through the art, we see in what ways different forms of traditional knowledge has, despite not knowing all the facts about its meanings from prehistory, been carried across millennia and on into the modern age, as one of the aspects of cultural memory. As I have demonstrated, this memory of the past in relation to Sámi history is not something, which is distant, frozen in time and remote; it is a tradition that is still alive, flourishing and continues today throughout *Sápmi* and beyond.

What the research has also demonstrated is exactly by what methods these systems of embedded knowledge have been created and maintained using the organization of figures and symbolism as a method of recording culture, a technique that has survived for a very long time and one that is apparent within the Sámi tradition of *duodji*.

The investigation has shown the value of the works of Ernst Manker (1938 & 1950) and why there has been a need to use photographic data within the analysis. This material has helped demonstrate in what manner through the study of Sámi cosmology on *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there is evidence of both male and female spirits wearing horns and with triangular shaped heads. What has been equally as important for the discussions concerning cultural heritage and Sámi history

and ethnicity further afield from Finland, are the voices raised from inside Norwegian *Sápmi* from Ole Henrik Magga and Odd Mathis Haetta who have likewise, questioned claims within Norwegian archaeological discourse concerning the cultural context and heritage of the prehistorical rock art in northern Norway, despite its age in relation to their local traditions.

Taking into account the results presented above means the research and conclusions invite further study into this ambiguous subject matter. This is because Sámi cultural heritage is not officially recognized outside of *Sápmi* in Finland in relation to cultural monuments and landscapes that have been painted with images of cosmological landscapes that are consistent with Sámi oral traditions and myths pointing towards historical continuity.

There are further critical points that need to be stated here in relation to how one of the main problems encountered within the research into prehistorical rock art, which has to a greater extent, limited the study into the subject matter with regard to establishing ethnicity, is how and despite the cultures' we know today as Finns and Sámi not having an ethnic identity at the time the rock paintings were made in prehistorical times, there are, as Lahelma (2005) has noted, rock paintings in Finland that are not prehistorical and therefore, need to be further considered as to a possible origin.

In addition, the greatest limitation to the study of Sámi history in relation to rock painting research is what seems like an on-going reluctance to further debate Sámi prehistory in central and southern Finland. Therefore, addressing what appears as the minimization and subsequent denial of culture, which is bound by political wrangling and fear that Sámi culture would be recognized outside of the present day *Sápmi* areas in the north of the country, as is the case in Norway and Sweden.

As I have shown, and in the case of the rock art research, through such titles that refer the rock paintings as being Finnish, this does in a similar way to *noaidi* drum symbolism demonstrate how the material has been cleverly assimilated into Finnish culture. It maybe said there is no equality in such claims. This research has established why the topic of cultural heritage is important in terms of prehistorical research and rock art in Finland and why the Sámi should be involved in discussions concerning such matters.

With reference to earlier data published on the rock paintings in Finland concerning the findings within the research, as presented in the chapters and published articles, because the rock paintings are referred to as Finnish, we would have to ask what does that mean, ethnicity or simply the paintings are on what is presently Finnish territory, and what kind of problems arise from such claims in relation to Sámi cultural heritage?

Based on the artistic evidence presented above, the data confirms that further research would be contributory in relation to making more comprehensive and accurate dating of the rock paintings in Finland, as a way to better understand who, in archaeological research, these remote “[...] Subneolithic Comb Wares cultures [...]” (Lahelma 2005: 29) are exactly?

As the material has demonstrated that just because archaeological and linguistic research remains ambiguous in relation to prehistoric Sámi populations in southern Finland and a shared linguistic history with the Finns, the results of the research demonstrate how this enquiry can and should be debated further, because, it seems evident to me, the whole argument regarding ethnicity and rock art research is centered around what is considered to be this shared Finno-Ugric linguistic history. I have often wondered that if this is the case, how do we explain the linguistic histories in both Sweden and Norway and the Sámi language there with regard to a similar mentality regarding ‘Norwegian rock art and Swedish rock art’.

At the same time, and as the investigation has shown, Sámi society has evolved so have their world-views. Therefore, it is important to keep an open mind concerning the adaptation of the values, beliefs and practices of other cultures from prehistory that may have been merged together as a way to help

strengthen or meet the needs of everyday life of the communities. It is not possible to answer the question as to whether or not there was much more heterogeneity and variation between cultures in prehistory than we can comprehend today, or that traditions were much more diverse than we presently understand, but these points also need consideration as well.

On the other hand, is it the case where groups of artists or individuals who created the rock art managed to preserve and transmit an unbroken lineage of oral traditions, carrying them forward from their inception in prehistory, right onto the modern age? This is another important question worthy of reflection. The reason for this is as persons from outside of Sámi society in what ways can we fully understand and interpret the past of an indigenous population whose holistic worldviews and ways of relating to the world are different than ours, and especially in relation to in what ways art is made and used as a method for the transmission of culture.

An examination of the material concerning rock art research shows by what means the subject matter has been marred by complexities related to the notions of cross-cultural fertilization with regard to Sámi history and religion portrayed through various attitudes and interpretations of the past. It has only been archaeologist Inga-Maria Mulk (2013) who has confidently referred to the notion of rock art as being Sámi within a prehistoric context.

To round off the research on rock paintings and *noaidi* drum symbolism in terms of Sámi shamanism and cosmology and the unfolding of prehistoric analogies within this context, it is therefore important to make several further points.

It cannot be said with any degree of certainty at this point in time that all the phenomena in rock paintings in Finland or further afield, conform to, or are consistent with Sámi shamanism and cosmology. However and with regard to the investigation into local traditions, in addition to what is presented within the context of this study concerning more recently in Finland, 4 new rock painting sites have been identified that have been recorded. According to Ismo Luukkonen (2017: 1), these are at “Suurijärvi in Savonlinna, discovered in 2014; Ahotaipaleenmäki at Puumala, discovered in 2015, Kukkovuori at Kouvola was found in 2014, but announced in 2016 and Lammasjärvi, Raasepori (2017)”. These new discoveries have yet to be further investigated, but demonstrate how new materials are emerging within this field of prehistory.

Furthermore, and in relation to what I have presented in the analysis concerning new findings, contexts, paradigms, and the development of research into Sámi history and culture, it is important to take into account how the Sámi homeland also extends to the Kola Peninsula in north-west Russia. There are many rock art sites in this area, which could be critical to investigate, as a way of analyzing whether or not there are also other analogous figures and symbolism, which are parallel to those found in Finland, Sweden and Norway, concerning the cosmology on *noaidi* drums from Norway, Sweden and Finland.

One of the main challenges in the investigation concerning my role as a researcher with regard to collecting data analysis about drums has been the striving to represent the beliefs and practices of the Sámi community as an Indigenous People through the ethical approaches used within the investigation. This has been particularly important when I have attempted to show through what methods my theories about links between rock art and Sámi history have been consolidated distinctively, especially by the ways the artistic work of Elle-Maaret Helander has contributed to this study.

The findings and conclusions drawn in the research concerning the production and decoration of new kinds of drums and handicraft items, which are presented within the body of the dissertation in chapters titled: Another example of the continuation of Sámi traditions and symbolism through the artistic work of Elle-Maaret Helander; and Further examples of new types of Sámi drums, their designs

and decorations and my published paper: What Influence do the Old Sámi *Noaidi* Drums from Lapland Play in the Construction of New Shaman Drums by Sámi Persons Today? (2014). This combined research has demonstrated just how important these items are for the purpose of constructing identity and the expression of culture.

Within the course of the investigation and interviews with drum makers and artists, their knowledge has brought forth a variety of examples where past and present as well as their perspectives are woven into worldviews of the artists, thus producing a unified whole representing the cultural outlook of the world. Further observations of their works also reflects the respectful relationships with the powers of nature and the value these have with regard to reverence and veneration and the ancestral roots of Sámi culture.

Helander's handicraft productions, including drums, has provided significant insights, new evidence and understandings of these established ways of cultural expression and continuity through the reuse of symbolism featured in rock paintings in Finland and also *noaidi* drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Helander's work as a female drum maker, *noaidi* and artist does by comparison of earlier sources provide a new insight and understanding regarding a change in tradition, which earlier has been portrayed as predominantly male, and at the same time, illustrate how the practice of shamanism and making art continues in modern Sámi society. Her contribution is also demonstrative of the relationship between symbolism and epic, which are one of the central tenets in shamanism and cosmology, both past and present.

What the new drums and handicraft items furthermore reveal to us is in what ways the Sámi are a spiritually orientated culture. Examples of spirits and spiritual worlds as well as myths and stories of the *noaidi's* relationship with these phenomena is central to the belief systems of the Sámi and other indigenous peoples. Conversely, evidence is also portrayed through the artwork, depicting Sámi gods, goddesses, and deceased persons who are included in the artwork of Helander. Needless to say, verification concerning in what manner identity is constructed by means of relationship is visible through the ways in which the artists see the world as an interconnected living organism.

The limitations regarding the research were encountered within the language difficulties with Helander, in the sense I had to use a translator and to go through the translator to have questions and points in the research clarified in different ways. During the two interviews with the drum maker, it was difficult to be able to better understand her work because of time limitations and distance. In addition, Helander did not speak so much about her own personal spiritual work and practice of shamanism. I came to realize later that her work was in some ways, representative of Sámi culture in Finland and this is a subject matter I have not yet discussed with her.

However, and as a method for conducting a broader investigation into the artist's work, I have conducted additional research and obtained photographic materials concerning Helander's work, from an exhibition in Kuusamo, northern Finland, which has been published in Finnish language in 2015, in the on-line journal AGON, and titled: Saamelaisen kulttuurin ja hengellisyyden elävät traditiot – eräitä kohtaamisia (An encounter with the living traditions and spirituality of the Sámi).

Through the work of Elle-Maaret Helander, I could see how Sámi traditions are kept alive and animated through art and storytelling as a cultural practice.

New types of drums made inside and outside *Sápmi* continue this tradition but have different cultural contexts as I have demonstrated through the drums made by non-Sámi persons as well. In a sense, through the research presented herein, I have been very fortunate to be able to capture Sámi traditions, which are in a process of transition. Admiration has to be given to the resilience of Sámi people in the ways they have adapted to modern life and portrayed the identity of culture through art. I

have made a point concerning how from the seventeenth century, Schefferus (1971: 54) refers to drum users from the time as “[...] these artists”. This context relates to men who were also sacrificial diviners and drum players as well as persons who performed out-of-body travelling in relation to healing and magic, that were specialists at trance and ecstasy.

As I have shown within the context of the research, certain examples of how we have a new and reaffirmed understanding of the work *noaidi* does today amongst the Sámi, and some of the various contexts these persons operate within. This has been of vital importance for research purposes.

The conclusions drawn from conducting research into new types of drums made by persons outside Sámi culture has brought to light a growing concern amongst Sámi people in not only Finland but Norway and Sweden as well, in relation to cultural property that is being used as a commodity for tourism enterprises and promoting Finnish culture. The data presented in the chapter: Mind the gap - misappropriation of Sámi traditional knowledge; addressing in particular, replica drums and symbolism from the *noaidi* drums in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as handicraft products and jewellery, illustrates in what ways there is a clear lack of both guidelines, education and legislation on the protection of cultural heritage and the rights to heritage and traditional knowledge.

In this way, the hollowing out of Sámi traditions by outsiders is exasperated by the fact that in relation to the old *noaidi* drums and their heritage management, the Sámi do not have a role to play in the current state of affairs because so many of the drums are outside of *Sápmi* and owned by museums throughout Europe. This subject matter has been covered extensively also in the published paper: The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami *Noaidi* Drum Figures Reversed (2011), with regard to representation of culture. In other words, the Sámi are not really involved in these processes. Apart from replica drums and their symbolism being reproduced for tourism purposes, drums are also exhibited in museums abroad for tourism purposes and attractions as well.

At this point in time, more interest is being taken in issues and legislation concerning cultural property rights of indigenous peoples, including the Sámi, but it seems that in terms of the evaluation of both cultural property and legislation that protects and monitors it, this is not enforced by the nation states in order to uphold the integrity and heritage of Sámi culture.

Concerning the research into new types of drums by Finnish persons. It can be said that because of the missionizing period, the indigenous peoples from the Arctic north are still involved in the struggle of rebuilding and maintaining their culture and identity and this is what the research into drum symbolism in particular has demonstrated, but this is a subject matter that needs to be addressed much more extensively in research.

The history of Sámi religion in contemporary society is a vital source of inspiration for artists and therefore, it matters significantly that we know in what manner the symbolism from the drums of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are being reused outside of Sámi culture is therefore, critically important. The imagery associated with Sámi religion at the beginning of the 21st century seems to be more paramount than ever as Sámi culture revitalises itself, and the research above has demonstrated just how to some extent artists and *noaidi* play a key role within this process.

From the interviews with the participants involved in the practice of shamanism there are many examples of how cultural memory and identity is retained through the processes of engaging with local traditions that have survived the onslaught of colonialism. One good example is the remaking of the drum by Ovilla Gaup as presented in the paper: What Influence do the Old Sámi *Noaidi* Drums from Lapland Play in the Construction of New Shaman Drums by Sámi Persons Today? (2014), which originally belonged to Anders Poulsen, and the importance the instrument carries with it as a cultural marker.

It might be the case that arguments for the reproduction of new types of drums where the old symbols are reused, are one of the ways of trying to preserve or honour both the history and memory of the Sámi *noaidi* and what can be referred to as the Old Ways both inside as well as further afield from *Sápmi*. However, one of the pitfalls as the material above had demonstrated is in what manner reproducing drums in such a way by Finnish persons might be seen as disrespectful through this kind of behaviour in which the cultural memory of the Sámi is represented, expressed and marketed for profit, none of which goes back to the Sámi, therefore, raising a number of questions concerning property rights.

As a method for stating some of the greater implications of the appropriation of Sámi cultural heritage into the tourism in Finland, similar concerns have been raised for example, in relation to Native American artefacts that have likewise, been reproduced and subsequently appropriated into the tourist industry in America, as noted by Nelson (1982:1), who states in what fashion

“The economic impact of the souvenir industry can be important as much as it guarantees further monetarization of the native economy and its irreversible enmeshment in the world economic system. The economic rewards may speed the destruction of traditional roles and values and provide new role models for the younger generation of the acculturating minority society”.

Consequences as such, from my observations, are not even considered in Finland within the tourist industry or government.

The key findings and conclusions drawn through the research data compiled from the Isogaisa Sámi shaman festival demonstrates a number of ways the practice of shamanism continues and is in the process of re-animation, as a form of new shamanism that is combined with elements of traditional *Noaidivuohta*, the restoration of culture and nation building. In Finland, I have heard priests in the Inari municipality talking about how shamanism does not exist anymore. The research results from the Isogaisa festival in addition to the material collected from Sámi persons from the Finnish side demonstrated how this is not the case.

The freedom that has been granted to Sámi people from the Norwegian government in relation to the ways Sámi persons have the right to practice their religion plays a central role in how those who were interviewed were willing to share their knowledge. Through these consultations, I have been able to conclude to what degree of importance is placed on Sámi history, as a reference point for the foundation for the practice of shamanism today, and through what agencies its re-emergence can be seen as a form of self-determination and identity building.

As I have discussed in the introduction chapter, the interviews with *noaidi* is not a comprehensive assessment or portrait of the practice of shamanism amongst the Sámi. There are remote areas in Finland, Sweden and Norway, where *noaidi* practice their traditional religion, which is diverse and bound by taboos and customs that are kept secret, which means that in a general sense, the participants interviewed in the research only disclosed what they felt comfortable with, in other words they limited what they shared for their own reasons, which were respected.

Throughout the course of my research, some of the key findings, particularly with regard to the realization that so much of the traditional oral knowledge in terms of stories and narratives with regard to sacrificial practices and drum use and construction has already been lost because the information was considered too private to share, and thus went into history with the persons who carried that information. Moreover, what I was able to conclude from the stories collected during the interviews with Lilja Takalo, the manner the materials concerning the family history has been combined with Sámi cosmology and thus portrayed within the drum landscapes has demonstrated in what ways oral narratives are trans-

lated into art and have therefore, influenced the drum maker in her work. What Takalo's contribution to the research brings forth is different systems of knowledge that have been communicated from within the shamanistic journey, which it can be argued is what the essence of the creation of art is; a tradition that goes back thousands of years into prehistory.

The publication of my paper: *Sámi Shamanism, Fishing Magic and Drum Symbolism* (2015), and the contribution from Takalo were important because they demonstrated some the fundamental role and function mythic discourse plays with regard to sacred places and human-animal relationships with regard to shamanism. In addition, Takalo was able to express through the painted landscapes on the drum heads concerning constructions, designs and the influence her father has had on her work, some of the complexities encountered in her family history and the impact of colonialism regarding the loss of Sámi language in her father's family when he went to school. This, however, did not stop Lilja Takalo from continuing to work with the traditions, which she came to know as a child.

Therefore, as a way of continuing the research into Sámi traditions, I already have a collection of new material from interviews with a Sámi drum maker from Sweden which has been compiled through interviews.

In northern Norway and Sweden there is a new revival movement of Sámi shamanism, which is evolving as Sámi healers emerge from the shadows of the past and find their places again in the contemporary world.

Within the next year, I will also carry out further interviews with persons undertaking different types of healing work. In addition, I have also collected information in the form of photographs from Russian Sámi handicraft productions, that have been made within the tradition of *duodji*. The collection of material, will, at some point in the future, be combined to create a book, the proceeds of which, will go towards Sámi school children and their education.

I have come to recognise that for example, the Sámi in Norway, Sweden and Russia do not necessarily know what is happening in Finland in relation to the reproduction of drums, and so because the research and new forms of knowledge herein is cross cultural in relation to the Sámi in these four countries, I have attempted to present it in such a way it acknowledges and informs all sides.

It is my wish that this data, which contains a combination consisting of the articles as well as the content of the body of the dissertation which has been designed and constructed using combined research methods and approaches has made a significant contribution within the development of research into Sámi culture and history. I have strived to do this in two ways. The first is through filling in gaps in historical research and the second through developing and maintaining a relationship with Sámi persons. In each case, the material has sought to give the results and outcomes of the research back to the Sámi as a method for maintaining and upholding ethical requirements for researchers in general, but in my case from someone from outside their culture as a way of showing respect and some level of understanding of the culture.

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- Participant A.** 2017. *Forest Lappish Blood and Shamanism in My Family*: 1.
- Prost, Fredrik.** 2017. *The Use and Application of the term Noaidi in Sámi Culture*: 1.
- Tapiola, Ilmari.** 2013. *The Bowl Drum Exhibited at the Sajos Cultural Centre, Inari*. Translated from Finnish to English by Minka Maria Labba: 1.

Conference Papers

- Helander-Renvall, Elina.** 2014. *Changing Traditions and Applications: Sami Sacred Symbols for Living. A Paper Given at the Seminar Shamanism, Symbolism and Culture. Role and Function of Art in the Transmission of Culture and Cultural Practices*. Arctic Centre, University of Lapland, November 27-28.

Exhibition text

- Nordnorsk Kunstnersenter.** 2009, Kulturhuset Svolvær. SØNDAG DEN 15. NOVEMBER ER SISTE MULIGHET TIL Å SE UTSTILLINGEN MED HANS RAGNAR MATHISEN! *Kunstneren og noaidien*: 1-3. Translated from Norwegian to English by Paula Simonsen 2015.
- Helander, Elle-Maaret.** 2011. *Inaugural Instructions for the Awakening of the Drum*: 1-2.

Films

- Haetta, Odd Mathis.** 2003. *The Reindeer Coral at the Alta Rock Carvings, Finnmark, in: Images of the Past: The Rock Carvings of Alta*. Produced by Gaia Studio, Norway.
- Legislative documents**
- The Antiquities Act (1963/295).** *Following a Ruling of Parliament in Accordance with § 67 of the Parliament Act*.

Appendix 1

A concentrated list of literature sources used in rock art research and drums symbolism analysis.

- Lars-Levi Laestadius: *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* (2002)
- Ernst Manker: *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel. Eine Ethnologische Monographie. 1, Die Trommel als Denkmal Materielle Kultur. Acta Lapponica; 1* (1938)
- Ernst Manker *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel: Eine Ethnologische Monographie. 2, Die Trommel als Urkunde Geistigen Lebens. Acta Lapponica; 6.* (1950).
- Anna-Leena Siikala: *Finnish Rock Art, Animal Ceremonialism and Shamanism* (1981)
- Louise Bäckman, and Åke Hultkrantz, *Studies in Lapp Shamanism* (1978)
- Hultkrantz, Åke. *The Relations Between the Shaman's Experience and Specific Shamanistic Goals* (1978b)
- Milton Núñez: *Finnish Prehistoric Rock Art and Local Historical Traditions* (1994).
- Eero Autio: *The Snake and Zigzag Motifs in Finnish rock paintings and Saami drums* (1991)
- Eero Autio: *Horned Anthropomorphic figures in Finnish rock-paintings: Shamans or something else?* (1995).
- Eero Autio: *Reindeer and Reindeer Antlers inside the Sun-symbol of Saami Shaman Drums: Snake, Zig-zag motifs and Horned Anthropomorphic figures in Finnish rock paintings* (2000)
- Antero Kare: *Rock Paintings in Finland* (2000).
- Pekka Kivikäs: *Rock Paintings in Finland* (2001)
- Antti Lahelma: *Between the Worlds: Rock Art, Landscape and Shamanism in Subneolithic Finland* (2005)
- Antti Lahelma: *Excavating Art: a Ritual Deposit Associated with the Rock Painting of Valkeasaari, Eastern Finland* (2006)
- Antti Lahelma: *A Touch of Red: Archaeological and Ethnographic Approaches to Interpreting Finnish Rock Paintings* (2008a)
- Antti Lahelma: *Communicating with Stone Persons: Anthropomorphism, Saami Religion and Finnish Rock Art* (2008b)
- Antti Lahelma: *Politics, Ethnography and Prehistory: In Search of and Informed Approach to Finnish and Karelian Rock Art* (in press b)
- Antti Lahelma: *On the Back of a Blue Elk: Recent Ethnohistorical Sources and Ambiguous Stone Age Rock art at Pyhänpää, Central Finland* (2007)

These literature sources are from scholarly literature written by the aforementioned authors with regard to searching for a clearer and comprehensive understanding of the cultural context of the rock paintings that are located in present day Finland.

A study of the aforementioned sources appeared at first convincing that the origins of the rock paintings lay somewhere with the early Finns, and the titles of scholarly papers used in the research certainly supported this comprehension. Here is a list of the following titles:

- Siikala, Anna-Leena. (1981): *Finnish Rock Art, Animal Ceremonialism and Shamanism.*
- Núñez, Milton. (1994): *Finnish Prehistoric Rock art and Local Historical Traditions.*

Núñez, Milton. (1995): *Reflections in Finnish Rock Art and Ethnohistorical Data.*

Autio, Eero. (1995): *Horned Anthropomorphic Figures in Finnish Rock Paintings: Shamans or Something Else?*

Appendix 2

Below is a list of scholarly sources and the authors of each of the chapters from the book: **Working with Traditional Knowledge: Communities, Institutions, Information Systems, Law and Ethics** (2011).

Jelena Porsanger and Gunvor Guttorm (eds.). *Árbediehtu (Sámi Traditional Knowledge) as a Concept in Practice: Working with Traditional Knowledge: Communities, Institutions, Information Systems, Law and Ethics; 1/2011; and includes the following chapters:*

Jelena Porsanger and Gunvor Guttorm: *Árbediehtu-fá-gasuorggi huksen - Building up the Field of Study and Research on Sami Traditional Knowledge (árbediehtu)*

Gunvor Guttorm: *Árbediehtu (Sami traditional knowledge) – as a concept and in practice.*

John Bernhard Henriksen: *Some Legal Reflections*

Åsa Nordin Jonsson: *Ethical Guidelines for the Documentation of Árbediehtu, Sami Traditional Knowledge*

Jan Åge Riseth: *Can Traditional Knowledge Play a Significant Role in Nature Management? Reflections on Institutional Challenges for the Sami in Norway*

Björg Pettersen: *Mind the Digital Gap: Questions and Possible Solutions for Design of Databases and Information Systems for Sami Traditional Knowledge*

Erik Norberg and Birgitta Fossum: *Traditional Knowledge and Cultural Landscape*

Jelena Porsanger: *The Problematisation of the Dichotomy of Modernity and Tradition in Indigenous and Sami Contexts*

Appendix 3

Modern sources which have contributed to the increase in awareness of Sámi shamanism.

One of the main shifts or contrasts we may capture today in relation to the important role literature sources play regarding the construction and reproduction of Sámi drums and decorative items which have rock painting designs on them, built by both Sámi and non-Sámi persons is as follows. Swedish author and journalist Jörgen Ingvar Eriksson published a book in English language titled: *Sometimes Miracles Happen: On Saami Shamanism and Traditional Healing* (2004), which includes covers the healing methods used by eight Sámi healers: Mirakel Mikkil (Miracle Fox), Henrik Kuhmunen, Per Simma, Adolf Kelottijärvi, Yngve Perthu, Torbjörn Arnold, Randi Irene Losoa, Eirik Myrhaug and Ailo Gaup” (Eriksson 2004: 17-26).

Further contributions by Eriksson can be found through different books on the study of Sámi shamanism, namely: *Vandrare i två världar – Samisk shamanism bok 2* (2004). This is book no 2 on Saami shamanism and it contains interviews with seven Saamis that are active within the field that was originally defined as the shaman's responsibility. This book is an attempt

to describe present-day Saami shamanism in a global perspective and as part of the indigenous peoples' struggle for self-determination and cultural identity" (Eriksson 2012: 1). Another publication: *Rune Magic and Shamanism* (2012). "This book describes the runes as processes, their origins and meanings and how they can be used as an excellent tool in order to think and act in beauty. Its aim is to be a manual to the shaman's philosophy and practice" (Eriksson: 2012: 1) A later publication from 2009 titled: *Var tids noaidi – Samisk shamanism (= A Noaidi for Each Time, 2009)*. This book contains the best parts from books no 1, 2 and 3 in updated and enhanced versions.

Several new chapters have been added, based on travels and interviews made in *Sápmi* during 2008. Saami shamanism is still a living tradition, creatively applied to modern times by traditional and new [...] [practitioners]" (Eriksson 2012: 1)¹⁰⁰

Later sources are Tore Ahlbäck, and Jan. Bergman (editors.): *The Saami Shaman Drum; Based on Papers read at the Symposium on the Saami Shaman Drum held at Åbo, Finland, on the 18th–20th^h of August 1988 (1991)*. These texts have also been instrumental for non-Sámi persons who make drums.

¹⁰⁰ This information was taken from Eriksson's website on October 7th 2015. Further information can be found by visiting: <http://norrshaman.net/English.htm>