Creating Diversities

Folklore, Religion and the Politics of Heritage

Edited by
Anna-Leena Siikala, Barbro Klein and Stein R. Mathisen

Studia Fennica
Folkloristica

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Foreword

Extensive transnational migrations, recent changes in the political map of Europe and globalization manifested in the exchange of not only of goods but also of ideas and life styles have led to a world where multiculturalism and ethnic differences have become issues of increasing importance. In the Nordic countries, recent immigration has furthered new relationships between majorities and minorities, immigrants and ethnic groups. What is the role of folklore in multicultural societies undergoing these transformations? To what extent can the study of folklore shed light on the cultural, political and historical models that are now being shaped? These questions and issues have been at the center of interest in the Nordic research project "Folklore, Heritage Politics and Ethnic Diversity" which was led by professor Barbro Klein (SCASSS) in Sweden and financed by NOS-H and NorFa. The co-ordinator in Norway was associate professor Stein R. Mathisen and in Finland academy professor Anna-Leena Siikala with Dr. Pertti J. Anttonen. During 1998–2001, the project leaders, other researchers, and a network of twenty post-graduate students from different Nordic and Baltic countries held several meetings. The present collection of articles is a result of two of these meetings. The first, "Folklore, Museums and the Politics of Heritage" took place in Tartu, Estonia, in May 1999 and was organized by Anna-Leena Siikala and Pertti Anttonen with the generous assistance of professor Ülo Valk who also hosted the event. The other, a symposium entitled "Folklore, Religion, and Diversity Politics" took place in June 2000 in Alta, Norway, and was organized by Stein R. Mathisen and Kjell Olsen.

The aim of this anthology is to emphasize two important factors in the cultural political exchanges that have taken place in the past and continue to take place between majority groups (which tend to dictate the conditions for these exchanges), historical minorities, and recent immigrants. The first factor is religion which plays a crucial role for the understanding of both the self-representation and the oppression of a group. The second factor is the role of national or regional ethnographic or cultural historical museums and archives in representing the images of minorities in different political climates, images which greatly affect the general understandings of the peoples involved. In addition, the contributors to this volume explore ways in which issues linked to religion or museums and archives intersect with folkloristic perspectives and materials.

The recent waves of globalization have opened up new ways to display the culture of indigenous peoples. Their efforts in seeking possibilities for self-expression and in voicing claims have been both a counter-force to economic development and at the same time a part of it. Sámi living in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Northern Russia have participated in these global movements and been highly visible within them. In his contribution to this anthology Stein R. Mathisen illuminates the images of the Sámi created by researchers and by cultural politics in Norway. He emphasizes that in contemporary discourse the cultures of indigenous people tend to be described as authentic, ecologically sound, and creative. However, during earlier historical periods Sámi culture has been represented in entirely different ways. In the nineteenth century, a strong traditional culture was regarded as primitive. The Sámi were even considered to be on such a low stage of development that it was impossible to civilize them. Narrow understandings of indigenous cultures tend to lead to political marginalization and ideologies of conservation. As Art Leete shows in his article dealing with the Nenets and Ob-Ugrian religion, the images created about these Siberian peoples by Western scholars are astonishingly similar to those created about the Sámi. Furthermore, the testimonies of local priests supported the descriptions by early researchers and travellers and, as a whole, the history of the Russian indigenous peoples was for centuries strongly influenced by the missionary policies of the Russian Orthodox Church, policies that the state supported. As Jelena Porsanger (Sergejeva) demonstrates in her article, the culture of the Eastern Sámi received its special features as a result of the Russification imposed by Church and State. Yet, at the same time as Sámi cultures and dialects differ from each other due to politics and history, some cultural expressions have come to be accepted as common identity symbols. Kjell Olsen's article is an analysis of one of the most significant of these identity symbols: *joik* singing. When the *joik* was introduced into institutional discourses, it achieved new meanings, becoming a tool of the educational system, heritage preservation and the global music industry. According to Olsen, the new institutional meanings have elevated the *joik* so that it is even suitable for Christian assemblies. At the same time, the new meanings have narrowed the communicative potential of *joik* singing in local communities.

The history and representations of Russian Finns or Finnish Russians differ greatly from the history and representations of indigenous peoples. The Ingrians, who in the early 1990s were granted permission by President Mauno Koivisto to move from Russia to Finland, are descendants of people who left Finland three hundred years ago. Pekka Hakamies describes the history and present situation of the Ingrian Finns in Finland. During the Stalin regime they were transported to Siberia and had to hide their linguistic and cultural specificity. Their tragic history forced them to hide or change their ethnic identity until recent times. The "repatriated" Ingrians in Finland differ from the Finnish majority by their Russian culture and language and from Russians in Finland by their Lutheran religion. According to Hakamies, there are three possibilities available to the Ingrians in Finland: to integrate with the Finnish majority, to maintain a Russian Finnish identity, or to create a special Finnish Ingrian identity. On the whole, the most successful Russian immigrants in Finland are those who have achieved celebrity status, for example as athletes. Noting that migration leads to an increase in the number of people professing a transnational identity, Jyrki Pöysä examines issues linked to gender and to the expression of "banal nationalism" in sports journalism. "Who can represent us?" and "What is Finnishness?" are questions frequently asked by sports journalists. Ultimately such questions lead to a need to redefine Finnishness. Is language the only criterion?

The media has a decisive role in defining who "we" are and who the "others" are. Since religious practices and religious faith are often profound aspects of our notions of who we are, issues of otherness are often most striking and visible within the area of religion. Barbro Klein analyzes the meeting-ground between "us" and the "others" in her discussion of miracles embodied in a fifteen-year-old Syrian immigrant girl, Samira Hannoch, who saw Jesus and a Syrian Orthodox saint in her visions in Södertälje, Sweden. Oil poured out of the girl's body and from the image of the saint and tens of thousands of people came to be blessed by her. People of various ethnic and religious affiliations were captivated by the miracle which led to intense debates involving not only religious leaders but government employees, medical workers, journalists, etc. Klein examines the role of the mass media, especially TV, in disseminating and interpreting stories about Samira's experiences. Conflicting interpretations strengthened prejudices towards the Syrian Orthodox community. Yet, at the same time the events created bridges between different kinds of people so that the mystery united both Swedes and immigrants. Still, writes Barbro Klein, the visual techniques of TV, which made the miraculous events a part of the collective Swedish memory, also created an image of an exotic Oriental, an icon of Otherness.

The media is powerful also in Post-Soviet Russia where new religious movements and activities are prevalent. Galina Lindqvist examines transcultural beliefs and practices in Moscow circles interested in Western Voodoo magic. She refers to Jonathan Friedman, according to whom a distinction must be made between weak globalization (which entails the sheer availability of global structures), and strong globalization (in which the patterns of attribution of meaning are changed). In describing the new religious movements and practices in the Moscow area, Lindqvist uses Friedman's ideas. But she also points out the importance of the concept of ecumene, a habitat of meaning. After perestroika new forms of religious life penetrated to create ecumenes out of previously disparate elements, among them a variety of African and American magical practices. New ecumenes evolved out of encounters between peoples representing different cultural values. For the majority of Russians Western infrastructures represent weak forms of globalization. For some people, however, such as Voodoo magi, these infrastructures figure in attempts to redefine deep cultural meanings. The Moscow Voodoo priestess Helena Santera, for example, is a strong globalist who uses material drawn from around the globe. She has created a new identity by breaking away from several Russian ideologies. Among them are not only the secular scientific one and the Russian Orthodox one but also Russian folk models because these reject the African elements of her cult as inferior and primitive.

The recent expansion of the field of religions in Russia does not include only Western phenomena but also so-called nature religions which are now practiced openly among the Finno-ugrian and Siberian minorities. Thus the annual animal sacrifices that re-emerged in the 1980s and 1990s among the Khanty now play an important role in strengthening Khanty identity; in his article Art Leete notes that native political leaders take part in these rituals, even though other local authorities reject them. The Khanty rituals are practiced in traditional, sacrificial places. Such holy places are, indeed, important symbols for religious groups. They are also grounds where faith and the right to execute religious ideology are contested as Anna-Leena Siikala demonstrates in her analysis of the meaning of mental maps and the religious significance of sacred places for indigenous groups. The holy groves, the sacrificial sites of the Khanty and the Udmurts were kept secret during the Soviet period but became important instruments in the ethnic movements of the 1990s because they bear the historical memory of the group. The rebuilding of the groves went hand in hand with the renewed identity construction of these groups. Yet, as Pia Karlsson Minganti shows, the same logic is visible in a highly modernized society as well. The building of mosques in Sweden symbolically binds immigrants to the new country. Spaces once lacking cultural importance to newcomers is transformed into Muslim spaces. But, it has to be remembered that there is seldom consensus in the process of establishing ethnic and religious symbols. The meanings of sacred places are determined by conflicting interests, intentions and ideologies. Both in the Russian and Swedish cases, the building of visible symbols of religious difference led to counter- reactions.

In a globalizing world, the space that anchors cultural identity is changing as Joann Conrad demonstrates in her article in which she examines the ethno-politics of everyday geography in Northern Norway. In the world of displaced peoples cultural identity is not anchored in stable communities with shared traditions. Rather, the place where one belongs has to be reached through the imagination. Following Arjun Appadurai, Conrad argues that all cultural processes imply the articulation of difference and that this difference is neither fixed nor especially local but interactive and improvisational. Throughout history the concept of the North has been a romantic construction: a hostile land to be conquered. For the Sámi the natural and authentic relationship to the mystical North represents their rights to the land. Conrad examines maps and mental maps constructed in local lore. Through such genres people create a space that is meaningful at the same time as it is always subject to the conditions of the human mind. She emphasizes that the more the Sámi become global and internationalized, the firmer their articulated identity is anchored in the Sámi core area. The roads and routes leading to and from this core form an ambivalent field of meaning; they mediate between personal experiences and "official" intentions, between the local and global. Sámi identity is legitimated by evoking the "local" but the narratives of ethno-political discourses are evoked in national and global contexts.

The use of historically meaningful religious places in a national agenda is studied by Pertti J. Anttonen. The Catholic Bishop Henrik possibly came to Finland from Sweden in the twelfth century in order to strengthen political ties with Sweden by carrying out missionary work. He was killed by a Finnish peasant, Lalli, who today is a symbol of Finnish national sovereignty and independence. In Finland the fate of Bishop Henrik has been a source of oral tradition and pilgrim practices originating in Catholic times. But nowadays the heritage of the Bishop Martyr is claimed not only by Catholics but also by the Lutheran Church. In 1983, the first ecumenical pilgrimage along the Saint Henrik Road was organized; the participants came from Lutheran, Orthodox, and Catholic congregations in Finland. The week-long pilgrimages reflect the need for co-operation between different religious denominations. Pilgrim rhetoric stresses a need for unity, a moral community of Christians. Hence, pilgrimages with their locally anchored historical themes are a part of the construction of a nationally important heritage.

In the Nordic countries as well as elsewhere, museums and archives have played a decisive role in creating images of nations and ethnic groups. As important tools for cultural policies many of them have been both financed and controlled by state authorities. Moreover, at different historical moments, experts employed by museums and archives have been guided by different scientific ideas and ideologies. For this reason there are visible differences in the ways in which ethnic diversity is represented in museums and archives. In her contribution Zoë-Hateehc Durrah Scheffy describes the differences between exhibitions of Sámi drums in various Norwegian and Swedish museums. Each museum has constructed its own contexts for presenting Sámi traditional spirituality but the exhibitions also reflect different relationships between museums and state. Of particular interest is the Swedish museum, Àjtte, which claims to have adopted the voice of the Sámi. The problems of voice and of ownership of cultural property also concern archival collections, even if the nature of collected and kept traditional materials is different. Tuulikki Kurki examines the principles of Finnish archival practices in the late nineteenth century by focussing on the activities of Heikki Meriläinen, a self-educated peasant collector. Meriläinen interpreted the folklore he collected himself, although he lacked ethnographic authority. He did not master the canonized rules of ethnographic writing and in his textual constructions he represented the voice of the people from whom he collected – a voice rejected for years by the archivists. Kurki studies the boundaries of ethnographic authority and the process of negotiations of tradition from the field to academic and literary contexts. The ambivalence of Meriläinen's position was also furthered by Fennoman intellectuals, who celebrated peasant authors for their own reasons. They wanted to establish an alliance with the representatives of the "folk" in order to become spokesmen for the Finnish people.

The importance of carefully selected artefacts in communicating the values of an ethnic group is emphasized in the article, "Christmas in Lindsborg," in which Lizette Gradén investigates miniature replicas of historical buildings symbolizing Swedishness in Lindsborg, Kansas. Lindsborg has launched itself as "Little Sweden U.S.A." with the *dala* horse as official town symbol and the displays of these building miniatures are linked to tourism. Of course, such uses of older cultural forms for economic purposes are among the main forms of preserving and presenting heritage. In the final article Kjell Olsen analyses different dimensions of such heritage processes in Northern Norway, where Sáminess with its exotic and aesthetic potential is important for the tourist industry. In this part of Norway tourist attractions are shaped in accordance with international models so that stereotypes and emblematic signs are selected to be sold. However, in these communities the occupational and cultural diversity is great among those who identify themselves as Sámi. Many people profess several identities. Who then are the emblematic Sámi depicted in the tourist advertisements? For those who claim political rights over the territory it is important to present themselves as bearers of Sámi tradition and to represent Sáminess. But for those whose occupations differ from the traditional ones and whose life-style resembles that of many other Norwegians, the idea of the "emblematic" Sámi is problematic. Nevertheless, the tourist gaze is an important element in present day Sámi culture and like other indigenous peoples they have to deal with the consumption of their culture by outsiders, because it is a valuable source of income. At the same time they have to find ways to lead a normal life in a modern society.

The themes of our collection are diverse, but so are the peoples and situations studied. Yet, they are all to be found in the Nordic countries and Russia. The nation state programmes that formulated ideas of Finnishness, Norwegianness, Swedishness and Russianness (or Sovietness) once dictated the selection and display of folklore and artefacts to be collected and preserved in archives and museums. In many respects, these hegemonic national ideologies have continued in the museums and archives to the present day, even though new immigrants and minorities transform everyday life in these countries. Cultural historical and ethnographic museums and archives are symbol makers for nations and ethnic groups. As is the case with other forms of ethnographic representation they create, confirm, and reconfirm images of us and others. Hence, the museum and archive politics and policies must be re-evaluated and re-interpreted frequently. Such re-evaluation has also been the goal of several of the contributions to this book.

In a globalizing world the relationships of ethnic groups and nations are transformed so that places once disparate and distant from each other enter into dialogues with each other. In this flow of ideas and images, people seek their cultural anchors in different ways, be they inherited traditions, new reconstructions of ethnicities, economically beneficial forms of cultural display, or religious faiths and practices. Perhaps more than any other cultural expressions, religions (as "ultimate" forms of culture) have the powers to unite and divide. For this reason religions are important tools in the constructions of ethnic selves and in the establishing of boundaries between groups.

We hope that this collection, because of its many diverse cases and analyses, will offer new insights and background materials for discussions that must go on, because the world we live in is not stable. On the contrary, the flow of migrants and their life conditions are rapidly changing as is the situation of the indigenous populations and the nation states in which we live.

As editors we are grateful for the generous assistance we have been given in producing this book. Special thanks to Saara Paatero for her great contributions as editorial secretary, to technical assistant Pirkko Hämäläinen, and to professor Karen Armstrong for correcting the language of most of the articles.

Helsinki, Uppsala, and Alta in November, 2003
Anna-Leena Siikala, Barbro Klein and Stein R. Mathisen

Representing Ethnicity and Religious Diversity

STEIN R. MATHISEN

Hegemonic Representations of Sámi Culture

From Narratives of Noble Savages to Discourses on Ecological Sámi

There is a great interest in the material culture and the spiritual heritage of indigenous peoples today. Generally these cultures are understood in contemporary discourse as natural, authentic, noble and creative, and in many cases they are seen as representing alternatives to the negative consequences of a modern, contemporary way of life. But it is problematic that this positive image of indigenous cultures is so deeply rooted in how the majority populations have represented them. An investigation of the historical context for the production of representations of "the Other" reveals that narratives told about indigenous people carry a far more ambivalent message. Taking the Sámi, the indigenous population of the Scandinavian north, as an example, this article tries to trace the historical roots of present-day representations of the Sámi as a nature-bound and nature-loving people. These representations have deep historical roots, and they can only be understood with reference to power, and the relation between majority and minority cultures. This is important to keep in mind as these narratives continue to influence contemporary strategies for identity construction and heritage building.

Nature and Indigenous People

The present postcolonial situation has, among other things, brought a new kind of global awareness about the situation of indigenous populations throughout the world. Since the 1980s a global ethno-political movement has been claiming that the indigenous peoples of the world have a special position in relation to nature and its resources. Accordingly, they should have a greater moral right to use the nature areas they have inhabited for centuries, and should claim real influence concerning the natural resources of such areas. The relatively broad international political acceptance of such ideas can be understood as a kind of moral cure for the injustice that colonialism and imperialism have created for many of the indigenous people of the world. On the other hand, there are many local conflicts over natural resources in areas where indigenous populations still are able to wield some control over their land. Examples of international companies working to seek their profit in such contested areas reach our attention again and again. So it is hardly possible to speak of indigenous control over natural resources as a principle that has reached general acceptance.

But the principle of indigenous control over nature is also based on the idea that indigenous people live in closer contact and in balance with nature itself, compared to people in the modern and industrialized world. According to this idea, they have a greater moral right to nature's resources. This reasoning is relatively new in eco-politics and in environmental thinking. In the United States the 1970s was defined as the Environmental Decade, and images of the ecological Indian began to proliferate. The organization Keep America Beautiful made a very successful advertisement, featuring the Cherokee actor Iron Eyes Cody with a tear running down his cheek. The text read: "Pollution: it's a crying shame" (Krech 1999: 15ff.). About a decade later, the Amazonian Indians began to feature in the media in the same role as keepers of the environment, often cooperating with famous actors or musicians from the Western majority population. These events, of course, also reached the media to a great extent. But they showed a new way of thinking in eco-political matters. Anthropologists working with the relation between Amazonian Indians and eco-politics have described the situation in this way: "Environmentalists discovered the value of indigenous knowledge, and environmental organizations discovered the strategic value of allying with indigenous causes" (Conklin and Graham 1995: 697). This partnership is, however, created on the basis of a Western, hegemonic construction of indigenous populations, and not necessarily on how these indigenous people see themselves. It is just this dilemma that is the central concern of the present discussion. What problems does this hegemonic representation create, and what can be learned from the historical background of such discourses?

As Shepard Krech maintains in his book, *The Ecological Indian*, this construction has "[…] deeper roots in European self-criticism than in indigenous realities" (Krech 1999: 227). This image of indigenous people as ecological can be understood in connection with a much older line of reasoning in European thought, dating back to descriptions of indigenous people being "discovered" in the "new world" during the 1600s. The life of the so-called "savage Indians" was seen as the mirror image of a Golden Age, the way Paradise had been described by the authors of antiquity, and in turn used as a cultural critique of contemporary developments in modern French civilization (Ellingson 2001: 21ff.). One may say that the indigenous populations were not only considered to be an existing people in their own right, but were also seen as symbolic expressions of a European mythical past (implying a common heritage of mankind). This positive mythical and narrative position was certainly not always in accordance with the negative social position they were put in as a result of colonialism. The ambivalence is striking; indigenous people could at the same time be treated as living expressions of a paradisiacal and mythical past, and as wild and threatening savages.

Descriptions of indigenous or aboriginal people as nature-bound, living in a special harmony with nature, understanding the deep-ecology of nature, having a special knowledge of powers in nature, and so on, proliferate even today. This is part of a narrative with global distribution that is occurring within many different fields (Krech 1999). This can be found in political fields, like ethno-politics and the struggle for land rights, or it can be found in eco-politics and environmental philosophy. The wide circulation of these images is ensured when the narrative reaches mass media fields like television and Hollywood movies, and commercial fields like tourism, or when they enter advertising and commercials.

In our age of late modernity many of the uncontrolled negative consequences of modernization are becoming apparent: the impoverishment of natural resources, pollution, and radiation – all threatening the very basis of our existence. At the same time, however, a romantic notion exists that indigenous peoples possess a knowledge and wisdom that again is going to make us capable of living in a true balance with nature. This general idea of a "natural" people living in harmony with their natural environment of course has many positive aspects, but it also tends to establish a cognitive division between "us", living in the modern and rational world, and "them", living in a traditional and pre-modern world. They are considered to have their own separate "cultures", in some way not belonging to the same global reality as the modern and developed societies. In this way an idea is created, which argues that their reality should be subject to other laws of development and modernization than the rest of the world.

It is also easy to see how this global image of indigenous populations influences the life of indigenous populations at a local level. While the image of the indigenous population as nature-bound is nearly univocal in the globalized discourse, it is certainly to a much greater degree questioned by some people in more localized contexts. While the question of the relation between nature and the indigenous population is referred to in more essentialized terms in the global discourse, the question of conflicts and strategic instrumentalism is more often raised in the local context.

The Sámi and their Relation to Nature

Some of these thoughts about the ecological keepers of nature are not surprisingly also connected to the Sámi as the indigenous population of the Scandinavian north and the Kola Peninsula. Traditionally, the Sámi have earned their livelihood from nomadic and semi-nomadic hunting, fishing and reindeer herding. Today, however, the Sámi have occupations in most areas of modern society. But reindeer herding continues to have a great cultural and symbolic importance, as it is considered to be *the most typical* Sámi way of life. The reindeer herding life, with its closeness to nature, has also become a symbolic expression for a way of life that is characterized by traditionality, equality, harmony, spirituality, and ecological attitudes towards nature. We are dealing with new interpretations of old, cultural descriptions of traditional Sámi ways of living, in combination with some recent theories from the natural sciences. This has generated the idea of the "ecological" Sámi, where the Sámi are understood as a "nature people" close to nature and living in ecological harmony (Schanche 1993: 59). It is easy to see that this image of the Sámi also can be understood as being dichotomous with the values that in this context are considered to be prevalent in the Norwegian majority; development, modernization, industrialization, hazards to the natural environment, and so on.

The Alta conflict during the late 1970s is often referred to as a turning point for Sámi politics in Norway, and it also had some implications for the constitution of the image of the ecological Sámi. The decision to dam the Alta River and build a hydroelectric power station was made by the Norwegian government in 1978, and was immediately met by organized protests from environmentalist organizations and local activists who worked to save the Alta River. But the question of Sámi rights in the area very soon became a focal point in these protests. A group of seven young Sámi performing a hunger strike in a *lávvu* (traditional Sámi herding tent) outside the Norwegian Parliament building in Oslo was the most visually potent symbol of the uneven fight between this indigenous population and the majority force of the Norwegian government. Another important event was the mobilization of large police forces (of about 600 men) to forcefully remove environmentalists and Sámi (about 800 persons) that tried to block the road to the construction site. A third episode was when fourteen Sámi women (mostly relatives of the hunger strikers) occupied the office of the Prime Minister of Norway[1] to make an appeal for their cause, but were removed with force by the police. All these events turned people's attention to the damage of the environment in Finnmark, but also to the Sámi as the rightful keepers of the ecological balance in this area of Norway.

Even though the Alta River eventually was dammed, and the hydroelectric power station was built, this defeat for Sámi and environmental activists paved the way for some more positive effects in the long run. The events around the protests led to much focus in the media on the Sámi and their situation, and it presented a good opportunity for Sámi ethno-politicians to offer their opinion on Norwegian violations of Sámi rights to land and resources. The events surrounding this conflict must also be seen in connection to the construction of a global focus on indigenous people and their relation to nature. Environmentalists and idealists working to protect nature first tried to take advantage of this mythic relation between the Sámi and nature in their efforts. Later commercial interests like tourism also tried to exploit a romantic presentation of a traditionalized, nature-bound Sámi in a natural and clean environment (Viken 2000).

But as we shall see, this mythical image of the nature-bound and ecological Sámi is contested, both in politics by representatives of the majority population of the area, and among the Sámi themselves. Ambivalence is prominent in the presentations of the Sámi, and this tendency can be traced back in history. There is no doubt that the Sámi throughout the ages have been presented as a people living in very close contact with nature. But the ambiguity of these presentations is always striking, if they are viewed in an historical perspective. This ambiguity obviously has something to do with the way the image of the Sámi is constituted in such historical narratives. To get a better understanding of present narrative manifestations of the Sámi, one must take a closer look into the history of how other people presented the Sámi.

The narratives of the Sámi and their relation to nature have been changing through history. These discourses about the Sámi and their relation to nature can be analyzed according to different categories of narrative material: folklore, fiction, travel accounts, research reports, newspaper presentations, and so on. These kinds of narratives are generally about "the other", and imply ethnic categorizations. When the narratives are analyzed in an historical perspective, it turns out that there are changes in the discursive fields that are made relevant in different periods of time. These changes are closely connected to predominant ideologies in majority politics. In this way, ethnic boundary-making and ethnic categorizations must be studied as part of dynamic inter-ethnic processes, where the questions of power and hegemony must be given close attention.

Demonic Savages or Paradise's Children?

In the pre-modern period, the view of the Sámi as "natural" was understood partly in a geographical sense, as living in the wilderness, in the forests and in the mountains, and at the margins of civilized areas. This seems to be the general image of the Sámi in classical literature, where the Sámi (or a people from the area with great resemblance in their way of living) were described as the ultimate hunting people living in and from raw and non-cultivated nature.

But the Sámi were also understood as marginalized in a religious sense, where the supernatural powers they were believed to control resided in nature. The Sámi were thought to be particularly able in sorcery, and they were thought to be able to influence the elements of nature by this means. For example, there was an old European belief, documented from as early as around the twelfth century, that the Sámi possessed the power to unloosen storms, and that it would be possible for sailors to buy wind from the Sámi (Moyne 1981). Scholars in the 1500s and the 1600s point to the Sámi's "impious" and "un-natural" control of the elements of nature (Magnus 1982 [1555]; Friis 1632 [1590]; Schefferus 1956 [1673]). The witch-hunts during the 1600s worked to strengthen this evil and threatening image of the Sámi. Later this impression was reinforced by increased missionary activity. In the writings of the missionaries who were sent out to Christianize the Sámi during the eighteenth century, the supernatural powers were dichotomized in relation to Christianity, and consequently seen as representing evil or demonic powers.

This tendency is also prevalent in folklore and traditional narratives about the Sámi that are documented in folklore archives. According to legends documented up to at least the 1930s, it was a common belief that some of the Sámi who were versed in witchcraft could change themselves into wild and harmful animals, like bears and wolves. In this disguise they would hurt or kill the domestic animals of the Norwegian farmers. The cause for this would typically be that a poor Sámi begging for meat was refused, and in this way made his revenge on the domestic animals. In these narratives, the relationship between the domestic animals and the wild and harmful animals symbolically relates to the relationship between the Norwegian majority population and the indigenous Sámi population. The ethnic boundary between the Norwegians and the Sámi was metaphorically related to the opposition between animals and human beings, and to the opposition between nature and culture. The juxtaposition of the Sámi and the wild animals tended to place the Sámi closer to the animals and nature, while Norwegian ethnicity came to represent what was human and cultivated.

The answer to what was described as a wild and dangerous semi-animal, versed in witchcraft, was missionary activity, with the destruction of the "stone gods" in nature, the neutralization of the Sámi shaman, the *Noaidi*, and the destruction or "collection" of his most vital instrument, the shaman's drum. In this connection, I would like to stress the importance of the missionaries' demonization of the supernatural powers that the Sámi found in nature. This had profound influence on the way people understood the Sámi and their religion. Beside the demonic and heathen religion, key concepts in the description of the Sámi in this period are "wildness" and "bestiality". The picture that is painted is that of a threatening being, and forces in nature are transformed into demonic and evil powers.

But again the image of the Sámi is ambivalent. The diary of the renowned Swedish scientist Carl von Linné (1707–1778), from his first travel to Swedish Lapland in 1732, offers valuable insights into the representations of the Sámi in this period. This is the beginning of a shift in view, from a mythic/religious understanding to a new view inspired from natural science and rationality. The new orientation is given a poetic and symbolical version in Linné's description of his first meeting with a representative of the Sámi population. Linné and his fellows found themselves lost, hungry, wet and exhausted in the marshy landscape of northern Sweden. He must turn to Greek mythology to be able to describe the "hateful" landscape that has deceived them, and calls it Styx.[2] Then they meet a frightful being, and at first he is not able to decide if it is a man or a woman. It turns out to be a woman, but no poet could have described a fury more dreadful; with loose-hanging breasts and brown complexion that resembled the skin of a frog, and ornamented with brass rings, she looked like she came right out of Styx (Linné 1975 [1732]: 61f.). But as the woman starts speaking, she turns out to be a mild, gentle and churchgoing human being, who is able to offer the hungry and lost men food, shelter and care. Linné's curiosity as a scientist is triggered, and he tries to find out as much as he can about how these people are able to survive in these harsh conditions. In the end he praises their way of pastoral living, compares it with the life of the patriarchs in the old biblical world and with Ovid's description of the Golden Age, and compares their conditions to the ancient poetic descriptions of the Elysian fields.[3] The Sámi way of living in total harmony with nature fascinates Carl von Linné in such a way that the mythical metaphors in his description move from underworld to paradise, from demonic to heavenly.

Linné's description of the Sámi is by no means unique; it can be encountered in many descriptions of the aboriginal inhabitants of the new worlds that had been discovered by this time. Descriptions of the native people of America had many of the same components (Berkhofer 1978; Ellingson 2001; Krech 1999), but after decades of colonial activity, the eurocentric view on the indigenous populations seemed to change. Metaphors were no longer collected from ancient myths, but from natural science and economy. The understanding of the Sámi as a nature people, was by the end of the nineteenth century developing into something different, inspired by the great discoveries in natural science, the general modernization of society, and the rise of an industrial society in Norway.

The "Primitive" Sámi or the Noble Savage?

In the period of modernization, the Sámi's closeness to nature is most often understood and referred to as a primitive trait, placing the Sámi on a lower step in cultural evolution, in the spirit of the dominating Social Darwinist ideology of that time. Hence, from around 1870, there was a significant change in the way government officials made reports about the Sámi people. While missionaries, officers, clergymen, schoolmasters and sheriffs earlier had praised the Sámi for their capability and competence, they now reported about their laziness and dirtiness, their immorality and their drunkenness (Gjessing 1973: 78).

The folklore material of this period also relates to the Sámi as "primitive", and tells about low standards in housing and low hygienic standards for both humans and domestic animals. As a consequence, the Sámi were described as dirty and louse-ridden. The supernatural danger that they had represented as being versed in witchcraft was partly substituted by the risk they were thought to represent in infecting Norwegians with tuberculosis or other diseases (Mathisen 1989: 112). A life in close contact with nature was now interpreted as threatening to civilization, health and modernization.

Paradoxically, a fascination with the free and natural life of the Sámi reindeer herders continued to be of importance. It is possible to see how new expressions of the "noble savage" constantly enter into literature and other new presentations of the Sámi, like film and the emerging tourism in the area. The reindeer herding Sámi were already at this point seen as more genuine and authentic than other groups of Sámi.

Questions raised by the recognition that "primitive" people existed within the boundaries of the nation state were, however, met by different political solutions. In Norway, the main result was the politics of "Norwegianization", that ultimately was intended to lead the Sámi people into the modern world as "first class" Norwegian citizens, by "cleansing" them of everything that could be connected with Sáminess; which meant their language, habits and traditions. This should be substituted by Norwegian culture that eventually would make them capable of surviving in the modern world.

In Sweden, on the other hand, the Sámi were considered to be on such a low step in cultural evolution that it was not considered possible to civilize them. They would only be fit to do reindeer herding, and to safeguard their reindeer herding culture they should be protected from "civilization". This eventually led to the policy of "*Lapp-ska-vara-lapp*" (Sámi shall stay Sámi). Among other things this implied that Sámi children got a primary school education of a lesser quality than the rest of the Swedish population, so that they "should not be tempted to leave the Lapp (Sámi) way of life". While attending school, Sámi children had to stay in cold and draughty "*skolkåtor*" (school turf-huts) to be hardened for their unkind natural conditions (Broberg 1982; Kvist 1995; Rydving 1996). Those who did not adhere to this traditionalist image of a Sámi were in reality not considered to be a Sámi any more.

Both these policies in relation to the indigenous population can be interpreted as representing a common view at that time; a paternalistic conception of a primitive people much in need of guidance and support, summed up in Kipling's famous words about the "white man's burden". In this way the Sámi is understood as a kind of "nature's child", but with a double implication. From one point of view, the Sámi represents the authentic and unaltered picture of man living in close contact with nature, the "noble savage". On the other hand, they represent "ignoble savages"; irresponsible "children of nature", much in need of paternalistic guidance from ruling majorities, who tend to see themselves as representing higher levels of civilization.

This equivocal presentation of a people is by no means unique to the Sámi, but can be seen as a recurring theme in the European understanding of "other" and "primitive" people. The simultaneous, or rapidly shifting presentation of the "primitive" as ignoble or noble savage places the people in a liminal position in every sense of the word (Larsen 1996). They are at the same time seen as authentic humans, and in need of domestication to be able to leave the natural condition and enter civilization. A new problem seems to arise when the authentic human can no longer be found because of the civilizing process. Then this authentic human has to be reconstructed in some way or other, to fulfill the expectations of the hegemonic group. A group of people may quite unexpectedly find themselves in the center of such a reconstruction, with no real possibility to influence the presentation that has been imposed upon them.

A Contested "Ecological" Sámi: Conservation or Modernization?

This kind of ambivalence in the majorities' descriptions of the Sámi can be followed all the way to our own times, and this brings us back to the contemporary, "ecological" Sámi. During the last years of the 1990s, Norwegian mass media, and especially the regional newspapers of the Finnmark area, have been filled with debates and letters to the editor dealing with the question of whether the Sámi should have any special rights to use nature and its resources. This is due to the fact that the Sámi Rights Commission presented their proposition, after nearly twenty years of work. The Sámi Rights Commission was established in 1980 as a result of the bitter conflicts over the decision to dam the Alta River, already mentioned. The commission had a mandate to prepare recommendations to the Norwegian Parliament about the Sámi population's land rights and rights to natural resources in the Sámi area. The first part of their proposition was presented in 1984, and a second in 1997. Also in this document, there are apparent references to indigenous people as possessors of a more "ecologically-friendly" or balanced view towards the use of natural resources. It says (in my translation):

> Generally, indigenous people have kept the knowledge of an ecologically safe use of nature. This knowledge will be useful for the world society in its work to safeguard living prospects on the earth, among other things by making use of their traditional knowledge about nature, and by making their way of life an object of inspiration and a model for further work. (NOU 1997: 4, 63.)

Judging from the debates in the regional newspapers referred to above, and in what people generally talk about, everyone certainly does not support this viewpoint. Politicians and environmental organizations alike often claim that today's intensive reindeer herding means overgrazing of the arctic environment, which poses a serious threat to the ecological balance of the Finnmark tundra. Likewise, the alleged extensive use of motorized transportation by reindeer herders is said to be a hazard to the environment and it is maintained that reindeer herding will ultimately change the Finnmark tundra into a desert.

The leader of *Norges Miljøvernforbund* (the Norwegian Environment Association), Kurt Oddekalv, declared in a newspaper interview that he was ready to take action against the reindeer herders (*Altaposten* 4/6 1997). The general background for this was, besides the factors mentioned above, that a substantial number of reindeer starved to death because of extreme snow conditions that winter (1996–1997). Oddekalv claims in the interview that it is a myth that the reindeer herders are living in harmony with nature and maintains that the modernization of this business is threatening to destroy the Finnmark tundra:

> There is no use in pretending that the majority of the Sámi people are ecological keepers of an ecological way of living. They are no more nature people than Kurt Oddekalv [meaning himself]. He has no problems seeing the reasons for this change in reindeer herding. Modern technological remedies and a modern way of life have become a natural [sic] part of the Sámi society as well. But knowledge of and attitudes to the use of nature are not left unaltered. Motorized transportation is expanding, the tundra is subject to overgrazing, and nature is destroyed. We cannot allow this to continue, Oddekalv maintains. (*Altaposten*, op.cit., my translation.)

This line of reasoning has expanded during the recent years, and has also led to the introduction of some political implementations to limit the number of reindeer herders. Reindeer herding is seen as a threat to the ecology of the tundra. In this way, the position that the Sámi way of life today is ecological is contested by many researchers, politicians, environmental organizations, and common people. This creates a discursive field in which descriptions of the ecological, natural Sámi are questioned. The relationship between

Sámi and nature has to be retold again and again to be valid. In this context, elements that could in some way be connected to the majority culture, or to modernization, become unacceptable. The Sámi are often met with demands to document genuine naturalness and authenticity, and to reject everything in their culture that might be related to modernity, or that can be interpreted as loans from the majority culture.

This shows us the fragility of the alliance between ethno-politics and environmentalists. The idea of the Sámi as an ecologically noble savage is based not only on ethnographic facts about a people living in close contact with nature. It is also based on myths, ideas and dreams of a people living in total harmony with nature, and freed from the burdens and ailments of modern life. The assertion that indigenous people interpret nature and how its resources should be used in accordance with conservationist principles has no real documentation, and may also be seen as a modern mythical construction. When the representatives of the indigenous population do not satisfy the expectations of the environmentalists, the paternalism and intolerance that was hidden in this mythical alliance becomes fully visible.

The Force of Traditionalization

The ethno-political appropriation of the idea of the "natural" Sámi by some Sámi groups may be seen as a kind of pragmatic adjustment to prevailing global eco-politics that has proved to have some effect in dialogues with the majority population. But it is also problematic and very fragile as a political strategy, as it then radically limits the possibilities for Sámi self-identification in the modern world. Indigenous people are chosen as partners in the global ecological imaginary *because* they are culturally different (see also Conklin and Graham 1995: 697), and this difference has to be maintained to keep their position as ecological keepers of nature. Young Sámi people today are often met with demands to act "more traditionally" correct, as they try to construct a modern version of what it is like to be Sámi in modern society. The appeal to "traditionality" can be found both inside the Sámi political world, and as a demand from the outside majority society (Stordahl 1996; Hovland 1996). It is not always recognized that this predicament is actually embedded in the minority/majority relationship, and that it is the result of how the majority constructs its "other".

In this way one may also see examples of how the dominant, majority culture is actually defining what the indigenous culture should be, and not the indigenous peoples themselves. The majority culture has hegemonic control of education systems, research and political organizations and institutions. When elements of indigenous culture are revitalized in this way, they are also placed in new contexts. Often one can see that specific conditions or demands are made by the central governments as to how these elements of indigenous culture should be incorporated in legislation. A normative view on what should be considered "genuine" Sámi is often established; some cultural elements are interpreted as traditionally Sámi, while some others are considered to be modern and (consequently?) as Norwegian (Mathisen 2000).

This is also the case in heritage politics, where the way of life of the indigenous peoples becomes part of the conservation issue. The result may well be that lifestyles and cultures are objectified or reified as closed culture forms. Thus they become part of a setting in which the indigenous population is supposed to live as they did "once upon a time" (or perhaps, as they actually never have done, but as it once was described by an outside ethnographer). They are supposed to act as objects in a living museum, and sometimes also as objects for the gaze of modern tourists, from "our" modern world.

There is a risk that this only perpetuates the old paternalistic attitudes that were so manifest in the wake of Social Darwinism. Again it becomes the "white man's burden" to be responsible for the "primitive" cultures, only this time for their preservation. This tendency can also be seen in one of the Sámi Rights Commission's suggestions; this is the area where the proposition is most concrete and detailed. It concerns the reestablishment of a reindeer herding *siida* (local group) among the Skolt (East) Sámi. It must be acknowledged that the history of the Skolt Sámi is quite special regarding injustice and suppression of their rights, and that in the course of history they have been deprived of their possibilities to practice reindeer herding. However, the proposition suggests that the reestablishment of reindeer herding should be organized according to the Skolt Sámi's old traditions (actually as described by the Finnish ethnographer Väinö Tanner in 1929), with relatively small herds under collective ownership, intensive herding with milking of reindeer, and the use of reindeer for transportation. It should be mentioned that none of these activities are presently a part of reindeer herding in the Norwegian Sámi area. The only "modern" aspect of this reestablishment is, ironically, that it is proposed to be part of the tourism industry (NOU 1997: 4: 365), so that people from "our", modern culture may come and visit this "old" and "authentic" Sámi culture.

Another paradoxical consequence of this proposed reestablishing of a Skolt Sámi *siida*, is that the group of Sámi that are using this area for reindeer herding today have to be put out of business. In this way, a "living" and active, modern reindeer herding unit is to be replaced by a "constructed" reindeer herding culture, to better appeal to the majority culture's demands for a genuine and authentic Sámi culture. This may fulfill an apologetic function on behalf of the majority population, but the result is rather confusing in terms of ethnic self-determination.

In this way, questions of ethnic heritage are revealed as being deeply rooted in hegemonic structures. Within such structures, the whole idea of an "authentic" Sámi culture also becomes normative, and radically limits the room for action for the members of an indigenous population. When it is established which kind of culture is considered to be the *right* kind of culture for the Sámi indigenous population, there seem to be only two options. People may either live up to that image, which may not be too easy in modern society, or they may choose to live otherwise. But then they are not considered to be "authentic" Sámi anymore. They may be described as Norwegianized, and in this context it has a moral implication, because the impression is that they have betrayed their real Sáminess. The truth is that Sámi culture in the heritage-making process has been homogenized in a way that it never was in real life. This also raises the question of the role of cultural research, which of course bears some responsibility for supplying some of the narrative models that are used in this connection (Bruner 1986).

Culturally Preserved, Nature Bound, and Politically Marginalized

This focus on narratives, myths, media presentations, and research presents the Sámi as bound to nature. This is of course not the only element carrying significance in the interethnic relation between the Sámi and the majority populations. Although one may speak of different periods containing different specific narratives of the relation between Sámi and nature, it is also possible to see how many of these ideas continue to emerge in the current discourse on the Sámi. Each of these narrative constructions – the Sámi as "witch", the Sámi as "primitive", and the "ecological" Sámi – may still be activated in current discourses, but they may appear in new forms and new combinations. The historical perspective and the focus on narrative formations helps to reveal some of the thinking that is hidden behind the contemporary discourse.

It is important to understand how ideas of cultures, cultural heritage, and in this case also "nature", are constructed in specific cultural contexts. Closeness to nature in Sámi everyday life is essentialized in the descriptions of the Sámi culture, and then defined as a decisive factor for identifying a genuine Sámi culture. But it is important to identify who is actually defining the "authenticity". How is it that some people are told to adhere to traditionality and authenticity, and others are not? Renato Rosaldo is one of the anthropologists who has pointed to the significance of who is actually defining what culture is in an ethnographic sense. The cultural researcher veils her or his own cultural background, but emphasizes what is different and exotic in the culture they are studying. In this way they are also hiding a power relation:

> Thus they conceal the ratio's darker side: the more power one has, the less culture one enjoys, and the more culture one has, the less power one wields. If "they" have an explicit monopoly on authentic culture, "we" have an unspoken one on institutional power. (Rosaldo 1989: 202.)

One aspect of this is that those who are defined as representatives of ethnic minorities are given very limited room for action in our modern, contemporary society. They continuously run the risk of being met with sanctions when their actions are seen as not complying with the expectations that (among the majority population) are held concerning the ethnic minority in question. In the case of the Sámi, we have seen that this is part of a century-old construction of the Sámi as a nature people. But the norms for how a "nature people" should behave in society are by no means given as objective facts. Rather, they are created as a result of relations between different ethnic groups. In this case, one of the groups is hegemonic in relation to the other. Cultural constructions of nature, and ideas of a "nature people", can be seen in this connection as having direct consequences for how a specific ethnic group can constitute their identity in the modern world.

The very narrow frames allowed for display of ethnic identity can be looked upon as a specific form of marginalization or even political suppression. The demands for authenticity, genuineness and expectations of a homogeneous culture, can be understood as alternative versions of the cultural processes that led to the formation of nation states, based on the ideas of romantic nationalism (Bendix 1997). But in the relationship between a cultural and ethnic minority and a hegemonic majority population, these symbols of common cultural background seem to be caught in a different kind of communicative reality. When Sámi are requested to exhibit their cultural heritage, it can be seen as an opportunity to make their voice heard. But caught in historical structures of power, they often have to speak through the voice of the majority and use their categories (Larsen 1996). The image of the ecological Sámi would seem to be a good opportunity to make the voice of the indigenous population of the arctic north heard. But as the alliance with the environmentalists in reality turns out to be based on the majority's myths about nature people and noble savages, it is too fragile to meet the demands for future ethno-political work.

NOTES

1. At that time the Prime Minister was Gro Harlem Brundtland, who later became the chairman of the UNESCO World Commission on Environment and Development.
2. Styx, the river of hate. In Greek mythology one of the five rivers that separate Hades from the world of the living.
3. Elysian fields, in Greek mythology the abode of the blessed, or Paradise.

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KJELL OLSEN

Heritage, Religion and the Deficit of Meaning in Institutionalized Discourse

When cultural artifacts and expressions become embraced by institutions their meaning is altered. They are infused with new contents, meanings formerly attached are denied access in the transformational process, and cultural expressions and artifacts are subsumed in categories where they previously had no place.

Such a process occurred when selected parts of the Norwegian folk culture in the middle of the nineteenth century were integrated as part of the nation-building process. Expressions and artifacts that previously had gained their meaning in a predominantly local or regional context became the foundation stones of the representation of a Norwegian national identity. In this process the artifacts both gained new meaning and lost meaning that previously had been attached to them.

Similar processes might be seen today among peoples belonging to the Western-colonial concept of indigenous populations. The ”indigenous” and the “ethnic” are integrated in, and have become a part of, global and national discourses that are embedded in institutional settings. This is not to say that cultural expressions and artifacts become “standardized” by their interlinking with global and international institutions. Although part of what is regarded as belonging to globalizing processes, they still are part of highly localized and local discourses. These processes highlight the differences between institutionalized discourses and what is found in many local contexts. One of these discrepancies is between the institutionalized categories that subsume different cultural features under the heading of heritage, and the local and individual experience of culture in the life course (Olsen 2000).

This article aims to show how this is the case with the Sámi song tradition – *joik*. As a symbol of the abstract unit of a Sámi people, it has been infused by new meanings when it has become embraced by institutional discourses. At the same time there is a deficit of meaning that becomes striking when institutional discourses unfold in local contexts. *Joik* has gained recognition as Sámi folk music, subsumed under this category in institutions such as the educational system, heritage preservation, museums, the global music industry, in the political system and by the Norwegian Church. For the latter, and many of the others, *joik* is a folk song tradition that symbolizes the heritage of the Sámi people, complementary to Norwegian and many other traditions. Because of such a categorization it can be included in the institution's religious practices, similar to the Norwegian folk song tradition. A closer look at discourses on *joik* in a local context shows that the integration into institutional discourses has caused a deficit of meanings that are still present in the local community.

Joik

The Sámi song tradition, the *joik*, differs dramatically from the other song traditions found among people in northern Scandinavia. It is easily recognized as distinct from Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian folk songs and is strongly connected to the Sámi as one of their distinct cultural features. The *joik* was and is still found in most Sámi speaking communities. The styles differ approximately according to the boundaries between the dialects of the spoken language. In particular, in the interior of Finnmark, the northern most county in Norway that is regarded as a "core area" for Sámi culture, *joik* is a vital tradition. Kautokeino, where the empirical material for this article was gathered, is a predominantly Sámi speaking community where reindeer herding is still a prominent occupation. It is also an administrative center and an educational center for Sápmi, the Sámi area that stretches out over four nation states.

The *joik* in this area differs dramatically from the traditions found elsewhere in Sámi areas. In Kautokeino they often claim that farther south and east they do not have "the real" *joik*. In these areas, the Kautokeino purists claim, they sing. This means that they regard the *joik* traditions in these areas to be more similar to other Scandinavian folk song traditions. Conversely, people from other places might characterize the Kautokeino *joik* by the performers ”shouting” and the use of a strong and sharp voice (Hætta 1994).

In pre-Christian time the *joik* was an important part of the *noaidies*' (the Sámi ritual specialists in the shamanic tradition) techniques for reaching the trance that enabled them to move between different worlds. *Joik* was and is still connected to realms other than the religious. One can *joik* a person and many individuals have their personal *joik* that can be *joik*ed when people remember them. *Joik* might also describe and belong to particular places and animals. In this way, the *joik* can be seen as an expression of social and cultural belonging in an area and in Sámi societies (Nordland 1993: 54). A *joik* can express an individual's relationship to and experiences in a certain area, his or her relationship to animals living there, to the reindeer herd or to other people.

In the attempt to Christianize the Sámi that gained momentum in the last part of the seventeenth century, the *Noaidi* and his techniques was the main target. The period of Norwegianization that started in the middle of the nineteenth century and lasted to the middle of the next, had a further impact in the process of stigmatizing the Sámi song tradition. Norwegianization was a conscious policy with the aim of integrating the population in the northern area administratively, economically and culturally in to the Norwegian nation state. This integration in the nation state made, among others, Sámi language, dress, and *joik* into symbols of backwardness and poverty. When ”entering modernity” the *joik* was among the features that were supposed to be left behind.

Just as important an influence on the symbolic content of the *joik* is found in the Christian revival that occurred in the 1840s and 1850s in northern Scandinavia. From Karesuando in Sweden, the teaching of Dean Lars Levi Læstadius spread among the Sámi population in the northern area. This religious movement, Læstadianism, was not only a religious movement but also a force of social change. Læstadius and his followers attacked the use of alcohol and the – usually Norwegian – liquor sellers. “The Devil’s pee” or “the Worm’s pee”, as Læstadius in his imaginative language named alcohol, became one of the main signs of the division between sinners and the faithful. Both because of its strong relation to the *Noaidi* and the pre-Christian religion and because of its relation to drunkenness, the *joik* was regarded as a symbol of the faithless. Like most Scandinavian people, many Sámi people reach an emotional stage when drunk, and then they often start to sing or *joik*. This emotional outlet was something that made *joik* into an activity that did not belong to the repertoire of the faithful Christian. The faithful had to turn his voice to another tune.[1]

The *joik* as a symbol of an often stigmatized Sámi identity and its relation to a non-Christian way of living might explain why this song tradition has been suppressed in many local communities. This has been the case not only in those communities where people appropriated a Norwegian identity. Even in Kautokeino where Sámi costume and language always have been in use, there have been attempts to suppress *joik*. By the middle of the twentieth century there was a more or less official prohibition against *joik* in the municipal center. Furthermore, the local educational board prohibited *joik* and the use of it for educational purposes in the school in 1953. This decision was confirmed in 1961, 1976 and 1977 (Hætta 1994: 72).

Joik as an Ethnic Symbol

Joik has had, and still has, a symbolical meaning in the division between non-believers and the faithful. But it also has meaning as an important ethnic marker. In coastal areas in the post-war period it became a symbol of a stigmatized Sámi ethnic identity. As the main part of the population seemingly changed their identity to become Norwegian, the Sámi identity and all that marked it was looked upon as something that belonged to the past. This past had no place in the developing Norwegian welfare state. The same view was found also in the interior where Sámi language and material culture were much more visible. The future was seen as being Norwegians in a Norwegian culture nation state.

Joik as part of Sámi folklore had been included for a long time as part of national heritage – the past of the folk. This Herderian brand of ideology, which played an important part in the Norwegian National Romantic movement of the nineteenth century, could also subsume Sámi traditions under similar categories as the regional Norwegians. During the twentieth century the Sámi collection was moved from the Ethnographic Museum – where it shared space with Inuit and Bushmen – to the Folk Museum where Norwegian heritage is on display. As with Norwegian peasant culture, the project of the National Romantics aimed to find the pure and unspoiled features of the entity delimited as a folk, also in the case of the Sámi, and this culture could be subsumed as part of the Norwegian (Mathisen 2000).

The attachment to similar ideas was a necessity for the Sámi ethno-political movement that developed from the middle of the 1950s. The aim was not to make the Sámi visible as a part of the Norwegian past, but as a distinct tradition in itself, that is, as a folk distinct from, but with similar rights as, the Norwegians. This made it necessary to emphasize the Sámi culture and history in what Eidheim (1992) labels as both a contrast and a complement to the Norwegian. Sámi culture was not seen as part of the Norwegian past, but as a separate tradition with a past, present, and future in its own right. This also emphasized the Sámi as a folk with the political rights normally attached to such an entity in the Norwegian and Western political discourse. In this struggle the ethno-political movement had to stress those features in Sámi culture and history that made them distinct from the Norwegians. The Sámi reindeer herding culture became a symbol of Sámi culture, even if only a minority of the Sámi had this economic adaptation, and traditional dress, *joik*, and language were contrasted with their Norwegian equivalents.

During this political struggle the Sámi ethno-political movement went into a process of indigenization. Contact with other peoples subsumed under the fourth world label gave the Sámi struggle important input from this global discourse. As well, Sámi ethno-politicans had an impact on this global discourse through their engagement in international organizations. A particular relationship to nature, spirituality, and a global community that reached beyond the borders of the nation, became important ideological features in the ethno-political ideology. Increasingly the Sámi ethno-political movement gained recognition – both among the Norwegian authorities and the Sámi population – for its view of the Sámi as a distinct people with particular political rights. Because of their adaptation and input in national and global discourses concerning the rights of fourth world peoples, the Sámi are no longer looked upon as a vanishing people. Today the Sámi are a people with particular rights inside the Norwegian nation state.

This recognition of the Sámi as representing a tradition in contrast and complementary to the Norwegian makes it possible for Sámi expressions and artifacts to be embraced by Norwegian institutions in the same way as their Norwegian counterparts.[2] In a broader public, *joik* can be regarded as the traditional folk song of the Sámi, similar to the Norwegian folk song and with similar aesthetic evaluations attached. By establishing this similarity through contrast, *joik* could gain the same recognition and the same founding practices in the Norwegian system of cultural policy. As a traditional folk song *joik* is also part of the global processes of tourism, world music and art music. Through the procreant activity of national and international institutions, *joik*, in some particular contexts, becomes valuated in discourses that are based upon criteria that to a certain degree have become disembedded from particular places. The same "as-if" activity is also found with regard to the religious field. The Norwegian Church, keen on correcting previous wrong doings to the Sámi, has included *joik* as something suitable for their services. In this way *joik* becomes similar to the Norwegian song traditions that many Norwegian psalms are based upon. It is also likened to other culture's traditions that are embraced by the church.

By being embraced by various institutions, *joik* increasingly enters the realm of what Wagner (1986) has labeled a genealogical sense of history. According to Wagner, the genealogical sense of history is founded in general values. It is grounded in the idea of the nation or the folk, and connected to the heritage and heredity of a certain group (Bendix 2000). Objects and expressions are given symbolic value in the sense of history; they are meant to express and contain the idea of continuity over time and an imagined community (Berkaak 1991: 14). This is an historical sense that is entangled in formal institutions like academic professions, heritage preservation, and museums. It receives its legitimacy from these institutions and dominates the academic literature, is embedded in laws, and has a hegemony in the curriculum of the educational system.

The genealogical sense of history is in contrast to what Wagner calls an organic sense of history. The latter relates to individuals' sense of continuity and their experiences shaped by time, space and relationships in an ever-changing life course. In this sense of history objects and expressions receive their meaning as part of individual experiences, and rely much less on general values. Obviously, objects and expressions that are part of the genealogical sense of history might also become part of the organic sense of history of individuals (Olsen 2000). But there is a huge difference in the matter of representation, where a genealogical representation relates to assumed global categories that are seemingly detached from what can be labeled as local discourses. The organic sense of history, by contrast, has much more difficulty in attempts at representation. It relates to individualized experiences and local meaning in its expression, and has difficulties in reaching a general audience. Often this view of the past is present when objects and expressions are discussed.

In 1994, when Norway was the host of the Winter Olympics, Sámi culture was included as part of the cultural exhibit. For many Norwegians it was a great surprise that some Sámi people had strong opinions against the inclusion of *joik* in this program. A lay preacher from Karasjok described the *joik* as a "parasite in Sámi culture" and claimed that it was a product of drunkenness and heathen beliefs (*Nordlys* 24/2 1993). Another such example is found in *Altaposten* (9 & 11/11 1994), a regional paper in northern Norway. In an article they pointed out that a member of a Pentecostal congregation had made a "*joik* to Jesus". The *joik* had been performed at a meeting in Kautokeino where people representing the Maori population of New Zealand also had been present. Several members of the congregation protested because the person who had made the *joik* was no longer a member of the Pentecostal congregation in Kautokeino. He had started his own congregation with the purpose of preaching among the Sámi on the Kola Peninsula. Despite his belonging to a separate congregation, it was also thought that *joik* does not have any relationship to Christianity. A preacher in the Pentecostal congregation and an individual who claimed not to be among the most faithful himself, denied in the paper that it was proper to bring *joik* into Christian services. The latter added that in churches it was the psalms, the organ and the speeches of the preacher that should rule. Expressions that testify that *joik* does not fit neatly into institutional purposes in many local contexts are not difficult to find. The boundaries for where it is proper to *joik*, and if it is proper at all, differ from the view common in most institutional discourses. An old woman remembered that in her youth, when they were busy with the hay, she and all the other workers were *joik*ing. An old reindeer herder passing by stopped and said to her: "No, no, no, you must not *joik* here. You have to go to the mountains to do that". That the meeting between local and institutional views is not so easy, is also recognized by people prominent in the ethno-political movement. Former Sámi president, Ole Henrik Magga, said to the papers during the debate about *joik* in the Winter Olympics, that *joik* should not be part of religious services. His view is based upon local traditions and he added that even if both reindeer meat and cloudberrys are delicious food, you do not mix them in the same dish (*Nordlys* 24/2 1993).

Deficit of Meaning

The view of *joik* found in most institutional discourses, both global and national, represents a shortage of meaning compared to what is found in the local context. This is also the case for the Norwegian Church, which in general tends to see *joik* as a folk song tradition, stripped of most of its connection to pre-Christian religion, drunkenness and a local Sámi aesthetic view. Music is usually regarded as neutral in itself, a purely aesthetic matter separated from morality and politics. The church has embraced Sámi culture in many ways as if it is the equivalent of Norwegian culture and this causes conflict when local views contest the institutional.[3] Such conflicts might be analyzed as the meeting between a genealogic and organic view of the past, where the latter relates to religious beliefs in that it reflects individual experiences that have caused strong and long lasting modes and sentiments (Geertz 1973: 90).

In the genealogical sense of the past the *joik* represents a continuity in the Sámi tradition. Obviously not every part of the past has found a place in this rather aesthetic view of music. The *joik*'s relationship to non-Christian religion is not emphasized. Nor are many other features that are found in local contexts part of this view. It is rather the general values of the Western notion of the folk that are highlighted. The *joik*'s symbolic meaning of Sáminess is highlighted, its expression of a folk tradition, and its commensurability with other folk tunes.

This apprehension of the *joik* can be contrasted with the view expressed in an interview by a woman in her late sixties (Johansen and Solli 1994; Olsen, Johansen and Solli 1994).[4] Her family was *dalomat* – settled Sámi farmers – in a small village on the outskirts of the municipality of Kautokeino. In her view the *joik* has no place in Christian congregations and it is impossible for a Christian to praise the Lord by *joik*. A longer excerpt from the interview shows this view, as well as many other meanings of *joik*:

> In the way I know joik, from my childhood and my youth, and as I think today, joik is a melody that belongs to the Sámi. Joik is a melody and you joik without music. I believe that it is that joik that is the real joik, without music. In those times when people were living in the mountains, and there they were joiking, they had each their own joik. They, the Sámi, were clever to make a melody for each individual Sámi. Each of them had their own melody. In particular those who had a high reputation, and everyone, yes, everyone had their own melody. Yes – joik as it is called. But the reason that older people do not like joik, and we Christians do not like it, is that they had to be drunk. Then they were joiking, and it was not the custom in those days that you were joiking in the house or when you were sober.
>
> But when they drank they were joiking and making a spectacle. I remember the first time I heard a man joiking. I knew he was drunk and I was so afraid. I was terribly afraid. I was thinking that he was going to eat me. Then my mother said: "It's not as dangerous as it sounds". And that was true. I felt horrified and was terriby afraid. What has damaged the joik is that they are joiking when they are drunk, and that clings to us older people, and even the younger. It is too much joik when they are drunk, and if they are getting angry at another Sámi, or they threaten them. And they swear and it is such a terrible noise they make – but there are also joiks they are joiking with love. If they are in love with a girl, or if it is someone they like. Then it was a more quiet joik, but they had to do it when they were drunk. It was not the custom to joik in that time.
>
> It happened when they were on the mountain and the boys were driving the reindeer in the moonlight – in such a romantic setting – then they joiked. Then they could also be sober. It was not as if the joik had its place there and there. There were kinds of boundaries. What has made a problem for the joik is that they did it when drunk. Anyhow, from another angle, as I look upon joik today. I have read a little bit more, and have been thinking about it, and it is only a melody that belongs to the Sámi. It is such a distinct melody. How can I explain it, a 2/3 tempo?

This long excerpt shows different features that are maintained during the rest of the interview. First of all it shows that *joik* is in opposition to Christian behavior. In this woman's view this is not because of the *joik* itself but because people have damaged the *joik* by *joik*ing when drunk. This relationship between *joik* and drunkenness might be explained as a result of the massive repression of Sámi culture that occurred in the pre-war period, both as part of the Norwegianization process and because of the impact of Christian beliefs. It might be explained just as well by the strong emotional content of *joik* that suits well as an expression when drunk. In any case, it became a symbol for non-proper behavior for the Christian Sámi.

The improper behavior also points to another feature of *joik*. This song tradition is also used to make insults and threats and for cursing other people.

This is a feature seldom recognized when *joik* is explained as a melody that can belong to distinct individuals. It is not always that the *joik* someone makes to you is particularly flattering. As Nordland (1993) points out, *joik* is an expression of social and cultural belonging in Sámi society, but as in most societies, it does not always express social cohesion and peaceful relations. It might just as well express conflicts and struggle between individuals and families.

The danger this woman felt the first time she heard a *joik* was experienced in a predominantly Sámi speaking community by a girl who at that moment had not mastered the Norwegian language. As a member of a Christian Sámi community she grew up in a society where *joik* symbolized boundaries between people. That fact has given her experiences in different encounters, in different places and relationships in her life course that upheld this division between *joik* and Christianity. These experiences have caused long-lasting moods and sentiments that are not easily altered by a more ”rational” explanation. Emotionally she relates *joik* to liquor and non-Christian behavior and that was something she experienced in her youth. At this time people who became Christian turned their voice to the Christian melody. She recollects: “I know a older lady, she is eighty years old, and she is from […]. She was clever to *joik* when she was young. When she *joik*ed you could hear it in the whole valley. She turned to God when she was quite young. Then she started with Christian melodies. She turned her voice to another melody.” Her view is made up of such experiences that have made a distinction between Christianity and *joik*, but also by other boundaries for *joik* and an aesthetic view of this tradition.

In her opinion it was not the custom to *joik* in the village except when drunk. Nor was it the custom to *joik* inside even if the family was not Christian. Her view is that this shows the respect the Sámis have for Christianity. People did not *joik* if Christians were present, and in weddings where often several hundred people might be present, they tried to respect the Christian view. She remembers an occasion when they had a Christian house meeting. Two drunk men entered the house while *joik*ing, but when they realized what was going on they shamefully withdrew. In her opinion the *joik* belongs to the mountains and in this view there is also an aesthetic element.

She tells that she had read in the paper that a bishop had the opinion that Christians could also *joik*. In her view this is something that is said because the bishop does not know what *joik* is. He only wants to be kind to the Sámi. She also rejects the use of *joik* in southern Sámi liturgy. First of all because they do not have the real *joik* – the Kautokeino tradition – and also because a priest who has never lived on the mountains will never be able to *joik*. Even if she had not heard it she was convinced that he was singing because *joik* is not something you can be taught in school. This is also the attitude she has about the use of *joik* in the educational curriculum:

> I have an opinion about joik. It might be taught in the school but it is not the same. A joik belongs to nature, it is the melody of nature. You cannot, a teacher cannot stand up and attempt to joik. I believe it is not many that can joik as they did before, and some still do today.

> Now they have spoiled the joik even more, so it is no longer natural, because now they use music. That does not belong to Sámi culture that they go onto a stage and joik and scream. But I can't direct the world.
>
> Real joik, well you can't say real joik. I believe, real joik is something that happens on the mountain, and people who were born and grew up there, they have shared jo*ik*s between them.

As Hætta also points out, this aesthetic view is not an uncommon feature of older people's attitude to *joik*. With regard to the prohibition of *joik* in the school in Kautokeino, Hætta claims that this was not only because of Christian values. It was also an aesthetic view that was being considered: "A majority on the schoolboard were older people who realized that the teachers did not master joik and had no competence in teaching it" (1994: 72, my translation). A similar view was raised in the interview. A teacher can not just stand up and try to teach everybody to joik. Joik's close relationship to nature and to living in nature makes it nearly impossible to teach in school. For the non-Christian the joik could be a profane way to praise nature, but its association with drunkenness made it impossible for, in particular older, Christians to do this: "We have been taught that it is sinful, and that clings to us. Today I have the opinion that it is a profane melody. It is not more sinful to joik than many other things, but it does not belong to the Christian".

Heritage in the Present: the Genealogic vs. the Organic Sense of History

Heritage, in its origin, is a concept that is mainly attached to a genealogic sense of history. This is a view of the past that has been embraced by institutional policy, law and academic institutions. As a primarily Western phenomena the idea of heritage has developed as part of the idea of the nation state. It has as its prerequisite that the past can be detached from the experiences of the individuals who were part of it, and be attached to and made into a representation of an abstract unit, a people. This idea necessitates also a relativistic view that such abstract units as peoples can be compared with each other as similar but different. As the Norwegian nation or folk has its past, it is also possible to conceptualize the history and culture of the Sámi people inside the frames of the category that supposingly characterizes such an abstract ideological unit. The Sámi had their distinct ecological adaptation, their particular tradition of costume, languages and song tradition. All these cultural features are transformable into the political realm where certain rights are granted to a people. The ethno-political struggle for Sámi political rights presupposed such a transformation of culture into this realm so that the Sámi could be comparable to the Norwegian. This mainly political process necessitates that the past is detached from the immediate experience and subsumed into a general level where it can be regarded as similar to other people's history. It is necessary to do the same with a cultural feature like song.

This implies general categories where different expressions can be made commensurable. Folk music appears in such a general category as an expression of a distinct culture but also inside new aesthetic frames. With regard to the latter, folk music enters a realm where a purely aesthetic judgment provides a shortage of meaning while at the same time the inclusion in the category of culture gives an excess of meanings.

To make a song tradition like *joik* into a people's aesthetic form of expression represents such a deficit and addition of meaning. It also makes it possible to ”lift out” the *joik* from the social contexts where it previously had, and still has, its place. Such an aesthetic view detaches the *joik* from its use by the pre-Christian shamans, an expression used to curse people, and makes it into just an expression and not as part of drunkenness. Its elevation to the general sphere of cultural heritage makes it possible to use *joik* in new situations. The bishop can point out that it is an aesthetic Sámi tradition that might be used in the services. Pentecostal preachers can use it in their congregations and in addition express a global connection to other fourth world people like the Maori present in Kautokeino.

That the *joik* might be regarded as distinct from the social contexts is a view that is raised also in the transcript from the interview presented previously. This woman had reached the conclusion in her later years that *joik* was the music of the Sámi, a profane music, that for her and others of her generation was destroyed by its use by non-Christians. As she also pointed out, for her it was still difficult to make this distinction between the expression and social contexts. This is a view based on an organic sense of the past, where experiences have formed the attitude to *joik*. Such experiences make it difficult to detach *joik* from drunkenness and to dissolve old boundaries that regulated its use. The same applies to her aesthetic view of *joik*. This is a view that attaches *joik* to a certain form of life, certain ways of performance, and to certain occasions. The real *joik* and the good *joik*, is the local *joik* that she heard in her youth. It is the *joik* that was *joik*ed with love by the boys driving their reindeer on the mountain, the *joik* of the people who had a semi-nomadic adaptation and spent most of their life with the herds. This is not a *joik* that she expects that a priest might have learned and in her opinion it is impossible to learn this expression in school. In this view *joik* is part of an organic sense of history that contests the general spheres found in the genealogic sense. *Joik* can not be compared with other song traditions because its meaning and its aesthetics can not be regarded without the relation to the social context experienced by the individual.

Conclusion

I have argued that the use of *joik* in Christian assemblies presupposes a genealogic view of the past. This is a view that in the case of *joik* detaches the expression from many of the experiences that are connected to the use of the song tradition. This detachment also represents a deficit of meaning, where certain views and experiences are denied access and deemed irrelevant in the apprehension of the *joik*. Such a reattachment is necessary for a continuation of the tradition inside the frames of modern institutions. This applies also to the Norwegian Church that wishes to integrate Sámi culture as similar to the Norwegian. In this view *joik* is an aesthetic expression of a folk tradition but such abstract units necessitate a departure from the organic view of history as expressed by many older Sámi people. On the other hand, the institutional continuation of a tradition creates new organic views that maintain *joik* as a living tradition.

The distinction between an organic and a genealogic sense of history invokes other oppositions that are crucial in Western thought. Traditional and modern, authentic and inauthentic, and organic and genealogic are all oppositions that endanger the continuation of a *joik.* In a modern institution such as the Norwegian Church, which embraces a genealogic view of history, *joik* becomes less authentic and traditional than the experiences put forward in the interview previously described (Olsen 2002). This makes it necessary to say that all experiences of culture belong to the organic sense, even in new institutional settings. It is experiences in local contexts that make different and new modes and sentiments, but these are attached to new discourses on a national and global scale that make new experiences possible, something that points to the heteroglot and processual character of culture.

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NOTES

1. A similar process occurred among Norwegian lay Christians in the southern part of the country. The music and the instruments that could be connected to drinking and dance were regarded as not Christian.
2. This was also done earlier, but an important shift is that the Sámi tradition didn't only belong to the past. It gained a future in the ethno-political struggle and could be seen as having continuity, like the Norwegian. Obviously this is not the only view that is attached to Sámi culture and fourth world peoples in general.
3. The most striking case of how aspects of Sámi culture have "lost" much of their meaning when co-opted by Norwegian institutions, is the semi-nomadic reindeer herding industry. Administratively it is handled by the Ministry of Agriculture, which in many ways handles this industry as if they were Norwegian farmers (see e.g., Bjørklund and Andersen 1999).
4. The interviews were conducted by Monica Johansen and Solgunn Solli in 1994.

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PEKKA HAKAMIES

Finns in Russia, Russians in Finland

Remigration and the Problem of Identity

The aim of this paper is to present the problematics of a research project started in 2001 at the Karelian Research Institute at the University of Joensuu, Finland.[1] Its subjects consist of the so-called Finnish remigrants from Russia and its particular focus is on remigrants living currently in Joensuu. While most remigrants live in southern Finland and in the Helsinki region in particular, Joensuu is a special case since the remigrants in the region often originate from Petrozavodsk and Russian Karelia, and many of them enjoy a close relationship with their place of departure and its people.

The reason for the migration of these people and for the use of the term "remigration" is their Finnish origin. In the beginning of 1990s Finland's President Mauno Koivisto announced publicly that Finns living in the Soviet Union have the right to their old home country, Finland, and that they are also welcome to return to the land of their ancestors. This decision has generated a number of different problems in both Finland and Russia, and the definitions of "Finnishness" and the Finnish origin of these people are among them. To solve the problem, the Finnish immigration officials soon introduced the criterion that one of the person's grandparents must have been Finnish. Later, in 1996, the criterion was tightened so that the requirement allowed remigration for a person whose two grandparents or one parent had been Finnish (Virtanen 1996: 58). Indeed, while it had been possible, prior to this decision, for Ingrian Finns to enter Finland and its job market either temporarily or permanently, the 1990 remigration decision was made in such a hurried manner that ordinary legislation was prepared afterwards (MOT 1998).

Finnishness is the formal reason for remigration. This being the case, it initially generated certain expectations in the minds of Finnish officials and the country's main population: remigrants were supposed to speak Finnish and have a Finnish identity, to share a culture, in other words. In reality, this has not proved to be the case: most remigrants do not speak Finnish fluently (if they do so at all), and their identity has been shown to be vague. In the eyes of the main population the newcomers resemble Russians much more than they do Finns. This has led to the following dilemma: people who have considered themselves (or who have been classified by their society) as Finns in Russia and the former Soviet Union, are now thought to be Russians by Finland's main population. At a more general level the whole phenomenon of remigration and subsequent identity problems is analogous to the migration of Jews to Israel or Russian Germans to Germany.

A Short History of Ingrian Finns

In order to illustrate the background of this identity problem, a short overview of the history of the various identities of Finns in Russia and the Soviet Union will be presented. The population of Ingrian Finns formed on the eastern and southern coasts of the Finnish Gulf during the seventeenth century after Sweden conquered the area from Russia. In this period the area was badly devastated as a result of constant warfare and its population, consisting of mainly Orthodox Izhors (also a Finnic people), was small in number. To populate the conquered area, people from the Karelian Isthmus and eastern Finland were recruited and encouraged to move to the area. The newcomers brought with them their culture, language and religion, and by the end of the seventeenth century Ingria was clearly Finnish and Lutheran.

The Swedish hold did not last too long. In the Great North War in the beginning of the eighteenth century Russia reconquered the province, which has ever since been part of Russia. While Ingrian peasants soon fell into serfdom as their lands were distributed to the Russian nobility, they preserved their religion and traditional culture. The creation of Saint-Petersburg, the new capital of the Russian Empire, located in the heart of Ingrian areas, has influenced the development of the life and culture of Ingrians since the eighteenth century. Not only has it generated a vast increase in the number of Russians living in Ingria, but also an insatiable market for agricultural products.

Ingrian Finns used to live in their own areas, usually in entirely Finnish villages (Hakamies 1992; Sihvo 1992). However, in the middle of the nineteenth century there was a clear inner division among the Ingrian Finns: there were two separate groups, the *äyrämöiset* and the *savakot*. This division was important well into the latter half of the nineteenth century and some signs of it have been observable in the twentieth century as well. The differences between the groups consisted mainly of ways of dressing and of general cultural traits. In fact, the whole concept of Ingrian ethnicity has been claimed to be an invention of nineteenthcentury Finnish nationalists, since as late as the latter half of the nineteenth century an Ingrian usually identified her/himself as a *savakko* or an *äyrämöinen* (Zadneprovskaya 1999: 90; Suni 2000). It is certainly the case that the cultural emergence of Ingrians and their national awakening in the late nineteenth century was due to a great extent to the influence of the Finnish Fennomania.

The abolition of serfdom in 1861 generated a period when the economy and culture of Ingrian Finns prospered. This, in turn, helped to create the national identity of Ingrians. By the end of the nineteenth century, Ingrians had many organizations of their own, ranging from church and schools to newspapers and other media. Song festivals, for instance, were important manifestations of national identity and a means of constructing the Ingrians as a nation. On the basis of their general literacy and various publishing activities the Ingrians were able to generate an “imagined community” in the sense suggested by Benedict Anderson (Anderson 1983). While Lutheran churchmen tended to come from Finland, the national intelligentsia was educated locally at the teacher seminar (training college) in Kolpino. By the end of the nineteenth century most Ingrians were literate, a way in which they differed clearly from both Russians and Orthodox Izhors. In the early 1930s Ingrian Finns ran approximately 300 primary schools, twenty high schools and three institutes (technikums) where Finnish was the language of instruction. However, during the same decade the Soviet Union adopted a new harsh national policy, which resulted in the abrupt end of the use of Finnish in schools in 1937 (Nevalainen 1991: 256).

The First World War and the Russian Civil War in particular were problematic in Ingria. Some Ingrian nationalists wanted to separate Ingria from Russia and annex it to Finland. Finland supported armed Ingrian separatists and expressed its views in peace negotiations with Soviet Russia. As a consequence, Ingrians became unreliable in the eyes of the leaders of the Soviet Union (Nevalainen 1991: 247–253).

The end of the Finnish Civil War saw a new group of Finns entering Russia. Thousands of Finnish Reds (radical labour movement activists) left Finland and continued their political activities, first in the Russian Red Army and later as officials in the new Soviet administration. Because they were politically reliable and skilled in the local language, many Finnish Reds served in Ingria. This created controversies at times with Ingrian farmers, who were usually reluctant to adopt the new ideology. Since then there have been two clearly different groups of Finns in the Soviet Union: on the one hand the old Ingrian and St. Petersburg population, and on the other, immigrant Finns from Finland and America who entered the Soviet Union during the first decades of the twentieth century. It may also be added that in the Soviet Union “Finnish” was the nationality to be registered and made visible in one’s passport since the category ”Ingrian” did not exist officially.

By the end of the nineteenth century many Finns with roots in Finland were living in St. Petersburg and the areas surrounding the city. These people were sometimes called “Finlandians” (*finljandcy*) by Russians as they were considered to be distinct from the “Finns” (*chukhny*) of Ingria (Zadneprovskaya 1999: 85). Traces of this distinction can be spotted today when Ingrian Finns are separated from the descendants of those Finns who emigrated to the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s. The Ingrians were (and sometimes still are) called *chukhna* by the Russians. While the term was used as a neutral ethnonym in the nineteenth century, it has later gained offensive connotations (ibid.: 90).

The Soviet Diaspora

In 1926 the total number of Ingrian Finns was approximately 120,000, but their number diminished rapidly for a number of reasons. One has to recognize that since the end of the 1920s new, harsher practices of Soviet politics were applied in Ingria. These included the formation of a security zone, cleansed of any suspicious populace in the border area, and the collectivization of agriculture. The related "kulak liquidation" led to the mass deportation of Ingrians to such remote parts of the Soviet Union as Kazakhstan. Teaching in Finnish was terminated in 1937 and Ingrians' organizations were closed down. In the early 1930s a furious anti-religious campaign was launched, culminating in the closing of churches and the arrests and deportation of the clergy. According to the estimations of the historian Pekka Nevalainen (1991: 258–259; also Flink 1991: 310–315), approximately 50,000 Ingrians suffered at the hands of the Soviet administration until the Second World War. During collectivization 18,000 people were deported and 27,000 more in the mid-1930s. In the final years of the decade one's Finnish nationality could give the Soviet security organs enough reason for the arrest and execution of the person in question.

The Second World War caused another period of hardship in Ingria. Most of the area around Leningrad was occupied by German troops. Some Ingrians were left in the besieged city, but like the city's Germans, they were suspected of being disloyal because of their nationality. Maybe not surprisingly, they were evacuated via Lake Ladoga and transported to Siberia. In Ingria, the majority of Ingrians lived under German occupation until 1943. When it became evident that the German army would have to retreat, the Germans presented Ingrians with two alternatives: they could either withdraw westwards or move to Finland. Indeed, Finland had already contacted the Germans in order to get Ingrians to enter Finland and join its labour force. During 1943, approximately 60,000 Ingrians left for Finland *formally voluntarily*. They were an internally heterogenous group and especially the younger generation, which contained a significant number of Pro-Soviet youth, found it difficult to adapt to the conditions in Finland. According to the notes of Finnish administrators, some of the younger Ingrians did not speak Finnish fluently at all. Those who adapted most easily were older religious women. During this period the local people in Finland sometimes called the Ingrians *Russians*.

After the armistice between Finland and the Soviet Union, representatives of the Soviet Union urged the Ingrians to return to the Soviet Union. While the request was not formally forced, many found it wise to return voluntarily. Again this notion of voluntary was more or less formal and in many ways resembled their migration to Finland a few years earlier. Most of the Ingrians, more than 50,000, returned to the Soviet Union. However, the returning Ingrians were not allowed to settle in their homes in the Leningrad region but were required to move into inner Russia, often dispersed from their former communities. Their passports automatically contained a prohibiting stamp ordering them not to live closer than 101 kilometres to any major city. Officially the reason given for this treatment was cooperation with the enemy during the war; Ingrians were considered to be traitors because they had voluntarily left Russia for an enemy country. This treatment united the fate of Ingrians with those of other criminalized and deported nations living in the Soviet Union, i.e. Germans, Chechens, and Crimean Tatars (Nevalainen 1991).

The use of Finnish was practically banned. Many tried to hide their actual nationality and taught their children to speak Russian in the hope of survival and security in the future (cf. Malinen 1999: 199). Later, in the late 1940s and the early 1950s, thousands of Ingrians moved to Soviet Karelia (at that time called the "Karelian-Finnish Soviet Republic"). Here Finnish was used to some extent and the landscape of the region resembled that of the lost home areas. Since 1956 several thousand Ingrians have returned to the Leningrad area. A number of Ingrians also tried to settle down in post-war Estonia from where they were at times expelled by the Soviet officials (Nevalainen 1991: 288–289). The process of rehabilitation has proved to be a slow one: the general ban was not abolished before 1993 when the Ingrians at last became officially rehabilitated as a nation in Russia.

In Soviet Karelia, as elsewhere in the Soviet Union, Ingrians lived quietly through periods of turmoil before being able to gradually restore their own national culture destroyed by the Stalin period. In Soviet Karelia Ingrians had access to some Finnish culture, including newspapers, magazines and the Finnish Theatre. Since the beginning of the 1970s Ingrians have had some song choirs and other singing groups, and also some Finnish-language religious activities. But in general the Ingrians were gradually being assimilated into the Russian-speaking main population due to several reasons. One was the conscious policy of the Soviet leaders to eliminate minority nations in order to create a new "Soviet nationality" on the basis of Russian language and culture, a process officially known as "the merging of nations". Other factors promoting Russification include the general process of modernization and urbanization, mixed marriages, the mass media and the end of Finnish-language education in Soviet Karelia in 1956. The factors also include the deep fear generated during the Stalin regime when Ingrians were identified as traitors and representatives of the nation's enemies. In addition, Finnish did not have a similar practical value as the medium of everyday communication in urban, Russian-speaking surroundings as it had had formerly in Ingrian villages.

The New Rise of Ingrian Finns

A new period in Ingrian life in the Soviet Union began in the late 1980s, now connected with the general tendency towards reformation and democracy. The great event of 1987 was the publication of a special issue of the Finnish-language Soviet Karelia cultural magazine *Punalippu* (The Red Banner). The issue, devoted to Ingrians, presented openly many sad stories of deported and oppressed Ingrians. In the late 1980s Ingrians founded several organizations in Estonia, Leningrad and Karelia. Their main goal was to secure the position of Ingrian culture and to fight for the rehabilitation of all Ingrians, thus seeking to maintain their Finnish language and restore their lost property and places of significance (Nevalainen 1991: 293–294; Birin 1996: 30). In a similar vein the Ingrian Lutheran Church, which had operated quietly since 1970 in Petrozavodsk (and since 1977 in Pushkino), gained more publicity and a general approval in Leningrad and the surrounding areas (Nevalainen

1991: 289). Some activists expressed rather non-realistic ideas, such as the possible formation of an Ingrian autonomous area on the Karelian Isthmus. President Mauno Koivisto has mentioned in an interview that in the spring of 1991 a representative of Arnold Rüütel, the then President of Soviet Estonia, suggested to him the formation of an autonomous Ingrian area that would function as a buffer zone between Estonia and Russia (Koivisto 1999: 35).

What are the forces that have maintained a sense of Finnish identity among the Ingrians in the difficult conditions and hardships of this century? The most important components of Ingrian Finnish identity seem to have been the Finnish language and the Lutheran religion that have set Ingrian Finns apart from the neighbouring populations. Alexandra Zadneprovskaya emphasizes the role of the church and schools; according to a 1995 survey the central elements of present-day Ingrian-Finnish identity include a common historical past, language and religion (Zadneprovskaya 1999: 90). This view appears to be generally accepted.

In Soviet Karelia it was possible to maintain Finnish: there were many Finnish-speakers in the city of Petrozavodsk, newspapers, journals and other cultural activities. There was also the feeling of community shared by Finns. The benefits of life in the Leningrad district included the old surroundings and the remnants of village life where Finnish was a meaningful language. Soviet Estonia was culturally related to the way of life of the Ingrian Finns. The religion was the same, and the language was close to Finnish. Yet it should be noted that Ingrians living in Estonia have usually adopted either Estonian or Russian, depending on which language was the dominant one in one's place of abode (Anepaio 1999: 170–172).

Problems of Russian-Finnish Identity

In general, Ingrians, like all Finns living in Russia, were Russified to a great extent during the postwar decades up to the 1980s. They acquired many Russian habits in their everyday culture and started to use Russian when speaking with each other, not only when communicating with Russians. This is partly due to the fact that Soviet society aimed at teaching people to act and think in a conformist way and did not accept any ”deviant” behaviour. When discussing the position of Ingrians in the Soviet Union, some authors use the concept of "hidden identity" (Zadneprovskaya 1999: 95; Teinonen 1999: 113; Niedermüller 1992).

On the other hand, in Russia of the1990s (and before that in the Soviet Union), the maintenance of a Finnish identity was relatively easy in the sense that the Russian-speaking main society did not have any plausible reason to question it, if periodical politically motivated oppression by the authorities is excluded. In everyday life among the Russian-speaking majority, one's knowledge of ancestral ethnicity stamped in one's passport as "nationality" and a desire to master Finnish language were enough to signal one's Finnishness.

It has also become clear that many Ingrian remigrants, when living earlier in Russia, did not pay any attention to their Finnish background; it did not mean anything in practice because it did not provide them with any benefits. It is only after the declaration of the right to return to the motherland (Finland) that Finnishness has gained a practical value – and even this is connected to the continuously deteriorating living conditions in Russia. Thus, nationality or love for Finnish culture are not major reasons for migration. What is more important are the economic and social motives and better perspectives that have motivated people to leave Russia for Finland (Kyntäjä 1999; Malinen 1999: 196).

Upon entering Finland the identity of the remigrant is questioned in a radical way. All previous markers of national identity appear insufficient: the surrounding main population has a much more clear Finnish character. The mainstream population, since it is in charge of defining the criteria for Finnishness (cf. Malinen 1999: 201), may easily question the ethnic membership of the remigrants on the basis of their "alien" culture and linguistic characteristics. Since the 1930s the Ingrian Finns have acquired Soviet Russian modes of behaviour and ways of thinking which label them as ethnically foreign, "other", in Finland. The cultural models considered Finnish by the main population are rather different from those of the immigrants.

Throughout history, Ingrian Finns have been forced to change their ethnic identity and its basis several times, and always in different directions. Paradoxically, when they enter Finland, the Russian component of their identity becomes prominent and the main population labels them "Russian"; the remigrants themselves sometimes find out that they are culturally closer to ethnic Russians or other Russian-speaking immigrants without Finnish roots than to proper Finns. Officially there is no group of "Ingrians" or "Ingrian Finns" in Finland, just "remigrants". Thus how to define oneself is not clear for these people. There are also internal differences among the remigrants, based partly on generational divisions. Though there has been some discussion about the "true Ingrian Finns", the definition of such a group is rather unclear (Malinen 1999: 199). The remigrants and other Russian-speaking immigrants are united by a common fate in Finland and the needs of everyday life: for example, both groups need to keep in touch with friends and relatives living in Russia. A particular feature peculiar to the geography of Finnish North Karelia is that it offers the remigrant the possibility to visit Russia regularly, and in so doing creates special types of social networks whose members carry various items across the border when travelling. Such unofficial networks were also an important means of everyday survival in the Soviet Union (Lonkila 1999: 100–101). Thus it should be clear that Ingrian ethnic identity has a constructional and processual character and cannot be defined solely on primordial grounds.

When it comes to adaptation, the remigrants have, at least in theory, three alternatives: 1) to be totally integrated or assimilated into the Finnish majority, 2) to join the Russians and develop and maintain a Russian-Finnish identity, 3) to develop a special Finnish-Ingrian identity. The second alternative seems to be the easiest one for many who identify themselves strongly as Russians; for these people the Finnishness of one's parents or grandparents has not played any meaningful role in Russia. This Russian identity is readily available, and there is some evidence that amongst many remigrants it has become stronger in Finland. The third alternative seems most unlikely even though – or perhaps because – Ingrian identity shares many elements with Finnish identity. It is problematic to maintain because the particularly Ingrian characteristics – language, geographical location and a common difficult history – belong to the past which now becomes more and more distant in the course of time.

There is certain pressure in public discourse to develop Finnish society towards a more multicultural direction. Yet the right of remigrants to express a culture clearly different from dominant Finnish culture has been questioned by arguing that they are by definition Finnish and thus obliged to have or acquire Finnish culture. Some years ago the plans of the Russian-speaking minority in Finland to demand the position of an official language minority generated protests. It was claimed that they came to Finland by using the status of the remigrant, based on their Finnish background but they apparently are not real Finns; for some the situation resembled the use of a Trojan horse. One should not forget that the Russian minorities living in the Baltic States seem to be a continuous source of problems and a weapon used by certain Russian imperialist tendencies (MOT 1998).

The Lutheran Church has been one of the central elements in the making of Ingrian-Finnish identity. According to some descriptions and reports, the Church was important for many persons during the years of exile before and after the Second World War, allowing them to seek consolation and support in their own religion. The roots of its significance are also historical: already before the revolution Lutheran Christianity was the trait that set Ingrian Finns apart from their Orthodox Russian and Izhor neighbours. The Lutheran Church has also been an important civilizing organization and was formerly responsible for the general (primary) education of Ingrian Finns.

During the 1930s the Lutheran Church was obliged first to narrow down its activities and then to finally cease its public functions when the churches were closed down and the clergy arrested. If a minister was a Finnish citizen, he had to return to Finland. In the post-war decades Lutheran Christianity was invisible but remained important for the older generation in particular; they had acquired their sense of religion before the heavy propaganda and repression of the 1930s. Gradually, the general secularisation of life, combined with Soviet atheistic education and propaganda, have weakened the position of the Lutheran Church among the Ingrian Finns. The Greek Orthodox religion has now emerged as a competitor since it has gained more importance because of mixed marriages and recent Russian state support. Now Lutheran Christianity occupies one corner in a religious triangle whose other corners consist of the lack of religious sentiment (rather than conscious atheism) and Orthodox Christianity. There is one particular trait in present-day Ingria and its Lutheran Church that is in conflict with ideal Ingrianness: the services are carried out in both Finnish and Russian. While this has generated protests, it is a mere marker of the fact that many participants do not understand Finnish well enough to be able to follow the services conducted solely in Finnish (Teinonen 1999: 116).

The remigration of Ingrians to Finland has reached an unanticipated scale, which has had some negative consequences in both Finland and Russia. Serious social problems related to the high unemployment of the remigrants have emerged in Finland. At worst, more than one-half of the remigrant labour force has been unemployed. Immigrants from Ingria are often in danger of being excluded socially and marginalized. On the Russian side, the outflow of Finns has significantly weakened many cultural institutions and made the possible revival of Ingrian-Finnish identity even more problematic (Mukka 1999: 43).

It has been suspected that the enthusiasm of Mauno Koivisto and others to invite Ingrians to Finland was motivated (as it was during the Second World War) by the need for a labour force. Ironically Koivisto’s appeal slightly preceded the deep slump in of the Finnish economy in the early 1990s. During the whole process of migration one of the main problems of the Finnish authorities has been the high unemployment of the remigrants. Mauno Koivisto has himself denied the argument and preferred to speak of his guilty conscience concerning the Ingrians’ post-war return to the Soviet Union. Koivisto says that he had mainly moral and political reasons in mind when making his statement (Koivisto 1999: 33). Since the end of the 1980s Finland has supported Ingrians living in Russia and Estonia, not only remigrants. Today Finnish authorities maintain centres for the elderly in the Leningrad district and Estonia, the motivation being in part a wish to avoid their moving to Finland (Zadneprovskaya 1999: 95).

Conclusion

In the Soviet Union Ingrian Finns were the “others” of the main population, Russians, and thus they were forced to adjust or to hide their specific traits during the Stalin regime. In Finland their former adaptation to the reality of Soviet life has caused a different sense of “otherness” with occasionally unpleasant consequences. The remigrants can be either excluded from mainstream Finnish society or led to self-exclusion. The remigrants have been forced to realise that what they have thought to be natural and universal traits in their culture and behaviour, all part of their life in their former society, are now categorized as ”deviant”, Russian or Soviet-like. Old models of behaviour and thinking no longer appear to be adequate in Finland. This situation is intensified by the fact that in addition to Ingrian-Finnish remigrants, many mainstream ethnic Russians and other Russian-speakers have moved to Finland, either as their family members or for other reasons.

One issue worth studying is the actions and concepts used by the various representatives of Finnish society. The fact is generally acknowledged that the Ingrians’ initial expectations and whole process of remigration were based on wrong assumptions on the Finnish side and that Finland confronted a number of problems it did not expect. In general, the number of immigrants from foreign countries in Finland has increased during the 1990s and the immigrant population is visible in new ways. The concepts repeatedly mentioned in public discourse call for special analysis. These include “multiculturalism”, “integration policy” and the neologism “*kotouttaminen*”. The latter sounds very friendly and promising (“to make people to feel that they are at home”) but seems to refer to ”acculturation”, ”integration” or ”adaptation”. The way in which the remigrants define and locate themselves in Finnish society, as well as the ways in which the Finnish majority categorizes them and defines the limits between “us” and “others”, tells about the problems of Ingrian-Finnish remigrants and, importantly, about the ways in which “Finnishness” is defined and how the Finns of Finland define themselves.

NOTE

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JYRKI PÖYSÄ

"Finnishness" and "Russianness" in the Making

Sport, Gender and National Identity

During the last one hundred years Russia has meant different things to Finns: a host, an enemy and a friend or at least a big brother with undeniable authority (see Immonen 1990). The latest 15 years of political reforms in Russia have had important implications also for the Finnish people. The new political liberalism in Russia has dramatically changed the ways the Finns and Russians are connected to each other: despite linguistic and cultural barriers, contacts on a personal level are now becoming an everyday phenomenon.

Tourism is one of the main fields for contact between citizens of different nations. In the 1970s and 1980s cheap trips to Leningrad, Tallinn and the Black Sea tourist resorts became very popular in Finland. The same rules were not applied for the Soviet citizens: tourist trips to Finland were a rare opportunity and the programs and routes were much more restricted than they are today. Things have changed in the 1990s: today Russian people can more easily visit Finland for a tourist trip. In the eastern cities of Finland Russian tourists are especially recognized as an important group of clients.

Today the number of people living in Finland and speaking Russian as their first language is higher than ever, even higher than in the time when Finland was part of Russia (between 1809–1917). According to official statistics (see Alasuutari and Ruuska 1999: 200–201), in 1999 there were over 30,000 people born in the former Soviet Union and living permanently in Finland. Included in this number are Estonians (10,340), who may or may not have Russian as their first language. Turpeinen (1984: 27–28) estimates that around 1900 the number of Russians in Finland was about 11,500. During Finland's autonomy, from 1809 to 1917, the Russian-speaking population in Finland was smaller than in any other border area of Russia. During the same time the number of Finns living in Russia was much higher: in St. Petersburg alone there were 20,000 Finns (Laari 1997: 304).

In this article I am going to discuss the meanings of Russia and Russianness to Finnish people in today's Finland in the context of sport and gender. I am going to deal more specifically with three cases as examples of the multidimensional and complex nature of this question: the problematic situation of a remigrated decathlonist not being able to give statements in Finnish, the role of Russian women in popular imagination in today’s Finland, and the national sport, ice-hockey, as a field for masculine national chauvinistic expressions.

Nationalism and Gender

The way we see nationalism has changed quite a lot in recent years. Questions of European integration, the future of nation states, the role of globalization and increased migration have brought the theme of nationalism into today’s Finnish sociology and cultural studies. In research, the scope of nationalism studies has broadened from historical studies into studies of nationalism and ethnic identity, ethnopolitics and nation-building (e.g., Smith 1992; Löfgren 1989 and 2000; Liikanen 1995; Sedergren 1996; Anttonen 1996a and 1996b; Keränen 1998; Alasuutari and Ruuska 1999).

The new, weaker role of Russia in Finnish internal affairs, the end of bilateral trading between Finland and Russia and last, but not least, the end of the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Support (the so-called *YYA* treaty) have also had a great impact on the new nationalism debates in Finland. The *YYA* treaty was signed in 1948 and it was replaced with a new agreement only in 1992. Officially the treaty stood as the cornerstone of good relations between two friendly nations, the Soviet Union and Finland. In fact, the treaty also included the possibility of military occupation from the side of the Soviet Union in the event that Finland was offended by a third party. In national politics the treaty induced self-censorship in the comments about the Soviet Union and was therefore felt to be a hindrance to freedom of speech (see Vesa 1998).

Among the most interesting trends in the latest writings on nationalism is the emphasis on the everyday basis of nationalism. Nationalism is not seen simply as a sin of our forefathers any more, nor as an ideology of some separatist groups, or as the youth culture of some weird skinheads. Nationalism is seen as everyday praxis, as part of our everyday life. And still, even in this everyday form nationalism has connections with militant nationalism. According to Michael Billig’s metaphor, nationalism is like a mobile telephone that people always carry with them. The telephone is usually silent, but when the telephone rings, the people are ready to answer: to go to fight (or at least to accept military actions) for their nation in the Falkland Islands or in the Middle East. Billig calls this kind of nationalism *banal nationalism.* “The metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building” (Billig 1995: 7–8*).* Important mediators of banal nationalism are the national and popular media, the first, for example, in the name of legitimate policy, the second in the name of marketing.

Everyday nationalism also tends to be a positional phenomenon. While at home, we are against all flagging, concrete and symbolic. But when we change position by travelling to other places, our “mobile telephones” are somehow set into a ready-to-use state, in which even a small signal may wake us into nationalistic thinking, thinking of our Finnishness, Estonianness, Swedishness, and so on. In the globalized and mediadominated late modern world sporting events give an opportunity to experience national feelings in comfortable and (mostly) safe environments. However, in sports events banal nationalism is also able to change into open patriotism and aggressive hooliganism. Sometimes sport seems to be "not a substitute for war, but a permanent preparation for it" (Mangan 1996: 4).

Sport also "brings the body into play" (Tomlinson 1999: 7), displays the body and gives way for a gendered nationalism. As a mediator, global television plays an important role in contemporary sport. "Media sport" gives new criteria for the producers, where the visualism and audience timetables take a new place in the arrangement of sports events. An important part of the new "televisual" (Meek 1998) is the sexist gaze directed at female athletes.

Nationalism and gender politics have a lot in common, especially in situations of war. The country is seen as a motherland, inhabited with wives and children, whom the male soldiers are expected to protect from the enemy. But also in peaceful situations nationalism is gendered in many ways. Contacts with the others are genderized: in many examples in popular imagination Finnish men are to "protect" Finnish women from the males coming to Finland from abroad. In Finnish folklore the Russian peddlers were seen as dangerous Others, who may seduce Finnish women. In today's Finland mixed marriages are still seen in somewhat the same manner. As a rule these discourses tend to deny the woman's role as an autonomous subject. By sexualizing the differences, stereotypes about male and female are given a new life in the modern context of nations (see Parker et al. 1992; Yuval-Davis 1997; Gordon, Komulainen and Lempiäinen 2002).

Eduard Hämäläinen, an Athlete and a Remigrant

As the first example of sport and nationalism I will take the case of Eduard Hämäläinen, a Finnish sportsman, a decathlete ("one who competes in ten sports events"). Hämäläinen was born in 1969 in Kazakhstan, moved to Belarus just before the collapse of the Soviet Union, and emigrated to Finland in 1995 with his family and his parents. Eduard's grandfather is of Finnish origin, which gave Eduard and his family the status of remigrant. Eduard was granted Finnish citizenship just before the Sydney Olympic Games in August 2000.[1]

The great majority of immigration from the former Soviet Union is remigration, which has been made possible by the changes in post-Soviet emigration politics and the Finnish initiative to allow all the ethnically Finnish people to immigrate to Finland. Remigration started with a presidential declaration on 10 April 1990. It was only in 1996 that the special immigration possibility of Finns living in Russia and other post-Soviet countries was formulated into law (Laari 1997: 302). The majority of these people are Ingrians living originally in the rural areas around St. Petersburg and all the way to the Estonian border. Some immigrants are descendants of other people of Finnish origin, political refugees of the Finnish civil war in 1918, or economic and ideological emigrants from the beginning of the 1930s (some of these people had originally moved to the United States and Canada, from where they left for the USSR during the years of depression).

As a decathlonist Eduard Hämäläinen has been really successful: in the world ranking he has been second in 1993, first in 1994, third in 1995, sixth in 1996, second in 1997 and sixth in 1998. Eduard has won medals four times in European or World Championships, two of which were silver medals won under the Belarus colours. In 1999 Eduard recovered from a foot operation. In 2000 he participated in the Sydney Olympic Games, but without great success (he was 23rd). In autumn 2002 Eduard declared that he would conclude his career as a professional athlete.[2]

Eduard received permission from the IAAF to compete under Finnish colours in December 1996. In the Athens World Championship Games in August 1997 Eduard came in second in decathlon. The silver medal was gained with a top result of 8730 points (a new record for Finland), which is only five points from Eduard's personal best result, 8735, in the 1994 Götzis Games.[3] For a native-born Finnish sportsman this would be enough to be accepted as a national hero. Unfortunately this was not the case with Eduard, although his silver medal was the only medal for the Finnish team in those games. From the Finnish point of view he was still a foreign sportsman coming from Russia (in Finnish minds, there is no big difference between Belarus or Russia). And, what is most important: he couldn't speak Finnish when he moved to Finland and the first time he represented Finland in the Athens World Championship Games. After the Athens victory it was the ambiguous, half-hearted news reporting, which first made me realize that Hämäläinen is not originally Finnish (his surname is very common in Finland).

Eduard and his father Pavel, who is acting as Eduard's coach, also had problems with the Finnish media culture around sport. In the former Soviet Union they were used to a different culture of publicity for sports and they were not too eager to give interviews to journalists.[4] Besides the language there was also another problem for the Finnish audience: money. In June 1997, just before the Athens Games, Eduard declared that because of his poor financial possibilities to train in Finland he would have to move back to Belarus.[5] The lack of language abilities in Finnish (journalists wrote that the three year old daughter knew Finnish best in the family!) and the claim for a better financial position seemed to irritate journalists (or give them a chance to make populist statements). One weekly journal, *Nykyposti*, even bought Eduard return tickets to Belarus. The *Helsingin Sanomat* Internet-extra reported how the local opinion about Eduard at Kuortane (where Eduard and his family were living) was divided: some people suspected his financial problems because he had been seen dressed in expensive clothes, Nike and Reebok being the cheapest shoes he was wearing.[6]

After his first experiences with the Finnish sport media Eduard took its power more seriously. He promised to learn to speak Finnish and to donate his medal to the Finnish nation.[7] Eduard, Pavel and their team supporters seemed to have realized that in Finland there are still a lot of expectations about the national commitment of a sportsman; an athlete is not allowed to compete for money or for himself, the only identification allowed is with the nation. In Kuortane commune, where Eduard and his father were living with their families, they were offered a medal celebration. The commune donated a building lot to Eduard and 60,000 Finnish marks (about 10,000 euros) as the regular prize for a winner. Later the same year Eduard was elected athlete of the year.[8] Eduard and his wife Olga were also invited to the Independence Day celebrations at the reception of the President of Finland on 6th of December 1997.[9]

In 1998, in the Budapest European Championship Games, Eduard won his second silver medal under Finnish colours. This time he felt better accepted as a Finn, according to news reports (read: the journalists were more eager to accept Eduard as a Finnish sports hero). In the Sydney Olympic Games in 2000 the journalists could notice with delight that Eduard was already able to speak some Finnish. However, he was and will still be remembered as a stranger. In a history book about Finnish athletics (Hannus 1999) the history of Finnish decathlon ends with the subtitle "A strange man entered the house", alluding to a Finnish novel with the same title by Mika Waltari (1937).[10]

Looking back in history with the help of press information available on Internet, we can see how extremely important it is for a Finnish sportsman to be able to speak Finnish. This applies also to Swedish-speaking Finnish athletes, although the reactions are not as open-minded as they are with remigrants from Russia; the minimum is to be able to give answers to the reporter in Finnish (this same applies to politicians too, especially if they want to represent the whole nation). This may have something to do with our complicated history of linguistic nationalism starting in the second half of the nineteenth century, in which the Swedish-speaking elite worked for changing the main language of state practices from Swedish to Finnish. Still, throughout the nineteenth century the main language quarrel was against Swedish and for Finnish. Russification became an actual theme only in the very end of the nineteenth century, during the last two decades of Russian rule. In the twentieth century, in independent Finland, nationalistic ideas about one nation and one language have regained more foothold than ever. Campaigns against "forced Swedish" teaching in the schools and growing demands for the remigrants to know Finnish better are just two contemporary examples of this tendency.[11]

According to reports and comments concerning Eduard Hämäläinen in 1997, the first time he received Finnish publicity, he was an "athlete with the most Finnish of Finnish surnames who does not speak Finnish".[12] In another comment he "is becoming Finnish little by little".[13] And in yet another press release, after the silver medal in Athens, it was said, that "Kazakhstanian, Belorussian of Finnish – or from Bothnia. A deathblow was given to national chauvinism in Kuortane on Tuesday: Eduard Hämäläinen, the only medalist in Athens promised to speak fluent Finnish in next summer's European Championship. 'I have always been Finnish in my heart', said Eetu (a Finnicized form of his first name) in the medal celebrations. To be more honest, Hämäläinen whose forefathers come from Savo, gave his World Championship medal to the Finnish nation."[14] Later in the same year, in *Sports Weekly*, the fact about his origin and his important "disability" were mentioned again: "He, you may remember, is the decathlete born in Belarus who now competes for Finland on the grounds that he is applying for Finnish citizenship and, although not yet a fluent Finnish speaker, comes of Finnish stock."[15]

The situation of Eduard Hämäläinen is basically parallel to all other remigrants from the former Soviet Union: if they don't get integrated quickly and especially if they don't learn Finnish, they are all considered Russians. Outi Laari (1997: 306) discusses these paradoxes in the case of the "Ingrians", bilingual, Finnish and Russian speaking people living in the countryside around St. Petersburg. In the Soviet Union they were identified as "Finns", in contrast to Russians. In Finland they had to learn that they are "Ingrian Finns" or "Ingrians", in contrast to "real" Finns. In Finland they are also treated in many situations as Russians. This means they are put into a category for *arrogant perception*[16], a category Finnish people used to apply to Soviet people during the Cold War. Since the 1970s, when it became possible to travel to Russia, arrogant perception has been an essential overall tone in the traveler's narratives of personal experience (see Åström 1993).

Russian Women in Finland

In the media discourse Eduard Hämäläinen is not represented primarily as a Russian *male* athlete. Compared with a somewhat parallel case, a Russian *female* triple jumper Natalia Kilpeläinen, interesting differences can be observed. Natalia seems to be better accepted in the Finnish sports media; she is laughter-loving, knows Finnish better than Eduard, and is always willing to give interviews. On the basis of assumed differences in personality, Eduard and Natalia make up an interesting pair of contrasts: introvert-extrovert, closed-open. Natalia is not trying to hide her transnational identity, but she is not punished for that. In Finland she feels that this is her home, but while training in Petrozavodsk, she still can't use her Finnish team wear.[17]

Although seemingly well accepted, Natalia is at the same time represented as a Russian woman. In a newspaper article in *Helsingin Sanomat* (5.7.1998), she is represented as a very talkative person. She was born in Petrozavodsk, but at the time she was living in Kuopio, married to "Raimo", a Finnish factory owner. According to the newspaper article, Natalia likes cosmetics and beautiful, sexy clothes and takes care of her feminine appearance during the competitions. She criticizes her Finnish colleagues for not taking care of their feminity, for using a size L T-shirt instead of size S: "To be a bit sexy, is that so bad?"[18]

Represented this way, Natalia Kilpeläinen fits well into the Finnish stereotype of Russian women. The image of a Russian woman as an exotic, sexualized other can be found in a famous war novel, "The Unknown Soldier" (1954) by Väinö Linna, where Linna describes the Finnish soldiers' relations with the local women in the occupied city of Petrozavodsk, Karelia. The relationships between local women and soldiers are described as laden with romantic desire. While visiting the women, the men bring with them a gramophone and the women even dance with them. In this portrayal the conquered land is shown as a seduced (female) land, willing to accept male conquerors.[19]

The image of sexualized, eroticized others can also be found in the Finnish loggers' stories concerning their contacts with the local Karelian people in the eastern border regions back in the 1930s.[20] In both contexts the otherness of the women is conceptualized in sexual terms. The differences of ethnic origin of the women, be they Russian or Karelian, don't seem to be important. In fact, in older Finnish folklore, the "Russian" (who is often called "*ryssä*") can be interpreted as ethnically Karelian.

Eduard Hämäläinen and Natalia Kilpeläinen are represented in the national media as individuals who are expected to give journalists personal statements. In addition to individual athletes there are a lot of Russian male and female "guest workers" on Finnish hockey and volleyball teams. For example, almost half the players of the 2001–2002 women's volleyball team, "*Prihat*", from Joensuu (a small university town in eastern Finland) were born in the former Soviet Union. However, in the local newspaper, *Karjalainen,* there has not been any larger public debate about the successful team's (3rd in 2001, 2nd in 2002) "genuineness" as a local or Finnish team.[21] In a team sport foreign players seem to be accepted more easily than in an individual sport. They are not asked to comment on their performance in their own words and what is even more important, they are not asked to make-believe that Finland is their only possible object of national identification. Whether there is any difference between male and female team sports in this regard, remains an open question.

The issue of gender and nation goes further than the issues of gender and sport or sport and nation. In Finnish newspapers and popular imagination the Russian women are not always treated as good team workers (*Prihat*) or lively immigrants (Natalia Kilpeläinen). In the 1990s the image of a Russian woman as a prostitute, or as an exploiter of a Finnish man (in mixed marriages) has also existed (see Bäckman 1998:38; Lamberg 1999: 41; Novikova 1998: 61). The rise of a new kind of "Eastern" prostitution is a real phenomenon (Fomina and Vaskina 1999; Nurmi 2000)[22], but at the same time there seems to be a stigmatizing process directed at all women coming to Finland from Russia or Estonia.[23] One reason for the negative stereotyping is the difference in dressing and other gender marking codes between Finnish and Russian women (see Heikkinen 1998). There is also a certain kind of "arrogant perception" from the Finnish women's side against the Finnish men, who are seen as victims of the Russian women's feminity. This can be seen even more clearly in a discussion about Russian wives, who are said to misuse their Finnish husbands to achieve valuable goods and Finnish citizenship.[24]

Ice-hockey, Beer and Geopolitics

The third example deals with beer, ice hockey, masculinity, the Second World War and Finnish-Soviet official relationships during the latest era of the *YYA* treaty, the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Support.

Traditionally sport and alcohol are seen as mutually exclusive domains of life: sport and alcohol do not belong together. Only a glass of champagne was allowed after great victories. In the late modern world things have changed with new expectations for sports events: they also have to be good entertainment for the audience. To be eager to leave their couch and television sets, the spectators need to have the same conveniences at the stadium as at home. An alternative is to watch the games from a large television screen at the local pub right from the start. In modern sports spectatorship there is a carnivalesque undertone, which links together drinking and the strong emotions experienced through watching sport. Drinking goes together typically with games expressing masculine aggressiveness: basketball, football, motor sports and ice hockey (Heinonen 2001).

The history of *Karjala* (Finnish for "Karelia") beer goes back to the 1930s. The beer was originally brewed in Sortavala, on the shore of Lake Ladoga. After the Second World War the area was ceded to the Soviet Union. After the war *Karjala* beer was brewed and consumed locally in the south-eastern Finnish city of Lappeenranta, which is situated not far from the Russian border. In Finland Lappeenranta is regarded as the heart of southern (Finnish) Karelia. At this time, the name "*Karjala*" in the beer label had mostly regional connotations: the name referred to the region of southern Finnish Karelia.[25]

In 1967 the trademark was bought by Hartwall, a large Finnish beer company. The company started to sell *Karjala* beer everywhere in Finland, but it was not until the next year that something important happened. In 1968, in his speech at the Paasikivi Society meeting, the Soviet ambassador, A. E. Kovalev, criticized the label of *Karjala* beer for reminding of conflicts no longer actual. On the label we can see the old provincial coat of arms of Karelia, in which there are two soldier's hands with swords representing the border between Sweden (which Finnish Karelia was part of in older times) and Russia. Although Kovalev's critique was pointed at the military pathos expressed in the label, some people thought that the real reason was the idea of East expressed in this image: the Russian sword was curved, a Turkish one, implying that Russia belongs to Asia, not to civilized Europe (see Neumann 1996).[26]

The public critique, along with the liberalized law for alcohol sales of beer in 1969 made *Karjala* beer into a great success. By drinking *Karjala*, the people could make a banal political statement about the role of the Soviet Union and the officially held *YYA* "spirit", which was seen by many as "*Finlandisierung*", as a too obedient attitude towards the Soviet Union. As a beer label, *Karjala* was (once again) politicized and made into a symbol of the relationship between Finland and Russia, this time at a banal, seemingly harmless level. The possibility to buy beer at the grocer's shop and to express an oppressed opinion about the Finnish-Soviet relationship by drinking *Karjala* beer could be seen as new acts of freedom. In this context the regional meaning of Karelia decreased and the connotations with the war between Finland and Russia increased (though a lost war, it is still regarded as a heroic one in Finland). The basis for a kind of masculine ethos was laid, which was to become important in the next stage of *Karjala* beer's history.

In 1977 there was a short interlude in the "Karelia-question" when the rock band Sleepy Sleepers published their record "Back to Karelia" (*Takaisin Karjalaan*; the name was an allusion to the Beatles record "Back to USSR"). According to the stories, the name was originally planned to be "Give us Karelia back" (*Karjala takaisin*), but the record company EMI was afraid of publishing something with that name in *YYA* Finland. In 1978 a local section of the Society for Finnish-Soviet Friendship made a complaint about the derogatory language in the record and it was taken away from the jukeboxes. As a masculine protest against self-censorship the record was selling well and the band gathered big audiences to their gigs.[27] Although the group couldn't be said to be too patriotic, the macho ethos of Sleepy Sleepers was easily associated with irredenta (the claim for an area) regarding the part of Karelia lost to the Soviet Union. While listening to the record today, it seems that the most important target of parody were the Karelian evacuees, whose (unofficial) political discourse was widely thought to be based on the phrase "*Karjala takaisin*".

After the collapse of the Soviet Union the band changed their name to Leningrad Cowboys and gave some concerts with the Red Army Choir. Already at the time of the "*Takaisin Karjalaan*" record the actions of the band should be interpreted more as an argument against good taste, against established values, not so much as an explicit political argument. The new political situation gave new possibilities for a carnivalesque response, a trademark for the band.

In 1979 the market share of *Karjala* beer was at its highest, 34,2 per cent. In the following years the share of *Karjala* beer diminished little by little, until the label was connected in 1994 with a new meaning: ice hockey. In 1993 the Hartwall company started to support the ice hockey team *Jokerit*, and in 1994 a contract was signed about sponsorship between Hartwall and the Finnish national ice hockey team. *Karjala* beer was taken as the main label for advertisements, although there were people who reacted against the connection between beer drinking and sport.[28]

Luckily for *Karjala* beer, Finland was the winner of the Ice Hockey World Championship Games on 7 May 1995 in Stockholm. During that year the share of *Karjala* beer doubled, which meant about 10 per cent of the market. In the 1990s a single beer label couldn't occupy such a central role as it could in the 1970s; for example, lots of foreign beer brands were sharing the market.[29]

What is important in this lucky incident (seen from the point of view of Hartwall) is the connection between Karelia as a symbol for fighting, war (implicitly: the two wars of 1939–1940 and 1941–1944 between Finland and Russia), masculine aggressiveness, represented by ice hockey, and national chauvinism. The first World Championship in ice hockey was really a big thing in Finland and the happiness was doubled by the fact that the championship was achieved in Sweden's "own" games in Stockholm and by beating the Swedish team in the final match.

The carnivalesque feeling was intensified by the fact that the coach of the Finnish team was a Swede, Curt Lindström, and that the new Swedish winning song, "*Det glider in*", could be borrowed by Finns as a symbol for the historical victory. In Finland Curt Lindström and his second coach Hannu Aravirta became national heroes. The song (at least the refrain) was sung in Swedish.

The celebrations started in Helsinki and other big cities right after the victory as a spontaneous carnival, reminding of the 1 May Day celebrations. On the next day there was an official celebration at the Helsinki market square, where the Leningrad Cowboys were also playing in military uniform (Pakarinen 1997). The national pathos was very clear, though mixed with lots of popular culture and world-turned-upside-down elements.[30]

The historical meaning of the 1995 ice hockey championship was later echoed on 12 June 2000 at the celebrations for the 450th anniversary of Helsinki. The borrowed victory song "*Det glider in*" was used as the background music for a scene in a history spectacle show, where the idea was to show how Finland had become part of Europe (as a sign there was a huge flag of the European Union). The irony was that the Swedish Crown family was present on the balcony of Helsinki City Hall watching the procession with the new President of Finland, Tarja Halonen.[31]

When it comes to the Finnish banal, everyday nationalism, the role of *Karjala* beer and the role of sports and the new national chauvinism expressed in it are both important. An interesting point is that they can work jointly, at the same time within different contexts of opposition: Finnish-Russian and Finnish-Swedish.

A sociologist, Matti Virtanen, sees the new success of *Karjala* beer as a sign of a new generation, born in the 1970s. They have revitalized the patriotism and old symbolic worlds stressing national unity, the whole nation struggling for a common goal.[32] As a representative for the Hartwall company summarizes the success of *Karjala* beer: ice hockey and *Karjala* beer represent the same values of Finnishness, sociability and masculinity.[33]

When it comes to ice hockey it could be added that as an "enemy" the former Soviet Union was seen as a group of non-human robots, not as a "dear enemy" like the Swedish team. The Soviet team was even called "the red machine" (in Finnish "*punakone*"), a metaphor referring to their "machine-like" performance – not making any mistakes during the play. In the Hockey Championship Games in St. Petersburg (Spring 2000) it could be seen how the collapse of the Soviet Union (and the poor performance of the Russian team) had also thrown away the idea of robot-like action. Instead of that, Finnish television commentators were talking a lot about the "Slavic mentality", which is almost the opposite of robot-like performance: emotional, changing and highly dependent on feelings.

Concluding Remarks

Eduard Hämäläinen and Natalia Kilpeläinen are examples of a new culture around sport. As a result of growing migration the number of people with transnational identity is growing. Transnational identities are giving new impulses to national cultures. It is up to us to interpret these phenomena as a positive stimulus and not as a threat to our culture. Eduard and Natalia have sisters and brothers in all the Scandinavian countries, Ljudmila Engqvist in Sweden, Nilson Kipketer in Denmark and Wilson Kirwa in Finland, to name the most successful. A sociologist, Hannu Itkonen, said in a newspaper interview that it is not so much about "putting Finland into the world map" as it is about "putting the world into Finland's map". In the words of a Finnish coach commenting on Eduard's case: "This is sport today".[34]

Although appreciated in their new homelands for their top results, there still seems to exist an embarrassment about the right to feel delighted when emigrated athletes bring a World Championship or Olympic medals to their new home countries. This is what I have tried to show in this article with a somewhat biased selection of sports journalism. The cracks in the mirror reveal not only the intrinsic problems behind the whole sport culture in the late modern world: they also reveal problems inherent in the ideas about national culture in our transnational life. The basic questions at stake in sports journalism are now: "Who can represent us?", "What is Finnishness?", "Who are we?". We are facing these same questions today also in such national institutions as the Finnish Literature Society. How to define Finnishness? Is the language the only criterion?

Russia and Russians are with us in Finland in many ways. The meanings of "Russian" are not only changing, they are also positional. The same applies to the meanings of "East" and "Eastern". In the European context Finland is usually seen to belong to the "West". However, in the 1990s, in the Finnish media, we were still "going" to or "looking" at Europe, meaning that we were somewhere outside Europe (Alasuutari and Ruuska 1999). The same applies to Russia, where the border of Europe once was drawn at the Ural Mountains (Neumann 1996: 12). Today Russia is also "returning" to Europe.

For the Finns, Russia usually represents the East in contrast to us in the West. However, in the Scandinavian discourse the same position is sometimes reserved for Finns. In fact, the term "eastern crime", which in Finland is used to refer to Russian and Estonian criminality (also called "eastern mafia"), was first invented in Sweden to denote Finnish criminality. In a globalizing world the cardinal points of the compass are losing their meaning – if they ever had such meanings in reality. In the "real" West, in Florida, USA, the image of eastern criminality includes the Finns, Russians and Estonians working together to smuggle stolen cars to Russia (Bäckman 1998: 38–39).

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NOTES

1. Hannus 1999: 493–496; *Suomen urheilulehti* 27/1997: ”Eduard Hämäläisen näytöt riittivät Kuukauden urheilijaksi. ’Eetu’ metsästää kultaa”; *Ilta-Sanomat* 23.8.2000: ”Eduard Hämäläinen sai Suomen passin”.
2. See track and field statistics pages by Matti Koskimies in http://www.apulanta.fi/matti/yu/yl/ (printed 4.2.2003). Siukonen 1997–2002; *Ilta-Sanomat* 6.11.2002: ”Eduard Hämäläinen lopettaa urheilu-uransa”.
3. Siukonen 1997: 183, Siukonen 1998: 62; *Suomen urheilulehti* 32/1997: ”EDUARD katkaisi Suomen 43 vuoden mitalittoman putken kymmenottelussa”.
4. *Helsingin Sanomat* 5.8.1997: ”Eduard Hämäläinen törmäsi uuteen maailmaan”.
5. *Helsingin Sanomat* 3.6.1997: ”Hämäläinen valittaa Härmän oloja. Suomalainen kymmenottelija joutuu kituuttamaan”.
6. In: http://www.helsinginsanomat.fi/extrat/mm97ateena/mm97ateenaeduard.html: ”*Kotikentältä kunnian kentille.* Mitalitoivo Hämäläinen ei ole vielä juurtunut” (printed 4.2.2003); sportti.com in www.sportti.com/2000/muutlajit_yleisurheilu/: ”Eduard Hämäläinen lopettaa ”(printed 21.1.2003).
7. *Karjalainen* 7.8.1997: ”Hämäläinen avasi mitaliputken. Tshekin Tomas Dvorakin hurja tahti oli liikaa hopeaa ottaneelle suomalaiselle.”
8. Siukonen 1998: 136, 168, 170. The possible nomination for the Athlete of The Year aroused objections already in August 1997, see *Helsingin Sanomat* 14.8.1997: ”Kelpaako Hämäläinen vuoden urheilijaksi?”.
9. In: http://www.yle.fi/tvuutiset/linnanjuhlat/albumi7.htm: *Linnan juhlat* (printed 18.4.1999).
10. *Helsingin Sanomat* 21.8.1998: ”’Aika ottaa keihäänheitto vakavasti’. Hämäläinen oli joka tapauksessa tyytyväinen otteluunsa; *Karjalainen* 21.8.2000: ”Ottelijoiden ilo kesti loppuun asti. ’Eetu’ yllätti puhuen suomea”; Hannus 1999: 493. The title of Waltari’s novel is in Finnish ”*Vieras mies tuli taloon*”. The novel was translated into English in 1972 with the title “A Stranger Came to the Farm”.
11. Finland has two official languages, Finnish and Swedish. In Finnish schools everybody has to take lessons in both languages.
12. *Sports Weekly*. Week 31, 1997.
13. *UM-Press Lehdistökatsaus* 7.8.1997. The news was originally published in *Helsingin Sanomat*.
14. *UM-Press Lehdistökatsaus* 13.8.1997. The news was originally published in *Aamulehti*.
15. *Sports Weekly*. Week 47, 1997.
16. A term used by Marilyn Frye and Maria Lugones to describe the white, Anglo-American way of looking at the “coloured” women in the United States (Juntti 1998: 79).
17. *Karjalainen* 31.10.1997: ”Katajalle kova vahvistus”; Karjalainen 27.5.1998: ”Kunto lupailee 14 metrin ylitystä. Joensuun Kataja sai Natalia Kilpeläisestä maajoukkuetason kolmiloikkaajan”; *Helsingin Sanomat* 5.7.1998: ”Maajoukkueen ulkomaalaiset Natalia Kilpeläinen ja Wilson Kirwa tuovat maailmaa Suomen kartalle”.
18. *Helsingin Sanomat* 5.7.1998: ”Maajoukkueen ulkomaalaiset Natalia Kilpeläinen ja Wilson Kirwa tuovat maailmaa Suomen kartalle”.
19. In chapter 8:iv. There is also a long tradition in western movies and popular literature about the Soviet woman as an eroticized *enemy*, a spy or a mafia-killer (after *perestroika*). This genre goes back to Greta Garbo’s Ninotchka in the 1930s, has its most famous examples in James Bond movies, and lives still, when the Cold War situation is over, in movies and popular literature about the Russian mafia. See Bäckman 1997 and Rosner 1995.
20. From the end of the nineteenth century up to the 1930s the Finnish men were working as loggers in the border areas between Finland and Russia (both on the Russian side and on the Finnish side). In the reminiscences and folklore the local female youth is seen as an exotic other, sexually active and attractive (see Pöysä 1997: 235–240).

21. I have found two cases where the local newspaper, *Karjalainen*, has expressed negative opinions about the player's ethnic background. On 9.4.2001 *Karjalainen* sports columnist Kari Haavisto wrote that "too much is too much", that *Prihat* now has to make the team more Finnish. However, Haavisto never mentions what the problem is with the Russian players. In a second *Karjalainen* article (12.11.2001) the second coach of *Prihat* is reminiscing with a certain nostalgia for the old *Prihat* team, consisting only of native players (although not Joensuu born). "Now it is difficult to communicate tactics, when you can't use Finnish."
22. For example in the Kotka and Valkeala regions, "Eastern" prostitution took place quite openly in streets and roadside motels provoking heated debates in the local newspapers (*Karjalainen* 15.11.1999: *"Punaisesta talosta" käännytettiin 14 naista Kotkassa;* see also Bäckman 1998:35). The same phenomenon, which is based on the radical difference in the standard of living in Russia and its western neighbors and the "opening" of the borders, is taking place also in northern Norway (see Mathisen 1998). In Norway also, the stereotype of a Russian woman as a prostitute was strengthened by the popular media.
23. Sirje Kiin (1996: 523) writes about an Estonian living in Helsinki who is tired of explaining every day that she is not a prostitute or criminal.
24. Readers' column in the newspaper *Karjalainen* 21.1.1999: "Uusi perhe Venäjällä".
25. In: http://www.hartwall.fi/karjala/historia.htm: "Karjala. Historiaa" (printed 18.4.1999).
26. In: http://www.hartwall.fi/karjala/historia.htm: "Karjala. Historiaa"(printed 18.4.1999); Hatwall Oy:n Asiakaslehti 95/2 in: http://www.hartwall.fi/asiakaslehti.fi/asiakaslehti/952/1.html:, "Jääkiekon ja Karjala-oluen yhteiset ominaisuudet: Suomalaisuus, sosiaalisuus ja miehekkyys" (printed 18.4.1999); http://www.hartwall.fi/keidas/kuluttajapalvelu/wallu/kysymys8.html*:* "Lukijat kysyvät – Wallu Hart vastaa" (printed 5.2.2003).
27. In: http://www.hyy.helsinki.fi/jarj/poleemi/sleepy.html: "Kun Sleepy Sleepers Suomen ulkopolitiikan vaaransi" (by Jan Erola, printed 12.11.1998); Bruun, Lindfors, Luoto and Salo 1998: 257.
28. Hatwall Oy:n Asiakaslehti 95/2 in: http://www.hartwall.fi/asiakaslehti.fi/asiakaslehti/952/1.html: "Jääkiekon ja Karjala-oluen yhteiset ominaisuudet: Suomalaisuus, sosiaalisuus ja miehekkyys" (printed 18.4.1999).
29. See note 28.
30. In Finland the national importance of sport has a long history. Already in 1920s it was said that the Olympic Winner, Paavo Nurmi, "ran Finland onto the world map". During the years the importance of sport has not diminished, if we are to look at the national media, and the amount of time devoted to sport on the television. During the Olympic Games and World Champioship Games it is even allowed to stop working at the workplaces and gather somewhere to watch television, especially when there are Finns competing for medals. Similar connections exist between nationalism and sport in Sweden and Norway (see Ehn 1989 and Kayser Nielsen 1997).
31. *Helsingin Sanomat* 13.6.2000: "Historia kuului, näkyi ja haisi läpi Helsingin,Victoria hurmasi Helsingin".
32. See note 28.
33. See note 28.
34. *Helsingin Sanomat* 5.7.1998: "Maajoukkueen ulkomaalaiset Natalia Kilpeläinen ja Wilson Kirwa tuovat maailmaa Suomen kartalle"; http://www.helsinginsanomat.fi/extrat/mm97ateena/mm97ateenakipketer.html: "Wilson Kipketer valitsi Tanskan" (printed 4.2.2003); http://www.helsinginsanomat.fi/extrat/mm97ateena/mm97ateenaludmila.html: "Ljudmila Engqvist on ruotsalaisten mieleen. Satasen aitojen olympiakulta avasi tien sydämiin" (printed 4.2.2003); *Suomen urheilulehti* 27/1997: "Eduard Hämäläisen näytöt riittivät Kuukauden urheilijaksi. 'Eetu' metsästää kultaa".

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Religion in Multi-Ethnic Settings

BARBRO KLEIN

The Miracle in Södertälje, Sweden

The Re-enchantment of Sweden and the Othering of a Young Woman

In 1992, television viewers and newspaper readers in Sweden (and abroad) were presented with a series of striking and, to Protestant Swedes, most exotic events. First, on 5 March, the embalmed body of a Syrian-Orthodox former vice patriarch was carried into Saint Afram's Church in Södertälje near Stockholm. The body was subsequently buried in a sitting position in an enclosed chamber in a concrete inner wall of the church. A few weeks later, the news was even more sensational. Jesus and a Syrian Orthodox saint named Charbel appeared in the visions of fifteen-year old Samira Hannoch, a member of Saint Afram's Church and a recent immigrant. Soon, oil began flowing from her body and from an image of Charbel. During a couple of weeks, perhaps 40,000 people came to be blessed by Samira and cured by the oil. The burial and the miracle sparked old animosities within the Assyrian/Syrian community in Sweden and elsewhere. But at the same time the events and the media coverage had a great impact and created an intense interest among people of various religious and ethnic affiliations, Swedes and others. Debates broke out involving religious leaders, government officials, medical doctors, journalists, believers and non-believers.

In other words, the chain of events were enmeshed in a complex field of contestations (Eade and Sallnow 1991) – a field thick with voices, gestures, embodiments, visual imagery, and narratives. In this paper I will describe some facets of this field, paying attention to ways in which the media – not least through the use of visual techniques – contributed to linking together events, narratives and images. I am particularly interested in the role that television played in communicating a religious heritage with ancient traditional roots and in shaping a collective Swedish memory of the events, most of all through its portrayal of a young immigrant woman.[1]

During the last few years, issues connected to the presence of immigrants in the mass media have become increasingly important in Sweden, where, as a result of the great immigration since the late 1960s, one fifth of the population of nearly nine million people are immigrants or children of immigrants. Some of the debates concern the inadequate number of employees in the media with roots in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Other issues are linked to the frequently stereotyped portrayals of foreigners and foreign cultures.

In 2003, these debates continue, despite the many changes that have taken place since the early 1990s, when people with roots outside Europe were quite invisible in the media, except as social problems. In that light, the impact of the publicity surrounding the funeral and young Samira is intriguing. In fact, I have yet to meet an adult who lived in Sweden in 1992 who does not remember at least something about these two events. This is remarkable in a country whose inhabitants often emphasize their secularized modernity and the reserve of Protestantism.[2]

The Assyrian/Syrian Community in Sweden

In the late twentieth century, close to 50,000 persons in Sweden called themselves Assyrians or Syrians or (with a joint name) *suryoye* (Deniz 1999). The official name in Sweden for all *suryoye* is Assyrians/Syrians. In daily speech, however, Swedes have long used the appellation Turks. Indeed, at least until the war in Iraq in 2003, Swedes have tended to refer to all the diverse peoples with roots in the Middle East as Turks (Klein 1993).

Suryoye have periodically been persecuted and most of those who live in Sweden have left south-eastern Turkey (Tur ‘abdin) and arrived in waves since 1967. Others have come from northern Iraq, northwest Iran, Syria, and Lebanon. A great many settled in the town of Södertälje and opened small businesses there. There are also large groups in the United States (often known as Syriacs), Brazil, Germany and Holland. Most *suryoye* speak several languages, such as Kurdish, Turkish, Arameic, and Arabic. Many also have knowledge of some dialect of the common language *turoyo* and are familiar with the liturgical language. *Suryoye* belong to different branches of the Syrian Orthodox Church, which is one of several ancient Christian churches. Given the long and complex history of the *suryoye*, it is not surprising that branches of the Syrian Orthodox Church are at odds with one another and that old divisions have re-established themselves in the diaspora. In Sweden *suryoye* are basically divided into two factions.

One group calls itself Assyrian and emphasizes that all *suryoye* are descendants of the ancient Assyrians or Mesopotamians. In a sense, Assyrians are held together by a secular idea and have adopted a dream of an Assyrian Nation (Björklund 1981: 32; Edsman 1991: 198–202). The idea has financial support in the United States and it appeals particularly to young people in the diaspora who work hard to further the knowledge of Assyrian history and to construct symbols of Assyrian identity, such as new national costumes and dances (Björklund 1981: 151). While often very religious, Assyrians tend to look upon themselves as progressive and modern. Many are active on the Internet and a search will turn up such networks as “Assyria on Line” (with the motto “Back to Assyria Land”) and “Nineveh On Line” or home pages with such titles as “Hammurabi’s Page” (Pripp 1997). Many Assyrians in Södertälje belong to the centrally located church, Saint Jakob of Nsibili. In the early 1990s, the leader of this church was Archbishop Abdulahad Shabo who was appointed by the patriarch of Damascus as the religious leader of all *suryoye* in Sweden. As a leader, Shabo has long co-operated with Swedish religious and secular authorities.

However, several thousand *suryoye* in Sweden do not wish to call themselves Assyrians and prefer the name Syrians. Basically rejecting all ideas of a secular authority, Syrians submit only to religious leadership and insist that the Syrian Orthodox Church provides the sole symbol of unification that they need. They are also active on Internet but their home pages are not as accessible as the Assyrian ones (Pripp 1997). They do not recognize Archbishop Abdulahad Shabo, whom they regard as secularized. In protest against secularization, they built, in 1987, a large and richly appointed church, the Saint Afram or Mor Efred. The church is situated in Geneta on the outskirts of Södertälje and it was in this church that the burial took place and it was a member of this church, Samira Hannoch, who had the remarkable visions and miraculous experiences.

The First Chain of Events. The Burial of Mar Korillos Jakub Kas Georges

With this we return to the events of March 1992. In this paper I will say relatively little about the dramatic burial of Mar Korillos Jakub Kass Georges who had been a vice patriarch in Damascus.[3] After retirement in 1980, he had been living near Stockholm with relatives who were members of the Saint Afram Church. When he died in February 1992, the church decided to bury him with the greatest honors. This meant that he was to be interred in a sitting position in a small chamber in one of the church walls. A number of highly placed priests and bishops from the Syrian Orthodox diaspora came to Södertälje to participate in the burial which was scheduled to take place at 10 a.m. on 5 March 1992.

That morning, there was great turmoil outside the Saint Afram Church. One reason for this was that Archbishop Shabo at the last minute had appealed to the Swedish government to revoke the permission it had already given to Saint Afram Church to perform the unusual burial ceremony. Shabo had support from some Lutheran ministers and bishops who maintained that the Syrian Orthodox Church ought to adopt Swedish burial customs. Members of the Swedish government were still debating the question at 9:30 a.m. on 5 March. The Swedish press had publicized the burial and the debates widely that very morning and a great number of journalists, photographers, and policemen had gathered outside the Saint Afram Church along with Syrian priests and parishioners. The mood was tense because the leaders of the church had announced that they intended to go ahead with the funeral ceremony regardless of the decision of the Swedish government. However, the government did not pay heed to Shabo's complaint and the burial ceremony was carried out as planned (for further details, see Klein 1997: 18–19).

That same evening people in Sweden could watch glimpses of the unusual event on their television sets. And the following day, the front pages of many newspapers featured as their main story the exotic funeral and the interment of the embalmed body of Mar Korillos in a space in the church wall.

The Second Chain of Events. Samira Hannoch's Visions, the Miracle She Experienced, and How She Blessed Pilgrims and Cured Them

The funeral seems to have sensitized the community and heralded the next series of events. These were centered around fifteen-year old Samirah Hannoch who lived with her parents and six brothers and sisters in a small apartment in the Blombacka neighbourhood of Södertälje where many immigrants reside. The family had left Syria and had arrived in Sweden in 1987. It belonged to the Saint Afram Church.

What happened to Samira? Let us take a look at an account printed in the April 1992 issue of the Syrian monthly paper *Bahro Suryoyo* which is published in Sweden. The text can be described as an "official" statement by the Syrian-Swedish group itself. In stilted language, but occasionally quoting Samira, the text describes how Samira saw the saint, Mar Charbel, three times, the last time on her birthday, and how "the true miracle" happened the day after, when she saw Jesus, and heard birds singing, and when oil began to flow from her body.[4]

> The Miracle in Södertälje
>
> […]
> – I saw him the first time on Friday January 3 1992 at 1:30 in the morning. My brother George, my sister and one of her friends were also in the apartment. I was watching TV alone in the living-room and suddenly I saw a man in front of me. He held a cross in his hand and said to me: "I am the Holy Man, Mar Charbel. I shall never forgive the person who harms you. Nor shall I forgive the person who is happy when you are unhappy. But he who helps you, he has contact with God."
>
> – Naturally I became very scared. I went to my brother to tell him about my experience. We found a portrait of Mar Charbel that was hidden away and when my brother held his portrait in his hand, Mar Charbel opened his eyes. I knelt to pray in front of his portrait and he said to me: "Go fetch a candle and light it". "Where?" I asked. "There is a candle on the TV-set," he answered. I did not know about any candle on the TV-set but I asked my brother to fetch it. He did not dare to go by himself so I went along with him and there on the TV-set was a candle, which we lit.
>
> The second time that the saint revealed himself to Samira was on Sunday February 16 at 2:30 in the morning. He said that I should get up and look at the sky. When I did that, I saw a strong light and in its middle was Mar Charbel who said: "I shall let you put out the fire."
>
> The third time that Samira was in contact with Mar Charbel was on her birthday, Thursday March 19. She went to take a nap and asked her brother to wake her up after one hour. After 20 or 30 minutes, at 7 o'clock in the evening, the saint revealed himself to her and said: "Get up and look at the sky."

> – When I turned around slowly and looked at the sky, I made the sign of the cross twice and saw the saint in the middle of the fog. He moved the cross from one hand to the other and blessed me and said that I would have a long life. Then he said once more that he was going to let me put out the fire. Then he disappeared and I fainted. When I came to, I did not recognize the members of my family.
>
> The following day, Friday March 20, the true miracle happened. Samira was standing on the balcony. She saw Jesus Christ and at the same time she could hear thousands of birds singing as if she were in paradise. This was at eight o'clock in the evening.
>
> – When I returned inside, oil began flowing from my hands and arms. I went into the room where the portrait of Mar Charbel was lying but I did not see anything unusual. When I lit a candle in front of his portrait, oil began flowing also from the face of the holy man. It was as if it was tears.
>
> The saint has also told her that she is chosen among millions of boys and girls and that the flowing oil is his blood and that she is to communicate the message that the church is to be reunited. (Bahro Suryoyo, April 1992)

Behind this highly controlled statement one can imagine the features of an oral narrative: tripartite divisions, quoted speech, emphasis on concrete tactile and auditive elements. It is clear that Samira did not speak the way she does in this text. The bits and pieces of her own accounts of the events that could be heard on TV channels and were cited in newspapers a few days after the "true miracle" on 20 March give a very different impression of her indeed. She is described as a "common immigrant girl" (*vanlig_invandrartjej*) who liked rock-music and wanted to become a beautician. Several newspaper articles resonate with her irreverent teenage expressions. According to one journalist, for example, she did not say that she became "very scared" but that she was "scared shitless" (*skiträdd*). And, according to the same writer, the saint had expressed himself most colloquially and said "Congratulations on your birthday" (*grattis på födelsedagen*) the third time that he showed himself to her (*Dagens Nyheter*, 25 March 1992).

Many other details in newspaper accounts of Samira's experiences are also missing in this "official" Syrian version. One is a report that not only Samira heard the birds singing but also Swedish neighbours in adjacent apartments and people who had gathered in her living-room. Yet another detail concerns a remarkable heaviness that came over Samira when she stood on the cold floor of the balcony. Her brother George recounts how she was so heavy that he and his father together were incapable of lifting her feet in order to put a pair of slippers on her.

On Sunday 22 March 1992, i.e., two days after the "true" miracle, chaos erupted in and around the Hannoch apartment. People arrived in great numbers. The first arrivals were neighbours: Syrians, Swedes, young, old, infirm, healthy. But after a few days people came from all over Sweden, and eventually also from other parts of Europe and the Middle East. TV cameras were installed in the hallways of the apartment building and journalists and photographers from Sweden and abroad remained on the scene constantly. For about two weeks, newspapers and newscasts were filled with stories about Samira and with pictures of people waiting in line to see her and be blessed by her. A striking number of the visitors were teenagers; many of them were immigrants, some were Muslims. According to journalists, the housing complex had been transformed to a "holy place" and a "regular teenager" had become a "holy person". Inside the apartment hymns were softly playing on a tape-recorder while women were crying.

Studying the televised news programs one gets a vivid impression of the events and the people involved in them. Channel Two was the first public channel to take up the story; it was sent on its ABC News program aimed at the Stockholm region, which includes Södertälje. This was on 25 March, i.e., five days after the "true" miracle. The story was placed at the very end, right before the weather forecast (Appendix 1). Viewers are shown the interior of the apartment and the image of Charbel. A young man assures the reporter that oil is flowing from the image and the reporter agrees that it is "a bit sticky". Samira stands in the middle of a throng of people. Liquid is glistening on her hands and face and with half closed eyes she dips cotton balls into clear oil whereupon she uses the cotton balls to make the sign of the cross on visitors' foreheads – over and over. When visitors signal that they want her to do so, she touches their sick body parts with the cotton ball. She looks happy and with a calm voice she assures the reporter: "I never thought that something like this would happen to me. This is something from God, it is something unbelievable". And when the reporter asks why the saint selected her, she answers with a happy voice: "I don't know really. But he just said to me that 'I could have chosen any girl or boy, but I have chosen you'". Samira communicates in all possible ways that she knows that she has become a vessel of God. When the reporter asks if she can "understand that there are people who doubt your story", she responds with assured dignity that she knows that the reason for her experiences is that the church must unite.

One day later, on 26 March, a feature on Samira appeared on the nationally televised "Aktuellt" on Channel One at 9 p.m., on Sweden's major non-commercial news program. Once again the story was placed at the very end of the program, right before the weather forecast. The reporter says that "Västra Blombacka in Södertälje has become a holy place" and viewers can see crowds of people waiting in the stairways and corridors of the apartment building. Many young people are there and one young woman says that "it is hard to imagine that something like this could happen here in Sweden", while a worried neighbour feels sorry for Samira, noting that "she has enough to handle as it is". In many ways, the mood has changed compared to the day before. Samira looks tired as she dutifully attends to her visitors. The oil is still glistening on her face but her voice sounds irritated as she repeats the message that the church must unite. When the reporter asks her to explain where the oil comes from, she sighs and says in a loud, irritated voice: "*I* don't know. How would *I* know?" And when the word proof is introduced, she sighs, and puts her hand on her forehead in a resigned gesture.

Around this time, journalists (in particular journalists writing for local papers such as *Länstidningen Södertälje*) began reporting that neighbours in the apartment complex were complaining about the crowds and about the difficulty of finding parking spaces. At the very end of March, Samira moved the image of Charbel and her entire reception to the Saint Afram Church. The tone of the reporting now changes radically. Journalists portray a Samira who is very different from the happy teenager who had received people in her home during the first days after the miracle. The pictures now show an emaciated Samira who is dressed in black and wears a headcloth and make-up and concentrates on the sick who have arrived from all over Sweden and many parts of Europe. Each act of curing must have been extremely strenuous and, increasingly, newspapers comment on violent fainting spells and show pictures of Samira losing consciousness.

On 29 March, "Aktuellt" contained a fairly brief story about Samira, reporting that perhaps 40,000 people have made pilgrimages to Södertälje "because of the marvel, the holy oil, pouring out of the hands of a sixteen-year old girl". In the report people are pushing to get close to the image of the saint and to Samira who looks bored and distant, as if she is not really present inside the church. When a reporter asks her if the oil still pours from her hands, Samira answers in a flat voice: "Yes, yesterday". The camera then focuses on a box overflowing with money that visitors have given to the church and, thereupon, the reporter asks young visitors if they know where the oil comes from. One young man answers: "I don't know" and then he adds: "But I am affected by this". Then the news anchor switches to the weather forecast, saying with a slight smile: "Well, the snow comes from above, in any case".

The search for verification did not stop and, a few days later, "Aktuellt" involved itself with a rather spectacular hunt for proof (Appendix 2). On 3 April, the very first story of the newscast was about Samira standing inside Saint Afram Church. A great number of people are lined up in front of her. Among them is a reporter who is identified as such to the television audience but not to Samira. The reporter receives the sign of the cross on her forehead, and as always, Samira uses a ball of cotton that has been dipped in oil. Then the camera focuses on the box over-flowing with money. Thereupon, the reporter says into the camera that she went directly from the church to the Laboratory of Criminal Technology to have the substances on her forehead analyzed. The camera now switches to a laboratory technician, a blond man dressed in blue speaking with a persuasive and slow northern Swedish dialect. He assures viewers that the oil on the reporter's forehead could not possibly have come from Samira's body. But when pressed he says that he is unable to identify the oil and that "it is certainly not the kind used in cooking". Then the camera switches to the news anchor who smiles indulgently and finishes the story with the following words: "Perhaps we have to conclude that those who visit Samira and her oil miracle are totally uninterested in our worldly researches".

Not long after the 3 April newscast on "Aktuellt", Samira's experiences stopped being first-page news on television programs and newspapers aimed at a national audience. In a matter of two weeks, she seems to have changed profoundly. In particular, the portrayals of her on television show a remarkable transformation from a naïve, trusting, and bouncy teen-ager to a tired, black-clad adult, a possible perpetrator of a hoax. On 10 April, she left for a few days in Jerusalem where she met with the patriarch. At this time the question of sainthood was apparently broached. But also after Samira's return to Sweden, oil occasionally flowed from her body and, as late as November 1993, she said she saw Mar Charbel in a vision.

Samira Hannoch was not admitted to high school and for about a year after the miraculous events, she worked as a beautician's assistant. During this period, Swedish journalists continued to take an interest in her. Some described her as a victim while others sketched less than favorable portraits. One journalist who interviewed her in 1994, when she worked in a beauty parlor, wrote that she was listless, sickly, passive and had poor grades in school (*Svenska Dagbladet*, 20 March 1994). It appears as if the events of 1992 had taken all the strength out of her. One observer speaks about her as a shy bird who tiptoed around Södertälje for a few years. She is now married and a mother and will not give interviews.

Belief, Doubt and Church Politics in the Aftermath of the Miracle

Debates did not take place only on television and in newspapers but in many other contexts as well and many debates continued long after the news media ceased taking a daily interest in Samira and her experiences. Had a miracle taken place or did Samira try to deceive people? Perhaps the Saint Afram Church had staged all the events with economic gain in mind?

Many features in the debates are common to narratives about miraculous events. Among these are all the efforts to produce medical, scientific or other kinds of proof (see e.g., Porthuis and Safrai 2001: 141). As we have seen, proof became an overriding issue for Swedish public television newscasts. But verification was a central issue also for the Syrian Orthodox Church. It would have to be proven that Samira had, in fact, cured diseases, if she were to be promoted to sainthood. No such proof was ever produced. But regular people were also looking for proof and newspapers were full of testimonials, personal experience stories and anecdotes that proved that miraculous events were taking place. For example, the daily *Dagens Nyheter* (4 April 1992) reports that Ferit Deniz, who worked as a guard in Saint Afram Church when Samira received visitors there, at first doubted that she had supernatural powers. One reason for his doubt was that she was the only one allowed to touch the oil. But, according to the reporter, the young man changed his mind when another guard took a ball of cotton and put it in his pocket, although he wasn't allowed to do so. "And he began shaking as if he had received an electric shock. And, therefore, I believe", Ferit Deniz is reported to have said.

Church leaders also entered the debate. Among them were representatives of the Swedish Lutheran State Church and leaders of other Swedish denominations (the so-called "free churches"). To be sure, a few ministers were negative in their views of Samira Hannoch and her experiences. For example, a Pentecostal leader emphasized in a Christian newspaper that Samira's experiences were "a delusion without any Biblical foundation". But his tone was not hostile and he concluded that the fact that "people now make pilgrimages to Södertälje [...] demonstrates that there is a great dormant need of God among both Syrians and Swedes" (*Dagen*, 28 March 1992). Indeed, as a whole, the representatives of both the state church and the free churches were surprisingly positive about the events in Södertälje. Perhaps these events would contribute to a new kind of piety in a secular country? Perhaps they should be regarded a spiritual alarm clock for everybody?

But what about the reactions of the two factions of *suryoye* and the competing churches in Södertälje? When it comes to Samira's experiences as such, the two churches seem to have agreed that the other world had indeed broken through to this one and that Samira's experiences were extraordinary. Archbishop Shabo (who had objected to the burial of Mar Korillos inside the wall of Saint Afram Church) visited Samira and explained to Swedish journalists: "We have the belief that miracles can happen and are natural to human existence" (cf. Finnestad 1994). Both he and the leaders of Saint Afram Church also emphasized that they very much looked forward to a unification of the churches, the kind of unification that Charbel had advocated with the help of Samira. In front of Swedish journalists there was a display of unity.

But in the Assyrian monthly paper *Hujådå* ("union"), which sided with Bishop Shabo, the tone was hostile. One editorial, for example, published in May 1992, contained an angry attack on Samira and pointed out that millions of Deutschmarks and Swedish crowns had been deposited in the large baptismal font in Saint Afram Church when Samira held her reception there. The author of the editorial used such words as "a sale of indulgences" and said that Samira was to be regarded in the same light as other impostors who had cheated people out of money by claiming that they followed the decrees of a saint. "It remains to be seen whether or not the case of Samira will lead to legal proceedings", concluded the author of the editorial, citing a German TV-journalist who said that "anybody could earn millions with the help of a bit of cooking oil and a hand from mass media".

Even if few other Assyrian writers were as angry as this one, Assyrians did tend to see Samira's experiences and their aftermath in a negative light (indeed, they still do). "The whole story about Samira is sad. The girl is a weapon in a struggle between the leaders of the two churches", wrote Assyrian journalist Augin Kurt (1992). "Samira has become a pawn in a game between the church leaders and a good source of income for Saint Afram Church", he continued, and emphasized that Mar Charbel could have given her a better message than he did. A saint, he said, ought to devote himself to more important problems than petty disagreements between churches. Such important problems would include "the vulnerability of Assyrians/Syrians in exile", "the language that they are about to lose", and "the rootlessness of the young people which leads some of them to taking drugs".

Augin Kurt also noted that it is common in Lebanon (and implicitly all over the Middle East) that people have visions of the Virgin Mary or the saints in their own homes.[5] "People look for consolation and find it in a saint. The same thing is happening here today", said Kurt once again emphasizing that Samira and her experiences had such an impact because of the crisis in which Assyrian/Syrians find themselves. Like many others, Kurt connected the events involving Samira to the troublesome situation of *suryoye* living in a foreign and secularized country.

Samira and the Saintly Template

But the news media and the debaters did not create the occurrences in Södertälje. Something significant did take place among members in a congregation where visions and miracles are regarded as natural facets of human existence, where it is taken for granted that another world can suddenly break into this one, and where people often tell stories about such breakthroughs in the past, stories that serve as models for new experiences and for new stories about experiences. Indeed, as has been pointed out, the events in Södertälje were surrounded by a profusion of orally transmitted, printed or televised stories, including healing testimonies and experience tales. Some of these accounts conform closely to stories about visions and miracles in many parts of the world, within the Syrian Orthodox Church and outside it. Taken together, all the narratives, reports and testimonies concerning the events in Södertälje can be fitted into a larger template that developed long before television entered peoples' lives.

One often noted component of this template is some kind of "mystical preparation" or preamble that heralds the great events that are to follow (Bax 1991: 35). It is difficult to escape the idea that the funeral and the interment of the bishop constituted such a "mystical preparation".

A second and most significant component of the larger template is a young woman who experiences the supernatural and undergoes great transformations. As noted, it is possible to discern different stages in the portrayals of Samira in the Swedish mass media. At an early stage, journalists emphasized her naïveté and her everydayness as a "common immigrant girl" who liked rock music and was "scared shitless" when the saint revealed himself to her. Then, in the course of events, the verbal and visual portrayals changed and she appeared both more spiritual and more mature. At the same time, she was shown as a brittle creature who sometimes fainted or fell into trance. But simultaneously, she was also accused of dishonesty and vanity. The events seemed to have had a transformative power over her, a power that made her a curiously ambivalent figure.

In many ways, the multitude of accounts of Samira's experiences and of her as a person correspond to the accounts of the lives and works of other female Christian saints. The parallels to Bernadette Soubirous, for example, are sometimes striking – despite the many differences between the two. (Bernadette was, for example, declared a saint, Samira is not). In 1858, Bernadette had eighteen visions of Virgin Mary. She subsequently miraculously cured great numbers of people at the spring in Lourdes, now one of the most important Roman Catholic pilgrimage spots (Dahlberg 1991; Kselman 1983). Both Bernadette and Samira are young virgins from poor families. Both of them are said to have had learning difficulties. Bernadette could not comprehend the simplest religious doctrines and Samira's grades were poor. Both are described as brittle and shy. There are also striking parallels between the flowing spring water that surrounds Bernadette's cures and other Marian apparitions (Bax 1991) and the flowing oil in Samira's experience and in countless other miraculous events.

A third component, then, in the larger template is the flowing liquid. The oil that flowed from Samira's body and from the image of the saint was a powerful concretization of a mysterious, supernatural world. Oil is a well-known ingredient in saints' apparations, not least in the region around the Mediterranean. Christian iconography is full of images of religious figures that perspire, bleed, shed tears or exude oil; these images have religious powers precisely because they transgress the laws of nature (Freedberg 1989). Many people, not only in the Syrian Orthodox community, said that the oil that flowed from Samira's body and from the image of the saint was the blood of Christ. Some also noted that this oil was the same as the liquid that was found when the grave of Mar Charbel was exhumed in 1927 and 1952 (cf. *Dagen*, 28 March 1992). On these occasions Charbel's body was perspiring and a liquid resembling blood was said to have flowed from it. It can be said that the oil linked together time, space, and human bodies. It connected the human world to the supernatural one, it connected 1992 to many times before, it connected Sweden to Lebanon and to many other parts of the Middle East. And through Samira, the persons who visited her were also connected to many other worlds and times. A palpable religious power was concentrated in the oil that she administered with her hands and placed on peoples' foreheads as she made the sign of the cross.[6]

Another component in the overall template into which the depictions of Samira's experiences can be fitted, is the way in which male dominated power elites use young virgins as tools in their own political struggles. The Roman Catholic Church in nineteenth century France utilized Bernadette's visions and miracles to counteract attacks against it by scientists and politicians (Kselman 1983). Similarly, observers in the Assyrian-Swedish community, interpreted Samira's visions as tools in the struggle between Saint Afram Church and Archbishop Shabo. It is as if the Swedish news journalists, with the aid of an invisible power, adjusted their reports of the events in order to highlight a well-established legendary pattern, according to which a naive virgin is selected as God's chosen instrument in a male power struggle that she does not understand (cf. Ortner 1996: 43–58).

But there is even more to the pattern than this. Throughout history, the kinds of apparitions, miracles, visions, and pilgrimages that erupted in Södertälje in March 1992 have seldom occurred spontaneously, as something that simply happened in a community of the faithful. Rather, observes Mart Bax (1991: 30), they have been "power sources in processes of competition between religious regimes". They have been components in ongoing power struggles. And in these kinds of struggles it has often been the less powerful party, the one that is not part of a centrally approved religious order that has attempted to get the upper hand through miraculous happenings and through the use of such tools as young girls. Observations of this nature are indeed applicable to the controversies between the "modernist" central church in Södertälje and the more conservative, rebellious and separatist Saint Afram Church to which Samira belonged.

The Re-enchantment of Sweden and the Othering of Samira

It was not only because of the compelling nature of ancient legendary patterns and because of a power struggle between two immigrant churches that the events in Södertälje had such a great impact in a predominantly Protestant country. Therefore, I would like to ask once again why these events caused such an intense emotional involvement among so many different kinds of people in Sweden, even among the most secularized.

As has been argued throughout this paper, a great part of the answer is linked to the mass media, primarily television news programs. As observed, the media coverage contributed to creating an extensive "field of contestations" (Eade and Sallnow 1991), involving great numbers of people (Syrians, Assyrians, Swedes, journalists, priests, medical doctors, teachers, guards at the church, police, government officials, miracle seekers) and a great variety of issues (church politics, interethnic politics, ancient philosophical questions and narrative patterns). As already pointed out, it is difficult to find people who were adults in Sweden in 1992 who do not recall at least something about the funeral and Samira. Let me mention a few aspects on the role of the news media.

One aspect concerns the place of the Assyrian/Syrian community in Sweden. On the one hand, the media contributed to strengthening prejudices toward people from the Middle East. Both the funeral and the miracle were sometimes seen as proof that immigrants from Asia are hot-tempered, irrational, and superstitious. Many *suryoye* also – Assyrians in particular – were unhappy and thought that the mass media portrayed them in such a way that their Swedish neighbours would laugh at them. But on the other hand, mass media made many Swedes conscious of the distinctiveness of *suryoye* religion and culture. At least for a while, Assyrians and Syrians ceased being "just Turks". They became concretely present with their powerful religion.

Another aspect is the emotional intensity with which so many people became involved in the events surrounding Samira. This intensity is not least noticeable in the writings of blasé Swedish journalists. Despite their role in the power struggle between the Assyrian and the Syrian communities, the events created a sense of unification between all kinds of people. An exotic spirituality became visible in Protestant Sweden in such a way that it etched itself into the collective memory (cf. Zelizer 1992). New immigrants and native Swedes were linked together, contemplating a vibrant mystery. To use the words of Jésus Martín-Barbero (1997), mass media contributed to a "re-enchanting" and "re-sacralizing" of a secularized world.[7]

And to a great extent this re-enchanting happened because of the sensuous concretion with which another, exotic and mysterious supernatural world manifested itself, in particular via television. The television medium showed how Syrian Orthodox holiness became literally present in Swedish soil – in several ways. As noted, one way was through the oil that, symbolically and literally, linked together many worlds. The oil constituted a concentrated, palpable religious power which Samira administered with her hands and placed on peoples' foreheads as she made the sign of the cross. And some of this palpability was communicated on television. To this day, it is mesmerizing to watch the old newscasts and see her shimmering face and the intense faces of many of those who came to be blessed and cured by her. Another way through which Syrian Orthodox holiness became literally present in Sweden was through the holy man, Mar Korillos, whose burial was the start of the publicized events. He is now sitting forever interred in a *concrete* "hole in the wall" in Sweden. The implications of examples such as these are manifold. They might suggest that *suryoye* now are becoming so rooted in their new country that they are able to sacralize the land, to infuse it with a holiness tied to other places and countries. One of the reasons that the funeral was so important to the leaders of the Saint Afram Church was that a holy presence would be materialized in the new land.

A great deal of this was communicated through the visual techniques of television. For example, the close-ups of a shrivelled-up old man offered television viewers an image that was a powerful contrast to the close-ups of a young woman whose body exuded fluids. Another contrasting pair on a newscast was, on the one hand, Samira, standing in the exotic church dressed in black, surrounded by visitors and speaking the language of young immigrants and, on the other, the blond jeans-clad Swedish laboratory technician surrounded by gleaming instruments, speaking in a slow, confident dialect of Northern Sweden. The skilful use of such contrasts are central to the impact of the language of television and, to a great extent, it was the professional skill of media photographers and editors that gave so many images of the events in Södertälje their visceral impact.

But not only do the events in Södertälje in the Spring of 1992 and the representation of them in the news media point to a possible re-enchantment of a secularized world, they also powerfully indicate that the central figure in the chain of events is the young woman, Samira. As already remarked, women and girls are the central figures in the world's miracles, in particular in those that have taken place during the past two hundred years. Therefore, it might be surmised that miracles and miracle stories could "provide us with a distinct opportunity to study women's subjectivity and agency" (Korte 2001: 3). And certainly that is true in this case. But it is an ambiguous form of agency that emerges. For a short while Samira's power was undisputed. When, shortly after the "true miracle", she received visitors and made the sign of the cross on their foreheads with cotton dipped in oil, she came forth as willful and acting in accordance with her miraculous abilities. And in a different way, this was true also later, when her reception had been moved to Saint Afram Church.

Yet, commentators did not readily accept Samira's willful power. People in the Assyrian/Syrian community, such as journalist Augin Kurt, assured the world that she was nothing but a passive pawn in a power struggle between two factions of the church. What is more, the Swedish news media also behaved in a strikingly multivalent way toward her and her mysterious powers. At the beginning, when Samira appeared to be a "regular teenager", clad in jeans, journalists had no trouble accepting her and, to some extent, also her powers. But when she, dressed in black, administered to thousands of paying visitors to her church, it appears that journalists on Swedish news channels began seeing her as a threat. The oil was tested and scientific proof was called for. It was suggested that Samira was an impostor. Her act had to be broken, her force had to be reduced.

At the same time, by looking for verification, the news media inscribed themselves in the discourses of miracles in which proof is a central ingredient. Almost as if by rote, the television journalists and other participants in the debates seem to have been intent on preserving the image of Samira as an exotic miracle maker. It is as if it was critically important to preserve a stereotypical image of a mysterious Oriental female. Via the news media the miracle in Södertälje may have satisfied a hunger for a re-enchantment of a secularized world. But at the same time the media also reaffirmed the stereotyping, the othering of a young Middle Eastern female. In many ways, fifteen-year old Samira was treated in a way that would have been unthinkable, had she, in fact, been a "regular" Swedish teen-ager. It is difficult to imagine that the Swedish news media would have acted so entirely devoid of sensitivity toward a vulnerable young girl, had she not been a young immigrant involved in an exotic religiosity. The events in Södertälje became enmeshed in complicated religious politics and gender politics, in which the Swedish news media played the star role.

Coda

A young woman's face, streaming with liquid has recently, once again, via the news media become entrenched in the Swedish collective memory. This time the woman is Fadime Sahindal who was murdered "for the sake of honor" by her Kurdish-born father (Wikan 2003). The most widely circulated portrait of Fadime shows how rain or tears or possibly some other kind of liquid pour down her face; the liquid is presumably streaming down a pane of glass in front of her.[8] Fadime met with her fate because of her wish to lead a life independent from her family and her situation was thus very different from Samira's. Yet, both are depicted in the media through similar visual techniques. Both have become inscribed in the collective Swedish memory as exotic Oriental others, forever icons of otherness.

NOTES

1. This is an ongoing study (Klein 1997, 2000) in which I use various types of materials: television newscasts, verbal and visual newspaper accounts, Internet pages, interviews with journalists of different ethnic backgrounds, and interviews with members of the Syrian and Assyrian communities in Sweden. I have not interviewed Samira Hannoch herself. For their help with locating and copying materials I am much indebted to the employees at the Archives of Sound and Images (Arkivet för Ljud och Bild, ALB) in Stockholm.

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2. In 2000, Sweden effectuated a separation of church and state and there is no longer a Lutheran State Church in the country.
3. "Mar" (sometimes spelled "mor") is an honorary title meaning "holy".
4. In suryoye tradition, there are at least two saints named Charbel. One lived in the first century, the other in the nineteenth and died as a hermit in 1875. It is the latter who was depicted on the image in Samira's home.
5. In a set of visions in 1984, Llaamas Chamoon of Norsborg outside Stockholm saw oil flowing from an image of Saint Antonius that she had on her living room wall (Nordheden 1993:31). But Swedish news media never picked up this story, and Samira Hannoch seems to have regarded her experiences as unique in Sweden. She kept assuring journalists that her experiences in 1992 were the first of their kind in the country.
6. It should also be noted that oil plays a significant role in many facets of Syrian/Assyrian ritual life. For example, there is oil in the baptismal water into which Syrian Orthodox children are immersed at baptism. Afterwards, this oily water is to be poured out under a tree growing on a spot where people do not walk. Several Syrian and Assyrian mothers report that they have performed this ritual in Sweden.
7. It seems to me that issues concerning such media re-enchantment are among the important ones that folklorists will have to address in the years to come. Folklorists have been so concerned with mass media's destructive effects upon traditional cultures that they have not even begun to explore the extraordinary powers of the media in matters of belief and narration.
8. Many thanks to Simon Ekström, who first alerted me to the resemblance in the portraits of Fadime and Samira. Some of the discussion in the last few paragraphs of this paper owe much to conversations with Bente Alver and Line Ytrehus.

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NEWSPAPERS

Bahro Suryoyo
Dagen
Dagens Nyheter
Hujådå
Länstidningen Södertälje
Svenska Dagbladet

TELEVISION NEWS

ABC, channel 2
Aktuellt, channel 1
Channel 4
Rapport, channel 2

APPENDIX. TV NEWSCASTS TRANSCRIBED AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

1. *ABC-News, TV 2; 19:15-19:30. March 25, 1992*
News anchor: It's all about belief. Syrian Orthodox believers make pilgrimages to a small apartment in Västra Blombacka in Södertälje. Jesus is said to have appeared in a vision of fifteen-year old Samira.
Reporter (male; inside the apartment): Oil is flowing from an image of Saint Charbel. All spring long miracles have taken place in this apartment. And now believers make pilgrimages here. (A young man demonstrates).
Young Syrian (points to the image of Charbel): The image, don't touch [...] (inaudible). But here, if you don't believe, here too, oil is flowing.
Reporter: May I touch that spot?
The young man: Yes.
Reporter: Yes, it is a bit sticky all over. The flowing oil is the saint's blood, Samira has been told. And here she is, surrounded by mass media and believers.
Samira (looks happy): I never thought that something like this would happen to me. This, this is something from God. It is, it is, it is something unbelievable.
Reporter (young women walk slowly in front of Samira): She dips a ball of cotton in the oil and makes a cross on the foreheads of visitors. A fifteen-year old girl from Södertälje who feels selected. The saint speaks through her. Why did she become the one?
Samira: I don't know, really. But he just said to me that "I could have chosen any girl, any girl. But I have chosen you", he said. I don't know why.
Reporter: What will happen now?
Samira: I don't know, really. It's a matter of what he wants. He wants the church to unite.
Reporter (the camera focuses on the table with the image of the saint): The Syrian and Assyrian church has been divided for a year now. But the miracle has more than local interest. People are making pilgrimages here from other countries, particularly after the last revelation. She heard Jesus and thousands of birds singing and the oil kept flowing down her arms.
Samira (rubs her arms): It was flowing.
Reporter: What did you think then?
Samira (smiles): I felt proud, I felt happy.
Reporter: Did you think it was oil?
Samira (wets her lips): Yes.
Reporter: Can you understand that there are people who doubt your story?
Samira (smiles, shakes her head, looks down): It was just flowing. I don't know, it was just flowing. (The camera moves on to a group of young women and to the ball of cotton with which Samira makes the sign of the cross on their foreheads, forcefully, several times.)
Reporter: At first, she was scared. Now she hardly sleeps. And sometimes she faints. (Camera moves outside to some young girls there.) But now she and her family think that it is their duty to open up the apartment on Myrstigen road to all those who wish to see the marvels. (A group of girls leave the apartment complex.)

2. Aktuellt. TV1; 21-21:30. April 3, 1992.
News anchor, introducing the program: Good evening, this is Aktuellt tonight. The miracle oil in Södertälje. (Samira is shown at the church). Today we at Aktuellt have had it analyzed. (Image of a man in a lab. Other news is introduced. Then the anchor turns to the first story):
News anchor: Yes, what kind of oil is actually flowing on the young girl Samira from Södertälje who has been pronounced a saint? The phenomenon attracts masses of people every night who wish to be blessed by her. She herself has claimed that the oil is pouring out of her own body. But the analysis which Aktuellt has arranged for today tells another story. (Anchor looks grave; image of Samira.)
Reporter (female): With her entire face full of sticky oil Samira stands in the Syrian Orthodox Church blessing people who have come to see the new saint. (Masses of people, cameras, and videos are in the church, Samira looks tired and unhappy.) She makes the sign of the cross on the foreheads of visitors with a ball of cotton that is drenched in oil. She says that the oil is emanating from her own body and is proof that she has received divine power. Last night, Samira dabbed some oil on the forehead of Cecilia Wrangel, an employee at Aktuellt. (This is shown.) Today, we asked a technician at the Laboratory of Criminal Technology (shown) to examine the oil in order to find out whether or not it could possibly emanate from Samira's body. And now, tonight, the answer came.
Technician (Leif Svensson): Yes, I took those balls of cotton there from that bottle and then I placed them in a bowl and soaked them in a solvent. And then we analyzed that solution. And I extracted a fatty acid which we have studied a bit [...]
Reporter: What did you find out?
Technician: It doesn't contain fatty acid from human skin or the human body. There is a little bit of that, but it is in different proportions. So it must be something else, some fatty substance or oil, which is not part of the human body.
Reporter: But that small amount of fat from the skin, where does it come from?
Technician: Most likely from the reporter who had become lubricated, so to speak.
Reporter: According to Leif Svensson at the SKL laboratory, the oil must have been smeared on. It could not possibly have flowed out of Samira's skin. But Leif Svensson does not know what kind of oil Samira has smeared herself with. It is no common Swedish cooking oil. But, of course, there are lots of other kinds of oil.
Technician (smiles): I am sure that there are thousands of these kinds of oil products or other similar fatty substances to choose from. I have no opinion to offer about that.
Reporter (back at the church): Samira herself has prevented all of those who have wished to test her holy oil (a young man in a wheel chair is shown). In interviews she has emphasized that a laboratory test would destroy the holy power. (Lots of different people are shown.) The question is of course what will happen after the secret testing of this program, Aktuellt. Perhaps, we can conclude that those who seek out Samira and her oil miracle totally disregard our worldly investigations. (Anchor smiles indulgently and moves on to the next story.)

GALINA LINDQUIST

Breaking the Waves

Voodoo Magic in the Russian Cultural Ecumene

Introducing the Terms: Cultural Ecumene

Globalization has become one of those contested terms that, having originated in social sciences, seeped out into the popular discourse, contributing to the already considerable tool kit for late-modern reflexivity. As other such terms (like, most notably, that of "culture"), having escaped tight disciplinary boundaries, "globalization" has been widely and diversely used (some would say misused), questioned and contested. According to some, the global world has already descended, carrying with it unprecedented possibilities of a better life for all (e.g., Gates 1995). Others say that this point of view is itself a stance of cultural imperialism, or that it reflects the utter lack of touch with the reality of inequality, dominance, and exploitation (Bauman 1998). But this reality, even they would agree, is itself a global condition. Those scholars who look for a theoretical compromise offer a minimalistic understanding of globalization as a recognition of the empirical condition of "complex connectivity: [...] a dense network of unexpected interconnections and interdependencies" (Tomlinson 1999: 2) that has become a feature of life in the world's most distant nooks and crannies.

In my take on the issue of globalization adopted in this paper, in considering an empirical case of such unexpected, indeed bizarre, interconnectedness, I wish to start, not from the idea of the "global", but, instead, from the notion of ecumene as proposed by Hannerz (1996). In his usage, adapted from Kroeber (1945), ecumene, "the entire inhabited world as Greeks then understood it", is an area of "connectedness and reachability, [...] of interactions, exchanges and related developments" (ibid.: 7). In other words, ecumene is the world conceived as a single place, but, significantly, seen from a certain point of view, by a situated cultural subject. Ecumenes, thus understood, are different for different onlookers, depending on their geographical location as well as on their social and cultural positioning. An ecumene can also be seen as a pool from where signs, images, ideas, expressive forms, and practices are drawn; a cultural "habitat of meanings" (cf. Hannerz, ibid., after Bauman 1992). It is imaginable and usable by, and so existing only in relation to, concrete individuals, cultural agents that, subjectively, are always in its center. These ecumenes are shared and overlap between bigger and smaller collectivities, but, as "culture"[1] can be individual and idiosyncratic, so, possibly, can be its "ecumene", a metaphorical area from where its resources can be drawn. Social and ideological conditions, as well as cultural histories, draw the borders of these ecumenes in specific ways. As Hannerz remarks, some countries have managed to lock themselves up against the majority of existing ties and currents of globalization. He gives examples of Albania and Burma; North Korea can surely be added.

These cultural ecumenes, or habitats of meaning from which personal and group cultural universes are constructed, have their own centers and peripheries depending on where the agent is. In Sweden, the USA is often seen as a center, but not necessarily in Russia or China. Also, these centers can differ with respect to the spheres of human activities that, in themselves, can be considered as cultural universes of sorts, separate if sometimes overlapping. The centers of global currents of science and technology, undoubtedly seen by many to lie in the "West", and more specifically in North America, do not coincide with centers of spiritual influence that, even for many modern Westerners, lie eastwards of Europe.

For many Muscovites of the Soviet times, their ecumene could be imagined as a world consisting of concentric circles, much as a map taught to schoolchildren in geography lessons of that time. Moscow was in the center, surrounded by the rest of Russia and, further away from the center, by the then-Soviet republics. The domestic "West", the local "abroad" (*zagranitsa*), the source of material comfort and high[er]-quality goods, was in the Baltic republics; the domestic Orient, the source of colorful exotics, was in Central Asia. The furthest reaches of this concentric ecumene were in Siberia and in the Far East; these areas were seen as the abode of the wild and pure nature on the verge of civilization, untainted by the destructive effects of human industrial activities: nature outside of culture. All those places, the entire ecumene, were, for the inhabitants of the Soviet Union, the world within conceivable reach. It was not that every Muscovite in his or her lifetime would have visited the geysers of Kamchatka or the mosques of Bukhara; but most people were well aware of the existence of these places, and knew that they could visit them any time if they chose to. The inhabitants of these "peripheries" could be met in the centers, in Moscow and Leningrad, coming there as visitors, as traders selling local goods, and living there semi-permanently in ethnic communities.

Further away, outside the borders of actual reachability, but still within the borders of the imaginable, lay the "brotherly" countries of the socialist world. The Other of this cultural universe was the West, a cosmos that, for the majority, belonged to the realm of fiction. This imagined world was presented as the cosmological hell by the official ideology, the world of poverty, exploitation and drug-abuse; and as the cosmological heaven by the counterculture, where it was vaguely seen as the world of freedom, flamboyant consumption and material possibilities beyond all limits. But in both the official ideology and the countercultural, this hell/heaven was an abstract imaginary, existing only theoretically or hypothetically in discourse, not in reality. The majority of the people in the Soviet Union knew that the likelihood of their setting foot on, say, the streets of New York was as little as walking on the moon. The West as a real geographical and cultural area was practically irrelevant, and outside their cultural ecumene.

The same could be said about the rest of the world, the remaining three continents, even though the Soviet polity, as well as the economy, did have ties far outside this ecumene. The fact that some Soviet citizens traveled and even lived for longer periods of time in New York, as well as in Libya, Cuba, or Egypt, did not bring those places inside the habitats of meaning of their fellow citizens. The political, economic, and financial infrastructures of the global world constructed with Moscow as its center did not quite coincide with the cultural ecumene shared by the greatest part of the people living in this world.

After *perestroika*, borders opened, and the flows of people, ideas, and capital started to move in and out with much greater intensity than before. The frameworks for organizing diversity, outlined by Hannerz[2], started to take shape. Face-to-face contacts across the former borders between the real and the imaginary world multiplied after thousands of people emigrated to the West, primarily to the USA and Israel. Scientific and other professional contacts became possible. Some people traveled abroad and came back, as exchange students, visiting professionals, and tourists. Many had friends and relatives in the West who came to visit and who invited their friends in post-Soviet Russia to visit them in their new homes.

The market arrived in Russia and the former Soviet states, bringing in previously foreign cultural currents (both ideas and artifacts) and organizing the new diversity that was brought in by these. Finances flowed in the form of loans and, especially in the beginning, as foreign investments; and money flowed out through Western bank accounts belonging to the New Russians. The new infrastructures of modernity, for better or worse, were being built.

This expansion of global infrastructures, embracing and penetrating Russia, affected the cultural ecumene as the imagined global world of (some of) its inhabitants. There appeared new reservoirs and sources of cultural impulses, from which individual agents were able to draw. In doing so, they modeled themselves as new cultural subjects, and introduced changes in existing orientations and values that go deeper than the usual movements of "emptied" signs and images usually referred to in globalization discussions (e.g., Lash and Urry 1994).

Weak and Strong Globalization

In examining the intricate connections between the expanding infrastructures of globality, the changes in meaning and meaning management they underlie, and the construction of new identities that they make possible, I want to use a distinction made by Friedman (1994) between strong and weak forms of globalization. Weak globalization, according to Friedman, is the sheer availability of global structures, the fact that they stretch into new geographical terrains. In the case of foreign magic in post-Communist Russia that I consider here, these infrastructures that frame cultural flows are represented primarily by two elements the new openness eventuated. The first is the new routes of migration and travel that people take. The other is the arrival of the market, a cultural institution that is new for Russia, and that opens up new niches and arenas where people can take on new roles as producers and consumers of new services, and so of new meanings and expressive forms.

The stronger version of globalization occurs where not only the forms meanings take and the channels through which they flow are globalized, but also the patterns of attribution of meaning. There appear global models of identification: people identify themselves with communities and practices that are disembedded (Giddens 1990), deterritorialised (Tomlinson 1999), and have seemingly little to do with their home turf. The transition from weak to strong globalization will be examined, based on a case of seemingly disembedded practices in the world of Moscow magic. Do the new conditions result only in the transmission of disconnected goods, free-floating signs, expressive forms and institutions emptied of meaning and significance? Or do they change deep cultural meanings and values, thereby making the local cultures more open, more substantially globalized? These questions will be probed in the ethnography below.

The Market of Magic

Practices of magic and healing in contemporary Russia are widespread, resorted to by all social strata and groups in the population. They are firmly part of everyday strategies of survival for many people, irrespective of their income bracket or education level. Logistically, it would be an easier task to study those who do *not* use magic in their everyday lives. Generalizing a bit, two groups may be singled out that would be likely to have a distrustful or contemptuous attitude to magic and healing. The first are pious Russian Orthodox believers, predominantly those from the highly educated urban intelligentsia. They shun magic because the Church bans it as expression of demonic action in the world (Lindquist 2000a). Religious people belonging to other social groups, those who have their roots and ties in the rural areas and have been exposed to folk traditions, where the boundary between religion and magic is quite blurred, are more likely to have a more positive and pragmatic attitude to magical and healing practices. The second category of magic detractors is the old technical intelligentsia and their younger heirs, the new high-tech, IT-skilled urbanites, schooled in the materialistic and rationalistic "disenchanted" thinking that discounts all kinds of magic as charlatanism.

I would suggest, however, that this resistance to magic is contingent on the graveness of problems that affect the individual. I met several staunch detractors who, sufficiently cornered by the circumstances, were prepared to give it a try after all. This was easier for them if the healer had reliable personal references and was flexible enough to de-emphasize the ”magical”, ritualistic and supernatural elements of her activities. Many of the Moscow magi can and often do shift roles, and perform as psychiatrists, hypnologists, acupuncturists, osteopaths, or bring forth any other additional facet of her trade, that are always in place. As a rule, magi and healers, in addition to rituals of folk magic proper, use healing with hands or the biofield healing that constitutes the essence of healing: master herbalism, bone setting, varieties of massage, acupuncture, hypnosis, psychotherapy, and a number of more specific and more rare brands of treatment.

Magic and healing can be analytically distinguished from one another. “Healing” more often pertains to the treatment of biomedically defined diseases. To advertise as a healer, a person has to have a medical degree obtained from a college, a nursing school, or, as a minimal requirement, a degree from courses for the training of folk healers.[3] These latter criteria were devised in the first years of *perestroika* in order to give a semblance of legal-bureaucratic legitimacy (see Lindquist 2001) to the practitioners that had already established their reputation and gathered a substantial clientele; and also to screen out, as many practitioners with a license would put it, outright madmen and charlatans. To advertise as a healer, to open a clinic, or to be employed in one, requires some kind of license issued by several institutes for training ”folk healers”. To advertise as a magi does not need such a license; magi in their advertisements are not allowed to promise the treatment of biomedically defined diseases, even though they more often than not disregard this regulation. It is common knowledge, however, that good or powerful magi do indeed help their clients to get rid of acute and even chronic illnesses as one of the results of their treatment. As a rule, clients come to magi with existential predicaments that have to do with problems connected with love or marital relationships, problems with children, addiction to drugs or alcohol, and business or job problems (on the business magic, see Lindquist 2000b). In the course of a (successful) treatment these problems are perceived as solved, and, as side benefits, health problems are alleviated as well.

The Advertisement of Magic

The main way for many professional magi[4] to attract new clients is to advertise in newspapers. There are certain brands of specialized newspapers that deal exclusively with the ”paranormal”. There, advertisements of individual practitioners are interspersed with articles on diverse subjects, the choice of which would seem familiar to many Westerners interested in New Age and alternative medicine and spirituality. These newspapers also serve as a source of elementary education in the world of Russian Orthodox religiosity. Here one can read about various Old and New Testament figures as well as Russian saints, the feasts of the Russian Church and the folk beliefs and customs connected to them, and also about satanists, vampires, and aliens. One can get the how-to recipes for attracting lovers and money and for retaining youth and beauty, instructions for interpreting dreams, information about astrology, numerology, fortune telling, and more. Besides these specialized newspapers covering all aspects of magic and the paranormal, there are also all-purpose advertisement newspapers, where the ads of healers and magi mix with those of everything else, from tractors to language courses, escort girls and trips to exotic resorts.[5]

Although widespread, magic and healing in Russia are not unproblematic practices. As mentioned before, they are condemned and vilified by the Church as satanic practices, and looked down upon as fraudulent by conventional scientists. Both Church and science are sources of authority and legitimacy in post-Communist Russian society, and magi in their public presentations (in advertisements and, for the most successful of them, in media interviews) tend to use well-discernible strategies of legitimation to render their craft less ideologically and culturally suspect. There are three strategies of legitimation that can be distinguished (this is discussed in more detail in Lindquist 2001). One is representing the craft as stemming from "tradition". This can be seen as "folk tradition", or a corpus of spells and rituals coming from rural Russia and indeed having deep historical roots. In addition, the Russian Orthodox Church is widely considered to be a bearer of "tradition", and the reference to Russian Orthodox religiosity figures prominently in many public presentations of the magi. These two varieties of legitimation, by reference to tradition, are most often merged: "folk" is presented as synonymous with ”Russian Orthodox". Another legitimation strategy is the reference to conventional science and its bureaucratic institutions – what I have elsewhere called "rational-bureaucratic legitimacy" (Lindquist, ibid., after MacCormack 1981). The third legitimation strategy is ”charismatic legitimacy", in reference to the healer's own personal charisma. Finally, the fourth, which is increasingly visible on the market of Russian magic, is the reference to the distant other, or, the foreign origins of the craft. In individual presentations, these strategies can overlap and mix, but the main tendencies are clearly seen in the texts of the advertisements.

The legitimation of magic (and healing) is indeed crucial, because the moral grounds of magic are as problematical as its ideological and epistemological premises. The area of morality in post-communist Russia is far from sorted out. To a large degree, this has been inherited from Soviet times, where moral values were never unambiguous and never shared by all. The "Moral Code of the Builder of Communism", the official normative corpus, was sufficiently contested already in Soviet times. The moral rules and implicit values of the countercultural intelligentsia were often simple inversions of the official directives. To complicate the matter, both these moral codes were mixed and merged and somewhat transformed in the even more diffuse "folk" conceptions of morality, making the whole domain quite muddled.

To illustrate some of this confusion regarding moral values, two instances should suffice, both having to do with the category of what constitutes the desirable: 1) property/ownership, and 2) mercy/forgiveness versus punishment. The first instance has to do with the attitude to money, and business as a way to "make money" through one's own activity with the help of market mechanisms (as opposed to receiving money from the state in the form of salary). In Soviet times, money was generally considered dirty and all practices of money-making were regarded as immoral (and were criminalized by the state) (cf. Humphrey 1995; Pesmen 2000). Money as capital was secondary to social capital in the form of kinship, friendship, sexual partnership, work relationships, and simple acquaintances. All these, rather than money, were crucial for providing a person with access to material and social goods. In post-socialist Russia, with the arrival of the market, money has become the primary, if not the only means of survival, devaluing and attenuating old networks of trust. However, the moral content of the new ties have not yet been worked out, and there is no defined legal system of punishment for the breach of obligations (especially the mechanisms of the enforcement of this system are lacking). In the absence of these structures, the main available means to sanction violations of trust is physical violence. It is in this context that magical practices have become a new salient part of the cultural repertoire, sometimes used as alternatives to this type of violence. Many of them, as we shall see below, are resorted to in order to effect punishment for the breach of trust and to inflict revenge for violation of obligations and for other wrongdoings in the world of business affairs.

Another moral problem appears in connection with affairs of the heart and with love partners. Romantic love and the desire (and the ultimate impossibility) to possess the beloved is probably a universal human predilection, and so love magic has likely existed as long as have human cultures. In today's Russia, moreover, marital unions and sexual (extramarital) partnerships are often the sole preconditions of physical survival for non-working women (and their children), as the situation for women on the labor market has markedly deteriorated. Therefore, *privorot*, or magic ways of attracting someone's love, is one of the main elements in contemporary Russian magic. Arguably, *privorot*, as the intention to bend another person's will according to one's own designs, is intrinsically morally questionable. In Russia, however, it may be considered a moral act if commissioned by a lawful wife whose husband is about to abandon her after many years of marriage for someone better (which in practice most often means younger and healthier). The same *privoirot* is an immoral act, even an outright "sin", if made on behalf of a mistress who wants to snatch the man from his wedded wife. The difference between white and black magic, gravely simplified, is that a white magus always wishes to remain within the borders of the morally acceptable. Thus, for example, someone who professes to practice "white magic" would never even accept the latter assignment.

In real life, however, questions of morality in business as well as in love are hopelessly entangled. In popular understanding the connection is being made between money, potency, otherness and the foreign, on the one hand, and evil, the Devil and black magic, on the other (cf. Taussig 1987). White magic may be considered moral by the practitioners (i.e., they do not see sin to be implicated in their activities), but in its effectiveness it is understood to be limited by God's will: if it is not God's will, the disease will not be cured, and the stray husband will not come back.

These connections can be traced in the following advertisements:

> White magus. The magic of good and light. Liquidation of all kinds of sorcery effects and negative influences. Attraction of the beloved without committing a sin (*bezgreshnyi privorot*). Solutions to private and family problems. Work with photographs. Consultation and diagnostics free of charge.
>
> Genuine black magic. I help people selectively. Neutralization of rivals and enemies in love and business. Retribution to those who harmed you. Protection from all kinds of sorcery. Free for children. Very strong rituals to attract money and love. Rituals for female attractiveness. Individual approach. Expensive! 200 per cent guarantee. What is allowed to Jupiter is not allowed to the bull!

In the second ad, the author flaunts that he is being selective, supposedly judging and accepting applicants by his own criteria. One of these criteria is set up in advance, by qualifying his services as being expensive. This effectively cuts off those who cannot afford to pay, and, by implication, those "weak" people who have not managed to secure for themselves a decent existence in the new capitalistic jungle of Moscow. In return, the magus adopts the burden of the moral judgment as to who should be punished, by extension permitting his clients the same power to mete out punishment and retribution. It is such people with power/money (in practice, in Russia as elsewhere, these two always go together), who are "Jupiters", allowed more than simple people – they therefore stand outside the moral law.

Neither of these ads mentions the name of the magus (only telephone numbers are given). Many magi try to keep a low profile, keep their surname secret, and would under no circumstances have themselves photographed. The photographic image is believed to be the most convenient material for magi to work with. Many magi and healers claim to be able to use photographic pictures of persons for e.g., *privorot*, that is, for arousing the love of the object of the client's desire (depicted in the photograph) against this object's will. Photographs are also used for treating those depicted for alcohol and drug addictions, most often without their knowledge or consent (as, for example, when a mother or a wife brings to a magus a photograph of her husband or son). Also, photographs are believed to be effective in the process of harming the people they represent, by means of sorcery or black magic. Powerful magi often believe they have many enemies and would be reluctant to take the risk of having their image end up in the wrong hands.

Some magi, however, audaciously challenge these assumptions of their own group culture, thus placing themselves implicitly above the rules of their own cosmology. Big, lavish, colored photographs of a few selected magi and healers, presented close-up, in full ritual attire, complete with their main paraphernalia can dominate advertisement pages of specialized newspapers. These ads are very expensive, and only those magi who have lots of clients and money can afford it. Here, again, the same connection between money, power and exclusivity is made: what is allowed to Jupiter is not allowed to the bull.

A Voodoo Magus

Helena Santera[6] is one of those few in the world of Moscow magic who utilizes fancy advertisements. A big photograph shows her in a mantle and tiara, with a crystal ball hanging on chains in her right hand, and an incense burner in the shape of a golden pagoda temple in the left (all signs of an undefined and vaguely exotic "foreign" spiritual power). The efficacy of her work, according to the ad in one of the newspapers for magic advertisement (mentioned above), is claimed to be "confirmed by knowledge and titles obtained from many years of work and constant replenishing of her stock of knowledge received in person from the teachings of Voodoo priests from Haiti, Africa and America. All the methods are exclusive, certified and have no analogs in Russia. The reliability of rites and ceremonies is founded on many centuries of experience. Only the secret knowledge of the ancient Voodoo magic can work genuine miracles!"

The services Helena offers are of the usual range, but presented in an unusually specific and flamboyant way:

- Realistic help in solving family and everyday problems.
- Ancient magical rites of protection against the negative effects of evil sorcery, curses and bad spells.
- Help in business. Analysis of business situations, to reveal dishonest partners. Protection against those whom it is not possible to neutralize or eliminate. Wherever the situation is impossible to change, the straw straw can be laid down (*podstelit' solomu*) in order to painlessly survive the fall.
- Special amulets manufactured according to Voodoo methods (strictly individual approach).

Examples of amulets:

- "Get lost, my enemy!" (*sgin'*). Due to this amulet, punishment comes quickly and inexorably; your enemy is plagued by fear without any reason would he make any attempt to harm you. If this is not enough, more powerful and merciless forces come into action. The effect is irrespective of whether or not your enemy is known to you.

- "The slave of love". Your beloved loses forever any desire or ability to be unfaithful to you.

- "The gift of Aphrodite". The amulet for female attractiveness. Those who own it are unassailable for rivals and draw men as if by a strong magnet.

- "Macho-macho man". Amplifies male potency, protects from privorot and *egiliet* (magically caused impotence). The owner becomes irresistible for the one he desires. Unlike Viagra, there are no side effects.

- "Living money". Money sticks to the owner of this amulet, and the desire to spend it disappears.

- "The fiery shield of gods" will forever protect you from any kind of sorcery.
- "The power of Kaligonian spirits". This is the strongest amulet that gives a magus or an adept the wisdom and power of supreme priests.

Helena is not the only advertising Voodoo practitioner in Moscow. The term "Voodoo" turns up in small anonymous ads now and then, mostly in connection with love magic, always promising to effect strong attraction spells. But Helena is the only one of the advertising Voodoo practitioners who dares to reveal her name and to show her face publicly, and who offers such a broad and detailed range of services. This alone requires considerable courage: Voodoo is widely considered to be a variety of black magic, tainted by the demonic, and therefore evil.

My acquaintance with Helena Santera began when I dialed the telephone number indicated in the ad. The locale where she receives clients is recognizable from Hollywood films featuring Afro-Brazilian cults, but it must be definitely striking for an unprepared newcomer. As are many other magi's studios, it is housed in a quaint underground premises (*podval*) that is hidden from common view. The façade of the house does not reveal the use of the space inside; it is the concealed liminal space of a Moscow apartment house. The door of black armored steel has no number or any other identifying signs: only a door bell and a microphone connected to a telephone down below in the rooms. The visitor presses the bell button, the bell is answered by someone inside, the visitor identifies herself by name, the name is checked against the schedule and the door is unlocked. The visitor descends a flight of dimly lit stairs, to find herself in a waiting room. Walls are lined with dark cloth and decorated with lithographs and oil paintings of strange beings – Voodoo spirits. Three chairs for waiting clients face an arrangement reminiscent of an altar. It is a low platform covered with variegated cloths against the background of a huge painting of a spirit. On the cloths a motley assortment of artifacts is displayed: masks, figurines carved of wood and bone, sea shells of all forms and shapes, some of them as necklaces and bracelets; vases, flasks and bowls of all sizes and materials, with dried herbs and colored liquids; all this basking in a profusion of ruble bills. Doors from the waiting room lead to reception rooms; one of them is replaced by a black velvet curtain, now drawn together, covering the entrance to the temple.

A young man in his early twenties, in black shirt and a pendant with a metal- engraved box on a massive chain, is the one to meet me. His name is Herman, a colleague and apprentice of Helena, unsmiling and stern in manner but attentive and even sociable in his own grave way. He informs me that Helena and her secretary, Oxana, are on their way, stuck in a traffic jam. In the meantime, I introduce myself as an anthropologist, and we talk for a while about my project (of studying magic and healing in Moscow), to which Herman seems quite sympathetic.

Eventually, the priestess herself makes an appearance. She is a stout woman in long flowing multilayered gowns, with long black curly hair and intense dark eyes. She is now devoid of all attire she displays on the ad picture, but this in no way detracts from the power of her commanding presence. She storms in, accompanied by a slim and elegant secretary, fashionably dressed in tight denim and jersey, complete with long nails and golden chains, exquisite but utterly conventional, without any reference to magical exotica. Helena whispers to Herman some quick instructions, conspicuously ignoring me, the waiting client. Herman introduces me as an anthropologist; she seems unimpressed though generally friendly and polite, in a non-apprehensive, Western way, so unlike many other Moscow magi. After attending to some household business, she invites me to her reception room and asks me what my problems are. I tell her that I don't have any, but I study magic in Moscow and would like to know more about her brand of trade. "Ok, she says, what do you want to know? Please, ask questions, I'll answer all I can. But don't ask me about our rituals – they are secret and only for the initiated members of our community. The spirits get angry when a stranger is present. By the way, don't ask me about their names. They reveal their names when they deem timely. And don't ask me about the composition of our amulets – there are herbs and brews from all over the world – we get stuff from Africa and Latin America – their names won't tell you anything. Even if you knew the names, you would not be able to make one yourself, because the secret of each and any one is a special blessing of the spirits". I humbly explain to Helena that I am not after recipes or other secrets, and that asking questions like this, at the first meeting, is not how things are done in my trade. What I want, I say, is to learn more about her as a human being, about what she is doing, not by interviewing her but, preferably, by being around and watching what she does. Helena is now remarkably relaxed and cooperative in a casual and easy-going way, her stately priestess air completely gone. "You understand that you cannot be present at my encounters with clients – no client will accept it. But you can sit here with Oxana and Herman, and I shall run in and out in-between the seances, so we can chat", she concedes.

Helena shows me into the secretary room, where Oxana is reading a book from the *Arlekino* series. Without interrupting her reading, she manages to answer the telephone that is ringing non-stop. She is polite but incommunicative. Least of all she wants to discuss Voodoo magic. At several occasions during my staying there she indicates to me that her job is purely business and friendship with Helena – the women are childhood friends – but that she has no interest in and nothing to do with the trade itself. On the table, a kettle is cooking and tea is drunk continuously, and Herman cooks *pel'meny* (Russian ravioli) on a little electric plate.

This was the way I spent days in Helena's magic parlor. I was never able to speak to clients, whom I occasionally observed in passing. They were mostly women, plainly dressed, and looking extremely shy and nervous. They were staring at the floor and took good care to avoid everyone's gaze and to remain as invisible and anonymous as possible. None of the staff objected to my presence, after the efficient Oxana saw to it that I paid the 600 rubles due for a consultation. For clients, this consultation fee was only an introduction: rituals and amulets that constituted the treatment cost much more. To me this suggested that Helena's clientele belonged to a more affluent middle class, considering that an average salary is about 1,600 rubles. However, Helena rejected my suggestion that she treats only the wealthy. According to her, her treatment is so efficient that people save especially for it, borrow from friends and collect money wherever they can. Her clients, she said, were those who had gone to all sorts of other magi and failed to get what they wanted; and they stayed with her because they saw that her craft "really worked". In this way, she tried to stay clear of the claims of exclusivity that mark the black magic ad quoted above. She made it clear that her stance was not to "help people selectively"; she served all who turned to her for help (of course, if they were able to pay).

As a special courtesy, Helena took me to the temple, warning me that I should never touch any object there: everything was imbued with intense energies which could hurt an unprepared visitor, much as bare electric wires would cause a shock, she explained. The temple was even more impressive than the altar, with skeletons, skulls and bones of what seemed to be both humans and diverse animals and reptiles, with dolls, carved figurines and masks representing spirits. As Helena explained to me, each of the spirits had a name and a special realm of dwelling; one belonged to crossroads, another to a cemetery (it is to him that the skull and the skeleton were dedicated). The principal spirit, Helena's own patron, whom she called simply Mama, was that of the sea.[7] Offerings of money, tobacco, wine and flowers were displayed in front of each of them. Mama, the mistress of the place, had a large bottle of expensive Champagne – this was a brand she liked especially, Helena explained.

Unlike many other healers I met, Helena did not like to talk about herself, even though her manner towards me has been invariably open and friendly. She conveyed the impression that her life outside her trade was largely irrelevant, a nuisance of an earthly shell. Still, by direct questioning at various points in our patchy conversations, I managed to reconstruct the story of how she became a Voodoo priestess. Helena, who is now in her mid-40s, in her past was just Lena and had another surname. During Soviet times she was a wife and a mother, and a medical doctor, working on an ambulance, probably the toughest branch of Soviet health care. As many doctors of that time, she experimented with hand healing and was able to take away headaches and sooth toothaches with hand passes. After *perestroika* her husband separated from her and emigrated to America. She was contemplating emigration as well, and in the meantime visited Florida, in order to show Disney World to her daughter.

Wandering in Disney World, she found herself in a small shop selling Afro-Brazilian exotica. This was where she was summoned by spirits. Masks spoke to her. She actually heard their voices, she said. She was standing there, trying to understand what was happening to her: she was a person with strong nerves, skeptical mind, and a dry sense of humor, not a type prone to hysterical delusions. A shop clerk, an African-American woman in her late fifties, talked to her and invited her behind the curtain, into the shop's back room. "I see that the spirits have called you", she said, "Do you want to be initiated?" In her words, Lena was not surprised and did not hesitate, although these sorts of activities were nothing she ever had any idea about before. In the next few days she spent in Orlando, she came back to the shop a few more times, met its owner and other people, and "became initiated" (she did not go into details). When she came back to Moscow, where at that time all sorts of magic were starting to blossom, she soon found Serafim Cassandré, "the initiated disciple of the great Priest of Voodoo, Babalua Vonbana Canbobo". She became his student and eventually his colleague. The "center" (the Russian name for magical parlors) that I visited had been started by Serafim and belonged to him. Helena, who in due time adopted the name "Santera" (obviously resonating with Latin American and Caribbean practices of Santeria), traveled several times to Rio and Saõ Paolo, as well as to Cuba, met her fellow servants of spirits, made friends, and learned from them. She also traveled to east and west coasts of the US to visit friends and relatives who were scattered around in New York and Los Angeles, and bought anthropological and popular how-to books on the rituals of Condomblé, Santeria and Macumba.

By that time a few books on Voodoo magic appeared in the alternative bookstores in Moscow, in translation. These were sources of recipes for amulets and instructions for rituals, but she said that she received most "information" directly from the spirits. "They talk to me and I listen", she said, "they tell me exactly what to do, and I do it, and then it works." She collected herbs, flowers and bark for her amulets from the woods in summer and bought materials on her travels. She also acquired birds, frogs and lizards, whose parts, prepared in various ways, served as ingredients. She started a hen coop in the "center" under the staircase, because many rituals required a sacrifice of life and infusion of blood. At the moment of my visit, however, the hen coop was removed to another place because the next door neighbors were complaining. She received some material from Serafim, who was also traveling a lot. Clients who "discovered that her magic worked" became friends and disciples, and with time formed a little community of Voodoo worshippers. The group gathered in the temple behind the curtain to celebrate seasonal rituals, moon cycles and Yoruba holidays, or for sacrificial rites for special purposes, when individual members wanted to ask for a personal favor. As a sign of good disposition of spirits, a member of this community turned out to be an Aeroflot pilot, regularly traveling to other continents, to African countries among others. He became a constant source of supply for herbs, oils, and scores of magical objects that the spirits needed for proper rituals of propitiation and worship.

Moral and ethical guidance seems easy for Helena: she does what the spirits tell her. But what if they tell her to sacrifice a human life? I could not help asking. They never would, was her answer. They would never even ask her to sacrifice a cat or a dog. They just do not. A chicken is quite enough to satisfy them in extraordinary cases, but usually they prefer money and good Champagne. It is important to show them respect and affection, gratitude for what they do for you, and this you do through gifts and offerings. It is an energy exchange that maintains balance, said Helena. If you fail to pay them back for a service they have made you, they will demand payment, but then the conditions will be theirs, much harder. Therefore it is important to always keep them pleased, by giving them flowers, wine, and, crucially, money. “Money is the basic form of energy people have”, said Helena. “If they do not pay, the balance of energy is disturbed, and the transformation they desire will not happen. This is why I charge for the seances, not because I need money myself. People understand it, and even if they do not have money, they get it somewhere. Usually people get back their first investment, with interest. This is what happens when the spirits look after you – you get all you need, including money”.

According to Helena, there is practically no limit to what spirits can accomplish if one gets them to cooperate. However, there are some moral injunctions Helena follows in her dealing with clients. They are few and simple. You never take another’s man, you never take another’s life, and you do not harm children. If a woman comes to Helena and asks for a *privorot*, Helena always knows when the client’s object of desire belongs to another woman. “There is no way of deceiving me”, she told me, “I just know the moment she talks to me if she is lying”. There is no use explaining to Helena that the chosen man is unhappy with his lawful partner. Spirits, as Helena knows them, do not allow her to break families, and that is it. Another thing they do not do is harm children. Sometimes women are driven insane by jealousy and despair, and are prepared to go any length to hurt and harm their rival, not even stopping short at causing injuries to their children. A mother is best hurt through her child, as everybody knows, and many professional and amateur magi do not shrink from getting at women this way. But not Helena and her spirits. In general, Helena personally does not undertake to punish people on behalf of the client. If a wrongdoer gets into trouble in the course of the improvement of the client’s life situation, that is his problem, and the result of his own deeds, but not any directed action on the part of Helena and her spirits. Herman, on the other hand, is unencumbered by this moral limitation: he says it’s necessary to carefully unravel the situation, and if he decides that punishment is in order, so be it! The first and the second rules quoted above, however, are something that even Herman abides by.

Spending time in the kitchen-cum-secretary reception room, I had no chance to make acquaintance with any clients. As mentioned earlier, all of them sat with their eyes on the floor, careful not to meet my gaze should I happen to pass by. Luckily, however, through my other fieldwork channels I met a woman who had been Helena’s client a while ago. Natasha confirmed that Helena’s magic was powerful indeed. Natasha had been in a real fix at that time. As happens with many Russian business people, she had entered a joint venture with a partner, borrowed from him a large sum of money (it was a question of five thousand dollars), paid for a batch of goods, and never got either the goods or the money back. The partner demanded his money, and Natasha did not have it, so the partner resorted to armed gangsters. Natasha was forced to leave her apartment and to go into hiding, leaving her little daughter with her elderly mother. Someone directed her to Helena, she scratched together the requisite sum of money, and left her destiny to the

Voodoo priestess and her spirits. And the impossible happened, exactly as in the rubric of the service quoted in Helena's ad above: "Get lost, my enemy!" The former partner who was pursuing Natasha was arrested by the police for some other misdeeds, imprisoned, and disappeared from Natasha's horizon. When the paying client "got lost", so did the armed gangsters. Natasha never returned the money that she had invested, nor did she restore herself in business or become wealthy, but she was able to come back to her apartment, her little daughter, and her usual life.

As Natasha told me, however, turning to Helena was a last resort. She liked the priestess, but the experience of being among Helena's "devils" (*cherty*) was a scary one, and Natasha would never relive it were it not a question of life and death. She was grateful to the "devils" that they took the ruthless partner, but she did not want to try her own luck any more.

Conclusion: Strongly Globalizing

The parlor of a Voodoo priestess, a former medical doctor, in a dungeon in central Moscow, complete with an altar and a temple where spirits of distant people were offered a comfortable abode, presents a stark example of "globalization" – cultural forms deterritorialized and disembedded. This locality, designed and decorated the way it is, and imbued with images and artifacts that affirm the beliefs of the practitioners in the spirits as real and powerful, is evidence of a remarkable juncture of infrastructures of globalization that carry forms and meanings in unpredictable directions.

The ethnography also suggests the multisemantic nature of these moving signs and images. In their journeys over the globe, between places and social groups, the earthly signifiers of the supernatural signifieds were multiply emptied of significance, but also multiply refilled. The masks, likely used for rituals in the place of their origin, were transported to the simulacra Disney World shop to be sold to tourists as semiotically sterile objects, speaking only of generalized otherness as a sign of exotica. Still, this original meaning was retained for these objects through the subjectivity of the African-American shop-clerk, likely an initiate of a cult. As well, they were full of concrete and bodily perceived meaning for the accidental tourist, the Russian doctor Lena. This itself was the whim of contingencies, as she came there by chance, strolling around, in search of entertainment, spectacle and souvenirs, as Disney World visitors are.

Eventually the masks of the Voodoo spirits, and other artifacts signifying their presence, traveled in space to end up in a Moscow dungeon, and so did Helena, to become their priestess. For the majority of her clients, the meaning of these artifacts is different from what it was for the Disney World visitors. It is also different from that held by Helena and the woman who initiated her into the craft. For the clients, they signify the demons of the Russian Orthodox Church, powerful but evil and destructive. It is only the extreme despair of these persons that caused them to appeal to this dark force in the first place.

These encounters between people and objects were made possible by the new ecumenes engendered by the new openness of borders and minds. These ecumenes are constructed by the new routes that people and artifacts can take in the world of new global connectivities resulting from the novel patterns of migration and market structures. Western global infrastructures reached Russia, and the Russian ecumene, for some individuals, was expanded to embrace the West. For the majority of the persons exposed to these structures, this is an instance of weak globalization: even though they were exposed to these global structures, their patters of attribution of meaning did not change. Deep cultural layers shaping their life-worlds remained intact.

But if we look closer at Helena's practices, we can see them as attempts at redefining some very deep cultural meanings and values. One of them concerns money, capitalist entrepreneurship as money-making, markets, and how these are negatively charged. Recall again the popular connection between white magic, lack of efficiency, morality and the good that embraces everyone equally, as does God's love, versus black magic that helps selectively, costs much, has foreign roots, and is connected with the demonic. The black magic of the advertisement quoted earlier in this paper explicitly states this connection, thus remaining within this cosmology, reinforcing and perpetuating it. Helena, however, refuses to participate in this discourse, by staging herself and her craft as moral, non-selective, and aesthetically gratifying. She does it by rejecting the fear of enemies and rivals, by presenting herself as a friendly, outgoing, and attractive woman with a good head. She also does it by presenting her spirits as operating within a moral domain that largely overlaps with the popularly accepted. In so doing, she negates their connotation as evil.

Even more far-reaching, she thus negates the whole sphere of the demonic as an ontological reality affirmed by both the Church doctrine and the folk cosmology. She steps over fear and secrecy, rejecting popular definition of her craft as suspect, sinful, and morally reprehensible, and by affirming the connection between money and power, thus cleared of its negative connotation. By extension, she redefines the meaning of the foreign as negative, and redraws the borders of her ecumene to embrace the whole world, both the West and the Third World. She broadens the spectrum of diversity to include other countries and other continents that previously had no place on the map of the Russian ecumene.

The Moscow Voodoo priestess Helena can thus be considered as a strong globalist. Her new identity has required breaks with several cosmologies: the modernist secular scientific one that treated all practices of all religions as a silly superstition, and the religious Russian Orthodox one that treated all images in consciousness as demonic presences and temptations. Maybe most importantly, it requires the rejection of deep-seated Russian folk models that consider things African as primitive, savage, and inferior.

Crafting her self from the material drawn from the entire globe, in defiance of her own culture's most entrenched cosmologies and stereotypes, she introduces genuinely novel patterns of the attribution of meaning. These are gradually internalized by a small but persistent circle of followers. Whether these changes in individual cosmologies will be of consequence for the broader culture is an open question. But one thing is clear: the community of Voodoo worshippers is ushering into the Russian scene what, paraphrasing Hannerz, can be called the "meta-culture of diversity"[8], which is a genuinely global phenomenon. The example of Helena, a Voodoo priestess in Moscow, suggests that strong globalization is contingent on the weak one, but is possible only through the agency of strong individuals, capable of breaking the waves.

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NOTES

1. This notion of ecumene is connected with the concept of culture developed by Hannerz (1996: 30ff.) in response to the recent challenge in anthropology for "writing against culture"(Abu-Lughod 1991). In Hannerz's terms, a human being constructs herself as a cultural agent "through particular sets of involvements and experiences"(1996: 39). Therefore, she shares parts of her "culture" with everyone else, with somebody else and with no one else.
2. Hannerz outlines four main frameworks for the organization of global flows of meanings and meaningful forms: life form (face to face interactions in everyday life), state, market, and movements (Hannerz 1996: 65ff.).
3. At these courses, students are trained, among other things, in conventional medical science: anatomy, physiology, pathology, pharmacology. When they graduate from these courses, many of them are wellsocialized into the conventional bio-medical paradigm.
4. There are many people who practice magic on their own, for themselves and their friends, without making a living out of it. Rituals and incantations are found in many books on magic that are sold in specialized stores, bookstands and kiosks all over the city.
5. It is fair to say that the majority of professional magi and healers do not advertise at all. For those who are known as skillful, powerful and capable of producing tangible effects, word of mouth works better than any advertisement. They work at home, thus avoiding tax authorities, racketeers, and the high fees that newspaper advertisement involves.
6. This is her real name, as she presented me with her public image, designed for ads and media interviews. I never formed any close personal relation with Helena, and she never revealed to me anything secret, requiring special trust. The names of her staff members, however, are pseudonyms.
7. This roughly corresponds to Voodoo spirits described in classical ethnographies on the subject. The sea spirit must be Agwe, god of the sea, and that of the cemetery and the grave Baron Samedi (cf. Mather and Nichols 1993: 304).
8. Hannerz speaks about the "metaculture of modernity" (1996: 52–57) as a commitment to similar styles of social organization, resulting from the global diffusion of certain social practices and understandings. Valuing "diversity" is one such style, very much in evidence in Western metropolises but until recently not especially conspicuous in Moscow.

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JELENA PORSANGER

The Eastern Sámi and the Missionary Policy of the Russian Orthodox Church

Terminology

The term “eastern Sámi” is used as a collective noun for the following groups: Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Sámi (see Map 1). The eastern Sámi have traditionally lived on the Kola Peninsula and its adjacent continent, but in earlier days – until the seventeenth century – Sámi settlements were found in the territory of the present Karelia. Despite the fact that in linguistics it has been usual to reckon Inari Sámi in the group of the eastern Sámi languages, with Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Sámi, I prefer to use *Inari Sámi* as an independent term. Besides the considerable differences in the languages, there are differences between the Inari Sámi and the eastern Sámi both in material and spiritual culture. In addition, nation states as well as the Eastern and Western Churches have divided Samiland into two parts, so that historically and confessionally the border went between the Inari and the eastern Sámi.

National borders have separated the eastern Sámi into three countries for more than a hundred years. The most western Skolt Sámi became Norwegian citizens in the 1820s; the biggest part of the Skolt Sámi population became Finnish citizens in the period from 1917 to the 1940s; the rest of the Skolt Sámi population and other eastern Sámi have been citizens of Russia, later on the Soviet Union, and nowadays the Russian Federation.

The designation “indigenous Sámi religion” is used instead of the earlier terms, such as “the Lapps’ religion” or “the Sámi pre-Christian religion”, etc. According to one classification of the religions of the world, there are on the one hand “the historic religions of the literate cultures” (see e.g., Pentikäinen 1998: 13) or “literary religions”; on the other hand there are ”the indigenous religions” or so-called “religions of non-literate peoples” (see Rydving 1995 [1993]: 4f.). The indigenous Sámi religion belongs to the last mentioned group; it was not canonized in books. There are indeed some written records about the indigenous Sámi religion, but mostly it was preserved and transmissed from generation to generation by means of the Sámi oral tradition “which was told, yoiked, showed, expressed in different folklore genres” (Pentikäinen 1995: 31). Religion is usually defined “in terms of one or more of three related themes said to be characteristic of religion and religious experience: the notions of transcendence, sacredness and ultimacy” (Moyser 1991: 9). The definition of religion in general consists of the attitude of individuals and communities towards the power or powers “which they conceive as having ultimate control over their interests and destinies” (Rydving 1995 [1993]: 8).

By “politics” it is usually meant “a process whereby a group of people, whose opinions or interests are initially divergent, reach collective decisions which are generally regarded as binding on the group, and enforced as common policy” (Moyser 1991: 3). Politics is a complex set of activities, the purpose of which is – as noted in the definition – essentially the making of collective decisions, the exercise of power. On some occasions it is a matter of the direct use of violence, on others, methods are based on historical tradition and customs.

Religion and Politics

The eastern Sámi became Orthodox in the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, although that did not mean that they totally abandoned their indigenous religion. The missionary activity among the eastern Sámi was brought about by Russian state politics and the politics of the Russian Orthodox Church. The interests of the Russian state and the Russian Orthodox Church were bound together.

There are traditional and modern types of relationships between religion and politics. Religion became distinguishable from politics only with modernization and its associated process of secularization, whereas in the traditional model politics and religion were closely integrated, one with the other (Moyser 1991: 12). Religious beliefs and practices traditionally underpinned and entered into the heart of the political process, supporting and sustaining the exercise of power. Such connection is typical for the relationship between the Russian state and the Orthodox Church. The key factor for understanding the correlation of religion and politics lies in whether religious authority and political authority were exercised by the *same* leadership or by complementary but *distinct* leaders (ibid.: 12–13). The last one is typical for the relationship between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian state: the leaders of the Orthodox Church had a very close connection to and influential power over the Russian state authorities. In the history of the Russian Orthodox Church there are a variety of power relationships between religious and political structures. In this presentation I intend to show the connection of the missionary policy to the Russian state policy, changes in the missionary policy during the early history of the spread of Christianity among the eastern Sámi, the influence of the Orthodox religion on the indigenous religion of the eastern Sámi, and finally, I will briefly describe the present position of the Orthodox Church in the eastern Sámi area.

The Early History of Christianity Among the Eastern Sámi

The Beginning of the Missionary Activities

The Eastern Orthodox Church came to the southern Russian principalities in the tenth century. Christianity began to spread gradually to the north. The first Russians, who came to the Kola Peninsula in the beginning of the eleventh century, were already Christians, thus bringing with them the Christian faith as they penetrated into the coastal areas of the Kola Peninsula and inland. The indigenous Sámi population was still living at that time – in the eleventh and twelfth centuries – in families as hunters, fishers and semi-nomadic reindeer breeders, and adhered to their indigenous religion. The first missionary, who worked among the southernmost Sámi and lived near Lake Onega (Finn. Äänisjärvi), was the monk, Lazar, in the fourteenth century (see e.g., Shestakov 1868: 254–255).

In 1589 the Russian Church established its own patriarchate in Moscow and thus became eventually a national autocephalous church, independent from the Eastern Orthodox Church. Before this event there was not as yet any particularly active missionary activity among the Sámi. From the point of view of church history, the beginning of planned missionary activity among the Sámi should be placed in the early part of the sixteenth century, when the Russian Church became an independent national church and when the state of Moscovy was gaining power. But at the same time the establishment of the patriarchate in Moscow was the first step towards the subordination of the Russian Orthodox Church to the Russian state (Preobrazenskij 1988: 79). Nevertheless, this was also the start of missionary activity among the non-Russians, and particularly among the northern peoples.

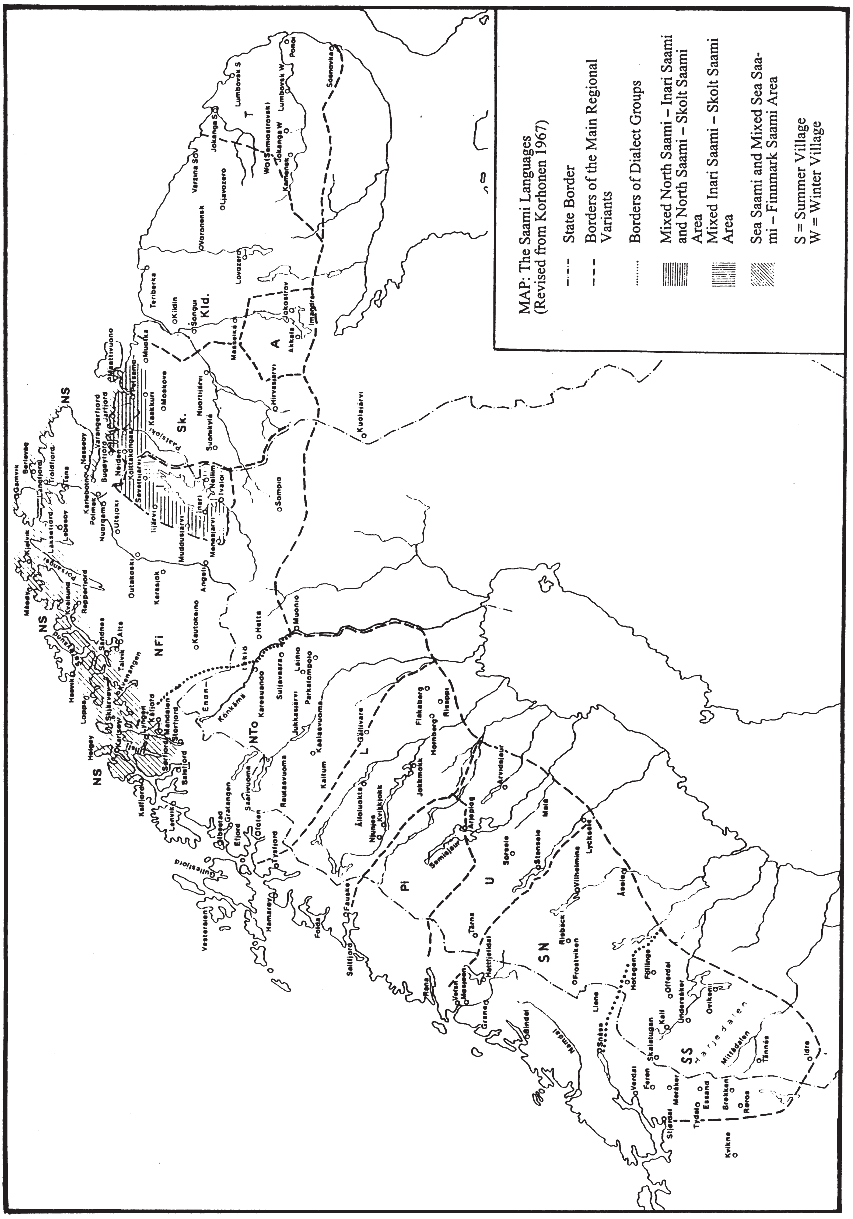
In the sixteenth century Russia extended its influence further to the north, west and east, to Siberia. Russia intended to strengthen its influence and power in the new colonies by economic expansion (taxation and the establishment of Russian settlements), and spiritual expansion (baptizing). The Russian expansion to eastern Samiland was connected to the economic and political interests of the Russian state. Russia tried to strengthen its position and to guarantee political stability in the north-west where the interests of Russia, Denmark and Sweden met at that time. Missionary Orthodox activity was used by Russia as a means of struggle for political authority in the region. The establishment of the Russian Orthodox Church in the region was an important argument for the right to ownership of the region. On the initiative of the tsar of Moscovy monasteries were built in the north. The monasteries began to extend their administrative power and influence from the end of the fifteenth century through their missionary work, which continued to the end of the seventeenth century (see Map 2).

The Russian state supported the Orthodox missionary activities in eastern Samiland from the sixteenth century in order to maintain both social and political stability there, as well as for the sake of economic profit (Kappeler 1997: 107).

There was one other reason for the intensification of missionary activities starting from the middle of the sixteenth century, and it was closely connected with Russian political goals. In the middle of the sixteenth century Lutheranism came to the Scandinavian countries, replacing Catholicism there. Then the Russian religious policy and the process of Christianization of the northern areas became more efficient. The interests of the Russian Church towards Lutheranism, confessed by its western neighbours, coincided with those of the Russian state: Lutheranism was held to be a dangerous doctrine, which could even destabilize public order and weaken the authority of the state in the border regions. In order to prevent the spread of Lutheranism to the Kola Peninsula, the Russian Church began – with the support of the Russian state – to send missionaries to the northernmost areas. The task of the missionaries was to bring "the heathen Sámi to the Russian faith" (Ushakov 1997: 58; see also Sergejeva 2000: 21). In this way the Russian north-west border also became a religious border. Thus, actions of the Russian state and the Russian Orthodox Church aimed at preventing the spread of a non-Orthodox faith to eastern Samiland were part of the foreign policy of both the state and the Church. The aim of the domestic policy of the Orthodox Church was to spread and strengthen its spiritual monopoly, which was a tendency beginning with the establishment of the State of Moscovy. In the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries the Orthodox Church tried to eradicate pre-Christian beliefs among the Russians, and started its struggle also against the religions and indigenous beliefs of the other peoples (Preobrazenskij 1988: 69–70).

Missionaries

Many Orthodox monks settled down among the Sámi, learned their language and started to convert Sámi to Christianity in the period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, but just a few of them are known in Russian Church history by name. In addition to preaching spiritual salvation, they also promised that their monasteries would protect the Sámi from attacking neighbours in the west, as well as help the Sámi in cases of famine or other difficulties. Since the eastern Sámi had long been in contact with Christian Russians and Karelians, the ground for spreading Christianity among the Sámi was already prepared. The first Sámi who converted to Christianity lived on the shores of the *Käddluhtt*[1] (Russ. Kandalaksha); according to Russian chronicles they were baptized in 1526. It proved to be more difficult to convert those Sámi who lived in the inner parts of the Kola Peninsula and who had been in less contact with Russian settlers. The period of the most active missionary work among different eastern Sámi groups was in the sixteenth century. The Christian doctrine was brought to the eastern Sámi by such monks as Feodorit, who worked in the region near the *Kuõlnõgkjogk* (Russ. Kola, Finn. Kuolajoki) in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Trifon among the Skolt Sámi in the *Peäccam* region (Russ. Pechenga, Finn. Petsamo) in the sixteenth century, and Feognost among the Ter Sámi at the end of the sixteenth century. In later times church writers called them *the instructors of Sámi*. Two of them – Trifon and Feodorit – were canonized, and their


MAP: The Saami Languages
(Revised from Korhonen 1967)
State Border
Borders of the Main Regional Variants
Borders of Dialect Groups
Mixed North Saami – Inari Saami and North Saami – Skolt Saami Area
Mixed Inari Saami – Skolt Saami Area
Sea Saami and Mixed Sea Saami – Finnmark Saami Area
S = Summer Village
W = Winter Village
NS
NFi
NTo
L
Pi
U
SN
SS
Sk.
A
Kld.
T

The Sámi Languages and Their Main Dialect Areas (Sammallahti 1998:5).

names have become part of both the local history, Sámi history and Russian Church history (about them see e.g., Klyuchevski 1968 [1871]; Shestakov 1868; Yakhontov 1881). But only Trifon has left an ineffaceable trace in Sámi oral tradition. Folk legends about Trifon and his missionary work live even today among both the Skolt Sámi and their neighbours, the Lutheran Sámi, the Russians and Norwegians.

Trifon's Missionary Work

On coming to the Kola Peninsula in the early sixteenth century Trifon (1495–1583) settled on the shores of the *Peäccam* River and started converting Sámi to the Christian faith.[2] According to the Sámi narratives and Russian hagiographic literature, those Sámi who did not want to renounce their traditional religion seriously opposed his christening work. Trifon built a few churches and *chasovnya* (Finn. *rukoushuone*) in the region, and took the veil in 1533. The greater part of Sámi in that locality converted to Christianity owing to Trifon's more than twenty years of missionary work.

With governmental support, Trifon founded the monastery of *Peäccam* (Finn. *Petsamon luostari*). In the year 1565 Trifon founded the church of St. Boris and St. Gleb on the shore of the Paaččjokk (Nor. Pasvik, Finn. Paatsjoki) River; the place received the Russian name from the church Borisoglebsk (Russ.) or Boris Gleb (Nor.). The church was placed on purpose quite close to the Danish-owned areas in the north. The intention was two-sided: on the one hand to protect the Russian Sámi from the influence of Lutheranism, on the other hand to show the peaceful policy of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian state towards their Lutheran neighbours. The church was intentionally consecrated to Boris and Gleb, historical persons who were among the first canonized Orthodox saints. They were the youngest sons of a Baptizer of Russia, the Prince of Kiev, Vladimir Svyatoslavovich. Boris and Gleb were killed in the year 1015 by their oldest brother, Svyatopolk the Cursed. The legend runs that these brothers gave up their lives in order to save Russia from a war between brothers. The church declared them to be martyrs and beatified them to become saints.

Trifon was canonized in the beginning of the seventeenth century (there are different opinions among the Russian Church historians concerning the time when Trifon was canonized).[3] A hundred years later a *Biography of Trifon's life in Peäccam* (in Russian church vocabulary it is called *zhitie*) was made. The *zhitie* of St. Trifon told about the baptizing of the Sámi, the foundation of the monastery in *Peäccam*, the death of Trifon, and the destruction of the monastery in 1589 by raiding bands lead by Juho Vesainen, which is well-known in the history of the north. When compiling the *zhitie*, the makers added to their presentation stories about St. Trifon having worked miracles both during his life and after death. A liturgy in honor of *the miracle-worker of Peäccam* was formed to be used in the church service in the eighteenth century. This was the start of the St. Trifon cult. The grave of Trifon was declared to be a sacred place.

Sámi Folk Legends About St. Trifon

Legends about St. Trifon can be used as a source for the study of religious change among the Skolt Sámi. This kind of source must be considered critically. Each narrative must be placed in time and space, in relation to a particular Sámi group, for its ability to show the indigenous inner point of view in relation to the wider local oral tradition and local history. Thus the value of the narrative as a primary or secondary source should be evaluated. Since source criticism is not the purpose of the present article, I intend to show only one aspect of the possible interpretations of the Sámi legends about St. Trifon. There are two different Sámi legends told by two different Sámi groups, the Skolt Sámi and their neighbours, the Sea Sámi. Both legends were told during approximately the same period of time, between 1920 and 1930, but they show different points of view. The Skolt Sámi legend can be interpreted as representing the insider's point of view on religious change, while the Sea Sámi one shows the outsider's perspective on St. Trifon's missionary activity and its meaning for the Skolt Sámi.

The Skolt Sámi legend was told in Paaččjokk in the 1920s by a young Sámi man, Mikko Feodorov, and recorded by the Finnish linguist and ethnologist T. I. Itkonen. Itkonen characterized Mikko Feodorov as a very talented narrator who knew – despite his young age – a lot of traditional Skolt Sámi narratives and presented them in a very living way. The legend shows changes in the spiritual life of the Skolt Sámi at the time when Christianity was brought to them by Trifon. The legend brings to the fore a conflict between the Sámi indigenous religion and the Christian one:

> When Trifon came to the *Peäccam* region, the Sámi were not yet baptized. They did not know what Christianity was. Trifon came, built a church, baptized people and started teaching the children. Children used to take lessons at Trifon's home. Trifon touched and fed the children. He gave them a piece of bread that did not decrease when Trifon cut it to pieces. The children considered it as a miracle. In the evening they told their parents about that. The children were very proud that their teacher could make miracles and teach them so well, that they could already say the Lord's Prayer and the Virgin Mary's prayer. The parents answered: "We do not care about your prayers. Our fathers and mothers lived all their life without your prayers and managed well." (Itkonen 1981 [1931]: 87–88; translated into English and edited by the author)

This legend tells about the early missionary activities among the Skolt Sámi at the point when the process of religious change had already started among the Skolt Sámi. The legend shows a conflict of three generations. In the background there are grandparents who lived in the traditional way by means of their indigenous religion. There is quite little said in the legend about the old Sámi generation: the children's parents argued that their grandparents "managed well" without the Christian prayers, because their indigenous religion gave them power and control over their lives. The parents are representatives of the second generation, which is in-between their indigenous religion and the Christian one, but they still follow and support the ideas of the previous generations, the traditional life and the indigenous religion, and they abandon the Christian one. Finally there is the third, the young generation – children – who are on their way to accepting a new religion. Taking into consideration the fact that Trifon is presented in the legend as a miracle-worker, one can assume that the legend originates – or at least got an influence – from the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Orthodox Church started using the liturgy in honor of *the miracle-worker of Peäccam*.

The above-presented legend shows the attitude of the Skolt Sámi themselves towards Christianity and Trifon's missionary work. The Sea Sámi legend from *Várjavuonna* (Nor. Varangerfjorden, Finn. Varanginvuono) – the nearest western neighbours of the Skolt Sámi – can elucidate the perspective from outside the Skolt Sámi community, the opinion of the Sea Sámi about the acceptance of the Orthodox religion by the Skolt Sámi.

Nils Mathisen Mienna, a storyteller, told the story in 1930. He was from Goađát (Nor. Sandnes, Finn. Kotajoki) which is situated in the South Varanger region. The Sea Sámi of *Goađát* had quite close contacts with the Skolt Sámi of *Peäccam*. In N. M. Mienna's story, happenings in the everyday life and history of the Skolt Sámi are represented from the viewpoint of the Sea Sámi, who shared the sea fishing areas in the fiord with their Skolt Sámi neighbours. Differences between these two Sámi groups were considerable; on the one hand the Sea Sámi language and tradition differ in many ways from that of the Skolt Sámi, on the other hand the Sea Sámi were Lutherans whereas the Skolt Sámi were Orthodox. The Sea Sámi were aware of differences in the so-called "official" faith, and told with respect about changes in the life of their Orthodox neighbours.[4] The story tells about the time when the Skolt Sámi from *Ǩeu'ŋes* (Finn. Kolttaköngäs, Nor. Boris Gleb) used to fish near the sea-shore.[5] The story tells in a metaphoric way about the meaning of the Orthodox faith in Skolt Sámi everyday life:

> The Skolt Sámi, who lived by the Báhčabeivuonna[6] fiord and the Báhčabeideannu River, used to go fishing in the sea every year. There was one fishing place in the western part of the mouth of the *Ruouddavuonna*, which was called *Vuoddasváhkki*. But there was a huge snake living across the fiord, and this snake was very dangerous for people. By reason of that, the Skolt Sámi – when they went fishing – had to go out of the *Ruouddavuonna* fiord to one place, which is called *Gonasgasluovhta*, and there they hauled their boats ashore and drew the boats over land around the dangerous place to the *Ruvsesluovhta* fiord. Then they launched the boats to the water and continued their trip to the *Vuoddasváhkki*. When they got done fishing, they did not dare to go back across the *Ruouddavuonna* fiord, because they were afraid of the snake. So they went back to the *Ruvsesvuonn*a just the same way as they came: they hauled the boats ashore again and drew them over land around the dangerous place to the *Gonagasvuonna*, and then they went to their village, which is called *Geavŋŋis-siidda*. They were doing like that for ages, up until the holy man, Trifon, came from Russia. He put crosses to each peninsula in the fiord, and the huge snake disappeared. Starting from that time the Sámi could pass the *Ruouddavuonna* fiord by boat without being afraid. (Ravila 1931: 199; translated into English and edited by the author)

The story tells in detail about the troubles caused by the sea-snake. The specific feature of the story is that it describes in detail the traveling routes of the Skolt Sámi in the coastal area of the *Várjavuonna* fiord. All the places are mentioned by name and geographically located so that one can draw a map according to the story. For one who knows the area well, all these details and geographical locations deepen the understanding of the extreme difficulties experienced by the Skolt Sámi when going fishing. Structurally, the description of the difficulties takes more than two-thirds of the narrative, strengthening the impression of the severity of the troubles. St. Trifon appears in the very end of the legend as a *besse olmmái* “holy man”. Trifon’s “holiness” is not even questioned: he appears as a powerful miracle-worker, the Savior of the Skolt Sámi not only in the context of a concrete fact – rescuing the local Sámi from the dangerous sea-snake – but in the sense of Christian salvation as well. Trifon brought Christianity to the Skolt Sámi and rid them of the danger they had been threatened with for hundreds of years: the sea-snake that hindered their fishing journeys for centuries disappeared, and thus traveling to the traditional fishing places became more easy and safe. Making crosses by Trifon serves as a metaphoric expression of the missionary work done by him among the local Sámi people. The disappearance of the snake can be interpreted as a figure of speech which means extinguishing the old “pre-Christian”, “pagan” beliefs. The viewpoint of the Lutheran Sea Sámi seems to be that by accepting the Orthodox faith, the Skolt Sámi made their life untroubled, protected and out of danger in every sense.

The Missionary Strategies of the Russian Orthodox Church

Although the missionary strategy of the Russian Orthodox Church has not been studied in depth, it is often cited – probably after T. I. Itkonen (1948: 2, 334–335) – that the Russian missionaries did not use forceful means to convert the Sámi. In this respect the missionary strategy of the Russian Church differed from that of the Western (Protestant) Church among the Scandinavian Sámi. Nevertheless, the more than 400 years-long history of Orthodox missionary activities among the eastern Sámi saw a variety of strategies and actions during the different periods of converting the Sámi.

The objective of syncretism formed in the beginning of the missionary work. The Russian church historian, A. Kartashev, holds that the existence of pagan beliefs made it easier for the church to realize its plans at the beginning of Christianization, because “pagan” people are, on the basis of their religious mind, more tolerant of new faiths. The pagan is tolerant towards other beliefs since in his mind all faiths are “equally true, and all gods are equally real” (Kartashev 1993: 145–156). The missionary strategy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries varied from economic pressure to a loyality policy, and even to exempt those Sámi who chose to be baptized from paying taxes.

There were more than ten active churches set up in the Kola Peninsula in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Two of them – the church of Boris and Gleb and the church of Peter and Paul built in the 1570s near the *Pyõnne* (Russ. Ponoy) River in the easternmost part of the Kola Peninsula – were particularly meant for use by Sámi. An example of economic pressure is the tsar’s decree from the last part of the sixteenth century that obliged the Ter Sámi living near the *Pyõnne* River to give the priests of the church of Peter and Paul their means of livelihood: half of the Sámi's catch of fish should be handed over to the servants of the church. This made feelings of animosity simmer among the Sámi towards the church workers, which finally lead to a discontinuation of the church's services. Economic pressure was not a fruitful policy in this region.

In the last part of the seventeenth century, Russian state authorities decided to pursue a loyality policy towards the northern non-Russian peoples, especially in Siberia (see Glavatskaya 1998). At that time there were still individual groups of Sámi who were not baptized on the Kola Peninsula. Among the Russians they were called *wild Sámi*. In the 1670s a tsar's decree was sent to the administrative authorities of the Kola region that recommended that these Sámi should be converted by rewarding them instead of forcing them. It was decreed that a certain sum of money should be paid to every single baptized Sámi, who should be exempted from paying taxes for two years.

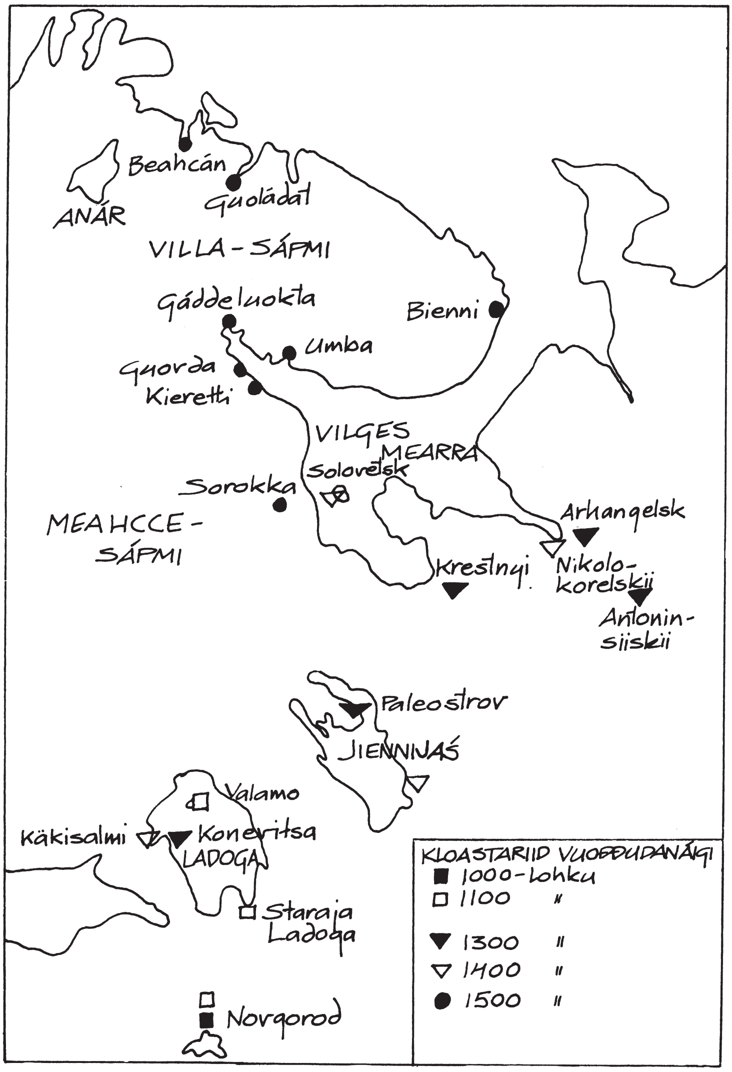
The loyality policy lasted up until the end of the seventeenth century. The main reason was obviously the unstable political situation near the Russian north-west border, when Sweden and Denmark-Norway were using different means – from diplomacy to war – in order to get control over the Kola Peninsula. The Russian state and the Orthodox Church must on the one hand strengthen their position in the region by baptizing the local Sámi. On the other hand, support should be shown to the indigenous people to win them over to Russia's side.

At the same time, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Russian government was strengthening its control over the region by dividing the peasants of the Kola peninsula, Sámi included, and their lands under the jurisdiction of various monasteries. Until the 1760s, Sámi had been obliged to pay for both the keeping of churches and monasteries and for the services of priests visiting Sámi villages. Thus the monasteries brought into the life of the Sámi a new, formerly unknown element, namely serfdom.

The objective of syncretism and locality changed when the influence of Christianity and the power of the Russian state grew stronger. By the end of the seventeenth century, and especially during the time of Peter the Great, the state policy towards missionary work got harder. Then, economic sanctions and violence were practised against still non-baptized people, among others the Muslims (Kappler 1997: 108–109) and the Finno-Ugrian peoples of Siberia (Glavatskaya 1998: 64–65). Church leaders started to act condescendingly towards the beliefs of the Sámi, branding them as profound paganism. Sámi were supposed to break with their own principles, ways and rituals, which lasted in spite of Sámi having accepted Christian ideas.

In the 1720s the Sámi of the most eastern *Jofkyi* (Russ. Yokanga) village became baptized. This meant that practically the whole Sámi population on the Kola Peninsula had accepted Christianity by the middle of the eighteenth century. This strengthened the position of the Russian state in the north-west areas. That meant first of all the guaranty of stability and control over the area and the non-Russian population, e.g., the Sámi.

By the end of the eighteenth century the mighty Russian state had already achieved a steadfast position in the north-west, in the sense of political,


Beahcán
Guoládat
ANÁR
VILLA-SÁPMI
Gáddeluokta
Bienni
Umba
Guorda
Kieretti
VILGES MEARRA
Solovetsk
Sorokka
MEAHCCE-SÁPMI
Arhangelsk
Nikolo-korelskij
Krestnyi
Antonin-siiskii
Paleostrov
JIENNIJAŠ
Valamo
Käkisalmi
Konevitsa
LADOGA
Staraja Ladoga
Novgorod
KLOASTARIID VUOĐĐUDANÁIGI
■ 1000-lohku
□ 1100 "
▼ 1300 "
▽ 1400 "
● 1500 "

Monasteries in Northern Russia (Aikio 1992:157 according to Lukyanchenko 1979).

economic and spiritual control over the region. Starting from the last part of the eighteenth century, the church's economic power was waning as the tsar's power grew, and the Russian Church gradually lost its political and economic independence. The famous edict by Katharine the Great (1764) about the buildings of the archbishops, the monasteries and other inherited church estates, transferred all Church properties and peasants under the jurisdiction of the state (Ushakov 1997: 58–65, 118–119; see also Friis 1910: 113). After 1778, the Sámi received back their right to use their hunting lands and fisheries and the imposed economic obligations on their activities were ruled out.[7] This meant that the state was already sure about its victory in its struggle for influence over the eastern Sámi; the struggle was won with the help of the Russian Church.

Nevertheless stereotypes about the "pagan" Sámi have had a long life among the Russians. In the nineteenth century the first highly-educated Orthodox priests started working among the Sámi. According to the accounts written by some of the priests and the travelers, who visited eastern Samiland in the nineteenth century, the Sámi followed only some of the Church ordinances. They confessed the name of Christ, they respected some of the saints, especially St. Nicolaus, they prayed in front of icons, and they carried necklace crosses and believed in their protective power. On arriving at Russian villages, the Sámi most often went to the church, attended the church service and gave gifts to the priests. They also made use of the services of the priests when marrying (engagements were announced in the church), when bringing their children for christening, etc. These accounts strengthened the common Russian stereotype that the baptized Sámi became Christians only in name, but in their daily life they lived far away from the churches, following as before the beliefs of their ancestors, worshipping their own gods and offering to them. This stereotype was supported by Nikola Kharuzin (1890: 69), whose account of the Russian Sámi has been the only ethnographic source for the study of the eastern Sámi up until today.

Religious Life after 1917

The most significant changes in the spiritual life and traditions of the eastern Sámi happened during the twentieth century. The communist regime and the policy of belligerent atheism succeeded better in a few decades in destroying the Orthodox religion and Sámi indigenous religious practices, than the Russian Orthodox Church managed during many centuries in its efforts to replace the Sámi indigenous religion by the Orthodox faith.

The Russian revolution and the fact that Finland became an independent country in 1917 meant great changes to the life of the eastern Sámi. The border between Soviet Russia and Finland was drawn in 1920. Then the Skolt Sámi of the *Peäccam* area became Finnish citizens. The *Peäccam* area was returned to the Soviet Union after the Second World War; according to the peace agreement signed in Paris in 1947 the Sámi of the area immigrated to Finland.

The life of the Sámi in Soviet Russia (the Soviet Union was established in 1922) had undergone serious changes. The Church was separated from the state according to the Soviet decree of 1918. Later the churches and chapels were gradually being closed down. In the beginning of the 1920s the churches woke up to a new life in connection with a new economic policy, and from 1929 churches were shut down. The Orthodox religion was suppressed, atheism was promoted and all open expressions of faith were forbidden. Ninety per cent of Church properties were confiscated by the government or destroyed. Soon there was no functional church any longer on the Kola Peninsula. The measures taken against the Church were the worst at the end of the 1930s.

In connection with the establishment of *kolkhozes* in the 1920s and 1930s, there were steps taken to unite small Sámi villages, that comprised only a few families, to make bigger and lasting habitation centers. The Sámi were removed from their traditional areas of habitation, which were of vital importance to them an in economic, social, cultural and spiritual sense. The established economic system, social and cultural networks, and the connection between tradition and the land were destroyed, and the balance of the spiritual life of the Sámi communities was seriously damaged. At the same time the ties of the Sámi communities to the Orthodox Church were severed. At the latter part of the 1930s the activity of the Church shrunk as to be insignificant. The opposition to Church by the authorities of the state lasted for more than forty years.

The attitudes towards the Church and Orthodox religion have undergone changes under the pressure of a belligerent atheism. The Sámi in the Soviet Union – as well as all other nationalities – were bound either to accept the new morality and raise their children in the atheistic spirit, or else to reject their Christian faith or to hide their religious notions and even, in their despondency, convert to the pre-Christian beliefs of their ancestors, which, of course, had to be kept a secret. In the 1920s a state program was launched for state education, aimed at abolishing illiteracy in Soviet Russia. The educational strategy aimed, inter alia, at renouncing religion and at inculcating the new moral codex of socialism. The fundamental moral was *the so-called moral of the maker of communist society.* The new moral brought to the fore collectivism and had as its basis a materialistic philosophy that totally neglected religion, or ”superstition”, as it was called.

The religious life of those Skolt Sámi who had immigrated to Finland had also become difficult. Before the Second World War the monastery of *Peäccam* had influenced the life of the Skolt Sámi in many ways. The surrender of *Peäccam* to the Soviet Union meant that Skolt Sámi were separated from the monastery; at the same time the *Peäccam* Orthodox congregation, which was founded in 1922, was discontinued. Only in 1950 was an Orthodox congregation founded in the County of Lapland (*Lapin Lääni*) in Finland (see more Sergejeva 2000).

In the new environment in Finland the language and culture of the Skolt Sámi came under pressure from a new majority language and culture. The Sámi had relatively few possibilities for preserving their traditional ways of living. But in the new country the Skolt Sámi could profess their Orthodox faith. The Orthodox Church kept them together, made it possible for them to meet regularly, made them feel religious and ethnic affinity to each other. The Orthodox religion appeared to be a tradition of their own, which followed them when immigrating to a new land. When wishing to preserve themselves as an ethnically integral group, the Skolt Sámi intuitively looked for support in their Orthodox faith, which distinguished them from the majority people, as did their language. The Church still means a great deal to the Skolt Sámi as a preserver of their culture, whereas the Sámi in the Soviet Union were separated from their Orthodox faith by way of the state’s atheistic policy over many decades.

The Present Situation in the Kola Region

In the 1980s and 1990s certain rights were restored to the Russian Orthodox Church, including the right to own property and the right to engage in charitable and proselytizing activities. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990, religious freedom was constitutionally guaranteed. Although there are no statistics about the Sámi in relation to the Orthodox Church nowadays, according to the most recent figures generally in Russia – despite communism's policies – almost 60 per cent of the population are Christian, mainly members of the Russian Orthodox Church (85 million) or of one of seventeen other Orthodox Church bodies. Muslims, especially among the Federation's southern Turkish and Caucasus people, are the second largest religious group (9 per cent). As many as 30 per cent claim no religion.[8]

Rehabilitation of the Russian Orthodox Church was "a part of larger policy of liberalizing religion in general and easing conditions for believers of all faiths" (Ramet 1991: 88). The old policy of confrontation and repression backfired, and a more conciliatory approach was therefore preferred.

A few churches and chapels were built in the Kola region during the last decades, and the Russian Orthodox Church started its activities again in the area without targeting any special national minority or group (c.f., Sergejeva 1999: 106–109). If in the beginning of the missionary activities among the eastern Sámi in the late fifteenth century the Orthodox Church had its aim to convert Sámi using often the Sámi language as a working tool, so nowadays all services in the Russian Orthodox churches are held in Russian.

The result of the secularization of religion during the Soviet epoch was not the disappearance of religion, but the shattering of the religious monopoly, and hence, in consequence, the mushrooming of alternative faiths (Ramet 1991: 67). It is true when looking at the present situation in Russia. As to the north-west region of Russia, where the Sámi live, there are numerous religious missions working there besides the Russian Orthodox Church. Different missions came to the Murmansk region from abroad, such as the German Protestant Mission, Bahái groups, the Evangelical Lutheran mission established by the International Lutheran Council, as well as the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Ingria attached to the International Lutheran Council, etc. These missionary activists choose usually a special target group according to, for example, age (especially young people) or nationality.

In September 1997 a new president's bill concerning the churches and missionary activities in Russia was signed into law. This document severely restricted foreign missionary societies and denominations not previously active in the Soviet Union. In fact this law was aimed to shut down most, if not all, of the churches opened after 1991. It basically declares the Russian Orthodox Church as the "pre-eminent" religion and all other religions or denominations secondary to it. Since the indigenous Lutheran (Ingrian) Church existed before the establishment of the Soviet Union, it may – according to the law – continue its work; however, its activity is restricted.

The Norwegian Sámi Mission (*Norges Samemisjon*), supported by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Ingria, has chosen the Sámi of the Kola

Peninsula as an object of missionary work. In 1999 the Mission founded its office in *Luujaavv'r* (Russ. Lovozero), the place where a majority of the Sámi population lives at present. The Norwegian Sámi Mission has been actively supporting both the local Sámi political movement and the process of revitalization of Sámi culture and language. The Norwegian Sámi Mission is actively supporting the local people both economically and spiritually, provides courses in the local Sámi dialect, Kildin Sámi, publishes newspapers with Christian content both in Russian and Sámi, and thus seems to have already gained respect and support among the Sámi population. The influence of The Norwegian Sámi Mission grows among the *Luujaa'vvr* Sámi, partly because the missionaries support and use the local Sámi dialect in their work, as the Orthodox Church used to do in the beginning of its missionary activity.

Summary

The eastern Sámi came under the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church already in the late fifteenth century, whereas other Sámi in the west professed Catholicism until the middle of the sixteenth century and later on became Lutherans. Two significant events influenced the missionary policy of the Russian Orthodox Church: the establishment of the state of Moscovy in 1474 and the separation of the Russian Orthodox Church from the Eastern Orthodox Church in 1589. Starting from that time, Russian state politics and Orthodox religion were closely integrated. Religious authority and political authority were exercised by complementary but distinct leaders – the patriarch and the tsar. A close connection between the two authorities made the missionary activities in the north-western areas of Russia planned and efficient. The necessity to protect the Russian north-western border from the influence of the Lutheran faith led to a strengthening of the missionary activity of the Russian Orthodox Church among the eastern Sámi.

In the beginning the spread of Christianity to the north the missionary strategy of the Russian Church was to convert the Sámi without forceful means. The objective of syncretism changed when the influence of Christianity grew stronger. The Sámi were supposed to break with their own principles, ways and rituals, which lasted in spite of Sámi accepting Christian ideas.

The Russian state supported the Church in all its activities. Numerous monasteries were founded in the north of Russia, and they extended their power and influence over the whole north-west region. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the peasants of the Kola Peninsula and their lands were given by the Russian government to the northern monasteries; thus the monasteries became the most powerful feudal lords in the north. The Church lost its political and economic independence with the growth of the tsar's power in the eighteenth century. The monasteries and other inherited Church estates transferred all Church properties and peasants under the jurisdiction of the state. The Sámi got back their right to use the traditional hunting lands, but already then they were closely connected to the Orthodox Church in their everyday life and became baptized Christians, even though some Sámi indigenous beliefs remained.

The Church extended its power and influence over the Sámi population by taking advantage of traditional oral forms of communication. The monk Trifon – a baptizer of the Skolt Sámi – was canonized, and a biography of his life in *Peäccam* was made; a liturgy in Trifon's honor became used in the church services, and the grave of Trifon was declared to be a sacred place. The cult of St. Trifon influenced the Skolt Sámi tradition very much; legends about the miracle-worker and baptizer of the Sámi, Trifon, are still alive among them.

The close connection of the Church to the Russian state continued up to the revolution in 1917. After that, the Church was separated from the state, churches and chapels were closed down, atheism was promoted, and all open expressions of faith were forbidden. In the 1980s and 1990s certain rights were restored to the Russian Orthodox Church. Despite communism's policies, more than half of the population in Russia still consider themselves Christian. In the eastern Sámi area a few churches and chapels were built during the last decades, and the Russian Orthodox Church started its missionary work again, but nowadays all church services are in Russian. In addition to the Orthodox Church there are different foreign Christian missions working among the eastern Sámi. The Norwegian Sámi Mission, supported by the indigenous Lutheran (Ingrian) Church, is gradually gaining power and influence among some groups of the eastern Sámi, proclaiming the Gospel and supporting the development of the Sámi language. The Lutheran Church that has every appearance of extending its influence towards the eastern parts of Samiland, where it does not traditionally belong, nowadays exploits some methods that were previously applied successfully by the Orthodox Church in its missionary work.

NOTES

1. All Sámi place names are given in the article according to the local Sámi language.
2. There are many publications about Trifon and his missionary work, e.g., Sjögren (1828: 374–378); Shestakov (1868); Makarij (1878); Kharuzin (1890: 47–48); Korol'kov (1908); *Pyhittäjä Trifon...* 1976; Ushakov (1997: 58–63, 324–330); Egeberg (1992).
3. A critical evaluation of the sources for the study of the eastern Sámi indigenous religion – among other things hagiographic literature – is being carried out at present by the author.
4. The Skolt Sámi have also made a clear distinction between the Orthodox and Lutheran religions: the Orthodox God is *Vuâsppå´d* in Skolt Sámi (the Russian loan word from *Gospodi* "the Lord"), while the God of the Lutherans is *E´mmel,* a traditional Sámi word. The use of a traditional Sámi term in order to differentiate the god of another religion shows the pluralistic understanding of the Sámi indigneous god-concept.
5. The rights of the Skolt Sámi to sea fishing in the above-mentioned area were restricted at the end of the nineteenth century, but in the beginning of the twentieth century they lost all their rights concerning the use of the Norwegian coastal area.
6. Place names in the legend are written according to the Goađát dialect of the Sea Sámi language: Báhčabeivuonna (Nor. Bøkfjorden); Báhčabeideannu (Nor. Pasvikelva,

Finn. Paatsjoki); *Ruouddavuonna* (Nor. Jarfjord, Finn. Rautavuono); *Vuoddasváhkki* (Finn. Santalahti); *Gonagasluovhta* (Nor. Kongsfjorden, Finn. Kuninkaanlahti); *Ruvsesluovhta* (Finn. Punainenvuono); *Geavηηis* (Nor. Boris Gleb (Skoltefossen), Finn. Kolttaköngäs).

7. Nevertheless the Sámi had never become the owners of these lands because of the Russian economic expansion to the north-west, as well because of the extension of Russian settlements and Russian taxation politics.
8. The source of information is the official Web server of the Moscow Patriarchate (http://www.russian-orthodox-church.org.ru) in May 2000.

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ABBRIVIATIONS

Finn.	Finnish
Nor.	Norwegian
Russ.	Russian

MAPS

Map 1: *The Sámi Languages and Their Main Dialect Areas* (Sammallahti 1998:5)

Map 2: *Monasteries in Northern Russia* (Aikio 1992:157 according to Lukyanchenko 1979)

ART LEETE

Ritual, Politics and Mentality

The Nenets and Ob-Ugrians of Siberia

The following article consists of two parts. First, I give a short historical overview of descriptions of northern peoples' aggressiveness or, the opposite, shyness. In the second part I describe two sacrificial rituals that were held by the Nenets and Khanty people in the 1990s. I try to demonstrate how old concepts of *the Other*, and the present politics and mentality of the Nenets and the Khanty are intertwined and reflected in these rituals.

Images of the Northern "Savages"

Modern scientific ideas about northern peoples have a considerable historical background. The development of these ideas has been very complicated and multi-dimensional. The way of describing the personality traits of northern peoples is determined by "big theories" and the dominant concepts of culture from a particular era.

Western European authors depicted the Ob-Ugrians and Samoyeds during Middle Ages as strange, fantastic monsters. It's a typical medieval understanding concerning the inhabitants of unknown, remote, peripheral regions of the world (Cohen 1998: 41–42; Ott 1998: 75–77). Plano Carpini, for example, in the 1240s described Samoyeds as living in tents and wearing clothes made of animal hide. Besides these realistic notes, Plano Carpini provided esoteric accounts about the neighbours of the Samoyeds:

> When moving forward, they reached a land by the ocean where they met some monsters. As we were made to believe, they looked like human, while they had feet of an ox, the head of the human and the face of the dog. They spoke two words in human language, and barked every third like dogs (Plano Carpini 1997: 52).

In Russian medieval chronicles the Arctic peoples were described in a more realistic way. But in those texts the inhabitants of the north are depicted as extremely violent because of the permanent military conflicts between Russians and locals. Ob-Ugrians and Samoyeds were shown as more or less equal foes of Russians. The descriptions of northern tribes contain basic characteristic features of these peoples but have a derogatory attitude (Leete 1999b:

36–40). The following is a stereotypical description of West-Siberian native peoples as found in Russian medieval sources: “Ostyaks and Samoyeds have no laws. They worship their idols and make offerings to them. They eat the meat of animals and disgusting beasts, drink blood like water and eat roots” (Sibirskie 1987: 32, 38, 45, 80–81).

After the occupation of western Siberia by Russians from the end of the sixteenth century, considerable political and social stability was reached step by step. Russian local administration and Orthodox Church organization became quite strong by the end of the seventeenth century. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the previous aggressive image of West-Siberian natives changed to a much more quiet one. The first author of the eighteenth century who mentioned the quietness of Ob-Ugrians was the German academician, Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705–1783). He described “the natural freedom” that Siberian natives enjoyed before Russian conquest. He wrote about the Khanty “natural” shyness and peacefulness (Müller 1998: 247–248). Müller wrote also that the Mansi people were much more brave and warlike at the end of the fifteenth century than in the eighteenth century. Müller considered that the ethnic character of the Mansi was changed because of the Russian military raids and conquest (Müller 1999: 198). Describing the raids of the Cossacks on the Mansi people, Müller sympathized with the Mansi and called them an unhappy and poor nation, who have “so little aggressiveness”. The Mansi of Tavda River capitulated to the Russian Ataman Ermak, very quickly. Therefore Müller called the Tavda Mansi weak and poor-spirited (Müller 1998: 85–98, 115; 1999: 215, 246–247).

So, the description given by Müller about the Khanty and the Mansi character is quite dynamic. It is closely related to historical events. Capitulated Mansis are described as “unhappy”, “poor” and “weak”. But during military conflicts they are “brave”, “warlike” and “crafty”. Müller’s description of the characteristics of the northern peoples is very kaleidoscopic.

Müller was followed by some other authors. Johann Gottlieb Georgi (1729–1802) considered the Khanty to be shy and superstitious (Georgi 1776:72–73). Vasili Zuev (1754–1794) depicted the Nenets as soft people (Zuev 1947: 44–45, 58). He also wrote about the Khanty as “almost trained” people who abide patiently almost all offences. At the same time they were able to fight cheerfully for the slightest cause, “but during the famine to strike out against the Russians without any reason” (Zuev 1947: 23–24). Peter Simon Pallas (1741–1811) also described the Khanty as kind-hearted, innocent and shy people (Pallas 1776: 39).

Matias Aleksanteri Castrén (1813–1852) made comments on Pallas’s statements and maintained that shyness, superstition, simplicity and good-naturedness are characteristics shared by all Siberian savages (Castrén 1860: 195; 1858: 318–319). Criticizing Alexander Schrenk’s approach to the Samoyeds’ life, that was inseparable from the occupation of the Tundra by Izhma Komis and from the transition of the reindeer herds of the Nenets to the Komis, Castrén criticized Schrenck’s attitude towards the Nenets as passive martyrs (Castrén 1862: 141). Castrén stressed the alternative conception of the character of local people:

> As much as I know the Samoyeds I think that they have a completely different character. It's clear that they are good and peaceful people who don't like harassment. But if we talk about their patience and resigned humility then we must consider those merits of the Samoyeds as conditioned by their very hesitant situation. It's right that externally they are slow and apathetic, steadfastly calm. They are very rarely in a hurry. They communicate with all their friends and enemies as passively as possible. Despite that, they have a careful and sensible nature. They complain about every technicality, suffer seriously even from the smallest abuse and don't forget it so easily. Because they express revenge so irrelevantly, they grieve even more in their interior and hide their feelings in the bottom of their hearts. (Castrén 1862: 141–142)

In the nineteenth century the idea about peaceful inhabitants of the north was shared by most scientists and travellers. A considerable scientific consensus was reached about this. For example, according to Doctor Franz Iosifovich Belyavskiĭ, the Samoyeds were short-tempered but without any serious consequences (Belyavskiĭ 1833: 160). Government official V. Islavin described the Nenets of Archangelsk province as a peaceful and careless people (Islavin 1847: 11, 36–37). S. V. Maksimov considered that the European Nenets have enough patience to wait on the waterline for an animal for days (Maksimov 1909a: 40). Samoyeds were silent, calm and peaceful but only if they tipple they become impetuous, accosting people, looking for trouble (Maksimov 1909b: 380; 1909c: 95, 118).

The Khanty have been characterized in a similar way. Here are a few examples of this attitude:

> They are modest, quiet, laconic and composed. Being kind-hearted neighbours they are fond of domestic life, they are honest, faithful and benevolent (Belyavskiĭ 1833: 70).

> The Ostyaks, if you associate with them personally, are very pleasant – they leave the impression of a quiet, good-hearted and honest people (Bartenev 1896: 99).

I think this idea about quiet and peaceful Samoyeds and Ob-Ugrians, that was most characteristic in nineteenth century science, is very influential even today. It became part of the common knowledge about the West-Siberian contemporary population. This was especially so in actual social interaction between communities of the Khanty and the Nenets and local authorities and oil companies. The representatives of political and economic structures don't expect aggressive behaviour from local hunters, fishers and reindeer nomads.

Contemporary scientific ideas about northern peoples' personality characteristics are not so simple as in the nineteenth century. But these modern, complicated and differentiated viewpoints are less known in society than the more simple and clear stereotypes of nineteenth century science.

Public Sacrificial Ceremonies of the Nenets and Khanty

In the second part of the paper I shall describe two Khanty rituals that were connected to some political events and larger socio-political processes. I think these rituals in their political context also indicate some aspects of the Nenets and Khanty mentality.

In June, 1993, in Russkinskie village on the Tromyugan River a public reindeer sacrificial ceremony of the Khanty was held. It was held during the Fourth International Finno-Ugric People's Folklore Festival. There was an international audience that consisted of folklore groups and scientists from different Finno-Ugric republics of Russia and also from some foreign countries, mainly from Hungary, Finland and Estonia.

When our buses reached the village, we were "welcomed" (there was a huge poster in English: "Wellcome!") by saluting militiamen on the border of the village. Seven reindeer were transported from the northern forest-tundra zone to the village by helicopters. The ceremony was held in the sacred place that was established especially for this particular ritual and it consisted of the sacred storehouse and also a model of a traditional Khanty seasonal settlement with a conical tent and other facilities. (Russkinskie is a Russian-style village with houses typical for all of Russia.)

The three shamans leading the ritual stood with their faces to the east[1] and so were placed the seven reindeer, also. In the audience a passage was made in the same direction. Around the necks of the reindeer were tied pieces of textiles, mainly white, but also some red ones. Before killing the reindeer, the leaders of the ritual prayed. The only possible prayer in this situation had to be a very general one. And the Khanty asked for general help from the gods for their kin, "That they will save the life".

After this the seven reindeer were killed by hitting them with an axe at the nape of the neck. During the killing the women helped the men by holding the reindeer with lassos. The reindeer must fall on their right side. It was a sign of the gods' good will. If they didn't fall properly, they were pushed from the left.

The cloths were removed from the neck of the reindeer and tied to birch branches. The lassos that were round the necks of the victims were thrown into the birches. Before this the Khanty stood, holding cloths in their hands, and prayed to the heavenly gods. Then the men started to skin and chop the reindeer. The meat was eaten both raw and boiled. Everyone who participated in the ritual got a piece of raw meat to take with him.

After the most effective part of the ritual (killing the reindeer), the ethnotourists left for shopping and looking around the village. The sacrificial ceremony lasted some hours and the Khanty were not disturbed by outsiders any more. At the same time a concert of folklore groups was organized along with a lunch in the local eating house. During the lunch, a bottle of vodka was given per every four participants of the festival. On the street of the village, Bibles were delivered freely. Some Khanty took several copies and were really happy about this. They told that they have even more of these at home. After this we, the guests, left. Before leaving, our buses were surrounded by a lot of militiamen again.

"The following night militia sergeant Aleksandr Ludvigovich Dyagilev, with a car from the Fedorovskoe Militia Department, along with another unknown man, destroyed the sacrificial structure. The same night, Leonid Sopochin and Evgeni Multanov, the shamans who had conducted the ceremony, as well as natives Daniel Devlin and Ivan Vylla, were savagely beaten by the militia. The two others who had assisted with the ceremony were not found, although they were hunted" (Balzer 1999: 153).

The described ritual was arranged by the Khanty under the pressure of local authorities who wanted to demonstrate something exotic to foreign guests. Anyway, despite the forced situation, the Khanty tried to follow the traditional rules of sacrificial ceremony: praying to the Upper Gods, giving white cloths, throwing lassos into the trees, eating raw and boiled meat on the place of the sacrificial ritual, and dividing the meat among the participants of the ritual. Khanty tried to fit the ritual into the unusual situation and space. They also tried to make themselves feel as they do during a very usual ritual. Unfortunately, it turned into tragedy: the destruction of the site and beatening up the participants.

According to scientist Olga Balalaeva, it was a threat, a symbolic way to show the locals that they must give up land to the oil company, Surgutneftegaz. "The leaders of the sacrifice were the same people who had been telling natives not to sign over their land for energy exploration, and so the administrators decided to teach them a lesson. No one was arrested for the beatings, although it was commonly known who was involved. The attack occurred as the celebrants were preparing an additional ceremony, so witnesses were numerous; but they were intimidated into silence" (Balzer 1999: 153).

In April, 1996, I participated in another sacrificial ceremony of the Nenets and the Khanty in Num-To.[2] That particular ritual could be interpreted from different aspects. On the one hand, it was a traditional sacrificial ceremony in which the arbitrary religious rules were followed. On the other hand, it was an entertainment event for part of the participants. Also, for some participants it was a form of political event and a media action. Representatives of the local newspaper and broadcasting company and also political leaders of Ob-Ugrians and Forest Nenets were participating in the ritual. They wanted to communicate the native peoples' fight for their traditional rights and the preservation of their living environment to a wider audience.

All three aspects of the ritual – traditional, political and entertainment – were mingled with one another. They had a different role and influence on different people. The sacrifice of reindeer in April, 1996, was a good example of a contemporary changing ritual among the Khanty and the Nenets.

During the ritual, two Nenets reindeer-owners (the Nenets Yuri Vella and Oleg Aivaseda) dedicated reindeer to the Russian President[3] and to the Governor of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug. The purpose of that was, in accordance with the Forest Nenets tradition, to get the President and Governor involved with the victims of environmental pollution by the oil companies in western Siberia.[4]

The ritual was carried out in accordance with its traditional actions. Yet only a few participants checked that the sacrifice was performed in a traditional, originally correct manner. The majority of the participants just imitated the others. Should the leaders forget about any of the traditional rules, there was no one able to notice and "correct" it. In such cases opinions of individual "specialists" become crucial. There was no community common understanding of the proper ritual behaviour.

Participants in the ritual, both men and women[5], went there in snowmobiles and reindeer sledges along the frozen lake. The three reindeer that would be slaughtered were tied to a birch. One reindeer was white and had horns and it was a leader animal. It was the most important victim. The other reindeer were grey and without horns.

Then, a fire was lit on the sacred site and they started to boil water in buckets. They had taken firewood with them. Then a cloth was spread on the snow. On the cloth everybody put sacrifices he/she had taken along: *baranka*s (hard biscuits), Snickers candies, cigars "Prima", bottles of vodka, tea, etc. There were seven vodkas, i.e., three 100 cl and one 50 cl (''half-full") bottles. The 1 liter bottles were counted as two. It was important that there were seven vodkas, although they had not agreed about it beforehand. They just counted that there was exactly the right amount of them. Vodka was poured into cups, and the cloth with food stood untouched. The reindeer stood in a line, the one to the east was the white one.

The men stood behind the reindeer, with their faces to the south. The guests were on their right, with their faces to the southeast. Some men took off their caps when praying. Most of them had their caps on. Firstly, Täkvjak, the oldest of the Nenets, said a long prayer. Then Oleg Aivaseda, another Nenets, said a somewhat shorter prayer.

Stepan Randymov, a Khanty who participated in the ritual, explained the content of the prayers. As the prayers were typical for the Khanty and the Nenets, their content is quite general:

> /We prayed/ that all local people, all people /had a happy life/. For children had a peaceful life, and for all people grown up around here, for they live in the same places where their mothers and fathers did. For /these places/ were not neglected.
>
> This sacrifice was made for family life, for one's children to be well and alive. For one to have good luck with one's reindeer. But the Nenets all live with reindeer.
>
> The old Täkvjak, the one with grey hair among the Nenets from the forest areas, is the oldest of his generation. That is why he was trusted with/saying the prayer/, for he /prayed to […] all the heavenly gods, spirits of the sacred lake, so that they would take care of all the reindeer. […] He told about all gods, as many as there are heavenly gods. One hundred gods, all in all. He called each god separately. […] Kaltash-imi. There are many of them, one cannot count them.
>
> When we went there, the weather was bad, now it is clear. We also prayed that the weather be clear when you fly back. Also, that those who had come here, that they had good luck on the road. Snowstorm, purga that is what the weather is like here. We have such custom. That when misfortune comes to a person or family, /we pray that luck be with them/.

> But when /we pray for everybody/, then that the people who had come here had clear weather when going back by helicopter or plane. This is for all spirits and gods whom we pray be happy.

Then the reindeer were killed. Two Nenets people throttled them by pulling a lasso tight around their necks. The third Nenets hit them at the nape with the blade of his axe. Before he hit, he measured two times. The first reindeer fell on its left side. They quickly turned it on its right.

The other two reindeer were pushed after hitting them with the axe, so that they fell on their right sides. The prone reindeer were also stabbed in the heart and nape. Then they were dragged clockwise. The three reindeer were left lying with their heads to the south.

The dead reindeer were placed on the snow, as when pulling a sledge. The white one on the left was the leader. Then Stepan Randymov hit them on their sides with a lasso, and made sounds proposing motion. The white reindeer convulsed at it, which indicated that the white gods had received it.

Then the men stood behind the reindeer again, with their faces to the south, women and guests to the west of the reindeer, with their faces to the east. Then they all screamed aloud seven times and turned around clockwise, making bows at each quarter of the horizon. This all happened in disorder, so that they all did not make the same number of turns or bows.

> Stepan Randymov: “All gods and spirits were called to the spot, so that they hear it. Probably some did not. They were not called then. After that they scream seven times. And turn themselves around seven times. […] Among all the gods in the world the white heavenly gods are the most important. Like father and mother, and the sun, seven sons, seven brothers. That is why seven times. But in other sacrifices they do not scream seven times. Only three times. When they do not call them all. But this time all the gods on the ground and in heaven, all were called”.

Then they started to eat sacrificial food. The Nenets started eating and Täkvjak served vodka. Everybody present got a cup of vodka. The cup was passed around clockwise. They enjoyed eating the reindeer liver raw, which they call “the Nenets Snickers”. When the men had finished eating, they started to skin and chop the reindeer. The skins with heads (without lower jaws) were placed aside.

When finished, they took the three reindeer skins with the heads to a birch previously chosen by Täkvjak. When trying to find the right tree he walked to and fro in the small wood and then chose a bigger tree. This was among the few trees on this island that would endure the load.

The Nenets went to the tree in line, one by one. One of them climbed the tree. Then he was thrown one end of the lasso. The one in the tree put it over a branch and threw it down again. The skins with heads were now pulled up the tree with the lasso. The Nenets who was in the tree now fastened them there, placing the horns between twigs. The skins and heads stayed hanging there, with their heads upwards. While they were pulling the first reindeer, the white one, they all screamed seven times. The men stood around the tree, with their faces to the tree.

After that they cleared away everything they had used while eating, e.g., meat, firewood (that had been taken there from Num-To), the lassos used for killing the reindeer and then thrown into the birch twigs, etc. So, they put everything they had taken there with them on the snowmobiles and reindeer sledges and rode back to Num-To village.[6]

Before leaving, everybody had to make a small circle clockwise. Generally, all turns with sledges, both when arriving and when leaving, should be made clockwise.

Rituals, Mentality and Politics

The exploitation of the Num-To area by oil companies that was the topic of prayers during the sacrificial ritual, is a problem even today. In 1998, Governor Filipenko found a "solution". "He declared the sacred Lake Num-To area to be an Okrug Prirodnyi (Nature) Park, and also authorized drilling there" (Balzer 1999: 159).

Balzer considers the re-emergence of Khanty animal (usually reindeer) sacrifices as one of the most remarkable phenomenon in cultural development during the 1980s and 1990s. Balzer also stresses the significance of the fact that these rituals occurred in places of historical resonance, such as Num-To.[7] The sacrifices increased in number and broadened in constituency, although they were advertised selectively. At the same time Balzer agrees that the sacrificial rituals remain also expressions of normal ritual respect (Balzer 1999: 186). And it's true, of course. After the public sacrificial ceremony on Lake Num-To, one participant, Timo Moldanov, told that they had the regular sacrificial ceremony at the same place some days before. After this they returned home but Timo's father forgot his knife in Num-To. Therefore they returned and took part also in the public one. (For a more detailed description of the ritual, see Leete 1997, 1999a.)

Anna-Leena Siikala described the development of Udmurt sacrificial rituals during the 1990s as a process of transformation from secret and sacred rituals to national festivals. It means that the sacrificial ceremonies became more politicized and public and politicians tried to use these rituals for their own interests (Siikala 2000). The West-Siberian case is a little bit different. Although part of the sacrificial rituals became more public and political also, there is no interest on the side of the authorities to use these rituals for their own purposes. Quite the opposite – the authorities demonstrated in public their conflict with the spiritual leaders of the native people or just ignored the political aspects of these rituals. The West-Siberian native political leaders, of course, tried to participate in these sacrificial ceremonies.

Yuri Lotman states that in cultures without mass literacy the available mnemonic-sacred symbols are involved in the text of the ritual. At the same time these symbols maintain some freedom regarding the ritual as a phenomenon. Symbols pertaining to the ritual are wrapped in the sphere of oral tradition and legend, whereas their connections with various contexts would be "imbalanced" (Lotman 1992: 106).

There is an infinite variation of semantic relations between single actions of sacrificial ritual and the phenomenon as a whole. So are the connections between the ritual, worldview, politics and daily life: they cannot be fixed overall.

There are considerable differences between the quiet image of the Nenets and the Ob-Ugrians that was developed in the nineteenth century evolutionary discourse and the active and manipulative behaviour of the current Nenets leaders, as it appears in the case study of the Num-To sacrificial ceremony of 1996. (The leaders of the Russkinskie sacrificial ritual were not very skilled at the larger level of social behaviour.) But at the same time, there are some similarities, also. Although the actual contemporary behaviour of the Nenets and the Khanty is different from that characterized in the nineteenth century descriptions, the basic mentality that is reflected in the literature or in the observed ritual is very much the same.

The participants of the described sacrificial ceremonies had different attitudes towards the actions. Some of them considered the sacrifice as entertainment, some as a political event and some as a traditional holy ceremony. In reality, the Nenets and the Khanty mixed these attitudes. For the native political leaders this sacrifice was not only a public declaration of native demands but also a sacred ritual in the traditional sense, etc. Some reindeer-herders told that the sacrificial ceremonies must be strictly traditional and to organize this as political meeting or entertainment is senseless. But they took part in it anyway, and enjoyed the party very much. And they also signed the declaration of reindeer-herders presented to the Khanty-Mansi sk Governor in 1996, in which they claim that the lands should be maintained and not given to the oil companies.

It's not possible to say something about the Nenets and the Khanty aggressiveness in general. To the representatives of the oil companies and local authorities, they look like aggressive monsters from the Middle Ages because they protest against the development of the oil industry and building the roads. On the other hand, for humanistic writers, ethnologists and anthropologists, they are still the peaceful children of nature transported directly from a Golden Age to the contemporary world because they organize nice sacrificial rituals and know the traditional details of those. In reality, the Ob-Ugrians and the Nenets mentality is more complicated and has many aspects. In this case, it's not so easy to explain the aggressiveness of northern peoples using just some stereotypical generalizations.

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NOTES

1. East and south are the directions of the Upper World in the Khanty mythology.
2. *Num-To* – "heavenly lake", "lake of god" (in the Nenets lng.). In the Khanty language the lake is called *Torum-Lor,* and it has the same meaning.
3. The name of the President's reindeer is *Pobeda* ("Victory" in Russian) but the Vella's family call her *Prezidentskiĭ* ("the President's one" in Russian). Now the reindeer belongs to Vladimir Putin.

4. Yuri Vella, a Forest Nenets, President of the West-Siberian Reindeer Herders' Society, had threatened the oil companies that he would organize an anti-oil industry picket at the sacrifice. This was because he wanted to make the companies pay him, i.e., arrange free transport by helicopter to the sacrificial site and back to their seasonal settlements. In return, the West-Siberian Reindeer Herders' Society promised to cancel the picket. He said that he did not really want to arrange it, in fact.
5. Before going there, women at Num-To were unsure whether they would be taken along or not. Had the sacrifice been carried out on a large sacred island, they should have stayed home. The main organizer, Yuri Vella, had actually planned to give offerings on that island, but he did not do it that time.

   The small island was not that sacred, and it was not taboo for women to visit it. Thus, women were taken along. The purpose of the ritual was general, and this also allowed their going there. Also, this time a wider response was expected for the event. The previous sacrifice on that island was carried out without women, as reported by Sergei Grishkin from the broadcasting company "*Yugoriya*".
6. Generally, it is taboo in a sacred site to take along the things that are taken there. Probably this site is not "that" sacred, so that you can do it there. And, as may be, the event was so much more political.
7. The historical significance of the Num-To area is connected to the Kazym War events of the 1930s. At that time the Khanty and the Nenets organized an uprising against the Soviets. A significant number of natives were oppressed after that (Leete 1998; Balzer 1999: 99–119).

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Sites of Contestation
Religion, Space and Place

ANNA-LEENA SIIKALA

Sites of Belonging

Recreating Histories

The Memory of the Landscape

In 1994, as we were travelling along a tributary of the Ob river in the Shuryshkary region in Siberia my Khanty guide occasionally pointed out seemingly insignificant places in the forest on the river bank or on the cliffs, telling the histories of those places. Whenever our small boat passed a holy place we would throw a kopek into the river to ensure a safe journey. The landscape surrounding the river was transformed from an empty forest in its natural state to a cultural landscape filled with significance and meaning. We did not see space meaningful to hunters and fishermen, but important and memorable places witnessing to religious values and historical happenings.

Folklorists have long been aware that place names bear the memory of historically significant people and events. James F. Weiner (1991) and Keith Basso (1984, 1996) have noted the central role of narrating and naming in this transformation. The former writes: “the manner in which human action and purposive appropriation inscribes itself upon the earth is an iconography of human intentions. Its mirror image is speech itself, which in the act of naming, memorializes these intentions, makes of them a history-in-dialogue” (Weiner 1991: 50). This history-in-dialogue takes its form in local folklore. The transformation of a landscape into places bearing historical memory is done through naming, concrete marking, and with the help oral traditions (Fox 1997: 8–9; Siikala 1998).

The transformation of an environment into meaningful places is not only expressed in narration and place names; it might be done also by concretely marked objects. For ethnic groups living close to nature, historical monuments are more often natural objects than artefacts and they are selected and named to carry the memory of events and people. They have, however, much in common with the historical relics of the European landscape. David Lowenthal has said that “in order to be sure that the past has existed, we have to see some traces of it” (Lowenthal 1990: 243; see also Jukka Siikala 1991). Tangible artefacts and objects function as these kinds of traces, they legitimise history and witness the realness of historical events. The objects, names and narrated events construct a network of signs and connected interpretations. They allow one to read the landscape according to different purposes and motives. For this reading the understanding of the logic of this network is important: how the signs and connected ideas are related to each other, to the historical past or to the intentions important today.

The landscape laden with inherited meanings marked by names and objects, and recreated constantly by narration, functions as the map of historical memory in a detailed way for a culture extracting its livelihood from nature. For the Khanty, who live by fishing, hunting and reindeer breeding, the landscape of tundra and taiga forms a field for traditionally organised activities. Spatial memory, indeed, has been created during the intentional activities of many generations. These activities are anchored in a bodily orientation to the world. In speaking of the spatiality of one's own body, M. Merleau-Ponty points out that human operations in space require an "ability to mark out boundaries and directions in the given world, to establish lines of force, to keep perspectives in view, in a word, to organize the given world in accordance with the projects of the present moment, to build in the geographical setting a behavioural one, a system of meanings outwardly expressive of the subject's internal activity" (1995: 112). The creation of a behavioural environment into the geographic landscape externalises the inner actions of the subject. Today Khanty hunters have to recreate the landscape in accordance with the demands and restrictions of the modern world, yet it is done according to traditional models inherited from former generations and drawn as the concrete maps of fishing rights and legal dwelling places of each kin group. In 1994 this kind of historical map was placed on the wall of the historical and ethnographic museum of Muzhi, the areal center with 3000 inhabitants.

The ability to mark boundaries, directions and important points in the landscape, needs a constant reorientation to the world, and this is done with the help of inherited frames and schemes which offer both models for actions and arenas for those actions. Reorientation to the landscape could be characterised as a kind of mental mapping. Khanty hunters, for example, orientate themselves in the world not only with the help of officially produced maps showing legal fishing rights, dwelling places and villages, but also by the memorized schemes, concepts, images, feelings and phantasies attached to the landscape.

We could also say that memories are localised by mapping out the environment and the landscape. Maurice Halbwachs talks about the help of landmarks when dealing with this question. He writes, "We ask how recollections are to be located. And we answer: with the help of landmarks that we always carry within ourselves, for it suffices to look around ourselves, to think about others, and to locate ourselves within the social framework in order to retrieve them" (1992: 175). As stated earlier, the meanings of the landscape are formed in social action: the members of the society use the environment in different ways and for different purposes. The men's activities are usually located in different sectors and further away than those of the women and children. For example, among the Khanty groups earning their livelihood by fishing and reindeer breeding, the men's world extends much further than the world of women. In the same way masters of specialised skills mark the landscape in different ways than do the ordinary members of the community. Thus the differentiated social worlds and the interconnections and hierarchies of these worlds are rooted in the landscape. Indeed, the landscape of social memory is not one-dimensional. The social diversity of the memories created by events and the different uses of the landscape create multi-layered mental maps, which provide differentiated perspectives for the members of the community. These mental maps can change and they can be changed during history when they are interpreted and re-interpreted according to the intentions and perspectives of the moment.

It must be noted that the landscape surrounding a community is not a static space; rather, it is a dynamic place that constantly accrues new meanings reflecting the life of the community. When the visible artefacts and locations in the landscape are interpreted as traces of intentional activities in the past, a landscape is created in which time and space are intertwined into mental maps depicting the community and its embeddedness in the world. These mental maps are significant in the formation of both collective and individual consciousness.

Sacredness, Gender and Avoidance

Although there are places void of historical and cultural significance, the communities are surrounded by places filled with special meaning. The most important of these are the sacred places. The northern Khanty fishermen still value sacrificial sites along the river beds where one can approach the spirits of fishing. In 1971–72, Z. P. Sokolova found several offering places in the villages along the Synya river (Sokolova 1975). Many of the sacred places are still in use, as we noticed with Oleg Ulyashev in 2001 and 2002 when doing fieldwork in the area (Siikala and Ulyashev 2002, 2003).

In Khanty culture holy places are inviolate, forbidden because they form an entrance to another reality. Thus they become a meeting place with representatives of the Other World. Holy places are the residences of spirits, and therefore must not be violated by cutting down trees, clearing branches, or collecting berries (Karjalainen 1918: 91). According to the old sources, the most important sign of holy places is the idol of the spirit; there can be many in one place including the spirit's family or servants. In northern Khanty culture the number of spirit idols might have been several dozen: it was told that one wooded area had over eighty idols. Near the idols were found wooden or lead images of zoomorphic spirit-servants (ibid.: 91). Karjalainen, who examined Khanty cult ceremonies at the beginning of the twentieth century, pointed out that idols had already disappeared from many areas. However, according to the information obtained by Ulyashev and the writer of this article in 2000, spirit idols are still both made and worshipped in the area, even though this is a rare practice.

Of all the places full of sacred meanings, the holy groves used as stages for annual offering rituals are the most important. In the Synya area the sacred places are situated in the forest near the village. A tree or a group of trees and attached offerings, usually cloths with coins, marks the sacred place.

The places for women and men are strictly separated and it is forbidden for women to enter the male place. In Ovolyngort, the male place where the spirit is receding is dangerous to women and yet a woman also endangers the place. She may open the way for bad spirits, said the men when describing the prohibition.

Ceremonies in the sacred places of men include blood offerings, and remnants of sacrificed animals, fur, bones and skulls, are hung on trees nearby. While the men's place is usually in a dark forest area with fir trees, the offering places of women are symbolized by birch trees. Men enter the place only if they have an official role in the sacrificial ceremony. The women's rituals do not include blood offerings, but food prepared at home and drinks. In Ovolyngort, I saw a bottle of Baltica beer on the root of the women's sacrificial tree, telling that young women – who do not drink vodka in Ovolyngort – had made the offering.

In addition to sacred places where different spirits are worshipped, there are other places with sacral aura in the villages. To these belong s.c. *urə*, graveyards for the personal belongings of people killed in accidents and not buried in the village graveyard. In Ovolyngort the *urə* is situated in the forest some hundred metres from the last house of the village. The place is marked by small huts on poles containing the personal belongings of the dead and sacred trees with offering clothes. Not far away from the *urə* is an offering tree for a person who saw a shamanic dream and was cured by establishing an offering place. Instructions for the location were given by a shaman.

In addition to places guarded by spirits, forbidden places also include areas where heroic warriors met their death. Ritual meals are organised in these places as we saw in Vershina Vojkar in 2000. Many sacred places of the Vojkar river are situated on islands and capes. The beliefs about an entrance to the next world via water as well as dangerous entities of the spirit world who impede or kill travellers are common among many northern people. Water routes played a significant role in choosing burial places among Finno-Ugric peoples from prehistoric times.

Potential dangers from the Other World forbid entry into sacred areas to those whom society considers to be weak or unprepared; visits to these places are also prohibited. Besides being the holy residences of spirits, avoided places include areas where warriors of heroic times have died, abandoned villages, cemeteries and places where somebody has met a sudden death, for example by freezing or drowning. Modern cemeteries are often situated in places of old settlements, i.e., in places where ancestors have lived and where they are still considered to be living. This tradition continues the Ugric or Samoyedic custom of transporting the dwelling place of someone who died, or even transporting an entire settlement where many people perished.

For fear of offending the spirits, even old and unused places of sacrifice retain an aura of sacredness and remain untouched; it is possible to see trees wrapped in faded cloth for ceremonial purposes near the villages. Trees in cemeteries are draped with the clothes of the deceased. This expresses the Khanty conception regarding souls and the avoidance of the deceased; according to these beliefs a dead person's third, external soul, or "forest foul", moves outside the body and comes back to a person during sleep. If there is no connection between death and the perishing of this soul as it wanders then it will stay alive in the clothes of the deceased, according to V. N. Chernetsov. For this reason the clothes, in which the soul exists for a short time, are hung on trees either in or near cemeteries (Chernetsov 1963: 21–23).

Places, even holy places, are signs marking space for the needs of different kinds of social worlds. Cult places, cemeteries, deserted houses whose inhabitants have died, trees, and other places which should be avoided, transform the landscape into a network of specially meaningful places. The dynamic forces implied in this network effect the ways in which people use their everyday environment. In these territories the avoidance of the supranormal world and, on the other hand, the inevitable interaction of these two worlds, meet.

So, the sacrificial places are not only remembered, but – at least in Shuryshkary – in active use. They are the meeting points for the human and non-human world. The multiplicity of such mental maps reflects the manysidedness of human experience. The social world not only consists of human beings but also of the unseen sphere of the spirits. Yi-Fu Tuan offers an interesting analysis of the character of mythical space and its relation to place. According to him, there are in principal two kinds of mythical space: "In the one, mythical space is a fuzzy area of defective knowledge surrounding the empirically known; it frames pragmatic space. In the other it is the spatial component of a world view, a conception of localized values within which people carry on their practical activities" (1989: 86). The first refers to the human tendency to create phantasies of places to complete a lack of knowledge of the world. Tuan observes that the Puluwatans of Micronesia require legendary islands to fill out their space (1989: 87). The creation of these kinds of imaginative places representing the human world belongs, of course, to our everyday mental functions but it is related to the creation of mythic space in that both are attempts to describe the undescribable – from the point of view of the subject. In the visions and narratives of shamans these worlds flow into each other. In a televised interview with the Estonian filmmaker, Soosaar, a Khanty shaman explained why he had never been in distant places: he was simply unable to travel far because he flew rather close to the ground. Among the Khanty the mental maps of the seen world fuse with the maps of the unseen world. The maps of the unseen landscape are known by experts, shamans and people who preside over funeral ceremonies. Besides the vertical and horizontal organisation of the cosmos, the unseen world is depicted in a concrete and detailed way in which the paths and roads to the other world are especially important. In myth, the opposition between the here and there of normal logic does not count. The same can be said of shamanistic narratives describing the Other World. The dead are living in their unseen villages situated in the north and behind the water routes. At the same time it is possible to meet them in the graveyard village where their small houses can be seen and touched.

Howard Morphy has emphasised how ceremonial sites and their structures are places where distant landscapes are recreated (Morphy 1995: 200). He also points out the self-referentiality of the ritual places: “The ceremonial grounds are often self-referential: they represent the grounds that ancestral beings created in particular places, for action so that it corresponds to the spatial ordering of ancestral events – events that resulted in the creation of the place” (ibid.). As places enabling connections to the other world, the sacred places, holy groves, sacrificial stones, burial grounds and other sacred sites, open up views to mythical space. They have a special significance in providing access to the unseen part of the landscape. At the same time they are important for collective memory because they are traces of the sacred history and socially significant ritual activity.

Holy Groves and Social Order

The Udmurt villages retained their ethnic religion with its rituals and cult grounds between two World religions, Islam and Christianity, until the twenty-first century. The Udmurt traditions and ways of life have been formed by many kinds of cultural influences during the centuries. Despite all the pressures, the villages worshipping Inmar have kept features of ancient Fenno-Ugric traditions, which have been observed by Russian researchers and, before the revolution, by Finnish scholars Torsten Aminoff, Uno Harva (Holmberg) and Yrjö Wichmann. In recent years the Udmurt religion has been analysed by Udmurt scholars, above all by Vladimir Vladykin (1994) and by the Estonian, Aado Lintrop (1993).

Historically the holy groves of Udmurtia and Mari continue an old tradition. They can be dated back to the oldest pre-Christian traditions of cult grounds in Europe. Some information about this tradition can be found also in Finland. In 1229, Pope Gregorius IX gave the Church the right to confiscate the holy groves, or *hiisi,* of the Finns. In the Finnish interior, Savolax, the Church destroyed the sacred sites of the ethnic religion in the eighteenth century; in Karelia and in Ingria, however, sites of ancient communal cults survived in Christian disguise into the last century. The groves of the Baltic Finns correspond to the sacred sites of some other European peoples. In the Greek *temenos athanaton*, the grove of the immortals, trees dedicated to nymphs grew. Some Germanic people organised communal meals in forests and the Lithuanians would make sacrifices in family groups in holy groves after midsummer and the fall sowing time. In pre-Christian Europe the holy groves were the sites of seasonal sacrificial rituals. They were temples in the natural world described accurately by the historian Plinius: “We do not worship with greater reverence the idols made of gold and ivory than the groves and their uplifting silence” (Haavio 1961: 3).

In the 1980s I believed that the Udmurt religion was already a thing of the past. Only some groups had been able to preserve their own traditional religion into the twentieth century despite the pressure of world religions. Since the atheist revolution wiped out even the stronger religions, it was highly unlikely that the ritual life in small villages could have survived the pressures of modernisation. The Director of the Estonian National Museum, Aleksei Petterson, told me in 1990 that the rituals of the holy groves were still alive. During the summer of 1991, with his help, I was able to take part in an ethnographic field trip, organized by the Udmurt Ethnographic Museum and led by Serafima Lebedeva, to southern Udmurtia and Udmurt villages in Tatar, along with Tiina Tael and photographer Arp Karm from the Estonian National Museum. In Kuzebaevo village we were able to take part in the sacrificial ritual which I recorded on video with the help of Arp Karm. The first field trip was followed by annual contacts with Udmurts. Pekka Hakamies from Joensuu University also took part in the co-operation. One of the aims of the field trips was to document the sacrificial places.

The so-called "nature religion"of the Udmurts is practiced by kin-based cult groups and leans on oral tradition. During seasonal rituals the god of the heavens, the ancestors, the guardian spirits of the fields, earth and forest are approached in the ritual places dedicated to each of these. The sacrifices and prayers for the well-being of the family are conducted in homes. Belief tradition and sacred prayers have been transferred from one ritual expert to another as esoteric knowledge. When interviewed in 1998, an Udmurt *vesas*, a guardian of *kuala*, a kind of a priest, said that he does not want to, and besides, cannot, tell about rituals in Russian. The information was given in the Udmurt language, without the possibility to use modern recording equipment.

It is very apt to use the term "nature religion". The holy groves are located on the hills and in forests surrounding the villages. Describing the Udmurt religion, Uno Harva paid special attention to the majestic holy groves used by large kin groups: "The greatest among many Votyak sacrificial feasts are those which are organised jointly by several villages. The sacrificial site, which has remained the same from generation to generation, a fenced holy grove, is usually located on a beautiful, noticeable place, if possible, near some spring or stream" (Holmberg 1914: 124). These holy groves used by large kin groups and described by Uno Harva can be found in several villages on the borders of Udmurtia and Tataria. They gathered people from several villages to take part in calendar celebrations.

The most important groves are, however, not the only ritual grounds of the Udmurt villages. The public life of Udmurt villages and the rows of grey log houses are surrounded by a circle of sacred sites. In 1991, in Varklet Bodya, an Udmurt village in Tatarin Republic, we documented ritual grounds on the borders of the village area, in the forests and fields, and the main *kuala*, a windowless sacrificial house with an open fire in the middle of it in which a great number of people gather, that is located in the middle of the village in a small grove. People performed sacrifices for the guardian of the fields under a tree growing in the field surrounding the village. The guardian of the earth is worshipped on his own ritual ground and the initiation ritual for the girls is celebrated, and the appropriate feast porridge is eaten, in a grove on the edge of the village. The most impressive sacrificial site is the skull forest near the tree of the ancestors. On the branches of the spruces in a dark forest dangle the bones and skulls of the sacrificial animals, sacrificed during the "wedding of the dead" ritual. These trees with bones are located in Karamas Pelga village also, outside the inhabited area in a grove, though in the village centre I saw one similar, old sacred tree. The Udmurt village landscape seems to consist of places dedicated to the re-creation of everyday life and a surrounding chain of holy places dedicated to the actions which ensure that this re-creation is going to be successful.

Because the cult groups are based on kin relationships, the social organisation is represented in the organisation of holy places. This can be seen markedly in Kuzebaevo village, which today is perhaps the most well-known Udmurt village practicing the ethnic religion. The village is divided into two endogamous groups (Vladykin 1991: 29), of which one worships the old Udmurt deity of the heaven, Inmar, in the *kuala* and the connected grove. The name is a cognate of the Komi Jen and Finnish-Karelian Ilmarinen, and the ritual follows the common models of Finno-Ugrian sacrificial ceremonies. The other group worships in *lud*-groves a being called Keremet according to the Russian habit, and the cult as well as the name bear marks of Tatar-influence (Lintrop 1993: 48–57). Both groups organise their principal rituals around Petro's Day in July in order to secure the harvest; there are spring and autumn rituals as well. Besides *kuala* and *lud,* there is also a third ritual place of a larger group, *bulda*. In *bulda* the sacrificial rituals are organised every three years.

The Inmar sacrificial place, *kuala*, of Kuzebaevo is one of the last sacrificial buildings for a cult group of any ethnic religion in Europe. The sacred *kuala* and its grove are situated in a forest one or two kilometres from the village and it is not connected to the village by any road. People arrive at the grove, which is cleaned on the morning of rituals, through forest and fields. The Kuzebaevo *kuala* in its old form has been described by P. Härmäs in 1980 (Lintrop 1993: 43–45). The building represents an ancient model of a North-European house, with an open fireplace and no windows. The most important place is the right corner of the back wall, the holy corner in all the Finno-Ugrian areas, where the holy shelf containing sacred objects and offering cups is situated. Popes control the inside of the *kuala,* which is divided into the left side of men and the right side of women. The open grove area in the front of the *kuala* is filled during the ceremony with fires and porridge kettles, one for each family. The rows of these porridge kettles has became an identity symbol for the Udmurts of today. Besides common *kuala* of a kin group, there are still *kuala* buildings attached to the homeyard. These buildings have been used as prayer places for family celebrations and as summer kitchens. They are so holy that they cannot be destroyed. For this reason it is possible to see the decaying *kuala* buildings between new houses.

Besides great offering groves (*budzim kuriskon-inti*) joining several kin groups, which can be found only in the old mother-villages, there were holy groves for kin groups in all the Udmurt villages. These *lud* groves, called *keremet* by early Russian writers, are areas with a fireplace and offering construction; they are often situated in the forest near the village. Before, all the *lud*s were fenced, nowadays only some. The fenced *lud* of Kuzebaevo village can be found in the middle of the fields on a high hill covered by a few old spruces. Next to the hill there is a spring where the water for ceremonies is taken. The Kuzebaevo *lud* is newly renovated; people still remember the sacred oak that once grew there. Only the *lud-ul'is*, the guardian of the *lud*, and his helpers can enter the fenced area, in which there are three fireplaces, an offering construction and a huge stump of oak tree cut down by thunder. The holy fenced area, the holy tree, and the holy well are signs common to all the North European sacrificial groves; the fireplaces and offering constructions complete the place.

The Udmurt word *lud* means a field or forest outside of the village, but also a specific sacrificial site (Holmberg 1914: 85). The guardian spirit of this *lud*, its master, is called Keremet. The sources describing Udmurt religion describe Keremet – probably as result of Christian influences – as an "evil spirit". According to my observations, the guardian spirit of the *lud* is, compared to Inmar and other spirits, more frightening and must be approached with great care.

In the Kuzebaevo *lud* old night-time rituals have survived, which, according to Uno Harva's description, were rare already in the beginning of the last century. On the night following Petro's Day a blood sacrifice is made to Keremet, the guardian of the *lud*, who nowadays is regarded as the provider of general well-being. The Keremet cult with its Tatarian influences is a male sacrificial ritual. Thus women have to keep a safe distance, about 60–100 meters, from the fenced area. The assistants of the *lud* guardian make a fire for women and outsiders on the border of the grove and fields. The holy groves are highly gendered, where the power relationships between genders, age groups and families are continually established. Daphne Spain has paid attention to the institutionalised spatial barriers in different ethnic sacred places. She writes: "Spatial barriers become established and then institutionalized for reasons that have little to do (manifestly) with power, but which tend to maintain prevailing advantages. This is because space is a 'morphic language', one of the means by which society is interpreted by its members. The reciprocity between space and status arises from the constant negotiation and re-creation of the existing stratification system" (Spain 1992: 17; Spain refers to Hiller and Hanson 1984: 198).

As a matter of fact, only a few elderly women took part in the nightly ritual that I observed. When the guardians of the *lud* were cutting trees for fires one of the women said to me, "Let's go to the fence and look at the *lud*". The woman broke the rule and did it on purpose. The sacrifice in the *lud* is clearly a male ritual – not only because of the use of space, but also because of the mode of performance. The behaviour of the *lud*-guardian and his assistant and the members of the cult group is organised both in military-like body movements and the hierarchical formation of the praying group: elders are seated most near the fenced area, middle aged men behind them, and youngsters in the back row. Children gather in smaller groups, separated from the praying men. The Keremet cult differs greatly from the cult of Inmar where the segregation of women concerns only the holy *kuala* building. In the grove, women move about freely and have, besides an important role in the ritual when producing the sacrificed animals, bread and *kumyshka* drink.

The grove is so holy that even loud talk is forbidden. "Quiet, quiet" – with these whispers the adults admonished the few children moving around the forested area; the children were not allowed even to come near the *lud* itself. The *lud* has a specially terrifying quality; the intruder who breaches its sacredness must pay with his health or even his life. Even a member of the cult group will be punished severely. The awe of the *lud* derives from the fact that the spirit is believed to reside there and can only be approached in its abode. Keremet always requires a blood sacrifice and at the end of the last century some Udmurts were accused of human sacrifice. This kind of narrative can even be heard today. A Mari woman warned me jokingly about the rituals and told stories of people who had recently disappeared and were assumed to be sacrificed by Udmurts. These narratives belong to a vast oral tradition concerning the *lud* containing different themes, e.g., the building of the *lud* or transferring it to a different place.

Visible and Hidden: The Battle of Ideologies and Religions

The holy groves of the Udmurts were earlier hidden in forests and often on a hill. Uno Harva noticed that because of cultivation of the forest many groves were visible in the landscape (Holmberg 1914: 96). Because of its location on a high hill, the Kuzebaevo *lud* dominates the village landscape. At the same time it fuses with the surrounding nature in a way that hides it from the people who do not know about the *lud*. Archaeological findings show that the cult place has been in use for centuries, and that the hill was an important place already during the Bronze Age. In its visibility the Kuzebaevo *lud* is not only a village grove with specific meaning but a monument representing the present day values of Udmurt culture (see Tuan 1989: 164). The same can be said of the *kuala* building which has been pictured both for ethnographic and artistic purposes. The groves are at the same time visible and hidden and they represent central ethnic values cherished by the people but kept secret from outsiders for several hundred years. Udmurts tried to avoid Christianising and the pressure of the Orthodox Church by moving eastwards to new areas and hiding their holy groves. The religious dispute continues to this day. When I asked, in Kuzebaevo, why the annual sacrificial rituals are so important, one villager, a young female teacher, told me: “Once we disregarded the prayers in *Kuala* and went to the Orthodox Church. The harvest was poor that year. So we have to pray in our own way.” The sacrificial rituals are part of “our own way”, tradition, preserving that which is regarded as important for maintaining the moral order of life. After the Soviet Union’s collapse the missionaries have been active in Russia. The head of the Udmurt cultural society, Kenesh, phoned me and told me that Finnish missionaries have found the “pagan” villages and said that the economic problems are due to “bad gods” propagating the Christian faith.

During the Soviet era the sacrificial sites survived in the vicinity of the villages, in forests or fields beyond the roads, and the rituals were disguised as ordinary village celebrations. The Kuzebaevo *kuala* was in danger as late as 1986 when a local administration chief ordered it to be destroyed. The cult group did not destroy the building, but repaired it, and after that it has been used regularly. The destruction of holy places was part of the strategy of Soviet authorities. While the churches were demolished after the revolution, the holy places of ethnic groups have been in danger until recent times. One typical feature is the destruction of graveyards, something I have witnessed in several republics. The responsible authorities are usually the directors of Kolkhoz or Sovhoz and the reasons for destruction are economically and culturally legitimised. In a village in northern Udmurtia the graveyard was destroyed and a big and beautiful house for cultural activities was built on the site. The more usual reason is the need of land for cultivation. In Bogorodsk, a Komi village, the graveyard was moved to the other end of the village and in the place of the old there is a new field. Only one cross was left, and villagers tell the story when seeing the cross. These kinds of renovations are usual, of course, also in Western countries. They arouse, however, always a lot of feelings and discussion. Burial grounds tell openly about the common past of the group, and establish a bond between those who belong together.

The burial ground of the Khanty in Vershina Vojkar village is a concrete example of collective memory connected to a burial ground and the on-going construction of ethnic groups practised on these grounds. The Khanty were buried together with Nenets in the same burial ground, but earlier they were always separated from Russians and the Komi, who had their own graveyards. The recently built houses of the dead along the path in the middle of the ground and the fresh sacrificial gifts for the beloved ones are surrounded by decaying and decayed graves. They reveal that the same group has used this burial ground for decades, in fact centuries.

Beside their religious significance the sacred places, graveyards and holy groves are essential parts of the village landscape and sign vehicles of its collective memory. The holy groves are known by all the members of the community but kept secret from the outsiders, if needed. They are part of the landscape and invisible for the outsiders. Known only by the insiders, the groves create a border between those who move in the landscape and establish the divide between us and them, and are thus major markers of communal identity. Rituals are not only a manifestation of social bonds. As Catherine Bell puts it, “ritual systems do not function to regulate or control the systems of social relations, they are the system, and an expedient rather than perfectly ordered one at that. In other words, the more or less practical organization of ritual activities neither acts upon nor reflects the social system; rather, these loosely co-ordinated activities are constantly differentiating and integrating, establishing and subverting the field of social relations” (1992: 130). Used by different kin groups, the holy groves create social distinctions inside the village (cf. Basso 1996: 179). As sites of gatherings for the kin groups and both genders they constantly recreate the social order of the community. This re-creation is an interesting feature of the present day use of groves when people who already have left the villages come back in order to take part in ceremonies. They redefine the locus of every member of the group and provide them with history, functioning thus as traces of past events. Representing tradition of importance for the previous generations, they create a sense of continuity in which the moral order and the notions of “living right” are anchored.

The holy groves are not in use everywhere anymore; respect and fear of consequences has, however, prevented the places from being destroyed. Discarded groves are overgrown in peace and transform into a landscape occupied by extraordinary beings. Despite the overgrowth, the places act as sign-vehicles of the collective memory. They represent the past of the group, tradition, which in the present day does not necessarily have the same meaning as before, but which, despite this, provides materials for experiencing the continuity of the group’s culture.

Reconstructing Sacred Histories

Shared historical experience is an important basis of identity, along with language and other cultural forms. Thus the domestic landscape telling about shared historical experience functions as an important basis for the experience of identity. Belief tradition, on the other hand, is important in expressing one’s own ethnic identity and the difference from others. Significant traditions epitomising the group cannot be just any traditions. The authority constituting a social collective has to exceed an individual or the existing group. Myths and the rituals of ethnic religion provide a ground for ethnic identity exactly because they have this community constituting power and the authority to legitimise its order, as Emile Durkheim stressed.

The importance of sacred sites is based on their ability to connect a group, not only to the supranormal world, but before all to a world gone by – to the ancestors and their live’s – and this opens up a view to the collective past. Rituals not only join social groups, but recreate and establish them in practised ceremonies. It is no wonder that the interest in the sacred sites and reconstructing them is an essential part of the ethnic revival in Russia and elsewhere.

The sense of continuity and with it group history motivates taking care of and rebuilding the holy groves in several villages in southern Udmurtia. It is interesting to note that people with an academic education, who have already left the village and thus distanced themselves from village life, are also taking part in reconstructing the groves. Udmurts have also revitalised and created many new ritual forms that are better adopted to a modern lifestyle. One of the most important of these new rituals is the Gerber feast which annually attracts people together from different villages in the whole Udmurt area.

The proper ways of organising the Gerber feast are subject to disputes. Some Udmurts are of the opinion that the heathen rituals of ethnic religion are unsuitable for expressing Udmurt identity. Revitalising tradition and highlighting the importance of the holy groves is thus not an undisputed process without contestation. One has to remember that ethnic processes are not without their internal contradictions but entail different interpretations and conflicting practices. The meaning and significance of the holy groves is always determined by these conflicting interests, intentions and ideologies in the community. We have to be able to differentiate between the social memory of the Khanty hunter's oral tradition and reconstructing history through reviving the ritual life in Udmurt holy groves (cf. Connerton 1989: 13–14). Emphasising sacred sites, reconstructing and maintaining them, is revitalising the past in a way which corresponds to the demands of the present political situation. It is a way to reconstruct a history which is a significant part of the identity of the ethnic minorities.

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PIA KARLSSON MINGANTI

Mosques in Sweden

On Identity and Spatial Belonging

"Culture still takes place"[1], claims the Swedish ethnologist Orvar Löfgren, in opposition to commonly voiced arguments that the post-modern identity is characterised by homelessness and placelessness. In a critical examination using a historical perspective, he shows how the other side of the coin of perceived fragmentation and disintegration is a process of institutionalisation and reanchorage (Löfgren 1997). However, at the same time as immigrants make symbolic and emotional bonding to a new physical space, this space is already loaded with meanings, such as perceptions of national belonging. In her research, Barbro Klein (1997, 2000a, 2000b) has shown how the conception of cultural heritage as specific to nations or cultures is deeply rooted. This notion often seems connected to the idea that cultural heritage ought not to transgress national borders, thus risking its perceived authenticity. Klein further points at how seemingly trivial objects may be turned into strong symbols of identity and become part of a politics of culture and diversity.

What implications do these observations have for Muslim immigrants in contemporary Sweden? In the middle of the 1990s I was invited to carry out a study of mosque-building projects in Sweden.[2] The aim was to investigate how local politicians and authorities dealt with the specific cases as well as to analyse reactions from the general public in communities where Muslims had submitted applications to build mosques. In this article I intend to present some reflections on mosques as symbols of identity and spatial belonging, not only for Muslims themselves but also for non-Muslims in their surrounding society.[3] By way of introduction I will give a brief background to mosques and Muslim consolidation in Sweden. Then I will structure my article according to two themes: (1) objections against mosques from some parts of the non-Muslim majority of Sweden, and (2) strategies developed by Muslims interested in managing this opposition.

Mosques and Muslim Consolidation in Sweden

Islam is a living faith in contemporary Sweden. The Muslim presence is primarily the result of post-war labour and refugee immigration. The major part of the labour migrants recruited during the 1960s and 1970s were men who managed to practise their religion in relatively unpretentious conditions. They usually nourished a plan to return to their home countries and put their religiosity on ice, or else confined themselves to praying in simple spaces at work or in the apartment of a colleague. Refugees arriving in Sweden in recent decades, likewise, often dream of going back, but for the majority it is evident that they have come to stay and that their children will grow up in a new homeland. The significance of religion is thus renewed, and an important step in Muslim consolidation is to establish mosques. They are required as institutions, public arenas, and religious spaces, and wherever Muslims have the organisational and financial opportunities, plans to build mosques have been presented. Most mosques, however, are still located in premises such as basements and rented apartments.

The heterogeneous Muslim community in Sweden embraces followers from all over the world and from different social strata.[4] In their comprehensive study of the situation of Muslims in Europe, W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld (1995: 23–24) claim that there is a correlation between the number of active Muslims in a town and the extent to which they share mosques on ethnic or confessional lines. In countries with a large Muslim population a mosque is in most cases mono-ethnic or mono-denominational. Only in small towns with few Muslim inhabitants are mosques founded in co-operation between different groups. In Sweden the relatively few Swedish Muslims are liable to co-operate even in larger cities (Alwall 1998: 236). Often a mosque is dominated by a certain group constellation but attracts members across conceived borders and keeps its doors open to everyone. Still, some Muslims choose to distance themselves from the existing congregations and practice their religion more or less anonymously.

To date, five purpose-built mosques have been erected in Sweden. The first one was consecrated in 1975 in Gothenburg by the Ahmaddiya group, which is not recognised by the Muslim majority. In the early 1980s a mosque was built in Malmö by an ethnically mixed congregation. During the same period a mosque was established in Trollhättan by a small and united group of Ugandan Asian Shiah Muslims. For the majority of the ethnically mixed Sunni congregations under the umbrella organisation *Sveriges Muslimska Råd, SMR* (The Swedish Muslim Council), it took a long time to obtain permits for their projects. In 1996 they consecrated a mosque in Uppsala, and finally, in June 2000, one in the centre of Stockholm. Apart from internal organisational and financial hindrances the Muslims have been confronted by perplexed local politicians and vociferous opposition from parts of the general public.

Opposition to Mosques

The possibility for Muslims to create a functional infrastructure and strengthen their Muslim identity through, for instance, a distinct mosque is not only dependent on internal matters such as organisational and financial opportunities. It is also a question of winning approval from the general public[5] and the authorities. Among the pre-existing structures that Muslims immigrating to Sweden meet are old town plans, perceptions of cultural heritage, and ideas about how new buildings are to be shaped in accordance with such plans and perceptions. The discussions of mosque plans have often taken the shape of a contestation of public space. A notion of domiciliary rights in a local environment challenged by the Muslim presence is reflected in letters to the press and local politicians and authorities:

> We who are born here and have lived here all our lives do unconditionally want to try and preserve what is genuine and original about our Söder. This is our home district that we love and want to protect.
>
> Muslims from all over Stockholm and its surroundings will gather here to celebrate their feasts and we are going to be overwhelmed by cars.
>
> The Fittja creek is an oasis with its water and green open spaces with all different kinds of seabirds where boats and different spare-time activities prosper and where the neighbours are able to relax. […] The general public feel pushed aside and we in the boat club fear for our future existence.[6]

We live our everyday lives in a physical space, which we perceive with all our senses. But we are also attached to these spaces as cultural beings, in a process where trivial experiences, things and phenomena are elaborated into explicit symbols of our very existence. This is elucidated when life as "business as usual" is interrupted by a perceived threat. Then it may be relevant to emphasise that a hill is not "just" a hill. As a young schoolgirl put it:

> To us Ramberget (the Ramhill) is not a common hill. There we would play and walk to school. And our parents and grandparents did, too.

Time is a crucial component in the construction of identity, as linked to a prescriptive right to a certain territory. The mosque plans often triggered an elaboration on local history and folklore, sometimes to an extent that would normally not be associated with the place in question. A local politician emphasised that the site chosen for a mosque in central Stockholm:

> […] has a history which goes back to the 12th century. Torkel Knutsson was decapitated one day in February 1306 at the place of execution which then existed here.

In Gothenburg a mosque was planned next to the Ramberget hill mentioned above. It has a steep cliff, known as the "Precipice". This was stressed by the president of a local association:

> In today's world we should not challenge the hidden forces of the soul of the Swedish people. […] Here history goes straight back to the 8000 year-old settlements, founded next to the buildings of Biskopsgården. Here the red colours of the rock-paintings of many thousand years still shine in Tumledalen. We are not even allowed to set our feet upon Mecca

> and Medina, the holy cities of the Muslims. We don't have that severe restrictions. But certain things we want to keep to ourselves. Among them the Precipice of Ramberget.

In another letter the Precipice was designated as a "national monument", which pointed not only to a local identification, but also to a national one. The national territory makes the foundation for an imagined shared Swedish culture and history. On advice from the county curator of antiquities, the local housing committee in Stockholm rejected a proposal to convert an old observatory into a mosque since it would appear "foreign to the species". So, what makes a mosque building appear "foreign to the species"? Already when the first mosque was planned in the 1970s the architect gave directives to be found in all plans to come: the mosque ought not to be garish but should follow Swedish building traditions regarding material and design. These "traditions" are often associated with a reserved aesthetics of the middle and upper classes that tends to dominate the architecture, and "public culture" in general, in the major cities of Europe (Klein 1997: 24).

The minaret, the tower from which the prayer-calls are supposed to be given, seems to have an especially strong symbolic power. As a typical example I will present here some considerations about the plan for a mosque in Lund in 1998 (Detaljplan 1995). One of the neighbours consulted as part of the process claimed that "it is not reasonable to have an observation tower from which one can have full view of our gardens". Another one asked rhetorically whether "considering Sweden's defence interests now and in the future, is it on the whole lawful to place a huge mosque structure with a 26-metre-high minaret in one of the highest and most conspicuous places in Lund and the south-west of Skåne?". The county curator of antiquities objected that, "It could be considered doubtful that a traveller on the E22 passing the medieval cathedral city of Lund should pass a mosque but only with difficulty distinguish the cathedral towers." The county administrative board stated that: "The plan area has a visually exposed position. The height of the minaret will strongly affect the landscape and be visible from a long distance. From a cultural point of view it is suggested that the height of the minaret should be limited to half the one stated." Obviously the minaret constitutes an important visual symbol. All but one of the purpose-built mosques erected in Sweden are equipped with a minaret. However, they have become literally symbolic for the Muslims too, since external prayer-calls are strictly forbidden by the Swedish authorities. Apparently, in this case the symbolic force of the sound exceeds that of vision.[7]

One possible way to erect a "strange" building is to exclude it from the public sphere. There has been a common proposal from both local politicians and future neighbours to locate a planned mosque on industrial estates or in remote forest areas. In many towns the case of building mosques was delayed. The issue was passed to and from the local building committees and concerned authorities, above all by questioning the projected location. In Stockholm, Muslims were informed that the location suggested by the city planners, a site at Jarlaplan in the more fashionable and central quarters of the capital, was no longer considered suitable because “no Muslims live there”. While in the suburb of Tensta the Muslims were denied permission to build a mosque since it would “intensify the impression of a suburb dominated by immigrants”.

The Islamic place of worship, in all its visibility, is caught in a contest for space. When perceiving an internal threat from “strange foreigners”, to paraphrase Kristeva (1989: 274–277), the national identity may undertake a revival as well as some ethnicisation. Like Pertti J. Anttonen (2000b: 253), I would argue that “attitudes and fears concerning immigrants and refugees, and foreigners in general, have to do with the way in which ‘the national’ is discursively constructed in a particular nation-state context.” The Swedish national project follows the common pattern of the notion of one people, one land, one history, one culture – and one religion. The Christian heritage is valued, but so is the secular or even atheistic heritage – both now thought of as threatened by believers in Islam. It is not only a Swedish national identity that is revived. In a dual ethnicisation process “the other” is pushed into the homogeneous category of “the Muslim” (Bloul 1996: 247). In the mosque-building processes the anxiety about Islam as a religion and Muslims as human beings is evident, but stereotyped:

> Muslims treat their women almost as bad as their animals.
>
> The Koran is dangerous because it encourages acts of violence.
>
> The site is located just opposite a primary school. We all know that some buildings are easier targets for terrorist attacks than others. […] There is a great risk for children to be hurt in possible future bomb attacks against the mosque.
>
> These people, who live entirely on us and do not want to work, but most of the time are on the sick-list – turn them out of Sweden. They are nothing but a burden to us.[8]
>
> The category “Muslim” carries on a long tradition of negative stereotyping, well examined by Edward Said (1978). The Swedish ethnologist Magnus Berg (1998) has further illustrated how this “Orientalist” discourse still works in contemporary popular culture. In light of some high-ranking international academics’ and politicians’ judgement of Islam as the greatest threat to the Western world after the fall of the Soviet Union, the Muslim might today be said to constitute the ultimate stranger (Cf. Huntington 1993).

The Mosque from a Muslim Perspective

Given these consequences of a politics of difference, how have Muslims engaged in building mosques in Sweden resisted the opposition to their plans? Below I will outline some tendencies.

A Symbol of Integration

In contrast to the common argument among the opponents that the mosque would encourage segregation, the Muslims have eagerly held up the mosque as a symbol of integration. First, a visible mosque would be a sign of acceptance by the Swedish citizens and society of the Muslim presence. Secondly, it would constitute an arena for Muslim integration in pluralistic terms; that is, integration into the society without giving up one's religion and cultural identity. The former president of SMR, Mahmood Aldebe, once presented the mosque not only as a place of worship but also as a social welfare office, an education centre, a cultural forum and an information department. As a token of this direction towards what the former Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson once labelled as the Swedish "People's Home", he suggested that the mosque should be regarded as a community centre, a *Folkets Hus* (People's House) (Aldebe 1988: 37). This idea involves an open attitude towards Swedish visitors. For instance, during the first year of the Uppsala mosque the congregation gave tours to an average of four groups a day coming from different workplaces, schools, parties, associations, etc. On their homepage the Islamic Centre in Malmö claim an average of 85,000 non-Muslim visitors a year.[9] The mosque as a meeting place was also strongly emphasised during the consecration of the mosque in central Stockholm and in the pamphlet published for this event (Islam i korthet 2000).

The notion of *Folkets Hus* also involves a tradition of numerous functions of the mosque in Muslim societies in general. This is reflected in an Arabic word for mosque, *jamaa*, which means "gathering". The term is commonly used for the largest mosque in a community, where the united Friday prayer and sermon are performed. This underscores the function of the mosque as a social institution, where people (especially men) meet and ideologies, norms and values are formed and maintained. For Swedish Muslims, lacking institutions permeated with Islam in a non-Muslim country, the importance of the social functions of the mosque is even greater.

The word mosque derives from the Arabic word *masjid,* meaning "place for prostration". According to the tradition, the Prophet Mohammed has claimed the Earth to be *masjid*, that is, any place would be ritually clean for saying prayers. However, the people praying must turn their faces to Mecca. Thus, all praying Muslims around the globe are connected like spokes around Mecca as a hub and further, through a vertical axis, connected with God. The image of Muslims connected across space and national borders is a powerful symbol of the Muslim *umma*, the global Muslim community. This vision of identity and spatial belonging may have an even greater importance for Muslims in non-Muslim countries. However, as Bryan S. Turner states, the idealistic construction of the *umma* has never been completely institutionalised (1994: 84–85). This is above all a matter of authority and of the heterogeneity of Muslims, something which again points to the importance of the social and political dimensions when studying Islam in practice, such as with mosque-building projects.

A Visual Manifestation of Islamic Presence

Mahmood Aldebe, mentioned above as a former president of SMR, claimed in his description of mosques that, "A mosque building is an absolute necessity to enable a Muslim group to function. As long as no such building exists, the Muslims feel rootless and very unsatisfied" (Aldebe 1988: 37). This "rootlessness" brings us back to the idea of the mosque not only as an institution, but also as a key symbol of Muslim life. It allows Muslims to find anchorage in the new context, that is, by social integration and manifested presence in the physical space. Here the mosque, alongside the female Muslim dress code, is perhaps the most powerful visual symbol. It is the same power that tends to threaten a perceived Swedish identity and cultural heritage. Aware of how the mosque is provocative as something strange, Muslims have developed at least two strategies in the encounter between their mosque-building plans and the surrounding society. A young Muslim expressed these strategies in a rather precise way in an e-mail group:[10]

> 1) a confrontational and maximising strategy – in time people get used to it, better to shock from the beginning than to crawl on your knees, most of the Muslims here are immigrants who would feel at home with Turkish/Arabic mosques.
>
> 2) an obliging and cautious strategy – it is better not to show that Islam is a religion from outer space, but indeed could become a natural part of the religious landscape of Sweden. The situation is so tense in this country that it is of the utmost importance to be careful. Maybe a question of survival in the long run, and why get impulses from abroad when you can dig where you stand?[11]

The latter position is often advocated by young Muslims, who look upon Islam as a Swedish religion and who search for inspiration in the Swedish cultural heritage for colours, material and form. Also the Moorish heritage is suggested to be an old part of Swedish architecture that ought to be brought out. The young man himself, probably both jokingly and seriously at the same time, suggested "Falun red mosques with white corners"[12] in line with "a calm and balanced Islam, anchored in, and in respect of, the Swedish cultural heritage".[13] The cautious position may also, roughly generalised, be represented by the Turkish-dominated national organisation, *Islamiska Kulturcenter Unionen i Sverige*, IKUS (The Islamic Culturecentre Union in Sweden). Like other Muslim congregations, they mainly inhabit premises such as basements and rented apartments. In the few cases where mosque buildings have been discussed, they have shown no interest in giving the building an "Islamic" exterior, for instance by erecting a minaret. They have rather focused on functional topics, something that is common for local mosques in the Muslim world. In the city of Västerås they have taken over a building previously used as a cinema and Pentecostal Church. In Alby, a suburb south of Stockholm, there were well-advanced plans to build an *Allaktivitetshus*, a community centre. The building was supposed to accommodate a prayer hall, but also to facilitate other kinds of activities, such as billiards for young people in the presence of adult role models. The external religious attributes were to be deliberately toned down so as not to alienate these young people.

The first strategy is represented in all five "proper" mosques now existing, and in the prospects presented by the umbrella organisation, the Swedish Muslim Council. So what does an "Islamic" exterior mean? This question points to the problem of heritage as a selective process, highlighted by the Nordic project and network, "Folklore, Heritage Politics and Ethnic Diversity" (Anttonen 2000a). The design of a mosque is not prescribed in the Koran, but the first one built during the life of the Prophet Mohammed serves as a model. According to the tradition this mosque was very simple and had neither dome nor minaret. Apart from one basic common element, the orientation to Mecca, during the centuries mosques around the world have taken the shape of local architectural traditions.[14] What is happening today, as a result of migration and increased communication technology, is that Islam is revealed to be a pluralistic phenomenon, despite a common religious terminology and local beliefs in a one-and-only "authentic" religion. Muslims are forced to self-reflexivity and Islam is being objectified (Eickelman and Piscatori 1996). As a result there is a lively discussion among Muslims, both locally and in what have been described by Arjun Appadurai (1996) as diasporic public spheres, about how a mosque is supposed to be shaped. An example from Sweden is the following question put by a Muslim convert and architect to the members in the e-mail group mentioned above:

> What do you think a mosque should look like? What are the important components a mosque cannot be without? What do we take for granted as culture and tradition from different parts of the world, and what is the essence of the mosque? Is the mosque an advertising sign or should we find a kind of original function and meaning of the soul of the house of prayers?[15]

A general outcome of this process is that mosques in today's world tend to share two attributes, the dome and the minaret, after a design associated with the Middle East (Holod and Khan 1997: 12).

Concluding Remarks

Today building permits have been issued in several towns in Sweden and Islam is made public and visible after decades of it being "underground". For organisational, demographic and financial reasons Muslims will also find their rented apartments and basements satisfactory in the future, even though prayer halls might have to be turned inside to face Mecca. When purpose-built mosques are constructed, one must accept that the minaret is only symbolic and that prayer calls are for the time-being not allowed outdoors. Sometimes there are opportunities to take over an already existing building, such as the Pentecostal Church in Västerås or an old power-station as in Stockholm. The latter, the so-called Katarina station, was designed by the renowned Ferdinand Boberg at the beginning of the twentieth century. Owing to a journey to North Africa, the “Orient” was a source of inspiration for his design. It also happens that the building has always been pointing to Mecca, right from its inception, so the Muslims of Stockholm in the 1990s accepted it as an excellent object for rebuilding. After decades of being part of Stockholmers’ everyday life without giving offence, the building now actually constitutes a Muslim space, complete with a dome and a minaret.

In this article I have looked at mosque buildings as symbols of an Islamic presence, signalling to both Muslims and non-Muslims. From the horizon of certain Swedes, the mosques are viewed as threatening Swedish national, Western cultural and Christian identity as well as causing segregation in contrast to the required assimilation, if allowing at all for immigration. The Muslims engaged in the projects, on the other hand, claim the mosque to be just another element in a pluralistic society, a tool for integration, while maintaining distinctiveness. All parties engaged in the building processes have adopted the discourse on folk heritage. It makes legitimate arguments for opponents to mosques in contrast to a simple disapproval of Muslims. Muslims need the same kind of legitimacy when it turns out not to be enough to emphasise their citizenship or to claim freedom of religion to get a building permit. With a recommendation to “dig where you stand” the young cyber-Muslim further illustrates a scholarly heritage (by using the phrase coined by the Swedish author Sven Lindqvist in 1978). Here we ought to consider Regina Bendix’s argumentation that heritage is drawn upon by majorities, minorities as well as academics, and that “[w]hat distinguishes heritage is its capacity to hide the complexities of history and politics” (Benedix 2000: 38).

In light of the establishment of Islam in Sweden, reflected in the development of mosques, a professor of Islamology, Jan Hjärpe, once suggested that the open-air museum Skansen, or any other Swedish museum, should document the interior appointments of basement and apartment mosques as a part of Swedish cultural history (Hjärpe 1994: 15). This is in line with the efforts made by Barbro Klein (1997, 2000a, b) in her work calling on folklorists to problematize the idea of a homogeneous national heritage. Even if Hjärpe’s idea is far from being realized, I would suggest that Muslims in contemporary Sweden have, in certain respects, reached a relatively propitious position. With proper mosques realized or soon to be realized in several towns, suburbs and in the centre of the capital, with a recently published new translation of the Koran into Swedish, and with a vivid youth movement, Swedish Muslims will probably enter a new phase of consolidation. In this phase they will play an increasingly larger part in official social life, but this will also mean that they are scrutinised to a higher degree than before. We might have discussions on concrete issues beyond the mosque as a symbol. These would probably be connected with fundamental ideas, in themselves crucial components in different identity formations, such as national or religious ones. How, for instance, will an Islamic perspective on gender and gender roles be presented? What are the possibilities and hindrances when it comes to women practising Islam in Sweden? And what do the mosques imply in this matter? The plans for the mosques in question include separate spaces for women, and separate entrances. In this way their presence in the mosque is guaranteed, which has not been the case always and anywhere. At the same time, the distinction between women and men is cemented (Holod and Khan 1997: 21). Surely, such arguments delineate a field for discussion, and even controversy, worth monitoring and open to further research.[16]

NOTES

1. All the quotations from Swedish texts in this article have been freely translated into English by the author.
2. The work resulted in several publications, e.g., Karlsson 1997, 1999, 2000b; Karlsson and Svanberg 1995, 1997.
3. For further reading on the making of Muslim space in diaspora, see Metcalf 1996.
4. Swedish Muslims emphasise their Muslim identity for different reasons and in different situations. The community also contains non-believers who still identify themselves as Muslims on cultural or ethnic grounds. Correspondingly, the community embraces people who primarily present themselves according to ethnic or ideological lines and only secondly or even thirdly according to their religious affirmation. For further reading on self-presentations by Muslims in Sweden, see Karlsson 2000a.
5. The opposition to mosques consisted mainly of letters from neighbours of the planned mosque, but also from other concerned citizens. It was directed towards local politicians, authorities and the press. Sometimes the opposition took a more organised form such as housing co-operatives, different congregations or other associations, or around a self-appointed leader. The letters are now filed away in the archives of local councils and city-planners' offices. For further information, see Karlsson and Svanberg 1995.
6. The first two quotations are taken from letters from prospective neighbours to the planned mosque at Södermalm (Söder), a district in central Stockholm. The third quotation is from a letter connected to the plans in Fittja, a suburb south of Stockholm.
7. Due to colonial relations with Muslim countries, some official mosques have been built previously in some capitals of Western Europe without drawing any negative attention. Otherwise mosque building projects in Western Europe follow the same tendencies as I present here in the Swedish context. In some cities prayer-calls are allowed on certain occasions, for instance as an introduction to the holy month of Ramadan or to the Friday prayer. The latter is the case in Oslo after a decision made in 2000 (see Karlsson and Svanberg 1995, 1997; cf. Eade 1996, 1997).
8. The first, second and fourth quotation are taken from letters written in opposition to the mosque in Gothenburg, and the third towards the one in Jordbro, a suburb south of Stockholm.
9. Homepage of the Islamic Centre in Malmö: http://www.algonet.se/~icmalmo/.
10. SFCM – "Sveriges Förenade CyberMuslimer": http://hem.passagen.se/sfcm/.
11. "Re: Moskéer i Sverige", SFCM's mail-list, November 1999.
12. This red and white painting represents a stereotyped but much beloved image of "the traditional Swedish house".
13. "Blågul islam?", SFCM's mail-list, April 1998.
14. In the mosque the orientation towards Mecca, *qibla*, is indicated by a niche, *mihrab*. The niche and the wall behind are often exquisitely decorated, but figurative representations would touch upon polytheism and are in principle forbidden. Geometrical ornaments and calligraphy, on the contrary, have been allowed and accomplished. Another common element in the major mosques of towns is the pulpit,

minbar, from which the sermon is held in connection with Friday prayers. Praying publicly in the mosque is considered meritorious for males aged 12 or more and given by God as the occasion of common Muslim worship. It is thus regarded as a manifestation of unity, collective piety, common order and responsibility. If women visit the mosque they are separated from the men by a drapery, railing or a wall, or by using a separate part of the building, i.e., a gallery. Apart from this separation based on gender, Muslims ideally pray shoulder to shoulder without distinction of rank or skin colour.

15. "Moskéer i Sverige", SFCM's mail-list, November 1999.
16. This is the point of departure for the thesis I am currently working on, which focuses on young "practising" Muslim women engaged in Muslim congregations and youth movements.

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JOANN CONRAD

Mapping Space, Claiming Place

The (Ethno-) Politics of Everyday Geography in Northern Norway

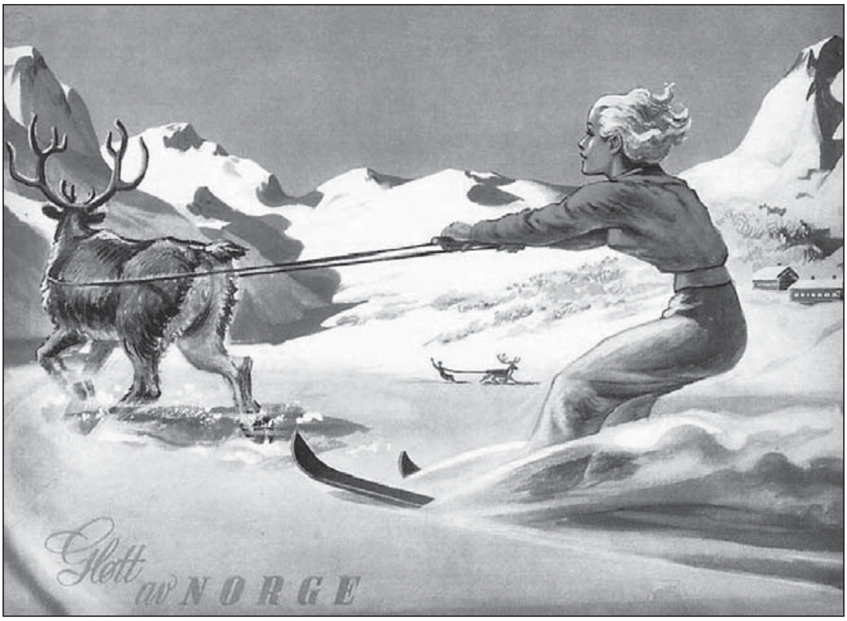
Identity politics in northern Norway today are a zero-sum game in which the indigenous minority Sámi are struggling to construct a modern identity within the context of the Norwegian nation-state against what are seen as the homogenizing tendencies of global-systemic forces. Sámi identity is articulated through "difference", elaborated through a series of conceptual oppositions – Sámi: Norwegian; traditional: modern; local: global. Sámi identity politics mobilize these cultural differences in order to make claims on modified political autonomy with regard to land use, education, and cultural policy. Nowhere is the mobilization of difference more apparent than in the politics of location, through which Sámi identity has been articulated as rooted and fixed in an isomorphic relationship to the "land", in contradistinction to the Norwegian state. This rhetorical juxtapositioning of the Norwegian State, seen as a totalizing emblem of power, with the local, the indigenous, the site of both subjecthood and resistance, has tended to reify and literalize contemporary Sámi spatial and temporal markers, with Sámi identity inextricably linked to a specific place – the "local", and to a specific time – the "past" and "tradition", while the state is associated with the more expansive and nebulous global "space", and the modern.

This article seeks to problematize the binary categories of local/global from both a theoretical and empirical basis, arguing that the presumed certainties of cultural identity that are anchored in cohesive communities of shared tradition have increasingly been disrupted, and that places no longer provide clear supports for identity even while themes of home continue to resonate through imaginations (Peet 1998: 227). It is informed by Foucault's (1986) and Relph's (1981) notions of "heterotopia" – a pluralistic, chaotic, constantly changing geography that is linked by centerless flows of information, and by Soja's (1996) concept of trialectic space, that "third" space which exists in the interstices, in the meeting ground between material spatial forms and representations of space that are the lived spaces of representation. These spatial concepts break with the formalism that inheres in both political and anthropological discourses which articulate ethnic and cultural difference through a "politics of location" which root and delimit identity through the isomorphism of space, place, and culture, and which equate geographical divisions with cultural difference (Appadurai 1996: 16) – cultural relativism at its most literal and spatially delimiting. In social science theory, there has been a confusion of geographical scale with processes of abstraction, leading to the erroneous conflation of the local, the concrete, and the descriptive, in opposition to the global, the abstract, and the theoretical (Massey 1994: 129). This article argues that although the process of culture does imply the articulation of difference, this difference is neither taxonomic, fixed, nor exclusively local, but interactive, refractive, and improvisational (Appadurai 1996: 60).

Imaginary Landscape

The Norwegian concept of the "North" is abstract and idealized: an exotic construction; a challenge to be conquered; a romanticized homeland. The ideological underpinnings of this construction of the North have justified institutional territorial expansion, pursued not only politically and religiously, but also with a particular type of knowledge and technology – the positivistic, rational sciences. It is the Norwegian idealization of the North in the construction of a Norwegian identity that has most often been evoked in comparison to a Sámi, localized conceptualization of space. The North carried the promise of a Nature untainted by the ravages of industrialization, and recreation (physical and imaginative) in this Nature, epitomized in the idealized, virgin North, could effect a spiritual "re-creation" (Lippard 1997: 129) and purification. Nineteenth century demands for an independent Norway were strengthened by the identification of the raw power of the Norwegian landscape and nature with the strength and independence of the Norwegian spirit (Christensen 1998). Untamed Nature and its ultimate metonym, the North, became the secular "temple" in which "worship" was enacted through participation in and movement through, and it is no coincidence that concurrent with the territorial expansion into the north by the Norwegian state was not only the creation of the national ethos of outdoor winter sports (Christensen 1994), but also the institutionalization of arctic exploration as quintessentially Norwegian, and the valorization of Norwegian arctic explorers Roald Amundsen and Fridtjof Nansen.

The Norwegian North, therefore, became a "[...] mental concept, rather than a physical one [...] a promising, unknown, mystical subcontinent that has been referred to, rather than a geographical area lying within fixed borders" (Dahlstedt 1955: 3). The North was the landscape on which both the hopes for the future and the longing for the purity of an uncontaminated past were to be played out. Images of the North at once provided the notion of an unlimited wilderness waiting for development, colonization, and taming, and one of a pure and yet brutal landscape that allowed the "adventure tourist" of the past century to test his limits and experience ultimate independence, freedom and euphoria[1], with crisscrossing undercurrents of erotica and exotica. The apparently contradictory streams were in fact complementary: development, colonization, settlement, folkloric and ethnographic collecting and catego-



"A Glimpse of Norway" Gamledagers Postkort. Series No. 1261.

rization, surveying, etc., were to be executed *on* the physical landscape and its inhabitants – the Sámi – while the Romantic and the tourist would be engaged in solitary adventures *through* the imaginary landscape of the North in which the Sámi were another prop, a reference, as were the mountains, reindeer, the midnight sun. Pristine Nature, and specifically the North, was to be accessed in the pursuit of self-fulfillment and personal freedom.

In contrast, indigenous spatial practices are constructed as local and concrete in their focus, and more holistic in their philosophy, which holds that the landscape is shaped as an extension of self.

> [F]or indigenous and tribal peoples, land is not only a productive resource, an economic factor. Land is habitat, territory, the basis for social organization, cultural identification and political viability; frequently associated with myth, symbols and religion. Land is the essential element in the cultural reproduction of the group (Stavenhagen 1987: 76).

The move to valorize the local, both an academic trend and an indigenous strategy, serves to "naturalize" the connection between land (territory) and identity, suggesting that such "land-based" cultures are natural, that is, not socially constructed.

> [W]here native men and women are concerned the external world is as it appears to them to be – naturally, unproblematically, and more or less consistently – and rarely do they have reason to consider that the coherence it displays is an intricate product of their own collective manufacture (Basso 1988: 100; quoting Schutz 1967).

When arguing for special rights to contested land, the Sámi emphasize that theirs is a different relationship to that land; a metaphysical unity that makes not only the Sámi, but also their claims, naturalized and therefore authenticated.

> Indeed, the source of conflict between Scandinavian and Saami cultures began with, and continues to be plagued by different aspirations for the land: on the one hand it is understood to be property, capable of being bought and sold (or possessed as the result of conquest), and thus fair to manipulate and exploit; on the other hand, it is seen as something which is fundamental to the self-determination of a people as a distinct culture – in Saami terms one does not possess the land, one is part of it (Jones-Bamman 1993: 69).

Indigenous movements share in the postmodern rejection of the global, the hegemonic, and argue a locally constituted identity as an empowering tactic. The Sámi have aligned themselves with the world-wide indigenous peoples' movement, and have incorporated its rhetoric into their position in opposition to the Scandinavian nation states. Elina Helander argues this differentiated Sámi attitude to space and land: territory, for the Sámi is "[...] a geography of significant places. Activities are arranged in relation to existing resources: using, balancing, and protecting them. Note, that this relationship is not only a matter of protecting wilderness and conserving [sic] natural resources. The Sámi people's relation to their environment is a creative act: attachment, co-dependence, respect, power, identity, belonging, responsibility, and commitment are some of the key words" (Helander 1996: 1–2).

But this is a self-conscious, public articulation of a tactical identity that is positioned in the local and yet informed by the global and the national. Both Sámi and Norwegians engage, at the official level, through selectively evoking and interpreting the "local" and the "traditional" in constructing contrastive identities – consensual identities that are tied to contemporary, reconstructed narratives of group – a folklore, a national mythology, that claims legitimacy through insistently invoking ties to the past, to tradition, to the local, while their political orientation is towards the future, the modern, and in the context of national and international debates. In the Sámi ethno-political challenges to the Scandinavian nations the Sámi have appropriated and adapted a preexisting rhetorical strategy, a cultural "grammar" that is shared by all sides.[2]

Harald Gaski is not only a Sámi spokesman to the rest of the world and involved with the indigenous peoples' movement, but also, as a university professor, is clearly exposed to contemporary academic discourses on space. His problematizing of the use of the "Western" sense of place in a Sámi context reflects his own deep entanglement with global discourses, argued from the apparently local Sámi position, as he continues to articulate a culture based on difference. Gaski outlines a particularly modern notion of "place" in the "Western" sense – a definition inextricably linked to nationalism and nationhood:

> A place needs borders to surround it to make it distinct compared to other places, or at least the notion of a place usually has some kind of a linkage to a geographical area or territory (1997: 199–200).

In contrast, he posits a "binary pair" of "home/away" that is inherent within the Sámi languages (although the two terms he uses and defines have overlapping rather than opposing meanings), whereby "home" is "the place where you find shelter from bad weather, the place where you eat and sleep", while, in contrast, "away" is "out herding the reindeer on their grazing land, which may be a bit away from the tent, the *lavvu* or *goahti*. These examples represent, of course, an over-simplified illustration of the problematics associated with the thinking around place, home and residence in connection with a – at least previously – nomadic culture" (ibid.).[3] Resonating with all the tropes of indigeneity, the Sámi are thus presented as a traditional, land-based, nomadic culture that lives in harmony with nature, and who make an expansive claim on "home"/land, justified by this relationship with Nature. Gaski supports his claims by quoting Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's poem, "My Home is in my Heart":

My home is in my heart
it migrates with me
You know it brother
you understand sister
but what do I say to strangers
who spread out everywhere
how shall I answer their questions
that come from a different world? (Gaski 1997: 210)

Similarly, Valkeapää's 1987 poem, "Vidderna inom mig" [The high plains within me], makes a clear link between land and Sámi identity:

Hur kan man förklara	How can one explain
att man ingenstans bor	that one doesn't live anywhere
eller ändå bor	nor lives there any longer
när jag bor	when I live
bland dessa vidder	among these fjells
Du står i min säng	you're standing in my bed
mitt avträde är bakom buskarna	my privy is behind the bushes
solen är min lampa	the sun is my lamp
sjön mitt tvättfat	the lake my washbasin (quoted in Jones-Bamman 1993: 60).

Gaski explains that Valkeapää's poetry "expresses the views of a nature-based culture when it comes to the question of ownership of land and water, the clashing of totally different notions of closeness to the place a person moves in, and most of all the feeling of inadequacy and impossibility in reaching across with an explanation as to why the whole surrounding – including landscapes, people, weather, the bushes, the lakes – why it all is a part of a person, an inseparable part of that person's whole identity" (Gaski 1997:

210). But Valkeapää is an international celebrity (who opened the 1994 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer), and his poetry is deeply political. He subtly works in symbolic and yet common language that establishes difference: Norwegians (Scandinavians) are “strangers who spread out everywhere”, and come “from a different world”, whereas the Sámi are migratory and linked to the land in their common understanding (and ownership) of land that is unintelligible to non-Sámi. Gaski’s interpretation extends the notion of a Sámi identity that is inseparable from the landscape, bushes, and lakes, but which is argued from behind a desk at a university in a large city. The sharply argued differences between land-based Sámi and modern Scandinavians fall away in daily practice.

Maps: Scene/Seen from Above

The rhetorical opposition of global “space” to local/indigenous “place” has been distilled and materialized in the juxtapositioning of cartographic maps with “mental maps” – the planar conceptualization and visualization of space versus a personalized knowledge of place that derives from routinized itineraries, the local lore and localized stories that “inhabit” a place.

Neither maps nor space are ontologically given or ideologically neutral. Rather than transparent representations of neutral space, maps are clearly modern artifacts of a specific epistemological system and are infused with power relations (Foucault 1980: 73–77). Based in the rational scientific practices of the survey and in the organizing principle of the catalogue, their planar view implies an imposition of power *from above*, and from a distance significantly removed from the physical landscape.

> It was Foucault [1980] who noted the organic connection between spatial concepts and the micro-physics of power – the relation between surveillance and the map, for example – and recognized that all territorial concepts imply the exercise of power (Watts 1992: 117; cf. Sack 1986).

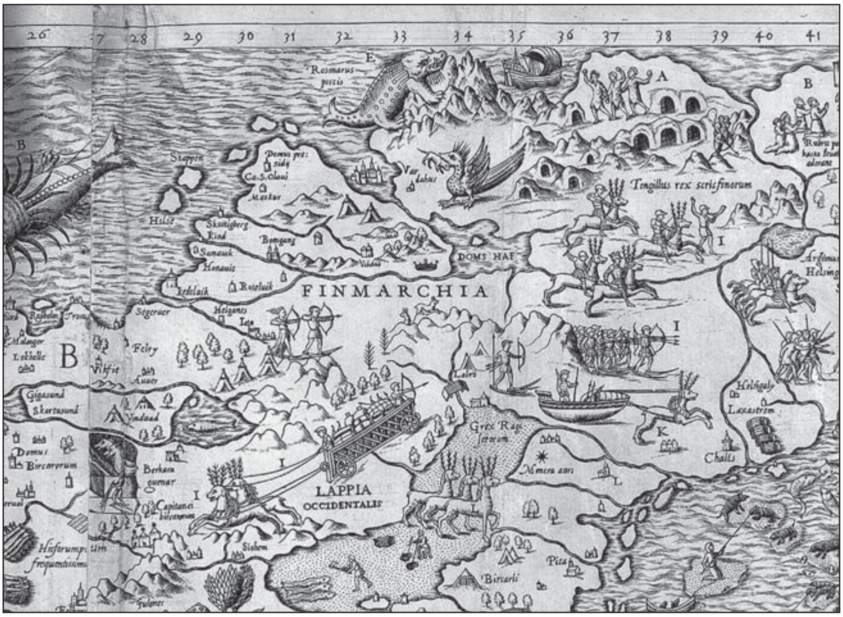
The technical and conceptual bases for the modern cartographic process – the rational ordering of space in two-dimensional representation – has its epistemological and historical moorings in those same Enlightenment principles that undergirded the territorial imperative of imperialism: that is, a belief in man’s ability to know and therefore dominate Nature.[4] Information on global geography that was being amassed during the Age of Discovery coupled with the introduction of perspectivism during the Renaissance revolutionized concepts of space and spatial production; space was now abstract, homogeneous, and universal, but also knowable. Space could be “known” through its representation (mapping), and could be fixed, rationalized, ordered, and abstracted. It was during the Enlightenment and the advent of the imperial age that mapping became fully implicated in the rise and spread of capitalism and global networks – allowing for space to be appropriated for private ownership (Harvey 1990: 228), and resulting in a dramatic re-ordering of daily life. But does the contemporary dominance of the standardized cartographic view preclude a “Sámi” cartographic representation and conceptualization of space? Similarly, does the so-called Western cartographic view work to the exclusion and repression of alternatives? Conversely, is cartography alien and irreconcilable to a “Sámi world view”? These are the implications of the binary, essentializing rhetoric. A look at the physical evidence, often itself deployed in the ethno-political struggle, suggests a however much more complicated relationship to space and its production on all sides.

The Rock Carvings at Alta

On a huge outcrop of rocks situated on the shore of the Alta Fjord lies a group of 6000–3000 year-old rock carvings, now protected as an official UNESCO heritage site. Highly contested, the carvings are claimed by both Norwegians and Sámi in an anachronistic projection of “national” or “ethnic” claims. Lost in this primordialist debate is that these are polygenetic maps which were expanded and supplemented over hundreds and thousands of years, with their functions and meanings correspondingly changing over time. These carvings depict sometimes large scenes, most often of hunting and fishing, but there are also others that have been analyzed as being cosmological maps, dealing with celestial and earthly bodies in the creation/procreation nexus, and ordered relationally and spatially. Both sets of carvings don’t “make sense” when read individually. That is, they must be read in plan and in terms of their relationality; for example the hunting scenes and some of the fishing scenes map direction and time, using tracks, process, etc. These maps/carvings are tangible evidence that a planar representation of the world and cosmos, a cartographic ordering of space, was not foreign to the people of the North prior to full-on colonialism.

The Shaman’s Drum

The iconography of the Sámi shaman’s drum has been appropriated by the Sámi Movement. The stick figures bear striking resemblance to those of the Alta Rock Carvings and thus also carry primordialist implications. Also rhetorically potent is the fact that these icons serve as metonyms or traces of artifacts destroyed by the colonizing/missionizing forces. Unmoored from their original context and surface, they now float freely, signifying the general struggle of an “oppressed Sámi nation” against the forces of colonialism. When looked at in the context of their use, however, the ordered images on the drums’ surfaces, either stratified along the vertical axis in a celestial hierarchy, or radiating outwards from a sun at the center, clearly are cosmological maps, utilizing both planar views and elevations. In this sense, the eradication of the drums can be seen not only as a move to displace the local shamans and establish the clergy as moral and political authorities, but also an attempt to eradicate an alternative cosmology, an opposing, and perhaps threatening representation of space.



Carta Marina, Finmarchia (1/3). Olaus Magnus's map of Northern Europe from 1539. (Geografia tavole moderne di geografia de la maggior parte del mondo / Lafreri, Antonio. - Roma : A. Lafreri, 1550-1572) Helsinki University Library.

The Carla Marina of Olaus Magnus

The *Carta Marina* of Olaus Magnus, the 1539 wood block map of Northern Europe cited as the first map to show the full extent of Northern Europe including the Scandinavian peninsula, comes into the ethno-political discussion as well. It is referred to as an early example of political leaders wanting to exhibit territorial command; to illustrate, possibly before the fact, what was in their realm (the map preceding and anticipating the acquisition of territorial demand). Olaus Magnus, as part of this narrative, is seen as the agent of this power, both political and religious. Olaus Magnus was not a power broker, however, but an exiled Catholic priest, and later archbishop, who was caught in the politics of the Protestant Reformation in Sweden. His map, although copied by many later cartographers, was itself only reproduced a handful of times, and those reproductions originated and circulated mostly in Italy.

Olaus Magnus' map is also said to be "ethnographic evidence" that the Sámi lived in Lappia and Finmark, based on the images of people on skis and of reindeer being harnessed and milked. At the University of Tromsø's website "The Northern Lights Route", captions to close ups of the images on the *Carta Marina* unequivocally identify "Sámi men and women skiing", and "Sámi devotion to evil spirits." Olaus Magnus' ethnographic information, however, was only partially derived from first-hand observation, and in the far North, where he did not travel, it is based on the previous descriptions of Procopius (A.D. 555), Saxo Grammaticus (1150–1216), and Johannes

Schefferus (seventeenth century), who themselves were relying on a mixture of second-hand sources and legend. Clearly, Ultima Thule was the land of the "other", analogous to the Scythians of Herodotus. The fantastic aspect of the *Carta Marina* is evident through a close inspection of the map. Here, sea creatures, fantastic birds and animals abound, suggesting a tempered ethnographic reading.

From the name, some have suggested that the *Carta Marina* was a navigational chart, a portolan chart, and indeed, it does have a few scattered rhumb lines. But portolan charts typically sacrifice all detail of the interior to a fastidious and particular detail to shoreline contours and are based on navigational records. The first printed sea charts of Scandinavia were, in fact, the copper engraved Dutch maps of the 1600s, which were prompted by increased whaling in the north, and the resultant trade. Rather than being representative of first hand navigational information however, Olaus Magnus drew up the map in Venice in 1539 from information obtained during his trips selling indulgences in Norway in 1518–1519. The *Carta Marina* is an interesting combination of aspects of portolan maps and the Ptolemaic grid, a fusion of territorial and navigational perspectives, with a heavy helping of folklore. The map's implicit global nature suggests not only a specific cosmology, but also sets the tone for the inevitability of Western European expansion in the subsequent centuries. The graticule allows spaces to be envisioned before they are encountered (a geometric expansion of imaginary space), and thus begs for exploration, while the Euclidian precision and projection also bestow a certain authority – possibly to counter the flagging presence of the Catholic Church in those areas being mapped.

Modern cartographic practice paralleled the expansionist drive of colonial nations, and the first modern maps of northern Norway were commissioned in the late 1700s while Norway was part of Denmark. C. I. Pontoppidan's 1795 map of northern Norway, developed for political and military purposes, utilizes modern cartographic methods and display, emphasizing coastal access to the fjord regions, while the interior, designated as "Lapmark" or derisively, *muldvarphauger* [mole hill], is relatively blank (Mook 1998: 7). It was not until the 1870s, coincident with an increased interest in the regulation of the north, that the interior regions of northern Norway began to be mapped in detail. It was also during this time that ethnographers joined in the rationalizing enterprise, mapping ethnographic and linguistic groups, formally registering the "three races" of northern Norway, fixing lifestyles, and identifying Norwegian speaking households among non-ethnic Norwegians (Hansen 1998). The spatial logic of the colonial map, the panoptic gaze that produced a static, fixed view as it delineated property parcels, thus also tended to homogenize and flatten the "other" (Jacobs 1993: 101) prior inhabitants, effecting a conceptual emptying, a *terra nullius* which was available for colonization. Maps, thus, at one level, represented a conceptualization and colonization of random space into an organized, two-dimensional, visual expression of geographical knowledge that silenced those voices that once inscribed the space through which they physically migrated, and thus could serve as a concise metonym for a more generalized imposition of a system of knowledge and power. The mathematical and totalizing authority obtained in the political boundaries inscribed by maps also implied a moral imperative to control that which was contained within those boundaries.

Similar to the ways in which both de Certeau and Foucault have been invoked in the criticism of maps as totalizing devices that are imbued with disciplinary authority through their homogenizing and reifying tendencies, contemporary Sámi ethno-political rhetoric incorporates a formalistic association of maps with colonization, the "panoptic" view of maps seen as analogous to the hegemonic power relationship that in northern Norway is equated with the policy of Norwegianization. Additionally, in the politics of difference which operate through and in space, maps are used to symbolize a Norwegian and "Western" conceptualization of space that is fundamentally different from the Sámi production of a localized place.

Such critiques, however, are historically static, and do not take into account the fluid reincorporation and modification of cartographic logic in contemporary existential practice. In addition, to see the map solely as an instrument of institutional repression, as an apparatus of state power, works against Foucault's "micro-physics" of power – his observation that power operates most effectively in contemporary society because it is highly diffuse and because it operates both through repression and through pleasure. Foucault's model of maps as the imposition of a disciplinary system cannot be over-simplified in a functionalist interpretation which excludes the dynamic power dialectic in play in a system in which all players use cartography to advance their own claims. The contemporary use of maps can be seen to embody this repression/pleasure dialectic. Maps regulate and normalize based on a specific type of knowledge, but they

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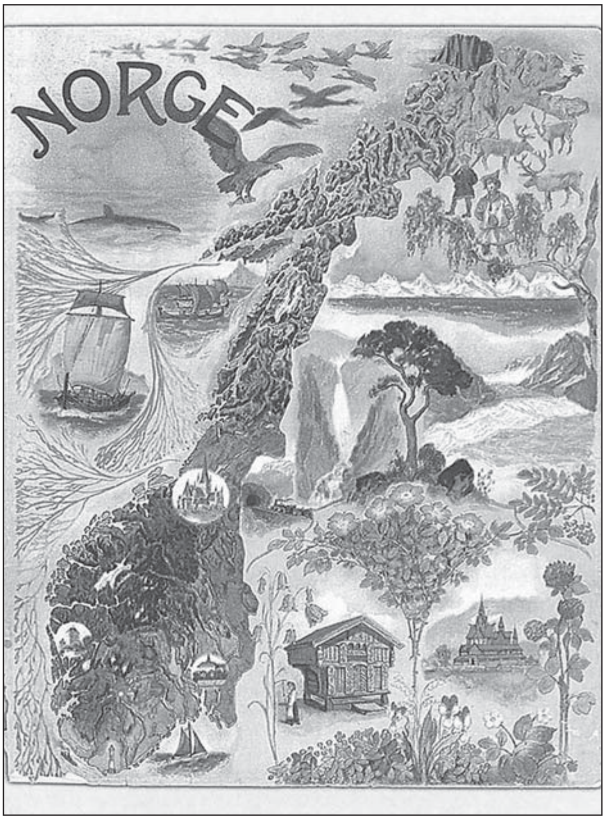
also empower and inform when incorporated into other, personal, non-cartographic spatial practices. The oversimplification of spatial practices along ethnic lines cannot accommodate the fact that Sámi spatial practices today not only include maps, but also the subversive, counter-hegemonic reinterpretation of such maps.[5] Furthermore, maps no longer represent a foreign, imposed system, but one that has been fully incorporated into daily life, enabling local users to plot individual itineraries through space. In their widespread usage, maps have begun to affect the way both Sámi and Norwegians conceptualize and interact with space, tending to blur the sharply defined function and meaning ascribed to maps, as well as reconfiguring the encoded ideological premises. Maps allow for a collective "reading" of and identification with a generalized, imagined space.

Both Sápmi [Sámiland] and Norway are abstract geographical concepts, given meaning through the cartographic process which confers the status of "community" to those contained within the inscribed borders. The Sámi who live across Sápmi, like the Norwegians who live in Norway, are unified through the notion of place embedded in the imaginative potential of the map.



Map of Norway 1905 (year of Independence). In the non-cartographic "cultural" additions to the map, Norway is defined by farms and cathedrals in the south; fishing along the northern coast; and reindeer Sámi in the north. Gamledagers Postkort. Series No. 1222, ca. 1905.

Ironically, maps of Sápmi and those of the surrounding sovereign states are mutually referential: a map of Norway from 1905, the year of Norwegian independence, defines "Norwegian-ness" not only through metonymic associations with Nature and artifacts of Norwegian regional cultures, but also through the inclusion of the iconic Lapp with his reindeer (Conrad 2000). Sápmi, traversing the borders of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia, on the other hand, cannot be defined without reference to existing geo-political borders, although the superimposition of Sápmi onto these bounded nation states simultaneously challenges their hegemonic position as it confirms it. Thus visually and conceptually, Sámiland as a "land" (i.e., state) takes a symbolic slot in the existing syntax of modern nationalism.

Hans Ragnar Mathisen's Map of Sápmi

The most famous map of Sápmi, produced by Hans Ragnar Mathisen in the early 1970s during the initial stages of the Sámi ethno-political movement, still maintains currency today. Showing Sápmi extending across four nations and exclusively employing Sámi place names, the map itself provides a *background* for the surrounding illustrations. In an unconventional jumbling of art and "science" that is evocative of pre-modern cartographic practice (and perhaps postmodern pastiche), Sámi claims to the mapped-out land are made *less* by the Sámi place names, which are often rendered illegible, than by the Sámi symbols that surround them. Here, a shaman's drum, handicrafts, drum symbols, and reproductions of petroglyphs make the explicit connec-

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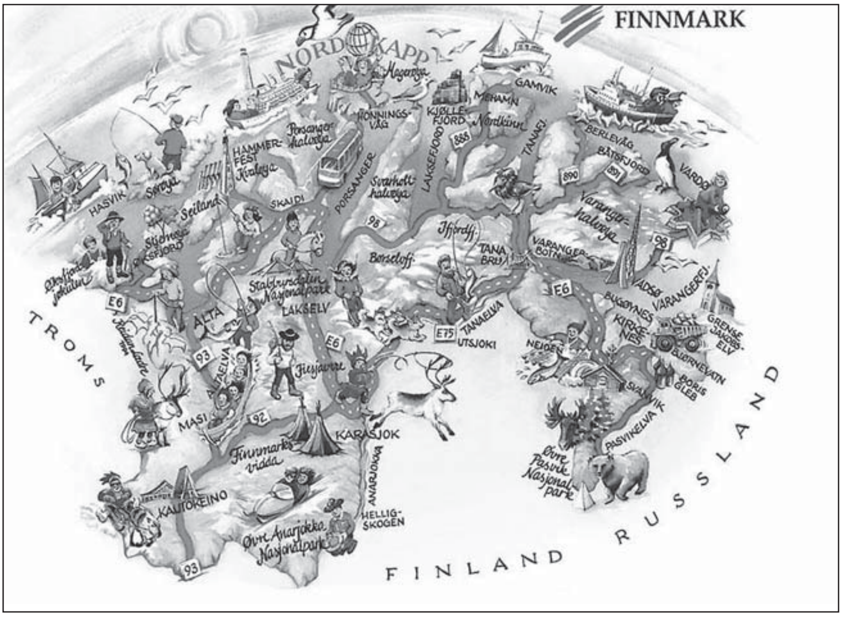
tion between culture, represented by artifacts, and land, represented in the map, and attempt to both contest and supplement the globalizing tendencies that inhere in the standard planar view.

The naturalized coupling of bounded, mapped space with the concept of private property, as well as the general commodification of represented space, can also indicate an underlying consumerist regime that transcends national, local, or ethnic identities, and, in this sense, the globalizing politics of capitalism transcends the local politics of space. Space is now fundamentally reorganized according to a global consumer ethic which goes unnoticed amidst the cacophony of localized heritage politics. Mathisen's politically-charged map of the 1970s is now more commonly displayed in a post card rack at a tourist shop. The 1905 map of Norway, in a clear example of fetishized nostalgia, is printed as part of the series "*Gammledagers Postkort"* (Post cards from the old days) found frequently not only in tourist but in antiquarian shops throughout Norway. Other touristic post cards of northern Norway fuse cartography and animation for profit, illustrating the complicated and overlapping relays between people, capital, information, and identities in late modernity. Rather than portraying "emptied space", such post cards deploy cartographic motifs to display a landscape inhabited and seemingly claimed by multiple interests. But in these post cards, spatially differentiated qualities are commoditized and reorganized within generalizing schemes, producing what Boyer calls "recursive" and "serial" monotony from already known patterns (Harvey 1990: 295; quoting from Boyer 1988). These "already known patterns" can be filled by an infinite number of replicable and substitutable local specifics, so that such aesthetic production


FINNMARK
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GAMVIK
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888
BERLEVÅG
BÅTSFJORD
890
891
VARDØ
Varangerhalvøya
98
VARANGERBOTN
TANA BRU
Iffjordfj.
Svartholthalvøya
PORSANGER
Porsangerhalvøya
HAMMERFEST
Kvaløya
SKAIDI
Sørøya
HASVIK
Seiland
Stjernøya
ØKSFJORD
Øksfjordjøkulen
E6
TROMS
Reisadalen
ALTA
Stabbursdalen Nasjonalpark
LAKSELV
Børselvfj.
E75
UTSJOKI
TANAELVA
93
ALTAELVA
Fiesjavre
MASI
92
KARASJOK
Finnmarksvidda
KAUTOKEINO
ANARJOKKA
HELLIGSKOGEN
Øvre Anarjokka Nasjonalpark
VADSØ
VARANGERFJ.
BUGØYNES
KIRKENES
GRENSE JAKOBSELV
NEIDEN
BJØRNEVATN
BORIS GLEB
SVANVIK
PASVIKELVA
Øvre Pasvik Nasjonalpark
FINLAND
RUSSLAND

A postcard Map of Finnmark. The "Norwegian" areas are clearly distinguished from the "Sámi": A politically motivated distortion of coastal demographic patterns. Aune Forlag, F-15798-5.

has to be seen in the global commodity culture of consumer capitalism into which it has been integrated. In buying these cards, one literally is buying into the notion of a bounded sense of place; of a contained particularity that is also paradoxically generic.

Maps are highly symbolic and abstract systems of signification which operate at least two conceptual layers of remove from the "ground" they claim to represent. The precise scale and linear demarcations of contemporary maps are a desperate claim to accuracy, resisting the inherent inadequacies of a two-dimensional representation of three-dimensional space. Spatial meaning is enacted through the symbolic medium of cartography which is increasingly permeated by additional, invisible meaning the more it is used and incorporated into everyday life, allowing for a vernacular interpretation and penetration of ”official" space. In their sheer economy, maps necessarily exclude more than they include, and are rife for interpretive variation, a potential exploited by the Sámi in their use of maps in the ethno-political arena. Their symbolic and subversive strength is heightened by their increasing ubiquity, and Lippard reminds us that "[...] the 'naturalization' of maps – the myth that maps show the world the way it really is – veils the fact that maps are cultural and even individual creations that embody points of view" (Lippard 1997: 78; quoting Harley 1988). The invisible layers of meaning that adhere to a point on a map accumulate through use and undermine the simplistic association of maps with the global/national to the exclusion of the local, the indigenous.

Mental Maps: The Local Lore of Place

The most casual conversations with Sámi colleagues reflect an acute awareness of the articulated dichotomization of spatial practices along ethnic lines. Kristine Nystad described her son's school project which consisted of collecting place names from around their family farm, Oskal, roughly 12 km SE of Kautokeino, a Sámi town center in inner Finnmark. Her son collected over 70 different descriptive place names within a one-kilometer radius of the farm: names like *boazzut njargas* – a spit where they would bring the reindeer to slaughter before they took the meat to market places; a "dog pit" where the carcass of a dog had been buried; a place along a track on a hillside that caused the sledges to slide to the side each time they went through; a place where a glove was dropped.

> Our history was not written in a book. It was kept in the landscape, and people knew their way around by such references. The landscape was our map.[6]

Nystad synthesizes history, landscape, maps, and memory in such personalized narratives. Places and narratives feed off one another, and render each other meaningful. Narratives thus "map" the landscape, while memory is also "mapped" through place – landmarks forging "narrative links with time" (Nicolaisen 1984).

But although Nystad grew up on this farm and retains childhood memories of it and visits it recreationally for campfires, hunting, and berry picking, the farm itself is now abandoned. The narratives of specific places around the farm no longer function as vernacular cognitive maps through which residents negotiate their lived-in space, but as preserved relics of the past, forging a link between the past and the present as symbolic artifacts of culture. Nystad's son's salvage project seeks to archive such information for selective retrieval in the reformulation of today's Sámi tradition, while it dramatically demonstrates how links between place and identity have been radically re-configured and, in this case, *institutionalized* as a self-conscious school project. The collection and archiving of Sámi place names as a re-education project, although appearing to support and maintain a separate and unique Sámi identity linked to the land, in fact reproduce rituals of power which are de-spatialized and which operate in technologies dispersed throughout the social body. Sámi educational institutions and schools gain their legal authority through Norwegian Law (NOU 1985: 14), and all such institutions, from the Sámi Education Council (*Samisk Utdanningsråd*) to schools and day care centers, are under the Norwegian Ministry of Education, while the basis of the state economy which sustains these institutions is the investment of Norwegian oil profits in foreign economic ventures.

Similarly, the contemporary practice of "mapping" sacred sites – the Sámi *seite*, associated with pre-Christian shamanic rituals and sacrificial offerings – also reflects a politics of difference that is enacted through and in the local place but refracted through global discourses, and exposes the ideological labor of heritage and identity politics which tie identity to a specific "local" place. In the ethno-political context of the Sámi-Norwegian relationship today, these re-invigorated sites are imbued with new meaning. The contemporary recording and presentation of such offering sites are acts of location which serve to legitimate and authenticate Sámi claims as a "land-based" people with a unique spiritual and privileged relationship to the land, to Nature, as well as to advance Sámi claims to a prior and even primordial relationship to the land. This globally-informed reinterpretation of "sacred ground" resonates with other such reclamations of sacred space by indigenous peoples world wide. *Seite* which were appropriated to museum collections have been "re-patriated" [7], locations of *siete* are mapped in local museums and in Sámi television programs, and they are marked by international road signs along the highways; again shattering a rigid dualistic reading of spatial production.

These *seite*, once part of a "magical landscape" (Schanche 1995: 43–44) which gained its power and perhaps subversiveness through its remoteness and inaccessibility – the "hidden presence of the sacred" (Foucault 1986: 23) – are now clearly identified and incorporated into a national and international system of landmark signposts which expose and commoditize them to all who pass the signs along the road. Despite Foucault's observation that "some of the inviolable spatial oppositions of contemporary society are nurtured by the 'hidden presence of the sacred'" (Jacobs 1993: 114; also quoting Foucault), in the contemporary Sámi ethno-political context in which such *seite* are reappropriated into much larger discourses, much of what was hidden and thus subversive is now fully exposed to view, while maintaining claims to inviolability. This type of politicized stockpiling of sacred sites is informed by existing world-wide indigenous people's vocabularies vis á vis majority cultures. As such, this type of manipulation of local sites is a form of commodification, a context that differs from their localized use and applicability in previous times. Finally, these sites find themselves fully imbricated in late-modern consumerist impulses – onto tourist itineraries (Kalstad and Viken 1996: 36) for those eager to pay for their trip into "authenticity" and nostalgia. Thus, the valorization of the local as uniquely Sámi is not only impossible, underlain as it is with institutional legitimization, but it also tends to obfuscate more everyday, entrenched power relations that may not be exclusively ethnically determined, as the Sámi continuously constitute themselves as middle-class citizens of the Norwegian state. Such taxonomic museumification projects can tend to "domesticate difference [...] seducing [...] with the fantasy of self-display" (Appadurai 1996: 39), obscuring the replication of the operations of power.

In their transformed, politicized incarnation, Sámi "local" narratives of place such as the Oskal farm place names and the *seite* are arguably now global in nature and function, and are used in the construction of a Sámi identity that competes for global space and recognition with Norwegian and international interests. Within this discourse, however, indigenous claims to the local follow the general romantic tendency to confer only a specific, past-oriented version of the local onto the indigene. Within this native mental map, gas stations and convenience stores are disallowed. Following the conventions shaped by the ethnographic, archaeological, and ethno-political projects, we expect (and get) descriptions of berry patches, fishing holes, worship sites, and migratory routes, but the "contamination" of the contemporary is denied. By contrast, those mundane, everyday cognitive maps of the residents of Kautokeino, those which map the ritualistic, predictable circuit inscribed by the main road and which weave a route from the gas station, to the post office, to the bank, to the cafe and to the store – a distinctly local enterprise – are dismissed as too ordinary, and because the "local" has been conflated with "ethnic". Such everyday spatial practices which inscribe localized itineraries cannot be specifically ethnic, but are processes by which meaning is assigned to a particular place through physical experience in and through it that is a form of spatial practice common *across* ethnicities.

The irony of the lived itinerary of Kautokeino is that it reinscribes the increasing *institutionalization* of everyday life, an inevitability effaced by an ideological emphasis on "local stories of place". The penetration of the state and the world market into everyday life is not only entrenched, but rather naturalized: banks, post-offices, police stations, schools, roads, airports, telephone booths and services, ATM machines, FAX and e-mail transmission, TV and Radio communication, utilities, sanitation, garbage collection, supermarkets and the nearly uninterrupted global flow of goods, museums, theaters, libraries, health clinics, welfare offices, and research facilities all represent institutions of socialization that, to one degree or another, depend on the spatial and temporal organization implicit in the operation of the modern nationstate. Difference, articulated at a cultural level, is artificially removed from the commonality of experience that derives from these institutions, while the institutions themselves are anesthetized. Such institutions cannot be locally valenced, nor can their engagement in the politics of difference be denied or obscured. De Certeau's "spaces of enunciation" (1984), used in the sense of a pedestrian logic that subverts that of the urban grid, finds resonance in a host of individual alternative itinerant practices –snowmobile and ski tours, hunting and berry picking excursions, trips to a *lavvu* for a "Sámi" experience, whether for touristic or local consumption. But these are, for the most part, supplemental to the dominant influence of the human, material, capital, media and information flows along state and local roads which are inflected by spatial and temporal regulatory assumptions that are embedded in the modern welfare state and global capitalism.

Always operating within the existing, modern order of things, the "resurgence of 'popular' [or 'indigenous'] practices within industrial and scientific modernity cannot be confined to the past, the countryside, or primitive peoples [but] exists at the heart of the contemporary economy" (de Certeau 1984; quoted in Harvey 1990: 214). These local practices, along with the organizing principle of the map, co-exist in a "sea of social activities in which all other conceptions of space and place – sacred and profane, symbolic, personal, animistic – could continue to function" (Harvey 1990: 254). In modernity and the overarching effects of global flows, these practices can no longer be seen as purely local or indigenous, but as implicated and constituted by local and global forces. The "invisible landscape" of usage, memory, and significance is now superimposed on the geographical surface of the two-dimensional map" (Ryden 1993: 40). The impossibility of a pre-cartographic, itinerary-based conceptualization of space and rendering of place is now supplanted by a fusion of experience, pedagogy, landscape, and location in which "mental maps of place" co-exist with cartographic space reflecting a palimpsest of differing and inextricable spatial practices, superpositioned rather than juxtaposed. The contemporary meanings that accrete to a specific place can no longer be solely linked to local practices or knowledge, for maps now serve in the repository of names and memories, personal and collective.

For the Sámi, locality itself has now become now simulacrum. Local Sámi-made artifacts are used in making generalized Sámi national claims contra the Norwegian state, while Sápmi is a virtual community, joined by the symbolic languages of the map and heritage, and by electronic communication systems. No longer bounded by territory, but informed by global flows, this Sámi identity is more disjunctive, allowing for the possibility for the Sámi to simultaneously claim an identity that is based on specificity of place, while forming links across time and space with other indigenous groups world wide based on imagined shared experiences that compel identity politics more than do links with more proximate neighbors. In this sense, the past, and a nostalgic reappropriation and reconfiguration of the local, provide a warehouse of cultural scenarios which are unmoored from their social signifiers, and which allow for the "transnational construction of imaginary landscapes" (Appadurai 1996: 30).

Juhls' Silver Gallery in Kautokeino is one such imaginary, fantastic, and in fact phantasmagoric landscape – providing a stage on which market fantasy, consumerism and multinational capitalism intermingle and are inflected locally. Himself a transplant to Kautokeino, his business today is multinational – his products sold in boutiques in Trondheim, Oslo, and in other world cities. The Juhls' Gallery in Kautokeino sells a mix of local and international goods, ranging from the silver jewelry produced on site, to modernist pieces produced by Scandinavian artists and artisans, to "ethnic exotica" – made more so by its decontextualized presentation which flagrantly destabilizes any preconception or expectation based on location. In a particularly surreal and postmodern moment, the Kautokeino showroom houses not only local exotica – a museum room full of antique Sámi memorabilia where identity is clearly on display and offered for consumption, but also features ”the Oasis on the Tundra”[8] with carpets and artifacts from the Near and Far East. As a site of pure consumer fantasy, Juhls' engenders and satisfies a desire that circulates new possibilities for meaning in everyday life, and locals participate in this fantasy, purchasing not only jewelry with local links[9], but the more "exotic" products as well. Juhls' also represents a productive comingling of the local and the global in an economic sense. It is the defining moment of most tourist visits to Kautokeino, as well as the most productive site of touristic consumption. As a result, Juhls has become the largest tax payer in Kautokeino, giving his fantastic destination a substantial economic reality. In addition, Juhls' practice of hiring European college students at very low wages for the summer work season doubles the localized touristic consumption back into a transnational production loop. As in the case of the postcards, at Juhls' the ”local" becomes a fetishized site, a site of production that "disguises the globally dispersed forces that actually drive the production" (Appadurai 1996: 42).

As the Sámi in Norway increasingly operate on global, international, transnational and national levels, their articulated indigeneity becomes more and more tied to a centralizing locale – inner Finnmark, the so-called Sámi core area – while the expansive vision of Sápmi reaches from central Norway, across the top of Scandinavia into northwest Russia. It is the cartographic practice that marks the boundaries of Sápmi, just as it is local lore that has established inner Finnmark, particularly Kautokeino, as the heart of Sápmi. But the assigning of the "space" of maps to the national or global level and, correspondingly, "place" to the local, the indigenous, obscures a more complicated, and less clear-cut relationship between place, space and identity. Maps and local narratives, rather than antithetical categories, are *both* narrativized space – different genres which seek to confer meaning onto space, and which are enacted at both the local and global level and in the interstices. Both maps and stories of place are imperfect representations based on standardized conventions which imbue them with meaning. Both, despite their differing levels of abstraction, are made up of human memory, observation, and record taking; all have gaps and voids in which memory and imagination productively intermingle.

Roads and Routes

This final section focuses on the road as a metaphor for incomplete, ambiguous cultural translation, a fluid movement through interstitial space in which new strategies of cultural identification occur. Modern roads and highways are linked to maps and cartography through the processes of survey, design, and emplotting; regulating and facilitating movement, while fixing as well as expanding the conceptualization of space. As lines on maps, roads represent a technology of regulation and demarcation. But roads, once constructed, become part of the landscape, and thus can only be partially represented on a map. As traveled and experienced surfaces that people use in their daily movements, roads become part of one's personal mental map. In this sense, roads themselves are metaphors for the transition between cartographic and mental maps, between "official" and personal space, or between the "representation of space" and the "spaces of representation" (Léfebvre 1991). Roads are transitional; neither local nor global; connecting clusters of lived place, while they, themselves, are an alternative experience of space. Neither "home" nor "away", they are, by definition, "on the road", "in transit"; throwing any claims to secure rootedness into doubt. Route 93, which connects Alta, on the coast, with Kautokeino in the interior, is one such zone of translation.

On the drive up to Kautokeino from Alta, one first leaves the fjord and the city and enters the flat valley landscape dotted with farms, fields, and neat, two-story homes with flower gardens amidst tall pine and spruce forests. Gradually the road rises and enters a dramatic, narrow canyon (Sámi: *gorsa)*[10], lined with vertical cliffs of green/grey rock that are piled up in fantastic, suspended towers, covered with long, hanging icicles whose delaminated, shattered predecessors lie piled on the canyon floor eroding in the rushing, cascading river as it makes its way to the sea. The road winds laboriously up the serpentine turns, gradually making its way up over 1200 feet to another world – the *vidda*, the high plateau. Here there are no more mountains, no cliffs, just endless plain, covered with gnarled, dwarf birch, which are bare eight to nine months of the year. After another hour's drive through the *vidda* the road enters Kautokeino, passing by the Shell and Statoil stations, following the long hill down to the center of town, past one-story homes, many with reindeer skins tacked to the exterior walls to dry or salted reindeer meat hanging to cure from the rafters, with *lavvu* in the back yards and snow scooters in the front.

Kautokeino is commonly presented as one of the most Sámi, if not *the* most Sámi, area in all of inner Finnmark. It is also one of the most contained and isolated areas in Sápmi. Culturally, Kautokeino has become increasingly conservative, a showcase for "pure Sámi traditions" that involve elaborate rituals of space. As a homogeneous, Sámi-speaking refuge, Kautokeino has taken on a museum-like quality, a site of pilgrimage for Sámi outside the core Sámi areas. These visitors come during the holidays to Kautokeino to take part in or witness Sámi activities such as reindeer races and *joik*ing contests, in order to celebrate, reinvigorate, or initiate their own connections with their Sámi heritage[11] in a place where such Sáminess is apparently the strongest because it is the most emphatic and the most visible. But this highly performed locality is also very fragile, involving a great deal of ideological, ritualistic, and capital expenditure to maintain such a spatially-defined community of “located subjects” (Appadurai 1996: 179). In this cultural island, Sáminess is unquestioned. And yet this security can also be a form of *incarceration* – a defensive and limiting claim to identity. The ethnographic enterprise has been complicit in this incarceration, often recording and cataloging local practices as “ends in themselves rather than as moments in a general technology (and teleology) of localization” (ibid.: 180). This focus on the ground rather than the figure, the material rather than the processural has commoditized such products in the general museumification and reification of the local.

Every trip along Route 93 enacts the same translation through space, with the canyon physically and metaphorically representing not only a transformation in landscape, but a passage from one world to the other. Along the long passage through the canyon that clearly separates the *vidda* from the coast, and particularly along the lower portion of the gorge known as *Silisavzi*, new narratives have emerged to demarcate the transition – significantly legends of transit, particularly those recognizable as part of the contemporary legend corpus related to “The Vanishing Hitchhiker” (Brunvand 1981). These legends relate not only to the anxiety that inheres in the physical landscape[12], exaggerated during the long winter darkness, with visibility reduced to the illuminated track of the car’s headlights, dimmed by the falling snow as one navigates the windy, slippery turns, but also to the foreign terrain that one is passing through and moving into. Related by both Norwegians and Sámi, the legends involve metaphors of disappearance, mirroring the threat the road itself poses to any articulation of locality that claims fixity.

The road from Alta to Kautokeino, cutting through this dramatic canyon, represents a potential threat to the stability of Kautokeino as a particularly interpreted and performed place. Rather than an interface between a national or Norwegian and a local conceptualization of space, the road is an alternate reading of space, a reading that is common to all who travel it. The road serves as a long transitional space which ultimately penetrates and destabilizes the putative stasis at either end. Except for the dramatic new section through the no-man’s-land of the gorge, the trace of the road is old, partially following the route of the previous gravel road through the *vidda*. What is new is the speed of the transition, for whereas before WWII the journey took two days, now, in a literalization of Harvey’s “Space-Time Compression”, it takes a little over two hours. The road, and the connection it provides the residents of Kautokeino to the rest of Norway and the rest of the world, is also a lifeline along which food and supplies are shipped and along which utility and telecommunication lines stretch. It is the incongruity of the actual lived reality of Kautokeino residents who are now dependent on the road, with an articulated sense of Sáminess that alludes to a traditional subsistence economy in which routes to and from the coast found alternate expression along migratory routes, that is the source of a crisis – a crisis given voice in the legends that roam the canyon.

Route 93 is a metaphor for a hybridized state of meaning that literally cleaves through the totalizing discourse of nationhood, and suggests new forms of meaning that are open to cultural translation. Route 93 represents the ambivalent movement of lived space; the unbearable collapse of certainty (Bhabha 1990b: 300); the ethnographically interrogated space that translates and moves across fixed, polar articulations of identity; and the passage and movement between pedagogy and performance, subjectivity and objectivity, traditional and modern, here and there. Route 93, and particularly Silisavzi exist in Fanon's "zone of occult instability" (Fanon 1969: 174–190), in which culture and identity are articulated as a dialectic of multiple temporalities and localities.

Permeable and Insecure Boundaries

Indigenous movements share in the postmodern rejection of the global, the hegemonic, and argue a locally constituted identity as an empowering tactic. Sámi identity is constructed and legitimated through selectively evoking and interpreting the "local" and the "traditional," constructing a consensual "folklore", or "national mythology" which is tied to the past and to the land. At the same time, the public articulation of ethnic identity is a modern enterprise, oriented towards the future, and fully situated within extant national and international discourses. Narratives of place that center one's identity, tying it to a specific locale, are common rhetorical and political strategies regardless of their correlation to the everyday, lived lives of those participating in them. As Lucy Lippard points out, "the relationship of multicenteredness to identity is less acknowledged than that of either rootedness or placelessness" (1997: 42) because the field of ethno-politics is much more about purity, stasis, and rootedness than about contamination, movement and routes. The Sámi narratives of place that are evoked in the ethno-political debate are articulated through the discourse of the local, in the context of the national and global, and are informed by and shaped with reference to Norwegian grand and small narratives with which they coexist.

The wholesale association of the indigene with the "local" denies the fact that contemporary identities are multiply constituted and globally enmeshed, and that any experience of space is informed by *both* local and global processes and is constantly renewed and regenerated. The limitation of the terms of Sámi identity to the realm of the "local" effects a spatial incarceration that effaces the realities of the Sámi within a global economy and within the Norwegian welfare-state. Thus depictions of the "time and space locked native", are not expressions of multi-vocality and empowerment. Rather, they serve to reinforce existing networks of power while effectively *dis*-empowering the native voice. The celebratory and apparently resistant rhetoric of Sámi heritage politics obscures both the reconfiguration of all links between time, place and identity as a result of the socio-political realities of late-modernity, as well as the regulatory and normalizing function of such a publicly articulated identity. Sámi heritage politics tend to reify, normalize, standardize, and thus *regulate* Sámi identity as well as constitute it, and serve to reinscribe an essentialized subject that is marked in contrast to an equally essentialized state.

The antagonism of homogenizing space and particularizing place fits a modernist paradigmatic view of bounded polarities, impelled by a sense of enlightened rationalism. Such paradigms, however, are shattered by an increasingly complex matrix of overlapping flows of people, capital, information and identities. The rhetoric of "nation" fixates on place and landscape with a particular history and culture. What this article has argued is the impossibility of the *unity* of nation –the Sámi nation, the Norwegian nation – arguing that this fixity is unstable and keeps doubling back on itself in a "liminal, uncertain state of cultural belief [in which] the archaic emerges in the [...] margins of modernity as a result of some psychic ambivalence or intellectual uncertainty" (Bhabha 1990: 295; quoting Freud 1955).

This article has developed Soja's notion of the "third space" and Léfevbre's "spaces of representation" through the metaphor of transition along Route 93 to interrogate the linkages between the putatively bounded, distinct, and ethnically-coded conceptual categories of the local and the global, to suggest that they are dialectically and dialogically intertwined in that zone through which the local and the global are constantly translated, interacting, and intersected by multiple forces. The resultant "matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions" (Bourdieu 1977; quoted in Harvey 1990: 219), challenges more static political and analytical articulations of space, difference, and identity, as we begin to reformulate the local and the global not as antithetical, oppositional categories, but as mutually constitutive – that the global is performed at the local, and the apparent homogeneity and hegemony of the global is constantly fractured and reformed by the local.

NOTES

1. See Drivenes et al. 1994 I: 31; Frykman and Löfgren 1979: 53f; Sorlin 1989: 13.
2. See Löfgren 1989: 8–9 and 21–22, Löfgren 1993; Anttonen and Kvideland 1993: 217–238.
3. This is a double sleight of hand. Not only is Gaski's own fabrication of this "binary" posited as representative of a Sámi world view in a loose equation of individual words and cognitive categories, but it is also based on the North Sámi language – the majority, and now dominant, language among several contemporary Sámi languages, many of which are mutually unintelligible. Thus the "Sámi way of thinking" as extrapolated from individual lexical items in one language is applied to Sámi who do not share the same language, but still presumably share the same world view.
4. As well as the emergence of nationalism which drove, defined, and subsequently justified geo-political borders.
5. The poster reproduced in Figure 3 is an artist's adaptation of a landsat photo. It challenges the hegemonic vantage point implicit in most geo-political maps, whose centers correspond to the power centers. This subversive re-appropriation of maps to challenge the existing order of things was first employed by the Surrealists in the 1920s, but has since become a familiar idiom for Fourth World peoples. In this map of Sápmi, not only is the vantage point inverted, and seen from near the North Pole, but all the place names are in North Sámi dialect. The poster, "Samisat 010790", was

created by Elle Hansa and Hans Ragnar Mathisen, and produced by the Tromso Sámi Association and the Sámi Map Service to commemorate the VI General Assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, 8–12 Aug. 1990.

6. Personal conversation, 14 September 1998.
7. There is now a replica of a *seite* in the Norsk Folkemuseum in Oslo. The accompanying text is as follows: "This *seide* (sacrificial stone) originally stood on a mountain south of Kautokeino in the heart of Samiland. In 1906 local Norwegian authorities had it removed and sent to the Ethnographic Museum in Oslo. In 1951 it was transferred to the Norsk Folkemuseum and it was on display in this exhibition.

   In 1996 a local [Sámi] association asked that the stone be returned. They said this was a fish *seidi* which was supposed to give plenty of fish in the lakes near the mountain. Now there were no fish in the lakes.

   [The] Norsk Folkemuseum decided to send the stone back, and got permission from the University of Oslo, which was the "owner" of the stone. In 1997 the stone was brought back to Kautokeino, to be placed on the mountain when winter snow made snow-scooter transport possible.

   We do not know if there are now more fish to be had in the lakes around *Gárgavárri*. But an old injustice to the local population had been made good again." – Norsk Folkemuseum.

   After the stone was relocated to Kautokeino, a small ceremony was performed in town, between the Sámi College and the main hotel in town, and then the stone was relocated into the mountains. Its location, as well as those of many other such *seite,* is indicated by push pins on a map in the Kautokeino Museum. In June 2000, visiting the museum, I asked the director, Alf Isak Keskitalo, about the locations and functions of some of these sites. When he came over to the map, however, all of the push pins had been mixed up and placed randomly – a favorite activity of visiting school kids, according to Keskitalo, so that the location of these sites again has become somewhat indefinite.
8. From a promotional/tourist postcard sold at Juhls'.
9. Juhls' is one of the few places where one can buy the silver and gold sun medalions, worn by Sámi women to secure their shawls to the front of their formal *gakti*. These breast plates have become bigger and more expensive as the Sámi national costume accrues more ethno-political import, and thus Juhls' contributes to, but also profits from, more emphatic expressions of identity.
10. The Sámi word *gorsa* means a large gorge or narrow, deep and rugged ravine, with or without a river at the bottom, with high, steep sides (Nielsen 1979). Karen Elle Gaup adds that there are many dramatic Sámi legends associated with *gorsa*, those that describe the disappearance of an entire reindeer herd, or even people perishing into such gorges. Gaup suggests that *gorsa* means "life or death", and that the legends emphatically describe death (personal conversation, e-mail, 29 April 1999).
11. This heritage is neither shared by all Sámi, as all Sámi are not reindeer herders, nor is it necessarily in the context in which such activities were previously performed. Rather, in evoking a pan-Sámi identity that uses the iconic trappings particular only to some Sámi, and then adapting these to a spectacular format, what we are witnessing is not only the performance of identity politics, but also the notion of simulacrum, in that the appeals of such spectacles are to a past that never was.
12. New narratives are constantly acreeting to this road. During a brief stay in Kautokeino in June 2000, I heard the stories of a family, returning late one night to Alta from a family vacation in Denmark. As the father tried to pass a car in front of him, he lost control of his own car and trailer, overturning it and throwing out and killing 3 of his 4 children. The horror of this tragedy, heightened by the isolation and danger of this stretch of road, is recounted in personal narratives and commemorated by three make-shift roadside markers, now blending again into the consuming landscape. I would suggest that these stories become significant in part because of where they take place, and not in and of themselves.

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A Catholic Martyr and Protestant Heritage

A Contested Site of Religiosity and its Representation in Contemporary Finland

Pope Gregory the Great (540–604) declared at the end of the sixth century that all of Europe, including the people living in its margins, was to be integrated and brought under the rule of the Roman Church. Following this imperial call, the Hamburg-Bremen archbishopric, founded in the ninth century, took it as its main objective to spread Christianity to the northern regions of Europe. However, the wish of the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen to also serve the imperial objectives of the German Kaiser and to propagate the idea of his divine origin created a conflict with Rome. In this situation, the Nordic kings preferred direct relations with the Pope, and in return, they were authorized by the Pope in 1104 to establish an archbishopric in Lund (then part of Denmark, now southern Sweden) and in 1140 a bishopric in Uppsala. The seat in Uppsala was promoted to archbishopric in 1164. (Suvanto 1985: 18–19; Hiekkanen 2002: 79–80.)

The East Roman or Byzantine Church, with its base in Constantinople, had taken an important step northward when Vladimir, the Grand Duke of Kiev, was baptized a Christian in 988. After this, Orthodox Christianity gradually spread with the help of bishops and monks to areas east of the Baltic Sea (Suvanto 1985: 20). In 1165, only a year after Uppsala became the seat of archbishopric in the Roman Catholic Church, Novgorod received the same status in the Byzantine Church. This was then used as a base for spreading Eastern Christianity to, among other places, the scarcely inhabited Finnish-speaking areas.[1]

The territorial extensions of Christianity were expanded through trade, taxation and raiding. In the eleventh century, the Roman Catholic Church established the concept of crusade, which, rather than signifying a mere missionary expedition, legitimated the use of violence for the expansion of religion, trade relations and political control. This made the crusade more or less a territorial conquest that was conceptualized in religious terms. The Pope gave authorizations for crusades in an official call termed *bulla*. In the Baltic Sea region the first crusade was conducted in 1147 against the western Slavic Wends on the southeastern shores of the sea.

According to clerical and popular sources from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as well as many Finnish history books that draw on these sources, another crusade was made in the 1150s from Sweden to what is present-day Finland. Erik Jedvardsson, the King of Upland who was later to become King Erik IX of Sweden, and locally proclaimed Saint Erik, allegedly conducted – sometime between 1155 and 1158 – a journey of war and missionary zeal in which his *ledung* fleet was accompanied by an allegedly English-born bishop named Henrik.[2] According to the same sources, Henrik had recently been nominated the bishop of Uppsala. He is said to have baptized a great number of heathen Finns to Christianity at the Kupittaa (Sw. Kuppis) fountain that still exists in the city of Turku (Sw. Åbo) in south-western Finland (or Finland Proper).[3]

The clerical and popular sources also depict how King Erik went back to Sweden, while Bishop Henrik stayed on in the Turku area to continue the work of Christian conversion and organizing the local church. The next winter Henrik was violently killed on the ice of Lake Köyliö (Sw. Kjulo), approximately 100 kilometers north of Turku, when returning from a preaching trip to Kokemäki (Sw. Kumo) in Lower Satakunta, a region known to have early Christian influences (see e.g., Huurre 1979: 161–163; Pirinen 1991a: 29). The earliest sources to give the killer a name (Lalli) and place of inhabitance (Köyliö) date from the early seventeenth century. In accordance with these sources and the validity given to them, the narrative of the death of Bishop Henrik is nowadays generally known as the story of Bishop Henrik and Lalli.

The story of Bishop (or Saint) Henrik and Lalli is a narrative of many beginnings. Ever since the medieval times, it has been regarded as both designating and depicting the arrival of Christianity in Finland. It thus marks the beginning and origin of Finland as Christian land. At the same time, it has marked the beginning of the country's historical period and the end of its prehistory (e.g., Huurre 1979: 229; see also Lehtonen and Joutsivuo 2002: 37).[4] For the Catholic Church in Finland it continues to provide a narrative of origin for its local roots, in addition to recounting the life and death of the church's local martyr saint. During the early and mid-1990s, when the geopolitical identity of the nation state of Finland was, due to the collapse of the Soviet Union and Finland's new membership in the European Union, under ideological reconstruction, the story of Bishop Henrik and his encounter with his killer came to designate the early beginnings of Finland's "Europeanness" and "Westernness". As a testimony of preferred cultural contacts and political identifications, the narrative complex contributed to the historical justification of the country's new EU membership.[5]

For the present-day residents of the municipality of Köyliö, the narrative provides a framework for advertising the municipality – on its official Internet pages and in tourist brochures – as the birthplace of written history in Finland. Here the killer's identification as the first Finn known by name and as an ancient resident of Köyliö plays a central role.[6] But in addition to this, the narrative complex is regarded – especially in Köyliö but to a certain extent also in wider identity-political debates in the country – as representing the first historical moment of Finnish national defense.[7] In public presentations of local identity, the bishop's killer is depicted as a liberator hero who is believed to have defended his land and people against a foreign intruder.

The image, which has its origin in Hegelian-oriented nineteenth century Fennoman nationalism and the extra-parliamentary political activism of the 1920s and 1930s, was in active use in local resistance to Finland's EU membership in the early 1990s.

Indicating a point of beginning for the Christian Church in Finland, the narrative complex also promotes the conception that Christianity first came to Finland from the west. In this regard it claims Western origins for both medieval and modern culture in Finland, challenging thus the alternative notion that the earlier influences from Greek or Russian Orthodoxy – which are rooted in a number of central concepts such as "*pappi*" (priest), "*risti*" (cross), "*kummi*" (godfather) and "*Raamattu*" (Bible) – speak for the eastern origin of Finnish Christianity (Pirinen 1991a: 32).

As a narrative of many beginnings, the story of Bishop Henrik and his killing can be regarded as a myth, and indeed, many political meanings have been given to its formulation of origins. It is a national myth about the place of Finland in Europe and its location between east and west. At the same time, it is a local myth about the place of Köyliö and its history in the Finnish national context. Moreover, it is a myth of origin for two Christian churches in Finland, first the Catholic Church and nowadays also the Lutheran Church. The Finnish historian Markus Hiekkanen has recently characterized the narrative as "the cornerstone of Finnish history and historical identity" (Hiekkanen 2002: 80).

The story of Bishop Henrik and his killing is a myth also in the sense of lacking undisputed historical accurateness. There are no contemporary records to document the event of the homicide or its immediate historical context. There are thousands of local saints in the world and seventeen of them are known by the name Henrik (Lempiäinen 1989: 22), but except for the Swedish liturgical legend celebrating King Erik, there is no historical evidence whatsoever of a bishop of Uppsala with that name (Suvanto 1985: 153). Even though the narrative of Bishop Henrik and Lalli is presented as true in most Finnish history books, and many historians stand up for its historical accuracy (recently e.g., Jokipii 2002), it is also possible that Bishop Henrik or his killer never existed. To be sure, essential documents about the incident may have been lost. A letter written by Pope Innocentius III to the archbishop of Lund in 1209 discusses Finland and the problems of finding a volunteer to succeed a deceased bishop in difficult circumstances. These circumstances not only include the unfavorable climate and the stubborn population, but also the potentiality of subjecting oneself to martyrdom (Linna 1989: 32). This could be interpreted to refer to the incidents described in the legends.

It is also possible that instead of having been an Englishman, Henrik, as his name suggests, was a German monk or priest sent to Finland by the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen (Suvanto 1987: 154). German influence was expanding northward through Denmark in the tenth century, and along the southeastern shores of the Baltic Sea in the twelfth century. Although Anglo-Saxon influences grew stronger in the Nordic regions in the eleventh century, and continued in the activities of the Papal Legate, Englishman

Nicholas Breakspear (1100–1159; Pope Adrian IV since 1154), German influences started to dominate again in the twelfth century (Rosén 1993: 196–198). According to the historian Kauko Pirinen, Christian contacts in Finland point to Germany rather than to England. For example, the earliest Catholic remains in the country include a fragment of a calendar, which originates in the Hamburg-Bremen archbishopric (Pirinen 1983 [1979]: 13). In addition, the Lübeck-based Hanseatic trade was making its way north at the time (see Pirinen 1991b: 24–28; Ahvenainen 1991).

Yet another possibility is that there was a Christian preacher who died in Köyliö or elsewhere in south-western Finland and was buried in the old wooden church of Nousiainen, and in one way or another the narratives about this person were mixed up with the history of a certain Bishop Henrik of Sigtuna in Sweden, who was killed in exile in 1134 in Scania (Sw. Skåne) (see Suvanto 1985: 19). Consequently, one might be tempted to conclude that the story of Bishop Henrik and his murder has been invented (in the sense of fabrication) for the service of liturgical as well as church political goals, in the same manner as many other traditions have been invented for political purposes (see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).

Skepticism towards the historical foundation of the narrative is added by the fact that there are no reliable sources about the said crusade either. The point of departure for much present-day research into medieval times in Finland is the notion that the area was Christianized gradually over the centuries, not that it came about from a single crusade (Gräslund 1997: 31). Yet, there are also scholars who argue that a major change in religious climate occurred at the time of the alleged first crusade (e.g., Hiekkanen 2002: 81). The first indisputably documented crusade from Sweden to what is presently Finland took place approximately a hundred years later than the one allegedly made by King Erik and Bishop Henrik. In 1237 the Pope issued a *bulla* that authorized the Swedes to conduct a raid against the Tavastians (the people of Häme), on the grounds that their paganism and brutal rituals posed a threat to the kingdom of Sweden (see e.g., Linna 1989: 64). This raid took place in 1249 under the leadership of Earl Birger (Sw. Birger Jarl, 1210–1266). As a result, the areas of Tavastia and Finland Proper (present-day south-western Finland) were annexed to Sweden, and the castle of Häme (Fi. Hämeen linna, Sw. Tavast slott) was built in order to secure the new Swedish territory and its control over both resisting Finnish-speaking groups and Russian raiders from Novgorod. The Swedes continued their expansion eastward and, for the same expansive purpose, built a castle in Viborg (Fi. Viipuri) in 1293.

Yet another point for consideration is the dating of medieval culture. New methods in establishing the age of medieval churches have revealed that most of the approximately 100 limestone churches in Finland are much younger than previously thought. Instead of dating from the period between 1250 and 1520, they are now shown to date from the period between 1430 and 1550 (see Hiekkanen 1994). On the basis of this information it has been suggested that Christianity arrived in Finland at a much slower pace than previously assumed (Drake 1996).

But even if the objective truth in the legend of Bishop Henrik and his killing is uncertain, what is beyond any doubt is that the medieval Christian church, seated in Turku Cathedral, together with the archbishopric of Uppsala, named Bishop Henrik the patron saint of the diocese of Turku and the apostle of Finland. It founded a martyr cult for the commemoration of the bishop's life and work as well as the miracles said to have taken place after he died. This took place towards the end of the thirteenth, or possibly in the beginning of the fourteenth century (Lehtonen 2002b: 106). It was a local cult that never received an official authorization or canonization from the Pope in Rome.

The Saint Henrik martyr cult, the first and oldest martyr cult in Finland, was performed and practiced mainly in church liturgies, pilgrimages, memorial festivals and church iconography. Illustrations depicting the sea voyage by King Erik and Bishop Henrik, the bishop's work of baptism, and the encounter between the martyr and his killer were painted on church walls in many places in Finland as well as in a few places in Sweden (see e.g., Tarkiainen 1990: 37–39). A liturgical legend was composed, apparently towards the end of the thirteenth century, to accompany a somewhat earlier Swedish, Uppsala-based legend about Erik, who was also worshipped as a saint in Nordic churches without official canonization (Åberg 1993: 216).[8] The Legend of Saint Henrik was performed annually in Turku Cathedral during St. Henrik memorial festivals (Haavio 1948: 9; Rinne 1932: 211–241). One of these was on the 20 January, to commemorate the day of his death, and the other, 18 June, to commemorate the day when his bones were transferred from the church of Nousiainen to the newly built Turku Cathedral. The transportation of the remains is said to have taken place in the year 1300, in conjunction with the consecration of the cathedral as the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Henrik.[9]

It was the medieval Catholic Church that elevated the journey that Erik and Henrik allegedly made to Finland to the status of a crusade. Modern age historians disagree on whether there ever was such a journey, as well as whether "crusade" is the appropriate term for it. As pointed out by Lehtonen (2002a: 85), the first records of the use of crusade terminology in this context date from a period 150 years later than the said event. This period actually coincides with the formation process of the martyr cult, which suggests that the adoption of crusade terminology was part of this process. For that reason, it deserves some theoretical speculation about identity politics.

The adoption of crusade terminology in the retrospection and narration of events that allegedly took place in the 1150s is not merely an issue of liturgical textualization. It also signals a process of mythologization, in which the political significance of the narrative for a particular community is established. From this perspective, naming the alleged journey a Christian crusade, by King Erik and Bishop Henrik, can be interpreted as having functioned as a rhetorical means of establishing religious and moral legitimacy for the expansion of Swedish influence and political control in the Finnish-speaking areas. The Swedish expansion also contained campaigns to ward off both the Danes and the Novgorodians, who shared their interest in controlling Finnish-speaking areas and collecting taxes from their inhabitants. According to the interpretation made by the historian Martti Linna, the legend of the killing of the bishop functioned directly in the service of what he calls the Swedish occupation and colonization of Finland. The Swedes, he says, ruled by stigmatizing the Finns with the martyr cult and by imposing on them a sense of guilt, which the Finns had to redeem by paying taxes and showing loyalty. The legend, according to Linna, also made it appear that the country was of old a part of Sweden and thus gave the Swedish conquest and occupation a moral justification (Linna 1996: 201–202).

Although Linna's interpretation is politically motivated and represents his anti-Swedish sentiments, it can be seen as sharing some theoretical perspectives with the study of the politics of martyrdom. One of the greatest changes that conversion into Christianity has meant historically for non-Christian peoples is in the conceptualization of sacrifice and its role in the relationship between humans and the supernatural power. Instead of sacrificial killings, Christianity promoted the institution of martyrdom. In addition to all martyrs having a direct model in the narrative of Christ (in *imitatio Christi)*, they also embody a sense of debt and obligation as a means for social power. A martyr is a sacrifice by a human community in exchange for the benefits that the community is believed to obtain from the supernatural power. But in addition to the supernatural, the sacrifice constitutes a debt also vis-à-vis the martyr. The form of payment in this debt is the socially constructed martyr cult. In order to pay for its debt to the martyr, the Christian community has a social obligation to organize itself around the martyr cult.

It is worth noting here the link between "victim" and "sacrifice". In the English language, according to the American Heritage Dictionary, a "victim" is someone ”who is harmed or killed by another", as well as a ”living creature slain and offered as a sacrifice to a deity or as part of a religious rite". Even though these two meanings tend to be kept separate by using "victim" for the former and "sacrifice" for the latter, they also refer to each other. In the Finnish language the two words are synonyms and both translate as "*uhri*". In Christian mythology, Jesus Christ, as well as the legendary Bishop Henrik in his imitation, are victims that are *post factum* made into sacrifices for the Christian community. Unlike sacrificial animals, neither one was killed to make a sacrifice to a deity or god.

It is the conceptualization of the victim as a sacrifice that constructs a community of beneficiaries with a sense of obligation to organize around the martyr victim/sacrifice. Accordingly, the life and death of Henrik can be seen as a narrative that was composed – possibly with both fact and fiction as well as with the appropriation of local pre-Christian myths and mythical sites – for the sake of creating a local martyr cult and a religious community that would be organized (or which would organize itself) around the martyr cult. Such a process would have been in line with the general practice of the Catholic Church to organize and institutionalize religiosity in general and Catholic Christianity in particular through the system of saints and martyrs. It would also correspond to what the American folklorist Roger Abrahams has discussed as the control of land through its sacralization (Abrahams

1993: 17). Indeed, the creation of a martyr cult for the symbolic construction and consolidation of a religious and civic community may have been more instrumental in the integration of the Finnish-speaking territories into the kingdom of Sweden since the thirteenth century than any use of force or forms of legislation and social organization.

But, as already noted, regardless of whether the story of the killing of Bishop Henrik represents a historical truth or not, or whether or not it is an appropriation of earlier narrative constructions and pre-Christian beliefs, its ramifications are quite real and historically documented. In this way it provides another parallel to the myth of Jesus Christ. Throughout the centuries, the story has been in circulation, retold and re-enacted in a number of communicative and interpretative arenas. It continues to form one of the core myths and doxa for the Catholic faith in Finland. Since the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it has been employed in nationally and nationalistically oriented arguments in the construction of Finnish political history and in the geopolitics of Finnish nation state identity. Since the 1970s, it has been extensively used in the construction of local identity in the municipality of Köyliö and in the rewriting of its historical image. The latest addition to the institutional arenas of interpretation is in the field of Christian ecumenism.

In the retelling and re-enacting of the narrative and its interpretations in these arenas, the historical authenticity of the original story is of secondary importance, although hardly irrelevant. The main significance of the legend tradition – and the reason for its continuation in circulation and performance – lies not in the historical accurateness of the narrated event but in the ways in which it has been interpreted and appropriated. In other words, the point in its circulation is not merely to recount a historical fact, but to put what is believed to be a historical fact into selected argumentative contexts – into contexts of belief and persuasion. This especially applies to the political meanings that the act of killing is considered to convey, which directly leads to the question of who is the hero of the story and whose hero he is.

Catholicism in Protestant Nationalism

The Catholic period in the Nordic countries came to an end in the Reformation, which in Finland was a process that lasted approximately one hundred years, between the 1520s and 1620s. Instead of being merely a rearrangement of religious matters, a change from Catholicism to Lutheran Protestantism, the Reformation was closely intertwined with the reorganization of the Swedish state, in which Finland was a part. The Reformation was a state-organized operation led by King Gustavus Vasa (1496–1560). In conjunction with it a major part of the property of the Church and its sources of income were confiscated and its doctrines were synchronized with those of the state. In addition, the king reserved for himself the right to nominate the bishops, which had earlier been the privilege of the Pope. Around the same time the Hanseatic stronghold in Baltic Sea trade collapsed, which also contributed to the consolidation of emerging state power in northern Europe (see e.g., Ahvenainen 1991; Jokipii 1991; for the Reformation in the European perspective, see Tracy 1999).

In terms of religion, the Reformation meant first and foremost the Lutheranization of the Christian faith and its followers, the change from a Dominican to a unified Evangelical liturgy in the vernacular (see Knuutila 1987). In the quest for religious uniformity, the goal was the removal of all traces of Catholicism. One of the main means of conversion and for the Lutheran homogenization of the population was the adoption of Lutheranism as the official state religion – even though Catholicism continued as an unofficial popular religion in the countryside long after the Reformation. The kingdom of Sweden accepted the Augsburg Confession – the Lutheran Confession of Faith that was first issued at the Diet of Augsburg in Germany in 1530 – at Uppsala in 1593. Consequently, the Swedish state criminalized conversion to Catholicism and regarded it as indicating disloyalty to the state and a threat to its unity. In 1617, the Diet of Örebro passed a law that deprived all new converts to Catholicism the right of citizenship.

In addition to forced Lutheranization and anti-Catholic legislation, the Reformation led to religious persecutions, the closing down of Catholic monasteries, the destruction of Greek Orthodox monasteries in the eastern parts of the country, and large-scale emigrations. After Sweden had signed the Treaty of Stolbovo with Russia in 1617, and especially after the War of Rupture (1656–1658) against Russia, Orthodox Karelians in the eastern parts of the state fled in great numbers into Russian territory, many of them migrating to the Tver region near Moscow. In the province of Käkisalmi (Kexholm) on the Karelian Isthmus, half of the population moved away (Kirkinen 1999: 23). The quest for religious uniformity by the Swedish state, especially in the so-called period of orthodoxy in the seventeenth century, was part of larger homogenizing policies that aimed at consolidating the state through standardizing the administration, legislation, jurisdiction and education – in the Swedish language.[10]

The Reformation also meant the end of the Catholic Saint Henrik martyr cult as well as the pilgrimages to the ritual sites of worship and commemoration. As a consequence, gradually over the centuries, the pilgrim road disappeared from both the map and the territory, but not completely from social memory. The many folk narratives collected during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Western Finland witness a continuing interest in the topic. According to the Finnish folklorist, Martti Haavio, Bishop Henrik was kept persistently in people's memory (Haavio 1948: 12), which may be taken to signal the partial continuation of Catholic conceptions of the sacred in post-Reformation popular religiosity. Alongside the narratives, a Kalevala-metric[11] epic song or folk poem called Bishop Henrik's Death Song (*Piispa Henrikin surmavirsi*) continued to stay in circulation, finding its way eventually to manuscript documentations. These manuscripts constitute some of the major historical sources concerning the legend of Bishop Henrik and his killing. According to the folklorist Matti Kuusi, Bishop Henrik's Death Song is "the best known poem of the Roman Catholic period in Finland" (Kuusi et al. 1977: 555) and "the national legend of Finland" (Kuusi 1963: 307).

In addition to the songs and oral narratives circulating amongst the people living along the old pilgrim road and in its vicinity, the Bishop Henrik legacy began to attract the historical and literary interests of academically educated persons in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The collecting of songs and narratives and the discovery of relevant manuscripts was part of this process. One of the most influential sources that argued with scholarly authority that Bishop Henrik was a historical figure and indisputably the first bishop of Finland was the new edition of Bishop Paulus Juusten's 1550s-work *Chronicon episcoporum Finlandensium*, which Henrik Gabriel Porthan, the "father" of Finnish historical studies, edited and published in 1784–1800.

The Reformation set in course an anti-Catholic policy that came to characterize Finnish nation building and the making of Lutheranism as the state religion of the Finnish nation. This policy was intimately linked to the Fennoman nationalist view that most of the country's historical time was plagued by foreign domination (Sweden) and a foreign religion (Catholicism). The true markers of Finnishness were to be found only when looking beyond the country's Catholic past, to prehistoric antiquity. The Hegelian philosopher J. W. Snellman articulated this idea, for example, in his speech for the ceremony to unveil the statue of Henrik Gabriel Porthan in Turku in 1864. He said that Porthan saw in Finnish folk poetry the signs of a uniquely Finnish culture behind the Catholic medieval past (Kajanto 1983: 26). Both the present and the far-away past, but not the "foreign" time in between, were seen as fulfillments of the Finnish national spirit. In this way, the Protestant nationalists of the nineteenth century drew a direct link between themselves and the mythical prehistoric image they created. The link also implied that the Finns had originally lost their independence when converted to Christianity.

Exemplifying the ambiguity which has come to characterize the relationship between Christianity and the construction of Finnishness, Zachris Topelius wrote a description of Bishop Henrik and his killing in a book that became the most popular, most read and most influential book on Finnish history and national feeling of all times. The first edition of the *Maamme kirja* (The Book of Our Country) was published in Swedish in 1875 and in Finnish in 1876. Here Topelius celebrates Bishop Henry for bringing "the light of Christianity" to "the pagan darkness" of Finland but criticizes the Christians' use of violence in conjunction with it (Topelius 1985: 317–319). This criticism would eventually develop into the heroization of the bishop's killer, making his act the first instance of Finnish national defense (see Anttonen 1996, 1997).

Yet, despite the explicit anti-Catholic sentiments, Catholicism started to gain some ground in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The main reason for the gradual liberalization of this form of Christianity from its legal constraints was the presence of the Catholic Polish officers and soldiers in the Russian Imperial army. Consequently, the Catholic Church was allowed to function in Finland, but first with foreigners only (Heino 1997: 70). The first Catholic congregation in a Finnish-speaking territory was founded in 1799 in the town of Viipuri (Sw. Viborg), which was part of Russia at the time. This became the first Catholic congregation of Finland in 1812, when the so-called Old Finland, which included Viipuri and its vicinity, was annexed to the Grand Duchy of Finland (Vuorela 1989: 22–36).

The second congregation was founded in Helsinki in the 1850s (Vuorela 1989: 37), shortly before the building of a Catholic Church in the southern part of the town. This was consecrated in 1860 and named St. Henry's Cathedral. The original plan was to dedicate the church first to Virgin Mary, and then to St. Erik, but St. Henrik was chosen because his name had got exposure in the 1857 celebrations for the 700th anniversary of the first crusade to Finland (ibid.: 38). The Catholic Church was officially registered as a religious community in 1929, after the constitution of the Republic of Finland in 1919 and the Act on Freedom of Worship, passed in 1922, had secured the rights of citizenship to all regardless of the religious community to which they were affiliated (Heino 1997: 16, 70–71).

In the late 1940s, Martti Haavio, Professor of Research into Folk Poetry and the son of the priest of the parish of Yläne in the northern part of Finland Proper, gave new publicity to the topic of Bishop Henrik with his much-acclaimed folkloristic monograph *Piispa Henrik ja Lalli* (Haavio 1948). In this work, Haavio tested the then standard historic-geographic method of folklore studies on the available manuscript documents and oral narrative material dealing with the narrative complex. The purpose of his research was to date the origin of the legendary folk poem and to argue for the original function of its composition. According to Simo Heininen, Haavio's book continues to be the most significant research on St. Henrik (Heininen 2002: 214). This may be so, but it is noteworthy that Haavio makes no reference to the ways in which the topic had been discussed and presented within the right wing, extra-parliamentary political activism of the 1920s and 1930s, in which he himself had played a central role. In those times the narrative – with the bishop's killer raised as a national liberator hero – had come to symbolize a collective ethos of defense and the nation's fight for its freedom. However, in the post-war situation of defeat, it – in a seemingly depoliticized manner – designated history and tradition, to be reconstructed through text-critical analysis.

The new publicity given to the topic of Bishop Henrik was also acknowledged within the Catholic Church. Following a couple of scouting trips to Köyliö in the late 1940s, Academicum Catholicum, a society founded in 1936 within the Catholic Church, arranged an international pilgrimage in early August 1951 to the island of Kirkkokari near the said murder site of their martyr hero. This was in conjunction with a Nordic Catholic conference held in Parainen (Sw. Pargas) in south-western Finland. The event marked a break of 400 years since a Catholic mass had been held on the island.

Since 1955, the Catholics have organized their pilgrimage to the site annually on the Sunday closest to 18 June. This is the day of the transfer of the bones of Bishop Henrik from Nousiainen to Turku Cathedral in 1300. While Juventus Catholica, a Catholic youth organization, arranges hiking trips from Turku or Yläne to Köyliö, the rest of the pilgrims travel by busses or cars and join them in a short procession to the shore of Lake Köyliö. In 2003, the pilgrims travelled by busses from Helsinki to Yläne and continued to Köyliö on foot. At the shore of Lake Köyliö they took boats to the small island of Kirkkokari, where the annual mass was held at the foot of an ecumenical monument for Bishop Henrik. The memorial statue to the "the Apostle of Finland" was erected by the Lutheran congregation of Köyliö in 1955, on the occasion of the 800th anniversary[12] of the arrival of Christianity in Finland, and in the wake of a global ecumenical movement.

Ecumenical Pilgrimage

Especially since the late 1970s and early 1980s, the legacy of Bishop Henrik has been appropriated within an influential ecumenical movement. This has joined the three major churches in Finland, the Lutheran, the Catholic and the Greek Orthodox churches, to seek ways in which different sections of Christianity can cooperate and improve mutual understanding. One of the ways in which this goal is promoted is to commemorate and celebrate the role of Bishop Henrik in the history of the country's Christianization. In this context, Bishop Henrik is emphatically a culture hero, the bringer of Christian faith to Finland.

The original idea to organize an ecumenical pilgrimage in Finland came in the early 1980s from the Vatican-supported *Europa Valfahrt Gesellschaft* and the German Catholic theologian, Gerhard Specht, who had organized pilgrimages in approximately ten European countries after the Second World War. Prior to his visits in Finland, Väinö Nummisto, an artist living in Köyliö, had devoted himself to reviving the Bishop Henrik legacy with an emphasis on both protagonists in the story complex. He campaigned successfully to relocate the medieval pilgrim route and establish it as a historical site and a public hiking track. This took place within the framework of the St. Henry Road Committee, which had been established in 1975 by the municipalities located between the towns of Kokemäki and Turku. Nummisto's successor as the chairperson of the committee was Antti Lehtinen, who represented the city of Turku on the committee. Lehtinen was also a member of the Turku City Council, and the representative of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Ecumenical Council of Finland. He became the connection between Gerhard Specht and the Saint Henry Road Committee, and this led to the founding of the Saint Henry Road Pilgrimage Committee in Turku, with Lehtinen as its chairperson.[13]

From early on, the Ecumenical Pilgrimage of St. Henry was designed to be an extended hiking trip that follows the medieval Catholic pilgrim route in places where this is still possible. At the same time it is conceptualized as part of a network of present-day European pilgrimages, among which the best known is the pilgrimage and the pilgrim road to the grave of St. Jacob at Santiago de Compostela in north-western Spain. But in addition to its identification with the construction of a European pilgrimage heritage, it can be viewed in the context of the larger present-day interest in medievalism and the popular consumption of medieval representations (cf. Gustafsson 2002).

The first ecumenical pilgrimage organized by the Saint Henry Road Pilgrimage Committee took place in 1983. Although occasionally only one or two days long, the main event in the ecumenical commemoration of Bishop Henrik is a week-long pilgrimage. It starts from Turku Cathedral and continues to the Church of St. Henry at Nousiainen and then through Yläne and Köyliö to Kokemäki. The length of the route is 140 kilometers. In June 2000, the pilgrimage followed the route from the opposite direction, starting from Kokemäki and finishing in Turku. On their way, the participants attended a Catholic mass at the small island of Kirkkokari in Köyliö, where a Eucharist in memory of St. Henrik was held.

The participants in the Ecumenical Pilgrimage come from all the Christian churches in Finland, as well as from other countries, such as Sweden, Russia and Germany. The majority of the Finnish participants are Lutherans with an ecumenical orientation or with an interest in (or curiosity about) Catholic and Greek Orthodox ways. The pilgrimage therefore, at least partially, exemplifies a general present-day trend in which members of the Lutheran Church have grown interested in adopting selected traits from the other Christian churches. One aspect in this trend is the growing attraction for public religious processions, which in Finland until recently have only been known among Greek Orthodox in the Eastern part of the country and on both sides of the Finnish-Russian border. Lutherans have taken up the form of presentation and have started to organize religious processions in public places, for instance on city streets.

For an observer, as I was in 1995, it soon became evident that the ecumenical St. Henry Road pilgrimage carries particular psychologically-constituted religious values for its participants. Both the participants and the organizers emphasize that the pilgrimage provides them with a temporary retreat from the busy everyday, a moment of tranquility that is believed to give them new strength. This meaning was also made explicit by one of the pilgrimage's present organizers, pastor Kalle Elonheimo, in a recent TV documentary about the event made by Kirsi Jansa (Jansa 2000). Hiking across fields and woods in procession, the group occasionally paused for prayers as well as for services held jointly with representatives of local congregations in the municipalities that the procession passes through. Traveling is at the same time a physical and a spiritual exercise and as such, conceptualized as a sort of rite of passage to attain a material goal, the end of the pilgrim route and the conclusion of the pilgrimage program.

As a shared experience, the pilgrimage is felt to create – and the participants are rhetorically encouraged by the organizers to feel – a sense of unity and communion, a sense of moral community that represents in miniature and metonymy the moral community of Christians in general. Yet, at the same time the pilgrimage experience represents something rather alien to Lutheran Christianity, which has traditionally abstained from public processions. It thus connects the Lutheran participants, at least in principle, to such other forms of religiosity as Catholic and Orthodox Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism and Shinto.

It is from these other forms of religiosity that the rhetoric of pilgrim community is adopted. According to Antti Lehtinen, the greatest reward for the pilgrims on the St. Henrik Road is the experience of being connected with one another, eating together, sleeping side by side in the same tents or on the floor of an empty school building, or washing each other's feet in a pond at a resting place (Lehtinen 1995). This can be seen as representing what Victor Turner has categorized as existential or spontaneous *communitas* (a de-territorialized sense of community) with a "direct, immediate, and total confrontation of human identities" (Turner 1974: 169). Sleeping and eating arrangements are among those means with which the organizers of the event purport to enhance the temporary identification among fellow participants and their emerging sense of collectivity.

The St. Henrik pilgrimage differs in many ways from a prototypical pilgrimage, which is "an ascetic journey of religious obligation to obtain healing and purification" (Socolov 1997: 647). It is, first, a package tour in which the events follow a pre-set and pre-paid program. Second, even if there is no religious obligation for conducting it, it does not represent the typically voluntary Christian pilgrimages that are "undertaken to fulfill a vow, a promise, or as a self-chosen act of penance" (Turner 1974: 198). Yet, what the participants are encouraged to experience socially is rather typical of most pilgrimages, and it is to this that the event's ecumenical character adds a special flavor. The participants in the ecumenical St. Henrik pilgrimage are brought together by a joint interest in sharing individual religious, physical and psychological experiences, and their sense of community emerges from their joint activities. The narrative of the killing of Bishop Henrik and the localization of the incidents in this event in south-western Finnish territory provides them with a common theme – a theme park of a sort – for combining Christian devotion, praying and hymn-singing with hiking, historical tourism and the making of an ecumenical statement.

The ecumenical statement that the participants make extends their temporary sense of unity across their individual differences to the idea of unity between Christians in different denominations – a unity under one God. Yet, even though the ecumenical pilgrimage foregrounds relations between the three main Christian Churches, the pilgrimage is not the place where these relations are openly negotiated or debated. Instead of a political encounter between Churches, the attraction of the ecumenical event lies – and is encouraged by the organizers to lie – in the ethical idea of people coming together despite their religious differences. This perspective was put into words in the June 2000 pilgrimage by the Anglican priest, Henry Morgan, who spoke to his fellow passengers at the end of the pilgrimage in the following metaphorical manner:

> We learned to see our differences, not as threats to be argued about, and fought over, but as different colours in God's rainbow that we are called to weave into a pattern of beauty. (Jansa 2000)

Localism, Tourism and Nationalism

In addition to encouraging a sense of unity between individual participants and, by extension, between Christians in general, one crucial aspect in the ecumenical pilgrimage is its local and national contextualization. As a procession through public places, the pilgrimage makes statements about its route and the territories it enters and passes by. On the one hand, the participants may express – and, as I observed, they are encouraged by the organizers to express – an interest in historical information concerning the areas that they are passing through. Hiking through historical sites may even function as a means with which the people link themselves to the territory and the articulated narrative representations about its history. According to Antti Lehtinen, one of the key motivations to participate in the pilgrimage is to seek roots and historical experiences (Lehtinen 1995, personal communication).

But as noted by I. M. Lewis, pilgrimages also stimulate economic as well as religious transactions in a wider system of exchange (Lewis 1991: x–xi). The municipalities situated along the old pilgrim road share an interest in the ecumenical pilgrimage since it provides them with a means to construct and display part of their recognizable and marketable local identity with the help of the Bishop Henrik legacy. Turku, Nousiainen and Köyliö were the major sites of ritualization in the medieval Catholic arena of Bishop Henrik's commemoration. Today, in addition to these places, the marketability of the tradition concerns such municipalities as Rusko, Masku, Mynämäki, Yläne and Kokemäki. The narrative and ritual tradition of Bishop Henrik's commemoration provides them with a means to link their locally-anchored historical themes and sites to the making of national cultural history. They can argue for their local value as constitutive parts of a Finnish national heritage.

The link between local sites and the rhetorical construction of national heritage carries economic potential for the municipalities, as representations of the heritage can be put on display in saleable and consumable objects, souvenirs and tourist sights. Yet, the link is made explicit most conspicuously with the means of both historical and newly-erected monuments. The new monuments are mostly crosses, indicating a tendency to mark the pilgrim route, along its lengthy course, with cross symbolism. A cross may stand on a field or in the middle of a forest, on top of a medieval limestone church, or it is carried by hand in front of the procession.

According to Antti Lehtinen, the ecumenical St. Henry Road Pilgrimage differs from all other pilgrimages in Europe by containing a number of cult sites along the pilgrim road, and by being a cult site "throughout its 150 kilometers' length" (Lehtinen 1995). He means that the pilgrim route comprises a number of significant places of ritualization, instead of merely leading to one sacred site at the end of the pilgrim road. To what extent this is unique in the St. Henry Road Pilgrimage is debatable, since Victor Turner has made the general observation that in the pilgrim's movement toward the central shrine, "the route itself becomes a sacred, sometimes mythical journey till almost every landmark and ultimately every step is a condensed, multivocal symbol capable of arousing much affect and desire" (Turner 1974: 198). Yet, instead of a mere mental experience, the pilgrim road in the Finnish case is intentionally made to contain a number of significant places. Recent years have witnessed a major increase in such sites, as newly established historical and religious monuments, mainly crosses, have been erected or re-erected along or near the pilgrim road.

The crosses erected along the way are not mere religious tokens. They are also landmarks in a discourse that blends history with religion and religion with history. A case in point is the Kappelniittu Memorial Cross in Yläne, which was ecumenically consecrated in June 1995, in the presence of top-ranking representatives from the Catholic, Lutheran and Greek Orthodox churches. The erecting of this memorial cross not only signified religious symbolism. As the many speakers on the occasion stressed, it was also expected to convey specific historical meanings and symbolic values. These include the following: how the area has been inhabited as early as the Iron Age, how academic research in the area can possibly yield information about ancient residential developments, changes in the topography, the history of agriculture, the diffusion of Christian beliefs and practices, the remains of a possible medieval chapel and a cemetery and a prehistorically cultivated field. All of these were designed, in a plan by the municipality of Yläne, to become elements of a future history park in the area (*Lehdistötiedote* 17.6.1995). Parts of the plan have been realized in the information and exhibition center called *Luontokapinetti* (Nature Cabinet), which opened to the public in spring 2002.

By giving prominence to the historical landmarks and by making a visit to these landmarks part of the collective activity of a religious event, the ecumenical pilgrimage not only combines worshipping with hiking or religion with an interest in local history. In other words, the pilgrimage is not only a religious or spiritual experience that gives the individual participants a chance to join together in hiking, devotional services, praying and hymn-singing in a "historically rich" environment. In addition to this, it seeks to establish new ways to sacralize land and the local topography within a religious framework that at the same time foregrounds its own national contextualization. It thus participates in the geopolitics of religion within the national territory. The contested nature of these geopolitics is exemplified by the fact that the tendency in the Yläne case to mark more and more places with memorial crosses was openly criticized by a leading Catholic as an unnecessary invention of new traditions (see Laukama 1995). This shows that, in addition to pointing to religion and devotion, the honoring of a culture hero, the mythical bringer of Christianity, operates in the larger context of ritualizing history and historical consciousness. The ritualization of history takes place in ways that emphatically draw the national into the category of religion. Despite the explicit goal of ecumenism, this highlights the question of which form of Christianity, Catholicism or Lutheran Protestantism, is being promoted with national significance.

Nationalized Agendas

In addition to collectively shared individual religious and aesthetic meanings, and economic exchanges, the ecumenical pilgrimage participates in a number of discourses on religion and society, history, local and national heritage, heritage politics, the construction of "tradition" as a marker of cultural continuity, the relations between the different sections and churches of Christianity, and the institutional representation of these within the pilgrimage context. Moreover, even though such issues may appear distant to the average participant, the ecumenical pilgrimage participates in the discourse on the construction of Finnishness and its collective mythologies and the geopolitical positioning of Finland and Finnishness in the European and global context. This makes the pilgrimage a social movement that in many ways is indicative of the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century cultural and political climate.

In the annual Catholic pilgrimages, the priests have emphasized a direct link between the faith of the present-day congregation and the faith of the people in medieval Finland. This link creates historical continuity for Catholic identification in Finland and claims for it a share in the production of national culture. In June 1994, bishop Paul Verschuren said during his sermon at Kirkkokari that "this small and modest island tells about the arrival of Christianity in Finland, the arrival of *our* faith in Finland" (my translation from a tape recording). Instead of the self-description of a small and marginal minority group, this can be taken as an attempt to argue for national value for the Catholic faith in Finland. Such a reading would be in line with the Church's wish to assert historical claims for at least some of the developments in modern Finnish society. In his introduction to the history of Catholicism in Finland, Martti Voutilainen (1989: 3) not only emphasizes the Catholic nature of early Christianity but also puts stress on the solid foundation that the Catholic period in the Middle Ages created for subsequent historical achievements and present-day Finnish life.

Yet, the Catholic Church has hardly any national significance in Finland. Unlike the Lutheran Church, which has enjoyed close ties with state power ever since the Reformation, the Catholic Church has no control or institutional influence over how nationally significant history is written. One of the many reasons for this political marginality is that the Church is very small. Members of Catholic congregations make up 0,1 per cent of the population (Niemelä 2003: 126). At the end of 2001, the seven Catholic congregations comprised 7,986 members (*Fides* 5/2002: 3). In addition, foreigners tend to characterize Church membership, and membership tends to denote foreignness. A recent publication by the Finnish Evangelical Church states explicitly: "many of them [the Catholics] are foreigners resident in Finland" (Raitis 2001). Some of the factual reasons for this state of affairs are that the bishops come mainly from Holland and Poland, while immigrants, for example from Vietnam and the Philippines, have provided new members. Despite its legal status, Catholicism continues to appear in Finland as a "foreign" religion.

In contrast, Lutherans are a clear majority of the population, even though religious homogeneity gradually decreased during the twentieth century. In 1922, when the Act on Freedom of Worship was passed in the newly independent Republic of Finland, 98,1 per cent of the population was Lutheran. In 1960 the percentage was 92,4 per cent, and in 1995, 85,8 per cent (Heino 1997: 24). In 2001, according to Statistics Finland on the Internet, Lutherans constituted 84,9 per cent of the population (http://www.stat.fi/tk/tp/tasku/taskue_vaesto.html). Despite the gradual decrease in number, Lutheranism is still a strong element in Finnish culture and society, indicating of a successful Reformation as well as successful post-Reformation Protestant homogenization. In addition to dominating the country's rather homogenous religious map, Lutheranism is commonly made into a matter of collective nation state identity (Niemelä 2003: 127–128). In April 1998, President Martti Ahtisaari gave a lecture in Berlin in which he emphasized that, in addition to Germany being Finland's most important trade partner and one of the main sources of Finnish cultural heritage, "Finland is still Martin Luther country" (Ahtisaari 1998).

Yet, despite the "foreignness" of Catholicism in a predominantly Lutheran country, present-day Lutheran Finns do not seem to have a particularly negative attitude towards the Catholic Church. According to statistics from 1996, 10 per cent of the population has a negative attitude, while 30 per cent has a positive attitude (Heino 1997: 29). In 2000, the percentages were 11 and 35, respectively (Niemelä 2003: 145). Still, the possibility of Catholicism re-gaining ground in the course of European economic and political integration became a heated topic in the early 1990s, when Finland was negotiating its membership in the European Union. Responding to generally expressed anxiety, the Lutheran archbishop, John Vikström, made a public statement in August 1994 in which he warned against "a fruitless polarization between the Catholic and Protestant blocs" and suggested that people should, instead, look for that which is common in both (*Helsingin Sanomat*, August 11, 1994). The emphasis on common elements is in line with the principles and rhetoric of the ecumenical movement, in which Vikström has been a leading figure in Finland.

Unlike a Catholic pilgrimage, the ecumenical pilgrimage is successful in persuading of its national significance. While it identifies with the network of European pilgrimages in the heritage political spirit of the Santiago de Compostela Declaration of the European Council in 1987 (for this, see http://www.coe.int/T/E/Cultural_Co-operation/Heritage) and invests to attract international participation (see http://www.henrikin.fi/sthenrik/index.htm), there is at the same time a rather strong orientation towards the nationalization of the ecumenical reading of Bishop Henrik legacy. Regardless of the many international participants in the pilgrimages and the organizers' frequent emphasis on the significance of their presence, there is an openly expressed interest in contextualizing the Bishop Henrik tradition within Finnish national culture. This was made explicit early on in the preface for the booklet that the Saint Henry Road Committee published in 1979 for the revival of the road. Here the Lutheran archbishop, Mikko Juva – John Vikström's predecessor – wrote that a pilgrim on the St. Henrik Road not only follows the oldest Finnish traces of the Christian faith but also the decisive stages of the first transition period "in our national history" (Suominen 1979: 3).

Because of the national significance of Lutheran cultural production and its heritage, the ecumenical pilgrimage – unlike the Catholic pilgrimage – also succeeds in receiving the attention of the nationally oriented public media. Finnish daily newspapers carry pictorials on the ecumenical pilgrimage, but noticeably less on the Catholic pilgrimage. Kirsi Jansa's TV documentary, made in 2000, exemplifies the tendency to focus on the ecumenical pilgrimage and its international character. Yet, an attendant at the Catholic mass on the island of Kirkkokari in Köyliö can easily recognize that this event has a much stronger international flavor than the ecumenical St. Henrik pilgrimage.

My observation is that the celebration of the country's Christianization – which in its Western form was by historical fact carried out by the Catholic Church – and the commemoration of its allegedly first Christian bishop, a martyr saint in Finnish Catholicism, receives much wider public attention today in its ecumenical and Lutheran appropriations than through Catholicism. A Lutheran-dominated ecumenical pilgrimage to the place where Bishop Henrik was martyred carries national relevance and receives repeated national media attention, but the Catholic pilgrimage to the same place does not. A case in point is a short article carried by the country's leading newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*, in November 2002. This dealt with the history of the Catholic Church in Helsinki, emphasizing in both the heading and the subheading that the Church of St. Henry is the most international sanctuary in the country's capital, organizing masses in eight languages, with its members speaking 70 different languages (Väliaho 2002). Yet, as in the Catholic pilgrimage to Köyliö, the strongly international character of the activity is seen to represent an element of foreignness in Finland rather than the diversity of Finnishness. In the Lutheran appropriation of the Bishop Henrik legacy, the international aspect serves as an additional proof for its national significance.

This is not a coincidence. Instead, it can be seen to exemplify a continuing political discourse about the place of the Catholic faith on the Finnish map of religions. Even though the Catholic Church is again allowed to act without restrictions, its re-legalization has not brought it back from the margins of Finnish society. The restored fragments of mural art on the walls of medieval churches, which after the Reformation were covered up with white paint, have now been adopted as specimens of Finnish cultural history and made into monuments of national patrimony. But while this re-centralizes selected elements of cultural production from the country's Catholic period, it does not re-centralize Catholicism as an element of Finnishness. While Lutheran cultural history speaks for the Lutheran faith, Catholic cultural history speaks for the medieval prehistory of the Lutheran faith and the Lutheran-dominated nation. Selected specimens of Catholic cultural history are now in high demand in the popular consumption of medievalism, in which their link to the Catholic faith is an issue of history and historical tourism, not religious practice and belief.

The touristic interest in history has an explicit political function. While the potential expansion of Catholicism within the European Union may still be felt as a threat to Nordic Protestantism, the Catholic period in Finnish history has come to stand for Finland's (positively valued) early connections to Europe. As already stated above, it has come to testify about preferred cultural contacts and political identifications. The new perspective is manifested in an array of local and national seminars, exhibitions, publications and www-pages. The appropriation of the Bishop Henrik legacy in its Lutheran and Ecumenical contexts has played an important role in this, promoting the idea that Finland became European – in the present-day sense of the word – through its (Western) Christianization in the twelfth century. A somewhat similar case is St. Birgitta of Vadstena, Sweden (ca. 1303–1373), appointed a patron of Europe in 1999 by the Pope and widely celebrated for her 700th anniversary in 2003 (see Setälä 2002; Ahl 2003; Setälä and Ahl 2003). The celebrations of these medieval Catholic saints in Protestant modernity exemplify how representations of selected elements of history are put in the service of present-day geopolitical identifications – in the production of a united and common Europe and legitimate partnership in it.

Who Owns Bishop Henrik as Heritage?

There are two pilgrim groups wandering the same south-western Finnish and Lower Satakunta roads and forest paths, but there appears to be no rivalry between them. The ecumenical pilgrimage may join the Catholic mass at the foot of the ecumenical Bishop Henrik monument on the island of Kirkkokari in Köyliö. Catholics may also take part in the Ecumenical pilgrimage. Yet, there is no basis for combining these groups either, to make only one pilgrimage. The two pilgrim groups represent two different approaches to Christianity and a slightly different reading of history and mythology, but there is not enough at stake politically for conflicts to emerge. There are possibly more common elements than divergent elements in the two respective readings. For both of them Bishop Henrik is a culture hero, the bringer of Christianity to Finland.

Yet, there are also differences in the two Bishop Henrik commemorations. For the ecumenicists, Bishop Henrik is an ecumenical symbol, a modern symbol of the unity of Christians across the dividing lines of religious dogma. Regardless of whether Henrik is considered a historical person or a mythical figure, he serves a mythical function as an image of holiness, with the help of which a believer can attempt to sense the original spirit of the undivided Christian Church. For the Catholics, on the other hand, Catholicism itself stands for the original undivided Church. Bishop Henrik is seen as an emphatically Catholic saint, a martyr in the company of other Christian saints and martyrs. The ritualization of his memory represents the continuation of a long interrupted cult. At the same time, the martyr cult cannot escape carrying a reference to the present-day minority position of the Catholic faith in Finland and the history that brought it about.

These differences represent a larger question in the political relations between the different sectors of Christianity in Finland. Indeed, when writing the national history of Protestant Finland or the history of religions in the country, the role and position of the country's Catholic past prior to its Protestantization brings an unavoidable political twist into the enterprise. When celebrating the history of Christianity in Finland and the more-or-less mythical narrative concerning the arrival of the Christian faith in the country, one is faced with questions of what constitutes medieval Christian heritage, who owns it, how it should be represented, and how the question of ownership and historical representation affects the relationship between the two Christian Churches. It is the issue of this ownership and the public representations of it that make the two sets of pilgrimages movements in society in addition to movement in ritualized space.

Bishop Henrik has become an ecumenical symbol of Christian unity, and the highest representatives of the three Christian Churches have made a number of joint public appearances to celebrate the symbol on various occasions in Finland and internationally. Yet, these Churches do not share an equal footing. The Orthodox Church, for example, has no historical link to the Bishop Henrik tradition. In addition the tradition argues, unlike the Orthodox Church, for Western origins of Christianity in Finland.

Things are even more complicated for the Catholic Church. In addition to having been, and to an extent continuing to be, marginalized by Lutheran Protestantism, the Catholic faith faces a new challenge in Ecumenism. While the Catholic Church stands openly in favor of ecumenism, the celebration of Bishop Henrik as an ecumenical symbol may go against the Church's own interest in keeping Bishop Henrik a Catholic martyr saint. The Catholics' own pilgrimage tradition, extending back to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, has to compete nowadays with the ecumenical one, which intentionally coincides with the Catholic pilgrimage. Yet, the ecumenical interpretation has tended to play down what is central in the Catholic interpretation: the role of Henrik as a martyr saint. This may be one of the reasons why the ecumenical pilgrimage does not appear to attract too many Catholic participants.

In addition, the Catholics vehemently frown upon the hero cult that has emerged around the killer of their martyr saint.[14] Even though the ecumenical movement has in no way promoted this development, the organizing of the ecumenical pilgrimage has a certain historical connection with the emergence of the Köyliö-based hero cult. One of the characteristic features in celebrating the local hero in Köyliö is to impersonate him in costumes that draw on historical knowledge and archeological findings, first introduced by Väinö Nummisto in a sketch performed on an excursion organized at the annual summer festival of the Finnish Association for Local Culture (*Suomen Kotiseutuliitto*) in Turku in 1979. This was in conjunction with the unveiling of the St. Henry Road monument, which was one of the highlights of the festival. Antti Lehtinen, the *primus motor* of the ecumenical pilgrimages, played the role of Bishop Henrik in the sketch. Unlike the original narratives, Henrik turned out to be the champion in this encounter (Lehtinen 1995, personal communication).

Rather paradoxically for the Catholic Church, the annual mass for the Catholic martyr saint takes place in an environment that is the central locale in the heroization of the martyr's killer. The local people in Köyliö may help out the pilgrims by organizing boat transportation to the island of Kirkkokari, but they choose not to participate either in the Catholic mass or the ecumenical Eucharist. According to Tuula Kytövuori (2000: 19), the way in which Bishop Henrik is talked about in connection to the pilgrimages is alien to the present-day inhabitants of Köyliö.

Since both the Catholics and the Ecumenicists speak for and claim to represent the original unity of the Christian church, the ecumenical "return" to the original undivided Christian church can in some respects be interpreted as contesting the Catholics' right of ownership – or their privilege – to their martyr cult and to the medieval Catholic heritage. Pastor Martti Hirvonen, an active member in the organization of ecumenical pilgrimages in the 1980s and 1990s, emphasized the Lutherans' right to participate in the commemoration of St. Henrik. According to Hirvonen, St. Henrik is common heritage, instead of being merely Catholic (1995, personal communication).

In a sense, the Catholic Church lost its "birth right" to Bishop Henrik in the Reformation. Despite the Protestant rereading of Catholic doctrines, and the interruption of the martyr saint cult for 400 years, Bishop Henrik continued to be conceptualized as the Apostle and Patron Saint of Finland. This interpretation was displayed, for example, in a poem that Zachris Topelius Jr. wrote in 1841 (see Alhoniemi 1969: 148; Anttonen 1997: 12), as well as at the 700th anniversary of the arrival of Christianity in 1857 and the 800th anniversary in 1955. The close link between the state and the Lutheran Church led eventually to the explicit nationalization of Henrik's status, although his role as a saint, martyr and a supernatural agent of miracles was, consistent with the doctrines of Protestantism, downplayed. The social expectation for downplaying this aspect in the Bishop Henrik legacy was also acknowledged by the organizers of the ecumenical pilgrimage in the 1980s. According to Antti Lehtinen, they had to be careful, especially in the early days, not to present Bishop Henrik as a saint (Lehtinen 1995, personal communication).

For the ecumenically-oriented Lutherans in Finland, ecumenism stands for a development towards internationalism as well as a dissociation from the clannish nationalism and anti-Catholicism that characterized the Church in the 1920s and 1930s (Lauha 2002: 176–181). There is reason to believe that the ecumenically-oriented Catholics have been just as sincere in searching for ways to improve mutual understanding across dividing lines of religious doctrine. But in addition to this, ecumenism has come to play a role in the conceptualization of the position of medieval Catholicism in the construction of Finnish national heritage. It has come to provide a cultural context in which Lutherans can claim their right to the country's Catholic past without giving up their Protestant identity and affiliation. In this sense, ecumenism represents a late-modern or postmodernist development in which elements that were marginal in the process of modernization (including religious homogenization) are now turned into symbolic capital in present-day cultural production. But the postmodernism of ecumenism at the same time continues the modernism of nation making, as the Lutheran appropriation of the country's Catholic history selects those aspects and elements that are deemed valuable from both a Protestant and nationalist perspective. These are drawn into a Protestant nationalist reading of the Finnish national heritage. Even though ecumenism, according to one of its main proponents, the former Lutheran archbishop, John Vikström, is spiritual activity rather than church politics (Vikström 2002: 182), the ecumenical arena constitutes a political framework for making the medieval cultural heritage part of "our national history". As put by Eero Huovinen, the Lutheran bishop of Helsinki, ecumenism denotes the rediscovery of "our roots" (Huovinen 1996; cited in Saarinen 1997: 27).

Recent years have witnessed a conspicuous growth in the Lutheran appropriations of the image of Bishop Henrik. A committee led by the former archbishop, John Vikström, has recommended to the Church the launching of an ecumenical badge of honor that would carry the name Bishop Henrik's Cross (*Metro*, January 24, 2003). Since 2001, 19 January is devoted in the official church calendar of the Evangelical Lutheran Church to the commemoration of Bishop Henrik as a teacher of faith and a martyr. The apparent change of attitude towards saints in Lutheran Protestantism has been justified with a new reading of the Augsburg Confession (see http://www.evl.fi/kkh/to/kjmk/kal/2_phenrikmp.htm; *Helsingin Sanomat*, January 15, 2001: A6). According to another justification, published on the Church's Internet pages by Dean Kai Vahtola, the day of commemorating Bishop Henrik "helps congregation members become conscious of Christianity's historicalness. In addition, Bishop Henrik signals that Finland is essentially part of Europe, also in religious terms" (http://www.evl.fi/kkh/kt/uutiset/tam2001/henrik.htm, my translation).

One of the central means adopted within the Lutheran appropriation of the Bishop Henrik tradition is the construction of a genealogy. Even though the local organizational structure of the pre-Reformation Catholic Church was to some extent continued in the Lutheran Church, we can observe a novel desire to extend the legacy and genealogy of the Finnish Lutheran Church further back in history, beyond the doctrinal protest of the Reformation (Forsberg 1997: 92).

The ecumenical St. Henrik pilgrimage is one of the arenas in which this desire is made visible. When the St. Henry Road Committee published a booklet in 1979 for the revival of the St. Henry Pilgrim Road, Archbishop Mikko Juva of the Lutheran Church in Finland presented himself in the preface of the booklet as "the current occupant of the Bishop Henrik seat" (Suominen 1979: 3). In a similar manner, Archbishop John Vikström, Juva's successor, claimed that he was the 53rd occupant of St. Henrik's bishop seat (Vikström 1997: 9). Vikström's position in the lineage was also emphasized by Antti Lehtinen in the context of the ecumenical pilgrimage in 1995 (Lehtinen 1995). In a recent article Vikström writes: "in the viewpoint of our church, its first bishop was Henrik of the twelfth century, instead of any of the sixteenth century bishops" (Vikström 2002: 183, my translation).

The present archbishop, Jukka Paarma, has followed his two predecessors in this issue and stated that the Lutheran Church did not have its origin in the sixteenth century, but continues in essential ways a longer clerical tradition. According to Paarma, the Lutheran Church carries on the heritage of Bishop Henrik, and this means that the Bishop of Turku is the successor of Bishop Henrik (Paarma 2000). On the official Internet pages of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Paarma is counted as the 53rd Bishop of Turku, which places John Vikström in the 52nd position (see *Arkkipiispan viran historia* at http://www.evl.fi). All this serves to indicate that it has become the Evangelical Lutheran Church's official policy to construct its history as starting from the twelfth century. When the Lutheran Church emphasizes a direct genealogical link between its archbishop and Bishop Henrik, the historical line of the Lutheran archbishops is counted from the arrival of Christianity, not from the Reformation.

There may or may not be enough historical basis for establishing Bishop Henrik as the first Christian bishop in Finland. But whether this makes him a Finnish bishop is a matter of interpretation, since he is said to have been the Bishop of Uppsala. Accordingly, Catholic Online Saints (http://www.catholic.org/saints) presents him both as St. Henry of Sweden and St. Henry of Uppsala. In a similar manner, there are no objective criteria for determining whether the lineage drawn from Bishop Henrik to the present-day holder of the seat of archbishopric in the Lutheran Church is historically accurate or not. This is a heritage political argument, and as such, it is just as argumentative as the Catholic Church's counter claim for their line of history, which was undeniably interrupted in the Reformation. Political loyalty and religious affiliation can be the only basis for taking sides in such an issue. What is more significant, though, from the perspective of research into heritage politics, is the logical consequence of the Lutherans' claim of their right of ownership. If the Lutheran archbishop is the "true" inheritor of the Bishop Henrik seat, then the bishop of the Catholic Church in Finland cannot be regarded as a successor in the same lineage with Bishop Henrik. The line of descent, and the right of descent, is exclusive – regardless of the ecumenical rhetoric of common symbolism. When the Lutheran Church and the ecumenical pilgrimage present medieval Catholicism as denoting the long historical tradition of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Catholic Church is denied ownership to that history.

From the perspective of the Catholic Church, the situation has become even more problematic because of the growing contacts between the Finnish Lutheran Church and the Pope. Since 1985, these contacts have included an annual ecumenical mass in the Santa Maria Sopra Minerva Church in Rome and a visit with the Pope at the Vatican. Along with the other international contacts that the Lutheran Church has made, this may indicate the Church's wish to contribute to the foreign policy interests of the Finnish state (Luukkanen 1999: 62). Yet, in an unofficial commentary, the late deacon and information officer, Pentti Laukama, of the Catholic Information Centre saw the warm relations between the Vatican and the Finnish Lutheran Church as a potential sign of Catholicism's further marginalization in Finland (Laukama 1998, personal communication). Even though the Catholic Church actively participates in these ecumenical contacts, they threaten to strip the Church of a role in its own basic network. Consequently, even if the ecumenically oriented Lutherans may cherish a positive outlook toward Catholicism and religious diversity in Finland, the interest that Lutherans have shown in appropriating the Bishop Henrik legacy and claiming ownership of it may come to promote ways that actually undermine this diversity.

The Lutheran appropriation of medieval Catholicism concerns tangible heritage as well. In spring 1998, a controversy arose over a piece of bone that is allegedly a genuine relic of St. Henrik, and on 1 August it made national news on Yleisradio Broadcasting Company (channel 1). The issue mainly concerned three institutions: the National Museum in Helsinki, the Catholic St. Henry's Cathedral in Helsinki and the Turku Cathedral, as well as their background organizations. Representatives of all of them were interviewed for the news broadcast.

The public argument arose over two main issues: who is the rightful owner of the relic and who gets to put it on display. The relic had been in the possession of the National Board of Antiquities, which houses the National Museum, since it was discovered – with some other objects – in a closet in the wall of the sacristy of the Turku Cathedral in spring 1924 (see Rinne 1932: 273–281). It was subsequently transferred to the National Museum with the argument that antique objects excavated in conjunction with church restorations are state property (Hallamaa 2000: 39).

The controversy began when the Catholic Church suggested that the relic be deposited in St. Henry's Cathedral in Helsinki. It had been in storage in the National Museum for 70 years, except for annual visits to the Catholic Cathedral for ritual purposes. According to Parish Priest Teemu Sippo, they now wanted to place it permanently inside the Cathedral's altarpiece as an icon and symbol of the saint that they honor, and "to provide the relic a place it deserves" (Sippo interview, my translation). In contrast to this, Jouko Hallia, Head of the Information Office at the Turku and Kaarina Parish Union said that the relic has been the property of the Turku Cathedral and "it belongs to the Turku Cathedral" (Hallia interview, my translation). The Turku and Kaarina Parish Union wanted to put it on display, either in the Cathedral or the church museum that was in planning, "so that people could come and take a look at it" (Hallia interview, my translation).

The Catholic party also suggested a compromise: to divide the bone into two parts. While this would not compromise the relic's religious value within the Catholic faith, researcher Heikki Hyvönen from the National Board of Antiquities regarded the suggestion as completely unacceptable (Hyvönen interview). Obviously, as far as the religious value of a relic is concerned, size is not an issue. Catholic churches have a long tradition of sharing and circulating pieces of relics – as transnational commodities bought and sold, given as gifts, exchanged, stolen or divided (see Appadurai 1986). But for the two other parties in the controversy, the relic carried historical significance and was conceptualized as a museum object rather than a religious one. Museum objects are metonymical in the representation of human collectivities and culture but not in the representation of materiality. Items for display are not to be cut into pieces in order to be shared with other museums, even though museums do exchange display objects.

The newsreel juxtaposed the three parties in the issue and concluded that the decision lies with the National Board of Antiquities. But it did not juxtapose the interviewees' arguments on the relic's meaning and value, as these were cut out of the broadcasted edition. In the unedited section of the interviews, Hyvönen emphasized the relic's national value and its link to national church history, which would justify its placement in the National Museum's permanent exhibition on the medieval church. Another option was to give it to the Turku Cathedral. Hallia was asked about the spiritual meaning of the relic to the Lutheran Church and he responded by saying that the meaning is historical. "For Lutherans the relic does not contain any saint power, while this is the reason why the Catholics would like to have it for themselves" (Hallia interview, my translation).[16]

Hyvönen said also in his interview that St. Henry's Cathedral as a depository for the relic was out of the question. Still, an agreement was later made to lend the relic to St. Henry's Cathedral for five years, starting from 1 January 2000 (Tukkimäki 2000). According to Hallamaa (2000: 39), the National Board of Antiquities refused to negotiate with the Turku Cathedral, which was regarded as having lost its right of ownership to the relic in the course of its removal to Helsinki in the 1920s.

The supporters of the Turku Cathedral did not welcome the agreement between the National Board of Antiquities and St. Henry's Cathedral. Theologian Olli Hallamaa wrote a public letter to *Yliopisto, Acta Universitatis Helsingiensis*, questioning both the judgment and authority of the National Board of Antiquities to claim ownership of the relic on the grounds of the Antiquities Act (for this, see http://www.nba.fi/ARCHAEOL/act.htm). He argued that the object had not been excavated in the church structures but was discovered in a chest of relics that was part of the medieval property of Turku Cathedral (Hallamaa 2000: 39). Since there is no document to indicate a change in the ownership of the St. Henrik relic, it should, according to Hallamaa, be returned to Turku Cathedral.

In addition, Hallamaa wrote that the Catholic Church was never abolished and the Lutheran Church was never founded. The Reformation did not cause any operational interruption in the church, and this in Hallamaa's opinion means that the Lutheran Church represents a direct continuation from the days of Bishop Henrik to the present. Similarly, the present Bishop of Turku continues the lineage of bishops that began with Henrik (Hallamaa 2000: 41). This line of argumentation is the same as the one advocated by Archbishop Jukka Paarma himself (see Paarma 2000), indicating that it represents the Church's official view of its history.

Hallamaa portrayed the controversial relic of St. Henrik as a symbol of the historical continuation that the Lutheran Church represents. For this reason its rightful place of deposit is, according to him, in Turku Cathedral. But in addition to claiming the right of inheritance for the Lutheran Church, Hallamaa explicitly denied the Catholic Church of any right to speak for, or claim inheritance to, medieval Catholicism. This serves to point out that the real issue in the controversy over the piece of bone is the larger question of which religious institution, the Lutheran Church or the Catholic Church, represents the historical continuity of Christianity in Finland.

The controversy shows the passion with which representatives and supporters of the Lutheran Church have come to claim their right to medieval Catholic history and its symbolic representations. Rather than ecumenism as a language of sharing and transgressing lines of doctrinal division, the case of the relic, and the other ways of appropriating the image of Bishop Henrik, speaks of a heavy investment in the idea of historical continuity and the ownership of history. These have become political capital, and for this reason one might expect another round of controversy in 2005, when the agreement between the National Board of Antiquities and St. Henry's Cathedral expires. The strong interest in possessing the relic also reveals an apparent change in the Lutheran conceptualization of sacred objects. These can now include the human remains of specially categorized individuals, such as medieval saints, if they can be put to serve the consolidation of the Church's position in its national and global interests.

With regard to the factors presented above, it may be justified to state that the groups of pilgrims wandering through south-western Finnish woods to commemorate the Catholic martyr saint Bishop Henrik, mark a sacred topography that is in many respects a contested terrain of history, religion and politics. The complexity of the case gives support to the point made decades ago by the British anthropologist Edmund Leach: "myth and ritual is a language of argument, not a chorus of harmony" (cited in Appadurai 1981: 202).

NOTES

1. The population of what is presently Finland in the twelfth century was between 50,000 and 85,000 people (Läntinen 1987: 129).
2. Apparently because of the bishop's legendary English origin, his name is commonly translated into English as Henry. But since this origin cannot be verified, I prefer the form Henrik, which has been in use in the Finnish and Swedish vernaculars. I use the form Henry only when it appears in translations by others.
3. An illustration of this event, a highly Romantic-style fresco painted in the early 1850s by Robert Wilhelm Ekman (1808–1873), decorates the altar area of Turku Cathedral.
4. According to Lehtonen and Joutsivuo (2002: 36), the historical period begins with the use of literacy and the production of written documents. But as pointed out by Petri Halinen, the first written sources in Finland appeared many decades after the so-called first crusade (Halinen 2002: 64).
5. A couple of examples will suffice from 1994 and 1995, when the popular argumentation for Finland's "Europeanness" was at its height. The official spokesman for the Finnish Lutheran Church, Risto Cantell, who previously worked as the Archbishop's secretary in Turku, said in a Turku-based local newspaper that Finland's relationship with Europe started with Saint Henrik. According to Cantell, for Henrik this relationship turned sour on the ice of Lake Köyliö (*Turkulainen*, June 19, 1994). When the 1981 TV play about Bishop Henrik and Lalli, entitled *Kauhea murhamies Lalli*, written by Erkki Mäkinen and directed by Kari Franck, was rebroadcast on 12 June 1995, it was introduced by the TV announcer as a play "in which we return to the times when Finland was made part of Western Europe and brought into the power domain of the Catholic Church and the Swedish state, in the twelfth century".

On the same day a similar conception was given in the newspaper *Turun Sanomat* in a preview of the evening's TV programs. According to this preview, with the help of the crusade made by St. Erik and Bishop Henrik, Finland was ultimately joined in Western Europe and the power domain of the Catholic Church and the Swedish kingdom during the twelfth century (*Turun Sanomat*, June 12, 1995).

6. For example, the regional tourist paper for the year 1994, *Pyhäjärven seudun matkailulehti* 1994, wrote that the killing of Bishop Henrik on the ice of Lake Köyliö was the first Finnish achievement that made international news.
7. Numerous examples of such a notion could be given, ranging from nationalist writers in the 1920s (Koskenniemi 1957: 10; Karimo 1983: 63–74) and local activists in Köyliö (Haikonen 1994) to right-wing extremists in national politics (Kuisma n.d.) and academic historians (Ehrnrooth 1999: 115; see also Katajala 2002: 93–98). In a recent English-language presentation of the Finnish political system, the authors write: "When the pagan peasant Lalli killed Finland's first bishop Henry, he defended very concretely what was Finnish some eight and a half centuries ago" (Pesonen and Riihinen 2002: 24).
8. Another legend, named Legenda de sancto Henrico episcopo Aboensi per quondam fratrem nouiter compilata, was composed in the latter half of the fifteenth century. This is a longer version of the earlier legend and known as Legenda Nova.
9. According to Vilkuna (1990: 77), memorial festivals were also held for "two holy martyrs" (Bishop Henrik and King Erik) in Sweden since 1296 and in Estonia since 1422.
10. According to a recent study on religiosity in Finland, the homogenization policies of the period of orthodoxy built the foundation for many religious conceptions that still play an important role in Finnish value systems (Ketola 2003: 23).
11. The term "Kalevala-metric" denotes the traditional tetrametric verse format of Finnish-language folk poetry, named anachronistically after the Kalevala epic that Elias Lönnrot compiled in the 1830s on the basis of folk poetry. A Kalevala-metric folk poem is similar in style to those published in the Kalevala epic, but is not necessarily included in it.
12. Due to change in historical calculations about Bishop Henrik's stay in Uppsala, the 700th anniversary of the event was celebrated in 1857, but the 800th anniversary celebrations took place in 1955 (Pirinen 1991a: 42).
13. In late 1999, the committee was transformed into a Turku-based registered society called *Pyhän Henrikin pyhiinvaellusyhdistys*, to promote ecumenism and pilgrimages – especially on the St. Henry Road. For information on the Internet, see http://www.henrikin.fi/sthenrik/saannot.htm.
14. Space does not allow me to go into this discursive arena; see Anttonen 1997, 1999.
15. Since the beginning of the St. Henrik martyr cult, Henrik's day in the annual name-day calendar was 20 January, but it was changed to 19 January in 1668 to match the Swedish calendar.
16. This portrayal of the use of relics in Catholicism is rather similar to the comment that Hallia made in the 8/1999 issue of the periodical *Kirkko ja me*, of which he is the editor. Here he wrote that a piece of Bishop Henrik is being held as an object of worship in Helsinki (Hallia 1999a). In the next issue, after a complaint from a reader, he apologized for misrepresenting the concept of relic in Catholicism. Yet, he emphasized that he "cannot get exited about the use of relics in the support of prayer and devotion" (Hallia 1999b, my translation).

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Reshaping Tradition

Museums, Archives and Tourism

ZOË-HATEEHC DURRAH SCHEFFY

Sámi Religion in Museums and Artistry

On 5 February 2000, during the Jokkmokk Winter Market, "Doors Westward" (*Uvssat davás – Dörrarna västerut*), a series of murals designed by Sámi artist Lars Pirak and Swedish artist Bengt Lindström was inaugurated at the Akkats Dam on the Lule River in Jokkmokk municipality. Lars Pirak contributed nine drum inspired images and a painting titled "Reindeer caravan westward" (*Raido manná álas – Rajden västerut*). Bengt Lindström's designs were inspired by aspects of Sámi traditional spirituality and shamanism. Two of his murals are featured on the dam locks: "Seite", which interprets the traditional offering place, and "The Shaman's eye" (*Nåjdens öga*). His third mural is on the south side of the in-take building above the dam. This depicts "Sáráhkká", one of three daughters of the goddess Máttaráhkká who aided women and children in traditional belief. The north side of the in-take building is painted with a drum on which Lars Pirak, Bengt Lindström, and Lars Johansson Nutti collaborated. Its form and figures are inspired by Lule Sámi design, showing two spheres and *beaivi*, the sun.

The mural project was produced by the Luleå Arts Council in cooperation with Vattenfall, the corporation which runs the hydro-electric dams, and Jokkmokk municipality. During 1995, Lars Pirak, Bengt Lindström, and Lars Johansson Nutti had come together to paint the original image of their drum while on retreat on Vaisaluokta. Roland S. Lundström (1995: 17), writing for *Norbottens Kuriren*, described the drum as a symbol of the dreams, hopes, and visions which are paving the road toward the realization of the Jokkmokk area as a cultural center for Sámi culture. During Autumn, 1999, each of the three artists then produced paintings and illustrations which, along with the drum, were applied to the dam by a local company specializing in large scale mural application. The project officially opened in Winter, 2000.

I had the opportunity to visit "Doors Westward" on several occasions while conducting research on Sámi artistry and museum exhibitions of Sámi culture in Sweden during the 1999–2000 academic year, thanks to a generous dissertation research grant awarded by the American-Scandinavian Foundation. I moved to Jokkmokk in January, 2000, after having spent several months in Stockholm. Each time I visited the mural project, I was struck by the stark contrast which the bright colors – notably blue, red, green, and yellow, emblematic of the Sámi nation – had with the dense forests and vast river surrounding them. Compared to the natural landscape, the colors both surprise and entice, stake a claim to the space, and invite closer investigation. I first saw the paintings in Winter. As Winter turned to Spring and Summer, however, they proved no less vibrant. With the development of my research with both Jokkmokk and Stockholm-based handicraft artists and exhibitions at the Nordic Museum (*Nordiska Museet*), Ájtte – Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum (*Ájtte — Svenskt Fjäll- och Samemuseum*), the Silver Museum (*Silvermuseet*) and the National Museum of Ethnography (*Folkens Etnografiska Museet*), my perceptions of "Doors Westward" and other public displays of traditional spirituality broadened.

Lars Pirak and other local Sámi representatives have offered the view that the mural project on the Akkats Dam, one of 17 dams on the Lule River, is reclaiming both the natural and man-made space for Sámi culture and spiritual heritage through artistic interpretation of Sámi religion in modern colors and modern form (Hällgren 2000: 8). However, the murals can and are being viewed in very different ways. Based on my own observations when approaching the Akkats Dam from Gällivare and Porjus in the north, the onlooker first catches sight of the Lule drum – a visual marker of Sámi culture and spiritual heritage that has become known both inside and outside of its cultural context. From Jokkmokk, however, the approach is more directed to the insider. The images of the "Seite", "The Shaman's Eye", and "Sáráhkká" are highly stylized and not readily recognizable to outsiders as reflections of religious experience. Knowledge of their meanings requires knowledge of Sámi traditional spirituality, contemporary ethnic interests and concerns, and background pertaining to the artists and their creative decisions for the mural project. And all of these require some level of familiarity with Sámi culture and the Jokkmokk area. Ideologically, views of images also vary.

For the opening ceremony, the official catalogue for the Jokkmokk Winter Market described "Doors Westward" as, "[...] monumental paintings which in different ways unite with life and with Sámi culture which still characterizes this specific region of Sweden. If one would like, one can say that both (Lars Pirak's and Bengt Lindström's) artistry are an attempt to create harmony between the worldly – the hydro-electric dam and the power station – and the inner-life that we all crave"[1] (Jokkmokks marknad, 2000; my translation). One could say that. However, many Sámi have not. Strong objections to the murals have come from the Sirkas Sameby, a traditional reindeer herding community in the Lule River region, whose discussions have centered on the public depiction of Sámi spiritual heritage and the conflict of interest these cultural symbols have with regard to traditional herding routes and contemporary territorial rights. Central to their argument is the issue that Sámi spiritual symbols have been placed on an instrument of government intrusion on Sámi land and livelihood. The Sirkas Sameby suggests that the representations, especially Lars Pirak's "Reindeer caravan westward" are actually misrepresentations of the current relationship between the Swedish government and local reindeer herders, as traditional herding routes have been interrupted by the dams on the Lule River. In addition, several *seite* that once stood on the shores of the Lule River are now submerged due to the man-made changes to the landscape.

The debate cause by “Doors Westward” illustrates the importance that traditional spirituality, its symbols, and ritual processes, have for present day Sámi ethnic identity and the complex nature of its uses in public settings and public art. I use this mural project as a point of departure because it provides a contemporary example of the visualization of Sámi culture and the fragmentation of traditional spirituality through the use of symbols and artistic interpretation. In addition, it serves as a dynamic example of interaction between heritage, artistry, and political expression within Sámi communities, while also calling attention to continuing power struggles between the Sámi and the Swedish State over control of cultural knowledge, both material and non-material, and territorial rights.

The direction of this essay, as evidenced by its title, is toward an examination of Sámi religion, specifically traditional spirituality, as it is manifest in museums and artistry. And it is here that I will now turn my thoughts. The following discussion is limited to Sweden, the geographical space of my research, and moreover, as my own interests lie with traditional artistry in material forms, I will focus primarily on the drum as a visual and tangible representation of traditional spirituality. Addressing museums as another public space in which issues surrounding Sámi cultural and spiritual heritage are ever present, I aim to highlight the processes by which drums have been and are today integrated into narratives of identity and nationhood. Drums no longer function as living and applied instruments of religious experience and a medium between the worldly and the spiritual. Through several centuries of missionary and academic re-defining, and another century of management through display, drums have transformed again and again from visual symbols of otherness, paganism, and primitivism, to canvases of cosmology and worldview, and objects of art. In addition Sámi drums have become highly politicized objects, and today, along with embodying notions of heritage and tradition, they have also become a medium for communicating contemporary ethno-political concerns. There are only 71 drums left in existence – 43 reside in Sweden, and the rest are located in Denmark, Norway, England, Germany, France, and Italy. Today many Sámi communities and institutions are calling for the repatriation of these drums, as well and the right to display Sámi cultural and spiritual history from a Sámi perspective.

Several themes guide this essay. First, that ethnographic objects are not found, but rather made through the processes of detachment and contextualization (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 3), and second, that objects, which are bound for museum exhibition, must first be constructed into meaningful visual items which can stand apart from their original context, often transitioning from curiosities to art (ibid.: 17–18, 25). In the sections that follow, I examine three museums that have constructed exhibitions of Sámi culture today: the Nordic Museum, Ájtte – Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum, and the National Museum of Ethnography. Each of these museums has chosen a different path by which to discuss Sámi culture and has, therefore, constructed distinct and subjective narratives and contexts in which to present traditional spirituality and drums. In addition, each museum has situated itself within a different set of legitimizing relationships, which have given the objects and textual techniques displayed unique authority within the telling of Sámi cultural history.

I begin with the 1981 exhibition of Sámi culture at the Nordic Museum. The latest version of the permanent installation of Sámi materials, this exhibit simultaneously furthers the status quo and responds to previous exhibits at the Swedish national level. I begin here because the Nordic Museum, which dates back to 1873, has both the oldest collection of Sámi materials and is currently the responsible museum (*ansvarsmuseum*) for Sámi culture in Sweden. All of these features have provided the Nordic Museum unique status and historically unquestionable legitimacy, as both its own longevity and the objects it possesses demonstrate an institutional continuity between historical and contemporary scholarship, as well as collections which contain the "traditional" and the "authentic". After a discussion of the 1981 installation, I then proceed with an historical journey through previous installations which have served to contextualize and re-contextualize Sámi materials at the Nordic Museum through the use of socio-political theories, academic research, references to literary accounts of Sámi life, and juxtaposition with other objects and images in display. These function to provide a framework for understanding the techniques and organization by which museum personnel have conceived of Sámi traditional spirituality, the various changes they have made in order to ”update” the museum's presentation, and a standard which other museums now consider when constructing their own versions of this same narrative.

The second section focuses on Ájtte – Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum. Ájtte is a Sámi-run museum in Jokkmokk and is the main museum (*huvudmuseum*) for Sámi culture and an information center for the mountain regions and national parks of northern Sweden. The museum has been open since 1989, and today it is an exhibits-, conference-, and performance-space for the Sámi people, as well as a response to the Swedish national presentation of Sámi cultural history. Its presentations, constructed from a "Sámi perspective", seek to be relevant and responsible to the Sámi communities within Sweden, referential to the Sámi communities of Norway, Finland, and Russia, and interconnected with the presentations and concerns of other indigenous peoples throughout the world. It is through these relationships that Ájtte has established its legitimacy. Its collections are small compared to those of the Nordic Museum, and Ájtte has had to borrow objects for presentation, most notably drums. But Ájtte has committed itself to presenting the underrepresented voice of a minority people, and therefore has worked closely on the textual elements of exhibition along with the visual and tangible in order to communicate its perspective. My examination of Ájtte's conception of Sámi traditional spirituality and drums begins with the museum's exhibit "Sápmi", a presentation that combined history, religion, and folklore. I then move to the more recent collaborative exhibit "Drum Time" (*Trumtid-Goabdesájgge*) produced by both the Nordic Museum and Ájtte. I am interested in the manner in which each exhibition has re-contextualized the drum's display and role within the museum space and the influence the latter exhibit has shown with regard to the issue of repatriation.

The final section concentrates on the recent exhibition “Creative Man” (*Den Skapande Människan*) at the National Museum of Ethnography and examines a new drum created by handicraft artist, Helge Sunna, as an object of modern Sámi artistry and worldview. The drum is the introductory object presented in the Arctic Section of the exhibit and focuses visitors’ attention on current innovation within Sámi cultural traditions. It is also through this presentation that the museum establishes its authority to embark on a narrative of Sámi worldview and traditions, as the drum’s text and manner of display are the work of the artist himself.

The Nordic Museum

The Nordic Museum is currently the responsible museum (*ansvarsmuseum*) for Sámi culture in Sweden. In 1988, the museum received this status from the Swedish government in conjunction with its status as responsible museum for Swedish cultural history dating from 1520 AD to the present. The museum’s collection contains 35 Sámi drums, the majority of which are depositions from the National Historical Museum, resulting from an exchange made in the mid twentieth century when all items dated after 1520 were brought to the Nordic Museum.

The Current Exhibit of Sámi Culture

In 1981 Rolf Kjellström, along with a team of museum personnel, constructed the current exhibit of Sámi culture, in which occupation (*näring*) is the guiding theme. The exhibit seeks to give a general history and description of all aspects of Sámi traditional life, focusing heavily on reindeer herding and other occupations and their relationship to material culture, spirituality, artistry, and the cycle of life. All text is written in both Swedish and English. The exhibit is systematic in nature – it is broken into seventeen sections – and covers various themes from language, history, and geography, to handicraft and the home, to religion, art and music, and education, and ritual and political concerns. Although the exhibit does feature several examples of modern technology and makes references to twentieth century political organizations, the museum’s exhibition brochure describes it as representing Sámi life around the turn of the century. Former curator, Kjellström, sees the Sámi installation, located on the bottom floor since the museum’s beginnings, as an essential part of the Nordic Museum and intended the 1981 installation to be a pedagogical exhibit which would teach visitors and would depart from the installations which had come before it (conversation 20 October 1999). According to Kjellström, the installations made in the early and mid twentieth century romanticized the Sámi and, while they were attractive to look at, were neither realistic nor educational.

Section eleven, approximately two thirds of the way through the exhibit, is titled “Spiritual Culture” (*Åndlig Kultur*). This section follows two panoramas that present traditional and contemporary reindeer herding technology and sits opposite the presentations of music, literature, and art (pictorial items only). The section begins with a painted image of *baeivi* taken from skin of a drum. This is followed by a subsection marker labeled “Pre-Christian Religion” (*Förkristen religion*), whose text describes traditional spirituality as “[...] closely related to nature and occupations”[2], explaining that “the chief gods were associated with the hunt and with reindeer tending”[3] (label text). The display is simple in design, featuring three drums, two South Sámi and one Lule Sámi, a hammer and a guide, two *seite* from Marsfjället and Vaisa, and several photographs and diagrams. The main focus of the drums’ label text and visual references are interpretation of the their symbols and their allusion to gods, animals, and the activities of daily life. The three drums lie in a display case labeled “The Shaman’s Drum” (*Nåjdens trumma*) with their skins facing up, and they are referenced by a photographic diagram of the figures painted on the left drum, labeled No. 1 in Ernst Manker’s *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel* (1938–1950), and a description of the shaman in Sámi society. Visitors can cross-reference the images they see on the drums with the explanations provided by Manker’s detailed studies, and through this process they gain a better understanding of Sámi worldview and spiritual symbols.

The exhibit’s present curator, Elisabeth Brundín, suggests that both the symbols on the front of the drums and the drums’ construction are important aspects of the display (Conversational tour with Elisabeth Brundín, curator, 22 September 1999). Visitors are able to examine the drums’ designs, noting differences in shape and construction and can see the wear on the skins and paint. According to Brundín, the wear, which can make aspects of the drums difficult to see, is just as important as any aspects which are visible, further narrating the history of the objects.

The drums are presented as visually interesting objects, a Western aesthetic criterion for museum display. While presented as ethnographic objects by virtue of their inclusion in an exhibition of Sámi culture, they stand alone in their display case and are meant to contain meaning for the visitor, presumably non-Sámi[4], through imagery. This is further contextualized, I believe, by the presentation of art, pictorial creations, just opposite the display. The drums are spatially removed from handicraft – skilled, functional creations – featured in section five, and positioned in a setting devoted to forms of Sámi culture – music, literature, and art – which are not only identified and classified through a Western conception of cultural categories and hierarchy of cultural forms, but are also more comprehensible to Swedish and other visitors through their display of writing and illustration. In addition, the display of art features the creations of individuals, mentioning three specific artists: Johan Turi, Nils Nilsson Skum, and John Savio. Although the drums’ creators are anonymous, their association with these other traditions in which authorship is valued and still available suggests that they are somehow different from other material forms, and possibly more intellectually interesting to the Western gaze.

This arrangement of Sámi cultural forms into categories which focus attention on reindeer herding and occupations and associate traditional spirituality and drums with art has taken approximately a century to develop, and the 1981 installation is evidence of the influence of both academic and political trends which have guided perceptions of Sámi identity and livelihood throughout the past several centuries. The following subsections outline the history of exhibition techniques at the Nordic Museum with regard to its Sámi materials. My aim here is not to provide a deep analysis of each exhibition, but rather to show the influence and progression of social theories, academic and political trends, and individual scholars on the decisions that have guided exhibition at the Nordic Museum.

Arthur Hazelius and Early Exhibition

The Nordic Museum was borne out of the nineteenth century nationalism and patriotism of one man, Dr. Arthur Hazelius, and the museum has had its own permanent exhibition of Sámi culture since its inception in 1873 at Drottninggatan 71 in Stockholm. Hazelius, whose private collection, the Scandinavian Ethnographic Collection (*den skandinaviska etnografiska samlingen*), formed the basis of the Nordic Museum, collected materials in both Swedish peasant and Sámi milieus through both personal travel and fieldwork beginning in the 1850s and the travels of colleagues and friends (Alexander 1983; Hammarlund-Larsson et al. 1993; Medelius et al. 1998). The majority of Hazelius' early Sámi materials consisted of items of daily use, which were either sold or given to him by collectors, painters, and authors, such as C. J. Hammarsköld, Johan Tirén, and Gustav von Duben (Manker 1938: 521; Carlén 1990: 90–91). It was also in this way that Hazelius received reports and descriptions of Sámi people, which he later incorporated into his national and international displays. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, in conjunction with the establishment of Skansen, Hazelius' open-air museum, colleague Hugo Samzelius began conducting field research in order to collect Sámi cultural materials. He traveled throughout Norway, Finland, Russia, and Jukkasjärvi, Kaitum, and Karesuando in Sweden in 1893 and then made additional expeditions for the collection of ethnographic and folkloristic materials – legends, customs, beliefs (Hammarlund-Larsson et al. 1993). His work helped to build the Sámi Collection at the Nordic Museum and construct an image of Sámi ethnicity and traditional life distinct from Swedish ethnicity and traditions.

The exhibits that Hazelius formed from his collections focused on Sweden's rural and Sámi populations as representatives of true, traditional national character unspoiled by urbanization and industrialization, and this exemplified both the academic and fieldwork pursuits of many middle and upper class intellectuals who ascribed to the Romantic Nationalistic ideals of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Through his collection and display of traditional material culture, Hazelius saw an opportunity to instill pride in his nation's people and build a storehouse for the education of the common man. “Know yourself” (*Känn dig själf*) was the motto he gave to his collections, a motto which reinforced the idea that one should remember one’s ethnic heritage and the traditions to which one belongs (Medelius et al. 1998). Like his counterparts in countries such as Germany and Finland who were concentrating on oral genres of folklore, such as the folktale or the epic, Hazelius sought to capture the essence of the Swedish nation through material forms, his approach mirroring theirs by looking toward issues of heritage and authenticity.

With regard to his Sámi materials, heritage and authenticity became representations of a sort of ethnographic present, an imagined time and space that glossed over several centuries of intense Swedish governmental policy of cultural and religious assimilation. Although the Sámi objects Hazelius utilized in display had been brought from various Sámi communities throughout the North, the exhibition contexts into which they were placed reflected Swedish majority perceptions of the Sámi as a singular ethnic group with one set of traditions and history, who lived close to nature in an idyllic state unaffected by cultural dynamism, cultural contact, and technological change. These exhibition contexts reflected not only Romantic Nationalism, but combined with the tenets of Social Evolutionary theory. Social Evolutionary theory stated that the cultures of the world moved through stages of evolutionary development, beginning with Savagery and ending with Civilization. Peoples such as the Sámi and Australian Aboriginal cultures were said to occupy the lowest rung on this developmental ladder. The peoples of Western and Northern Europe, however, had progressed to a stage of Civilization. The stages of cultural and societal development were also likened to stages of human biological development, and therefore, Savagery became likened to childhood. This in turn prompted the majority Swedish culture to look toward the Sámi as a people who, like children, needed to be taught and guided into a correct way of living.

Applied in combination, Romantic Nationalism and Social Evolutionary theory had lasting effects on Sámi identity in both inter- and intra-group relations. In addition, serving as guides for museum exhibition, they focused attention on definitions, categories, and cultural comparison, rather than appreciation of the Sámi people and their culture for its own worldview and cultural aesthetics. Nineteenth and early twentieth century politicians and academics drew upon these theories of national authenticity and social hierarchy in their approach to the Sámi as both an ethnic group distinct from a Swedish ethnicity and a minority of the Swedish nation-state. A few examples of the ways in which these theories were applied to Sámi communities were skull measuring, social application of the ideology “*Lapp-skall-vara-lapp*” (Lapp shall be lapp), and laws that defined Sámi identity through an occupational relationship to reindeer herding (Lundmark 1998).

The implementation of laws that defined Sámi identity through an occupational relationship to reindeer herding asserted Swedish State control over Sámi ethnic identity as well as incorporation into Swedish national identity. While the reindeer occupies a very special and central place in Sámi culture, State laws, such as the Swedish Reindeer Act of 1886 (and later Acts of 1928 and 1971), which privileged occupational reindeer herding over fishing, hunting, and other more sedentary pursuits, such as traditional handicraft production, divided the Sámi population in Sweden between "Sámi" and "non-Sámi" official identities. Andrea Amft (1998a and b) suggests that nineteenth and early twentieth century attitudes of the Swedish State focused on a narrow set of cultural criteria, such as the classification of the Sámi as a nomadic people, in order to shape governmental policy toward the Sámi and their incorporation and participation in the larger Swedish society. In turn, she also argues that these attitudes have helped to shape a stereotyped Sámi identity through policies that have favored reindeer herding as the major occupation in Sámi communities.

Hazelius' exhibition techniques drew directly from these nineteenth and early twentieth century societal and governmental attitudes toward the Sámi. Through his pursuit of creating a visual record of Swedish national character, he incorporated a stereotyped, reindeer herding centered understanding of the Sámi into the contextual, tangible environments he designed for national and international audiences. Live, traveling shows and theatrical panoramas had rivaled the popularity of written accounts of Sámi life since the seventeenth century (Broberg 1982), and cultural performance had become the arena through which audiences now experienced Sámi people and material objects. Hazelius' adoption of this approach is directly illustrated in his exhibitions of the Scandinavian Ethnographic Collection in the Swedish Pavilions at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, 1876, the Universal Exhibition in Paris, 1878, and the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1893. Images of Sámi culture had been displayed at World's Fairs previously, namely the "Group from Lapland", a mural painted on the Swedish Pavilion's wall in Paris, 1867 (*Ny Illustrarad Tidning* 1867: 21, 26). However, in Philadelphia, Paris, and Chicago, Hazelius created dioramas with the Scandinavian Ethnographic Collection, a decision which proved to be a great success with audiences. For example, at the collection's second showing at the Universal Exhibition of 1878 Hazelius set up a series of four displays which depicted regional variation and traditional life within the Swedish nation. The Sámi Camp, a panorama based on the display "*Höstflyttning i Lule Lappmark*" located at Drottninggatan, offered foreign audiences the opportunity to glimpse Sámi culture. The panorama featured a Lule Sámi family in traditional clothing with a reindeer pulling a sled in a snow covered forest setting. In the background a turf hut could be seen. The scene presented a three dimensional, life-size view of a people whom many in Continental Europe and the United States perceived to be exotic, primitive, and close to nature.

Hazelius approached each of the displays as "snap-shots" of traditional life, and he tried to make them as realistic and emotionally accessible as possible through the arrangement of wax figures in scenes detailed with artifacts from daily life. Stefan Carlén, commenting on the displays at the Paris World's Fair of 1878, compares Hazelius' style to that of a theater director (1990: 59). His panoramas were like the stage, creating scenes that stimulated the imagination and brought the lives of strange, far away people to life.

Hazelius' Scandinavian Ethnographic Collection became the permanent collection of the Nordic Museum in 1880, and in 1907 the collection moved into its present building on Djurgården, a site given to Hazelius by King Oscar II (Alexander 1983: 248). While Romantic Nationalism had been the social and political foundation of the Nordic Museum as a whole, ethnology and Social Evolutionary theory remained the guiding scholarly forces within the exhibition of Sámi materials. The Sámi Collection, arranged by Nils Edvard Hammarstedt, was part of the Department of Peasant Culture until 1939. The exhibition occupied two rooms, 97 and 98, located on the bottom floor of the building until 1947, and focused on objects that were representative of the activities of daily life. Items were grouped by visual type in large display cases, minimizing regional and age differences. Neither text nor contextual photographs or images were featured. Rather information about the exhibit was given as part of the museum's catalogues. The 1911 catalogue states that the Collection contained objects representative of pan-Sámi culture: room 97 contained 103 objects, and room 98 contained 138 objects, such as knives and sheaths, woven belts and embroidered bracelets, shaman drums and hammers, amulets, sleighs, and salt flasks. The 1917 catalogue shows a picture of one of the drums – an Åsele drum later labeled No. 14 by Manker.

In this early exhibition of Sámi culture, the objects served to order and pattern Sámi culture for non-Sámi eyes. This method was consistent with nineteenth century theories of the exhibition of ethnographic objects by scholars such as Augustus Henry Pitt Rivers, which furthered the uses of "scientific" classification within the museum context (Coombes 1988; Pearce 1992). Unlike panoramas or live traveling shows that combined objects with a "peopled" (wax or human) environment, exhibitions arranged by type or genre encouraged visitors to distance both themselves and the objects from their original context. In turn the museum then gave them a new context in which to view the objects, one in which the material items became synonymous with the people and culture referenced, but managed through an outsider's gaze.

The Nordic Museum's scholars used the Sámi materials collected to illustrate the racial and developmental dissimilarities as well as linear progression between the Sámi and Swedish populations. Museum catalogues stressed differences in language and racial groups, noting that the Sámi language is part of the Finno-Ugric language group and stating that the Sámi "[…] are reckoned among the Mongolians but want their oblique eyes" (Hammarstedt 1911: 80). The collections of Swedish traditional culture were organized to show the heritage and development of the Swedish nation (*ethnicity* in this case). However, the Sámi exhibit was conceived of as a collection of heritage, not only of Sámi ethnic history but also as a precursor to modern Swedish civilization. The Sámi Collection served as both a glimpse of a Sámi past and of a Scandinavian past. According to the exhibit's catalogues, the Nordic Museum asserted that Swedes could learn about their own cultural history from viewing the Sámi materials. Almost a word for word translation from both the 1911 and 1917 publications, the 1930 *Guide* states:

> The Lapland ethnology is of the greatest interest to Swedish ethnology, not least by reason of the many cultural loans the race has made in the remotest times from their Scandinavian neighbours, and which they have preserved through centuries in most original forms. (81)

Loaned *from* their Scandinavian neighbors. The above statement dismisses Sámi agency, cultural invention and creativity, and cultural exchange in favor of the theory that the Sámi adopted Scandinavian ways. The Nordic Museum constructed this early Sámi Collection exhibition and discussed it in such a way as to give Swedish visitors a view of their own ancient traditions and minimize the impact that national imperialistic and colonial practices were having on Sámi populations. By stating that the Sámi had already adopted Scandinavian culture and preserved it, the museum was suggesting that contemporary assimilation practices only served to update what was already there, an idea detrimental to the preservation of Sámi cultural heritage.

With regard to the drums exhibited, they occupied a space similar to that of other items of handicraft and were not singled out as they are today. While their unique display of illustrated figures suggested skill in graphic representation – often associated with “art” – their construction and materials situated them better in the category of ethnographic artifact or “craft”. Writing in 1910, scholar Jarno Jessen expresses many of the attitudes displayed in museum exhibition as well as influence from the publications of scholars before him. He refers to the Sámi as a “ruin of a nation” (1910: 35), a people who attempt to both preserve their cultural and racial purity in the face of Swedish encroachment on lands and family boundaries, and show signs of adaptation in areas such as religious faith. Jessen comments on the drums as an expression of traditional handicraft, and makes reference to their value as illustrated objects. Most likely describing a drum published in Samuel Rheen’s *Relation* (1983 [1671, 1897]), based upon his reference to the illustrated figures as Thor, Christ, and apostles, Jessen begins with a description of the drum itself and its uses in traditional contexts, and then writes:

> Travellers have brought such drums to the ethnographical museums, and even if we do not consider their historical meaning, they interest as works of handicraft, and testify to the manual skill and some primitive pictorial gifts of the Laplanders. (1910: 37)

According to Jessen’s writings, Sámi drums were associated with utilitarian objects during the early twentieth century, demonstrating skill in craftsmanship and pointing to cultural functionality. When measured against Western ethnographic and artistic standards, which present a spectrum ranging from useful objects created from a communal base to aesthetic ones borne of individual originality (see Clifford 1988: 233; McLoughlin 1999: 182), drums proved culturally specific and suited to ethnographic display at this point in time. This perception of Sámi drums did not last, though. With the appointment of Ernst Manker as director and curator of Sámi materials in the middle of the twentieth century, drums shifted position from handicraft to pictorial, from ethnographic to artistic.

Ernst Manker and the 1947 Installation

In 1939 Ernst Manker became Director of the Nordic Museum's newly formed Lapp Department, a position which he held until 1961. Manker had been a scholar of Sámi culture since the mid-1920s. Manker's tenure coincided with changes in societal and governmental attitudes toward the Sámi that were influential in the interpretation and presentation of Sámi materials at the Nordic Museum. The post World War II period saw the development of Sámi political, social, and educational organizations, such as the Sámi Community College (Samernas Folkhögskola) in Jokkmokk (today the Sámi Education Center) and Sámi Ätnam in 1944, the Swedish Sámi National Association in 1950, and the Nordic Sámi Council in 1956, which has a consultative status in the United Nations. These developments helped to shift Scandinavian and international views of the Sámi from an ethnic minority whose culture was dying out to a self-determined nation whose members were seeking political, educational, social, and economic rights.

Under Manker's direction, the Lapp Department reintroduced a contextual approach to the exhibition of Sámi culture (Carlén 1990: 191), and research shifted toward a social anthropological methodology, studying the manner in which cultural systems interacted in the processes of tradition and cultural change. Manker approached the Sámi as a Nordic people with ties to other Arctic groups and a minority group within Scandinavia (Sommarström 1972). He therefore encouraged his staff to conduct intensive, local fieldwork during expeditions to Lapland, a pursuit in which he also participated (Rehnberg 1957: 28). These research trips focused on Sámi social life, and fieldworkers collected objects that would highlight social activity, not just serve as visual representations of the Sámi people. The information gathered also contributed to the Lapp Department's publication series *Acta Lapponica*, which dealt with all aspects of Sámi ethnology. Manker's detailed studies of drum types, construction, and symbol analysis in *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel* (1938–1950), a seminal study which has formed the basis of the modern academic conceptual approach to Sámi drums, was published under this series.

In addition to Manker's re-direction of the research methodologies at the Nordic Museum, he also built a new installation of the exhibit of Sámi cultural history in 1947. It was an exhibition in which Manker reached back to historical sources to help fashion a new and updated version of the museum's exhibition distinct from the one built by Hammarstedt, while also being marked by new perceptions of Sámi materials and a goal to establish the uniqueness of many cultural forms, especially drums.

The new installation opened for the public on 29 May 1947, in five rooms on the bottom floor. The text for the exhibit was in both Swedish and English, and the goal of the exhibit was to show the principal and characteristic features of Sámi nomadic culture (Nordiska Museet 1947–1959, Lapska Avdelningen 1948: 224–227). The first room gave visitors an introduction to the Sámi people, and the following rooms showed various aspects of Sámi culture and way of life. The second room depicted the Sámi occupation of reindeer husbandry along with equipment and products used in the trade. In addition the room featured an installation of part of a reindeer corral complete with "realistic" mannequins. The third room featured men's work, including handicrafts made of hard materials (wood and horn), as well as building construction, sleigh forms, and household goods. The fourth room featured women's work, including handicrafts made of soft materials (basketry, belt weaving, and needlework), as well as a clothing gallery. Finally, the fifth room depicted traditional spirituality and featured examples of drums, *seite*, and amulets.

To further add context to the objects displayed in the new installation, the Nordic Museum contracted artists to contribute paintings, sculptures, and other images for display: Folke Ricklund created a backdrop depicting the Mountain Sámi Summer areas; Sten Nilsson created a map of the Sámi area in oil paint; Ossian Elgström created a sepia toned image of a reindeer round-up; Nils Nilsson Skum depicted the Sámi *siida* (village); and Runo Johanson created portrait sculptures of prominent Sámi people. In addition Augusta Rettig donated a picture of the Torne swamp by Helmer Osslund for the clothing gallery.

The new organization of the Sámi Collection brought context into the displays not only through panoramas, but also through references to the social function of the objects and visual images. Through displays that focused on men's or women's production and incorporated Sámi artistry into the presentations, the exhibit communicated Sámi agency and participation in cultural processes. In addition, the new exhibit now occupied a much larger space, giving Manker more room to display the objects so that they would be accessible, not cluttered. This also gave the Sámi Collection more legitimacy within the Nordic Museum and the story of Swedish cultural history. No longer simply part of the Department of Peasant Culture and confined to two small rooms, the Sámi Collection had a space of its own which complemented and mirrored the current growth in Sámi political autonomy within Scandinavia.

Although the Lapp Department concentrated on the interpretation and presentation of a variety of cultural forms, drums became central objects in the ethnographic display of the Sámi people, due in great part to Manker's effort to construct a detailed schema for understanding and analyzing them. Manker's approach to Sámi drums was methodical and systematic – both in his writings and in exhibition. *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel* presented historical background, literary references, cultural context for the drums' uses, and clearly defined categories by which to study and comprehend Sámi drums. In this publication, Manker categorized drums by physical shape (oval or elliptical) and design (frame, ring, cross, or bowl), and he analyzed their decoration and painted figures. In addition, combining drum shape and design with the spatial composition of the images rendered on the skins, Manker highlighted local ethnic and linguistic differences manifest in material form. For example, according to his groupings, the Åsele, or South Sámi, drums were of frame type and featured *beaivi* at their center, while further north in the Lule region, drums featured a bowl shape, and images were split between two horizontal spheres with *beaivi* featured in the lower sphere. In the Finnmark and Kemi regions of Sápmi located in Norway, Finland, and Russia, *beaivi* was not represented on the drum. Rather a series of spheres, five and three respectively, divided the spiritual realms from the earthly, gods from the realities of daily life.

Manker mirrored the structure of *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel* in the 1947 exhibition. The display of "Pre-Christian Religion" (*Förkristnen religion*) featured eleven drums. They were divided into northern and southern types and some faced to the front, while others faced to the back. The space included enlarged paintings of drum figures on the wall along with an illustration by Rheen and a mannequin in the form of a shaman. To the side of this exhibits space, the presentation of traditional spirituality continued with the presentation of *seite* and other sacred objects and featuring an illustration by Schefferus. Compared to the preceding installation, this arrangement of materials sought to guide visitors through the religious experience, not just show various objects, and it most certainly organized the presentation of traditional spirituality into comprehensible parts for the Western audience. However, in doing so, the exhibition also served to limit and fix the categories by which visitors could experience Sámi culture. Although the text accompanying the display narrated a history of Sámi religious experience and gave labels to the objects and pictures shown, the general appearance of the space told visitors that the visual qualities of the drums – their shape, design, and figures – outweigh the performative.

In order to understand Manker's conception of Sámi drums and their arrangement within exhibition, it is important to examine aspects of his work throughout his time at the Nordic Museum. Manker concentrated quite heavily on interpretation of the drums' paintings and figures, and within his explorations he drew upon a variety of sources. Significant in *Die Lappishe Zaubertrommel* and exhibition is his utilization the diverse observations of seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century writers, which he combined with his own interpretations in order to create a visual map of regional variation. Evident in the relationships he built within Sámi communities, the direction of his later publications, and the influence he had on the continuing exhibits at the Nordic Museum is his interest in Western definitions of "art" and "craft" and their applicability in categorizing drums in the Sámi ethnographic context.

To begin with, Manker drew upon the publications of both missionaries and academics, such as Rheen, mentioned above, Johannes Schefferus (1704 [1673]), Olof Rudbeck (1689), Carl von Linné (1913 [1732]), and many others in order to provide source material for his own research. Most of the publications he cites concerned themselves with detailed descriptions of Sámi ritual processes and the objects used in therein. Many writers were fascinated by the shaman's use of trance to connect with the spiritual realm and the methods by which he entered this trance. Within these studies, the drum became a focal point for accessing the shaman's experience, and a number of writings oriented themselves heavily toward a visual understanding of drums as painted objects, which become interesting to non-Sámi through their graphic qualities. Several authors became quite involved with the various figures depicted on the skins, assigning names and labels to them, and interestingly, many of their descriptions and interpretations reached beyond Sámi traditional worldview to include traditional Scandinavian and Christian spiritual references. The publications speak to the evolving relationships and power struggles which were occurring between church officials and Sámi communities during this time, and these sources most likely evidence both changing indigenous religious beliefs and missionary interpretations of Sámi culture.

During Manker's tenure at the Nordic Museum, the museum acquired all of the drums previously held by the National Historical Museum. Although he had already conducted research on many of them for his own publication, their placement now at the Nordic Museum provided him the materials with which to show continuity between early observations and studies of Sámi drums and the drums visitors could view in display. In addition, some of the publications provided illustrations that could serve as the contextual backdrop for visualizing the shaman's experience. I cite several of these authors in order to better exemplify the impact that their publications have had on the exhibition of Sámi drums at the Nordic Museum, and similarly in museums today throughout Scandinavia and Continental Europe.

In *En kortt Relation om Lapparnes Lefwarne och Sedher, wijd-Skiepellsser, sampt i många Stycken Grofwe wildfarellsser* (1983 [1671, 1897]) Samuel Edvardi Rheen (1615–1680), who served as preacher in Jokkmokk from 1666 to 1671, discussed various aspects of Sámi life from his own experiences living with the Sirkas and Tuorpon communities. Rheen devoted several chapters to beliefs, religion, the drum, and the pantheon of gods. He used a Lule Sámi drum as his model and gave detailed descriptions of the materials used in construction, the style of painting, the various figures depicted, and the uses of the drum itself in daily life. In addition Rheen drew two illustrations of the drum, one depicting the skin of the drum, and the second showing a shaman using the drum to induce a trance. Rheen's illustration of the drum depicts the figures in the author's own artistic style and features labels next to each one. Rheen's rendition of the Sámi drum is decidedly non-Sámi when compared to other drums of the period. His smiling sun, crescent moon with a face, stick-figure gods and apostles with sun burst heads, and detailed animals reflect more a sense of the authors own need to comprehend Sámi symbols in Western artistic terms than to accurately depict the material object to which he refers. Rheen's illustration of the drum has since become a tangible object, which contributes to the small collection of drums found today (although it was deemed a fake by Manker; see Vol. 75 [1938]). In 1875, a bowl-shaped drum bearing the same illustration was given by the Royal Society for Science to the museum at Uppsala University. Today the drum is part of the collection at the Nordic Museum. Rheen's second illustration of a shaman entering a trance has also become a staple in the contextualizing elements used in exhibition, and his image was one of the visualizations of the shamaistic experience that visitors saw in the 1947 installation.

Likewise in the body of source material are publications in academic and tourist milieus that impacted the choices made by Manker and have continued to factor into the display techniques utilized by those who have succeeded him today. The results of travels made for scientific research or adventure, many of these publications also provided descriptions and illustrations, which, like Rheen's, have become permanent fixtures in collections devoted to traditional spirituality. An author most notable in this genre is Johannes Schefferus. Schefferus, who had been in contact with Rheen, published his account of Lapland and the Sámi people, *Lapponia* (1704 [1673]), only two years later. Originally in Latin, the book was quickly translated into English (1674), German (1675), French (1678), and Dutch (1682). Juha Pentikäinen suggests that the publication was an international best seller and was better known in Continental Europe than in Scandinavia. The book gave international readers cultural and religious information about the "most exotic" people of Europe (1998: 27). Schefferus had been employed by the Chancellor of Sweden to travel to Lapland in order to write a history of these lands under the Swedish crown. Schefferus drew upon the writings of Rheen, comparing his own observations to those of the earlier author, and he made in-depth studies of Sámi secular and religious life. Noteworthy are his accounts of four drums that have since become the property of museums in Stockholm, Leipzig, and Berlin.

Schefferus' writings and illustrations depicted both Sámi and Sámi-inspired drums as well as the ritual processes of traditional spirituality. Along with his own description and illustration of Rheen's drum (A), and a drum mentioned by Tornaeus one year earlier (B), Schefferus also drew images of five drums, two hammers, a shaman experiencing a trance, and an offering to a *seite*. Four drums which, were labeled C, E, F, and G by Schefferus and later numbered 64, 43, 44, and 76, respectively, by Manker, are part of museum collections today. Each of the drums has become a symbol of Sámi culture, spirituality, and creativity, even if the drum was not actually made by Sámi hands. C and E, Lule and Kemi drums, respectively, are located today in the Nordic Museum's collection. The Lule drum has been part of the permanent exhibit of Sámi culture since 1947. The Kemi drum, which was also prominently featured in the 1947 exhibit, is now displayed on a temporary basis. Recently it was used as an example of Sámi superstitious belief in temporary exhibit called "Framtids Tro", which the Nordic Museum opened in 1999. F, also a Kemi drum, belongs to the State Museum of Ethnography in Leipzig. Finaly G, titled Pied Romain de Poeti and deemed a fake by Manker, was found in the Royal Prussian Art Chamber in 1830 and now resides in the collection of the Museum of World Cultures in Berlin. Interestingly, the drum was recently featured, along with another drum and various Sámi artifacts, in an exhibit titled "Faszination Bild" (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1999) at the Museum of European Cultures in Berlin. The exhibition focused on the power of the image, both insider and outsider representations, throughout history and various European societies. The drum is part of the "I. Europa" cabinet, which was originally assembled in the mid-1800s as a collection of objects from primitive societies. The cabinet as a whole was the subject of the display, which discussed outsider perceptions of "foreign" peoples (1999: 14–15, 386).

Both Rheen's and Schefferus' illustrations were used as central aspects of the 1947 installation. In my opinion, though, they served more as contextualizing elements for the museum itself. Their use in the exhibition speaks about an intellectual relationship claimed by the authority of the museum in displaying Sámi traditional spirituality than a descriptive relationship supposed by the illustrations' contents. I suggest that Manker's display of these writers' interpretations as context to drums and *seite*, rather than examples of outsider depictions of the Sámi, served more to situate the displays within a history of scholarship in order to legitimize the exhibition itself, not the objects. And thus, in doing so, the museum communicated to visitors that knowledge and expertise in reading the drums' construction and figures and understanding the *seite* are the property of non-Sámi authors and academics.

Returning to Manker's own interpretation of Sámi drums as visually interesting objects, the position that he assigned them with respect to their illustrations and depictions of worldly and spiritual figures is also due in part to some of the connections he made with individuals in various Sámi communities and his interest in pictorial arts. One man, who has remained an important historical and inspirational artist, is Nils Nilsson Skum. Manker had seen Skum's drawings in several publications, and in the mid-1930s he and the artist met. Manker admired Skum's illustrative skill and forged a long relationship with him, exhibiting his work and assisting him in the publication of two books: *Same sita – lappbyn* (1938) and *Valla renar* (1955). In addition, Manker published his own *Boken om Skum* about the artist and his work in 1956. Later in Manker's career, his interest in Skum's artistry, and the works of other pictorial artists like Johan Turi and John Savio combined with his research on drums, culminating in several publications which carved out new categories and delineations within the exhibition of Sámi creativity.

Manker's continuing research on drums turned toward a focus on them as objects of art and aligned them with both ancient works and those of twentieth century pictorial artists. He published two books titled *Nåidkonst: Trolltrummans bildvärld* (1965) and *Samefolkets konst* (1971), wherein he suggests that the imagery on drums are an extension of those found in rock art paintings, and then develops a schema in which drums are defined by the Western term art (*konst*), rather than handicraft (*slöjd*), through genre association. And in addition, he further contextualizes the drum as an artistic product by asserting that the religious experience of the shaman itself was an "art".

> Shaman art – it was the art to reach out over the world of the mind, into the world of the spirits to the supreme powers.
>
> The art has a deep tradition; it is as old as humanity itself. Here in the North we meet it in its earliest form in the engravings and rock paintings of Stone Age peoples on the flat rocks, where they were used to contact spiritual powers in order to receive help in catching game and getting food. As time passed, the blood-red figures appeared on the Lapps' magic drums, and from that time we have known that art as shaman art. It was the shamans, those skilled in magic, those who saw and understood more than others, who practiced this art. No one knows when it began, but its end came with the Christian Church, which caused its demise…

> The paintings of the old shaman art were the magic drums; its sculptures were the *seite*. (1965: 11; my translation)[5]

Manker's specific use of the Western categories of "painting" and "sculpture" make drums and *seite* more accessible to non-Sámi audiences and make the shamanistic experience, once a foreign and strange religious expression as viewed by missionaries and travelers, more comprehensible as an artistic and intellectual pursuit. Likewise, in *Samefolkets konst*, Manker likens the illustrations found on drums to those created by the modern artists Turi, Skum, and Savio, integrating drums into paradigm which divides Sámi creativity into three groups: craft (*slöjd*), folkart (*folkkonst*), and art (*konst*). Pictorial arts are part of folkart and art, while craft covers the functional objects of daily life. Manker wrote that art could be found within the skill of the artisan and in the intricate geometric decorations produced on the variety of craft forms (1971: 89). However, the art that is characteristic of drums removes them from the sphere of the functional, giving them a more unique position within cultural creativity.

Manker's paradigm for approaching Sámi creativity mirrors a general attitude toward non-Western artistic forms that has influenced the exhibition of a variety of objects in both museums and galleries and fueled debates about the Western categories of art vs. artifact (or craft) during the past several decades. Discussed intensely in the context of sub-Saharan African art[6], but also more recently in the context of indigenous arts, investigations into the validity of Western categories for non-Western forms have helped to bring about reflexivity in many academic and institutional milieus. Within the Nordic Museum, Manker's paradigm remains. As mentioned at the start of this section, the most recent installation of the exhibition of Sámi culture distances drums from the many forms of handicraft and places them just opposite the pictorial art of Turi, Skum, and Savio. The 1981 exhibit was an attempt to update the visions that had come before it. However, the display of traditional spirituality emulates many of the same techniques and ideas used in the 1947 display and in Manker's work. The central reference to *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel* as both text and an interactive device and the spatial arrangement of the objects has kept power and authority safely in the museum and reinforced a status quo of perception as the property of outsiders.

Manker's treatment of drums has influenced several generations of scholars and museum personnel in Sweden. He has set the methodological standard used to understand Sámi drums, one which emphasizes form, structure, offers precise explanations for images and symbols depicted on the skins, and guides scholars and museums visitors toward an understanding of drums as art. While his work has indeed contributed immensely to research on both Sámi culture as a whole and more specifically drums, I do find his deep categorization of Sámi cultural forms problematic. Much of Manker's work has influenced scholars and museum personnel toward a non-Sámi perception of the drum as an object of study, dissected and analyzed for its parts, and detached from a cultural context and other forms of creativity. Problematic on the other hand, though, is arriving at another methodology. It is not easy to completely reshape the ways in which the public should receive cultural objects.

The following sections examine exhibitions that are actively working with the idea of reorganizing the visitor's understanding of traditional spirituality by bringing it back into a cultural framework. These exhibits have not dismissed the perceptions made by Manker or others before him, but are now attempting to use these as resources rather than paradigms. The first exhibit is located at Ájtte – Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum.

Ájtte – Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum

Ájtte – Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum was founded in 1989 as the main (*huvud*) museum of Sámi culture and an information center for the mountain regions and national parks of northern Sweden. Occupying the building which formerly housed the Jokkmokks Museum, a museum dedicated to the cultural and natural history of the Jokkmokk and surrounding areas, Ájtte, which is the Sámi word for a storehouse, has become the primary museum in Sweden to concentrate on the collection, preservation, interpretation, and presentation of Sámi cultural history from a Sámi point of view. While the museum's building has retained its original facade, Ájtte's staff have endeavored to create an inner space which expresses Sámi worldview and spatial organization by arranging the exhibits in a pattern which mirrors the reindeer herding corral. To this day visitors begin their exploration of Sámi culture in the Old Hall, which features a panorama of a nomadic family gathered around a fire. From there they walk through a narrow passageway labeled "The Passage of Time" (*Tidens Gång*), which offers both an historical timeline focused on technological and cultural change as well as a transition to a circular configuration of more detailed and intimate exhibits of Sámi secular and sacred life, history, and the natural environment of northern Sweden. In addition, in order to continue its connections and responsibility to the people of the Jokkmokk and surrounding areas, all texts throughout the museum are written in both Swedish and Lule Sámi.

At its inception, Ájtte inaugurated three permanent exhibits in addition to the Old Hall and The Passage of Time. The first was "Life of the Settlers" (*Nybyggarliv/Ådåårroviessom*). It details the daily living conditions and activities of Sámi, Swedish, and Finnish settlers in northern Sweden. The second was "Mountain Information" (*Fjällinformation*), which focuses on the mountain areas, national parks, and includes maps, a reading room, and various models and photographs to accompany its text. The third was "Sápmi" – Sámiland – an exhibition dedicated to the spiritual, folkloric, historical and political life of the Sámi people. As of June, 2002, the space in which "Sápmi" was shown has become "Drum Time – in life's embrace" (*Trumtid – i livets famn/ Goabdesájgge – iellema asken*), an exhibit that focuses more closely on traditional religion through the addition of the drums shown in the collaborative exhibition "Drum Time" (*Trumtid – Goabdesájgge*) discussed later in this paper. In 1992, 1993, and 1995, respectively, Ájtte opened “Getting By*”(Att Reda Sig/Bierggit*), an exhibit which invites visitors into a stylized tent and presents material culture and techniques used in traditional, nomadic life, “On the Move” (*På Väg/Jåhtet*), which focuses on various modes of transportation, and “The River”(*Älven/Ädno*), an interactive, multimedia presentation of Sweden’s northern rivers and the life they support. In 1997, the museum installed “Costume and Silver” (*Dräkt och Silver/Suodje – Buolvas Buolvvaj*), its exhibition of Sámi traditional clothing, both past and present, and Strömska collection of Sámi silver. Finally in 2000, Ájtte added the exhibit “Laponia”, which focuses on the World Heritage area of the same name. The area encompasses the natural and cultural landscape of the mountainous regions northwest of Jokkmokk and Kvikkjokk, including Muddus, Sjaunja, Stora Sjöfallet, Sarek, and Padjelanta. Of all of Ájtte’s exhibits, the group of displays that showed in “Sápmi” are of particular interest to a discussion of Sámi traditional religion and drums, for it is here that Ájtte first incorporated the drum into a context that wove traditional belief systems and practices with contemporary themes of nationhood and political action and critiqued majority attitudes and behaviors toward the Sámi.

“Sápmi”

As the visitor looked toward “Sápmi” from the round room at the center of Ájtte’s inner exhibits, he or she first saw the Sámi flag, which began the presentation. Superimposed on the flag was a photograph of members of the Sámi Parliament (*Sámidiggi*), some in traditional dress, and below the flag was an interactive display of four individuals whose narratives, both in Swedish and Sámi, represent various aspects of Sámi life today: there was a student, a secretary, and two reindeer herders. Following were three texts that discuss life 100 years ago, in the 1940s, and today. Opposite were six illustrations of Sámi culture by an eighteenth century French artist combined with a poem by Nils Aslak Valkeapää. Prior to June, 2000, Sápmi held two displays along the back wall, one which illustrated five folktales about the Stallo, and a panorama of two men slaying a bear. The second display contextualized the adjacent archaeologically based exhibit of a bear grave which speaks to Sámi traditional beliefs, hunting practices, and relationship with the natural world. After June, these were replaced by four display cases featuring eight drums. Continuing through the exhibit space, displays of a silver find and the eight seasons of the reindeer year were found at the back of the room. Finally, at the center of the room was a large, round structure whose roof was fashioned as a drum – the skin of the drum was painted and faced downwards toward visitors. Inside the structure sat a shaman with a replica of a drum made by a local handicraft artist. When the visitor entered the structure, an audio program began to play the sounds of a shaman rhythmically playing the drum with the hammer. Along the outside were texts which described the essential position that the shaman held in traditional Sámi society, images and descriptions of the paintings found on the drums, as well as a display case with the partial bowl of a broken drum and a painting of priest hitting a Sámi student over the head with a Bible. It was here that Ájtte would unfold a history of religious conversion to Christianity, nineteenth and early twentieth century education practices and majority attitudes toward the Sámi, featuring photographs and biographies of several notable figures in history, including Elsa Laula, Gustav Park, and Olov J. Sikku, who have all worked for Sámi cultural and political rights.

Ájtte described the shaman's position within traditional spirituality and society as well-rounded, citing, for example, his roles as cultural leader, prophet or meteorologist, arbitrator, doctor or psychologist, and advisor (text, "Sápmi"). However Ájtte then presented the broken drum and painting, pointing to them as poignant visual symbols that speak of cultural loss and violent outside influence. Accented by the accompanying texts, they also became powerful critiques of the Swedish State and Church, and this outer section of the display directly suggested that the Sámi have been victimized by the majority population. The text in this section factored heavily in Ájtte's presentation of Sámi traditional spirituality and conversion to Christianity. Throughout its many exhibits, Ájtte uses a combination of objects, images, and texts in order to bring Sámi heritage and history, both material and nonmaterial, alive for the visitor. As drums are few in number today, though, and much of the experience of religious conversion was process, rather than object, related, Ájtte's presentation of these aspects of Sámi history in "Sápmi" utilized a narrative style that sought to engage the visitor through situation oriented descriptions, experienced-base, first person narratives, and texts which posed questions to the reader. In keeping with its exhibits philosophy of connecting visitors with displays through "personal, insightful, and engaging"[7] (Utsi and Öberg 1988) intonation in textual materials, the text accompanying the drum and painting in "Sápmi" situated the dissemination of information not only in the authority of the museum, but also in events and Sámi voices and offered additional authority to visitors through the suggestion that their answers to the questions posed contribute to our knowledge of the historical experience of the Sámi.

The text accompanying the drum was as follows:

> The drum was found shoved into a cave-like opening between a mound of limestone rocks.
> Who laid the drum there?
> When?
> Why was it laid there?[8] (my translation)

The drum's text is ambiguous and does not attempt to explain or describe the object. Rather, the text focuses on the moment of the drum's discarding and suggests, through the use of words such as shoved (*instoppad*), that this action was done with some force. Responsibility for the action is not ascribed, though. So the visitor is faced with a choice. Although Ájtte offered the drum as an archaeological fact, the visitor could either become the authority on its history and hypothesize the circumstances surrounding its destruction, or the visitor could allow the drum's history to remain a mystery.

The lack of description in the text would suggest that Ájtte expects that visitors are already somewhat familiar with Sámi drums and general Swedish/Sámi historical relations. The museum speaks directly to Sámi and Swedish visitors through language choice and depth of information, and while Ájtte does cater to an international audience through the use of multi-lingual visitor guides, the arrangement of the displays in "Sápmi" assumed that visitors would have already received basic schooling in Sámi cultural history. The display relied on the drum itself to serve as description – a fragment piece of the bowl section – and it is not a far leap to suggest that this was an intentional use of the object as a metaphor for the fragmentation and loss of traditional spiritually. By offering an object about which very little is known, Ájtte asked visitors to apply their own knowledge and challenged them to reflect upon their education.

Complementing the drum was the painting of the priest and Sámi students. Again, this item is a powerful statement about the history of Sámi and Swedish State relations and critiques Swedish majority attitudes and behavior. Missionary activity in the Jokkmokk area was steady and forceful up to and during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and whether or not the painting is based upon a real event, it is characteristic of a contemporary Sámi response to the process of conversion. The following is the text that accompanied the painting:

> Then the priest came out of his chamber with two New Testament bibles in his hands. He opened the first one of them, gave it to me, and showed me where I should read. He looked at the second book himself. I read two or three sentences, and then I became bolder during the reading. Now and again I tried to spell the letters, but I could not make them into words, as I could not spell. Then the priest tore the New Testament from my hand and hit me in the temple with it. Subsequently he went from child to child and hit them all over the head.[9] (my translation)

This text is representative of the first-person, narrative style mentioned above. The text is not a quote. Personally, I do find this style to be somewhat confusing, and suggest that it might be misleading to some visitors. However I also understand Ájtte's use of this style as an attempt to narrate Sámi history from an insider's point of view. Looking again at Ájtte's exhibit philosophy, the museum affirms a goal that the language of its texts should come from "within" – they should offer a voice to those who have historically been underrepresented or silent (Utsi and Öberg 1988). The majority of historical records pertaining to the Sámi have been written by outsiders, and in this context, Ájtte's textual style is, at least, understandable as a challenge to the status quo.

Bjørner Olsen, in his comparison and analysis of Sámi museums in Norway, Sweden, and Finland (1999), critiques Ájtte's presentation of Sámi cultural history as a vision in which outside influences have played a detrimental role within the changes which have taken place surrounding cultural, spiritual, and technological livelihood. He states that:

> […] both visually and textually [Ájtte's] "traditional" past is stationary as something safe and stable, while change for the most part is a tale of suffering and misery caused by outside forces. It creates a perspective where isolation, stability, and traditions, one could say "the good times", are placed in opposition to contact, change, and modernity, "the bad times". The message which most easily can be read from this, is that as long as we are alone, everything is fine – while contact, trade, and relocation are the source of cultural destruction and assimilation.[10] (1999: 173–174; my translation)

According to Olsen's statements, Ájtte's approach appears reactionary and one-sided. While I agree that Ájtte does not give visitors a truly well-rounded picture of Nordic history, the museum, which has been open for just over thirteen years, is working within a State and museum system wherein power still resides with the Nordic Museum with regard to responsibility and ownership of Sámi objects, as well as command of national authority in the construction and presentation of Sámi cultural history. When mirrored with the displays in the Nordic Museum, Ájtte's texts and depictions are bold and seek to contest accepted methods of representation. They remind visitors that there may be another side to the construction of history that Swedish, Sámi, and international visitors alike have been taught; they offer an alternative.

Ájtte's approach to the exhibition of Sámi cultural history is in keeping with contemporary, global trends in the display of indigenous and minority cultures. The current political climate favors exhibits that seek to challenge Western constructions of history, many of which stem from imperialistic and colonizing practices, and also suggest new museum spaces that reinvent the idea of the museum institution itself (Simpson 1996). Within this climate Ájtte has a foundation upon which to assert itself as a valid voice in the Swedish museum system, as well as offer itself to the Sámi nation as an indigenous space wherein Sámi culture, activities, and material objects take precedence. Unlike many other indigenous and minority museums, however, Ájtte has not attempted to undo the institutional paradigm of the museum. Rather museum staff have chosen to work within the conventional space of the museum (ideologically and physically), proving that Ájtte is a viable institution in the Swedish museum system, while creating displays that contest Swedish majority views of Sámi culture. I believe that this has been a wise decision in the long run, as Ájtte staff, particularly its director, Inga-Maria Mulk, are presently working with issues of repatriation and governmental recognition of Ájtte as the responsible museum for Sámi culture in Sweden. Receipt of responsible museum status would transfer responsibility of all Sámi cultural property (material and non-material) to Ájtte. Individual objects could remain at their respective sites. However, they would then be "on loan" from Ájtte.

The issue of repatriation and ownership of cultural property has become a principal subject in discussions of Sámi cultural heritage, and interesting here is the fact that many claims are today focusing on drums, as they have become symbols of both spiritual and national heritage. This was evident during the Jokkmokk Winter Market when "Doors Westward" was inaugurated at the Akkats Dam. But also because an old drum, which had been returned to Ájtte from England in 1998, was featured on the cover of the Market's program. The drum had been part of the Trinity College Library's collection since the eighteenth century. According to Inga-Maria Mulk, the drum is of great importance because it is the first to be truly returned to its original environment (22 July 1998). Today, this drum is featured in the exhibit "Drum Time – in life's embrace". Also during 2000, drums took center stage at the conference "Who owns cultural heritage" (*Vem äger kulturarvet?*) held at Ájtte 6–10 June. Museum personnel from institutions throughout Sweden, as well as scholars, educators, and Sámi politicians from Sweden, Norway, and Finland assembled to discuss options for the preservation, interpretation, and exhibition of Sámi culture and materials in the Swedish academic and museum systems. It was also here that Ájtte officially inaugurated its incorporation of the drums from "Drum Time", a joint exhibit produced with the Nordic Museum in 1998, into its permanent displays.

"Drum Time" (Trumtid-Goabdesájgge)

In 1998, in connection with Stockholm's role as Culture Capital of Europe, the Nordic Museum and Ájtte collaborated on a Sámi drum exhibit titled "Drum Time" (*Trumtid-Goabdesájgge*). Eight drums, mostly of Central and South Sámi design from the Nordic Museum's collection, were displayed, while all text and exhibit design were the work of Ájtte's staff. The exhibition showed at both Ájtte and the Nordic Museum during 1998 and 1999, and as of June, 2000, the exhibit was incorporated into "Sápmi", later transitioning the space into the museum's newest exhibit inaugurated in 2002, "Drum Time – in life's embrace". "Drum Time" was a significant cooperation effort and a building block in the relationship between the Nordic Museum and Ájtte. Although the drums still technically belonged to the Nordic Museum, their presence in "Drum Time", and now in Jokkmokk, has been a significant step in acknowledging Sámi claims to self-representation in contemporary exhibition.

Anna Westman and John E. Utsi, authors of "Drum Time's" text and catalogue, suggest that drums are central symbols of both power and powerlessness (1998:8), and their presentation of the drums has attempted to approach various sides of this statement by examining the drum in a cultural context as well a in the historic and contemporary relationship between the government, the church, and the Sámi people. "Drum Time" was very much the product of Ájtte and its exhibition techniques and ideologies. Heavy use of text to complement the display cases coupled with references to Sámi worldview and historical events served to contextualize the drums back into a cultural context that neither privileged nor dismissed both ethnographic and artistic themes. Here the drums were presented as visually interesting objects, but not for their parts, rather for their sum. They were not divided into regions or types in the four display cases which held them, although a map referring back to both Manker's early work and Kjellström's present scholarship was shown (see Kjellström and Rydving 1988). Here the drums were shown as visually interesting because they are Sámi, because each is unique as a product of individual creative genius, and because they have survived.

> The drum's power is strong.
> It can bring agitation or calm,
> spread joy or disquiet.
> A mirror of people's souls.
>
> The men of the Christian missions
> robbed the Sámi of their drums.
> To have been forced to give up a drum
> must have been hard.
> From whom could one now seek advice in difficult times?
> Contact with the gods was broken.
>
> Now the drums are here,
> beautifully decorated, with pictures
> of a rich and varied cosmos.
> The exhibition's eight drums
> come from the collections of the Nordic Museum.
> Each has its history.
> Holy objects,
> some of them broken,
> all of them silent. (Translation by Neil Price for Ájtte 1998)

This is the text, presented in Swedish and Lule Sámi in exhibition, which welcomed visitors into the exhibit space in 1998 and 1999. Bold and challenging, like the text featured in Ájtte's permanent exhibits, the opening statements told visitors that they were entering Sámi space. In its original design, Ájtte presented the drums in four cases that stood in a circle around a central diorama of the shaman's trance. This was the design first exhibited at Ájtte itself. However, due to spatial constraints at the Nordic Museum and later in its early incorporation into the "Sápmi" exhibit, the cases have, at times, taken on a linear pattern. To the amusement of many visitors at the Nordic Museum, the cases stood on the rounded balcony above and surrounding the statue of Gustav Vasa in the museum's central section. The ultimate critique of the Swedish State.

Each of the cases presented a different theme pertaining to the drum, shamanism, spirituality, and history. The text, which remained the same throughout the exhibits, celebrates traditional spirituality and the shaman, the artistic creativity with which the drums were created, and the drums' uses in ritual and the daily household. At the same time, Ájtte is highly critical of the Swedish State and the missionary work of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first case was titled "In a time when everything was alive". Its text discussed the material used to make drums – reindeer skin, sinew, and antler, and the use of pine and alder in structure and decoration. Likewise it expressed the drums connections to regional tradition, the individuals who made them, and their function. The second case was titled "It was the shaman". Here visitors were presented with the shaman himself, his cultural role, and his uses of the drum for spiritual advice. The third display case, "The drum was not just for the shaman", shifted visitors thoughts to the idea the drums were used as part of daily life and by each family. Regional and spatial differences were again discussed, but this time with regard to community based perceptions of the cosmos in Northern and Southern Sápmi. And finally the last case addressed the effects of missionary conversion and the end of the drums' uses within traditional spirituality.

The fourth display case in the series discussed the Assembly (*Ting*) in Åsele held on New Year's Day, 1725. It was here that 45 Sámi families were interrogated, 26 drums were taken, and punishments were handed out. Likewise, Utsi writes in the catalogue that "territorial and spiritual colonization went hand in hand. And it was only when they had forcibly converted the Sámi to Christianity that they could really assert that the land belonged to the state. So, the drums remind me of bad times" (1988: 9).

Coupled with the texts in the exhibit's catalogue, this display was quite powerful in its analysis of historical events. This section of the exhibit called to the foreground the actions of the Swedish State and Church and drew connections between the silence of the drums today and specific moments in their removal from Sámi communities. According to Håkan Rydving's study of religious change among Lule Sámi communities (1995 [1993]), the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries marked a distinct decline in the use of drums due to active missionary attempts to convert Sámi to Christianity. Along with State interests in northern regions, evidenced by such acts as the King's law of 1683, which incorporated the forests north of Jämtland into the realm of State interests and restricted Sámi land rights, religious laws were passed regarding the unification and regulation of religious belief.

> In Sweden, the ambition of the Lutheran national church to maintain unity of faith was reinforced by the Swedish canon law of 1686. All Swedish subjects were to submit to the demands of the official religion of Swedish society as regards church attendance and moral guidance, demands that were upheld by punishments and threats of punishments. (1995 [1993]: 49)

Drums, which had become highly visible and personal objects of spirituality within traditional Sámi faith, emerged during this period as principle manifestations of ethnic difference and religious incongruity in the Swedish State. In the context of missionary conversion, religious officials objectified drums as symbols of Sámi paganism and resistance and confiscated, destroyed, or transported these sacred objects in the hopes that their actions would force compliance with missionary agendas. Likewise, the Church denounced individuals who retained their traditional faith and used drums, claiming that they engaged in "sorcery" and "witchcraft". Many Sámi were given sentences for adhering to traditional spirituality, which ranged from fines to corporal punishment and even death.

The Assembly of 1725 was just one of many assemblies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in which drums were taken. Lundmark tells of several assemblies including one in Arjeplog in 1687 (1998: 51). Rydving writes about the examinations of thirty five people which were conducted in the Jokkmokk area in 1688 (1995: 63 [1993]), and Westman and Utsi identify another gathering in Lyksele in 1722 where eleven people claimed to used drums for advise in fishing and hunting matters and surrendered the drums to authorities. The presentation of the Assembly of 1725 in "Drum Time" served to summarize many of the attitudes and various events that resulted in the loss of both traditional spirituality and drums. In addition, the use of this particular Assembly highlighted an event that has also provided a greater part of the collection of drums that exist today in Sweden. The drums surrendered in Åsele make up approximately three-quarters of the drums in the Nordic Museum's collection (Manker 1938).

Ájtte's decisions and technique in exhibition have sought to re-contextualize Sámi drums and traditional spirituality within the Swedish museum context. In both "Sápmi" and "Drum Time", and now with the permanent exhibition "Drum Time – in life's embrace", which combines many of the displays from each of the former, the museum has shown that alternative narratives can offer visitors visual and educational opportunities that are just as valid in the telling of Sámi cultural history as the established one in the Nordic Museum. Furthermore Ájtte's use of the drum within both culturally and politically oriented exhibition contexts has helped to establish it as both an object for display as well as a living national and spiritual symbol in museums. Although not occupying the space it once had in its original environment, the drum is finding new meaning and function in present day life.

"Creative Man" and Helge Sunna's Drum

This brings me to my final investigation of the Sámi drum in museums. Making somewhat of a circle back the drum created by Lars Pirak, Bengt Lindström, and Lars Johansson Nutti by furthering the discussion of drums as artistic creations, I present a work of modern artistic handicraft in the National Museum of Ethnography – a drum made by handicraft artist Helge Sunna in 1999. Mr. Sunna is originally from Kiruna, but has made his home in Stockholm. He is active in Sámi political and cultural issues, including the founding of the Sameslöjd Stiftelsen in Jokkmokk, which works directly with handicraft artists and questions of marketing and authenticity. Mr. Sunna considers himself to be a handicraft artist (*konsthantverkare*), not an artist (*konstnare*), as he works within Sámi tradition, using many traditional materials and methods and creating objects of daily life, such as knives, milking bowls (*náhppi*), and other functional objects.[11]

The exhibit in which it is featured, "Creative Man" (*Den skapande Människan*), is an exhibit that presents worldview and traditional artistic creativity in three unique natural environments: Australia, the Amazon, and the Arctic. The aim of the displays is to convey the idea that people create and shape their beliefs and material objects through their understanding of their natural environment, and that even though each of us belongs to a different set of circumstances, our creative processes are the same. (Conversational tour with Karin Westberg, curator, 20 January 2000.)

The National Museum of Ethnography is a museum of non-European peoples, and it might seem strange that the Sámi are today being exhibited as a non-European ethnic group, especially after reading the many developments that have striven toward and even demanded Sámi incorporation into the Swedish national consciousness through ethnic rights and equality within its institutional systems. However, the Sámi are represented in the National Museum of Ethnography for a very specific and important reason – according to Westberg, visitors, especially Swedish visitors, do not know enough about the Sámi. Therefore, she and others at the museum constructed "Creative Man" in such as way as to include the Sámi, showing connections to other indigenous and arctic peoples, as well as providing general and contemporary information about this Swedish minority.

Visitors begin their journey through "Creative Man" with images and texts that discuss the nature of creativity, worldview, and the similarities that peoples around the globe display with regard to how we structure our environments. Next visitors enter a room devoted to the traditions of the indigenous peoples of Australia. Objects, photographs, and text combine to link the products of creativity with an arid environment and show the integration of traditional worldview with the concerns of present day people. The same is done in the following room, which focuses on indigenous peoples of the Amazon. Here the rainforest is the environment, and the men's and women's handicrafts displayed show the relationship between this physical space and the choices made in materials and design. The third environment is the Arctic. This room concentrates on four ethnic groups: the Sámi, Inuit, Chukchi, and Aleut.

The Sámi display shows various cultural objects dating from 1902 on loan from Ájtte, one old drum from Åsele (labeled No. 9 by Manker) on loan from the Nordic Museum, a variety of descriptive texts, and also photographs of present-day Sámi life by contemporary artists Kate Kärrberg, Anders Forsgren, and Steffan Widstrald. The text accompanying the Åsele drum calls visitors' attention to the Assembly of 1726 and serves to position drums in an historical context. Mr. Sunna's drum provides visitors with a new conceptualization of the drum. And, in addition to his drum, Mr. Sunna has contributed five other items handicraft ranging in dates from the 1960s through the present. All text pertaining to Mr. Sunna's work has been written by the handicraft artist himself, a primary example of self-presentation in the museum context. Mr. Sunna's new drum is the introductory item in the Arctic section and begins the display cases that contain Sámi materials. The drum, which is positioned on reindeer antler accompanied by a hammer and a guide, is behind glass in the wall, and it revolves so that visitors may see both the bowl and skin sides. The drum is flanked by Mr. Sunna's reflections on his creation of the drum as well as the meaning that drums have for him personally and in a cultural context.

The bowl-side of the drum is relatively traditional in form and accentuates the skill and beauty of handicraft artistry today. Carved geometric designs texture the wood and the piece of reindeer horn that Mr. Sunna has added to the drum's handle, articulating a heritage that has offered a non-verbal language to individuals for generations. Slightly more unusual is the red color that he has placed on the inside of the openings around the handle, a technique that he utilizes in other areas of his work. The skin-side of the drum speaks to viewers with contemporary vision of Sámi identity and concerns. In place of *baeivi*, which characterized the sun centered design on the old South Sámi drums, Mr. Sunna has depicted the Sámi flag. Around the outside of the composition, he has placed gods, animals, and other figures found on old drums, and in the inner space he has depicted contemporary life in the form of high-rise apartment buildings, helicopters used in reindeer herding, missiles from the Esrange military base outside Kiruna, tourism, skiers at the Riksgränsen ski resort, and the like. In addition, Mr. Sunna has also placed color on the skin of the drum. The yellowish color towards the top represents heaven, and the reddish color towards the bottom is earth. These, he says, come from Christian belief, as he, like other Sámi, is Christian today.

In a discussion with Mr. Sunna on 15 May 2000, I suggested that his drum was a political statement. He disagreed with me and my use of the term ”political”, stating that it is a depiction of Sámi life today in all its realities and complexities. In addition we talked about his use of the Sámi flag in place of the sun.

> I cannot place it on a more powerful place than the drum. None other exists for me. It is the place which is absolutely the most powerful symbol.[12] (my translation)

The drum in the National Museum of Ethnography is not the only drum he has created, nor is it the only one that has featured the flag. The cover the March-April, 1999, edition of *Samefolket magazine* shows Mr. Sunna holding another drum that he has created. Here the flag is the dominant image on the skin surrounded by various figures on the outer edges. The flag's placement on the drum is a bold statement. In my opinion, it drives home the point that Sámi drums belong to the Sámi people. Coupled with the other images of present-day life, it also suggests that the drum is not finished being a living part of Sámi cultural heritage. Its use in traditional spirituality may have waned, but its relevance to Sámi ethnic identity has not. Mr. Sunna's drum is both a product and a discussion of the ways in which spiritual heritage, nationalism, and ethnic and religious identity are coming together in contemporary life.

As demonstrated already with regard to Manker's application of the term “art” to traditional spirituality, categories and definitions have become important in how Sámi drums are presented in museum exhibition. In the Nordic Museum drums have come to occupy a space in which connections to art are stressed over connections to craft. Through exhibition techniques and spatial arrangements, the visual qualities of the drums are highlighted and the figures are representative of a painting tradition akin to Western classification. On the other hand, Ájtte's presentation of drums has given less attention to categories and focuses more on how drums have functioned in various cultural and historical contexts, privileging the drums' roles as conceptual objects full of flexibility in meaning. At the National Museum of Ethnography, though, the presentation of the drum provides visitors with a combination of both exhibition styles, and it blends the categories of artifact with art, function with aesthetics. General ethnography is coupled with artistry, giving agency and voice to the people presented, while also speaking to Western interests through a presentation of a named artisan whose creation is unique and universal in its depiction of the themes of nationhood and globalization.

This blending is also played out within Mr. Sunna's drum. It is new, but it is also created from a foundation of tradition. The drum is simultaneously culturally based while displaying innovation with regard to regional design and decoration. The drum is much like the old drums. It depicts those things that are important to its maker, and it follows basic material and structural design. In addition, Mr. Sunna has incorporated various traditional figures into the composition on the drum's skin. Then it differs in its central images, such as the Sámi flag, and in its function, which seeks to educate museum visitors about the Sámi people. The drum is visually, culturally, and politically viable, as Mr. Sunna draws upon Sámi spiritual heritage, national symbols, contemporary life, and world issues. It is his personal creation, his own narrative on identity and the world in which Sámi people live today.

The inclusion of Mr. Sunna's drum in "Creative Man" is a practical approach to exhibit design. Along with Mr. Sunna's other handicraft items, the drum provides the National Museum of Ethnography the means to construct an exhibition of Sámi culture in which the telling comes from within. Granted there is only one voice, and he cannot begin to speak for all Sámi communities. However, the museum demonstrates an understanding of the responsibility that modern museums have toward the people whom they seek to present. Authority in relaying worldview and cultural competence as well as interpretation of drums and their position in Sámi life is narrated from an insider's viewpoint, not by the museum or the Swedish majority.

Conclusions

The Nordic Museum, Ájtte – Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum, and the National Museum of Ethnography have each constructed subjective and influential visions of Sámi culture and traditional spirituality through the use of drums and various other textual and material items. And consequently, each museum has shaped and re-shaped the drum itself as both an object for display and a cultural and artistic creation. Removed from their original contexts and brought to museums as cultural and, sometimes, material fragments of a foreign people, drums have been continually re-made through social, academic, and political theories throughout the past century. It is clear that all three institutions have and do approach drums as central symbols of Sámi traditional spirituality. But where they have come to differ is in their presentation of drums as central symbols of identity and nationhood within contemporary heritage politics and their comfort with regard to self-representation and the issue of repatriation. Each museum has positioned itself within a very different set of legitimizing relationships and today has a unique role in the Swedish context when approaching these issues.

The Nordic Museum draws its authority and legitimacy from its historical position within the Swedish nation-state, academic scholarship which has set standards for the analysis of drums and traditional spirituality, its established practices with regard to the preservation of its collections, and its governmental status as the responsible museum for Sámi culture in Sweden. Its personnel have also helped to shape perceptions of drums through the administration of categories and Western aesthetics that have been influential and have remained a model for present-day academic and museum publications and exhibitions. While these factors have established the Nordic Museum as a leading resource, they have also made its presentation of Sámi culture unsuitable in the modern context of Sámi self-determination and its vision of traditional spirituality, based on outsider paradigms, sterile. The museum's collaborative efforts with Ájtte on the "Drum Time" exhibit have been a positive response to the ideas of self-representation and repatriation, but the Nordic Museum continues to debate practical issues when requested that its collections and responsible museum status be transferred to the Sámi-run institution.

Ájtte, firm in its view that Sámi cultural heritage should be housed and maintained in a Sámi space, has engaged the theme of traditional spirituality and drums as powerful symbols of cultural loss and facilitators of ethno-political rights. Drawing its authority and legitimacy from its ties to the Sámi community, its voice as an insider, and reference to historical events which have shaped the course of Sámi life in Sweden, Ájtte has developed displays that make bold statements and challenge the visions created by the majority society that are exhibited at the Nordic Museum.

Thirdly, the National Museum of Ethnography enters, not as a participator in national debates of self-representation and repatriation, but as a museum that has applied exhibition techniques characteristic of both the Nordic Museum and Ájtte in order to present displays that offer both aesthetics and an insider voice. This museum has looked to the work of a living handicraft artist and his own interpretations in order to provide authority and legitimacy to its displays, and it has offered self-representation as a necessary part of its narrative. This museum provides a third perspective in the politics of representation, one which, I believe, may benefit many different museums in future constructions of cultural display.

Finally, it is important to remember and acknowledge that apart from the context of Swedish museums, traditional spirituality and drums hold deep meaning within Sámi culture and communities. Outside of the many institutional interpretations, contextualizations, and categorizations, drums are alive today as cultural, spiritual, and artistic inspiration. This is clear from the representation that is part of "Doors Westward" and the drum created by Helge Sunna. But it is also made clear through the use of traditional spirituality and drums in a variety of other contexts and media. Exploration of drums' uses in traditional and non-traditional artistry will lead the reader to a multitude of drum-inspired items being made in the tourist milieu, and it will also point to contemporary expressions of spirituality. In closing I offer a work of artistry that demonstrates the continuing relevance that traditional spiritually and drums have for present-day religious experience. In 1997, the Jukkasjärvi church inaugurated an organ that was designed and decorated by Lars Levi Sunna. Its facade, which is made of birch and reindeer horn, combines Sámi traditional spirituality with Christianity, depicting both *beaivi* and the Christian cross. In addition, the organ's stop knobs are decorated with figures reminiscent of the drums' paintings. The organ acknowledges the diversity of the region, bringing together Sámi, Swedish, and Finnish ethnic communities. And at the same time it recognizes the enduring power and presence of drums within the historical and contemporary narrative of the Sámi people.

NOTES

1. Original text in Swedish: "[...] monumentalmålningar som på olika sätt anknyter till det liv och den samiska kultur som alltjämt präglar just denna del av Sverige. Vill man kan man säga att de båda konstverken är ett försök att skapa samklang mellan det världsliga – vattenkraft och kraftstationen – och de inre liv vi alla så väl behöver."
2. Museum label text in Swedish: "Religionen var nära knuten till natur och näringar."
3. Museum label text in Swedish: "De främsta gudarna var knutna till fångsten och renskötseln."
4. Today there is a fairly large Sámi community in Stockholm, approximately 2000 people, and this may increase the number of Sámi visitors who see the exhibits at the Nordic Museum. Historically, however, the Nordic Museum has been a museum for the Swedish national population, located in the Nation's capital, and a space in which mostly ethnic Swedes and international visitors could view the traditions of Swedish nation-state, including those of the Sámi minority population living in the northern regions.
5. Original text in Swedish: "Nåidkonst – det var konsten att nå ut över sinnevärlden, in i andevärlden, till gudamakterna.
   Den konsten har djup tradition, den är gammal som mänskligheten själv. Här i Norden möter vi den tidigast i stenåldersfolkets ristningar och rödockramålningar på berghällarna, varmed det gällde att nå andemakterna, få deras hjälp att fånga villebrådet, få föda. Därnäst i ålder kommer alla de blodröda figurerna på lapparnas trolltrummor, och från den tiden är det vi känner denna konst som nåidkonst. Det var nåiderna, de trollkunnige, de som såg och kunde mer än andra, som övade den. Dess början känner ingen. Dess slut kom med de kristna kyrkan, som gjorde nåidkonsten till synd […] Den gamla nåidkonstens måleri var trolltrummorna, dess skulptur seitarna."
6. See for example Arthur Danto and Susan Vogel's (1988) articles in *Art/Artifact*, or publications by Roy Sieber.
7. Original text in Swedish: "Personlig, inlevelsefull och engagerande […]".
8. Museum label texts in Lule Sámi and Swedish: ”Goabdes gávnaduváj tjåkkådum sluoggolágásj sadjáj guovte gálkkahällo gaskan.
   Guhti biejaj goabddáv dasi?
   Goassi?
   Manen biejaduváj dat dasi?
   Trumman hittade instoppad i en grottliknande öppning mellan rösbergsartade kalkstensblock.
   Vem lade dit trumman?

När?
Varför lades den dit?”

9. Museum label texts in Lule Sámi and Swedish:
”De bådij sárnnár guovtijn Ådå Testamentaj giedajn. Rabáj avtav dajs, vattij munji ja vuosedij gåsstå galggiv låhkåt. Iesj sån gehtjaj nuppen girjen. Mån låhkiv guokta jali gålmmå rájdo ja nåv mån buossjuv lågådijn. Gähttjaliv aj jiednadit girjjetsähkkájt, valla ittjiv oattjo dajt báhkon, dajna gå mån ittjiv máhttám jiednadit. Sárnnár råhttij ådå testamentav muv giedajs ja tsábmestij muv gehtaj dajna. Ja nåv sån tsábmij juohkka mánáv oajvváj. Så kom prästen ut ur sin kammare med två Nya Testamenten i händerna. Så öppnade han den ena av dem, gav den åt mig och visade var jag skall läsa. Själv tittade han i den andra boken. Jag läste två eller tre meningar, och så blev jag djärvare under läsningen. Jag försökte till och med stava bokstäverna, men jag fick dem inte till ord då jag inte kunde stava. Då slet prästen nya testamentet ur min hand och slog mig i tinningen med den. Så gick han från barn till barn och slog dem alla i huvudet.”
10. Original text in Norwegian: “Både visuelt og tekstlig blir denne ’tradisjonelle’ fortiden stående som noe trygt og stabilt, mens endring i store trekk blir en historie om lidelse og elendighet påført utenfra. Det skapes et perspektiv der isolasjon, stabilitet og tradisjon, dvs. de gode tider, settes opp mot kontakt, endring og modernitet, de dårlige tider. Budskapet som dermed lett leses ut av dette blir at så lenge vi var aleine gikk alt bra – mens kontakt, handel og tilflytting er kimen til kulturell destruksjon og fremmedgjøring.”
11. The distinction Mr. Sunna makes may also have to do with economic issues governing the sale of Sámi objects. According to Hugh Beach (1994) the Swedish government has ruled that utilitarian objects are subject to value-added tax (VAT) while objects of art are not.
12. From our conversation in Swedish: “Jag kan inte sätte den på en starkare plats än trumman. Det finns inte för mig. Det är den platsen som är absolut det starkaste symbolet.”

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TUULIKKI KURKI

Marginality and Reflexivity in Folklore Studies

The Anthropological Turn and Archives of Tradition

Reflexivity, negotiability of knowledge, marginality and otherness are some of the contemporary, even fashionable, terms in ethnographic studies today. The terms refer to the change from a positivistic to a hermeneutic epistemology, which culminated in the 1960s. In anthropology, for example, Clifford Geertz (1973) and Paul Rabinow evoked critical discussion in their works. They were followed by George E. Marcus and Michael Fischer (1986), James Clifford (1986) and others in the 1970s and 80s. In ethnographic studies the critical discussion has meant that the politics and poetics of studying and representing cultures has been re-examined and revaluated. During the last decades this critical perspective has been aimed also at archives and museums representing a national tradition. In the Nordic countries the critical evaluation began more vigorously in the 1970s. The Nordic Institute of Folklore (NIF) held seminars and published the discussions in a series of booklets (Herranen and Saressalo 1976; Herranen 1978). In the 1990s, for example, Ulf Palmenfelt (1993) and Agneta Lilja (1996) in Sweden and Ulla-Maija Peltonen (1996) and Jyrki Pöysä (1997) in Finland have studied the institutional construction of folklore in what are called the tradition archives.

The Finnish Literature Society (FLS) and its archive were founded in 1831 in Helsinki. One of its first aims was to collect, organize and study folk poems, folk beliefs, songs and tales, which told about the ancient past of the Finns (Blomstedt 1931: 5–15). In addition to these goals, there were also nationalistic undertones in the collecting work. The founding of the FLS occurred in the context of a national romanticism that blossomed in Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century. In Finland, romanticism first influenced the scholars in Turku and they were followed by a group of intensive supporters in Helsinki, led by Elias Lönnrot. Lönnrot was also one of the founding fathers of the FLS. The FLS tradition archive played an important role in constructing Finnish identity. Its purpose was to preserve selected and agreed on representations of folk culture and thus create symbols of Finnishness.

During the nineteenth century the FLS tradition archive established its basic material collections. There were exhaustive collecting projects and the amount of materials increased dramatically. During 1845–1861, FLS financed several collecting trips. During that time twenty-eight eager collectors, following Lönnrots' inspiring example, traveled around Finland's countryside writing down oral lore (Haavio 1931: 33–37). Gradually the collecting interest spread to wider crowds. Already in 1847 the Society had published a plea, aimed at common people, to send folklore material to the archive. People all over the country, mostly priests, teachers, students and school children, sent back poems and short writings (Liakka 1931: 34–35; Haavio 1931: 48). In the 1870s and 1880s the collecting intensified. Then, with Eliel Aspelín as the director, a special collecting commission was founded, collecting guides were published, and the practice of rewarding successful collectors was started (Blomsted 1931: 51; Haavio 1931: 76). Previously the collecting had focused largely on *Kalevala*-metric poetry, but during this period the objects of collecting became more versatile. In the 1880s, for example, fairy tales and folk magic became targets of systematic collecting (Krohn 1885). Sometime later, in 1923, Kaarle Krohn proposed that games, dances, songs and lifestories of old people should be collected (Krohn 1923). When Martti Haavio began as director of the archive in the 1930s, memorats, historical stories and children's games also became collectible items (Hautala 1957: 16–17). In 1935 the first collecting competition was held, and people of different ages from all over the country with varied social backgrounds took part in it (Haavio 1936: 10). Later competitions have become one of the regular collecting practices of the archive. The participants of the first collecting competition also formed a collecting network and the Society gathered information by sending questionnaires to the members of the network during 1936–1939 (Vento 1971: 21). The same queries were published for a wider audience in the journal *Kansantieto*. During the twentieth century the collectible genres and items of folklore have gradually widened to include newer, contemporary forms.

The construction of the archives was not always without problems. The criteria for collectible folklore were, for example, representativeness among the people, age and orality (Krohn 1885: 6; Krohn 1923). But aesthetic qualities also influenced the collecting. Traditions that were graded aesthetically high were gathered more than other types of material (Pöysä 1997: 48; Apo 1993: 12). Through selective collecting the archive created desired images of folk culture and folk, and a national self-image. Selectivity led to rejection and marginalization of those tradition collections that were thought to contain inauthentic or irrelevant information, or otherwise disagreeable, tabooed or indecent elements (Kvideland 1978: 49–50). The individual collectors didn't always seem to share the criteria of collectible folklore with the scholars in the FLS.

One of the enthusiastic and visionary common men who participated in the collecting projects was a peasant farmer from Sotkamo, Heikki Meriläinen. He co-operated with the Society at the end of the nineteenth century and became a well-known collector and author, even though his reputation was disputed. His archived descriptions of folklore have been both praised and criticized over the decades. He gained his reputation due to his large collections, and geographically wide collecting trips. But he was accused of having relied too much on his memory when rewriting his field notes for the FLS, which lessened their reliability and usability as source material in folklore studies. In addition, the authencity of some of his descriptions was questioned.[1] Meriläinen and his texts represent a marginalized voice telling about the folk and tradition. His ideas and his texts didn't follow the literary or scholarly views of tradition nor the conventional ways of representing folklore in texts, though he certainly acquired elements of literary sources.

One of the contemporary trends in folklore studies is to take interest in contested, fragmental and individualistic elements of culture. This also stresses the significance of marginality, otherness, and calls for the use of marginalized folklore collections. In this paper I view Heikki Meriläinen as representing the other voice telling about folk and tradition. I ask, what can be said about constructing textual representations of folklore and maintaining ethnographic authority when they are viewed through Meriläinen's voice? The ways that scholars responded to the texts and work of Meriläinen (as the Other) make visible some criteria of ethnographically authorized representations of folklore and the boundaries of ethnographic authority. I also ask, what was the role of a self-educated peasant in the construction of textual representations of folklore?

Introducing Heikki Meriläinen

Heikki Meriläinen was born in 1847 in the small village of Sotkamo, in eastern Finland. The family with four children was rather poor and young Heikki didn't have a chance to go to school. However he learned to read by following his older sister's reading practices. Meriläinen was interested in folk poems and literature already as a child, but his parents did not encourage his interests. As a young adult he worked as a traveling smith, as a farmer and assisted in geodesy in northern Finland. He also worked seasonally in local communal endeavours but his literary interests still remained. He got married in 1873 and established his own farm, which secured his economic status. It was also significant that his wife Anna was the daughter of a clerk and she taught Meriläinen to write at the age of 25. This was rather crucial in regard to his later literary activities. During the same decade Meriläinen became seriously interested in national issues and Finnish literature, especially in the texts of Aleksis Kivi, Elias Lönnrot and Zakarias Topelius (senior). In his autobiography Meriläinen described how he suddenly felt an urgent need to serve his fatherland and the Finnish people:

> […] I heard for the first time my inner voice, which said: "A man is not just an individual; his duties are not restricted only to his immediate family". […] What could I do for my fatherland and my people, I thought, if I could be a good person and a good father, which would be already something?

> But from that day on I felt an ever-growing interest in literature. I read *Kalevala*, *Kantelatar* and I subscribed to the journal *Suometar*. In the winter of 1877 I read Kivi's *Seitsemän veljestä* and later more of his books. While reading them I felt an even greater need to do something outside of the family circle […] (Meriläinen 1927: 63–64).

Evidently Meriläinen had a strong interest in literature, folklore and nationalistic issues and he actively looked for a way to fulfill the duty "for my fatherland" which he felt. One chance to fulfill it suddenly appeared in the spring of 1880. In the early winter of 1880 the Finnish Literary Society started a collecting program, which aimed to focus on fairy tales, but magical beliefs and folk customs were also to be collected (*Suomi* 1883: 423). The Society sent several collectors, mostly young students, to different parts of Finnish and Russian Karelia. One of the collectors was a 23-year-old student of folklore, Jooseppi Mustakallio. He headed to Russian Karelia in February. The winter had already turned into spring when he started his journey back to Finland. On the way back he wandered through the Kainuu district and made a stop in the village of Sotkamo where Meriläinen lived. According to the legend, Mustakallio and Meriläinen met by chance and started to discuss their common interests in collecting folklore and the difficulties of the task.[2] Mustakallio had found it difficult to get people to tell him tales and other traditional knowledge. It turned out that Meriläinen could help him to collect descriptions of magical healing and charms, which appeared to be especially secretive knowledge among the people. The local people seemed to tell Meriläinen their knowledge more easily than to this other unknown man. Thus Mustakallio and Meriläinen made an agreement that Meriläinen would collect first a sample collection and send it to the FLS. Meriläinen turned out to be successful in his early attempts at collecting and so he started to work for the FLS. In the following ten years (1880–1890) he made four collecting trips in Kainuu (northern Finland), Lapland, Russian Karelia, and northern Sweden. Each of the journeys lasted for several months and he made them in winter, mostly by skiing. Altogether he collected over 3000 descriptions of magical healing and the magical poems connected with them.

The interest in serving the fatherland and its people was a strong motivation for writing novels as well. During 1887–1929 he wrote 26 novels and short stories, the best known of which are *Korpelan Tapani* (1888), *Pietolan tytöt* (1892), *Mooses ja hänen hevosensa* (1920) and his autobiography, *Heikki Meriläisen elämä hänen itsensä kertomana* (1927). The novels are mostly realistic descriptions of people's lives, featuring elements of folk poetry, local dialect, folk customs and Meriläinen's own life.

Problematic Collector?

When Meriläinen died in 1939, the newspapers presented him as an exceptional peasant and a versatile cultured figure, even though his public image was disputed (*Kajaani* 14.12.1939; *Kainuun Sanomat* 21.2.1939). Scholars in the FLS saw him as an uneducated peasant, who had made a great contribution to the collecting of folklore (*Suomi* 1889: 418–419). Meriläinen gained a reputation in the FLS because of his large collections and hard work. Moreover, he was valued because he was able to mediate the ideas and the worldview of the people to the scholars, which task scholars sometimes found difficult. Due to his background he had access to oral knowledge of magic that had remained undiscovered by other collectors. On the other hand he mastered the collecting and writing methods sufficiently enough to transform the verbal lore into texts. He also made some observations about the contextual connections of magical procedures and charms. He suggested that the descriptions of healing and the poems connected to them should be collected together, because in real life situations they were used together. This remark was noted also in the FLS (Haavio 1931: 66–67). Before Meriläinen, the poems and the customs had been mostly collected separately.

However, it seemed problematic that Meriläinen had quite strong opinions and visions of the folk and folklore, and he attempted to make these thoughts explicit in his writings. By presenting his own opinions in the archived collections, his texts did not always meet the criteria of a folklore text set by the FLS. In 1883 the authencity of his collections was questioned for the first time. A. O. F. Lönnbohm, a scholar who specialized in folk magic, questioned whether Meriläinen had made up his own reports on folk healing (*Suomi* 1883: 529–531). Meriläinen had collected folklore, that described brutal behaviour, even cannibalism, where parts of deceased and buried people and animals were used. Lönnbohm did not think that such behaviour was real folklore or worth collecting, and made his suspicions public. In 1889 the doubts were brought up again, despite the fact that by now Meriläinen had already established his reputation as a successful, even one of the great, tradition collectors. This time Matti Waronen saw his collecting methods as problematic. Meriläinen had rewritten his field notes after returning home from the fieldtrips, but the rewriting took from some months even to seven years, and it was clear that he had to rely extensively on his memory (Waronen's letters to Lönnbohm 19.7.1889 and Aug. 1889). It is very likely that he added the names of some informants and other details from memory. This reduced the reliability of his collections even more.

In addition to these very explicit doubts, there were other types of criticism as well. The dominant research methods, especially the geographical-historical method, at the end of the nineteenth century were based on a comparative study of tradition variants. Because of this, scholars repeatedly advised Meriläinen to include in his notes the names of informants, villages where he wandered, and further information about where the informant had heard the story, when, and from whom. These bits of information were very important because the studies were based on the comparison of folklore variants from different geographical areas and from different times. The aim was to trace the wandering routes of tradition and to formulate laws on how tradition changes when it travels in space and in time.

Unfortunately, Meriläinen did not always regard this type of information as worth noting. His personal interest was to collect one extensive collection, an epic monument, comparable to Lönnrot's *Kalevala*. In some letters he even mentioned his wish to collect a treasure of oral knowledge and provide a supplement to Lönnrot's publications (Meriläinen 1927: 72). Later in 1894, after the last collecting trip, he wrote to Kaarle Krohn telling that he now had the valuable "scroll"of texts in his possession:

> I have selected from all my collections all that seems to be relevant and written them into this scroll of texts, which I now send to you. […] Now I have done it and I will wrap my collections into one big scroll for myself as a memory of those many incidents in my many trips. […] it feels very good that I have the scroll, not every man comparable to me, has a similar one. (Letter to Kaarle Krohn 20.2.1894)

His other goal, though perhaps more implied than the previous, was to prove the historical existence of the mythical world described in the *Kalevala*. In letters to scholar Viljo Tarkiainen he described the world in detail:

> I can say about the magic world that the real Väinölä is the village Vuokkiniemi in Russian Karelia and its surroundings, in Finland it includes the parishes of Kuhmo, Sotkamo, Paltamo, Ristijärvi, Hyrynsalmi and Suomussalmi, in Russian Karelia the villages of Repola, Uhtua and Tuhkala and all the villages around Vuokkiniemi. In these areas the Finnish ancestors have sowed the land under God's hand, with the aid of God, wishing the blessing of God in Heaven for all their work, though at the same time they made tricks and read charms for nature spirits. In other parts of Russian Karelia and in Russian Lapland, even in the western part of the parish of Kajaani all the magical tricks are heartless, raw, crude imitations of that magic, which they loaned from the Vuokkiniemi area. (Letter to Viljo Tarkiainen 1.5.1904.)

Owing to these goals, he wrote his texts in a manner not endorsed by the collecting committee in the FLS. Meriläinen used his own narrative voice to tell about healing and he thus created coherence among the fragmented descriptions, told by various informants and in various styles. For example, he used a repetitive story structure and special words in descriptions and loaded them with his own cultural knowledge. The meanings of such loaded expressions as "wiping", "washing", or "taking a cloud in a bottle" are revealed only when one reads the collections as a unified text, and traces the contexts where these expressions are used. Moreover, he omitted the dialects of the informants and used his own instead. He even made references from one description to others within the collections by writing notes such as: "etc. as has been written before" or "continues as in number 377". Sometimes he wrote information about the narrator in this form: "told by the same person as in number 377" or "told by the same person as in the previous one". These examples indicate Meriläinen's vision of one unified tradition, which he aimed to grasp in a textual form. Examples also imply that Meriläinen intended that his collections should be read as a whole text, and not as separate descriptions, as was endorsed by the collecting committee. But the aims didn't quite fit the intentions that the scholars of his time held. The writing method was rather problematic when it came to the demands of the genre-based archiving system. Further, Meriläinen sometimes filled the descriptions with details that the researchers regarded as irrelevant. This may also have diminished his competence and evoked criticism.

It was quite evident that Heikki Meriläinen and the scholars had contradicting opinions about collectible folklore, methods of collecting and writing oral lore in a textual form. What is behind the contradictions? How did Meriläinen, as a self-educated peasant, participate in the construction of textual representations of folklore?

Who Can Write About Whom and Why?

Traditionally, so-called folk and marginal areas of nations have been the objects of ethnographic research. In Finland, for example, the folk has often been located in the areas geographically distant from the center of academic activities. As Johannes Fabian notes (1983: 21), such separation is one ethnographic means of creating and maintaining scientific authority. At the same time the practices of ethnographic discourse also attach meanings to the marginal areas and to the people living there. As a result the field appears exotic, strange and an area of the cultural other. The folk, the other, becomes an object of research, about whom the scholars speak. The separation of subject and object is a basic device for creating a sense of objectivity in the positivistic ethnographic discourse. Renato Rosaldo (1989: 168–170) claims that according to the demands of objectivity and in order to obtain valid knowledge, the scholar must remain separate from the object studied. This separation means in particular emotional and cognitive distance and moral neutrality (ibid.: 170–175).

Heikki Meriläinen was a man of the people, a potential target of ethnographic and folkloristic research, but he also wrote from the position of the other. He was between the categories of the folk and the scholars (or the cultural elite), as well as between the oral and the literary culture forms. In the positivistic frame of discussion, which prevailed strongly at the turn of the twentieth century, Meriläinen as a writer and his folklore texts were regarded as problematic. He was not regarded as an ethnographic subject, but a potential object of research, who happened to collect tradition and write about his opinions and visions of it. The problem became evident, for example, in the evaluations of the FLS's collecting committee. There it was noted that Meriläinen didn't quite master the collecting and writing practices, which wasn't probably even expected from him; a similar critique had been directed to other uneducated collectors as well (Krohn 1885, 1888, 1923; Salminen 1904: 88–90).

What was the role of the laymen in collecting and textualizing folklore? It seems that the role of the laymen was to verbalize and write down folklore and transmit the people's ideas to the scholars. To some extent they did transform oral speech into the folkloristic discourse, but their individual interpretations or personal ways of taking notes sometimes turned out to be problematic from the scholarly point of view. For example, when writing folkloristic descriptions for the tradition archive, the writers' individual influences on the text were acceptable at some points, especially if they improved the readability and the aesthetic qualities of the texts (Haavio 1931: 61–62; Lilja 1996: 85–86, 144–146, 235–237). But individual influences could also be too strong or otherwise unacceptable for the demands of objectivity. In other words, the influences could also make the text ethnographically irrelevant or too subjective. In the case of Meriläinen, most likely his own narrative voice was too strong and visible in the collections, and so his texts did not fit into the category of objective ethnographic description. For example, his version of the *Kalevala* world was ignored; it was seen to be a result of the effect that the poetry had had on Meriläinen (Niemi 1927: 38).

The role of the common people thus changed in the process of negotiating folklore when the negotiations moved from the context of the field into the academic and literary. In the context of writing down the folklore texts it was essential to comprehend the people's perspective and language and at this point the laymen's role was important. However, it was only the scholars who were authorized to interpret the ethnographically relevant meanings of folklore. It seems that in the scholarly opinion the laymen were not able to share the perspective of the scholars' or use their terminology and discourse successfully. There was also another gap: the scholars felt unable to grasp the people's range of thoughts or worldview in any other way than with the help of these exceptionally talented peasants or uneducated assistants (Kurki 2002: 226–232).

The gap between the people and the scholars was discursively maintained in literature as well. In the 1880s, Meriläinen and other peasant authors were credited with successfully transmitting the people's language, worldview and lifestyle to educated and urban readers. On the one hand, the intelligentsia felt that they were not able to comprehend rural life other than through the texts of the peasant authors. However, only a decade later, realistic description lost its position as a main criterion of evaluation in literature; instead, aesthetic norms were emphasized. In the critiques of Meriläinen, for example, it became clear that it was not enough to just write how the people really spoke or lived, but the language and descriptions should be aesthetic and readable as well. The critics also regarded the language, the structure, the style and the themes of the peasant authors' texts as awkward and vulgar. As in literature, good ethnographic writing required the mastery of canonical conventions. The fact that only the scholarly and the educated had the power to dictate the norms concerning writing conventions thus maintained the gap between the common people and the scholars. The gap was further widened by the claim that peasant writers should only concentrate on describing the rural lifestyle; they should not even try to comprehend the perspectives of the urban or the educated. In fact terms like "peasant author", "self-educated culture person" or "master of pen and hoe", which were also connected to Meriläinen, quite appropriately describe the distinction between the ordinary people and the intelligentsia as well as the fact that certain people did not actually belong to either group (Kurki 2002: 226–232).

The relationship between the scholars and the uneducated peasantry was ambivalent and as such understandable in the historical and political context of the late nineteenth century. On the one hand, the texts written by common people (regardless of the possible lack of aesthetic quality) were ideologically important to the Fennoman intelligentsia. The peasant authors' merits were based on their ability to document the people's life truthfully and from an intimate point of view (Tarkiainen 1904: 82–83; Ojansuu 1908; Kallio 1929: 172). It was essential to the Fennoman intelligentsia to familiarize themselves with the people's range of ideas and lifestyle, as they had to be able to act as a spokesman for the people's "collective will" (Alapuro 1993: 7–8; Liikanen 1995: 280–281; Molarius 1997: 309). In this way they could also form an alliance with the Finnish-speaking people and justify its dominant position with the support of the people's collective. On the other hand, the peasants who collected folklore and the peasant authors were ideologically important in the process of constructing a national self-image. They represented the potential talent that the intelligentsia wished the Finnish people to possess by nature.[3] After the civil war, in the 1920s and the 1930s, the Fennoman intelligentsia built the national self-image upon the characteristics of the agrarian community (Karkama and Koivisto 1999: 11–12). This might be one of the reasons why the individuals who took part in collecting and reporting folklore and had literary interests were described as "peasants with exceptional talent". Interpretations of exceptional character and inborn artistic instinct were also attached to Heikki Meriläinen. These qualities were said to have guided him towards nationally noble goals as a tradition collector and an author (Alkio 1921; Niemi 1927; Haavio 1931: 66–70). Thus, in the nationalistic rhetoric the peasant authors and the peasants with exceptional talents were distinguished from the common people; yet they were not accepted into the intelligentsia.

Meriläinen as a Negotiator

Heikki Meriläinen was regarded as an exceptional peasant whose interpretations were problematic. However, his situation was by no means unique. Since the very beginning of academic ethnographic fieldwork, the assistants, non-professional ethnographers and individual narrators have co-existed with the scientific author and questioned the hierarchical relationship between scholarly and non-scholarly texts. The earliest examples have been the North American Indians, George Hunt and James Tate, who co-operated with the anthropologist Franz Boas at the end of the nineteenth century. (Sanjek 1990a: 407–408, 1990b: 325–326; Boas 1940 [1920], 1975 [1966]). In Finland contemporaries of Meriläinen were, for example, Eljas Raussi, Johannes Häyhä and Vilho Jyrinoja. They too described their local physical surroundings and everyday customs, beliefs and habits in detail in their texts (see Raussi 1966; Häyhä 1982; Jyrinoja 1965).

In ethnographic sciences the information produced by non-western or non-academic people has in general been questioned when they write about their own culture (Kanaaneh 1997: 1–4). This applies particularly to so-called classical ethnography and its fieldwork methods, which dominated from 1880–1960. For example, in Finland ordinary people sent material to archives. Those texts were clearly non-scientific descriptions, and they represented the voice of the people. But when common men started to write personal interpretations of what is folk or folklore, the distinction between the folk and the ethnographic author was questioned. They are simultaneously acting as members of their culture, maintaining the tradition and writing representations of it. (Abu-Lughod 1991; Albert 1997: 54; Ryang 1997; Geertz 1988: 129–149.)

In contemporary ethnography the negotiability of knowledge and the partiality of descriptions are stressed. Furthermore, the role of the folk, or "objects of ethnographies", differs from what it has been previously. Today knowledge is seen as emerging through dialogue between the scholars and the laymen. The research processes itself can be seen as a negotiation of the essentials of folklore, where divergent oral, literal, folk-ideas, scholarly views, or larger political and ideological motivations meet and influence each other (Tedlock and Mannheim 1995: 9). Although the author may have the last word when writing an ethnography, there are always several other voices that participate in the construction of these emergent realities (Tyler 1986: 127; Clifford 1986: 17; Sangren 1988: 412–413). The idea of negotiation has been applied also to the functioning of archives and museums. Their functioning is also a continuous negotiation between experts and laymen concerning the preservable elements of culture. In the end, agreements about preservable "tradition" or "culture" are only partial. (See Peltonen 1996; Lilja 1996; Pöysä 1997; Kurki 2002.)

These prevailing paradigms attach new meanings also to the work and texts of Heikki Meriläinen, and other visionary tradition collectors comparable to him. Meriläinen now appears as one of the negotiators who wrote his many conversations in text form. He had dialogues with the people from whom he gathered verbal tradition during the fieldwork. He participated in dialogues with the scholars of the FLS, who guided his collecting work. He had dialogues with the books and literature he read, and the people he met in his everyday life. On a bit more fundamental level, he negotiated even with the larger cultural and political ideologies of his time. From these sometimes controversial elements and viewpoints, he constructed his own interpretations of folk and tradition. He filtered the diverse elements through his creative personality and wrote the emergent results in his archived collections, letters and novels. Meriläinen created a fairly coherent and unified picture of the oral tradition, ways of healing and chanting: he created a possible world of tradition. The final control of the appearance of the narrative voices was in the hands of Heikki Meriläinen, even though clues about the original voices of the negotiators can still be (at least partially) traced in the resulting texts.

In principle, the actions of Meriläinen do not differ from the work of an ethnographer (Tedlock 1979; Clifford 1986: 14). Scholars are also participants in the construction of social realities, never mere observers of them. They make interpretations, never merely recording the facts. No knowledge is without bias, whether the author is writing of his own culture or an alien culture (Ryang 1997: 30–32; Bernard and Pedraza 1989: 25). The texts contain the motives, personal interpretations and prejudices of the writer and in the broadest sense, representations are the results of scientific, political, cultural, or national discourses (Clifford 1986; Anttonen 1994). Texts are necessarily partial descriptions, always written from one particular point of view and against other points of view.

The texts written by Heikki Meriläinen attach meanings to the folk and folklore, and those meanings were important from his personal point of view. Nevertheless, they represent different, but as equally significant aspects of culture as the ethnographically authorized representations. With the texts of Meriläinen and similar writers it might be possible to construct a picture of the folk and folk-tradition as multivocal and as a collection of heterogeneous discourses under constant negotiation. Perhaps through the Other voices, a folk and traditions emerge, which aren't traceable in the documents written by the scholars?

Heikki Meriläinen and the Role of the Reader

In the contemporary framework of ethnographic discussions, Heikki Meriläinen can be seen as one of the negotiators of Finnish folk and tradition. He participated in the dialogues from the position of the cultural other. The interpretation of Heikki Meriläinen's role in the construction of folklore has thus changed from a problematic tradition collector to a negotiator. A reflexive perspective reveals some epistemological and contextual changes, which make this re-reading of Meriäinen's case possible.

The positivistic epistemology that emerged in folkloristics in the 1880s was part of a larger cultural and ideological change, which swept over Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Accordingly folklore was collected and studied as objectively as possible. Folklore studies were largely based on a comparative study of folklore variants in an evolutionary framework. But Heikki Meriläinen had his own differing views and perspectives on folklore, which he aimed to make readable in the folklore collections. The strongest of these was his attempt to prove the existence of a unified, ancient oral lore and of a mythical *Kalevala* world. These differing underlying assumptions influenced the ways in which Meriläinen, on the one hand, and scholars on the other, saw the tasks of collecting, writing and interpreting folklore.

Positivism required objectivism, which also meant a strict separation of the scientific subject and object into different categories. Again, Meriläinen was problematic as a writer and an interpreter of folklore because he didn't quite fit in the category of the folk or of the scholars. Because he knew literature widely and the symbolic values of folklore and was an author himself, he did not quite fit into the category of folk. Accordingly, his texts and ideas didn't represent folk ideas or tradition. But by being a self-educated peasant, he was not authorized to produce ethnographically valid interpretations of folklore, or perhaps it wasn't even expected from him. Thus his ideas and texts didn't follow the ideas of folklore held by the scholars or literary culture. In a position of being between the categories, Meriläinen appeared as a problematic figure when writing and interpreting the folk and tradition.

The case of Meriläinen appears differently in the context of today's ethnographic discussions and this paper would not be topical if I did not present the biases of my own perspective. Contemporary ethnographic science is based on a narrative epistemology of knowledge: it is a mode of telling possible meanings. After the mid twentieth century, the partiality and negotiability of textual representations of cultures have been stressed. Almost equally, stress is put on the question "how are representations constructed?" and "what do the representations contain?" Also, globally changing contextual relationships have led to sharing the ethnographic authority between the scholar from outside and the writer from inside the culture. The number of texts written by natives themselves has steadily increased (Griaule 1954; Castaneda 1981; Bernarnd and Pedraza 1989). Locating the case of Meriläinen in this contemporary context, his texts and work open up new interpretations. But in this task, the role of the scholar is crucial. She decides which details in the research materials appear important or significant in her view. A researcher projects current interests and significant questions into the old texts, and the present (late modern) situation is made recognizable in the past. In this paper I found details and meanings in the texts and actions of Heikki Meriläinen that are relevant for contemporary ethnographic discussions. I interpreted him as a negotiator by stressing the disputed details concerning his texts. I interpreted the details as traces of the voices of past negotiators. However, the negotiations emerge only when reading the texts in relation to each other and in the context of the research. This articulation of meanings doesn't necessarily occur elsewhere. The viewpoint in this article can thus be attached to a chain of possible interpretations of Heikki Meriläinen, his texts and his work.

NOTES

1. Meriläinen's reputation as an author was problematic and contested as well. Among the literary critics in the 1880s he was noted for lively and detailed descriptions of folk life and dialect. According to literary reviews, for example, his first novel *Korpelan Tapani* was a very realistic description of people's life and a valuable treasure of the vernacular. (*Kaiku* 18.12.1888; *Uusi Suometar* 19.12.1888; Relander 1889: 432–437). However, already in the 1890s the language, the themes and the style of his novels were criticised for being uninteresting, stylistically vulgar and old fashioned (Wilkuna 1909: 551–552; Kianto 1937). In the literary discourse in general Meriläinen was regarded as a peasant author, but not as a "proper" author.
2. The very beginning of the co-operation is often told as a result of a coincidence, and Mustakallio's role in finding Meriläinen's talent is stressed (Kuusi 1977: 28; Niemi 1927: 20; Haavio 1931: 61; Hautala 1957: 30). Other versions suggest that Anders Lönnbohm, local connoisseur of literature with connections to the FLS, advised Mustakallio to meet Heikki Meriläinen (Krogerus 1983: 163; Kuusi 1977: 26–31). Narratives about finding talented folk people by chance have been attached to many other folk poets, narrators and peasant authors as well (see Haavio 1948: 14–16, 26, 282; Uotinen 1911; Havu 1921: 91–92; Laurila 1956: 30). In the narratives the natural talent is latent in a folkman, or woman, and he/she himself/herself or the local

people don't recognize it, but a researcher or other scholarly person from elsewhere recognizes the talent. The narratives were also a means to discursively maintain the separation between the folk and the intellectual elite. The narrative simultaneously creates an image of an exceptional person and an image of folk, where this exceptional individual stands apart. The impulse for the literary activities comes always from outside the folk (e.g., from the scholar) but the interest is not included among the folk's sphere of ideas. The folk was represented as uncapable of recognizing national meanings or symbolic values of tradition and uncapabale of feeling deeper feelings, such as the national feeling (see Hallikainen 1964: 76; Mustakallio to SKS 8.4.1880). The narrative thus defines the command of literary conventions among the educated and the cultural elite and maintains the separation between the folk and the educated (see Kurki 2002: 209–214).

3. The narratives about unexpectedly finding a talented folk poet, collector or author are understandable also in the context of a nationalistic discourse. The narratives are a means to separate certain individuals apart from the rest of the folk, into the category of the exeptional and exemplary peasant. This was according to the benefits of the Finnish intelligenzia and in accordance with the aims of the folk education project (see Laurila 1956: 17–18; Sihvo 1975: 52–53; Karkama 2001: 228–230).

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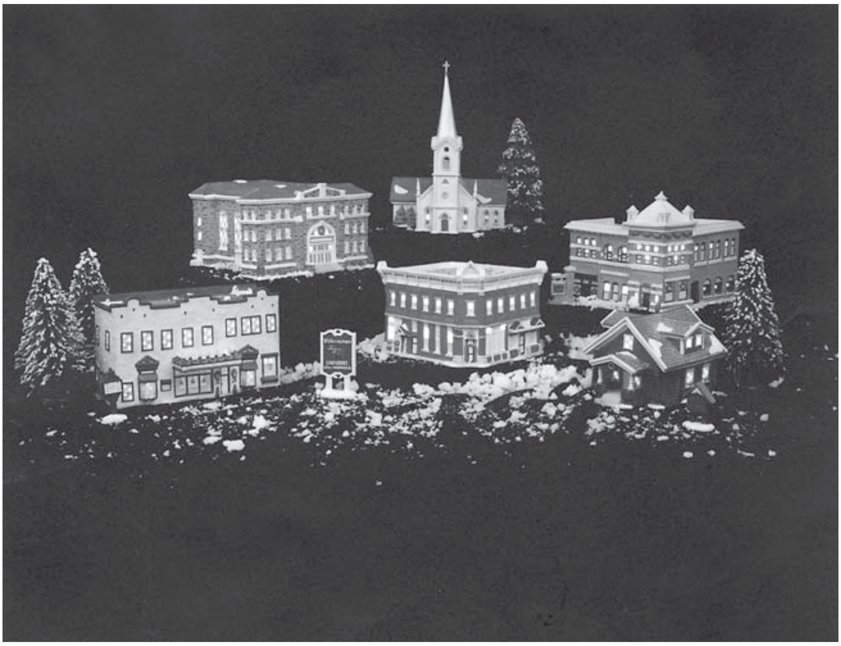
LIZETTE GRADÉN

Christmas in Lindsborg

About Miniatures, Time and Place

"Historic Swedish Pavilion – newest addition to Christmas in Lindsborg" proclaimed a colorful brochure included with the Lindsborg News Record, the local newspaper for the town of Lindsborg, Kansas in the United States.[1] It was the fall of 1997 and I was doing fieldwork for my dissertation on the *Svensk Hyllningsfest*, one of the largest Swedish festivals in the United States. The pavilion, depicted in a photograph in the brochure, was 3 inches tall and 8 inches wide. It was stated to be a miniature replica of the centerpiece of the McPherson County Old Museum park complex, and Sweden's contribution to the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis, USA. The façade was pale yellow in color with white trim. The veranda was decorated with green garlands and had a roof covered with tiles that were brushed with snow. Above the garlanded veranda hung a carefully chiseled version of the 1904 Swedish coat-of-arms. Two wings flanked the main building. The pavilion was described as the sixth miniature in a series, and the text emphasized that the miniatures depicted buildings that were considered to be especially important to Lindsborg. According to the colorful brochure, the Swedish pavilion could be purchased for $ 65 to "bring a sense of history into your home".

Christmas in Lindsborg is a series of handmade porcelain miniatures. Each miniature is accompanied by a history of the building it represents. The first miniature was manufactured in 1996 and is a replica of Bethany Lutheran Church, which the first pioneers from Sweden built. Other buildings included in the miniature series, the *Brunswick Hotel* and Lindsborg's *Rådhus,* were also erected by pioneers in 1887.[2] Included in the series is *Presser Hall*, the auditorium at Bethany College. The explanatory text for that miniature emphasizes Bethany Oratorio Society's annual performance of Handel's *Messiah* at Easter, an event with traditions dating back to 1882. Also depicted in miniature format are the *Swedish Country Inn* and *Den svenska timmerstugan,* a building that was shipped from the province of Dalarna to Lindsborg in 1983. In addition, the *Christmas in Lindsborg* collection includes a two-inch tall royal blue sign with a red Dala horse situated in the middle. The sign reads, "*Välkommen till Lindsborg* – Little Sweden U.S.A."



This is a commercial image produced as a communicative tool between producers of the Christmas in Lindsborg collection and its prospective customers. It has appeared in brochures and newspaper advertisements. The arrangement of miniatures, portrayed against a black backdrop, foregrounds snow from a can. They breath warmth and light in the midst of dark. In addition to the miniatures themselves, this image adds to the creative potential of fantastic miniature landscapes. Photo reprinted with permission by photographer Jim Turner.[3]

The miniature, as a cultural enactment, is an interesting entrance into the study of creative processes that typify a place. The miniature format is especially exciting since it intensifies and reinforces values (Stewart 1993: 37–65; 1997: 73–84). One of the best known examples of miniature landscapes in the Nordic region is probably Skansen, the world's oldest open air museum, established by Artur Hazelius in 1891. It is arranged so that the visitor is given the illusion of moving through the country of Sweden. Similar ideas have subsequently been implemented in the United States. When Walt Disney's town, Celebration, was built in Florida in the mid-1990s, an image of the 1950s American small town and the fictional Duckborg served as models (Frantz and Collins 1999).

The fact that people concretize both their perceptions of reality and their ideals by making material objects has been emphasized by many folklorists (Arvidsson et al. 1992; Bronner 1986; Hufford et al. 1987; Glassie 1999). When people freeze time in miniatures, the act seems to imply that all change occurs outside of them. The illusion created in the *Christmas in Lindsborg* miniature series is that the town of Lindsborg has been left intact, unaffected and stable through decades of change. The collection of buildings therefore raises many questions. Why are turn-of-the-twentieth-century buildings selected and portrayed while trailer parks, new apartment complexes and simple single-family houses are lacking? Why is it that the church of the Swedish pioneers has been selected for inclusion in the miniatures series while the Catholic church, three other Protestant congregations' churches and the Indians' spiritual gathering places are left invisible? Why are the Midsummer and Christmas holidays given public recognition while celebrations such as Cinco de Mayo, Hanukkah and St. Patrick's Day are overlooked? What sorts of values are in place when the multifaceted life of Lindsborg is obscured, perhaps to the advantage of a single perspective?

In this article I discuss one way in which symbols of Swedish cultural heritage are shaped in America. On the basis of the idea that cultural heritage making is a matter of selection with political implications (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Klein 2000: 20; Gradén 2003), I explore the role of miniatures when a place is shaped as Swedish. The miniatures in *Christmas in Lindsborg* are but one example of many cultural displays that can give insight as to how the past in used creatively in the present. Not the least, they form an intersection of the producer and the audience. If we understand cultural displays as forms for communicating values, they indeed raise many questions. Based on conversations with the manufacturers and several buyers, observations, and a review of printed materials, I wish to raise three: Which contexts do the miniatures highlight? Whose history is being shaped? Which aspect of Lindsborg is coming to the forefront? The analysis will demonstrate that certain historical periods, seasons and celebrations rich in symbolism have been chosen and highlighted in these miniatures. It is these contexts that make it possible to interpret the miniatures.

Pioneers and the Town of Lindsborg

Lindsborg is a town in Kansas with three thousand inhabitants. The local newspaper, the Chamber of Commerce, the international press, and tourist guides often bill the town as "Little Sweden U.S.A". In his comprehensive guide to Swedish-American landmarks, Alan Winquist (1995) describes Lindsborg as one of the most important places to visit. At least since the 1940s, residents have taken advantage of the origins of the pioneers to highlight their uniqueness and to develop tourism based on that. Small towns frequently use such thematization to negotiate their locality on the political and economic map. Anders Linde-Laursen demonstrates how Solvang in California has profiled itself as "The Danish Capital of the U.S.A." by building on the founders' origins. Numerous symbols, museums, buildings and festivals contribute to the impression that something Danish is going on (Linde-Laursen 1997: 174–195). In a similar manner, the residents of New Glarus in Wisconsin have established their town as "America's Little Switzerland" (Hoelscher 1998). And Lindsborg is, of course, presented as Swedish. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the creation of symbolic "Swedishness" has intensified. *Christmas in Lindsborg* is one example of that effort.

Christmas in Lindsborg is considered an important way to teach others about Lindsborg's Swedish heritage and remind Lindsborg residents of the settlers who laid the groundwork for that heritage. However, the profiling of Lindsborg as Swedish in America is not a new phenomenon and is in fact linked to political processes within Sweden and the United States.[4] Emigrants from Sweden founded Lindsborg in 1869 and a trickle of immigrants from Sweden has followed them since then. Many residents, whose families have lived in Lindsborg for generations, enthusiastically describe how the pioneers from Sweden built a number of institutions in order to find an outlet for their values and ideals in America. They highlight the founding of Bethany Lutheran Church and its theological seminary in 1869. The seminary evolved into Bethany College, a private school noted for its theology, art and music programs. In 1882, the inhabitants of Lindsborg performed Handel's *Messiah* for the first time, a tradition that has not been broken since that time. In 1887, the pioneers erected Lindsborg's first hotel and bank. They also cite how the town's social and cultural life at the turn of the twentieth century revolved around Bethany Lutheran Church and Bethany College. The ties to Sweden were strong. At the turn of the twentieth century, art and music teachers were recruited from Sweden. Many artists, musicians and writers from Sweden visited the town, and some stayed to make a living.

Noted often enough to be a cliché is the idea that Swedish immigrants in Lindsborg adapted quickly to American society. As in other places in the United States, Swedish immigrants are said to have shown little interest in their background. Though the official scholarly view is that no one consciously paid attention to their ethnicity after the First World War (Wheeler 1986; Danielson 1972), the people of Lindsborg do so. Although English was the official language in the Lindsborg schools and people celebrated Fourth of July on Coronado Heights, many Lindsborg families spoke Swedish at home, sang hymns in Swedish and maintained selected Swedish holiday traditions. Interest in showcasing the town's Swedish background first regained momentum in Kansas in 1941, when all of the state's cities were encouraged to unite in a celebration of "Founders Day". But instead of focusing on Spaniard Francisco Vásquez de Coronado's supposed arrival in the Smoky Valley in 1541, the citizens of Lindsborg decided to commemorate the town's founders from Sweden. Voluntary organizations and merchants organized *Svensk Hyllningsfest*, a display event created by combining music, dance, food, folk costumes and handicrafts. Also included in the festivities was a big parade that depicted the pioneers' construction of homes, churches, college, as well as artistic and mercantile endeavors. The emphasis on a specific culture in Lindsborg at this time has been interpreted as a reaction to an expanding American mainstream society (Wheeler 1986). In the 1960s, the decline in industries and agriculture paired with increased urbanization forced small towns in the Midwest to seek new sources of income. In Lindsborg, the threat of being lost to oblivion was a fact when the decision was made to build highway 135 two miles east of town. Simultaneously officials suggested moving Bethany College, one of the town's cultural and social hubs, to the state of Colorado. As Larry Danielson (1972; cf. Klein 1988) has emphasized, Lindsborgians met the perceived threats by elaborating on the community's distinctiveness – its artistic and religious profile and its connection to Sweden. This took place when American interest increasingly gravitated toward the ethnic arts and display events. To make a future for Lindsborg, community leaders invested in ethnic tourism. The town was made into “Little Sweden U.S.A.”, with the Dala horse as the official symbol.[5] In addition to making the Dala horse the official symbol of the town, *Svensk Hyllningsfest* was expanded and marketed both regionally and nationally and a group of entrepreneurs organized, among other display events, a spectacular Lucia celebration in the town center. A group of High School students established the Lindsborg Swedish Dancers and performed at celebrations marked as Swedish. The emphasis on Swedish cultural heritage took place in spite of the fact that about half of Lindsborg’s population had no Swedish background (Danielson 1972, 1991: 203). Thus, certain aspects of the past were reclaimed for the purpose of creating direction in a changing present.

The effort to create Lindsborg’s Swedish profile, which began in the 1940s, intersected during the 1960s and 1970s with changing political ideals. Coincidental with the expanded celebrations was the emergence of a movement in the United States of which civil rights and ethnic issues were an integral part. For the first half of the twentieth century, the focus in Lindsborg had been on presenting the town as an “immigrant community”. Its aim then was to “preserve” the heritage of a group of people whom even well-wishers believed to be on the way to disappearing into the melting-pot. Now, the focus shifted to making “Swedishness” a way of being American. As part of this ethnic movement and the concept of white ethnics, the *Svensk Hyllningsfest*, St. Lucia and the Swedish Dancers who initiated the Midsummer celebration, propelled Swedish-American pride and identification. Organizers of these events received a boost from the media, also in Sweden. Material culture and holidays were the center of attention when journalist Lasse Holmquist reported on Swedish television that Lindsborg was “more Swedish than Sweden”. In *Svenska Journalen*, journalists Anders Runwall and Bertil Hagert provided their readers with a glimpse into “Little Sweden U.S.A.”. It was their contention that one could hardly experience anything more Swedish than the prairie town of Lindsborg in the state of Kansas (*Svenska Journalen*, No. 52, 1978). Granted the ways in which difference took expressive form in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s, towns in Kansas continuously produce themselves as Czech, Scottish and German, while Lindsborg has capitalized culturally and economically on its Swedish founders. When Lindsborg is marketed as solely Swedish and rich in culture, this profile shrouds diversity.

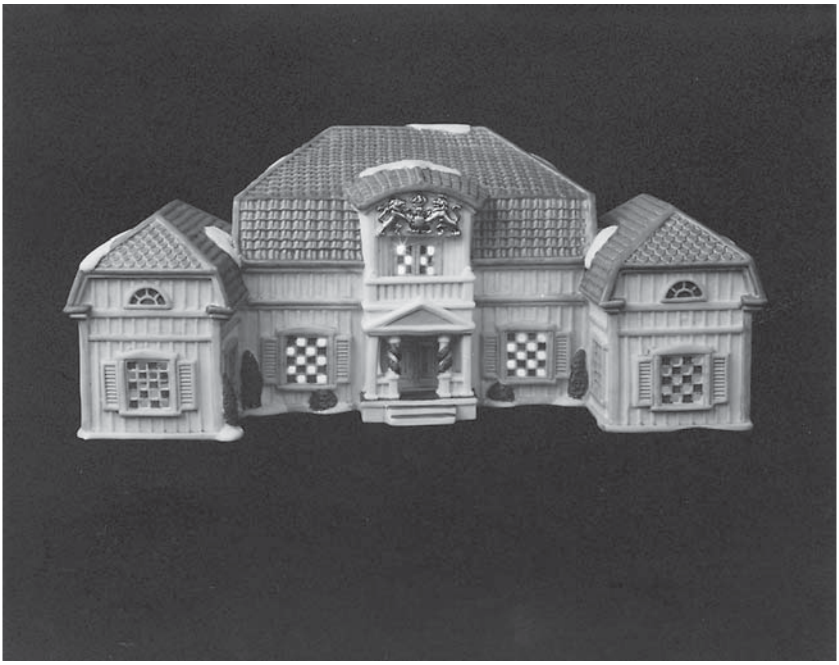
According to the most recent census figures, Lindsborg is one of the fastest growing towns per capita in the state of Kansas. Many professionals have pondered over the reasons behind such a trend. Demographers at Kansas State University suggest that people are increasingly leaving behind big cities and seeking out smaller communities that offer a higher quality of life. Regional development consultants indicate a correlation between Lindsborg’s growth and the selection of social services and cultural offerings that the town can provide. They also mention the town’s geographical position between two industrial cities as one factor contributing to its growth in population (LNR

July 22, 1999). While demographers and consultants talk about peoples' desire for increased quality of life as a contributing factor to the growth of smaller communities, Lindsborgians point at the following cornerstones in their community.

> Whatever the census-takers and demographers say, Lindsborg continues to roll along with civic pride, volunteerism, support of Swedish-American heritage, musical traditions, attention to the visual arts, nurturing of the original and developed religious values extending back to the founding in 1869, support of higher and all other educational institutions, preservation of historic sites and museums (LNR July 22, 1999).

At the same time that Lindsborg is growing, the town's leadership continues to find more ways of continually promoting the town's image. The miniature series *Christmas in Lindsborg* is one example of such an endeavor.

In conversations with manufacturers and consumers of the *Christmas in Lindsborg* miniatures, they spontaneously pointed out that the pavilion is the most Swedish of them all. When I asked why that building was considered to be particularly Swedish, they pointed out the building's Swedish origins, its long history and current significance to the Christmas and Midsummer celebrations of Swedish-Americans. *Den svenska herrgården* (the Swedish manor house), which the miniature depicts, was created by architect



The Swedish pavilion is set apart from the rest of the collection, also in commercial images like this one. Compared to the building itself the edges of the miniature pavilion are polished, flaws caused by age and weather edited, and the coat of arms added on in a Disneyfied version. Photo reprinted with permission by photographer Jim Turner.[6]

Ferdinand Boberg and Sweden's contribution to the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis.[6] When the exhibition in St. Louis closed in December 1904, the Swedish Pavilion was donated to Bethany College in Lindsborg, in memory of Carl Aaron Swensson, the school's founder.[7] Swensson was a member of the building committee in the United States, which partially financed and planned Sweden's participation in the 1904 World's Fair. In Lindsborg, the pavilion was first used as an exhibition hall for the school's art collections and as a classroom and studio for the school's art students. In 1969, the local historical society purchased the building, using it as the foundation of the open-air museum in town. The museum park was created as part of Lindsborg's "Little Sweden U.S.A." campaign. When I interviewed one of the founders of the open-air museum in 1997, she enthusiastically explained that the model for the museum was Skansen in Stockholm, "the miniature Sweden" which she had visited in the 1960s. In other words, the meaning and significance of the pavilion has changed over time as it has been moved from one place to another. In 1904, when it was in St. Louis, the pavilion served to convey the image of Sweden as a progressive nation. On site in Lindsborg, the pavilion serves as a sign of stability.

The local historical society renovated the pavilion in the 1970s and the façade was painted pale yellow. Once renovated, the pavilion was placed on the American register of historic landmarks. In 1976, Swedish King Carl XVI Gustaf inaugurated the pavilion in conjunction with his month-long Royal Tour to the Swedish communities in the United States. By being pointed out as a Swedish building, renovated and inaugurated, the pavilion was transformed from a local to a national site and incorporated into the story of a multifaceted and multiethnic America.

The miniature pavilion combines events from these three different periods, collapsing the experience of linear time. Included in the display is the participation of Swedish-Americans at the World's Fair in St. Louis in 1904, the 1960s when Lindsborg became established as "Little Sweden U.S.A.", and the Swedish King's visit to Lindsborg in 1976. In the detailed recreation of the pavilion, a desire to recapture the past seems to be associated with the creation of "things Swedish". The periods emphasized seem to highlight the important stages in Swedish-Americans' institutional growth and recognition. If that is the case, how do these periods relate to the current emphasis on things Swedish by Lindsborgians?

Creation of Whose History?

The Smoky Valley Charities, Inc., a non-profit organization founded by the businessmen of Smoky Valley, began producing *Christmas in Lindsborg* in 1996. Due to reduced federal funding for historic preservation, the organization felt there was an increased need for alternative sources. *Christmas in Lindsborg* aims to create the necessary means for preserving and enhancing Lindsborg's Swedish identity. Taking its inspiration from a successful line of miniatures known as the *Department 56 Collection*, which includes depictions of a New England Village and an American Christmas, a series of miniatures were developed for a Swedish-American audience, with buildings and motives that the target audience would recognize as Swedish. Profits from the sale of these miniatures are channeled into several areas including scholarships at Bethany College, local historic preservation efforts and the perpetuation of celebrations and traditions related to what is described as the Swedish heritage.[8]

The miniatures are marketed through brochures, in the local press, at festivals in Lindsborg and throughout Kansas, and at the organization's store in downtown Lindsborg. Since the first miniature was launched in 1996, several thousand *Christmas in Lindsborg* miniatures have been sold. In a conversation with me in 1998, the sales manager said that the single largest category of buyers consists of well-established Lindsborg residents, their relatives and friends, and former Lindsborgians who now live elsewhere. Former students of Bethany College belong to the latter group. In other words, it is a fairly exclusive group of people who find the series both attractive and meaningful, and who can afford to buy it.

The manufacturer, Smoky Valley Charities Inc., believes that the popularity of the miniature series, like the popularity of the town itself, is due to its uniqueness. According to the sales manager, buyers are attracted to the pieces because they are handmade and beautifully crafted, but also because they depict places that people are already familiar with and recollect. Buyers themselves seem to agree on that point. Those with whom I spoke emphasized the significance of the *Christmas in Lindsborg* series depicting existing buildings that they had experienced. A retired pastor said that he would never buy just any decorative church model, but having his "own home church" served not only as a decoration, but also as a memory of the pioneers, his congregation, and his relatives and friends. One woman who was fascinated at seeing her town depicted, said with delight, "you know that the sign '*Välkommen till Lindsborg* – Little Sweden U.S.A.' actually exists, don't you?" In other words, it is the historical and experiential relevance of *Christmas in Lindsborg* that legitimizes and differentiates the series from more generic miniature series. Some of the people who purchased the miniature series also stressed the ultimate goal behind the project. One middle-aged man said that he could never donate the same amount of money to Bethany College, historic preservation or to cultural events that the miniatures had the potential to generate revenue for.

In addition, however, to those who were positive about the miniature series, there were also those who were more skeptical. One young woman said ironically, that she was both a Swedish-American and a Lindsborgian, but lacked the financial means to purchase *Christmas in Lindsborg* in order to "bring a sense of history" into her home. For her, the inability to make a purchase was a reminder that *Christmas in Lindsborg* is a utopia. The question of who can manifest their cultural heritage in material form will, perhaps, in the long run also be a question of economics. While *Christmas in Lindsborg* actively supports the town's historic preservation efforts, the miniatures become tools in a formative process of reinforcing and expanding Lindborg's already established profile and values. In that way, the businessmen, media and historic preservation organizations' ability to capture and capitalize on established buildings and holidays are decisive for how the official picture of the town develops.

Midsummer at Christmas

What role do holidays play when a town is recreated in miniature? What distinguishes the miniature pavilion, which has been cited as being the most Swedish, is that it clearly blends together seasons and holidays. With specks of snow on the pavilion's roof and pruned green bushes in front, the miniature pavilion encompasses both summer and winter, combining them into one. The pavilion is marketed as a Christmas decoration even as green garlands line the veranda, bearing witness to Midsummer celebrations in Lindsborg.

For many people in Lindsborg, Christmas celebrations evoke memories from times long past. When ethnographer Albin Widén conducted fieldwork in Lindsborg in the 1930s, the town appeared American, at least from his point of view. In his quest for phenomena that he recognized as Swedish, however, Widén noted that on 25 December, Lindsborgians gathered in Bethany Lutheran Church to celebrate "*julotta*" (Widén 1972). When I spoke with the pastor at Bethany Church in 1998, he emphasized that the celebration of *julotta* ("Christmas matins") is an unbroken tradition observed since the arrival of the pioneers. Many of the Swedish descendants use the Christmas smorgasbord with *dopp i grytan*, *lutfisk* and rice pudding to convey to younger generations where their relatives came from. Even the official Christmas celebration in Lindsborg uses symbols of Swedishness. The city hangs up meter-high banners with texts that read "*Guds Frid*" (God's Peace) and "*God jul*" (Merry Christmas) and adorn every lamppost with a gigantic Christmas oat sheaf. The hymn *Silent Night* is played regularly over the loudspeakers downtown. What I have mentioned here are only glimpses of the Christmas that the miniature series *Christmas in Lindsborg* attempts to convey.

In comparison with Christmas celebrations in Lindsborg, Midsummer celebrations are comparatively recent. Lindsborgians celebrate Midsummer on the third Saturday in June. The celebration is not synchronized with the Midsummer holiday in Sweden. A special committee composed of merchants, the local Chamber of Commerce and the Lindsborg Swedish Dancers organizes the event. The organizers in 1998 made a distinction between Midsummer and the *Svensk Hyllningsfest*, which attracts thousands of visitors, describing Midsummer as "family oriented", "for those of us who live here" and "for people with ties to the town". Participants share a similar understanding. Many people said they preferred the Midsummer celebration to the *Svensk Hyllningsfest* because it was "smaller" and "more Swedish". Thus, compared to other celebrations, Midsummer was portrayed as exclusive.

The highlight of the midsummer celebration took place in front of the Swedish pavilion. Just before sunset, people who identify themselves as Swedish and Swedish-Americans, their families and friends, gathered in

The Swedish pavilion is used as backdrop for the Midsummer Day celebration on the third weekend in June. This picture is one part of a set of visual fieldnotes that depicting the dance performance at Midsummer Day in Lindsborg in 1998. Photo by Lizette Gradén.

front of the pavilion at the Old Mill Museum Park. Perhaps the wooden fence, the sundial and the two carefully planted birch trees conveyed the notion that what was occurring was something Swedish. The park erased distances in geography and time, making it a concentrated area that one could grasp. Held at the open-air museum and staged in front of the pavilion, that which was billed as a celebration was also transformed into a controlled display. It was this display and museum-like installation that the miniature pavilion made reference to.

The garlands that graced the veranda on the miniature created a further delineation. It was here that a demarcation was made between what may be called Swedish and Swedish-American. At dawn before the 1998 Midsummer celebration, I accompanied the decoration committee when they went about to cut tree branches. For Midsummer, the pavilion is decorated at least as lovingly as the maypole itself. While members of the Lindsborg Swedish Dancers and their parents worked to decorate the maypole, a discussion among those responsible for decorating the pavilion raged over whether it should be decorated “in the Swedish manner” or “in the Lindsborgian manner – as they have always done”. On this particular morning, a small portion of the group wanted to put branches in buckets and place them on either side of the veranda instead of wrapping garlands around the veranda’s pillars. Proponents of branches in buckets had either lived in Sweden or made summer visits there. For them, it was important to decorate the Swedish pavilion in accordance with their experiences of how to decorate houses at

Midsummer in contemporary Sweden. A majority of the group was against the idea, however. In order to ensure that their understanding of what was authentic and aesthetically pleasing was correct, they had already driven 8-inch nails into the pillars to hang the garlands evenly. The work of decorating the pavilion generated heated discussions about values and tasks that had to do with Midsummer celebrations in Sweden versus the traditions that they had grown up with as Swedish-Americans. The actual process of decorating the pavilion for Midsummer helped clarify that what was considered Swedish was separate from that which was Swedish-American. It also served to highlight the differences between different citizen's ways of creating their history locally. There was strong opposition to celebrating in the manner that is commonplace in contemporary Sweden. These discussions marginalized the values asserted by recent immigrants from Sweden and people who identified with contemporary Sweden. This was similar to the manner in which expressive forms of Swedish-America are sometimes marginalized in Sweden. The miniatures intensified certain experiences and values while others were discarded. Consequently, when the Midsummer celebration in Lindsborg is presented in miniature format, it of course includes the garlands.

The miniatures are an example of how the seasonal rituals can be displayed and spread in material form. By combining symbols into a single entity, an internal consensus is developed. The miniature pavilion demonstrates that the individual holidays that occur six months apart provide order to the Swedish-American festival year. The miniature thus articulates the system of rituals that the annual festivities offer. At the same time, the miniatures also reinforce the contradictory process of time and space that is manifest in rituals.

Creating Miniature Landscapes

While the miniatures may portray and reinforce the town of Lindsborg as intact, unaffected and stable through times of continuous change, their fixed format also stimulates people to articulate their own experiences in material form (Bronner 1986). This becomes clear when we see what happens with the miniatures in peoples' homes.

A woman I visited before Christmas 1997 had decorated her entire house. She had sprayed in window bars and in-between them covered the panes with snowflakes made out of cut paper. The exterior contours of her house were decorated with blinking green and red lights, an arrangement that was reminiscent of a blinking stoplight. Inside the house, there was soft, white light with a sweet aroma of molasses, ginger, cloves and cinnamon hanging in the air. Tins of gingersnaps stood lined up on the kitchen table. Astrid Sampe's linen towels with Lucia buns printed on them had replaced the orange kitchen towels belonging to Thanksgiving. The Christmas tree was a mixture of glimmering white and silver, with packages under the tree. "Come and take a look. What difference does it make if there isn't any snow in Kansas – in my Lindsborg there are big piles", explained the woman, laughing loudly and delightedly, pulling me excitedly by the arm. She led me downstairs to the dimly lit TV-room. There, on a shelf above the television, a miniature landscape unfolded. Pieces of cotton lay tightly and thickly over a flannel blanket. Underneath the cotton and flannel she had stuffed newspaper and boxes, creating small hills. Then the woman said, “Let there be light!” and pushed a small button, beaming over the soft glow of light coming out of the windows of the miniature buildings. In the middle of the display, on a cotton-covered hill, rose *Bethany Lutheran Church*. Around it stood *Rådhuset* and the *Swedish Country Inn. Den svenska timmerstugan* and *the Swedish pavilion* were situated in the foreground and surrounded by plastic trees that had been trimmed with a scissors and sprayed with snowflakes from a can. Nearby, a lone sled had slid halfway down a cotton hill, on a path towards a mirror that created the illusion of a lake smooth enough to skate on. But not a single person could be seen. This woman’s imaginary Lindsborg had hills, pine trees and lakes, just like the landscapes she had visited in Sweden. But it lacked the roads and cars that the great distances of the prairie landscape require. The notion of a cold Nordic country with lots of snow had inspired these mounds of cotton snow. However, it was not the hills, pine trees, lakes or lack of roads that left an impression on me, but rather the interaction on several different creative levels. In the same manner that this woman’s home was meticulously arranged, these handmade miniatures and the landscape they fitted into were a time-consuming labor of love. They reflected the same kind of devotion that went into the planning of Midsummer and Christmas. Just as the rituals referenced activities outside their realm, the miniature landscape made reference to an existence that revolved around those rituals.

At Christmas 2000, the woman whose creative landscape is described above sent me a letter. She and her family had moved to another state. Included with the letter was a homemade Christmas card showing the entire family gathered in front of the fireplace. Lined up on the mantelpiece were the miniatures: *Bethany Lutheran Church*, *Den svenska timmerstugan*, *the Swedish pavilion* and the other buildings included in *Christmas in Lindsborg*. A few lone trees surrounded them. In her letter, the woman expressed a longing to be back in her hometown. This simple enactment of the miniatures took on special significance when I read that the woman was considering leaving her *Christmas in Lindsborg* set up all year round “in order to maintain a constant presence of her old hometown in the new place”. Sitting as an arrangement on top of the television in her Lindsborg home, her fantastic miniature landscape evoked experiences of places in Sweden. Staged in a different state, there were no longer any visible traces of Sweden. Instead, the official image of Lindsborg was portrayed. The woman used both of these arrangements to create a link to her past and places she had previously experienced. The miniatures themselves formed that link. With the arranged miniatures in a home far away from Lindsborg, the town of Lindsborg was expanded spatially to also encompass those who have moved away from there.

Miniatures and Heritages

Lindsborg, as many other small towns around the United States often highlight the origins of their settlers when they market themselves, a practice that often occurs at the expense of the experiences and expressions presented by other groups, primarily later immigrant arrivals (Gradén 2003; cf. Klein 2000; Linde-Laursen 1997; Löfgren 1998). In Lindsborg, the settlers from Sweden were made the role models of how life should be lived. Selected elements of the town's past were mobilized as a moral resource. Relating to the pioneers, people in Lindsborg emphasize the importance of the church and the family for community wealth and expansion. Those occurrences that led Lindsborg to be labeled "Little Sweden U.S.A." rest on the same ideas of community that symbolically built up the United States as a nation. Through an intensive creation of symbols, the town of Lindsborg has obtained a strong position in the United States. The thematization of the town has effectively granted many people a sense of belonging regardless if they live there or not.

In miniatures such as *Christmas in Lindsborg*, the image of a controlled and manageable existence is reinforced. Selected eras and events are combined into a suggestive image. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century the heritage which Lindsborgians today refer to as Swedish was manifested in buildings such as Bethany Lutheran Church and the Swedish Pavilion. Later on the Swedish heritage was marked also by official celebrations and events such as Midsummer and Christmas. While the branding of Lindsborg is a compilation of important symbols for "Swedishness" – made tangible through select buildings, events and ceremonial occasions – the purpose of *Christmas in Lindsborg* is to further concentrate them. The miniatures embody all of the previously separate settings simultaneously.

Even if ritualized events are comprised of time and space, they are far from unambiguous actions. Miniatures, however, attempt to reduce them to just that. By simplifying and amplifying the contractory process that is manifested in rituals, it also muffles the multitude of voices that are expressed there. The negotiation that occurs when, for example, the pavilion is to be decorated for Midsummer, does not show. When Midsummer is articulated in miniature format, one perspective is chosen at the expense of the others. *Christmas in Lindsborg* showcases the perspective held by longtime Lindsborg residents, merchants, the Chamber of Commerce and some cultural organizations. Thus the miniatures amplify and accentuate stereotypical perceptions of Lindsborg's distinctiveness in a multifaceted American society. The variety in national, regional and other differences that newcomers stand for is swept into a homogenous image of ethnicity, and recent immigrants from Sweden are excluded.

To emphasize distinctiveness has been a successful tool in branding Lindsborg as a Swedish town in America. By selecting symbols on the theme of Swedishness and using them in various ways and contexts, Swedish-Americans have thus created a place for themselves on the financial and political map. The miniature series concretizes the link between the past, the present and the future. The miniatures also mediate between reality and imagination. While manufacturers encourage the consumption of readymade items in order to “bring a sense of history into your home”, the people who purchase the miniatures focus on the creative aspect. In individual homes, these miniatures become the building blocks for articulating experiences as well as dreams. Thus, the miniature is a useful tool for profiling Lindsborg as a Swedish town in America, but also for individuals to relate to such a profile. Simultaneously the miniatures generate both control and creativity.

Christmas in Lindsborg is an example of how a rural town has linked expansion and positive population growth to its concept of distinctiveness. The miniature series engenders not only images of life quality, business and culture, but also the dream of a reachable inheritance. Through the miniature series *Christmas in Lindsborg*, a small, thematic town on the prairie is created, as well as glimpses of our industrial and information age society. Most of all, the miniature format articulates the dream of a graspable past and a future that is possible to foresee.

NOTES

1. This article too has a heritage, and has been developed through a series of reworkings. A first draft was presented as a paper at the conference “*Folklore and the Politics of Heritage*” at University of Tartu in May 1999. I am indebted to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Barbro Klein for advisory comments on that draft. A version in Swedish was worked out as part of a Nordic project, “*Tradisjonalisering, folkelige konstruksjoner av fortiden*“, led by Anne Eriksen, Jan Garnert and Torunn Selberg. That version was published in *Historien in på livet; diskussioner om kulturarv och minnespolitik* (Eriksen, Garnert and Selberg 2002). The American Scandinavian Foundation in New York and the Swedish Institute in Stockholm generously provided funding for the research upon which this article is based. Special thanks go to the Raymer Society for the Arts in Lindsborg for its generous artist-in-residence program and, of course, to the people of Lindsborg who participated in the study.
2. Many people in Lindsborg use the Swedish words when referring to the actual buildings.
3. I am grateful to Erik Nagel for his helpful comments and willingness to discuss these pictures with me.
4. Migration historians have calculated that approximately 1.2 million people emigrated from Sweden to the US between 1851 and 1930 (Barton 1994; Blanck 1997). In the 1990 US census, approximately five million Americans reported Swedish ancestry.
5. For a discussion regarding how the Dala horse has become both a tool and a weapon when residents negotiate Lindsborg’s image, see Gradén 2000.
6. Architect Ferdinand Boberg had previously designed pavilions for the 1900 World Exposition in Paris and the 1897 Stockholm Exposition held on *Kungliga Djurgården* in Stockholm (Ekström 1994: 132–147) before receiving the task to design this one as well.
7. I would like to thank the people of Lindsborg for helping my research in countless ways. Special thanks in this article go to Lenora Lynam, curator at the Old Mill Museum, who provided me with archival material regarding the pavilion’s construction, early history and display at the 1904 World’s Fair.
8. Mission statement in the Christmas in Lindsborg’s member newsletter *Greetings* 1997.

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KJELL OLSEN

The Touristic Construction of the "Emblematic" Sámi[1]

It seems reasonable to claim that ethnologists and folklorists are losing ground in the field of the exhibition of culture. The main contender in this field is the tourist industry. An important feature of tourism is that it often necessitates creating an image that makes it possible for the tourist to recognise what is the attraction. This may be the case either with towns, countries and Disneyland, or with ethnic groups. To obtain recognizability it is often necessary to rely on stereotypes or what I will call "emblematic" signs: i.e., signs that have been selected to stand for a social group, often in contrast to other groups. This kind of "self-orientalism" is widespread in tourism, and it is a practice used by most countries in their promotion of an international and often also a national tourist market (Canclini 1995; Said 1979; Wallis 1994; Wood 1998). Such emblematic symbols sometimes become inscribed as symbols of the nation, as the tradition or folklore of the people. In this way such images become one of many ways to create what Benedict Anderson (1991) has called a horizontal solidarity in the imagined communities called nation states.

For ethnic minorities like the Sámi who claim political rights over a territory, this kind of orientalism and self-orientalism might have some important consequences. Lacking most of the institutions usually connected with nation states, ethnic groups like the Sámi have to rely much more on a cultural image of the group. This accounts for both how solidarity is achieved in the group and also how it is recognised by others. It is the latter issue that I want to focus on in this paper. I will argue that recognition of the Sámi mostly relies on the recognition of an image of their culture. When this image is not found, people and areas are regarded as Norwegian and this view is most readily found in tourism, even if it also might be found in political discourse and is the result of a more general Western-colonial discourse about the traditional "other".

In practical politics this view of the "other" makes it difficult to inscribe a relation between the Sámi and a territory, because few Sámi conform to the image of the "emblematic Sámi". Sápmi, the land of the Sámi, becomes invisible to outsiders whenever the "emblematic Sámi" are not seen and the area is inscribed as Norwegian by the institutions of the nation state.

The Sámi and How They are “Consumed” by the Tourist’s Gaze

The Sámi claim to particular political rights over a relatively large part of the territory in northern Norway might be looked upon as the temporary culmination of an ethno-political struggle. From the middle of the nineteenth century and until the 1960s, the politics directed against minorities in Norway aimed at assimilation into modern Norwegian society. The invisibility of the Sámi is partly a result of the Norwegianization policy promoted by the Norwegian government, although the German army unexpectedly accelerated this process. The army burnt down most of the buildings in Finnmark and Northern Troms when they withdrew from the advancing Red Army at the end of World War II. This obliterated many of the remaining material features of Sámi culture. When the area was rebuilt it was predominantly in what appeared to be a Norwegian style. The development of the welfare state in the post-war period added to the apparent integration of the area into the average Norwegian way of living. Many communities became Norwegian speaking and with the significant exception of the semi-nomadic reindeer herders, it became more and more difficult for outsiders to perceive a particular extant Sámi tradition in most coastal areas (Paine 1957).

The ethno-political struggle, culminating with the protest against the damming of the Alta-Kautokeino River, reversed this development. From the early 1980s there has been an observable revitalisation of Sámi culture. In this ethno-political struggle Sámi culture and society has been pointed out as a separate tradition, in contrast to and complementary with to Norwegian culture. In this process what has been called a collective self-understanding among the Sámi has developed. This is a Sámi population that earlier was

VELKOMMEN
SAME JAKKI'S
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Same Jakki’s at Dovre. Photo: K. Olsen marked by significant regional differences with regard to language and culture (Eidheim 1992, 1997: 29). Sámi folklore, language, and the ecological adaption of the semi-nomadic reindeer herders became important symbols for the Sámi along with related symbols generally taken from the inland culture. The development of this collective self-understanding might be partly described as a process of *aboriginalisation* and partly as the modest development of modern Sámi institutions (Eidheim 1992, 1997). Both these processes have marked the Sámi as a group in contrast to the Norwegians, the latter as a legal unit and the former as a cultural unit distinct from the modern Norwegians. By this, I will argue, the Sámi not only invented a distinct culture in contrast to the Norwegian; they also belong to a different conceptual category. This category might be labelled *aboriginal*, *ethnic*, *indigenous*, or *traditional*, all words that indicate a contrast to the modern world where Norwegian society and culture ostensibly belong. In many ways these concepts might be looked upon as *asymmetrical counterconcepts* (Koselleck 1985), where a difference in value excludes the one from the other. By this I mean that it is difficult, if not impossible, to be both modern and traditional or modern and indigenous in most contexts.

This status as an indigenous people is important if one wants to claim political rights, but the distinction between indigenous and modern does not fit easily into everyday life in a multicultural area like northern Norway. Many people might trace their descent to several ethnic groups, people have what might be labelled as hybrid identities, and few if any can live up to the image of the indigenous emblematic Sámi in ordinary everyday life. This empirical situation, where ethnic boundaries are often blurred, creates a problem for the prevailing democratic theory that usually tends to imagine that the boundaries of a political community are not problematic. In most such common-sense theories, the folk are supposed to exist before and correspond to the political unit (Calhoun 1995: 251). In a touristic representation it is usually impossible to show blurred borders because tourism highly depends on easily recognisable visual images.

John Urry (1990: 2–3) points out that the tourist gaze is a socially organised and systemised way of perception. This gaze is characterised by features like the division between work and leisure, a movement in space, temporal residence, certain forms of provision, and some particular expectations in the tourist's mind. The expectations are directed at the places where the tourists' gazes normally dwell. The places are usually singled out by being not directly associated – at least for the tourist – with paid work and the ordinary way of life. In the places and objects that are selected, there rests an anticipation – constructed and sustained by other media – that they give pleasure and are endowed with particular beauty. In this way tourism is viewed as a particular visual practice where, "The gaze is constructed through signs, and tourism involves the collection of signs" (ibid.: 3). Urry's approach indicates that tourism must be apprehended as a social practise and a way of consumption, which implies a distance between the tourist and the object of her gaze. A related point has been put forward by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998: 47) in what she call a *genre error* in the exhibition of the quotidian, i.e., the

Arran Sámi Centre. Photo: K. Olsen

ordinary daily life. This *genre error* occurs when the private is exhibited in such a structure that the observer is no longer part of the quotidian, but has a role which is that of an observer, herself not subject to formal viewing. What was previously something private becomes a new front region.[2] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett claims that museum exhibitions of the quotidian have transformed the ways in which ordinary life might be viewed: “Not only do ordinary things become special when placed in museum settings, but the museum experience itself becomes a model for experiencing life outside its walls” (1998: 51).[3] Zigmunt Bauman has argued that this attitude has become an important feature of identity in modern society. The role of the tourist who previously was situated in the margin of proper social action has now moved into the centre (Bauman 1996: 29). Following this, it seems reasonable to suggest that the tourist gaze no longer belongs only to the tourist. Wood (1998) claims that the tourist gaze has become dedifferentiated. It does not belong any longer to a separate sphere but has become an aspect of the way culture is consumed and expressed in modern society.[4] As Urry’s (1990) outline of this gaze indicates, this way of consumption might be analysed as a particular form of relationship between what have been called the tourist and the touree – the people gazed upon.

In the Western view, indigenous people fit nicely into the tourist gaze. They are seldom associated with paid work and the ordinary modern way of life. As a cultural construction indigenous people become noble savages, an anticipated way of life that gives pleasure and reflects particular beauty, and they are also highly visual. As a touristic product the emblematic Sámi might visualise this view of the indigenous as an asymmetrical counterconcept to the modern. But for the Sámi it is an increasing problem that everyday life does not fit with the idea about indigenous people, and this is a problem not only found in tourism but also in other realms.

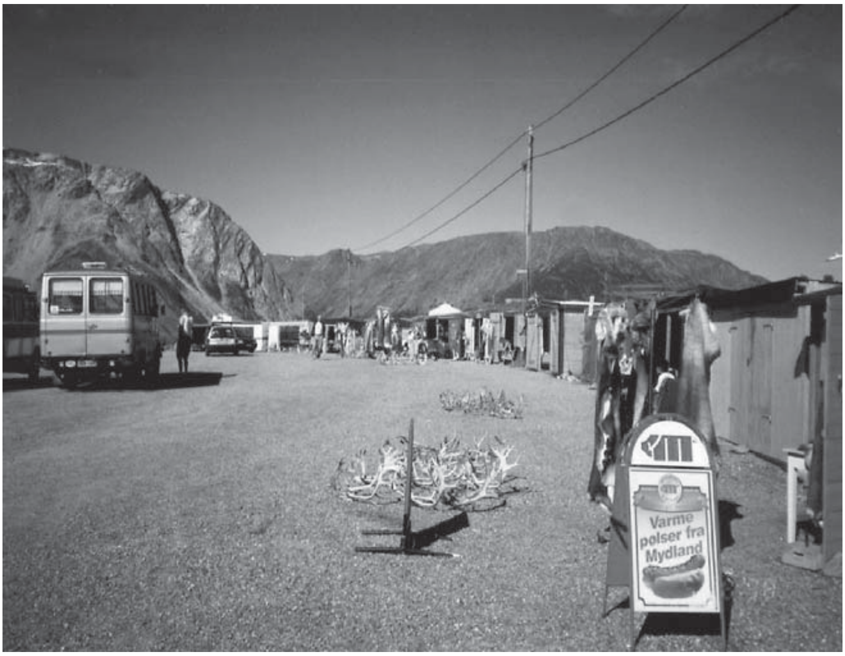
Representations of the Sámi in Brochures and Along the Road

The number of tourists in northern Norway adds up to quite a large number. It is difficult to estimate the exact amount of visitors to the area overall, but for Finnmark alone it has been estimated that approximately 400,000 to 500,000 people spend some time in the county each year. This is quite a large number in a county that has only about 70,000 inhabitants. Most of the visitors are not particularly interested in the Sámi. The motivations for tourism in the area are predominantly the midnight sun, the nature, and the North Cape. The latter is the main attraction for most tourists, situated nearly at; the northernmost point in northern Norway and in Europe; to get here the tourist routes pass through Finnmark.[5] In 1990 only 14 per cent of the summer tourists said that Sámi culture had been one of their motivations for the tour. Even if Sámi culture probably is more prominent for the winter tourism this comprises such a small number of tourists that it does not alter the general picture of the Sámi as a "by-product" of the tourist industry. Anyhow, even as a "by-product" there were 140,000 visitors to so-called Sámi attractions in 1996 (Lyngnes and Viken 1997).[6]

Even if the interest in Sámi culture differs among the tourists, most of them encounter it in at least in two ways. The first of these is in the brochures distributed by tour operators, destination companies and local governments. In some of these the Sámi play a relatively prominent part. A brochure distributed by the Norwegian tour operator ETON is quite typical for most of these descriptions. In a part of the brochure called *Tromsø und Nordkap – Im reich der Samen* one finds the Sámi characterised in this way:

> The Norwegian indigenous people, the Sámi, have lived in this region for many thousand years. Today they have their own flag, a parliament – and their own language, which does not have anything in common with Norwegian. Their colourful dresses, their way of living and their history is well worth a tour (ETON 1996: 14–15; my translation).[7]

In a brochure called *The Green Arctic,* distributed by the co-operative tourist authority for the region, *Landsdelsutvalget*, one might get more information about the Sámi. In a general part of the brochure the Sámi are shortly mentioned when the county of Troms is described. The Sámi are more prominent when the neighbouring county of Finnmark is considered. One is told that the majority of both the Norwegians and the Sámi live in the coastal areas and the county is presented as a multicultural area. The villages of Karasjok and Kautokeino are pointed out as Sámi centres, and the semi-nomadic reindeer herders are said to be the backbone of Sámi culture (*Landsdelsutvalget* 16–17, 22–23). A separate page is dedicated to Sámi culture overall (op. cit., 26). Here one might get a more differentiated – both culturally and geographically



Shacks at Isnestoftene, Finnmark. Photo: K. Olsen

– picture of the Sámi. At the end it is emphasised that, “For the rest of the world the reindeer herders with their colourful clothes still are the symbol of their [the Sámi] culture – a culture that in the development of the last years, have strengthened the distinctiveness of the culture, heritage and its future” (op. cit., 26; my translation).[8]

The municipality of Kautokeino has a more thorough description of the Sámi (Kautokeino Kommune 1994). Features of Sámi society other than the reindeer herders are given attention, even if the herders still play a prominent part. Many other aspects of Sámi living, and in particular what might be called modern ways of life, are described in contrast to the semi-nomadic life. Despite what I regard as more correct information about Sámi society than one might find in the other brochures, they have something in common. What is shared is the way in which the Sámi are visualised and given an image. This is important because the communication between the actors in the tourist trade and their potential customers is often described as a predominantly visual communication (Kelly 1998; Urry 1990). The short brochure from Kautokeino has 30 pictures. Of the 19 pictures where people are found, 13 are of people in traditional Sámi dress. Sámi people might be present in other pictures but are not recognised as such as long as they do not appear different from the Norwegians. Even if “Sámi motifs” do not figure so prominently in the brochures previously described, they all share features of how the Sámi are represented in pictures.[9]

Most of the pictures where the Sámi are visually present are scenes with old people and children in traditional clothing. Nature, reindeer, reindeer herds, *lavvos*, turf huts, bonfires, and general notions of a traditional way of life are prominent in most of the pictures. The only picture in *The Green Arctic* that does not gives this image of the Sámi is of a performance by the Sámi theatre group, Beaivváš, in Kautokeino. Even if the emblematic Sámi is not present, the picture relates to a general image of the ethnic with the three dancing women in clothes and accessories of feathers and skin. In four of the pictures in the brochure from Kautokeino there are also local people without traditional dress. In these one can see people practising as silver smiths and seamstresses, or in leisure activities like fishing on the ice and travelling by riverboat. The overwhelming impression these pictures give, with a few exceptions, is of a traditional indigenous people. This highlights the Sámi and their culture with a visual image that people have to recognise.

To amplify this view further, I will return to the highly standardised descriptions of the tours found in the tour operators' manuals.[10] Each day is outlined and the important information seems to be the day's journey, accommodation, national borders and attractions. The following text from Skan Tours' *Nordkap Spezial* brochure in 1996 is representative of most other descriptions. The tour under consideration is for twelve days from Puttgarden in Germany to North Cape, and back. Nearly two days are spent in Norway and it is only on these days that any references to the Sámi are made:

> 6th DAY: IVALO – NORDKAP (355 km)
> Breakfast at the hotel. Driving through Inari with the beautiful Inari Lake, the holy lake of the Sámi. We cross the Norwegian border at Karigasniemi and reach Karasjok, the cultural centre of the Norwegian Sámi. The trip then goes further along the Porsangerfjord to Kåfjord.
>
> 7th DAY: HONNINGSVÅG – SIRKKA (510 km)
> After the breakfast at the hotel, the trip goes back by ferry to Kåfjord. The trip goes further through Alta and to Kautokeino. Here Juhl's Silver Gallery is well worth a stop. At Kivilompolo we cross the Finnish border […] (Skan Tours 1996).[11]

This text covers most of the references to Sámi culture made in the tour brochures I have examined. Karasjok and Kautokeino are mentioned as Sámi villages. The *Heiligen See der Lappen* and the *Rentierstraße* – the reindeer road to Lakselv – are pointed out by some tour operators. In short, these brochures concentrate on North Cape as the central goal, and all other matters are mentioned only as they fit into the travel route itself.

In addition to what the tour operators look upon as attractions, most tourists also encounter the Sámi at the tourist stops along the main roads. Travelling through Norway one might see the first of these at Dovre, but they become more numerous farther north. They also change their appearance. Farther south they often have a resemblance to their Norwegian counterparts in their construction and by being permanent sites. In Finnmark most of these shacks are clustered together where it is convenient to park the cars or buses. Because these shacks are usually set up by reindeer owners, they are often located at the summer pasture of the owner and handled by relatives or herders when they are not occupied with the animals. The selection of souvenirs might sometimes look strange to a visitor. Traditional Sámi handicraft – *duodji* – made by the seller are often mixed with products from Hong Kong or elsewhere. I have seen homemade Sámi shoes – *skaller* – side by side with Disney dalmatians. Plastic sheet covers often complete the shacks set on a wooden frame or what might have been found of other materials. The owners often sit outside in old armchairs, and the whole scene often gives a rumpled impression.

These shacks have a visual advantage that they share with most other attractions that the tourists point out as Sámi. Reindeer, traditional Sámi clothes, folklore, and other more or less emblematic signs of the Sámi make up what a large part of the 400,000 to 500,000 tourists readily identify as belonging to another ethnic group (Lyngnes and Viken 1997).[12] Except for these emblematic features of the Sámi, the most striking observations one might make about the Sámi from a tourist viewpoint is their invisibility. As recognised by the mayor of the Sámi municipality of Karasjok, tourists seldom know they are in a Sámi area even if the inhabitants no doubt know it (Johansen 1998).

A reason for this is that there are few institutions that inscribe this message to the tourists. The crossing of national borders seems to be expected to be important to tourists by the travel operators. Each crossing is thoroughly emphasised and it is also recognised by a change of official markers like customs control, a change of style in road signs, buildings, advertising, and licence plates. For Norwegians the county borders are usually recognised but nothing tells you when you are in Sápmi or in Sámi territory. Most of the symbols used to inscribe ethnic nationality are lacking.

Scandinavians will see Sámi language on road signs but it is doubtful that other people will recognise this. Most tourists have to rely on their knowledge that, depending on the brochures, informs that Karasjok and Kautokeino are Sámi, and that northern Norway is the meeting point of "three tribes", the ethnic groups of Norwegians, Sámi and Kven (Finnish). This latter kind of information leaves the tourists with some knowledge of the cultural features that are communicated by the visual images. The pictures point out the Sámi through an emblematic image that seldom is seen in common everyday life in most places in northern Norway. It seems appropriate to conclude, as the mayor in Karasjok, that most people do not know when they are in Sápmi, even if the locals know. This is because the relationship between the folk and the land is inscribed by other practises than those emphasised in tourism (Palmer 1998).

The Dedifferentiation of the Tourist Gaze

It might not seem so important that tourists experience the Sámi through an emblematic image and that they do not recognise a territory as Sámi if they do not encounter a reindeer and its herder. More important is the fact that this emblematic image often makes the Sámi appear as a counterconcept to the image of modern culture. This might be related to at least two distinct

Opposite side of the road at Isnestoftene. Photo: K. Olsen

discourses. First, there are many people who might trace descent to the Sámi – and often to other groups too – but look upon themselves as Norwegian. Second, there is the political discourse that has flourished in Finnmark after the Sámi Rights Commission (*Samerettsutvalget*) – a government appointed committee – delivered its report about Sámi rights.

The reason for the added importance of tourism is seen in what has – maybe quite incorrectly – been designated a dedifferentiation of the touristic way of consumption of ethnicity (Urry 1990; Wood 1998). The ethnic has increasingly become something possible to consume at restaurants, in tourism, as fashion, or in the New Age movements as lifestyles. In this way "ethnic" has become a label for an image easily recognisable by emblematic signs and the ethnic is increasingly "[…] simulated in ways long characteristic of tourism: through theming, staged authenticity, and recreations" (Wood 1998: 228). Increasingly, this also relates to how ethnic identities are consumed by locals. But if this indicates that the touristic way of consumption has become more widespread it is important not only to regard it as signs, but also by how it situates the viewer. By this I mean that this manner of consumption is not only constituted by the representation of an image – a text – but also creates a context which situates the observer as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998: 47, 51) claims, in a structure where the observer is no longer part of the quotidian, but has a role not subject to formal viewing. Many people in Sámi areas experience that staged images situate them "outside" the representations of emblematic Sámi culture.[13]

Many of the local people live and have grown up in communities where the local culture is not, and rarely ever was, inscribed as Sámi but as local, as Finnmark culture, or as Norwegian. For them the “emblematic Sámi” is a different category where they do not belong. Such a view might be qualified by the fact that the use of emblematic Sámi symbols in advertising directed at tourism seldom creates any difficulties of identity in such Norwegian communities as Alta. Difficulties arise when the mayor – after some time of political struggle – allowed the Sámi flag to be flown at official places on the Sámi “national day”, 6 February. This becomes a way of inscribing the Sámi that might be applied to the modern world and changes the context for viewing the ethnic. The very hard struggle against the “Sámi Education Plan” in Tana, a municipality that has for a long time been proclaimed as Sámi, shows how such an inscribing practice normally associated with the nation state, stirs up much more conflict than the promotion of “emblematic” culture.[14] I will argue that this is not only the result of resistance against Sámi rights – even if this clearly plays an important part – but also because such institutional ways of inscribing symbols blur the distinction between the ethnic and the modern. It becomes possible for modern people also to enter an altered category.

This way of viewing ethnicity with what has been labelled as the tourist gaze, probably does not have its origin in tourism, but is reinforced when tourism becomes one of the world’s major industries. As a common way of consumption, it helps to set up the ethnic as a counterconcept to the modern. As counterconcepts, the ethnic and indigenous rely heavily on the cultural representation of signs adapted by tourism. This turns ethnic culture into an object that is to be preserved and protected from modernity. As shown by the Sámi philosopher, Nils Oskal (1998), the Sámi Rights Commission (*Samerettsutvalg*) does not base its proposal about particular Sámi rights on the necessity of making a foundation for equal political rights inside the Norwegian nation state. The aim of the Commission is to protect Sámi culture. In this view the Commission does not differ dramatically from those politicians who do not want to give the Sámi more political rights, but want to give more money to Sámi museums. In my opinion this will, like the tourist industry, preserve the Norwegian and the Sámi as *asymetrical counterconcepts*.

Concluding Remarks

Those who engage in the tourist industry have to fulfill the expectations found in the different segments of tourism. For indigenous people it is important to appear different from the modern, through the signs they use in their communication with the tourist market (Ocampo 1998; Wood 1998). In this way the industry normally both reinforces the dominant discourses about indigenous people and fits into a particular mode of consumption. The visual consumption in tourism gives directionality, both to the signs that are consumed and also to the relation between the consumer and the consumed. In the case of an indigenous people like the Sámi, the relationship between the viewer and the people gazed upon might be characterised by their being situated in different categories. These categories, indigenous and modern, might be looked upon as *asymmetrical counterconcepts* (Koselleck 1985). This relationship is shaped by different media and is not only expressed in tourism.

It can be argued that this way of consumption and expression has become dedifferentiated (Mato 1998; Urry 1990; Wood 1998). It is not only the tourist industry that relies heavily on standardised signs and visual consumption in its expression and consumption of ethnicity. Such processes are also found in other fields (Bauman 1996; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998), and this may have significance for how ethnic identity is and can be inscribed and expressed. This creates a problem for ethnic minorities like the Sámi, who often lack an institutional inscribing of horizontal solidarity among the people. Minority members come to rely more heavily on culture, as standardised signs, for the expression of the group. In particular the Sámi, with their high degree of involvement in the Norwegian nation state, a large degree of similarities in everyday life, and a population in northern Norway with a "hybrid" heritage, illustrate this problem. For many of those who can trace their background to both a Norwegian and a Sámi heritage, but who do not fit into the dominant cultural characteristics of the emblematic Sámi, the construction of these asymmetrical counterconcepts might be seen as a barrier. At the same time this way of cultural consumption may provide some people with standardised signs that make it possible for them to express their identity (Hovland 1996). With few other inscribing practises (Connerton 1989) that fit into the dominant discourse of Sámi identity, the global signs of indigenousness are accessible.

Even if the impact of tourism in identity construction might seem somewhat over-emphasised here, the development of the tourism industry in northern Norway shows that some agents and interests have gained ground. In the creation of the nation state other agents like folklorists and ethnologists, played an important part and gave, and continually give, directionality to how folk culture was expressed and apprehended. I think it is not too far fetched to claim that the tourism industry has a prominent, if not the most prominent, role in this field today. This will necessarily have an impact on how identity is developed, how it is expressed, and how politicians draw their conclusions in the future. At least, the tourist industry represents a form of ethnic consumption that ethnopoliticans and minority members will have to contend with and relate to in the future.

NOTES

1. Reprinted from The Touristic Construction of the "Emblematic" Sámi by Kjell Olsen from *Acta Borealia,* www.tandf.no/sjhist, 2003, 20 (1): 3–20, by permission of Taylor & Francis AS. Parts of this paper has previously been presented also at the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Tromsø, 08.05.1998, "Forum for Nordisk Etnografi", University of Oslo, 07.12.1998, and at the Seminar, Kulturens materialisering I, Finnmark College. Thanks for comments to the participants at these occasions and to the participants in Tartu.
2. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998: 47) draws upon Dean MacCannell's (1976) analysis of "staged authenticity" that in my opinion is a different concept when applied to the question of authenticity. The same problem does not necessarily cling to the concept

when it is utilised in the way Kirshenblatt-Gimblett does.

3. In this transformation of how people might look upon their environment, “traditional” people played an important part as objects for exhibitions in the nineteenth century. Sámi people were frequently exhibited throughout Europe (Altick 1978; Gjestrum 1995; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998).
4. Wood (1998) probably gives too much attention to tourism when he ascribes this “gaze” to this field. As Bauman (1996) and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) indicate, might this gaze rather be looked upon as part of the modern condition.
5. The two main routes are through Sweden and Finland, entering Norway in Finnmark, and through Norway by a route that mandates that the tourists drive through Nordland and Troms.
6. Lyngnes and Viken (1997) look at the Varanger Sami Museum, The Sami Centre and The Sami Collection in Karasjok, Juhls Silver Gallery in Kautokeino, and Alta Museum as the most important Sámi attractions in Finnmark.
7. Germany is the most important market for the Norwegian tour operators and I have chosen to use literature directed to this market. The original text is as follows: “Die norwegische Urbevölkerung, die Samen, leben seit vielen tausend Jahren in diesen Region. Heute haben sie eine eigene Flagge, ein eigenes Parlament – und eine eigene Sprache, die mit Norwegisch nicht die geringste Ähenliehkeit hat. Ihre farbenfrohen Trachten, ihre Lebensweise und Geschichte sind schon alleine eine Reise wert” (ETON 1996: 14–15).
8. “Für der Rest der Welt sind die Rentierhüter in ihren farbenprächtigen Kleidern weiterhin das Symbol für ihre Kultur – eine Kultur, die es in den letzten jahren geschafft hat, ihren eigenen einzigartigen Charakter und ihr kulturelles Erbe zu festigen“ (op. cit., 26).
9. It is important to note that this does not necessarily mean that Sámi people are absent in other pictures. But they are not recognised as such and then “become” a part of the modern Norwegian population.
10. I have been told by one author of such a brochure that because of the similarities – it is two routes to North Cape and few attractions – one just looks at what others have written earlier. For an analysis of the Sámi in the tourist marketing in Finland, see Ocampo (1998).
11. 6. TAG: IVALO – NORDKAP (355 km)
    Früstück im Hotel. Fahrt über Inari mit schöner Lage am Inarisee, dem gehäligten See der Lappen. Die norwegische Grense überqueren Sie in Karigasniemi und erreichen Karasjok, das kulturelle Zentrum der norwegischen “Samen”, wie die Lappen sich hier nenhen. Die Fahrt geht dann weiter den Porsangerfjord entlang nach Kåfjord [...].
    7. TAG: HONNINGSVÅG – SIRKKA (510 km)
    Nach dem Frühstück im Hotel, Rückfahrt mit der Fähre nach Kåfjord. Anschlie end Fahrt mit dem Bus über Alta nach Kautokeino. Hier ist Juhl’s Silberschmiede besonders sehenswert. In Kivilompolo überqueren Sie die Finnische Grenze [...] (Skan Tours 1996).
12. Compared with the more carefully made souvenir shops farther south or other places in Finnmark, these shacks along the road have a further advantage. This advantage is that they blur the famous distinction among tourist researchers made by Dean MacCannel (1976) between front-stage and back-stage. In fact, in some places one might see the tents or camping cabins of the reindeer herders just behind the shack and the animals might graze in the area. It is not a surprise that many tourists look upon these shacks as the most Sámi thing they encounter on their tour in northern Norway.
13. Both Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Urry situate the viewer in a certain position or a particular social context. This social position is also part of what the viewer experiences. As Bruce Kapferer has argued, the experience is made up of both context and text. Or in Kapferer’s words: “[...], ‘performance’ constitutes an unity of text and enactment, neither being reducible to the other” (1986: 192).

14. Another example is the firm resistance among many people in Skånland against the use of Sámi names on official shields. Many of them are shot down.

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