



The Lapps of Finland

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THERE are far fewer Lapps in Finland than in Norway and Sweden, only about 2,500, but they are in some way the center of the Lappish group of peoples, and interesting because, up to the year 1945, every form of Lappish economic life existed among them.

It is assumed that the Lappish stock originally lived in the area between the Dvina River which flows into the White Sea, and the eastern end of the Gulf of Finland, perhaps also farther to the south in the neighborhood of the Valdai Hills, where remains of bones have lately been found of a short, brachycephalic, "Laponoid," Stone Age people. The Lapps seem to have come to Finland during the Bronze Age (here the first millenium BC). They may have found here some survivors of the Finno-Ugrian people of the Stone Age, who are assumed to have left behind them the so-called "comb-ceramic," if so, they must have absorbed them. Some of the last of these people lived beside the Kola fjord opening into the Arctic Ocean; skeletons found there from the end of the Stone Age or the early Bronze Age are considerably larger than those of the Lapps. Bronze celts of eastern type have been found in twenty places, from Inari in Lapland to south Finland, and these probably belonged to the ancestors of the Lapps. At the beginning of our era, the Lapps must have already occupied a very wide area, including Finland, Finnmark, north Sweden, the Kola Peninsula, and east Carelia right down to Ingermanland and the southern part of the isthmus between Lakes Ladoga and Onega. They were very few in number and had no permanent dwellings; the families wandered over certain areas according to the seasons and to the need to fish and hunt. The earliest historical facts which seem to refer to the Lapps are to be found in Tacitus' (ca. 55-117 AD) *Germania*, where it is stated that *Fenni* live on the right side of the Mare Suebicum, i.e. to the right of the mouth of the Vistula beyond the Aest (Balts), i.e. about where the Baltic Finns must have lived at that time. In the middle of the second century Ptolemy speaks of two kinds of *Phinnoi* people, one of whom lived beside the Vistula and the other in the north part of the island of Scandia. Thus it appears that the two meanings of the name *Fenni*—in Norwegian it means a Lapp; in Swedish and in other languages it means a Finn—originated in very ancient times. The word Lapp, according to a current opinion, is derived from Finnish.

* Translated by Miss Agnes Dawson.

Procopius (562 AD) gives, in his history, the earliest ethnographical description referring to the Lapps (*Screrefennæ*). The Lapps' own name for themselves is *Sabmi* (plural *Samik*).

The Lappish language belongs to the Finno-Ugrian family. As it is generally assumed that the Lapps are rather different from other Finno-Ugrian-speaking peoples, it is considered that the Lapps have assimilated the language of the latter. K. B. Wiklund presumed that the Lapps—about 2000 years ago—exchanged their former, unknown language for the so-called primitive Finnish. On the other hand, E. N. Setälä's hypothesis is that they had borrowed from some older Finnish-Ugrian language form, preserved to the present day only in Lappish, which again has been greatly influenced by the primitive Finnish and then by Finnish even down to our times.¹ The real truth is probably somewhere between these two opinions. It can be assumed that Lappish arose from "proto-Finnish" at the latest about 2500 years ago, that is during the Bronze Age, and then developed naturally, probably still to some extent under the influence of primitive and later Finnish, especially by borrowing words. In Lappish there are also numerous Scandinavian loan-words, the oldest from primitive times (ca. 400-800 BC). It is believed that the Lapps—or some of them—came into contact with the ancestors of the Scandinavian peoples somewhere in the north of Norway, perhaps in the neighborhood of Tromsö, and possibly also in southeast Bothnia in Finland, where presumably during the period ca. 200-750 AD there were some settlers from Sweden: several archaeological finds support this assumption. There are very many Russian loan words in Skolt and Kola Lappish, but they are generally of a late date. Finally it should be stated that Lappish has quite a few root words—perhaps one-third of its whole vocabulary—that have no etymological counterparts in any other known language. Primitive Lappish seems to have been very homogenous but rapidly became specialized owing to the isolation of the different tribes, and today the Lappish dialects differ from each other just as much as, for example, the Romance languages.

In Finland there are three Lappish dialects: (1) the so-called North Lappish (the same as that in Finnmark), (2) Inari Lappish, and (3) Skolt Lappish, the last two being more nearly related than the first.

The Lapps have also—comparatively late—lived farther south in Finland than they do at present. This is shown in place names, of which about 575 all over the country contain the word *Lappi* (= *Lapp*). Then there are several hundred place names which can only be explained as coming from Lappish, some of them so far south as the neighborhood of the capital, Helsinki. In 1390 Lapps are mentioned as being in central Finland, and in the years 1543-1652 in

¹ See footnote at end of article.

Savo. From the time when the Finns began to migrate to their country from the south coast of the gulf of Finland—about the beginning of our era—the Lapps either avoided the newcomers by moving farther north or became absorbed by them. The Finns carried on a fur trade with the Lapps and taxed them. At first the taxing was done, not by the state, but by private persons for their own profit.

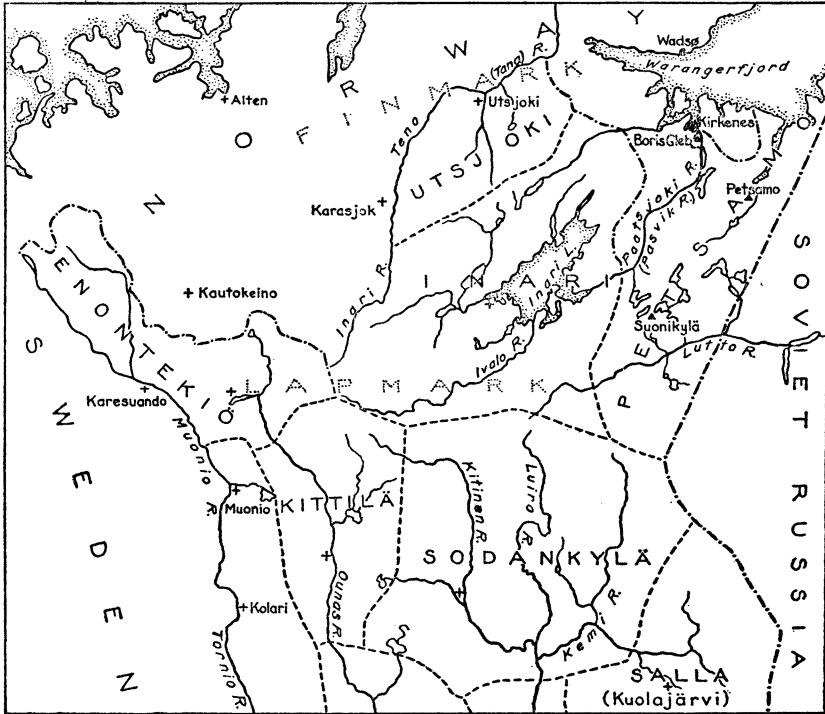


FIG. 1. The Lapp area of northern Finland before 1945.

Even before Finland was incorporated with Sweden, "Kvaener" are mentioned as being at the innermost bay of the Gulf of Bothnia (for the first time in about the 870's in the history written by Alfred the Great, King of Wessex, 850-899). They probably belonged to some West Finnish tribe. After them we hear of "Pirkkalaiset" (Swedish "Birkarlar"), traders or tax collectors from the borders of Satakunta and the Häme (= Tavastland). King Magnus Ladulas confirmed their rights and privileges at the end of the thirteenth century; they took possession of all north Finland and drove out of its eastern parts the East

Karelians, who had been taxed by the Lapps living there for the benefit of Novgorod and later the Tsar in Moscow. The Pirkkalaiset also taxed the inhabitants of a great part of Swedish and north Lappmark, until King Gustav I in 1554 deprived them of this right and transferred it to the crown.

Another fact in the history of the Lapps in Finland is that Christianity began to spread among them while Scandinavia was still Catholic. The priests in Tornio and Kemi especially paid annual winter visits to the Lapps and preached Christianity to them, though it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century, when churches began to be built and special priests appointed, that paganism began to decline.

The migration of Finns to Lappland was noticeable from the seventeenth century. At present the Lapps live only in the four most northerly districts: Enontekiö, Utsjoki, Inari, and Sodankylä. The original Lapp population of Sodankylä died out about a hundred years ago, but in the 1870's and 1880's a number of Reindeer Lapps moved in from Enontekiö and Kautokeino (in Finnmark) and took their places. The Lapps are now in the minority everywhere except in Utsjoki where they form about 89 percent of the population; in Inari they are ca. 37 percent, in Enontekiö 12 percent, and in Sodankylä 2 percent. In 1930 there were 630 Lapps living in Utsjoki, 840 in Inari, 163 in Enontekiö, and in Sodankylä 131. In Petsamo (Petchenga), which fell to Finland in 1920, there were in the same year (1930) 460 Greek-Catholic Lapps and 58 Lutherans; in 1930 they formed about 15 percent of the population of that district, the Finns being in the majority. At the end of 1944, when Finland lost Petsamo, the people were evacuated to the west and the Skolts now live in Inari.

The Lapps of Finland can be divided into two main groups according to their way of life: (1) the Reindeer Lapps, who include most of those in Enontekiö and Sodankylä; though some are to be found in other districts and those that are completely nomadic are now only in Enontekiö, while the rest have already built themselves huts of logs in which at least the mother, the small children, and the old members of the family live permanently. (2) the Fisher Lapps, of whom there are four sub-groups: (a) the half-nomadic Skolts, who used to have four ordinary dwelling-places, one for each season of the year; they also own reindeer and sheep; (b) The Inari Fisher Lapps, who fish in the lakes, rear reindeer and sheep, and till the ground to a small extent; each family has its own hut, only a few have two dwellings, one for summer and one for winter; (c) the Lapps who live beside the River Teno (Tana) in Utsjoki and practise salmon-fishing, rear cattle and sheep, and to some extent also engage in agriculture and reindeer-breeding; most of these have a winter and a summer place;

(d) on the coast of Petsamo until 1944 there were a number of Lutheran, maritime Lapps whose chief employment was sea-fishing and who to a less extent reared cattle and collected hay; very few of them owned reindeer. Hunting and trapping are practised everywhere among all four groups but are rapidly decreasing.

As regards the anthropology of the Lapps, their height is less than that of other European stocks: the men's average is 160.4, the women's 149.1 cm (Utsjoki ♂ 162.0, ♀ 151.0 cm; in Inari ♂ 161.1, ♀ 149.9 cm; in Petsamo ♂ 157.7, ♀ 146.9 cm). They are very brachycephalic, the cranial index being ♂ 84.2, ♀ 84. It has, however, been stated from the examination of some skeletons found about 100 to 300 years ago that the Lapps are now about two centimeters taller, owing chiefly to the growth of the tibia. It has also been noticed that if they live in huts for two or three generations and on an increased vegetarian diet they become considerably taller. A picture of the genuine Lapp as preserved best among the Reindeer Lapps is as follows: head rather small, roundish, forehead low, cheek bones prominent, the lower jaw comparatively underdeveloped; the eyes small but straight and lacking the Mongolian fold, brown or varied in color; nose flat, often concave, but not specially broad; hair dark, coarse and straight, beard scanty and usually lighter than the hair; skin grayish-white or a little yellowish; legs short compared with the trunk (the Reindeer Lapps are often bow-legged); hands and feet small; muscles well-formed.

At the present time it seems that the Lapps are to be considered a distinct race that can be placed between the Mongoloid and the Alpine, both brachycephalic, rather short races. In Alpine valleys individuals are sometimes to be seen who are extraordinarily like Lapps, not only in stature, but also in bearing and expression. Yet it must be added that often among the Lapps are to be met individuals who recall the Finns (the so-called East Baltic race) and the Scandinavians in their appearance.

But still, though the Lapp in general looks little and insignificant, he has strength and toughness: he is used to carrying heavy loads and going long distances on foot; and this has given him his characteristic, slightly waddling, yet easy gait. Some information about these people is obtained from the Church Books of 1750-1850. As regards the dead, in Enontekiö 45.5 percent were under 11 years, in Utsjoki 29.9 percent, and in Inari 19.6 percent: those over 70 years old in Enontekiö were 11.1 percent, in Utsjoki 23.6 percent, in Inari 26.4 percent. The average age at death was in Enontekiö 27.75 years, 39.40 in Utsjoki, and 50.69 in Inari. The most usual causes of death were senility, "sting" (a sharp, sudden pain, probably pneumonia), consumption, fever, small-pox,

scarlet fever, and drowning. It is probably owing to their laborious life that so few of the Reindeer Lapps live to old age.

He who meets a Lapp for the first time may consider him sullen, stupid, and suspicious. In some districts the fear of strangers can show itself in shyness. For example, among the Forest Skolts, when a stranger approaches a dwelling, the inhabitants may flee into the forest and not return until they are convinced that there is no danger. On the other hand, with his acquaintances the Lapp becomes talkative, friendly, and animated. He asks for news and relates all kinds of small happenings, laughing heartily at amusing remarks or at other people's little weaknesses. This gay side of his disposition is specially in evidence on occasions when many people come together, such as the marking of deer and festivals in the church village; most of all when they have had intoxicating liquor, of which the Lapps, like all the inhabitants of the arctic regions, are very fond. Then they "jodel" about their companions with short, witty expressions to certain tunes, to which replies are made in like manner. The intelligence of the Lapps is greater than might be expected: wherever the children go to school it has been noted that their memory and capacity to understand are very much the same as those of any other nationality. Their family life is peaceful; the children are remarkably good and obedient, and do not often need to be punished. Honesty and hospitality are unexceptional, at least far away from the main lines of communication where various kinds of tramps can have a demoralizing effect. The moral standard of the Lapps is relatively high: crime, especially of the graver kind, is rare. The exception is the occasional stealing of reindeer, and this may be explained to some extent by the fact that they regard reindeer as a kind of forest animal, of which the private ownership is not quite clear. Rank and class are not clearly defined among the Lapps, though even here wealth gives some kind of power and authority to its owners; thus, for example, it is difficult for a poor youth to get a rich Reindeer Lapp's daughter to wife. Among the Fishing Lapps, fortunately, property is more evenly divided. The Reindeer Lapps are generally richer than others and behave more or less arrogantly towards the fishers and hunters who live in poorer circumstances. Otherwise the healthy, varied and exacting life among the mountains, with its long journeys, makes these nomads self-conscious and far-sighted, as revealed also in their contact with strangers. The dark side of their disposition is often idleness and lack of enterprise: this is noticeable, for example, among the new settlers, many of whom have not accustomed themselves to the promptness demanded by a fixed mode of life. Order and cleanliness in housekeeping are often unsatisfactory, although it must be admitted that there is continuous improvement.

REINDEER BREEDING

In the economy of most Lapps the reindeer is very important. They get food from its flesh, blood, and milk, clothing from its skin, sewing-thread from its sinews, glue and material for many small objects from its horns and bones, and containers or holders from its intestines—even the hair has its trade value. The reindeer has presumably been tamed since very ancient times, chiefly so as to use the cow as decoy in hunting the wild deer—the lasso originated in those times—but for a long time the keeping of reindeer was very limited. Large herds can scarcely have been reared before Otho, who lived in the ninth century AD in Norway and owned 600 deer (owned by different Lapps?). It is probable that large scale reindeer-keeping arose first among the Lapps of Scandinavia where its most important center still lies. In olden times there were few reindeer in Finnish Lappland, but they increased noticeably during the nineteenth century and right up to the Second World War. At present 1000 deer is about the maximum that a family can own. Such herds owned by Reindeer Lapps are still to be found in Enontekiö and Inari; but also among the Skoltz a few decades ago there were two families that owned 500-700 animals.

There are two main types of reindeer-breeding: (1) that of the Reindeer Lapps, who watch their herd all, or nearly all, the year round, and (2) that of the Fishing Lapps, who allow their herds to wander freely in summer. Herding methods vary somewhat from place to place, especially among those who are wholly nomadic, but are to some extent seasonal. Rutting-time is in the beginning of October, after Michaelmas and lasts two or three weeks. Then, at the latest, the deer are divided among their different owners: they often become mixed during the summer (even among the nomads). Before this period the bulls begin to collect some twenty to thirty cows which they jealously keep beside them, which is of great assistance to those who are collecting the animals. After the rut the bulls shed their horns and leave the herd for a while. Before the rut unwanted bulls are castrated by nipping and crushing the testicles with the fingers. Calving takes place in May and continues for some weeks. In the spring the bulls and bucks try to get away from the cows and calves, so that about the first of May they form a separate herd or are set free. When the mosquitoes begin to appear in large numbers about midsummer the deer like to get away to the hills and keep together. Then it is easy to collect them and mark the calves by making various cuts in the ears. If the autumn is wet, edible mushrooms are abundant and the deer scatter easily in search of this tasty food, and then it is very difficult to look after them. In winter it is quite the opposite: the herds

are in the woods and move the more slowly the deeper the snow. A special characteristic of the reindeer is that they always move against the wind. If it blows for a long time from the same direction, the herd may—if not prevented by dogs—wander far way, perhaps into another country if their owners live near the frontier. The mountain Lapps' autumn dwelling-places, where there are *koatti* (cone-shaped huts) and *luövrvi* (stands, i.e. camping places), are on the edge of the forests. There they arrive at the end of August or the beginning of September. Then the deer can graze even without a herdsman if there are no wolves about. At the end of September or the beginning of October the bulls are slaughtered for the winter's stock of food: they are then very fat. After the rutting time they begin to move into the wooded areas in the middle of November. The ground is already covered with snow, and at intervals of two or three weeks they all—animals and people—move to fresh pastures. Every day the cows are brought to the tents for milking, until this is stopped at the end of November. About Christmas, when the cold is most severe, the pine forests are reached, and there they stay for about a month in the same spot. Then they wander on (*jottih*) through certain tracts till they arrive at their goal at the end of March. After the snow surface has hardened in April, a move is made back to the mountains, to the place of calving. The deer willingly follow because there is so little pasture—the reindeer-moss lying deep under the hard snow—but higher up there is less snow, even bare patches here and there. In the middle of the day, when the sun melts the snow, the traveling Lapps rest for a while, often just in their sledges or on pine branches, driving preferably by night. Sometimes it rains or wet snow falls; then the streams overflow, and traveling is very difficult, especially for the children and the old people. In the beginning of May, often after a journey lasting only a week, they arrive at the calving place which lies in the birch districts—the deer are always ready to return to the place where they were born. Then, when the snow has melted, the herd tries to get back again to the pine forests and must be kept together with the help of the dogs until the period when the mosquitoes begin to appear. The summer is passed on the mountains.

After the calving some Reindeer Lapps allow their herds to go free at the beginning of June, but collect them again after midsummer in order to mark the calves. On hot days the deer find their way up the slopes looking for snow-drifts but if it becomes colder they go down to the valleys. Sometimes they are kept together also in June, and the cows are milked from midsummer on; before that the calves get all the milk in order to strengthen them. This milking takes place in a large enclosure made of birch trunks with their branches left on:

in olden times this enclosure was sometimes made of stones on the bare mountain side. Some of the milk is made into cheese.

Summer is the busiest time for the Lapps, especially if it is not possible to remain long in one place because the grass is so scanty. Towards the end of July or the beginning of August the deer again need to be separated, using the enclosures; only then can those calves be marked which have not been caught earlier. At the beginning of September, some of the herdsmen go out to collect with lasso and dogs such deer as have left the herd during the summer. The lasso is seventy-two to seventy-eight feet long; its loop runs through a piece of horn with two holes (as among the Samoyed and some other Siberian peoples). The reindeer dogs belong to the north Euro-Asiatic "Pomeranian" race with an erect, curled tail and mostly erect ears; usually they are dark in color, even black, and the hair is long. A wealthy Lapp has six to ten dogs.

The Fishing Lapps tend their small herds—usually some twenty, thirty, or a few hundred in number—in the following way. In east Lappmark the deer are allowed to wander about quite freely all summer. They belong to the so-called "forest race," are larger than the mountain deer, and even in the mosquito time remain in the forest districts, running about on the eskars and lake shores where there is wind and the air is a little fresher. They are not collected until the beginning of September, and then they, or at least the cows, are tethered near the dwellings until the snow begins to fall. Cheese is made from autumn until "Judgment Sunday" (November 21st). In winter the deer are set free but still watched, some of them tethered [hobbled?] and wearing a bell. Now the herd is kept at a distance from the dwellings—at most thirty km—and the herdsmen live near them in a cloth tent (*lavvu*). In the spring, during the calving-time, the cows are kept tethered for three or four weeks, but the males are allowed to move freely except a few who may be kept as draught animals or beasts of burden. After the calving the cows are also allowed to go free.

At the present time every owner belongs to some reindeer breeding organization—this was first developed among the Lapland Finns—and in their area the "Reindeer host" arranges meetings of its members for the discussion and settlement of common questions and to see that the grazing movements follow in the correct order. At these meetings also the damage done by the deer to the peasants' meadows and hay-drying hurdles is estimated. Although the natural increase of the herd is great because each cow—and cows form the main part of the herd—gives birth normally to one calf each year, there are yet certain factors that limit the rapid increase of the stock. Thieves destroy a certain number, also beasts of prey, especially the wolf and the wolverine. Reindeer also

suffer from many diseases, most of them incurable. Then, too, hunger kills large numbers in some years, if the autumn snow becomes slush which then freezes and covers the lichen so deeply that the deer cannot scrape it out with his hoofs. Then people cut down bearded pine (*Usnea barbata*) and spruce trees for their animals to eat. Further an unexpectedly severe second winter can kill many very young calves. Thus it is not surprising that many a reindeer-rich man has become poor in a few years and must begin to rebuild his position or to become a fisher or settler. On the other hand there are many examples of an indigent herdsman, through his industry and good fortune, gradually collecting a large herd.

In olden times frontiers were no hindrance in the Lapps' annual migrations required by the tending of the reindeer. Thus in 1751, when the present boundary between Norway and Swedish-Finland was determined, the Lapps were—according to ancient custom—allowed to be on both sides of Kölen and the Teno (Tana) River. In 1826, when settling the frontiers of Russia, Finland, and Norway, the Norwegian Lapps reserved the right of pasturing their herds on the Finnish areas, and similarly the population of Inari and Utsjoki might—according to ancient rights—practise sea-fishing and tend their deer during the summer on the Norwegian side. After several alterations in these arrangements, however, the Finnish frontier was closed to the Norwegian Lapps, and then Norway refused to allow Finnish citizens the right to pasture and fish in Finnmark. One result of this sealing of the frontiers was that in the years 1853-71 a number of Norwegian Lapps owning 20,000 deer moved over from Kautokeino to Swedish Lappmark because of the poor winter pasture; and because they had become Swedish subjects, they could still keep their herds on the Finnish side, in Enontekiö. In 1889 Finland's frontier was closed to the Swedish deer also, and in this way the Lapps of Tornio lost the right granted to them in 1809 when the former district of Enontekiö was divided between the two countries.

HUNTING

The wild reindeer was the most important object of hunting in olden times. Only in summer was there no hunting, for then the skin was valueless and the flesh poor. In autumn they were hunted in the mountains by individuals, but in winter in the woods by the Lapps of a village as a team. The deer were caught in many different ways: by means of traps, pits, or in fences provided with snares, by shooting them from an ambush, or by tiring them out by pursuit on skis. The pits were dug on lichen heaths, on narrow strips of land between the lakes, and on the highest parts of the mountain valleys where the wild reindeer

were in the habit of wandering. The pits were usually dug in a row; sharp-pointed poles were stuck upright in the bottom; the opening of the pit was covered with small branches, twigs, and peat to mislead the animals. Old, collapsing pit-traps are still met with everywhere in Lapland and in north Finland—for example, in Inari by the thousand. Pits were dug with wooden spades and blunt axes which meant an enormous amount of work. Trapping-fences were as much as ten to twenty kilometers long and very primitively made of stumps of trees and felled trunks. Openings were left in them at distances of 60 to 90 feet, and these openings, which could number as many as 200 to 300, were provided with rope snares or bows that automatically released spears. During early spring the hunters approached the herd of wild deer driving reindeer and shooting with guns. In the autumn they hunted them in the mountain forests with dogs. On the snow-free ground the hunters usually transported their goods by means of pack-reindeer, and advancing behind these it was easy to get near the wild deer, especially in autumn as the bulls were then willing to approach the caravan. Sometimes it was possible to use as a decoy a reindeer cow fastened to a tree, when the attracted bull would be captured with a lasso. It is also related that a snare was sometimes tied to the horns of this cow, and in it the excited bull became entangled and was easily captured.

In winter the hunters pursued the deer on skis over the deep snow in the woods, holding in the right hand a spear used as a staff, and in the left a bow on the lower end of which was a disc to prevent it from sinking into the snow. This developed into the use of two staffs when skiing; these are reported to have been in use in 1615 among the Finns of Oulu (Uleaborg), and before 1700 among the Lapps and Finns of Tornio. When there was deep snow in the forest, the wild deer's grazing-ground (sometimes a quite large area) was surrounded. Snares were stretched between the trees, and the animals driven into them, men being on the watch. Sometimes they also felled trees to make a fence. Sometimes, especially in autumn, a corner—a funnel-shaped area [chute]—was fenced off to be used by the village team hunting together. Its sides were five to ten kilometers long, the opening ten kilometers broad; the area chosen was level moss surface, marsh, and also hills. The first part of the fence was open and low on a treeless part, and consisted only of upright poles to which were fastened "something black and terrifying" (probably peat or rags). As the angle narrowed the fence became closer and higher. The herd of wild deer, sometimes rather numerous, was driven into the area with the help of dogs and a line of people. At the end was a deep, large pit, or a stepped slope also surrounded by a fence: there the animals were killed by means of arrows and large stones.

The Skolt Lapps hunt elk in early spring when the snow surface is hard enough to bear the skiers but not the elk which sink through it and so injure their haunches. The bear is usually surrounded and shot in its hibernating den. Formerly it was killed with axes and spears. In early spring the bear is hunted with dogs; if there is a long period of thaw the roof of the den begins to leak, the bear gets wet and comes out. In east Lapland bears were also captured by means of a trap of logs, ten of which had to form the falling roof in order to kill the animal. At present wolves are caught mostly with poison and trap-guns. The Reindeer Lapps, who hate wolves especially because they injure the herds, hunt them on skis in deep snow in the woods. Sometimes the horrid beast, worn out with several days' pursuit, is killed with spear or ski-stick; more rarely it is caught with a lasso. It is said that sometimes the embittered Lapp skins a wolf alive and then sets it free hoping that this will frighten its fellows into avoiding that district forever. The wolverine is caught with spears, trap-guns, and other traps, foxes chiefly with poison. Sometimes its cubs are caught and fed till the following winter when the skin will be fit for use.

The "fox stump" is a tree stump about six feet high with one or two cuts in the upper end. This was formerly very commonly employed. When the animal tried to get at the bait its paws were caught in the cuts. The marten is hunted by men on skis following its tracks till it is surprised asleep and shot. If it hides in a hole, it is smoked out and dogs are set on it. The Lapps of Inari and the Skolts surrounded a marten den with a net. The squirrel is shot; in low-wooded hills it is also killed with a switch at the end of which a sharp iron spike is fastened. The ermine is caught in a trap made of a cleft stump. The hare is hunted only for the sake of its skin, which is used to line the trough-like baby's leather-covered cradle. It is shot, or caught by means of a snare fixed to a sapling lightly fastened to the ground at the one end. By putting his head in the snare he releases that end and the sapling springs back with the animal hanging on to it.

To catch otter, spring traps [metal jump traps] are laid in small streams; or a frozen river is dammed at one place and then the animal must come onto the bank from a hole and thus falls a prey to the dogs and men. The beaver died out about 1850, but when they were hunted—from the beginning of winter until Christmas—the whole of the Lapp village took part. In olden times a large part of the taxes was paid in beaver skins, and that is why they have died out. The beaver was caught in the same way as the otter, but more usually with a kind of trap made of tree stumps stuck in the bottom of a stream and baited with a chunk of aspen (the animals were always very greedy for aspen bark);

the entrance to the trap was very small. In this way the animal was drowned under the ice.

The wild birds caught are the capercaillie [grouse] and especially the ptarmigan. To catch them snares are laid surrounded by fences of young birch and pine. Capercaillie can also be caught in open snares placed in cone-shaped little shelters at the roots of fallen fir-trees where there is sand on which the birds can rest. In the spring they are also shot when they collect at mating-time: to such places a great many birds come, both cocks and hens, but the latter are usually spared. Water birds, especially geese and swans, are shot in the spring on ice-free patches in the river. Spring traps are sometimes sunk in the rivers and lakes so deep that they touch the bottom and the birds get caught in them when they eat the weeds down there. Formerly the Skolt Lapps hunted birds very industriously.

In early spring the Lapps drove in a little boat drawn by a deer on the hard snow surface, and then they did not hesitate to drive anywhere, even over open streams.

As late as the seventeenth century the Lapps used hand-bows about six feet long, made of splints of pine and birch fixed together with fish glue and bound round with birchbark in the same way as among the Finno-Ugrian peoples in general. This form of bow is said to be derived from the Turko-Tartar-Chinese compound bow, which was unknown to the people of western Europe.

FISHING

The tackle used in fishing is the most primitive of hooks made of juniper wood with a line of pine roots; with this burbot are caught during the cold season. Further, a pole-net of thin birch branches is also used, a kind of box-shaped cage and also very simple dams are set up in little streams and brooks, especially in fishing for trout and grayling. Fish-spearing by night with a fork-like instrument by the light from logs burning in the fore of the boat is mentioned as early as the eighteenth century. The method is used in the rivers of Enontekiö and Utsjoki, although it is now forbidden by law. Burbot are caught in early spring when the ice is transparent, by raining hard blows on the ice with a heavy stick or an axehead. On the other hand angling, or fishing with a rod and line, is a comparatively late method, perhaps with the exception of line fishing without a rod for cod in the sea. The most important fishing tackle at the present time and since the seventeenth century is, however, with net and seine. The former is usually about one hundred and twenty feet long, the top edge of which is strengthened with pine roots and has birch-bark floats, while sinking-stones at

the lower edge are cased in birchbark. The seine is made up of several nets: the middle part is keel-shaped with its upper and lower edges reinforced with root ropes. The sinkers are covered with birchbark, but the floats are of dry pine and are placed upright in the middle, but lying down at the sides. The edges and the long draw-ropes at both ends are of roots, which are lighter and more resistant to water than hemp rope. Formerly the seine was three hundred and sixty feet long; now it can be up to six hundred feet long. The Skolts of the coast had a peculiar salmon seine of East Karelian origin which was sunk at the edge of the water in a wide curve, one end being fastened on the shore and the other end being drawn with a rope to the shore when a school of salmon swam into the seine. Up to the present the seine was made of bought hemp spun at home—earlier with a distaff, later with a spinning wheel (the former is still used by the Skolt women). The meshes of the net are tied with three different knots for different purposes: the smallest mesh is the breadth of a finger (in the keel part of the seine), then they increase to two, three, and four finger-breadths, a hand's-breadth, and finally a hand's-breadth plus a thumb's breadth (in the salmon net). The net is dyed with a decoction of birch-root bark, ashes, black-brown tree-mushrooms, and water.

In the spring, fishing with nets begins immediately after the ice breaks up and continues until June, and then from the beginning of August until the beginning of winter. The seine is mostly used during the warmest season, for then the fish avoid the net. In large areas of water two to fifteen nets are fastened together, and when the pike approach the grassy shore to sun themselves, a strong net is thrown out along the shore and by splashing the water the fish are driven into it. Formerly, in certain rivers, floating nets without stone sinkers were used; in these especially the salmon (*Salmo salar* and *S. eriox*) were caught. At the present time such nets are prohibited by law as they injure the stock of fish. Ice-fishing with net and seine is also mentioned as early as the seventeenth century.

The Lapps' fishing differs from that of the Finns mostly in that they do not use kiddles [weirs] (Finn: *katiska*) or stake-fences, i.e. fences of slats stuck close together upright in the bed of the water. On the other hand the Lapps who live on the other side of the Teno (Tana) and Utsjoki Rivers have salmon-dams, the models for which they have taken to some extent from the Finns sent out to the Teno River (and the Alten River in Finnmark) by the government to carry on profitable salmon-fishing. The Skolt Lapps have also had such dams at Bloris-Gleb (at the mouth of the Patsjoki or Pasvik River) and at Tulomanköngäs in Nuortijärvi (Padun in Notozero), at the latter place as early as the sixteenth century. There the Skolts of Nuortijärvi and

Suonikylä fished together until the year 1920. The salmon dams of the Skolt Lapps are, to judge from the terminology, of Russian origin. Finally it should be mentioned that Britishers, first the Scots, have been coming for fly-fishing in the Teno River since 1852 and somewhat later (1874) in Boris-Gleb; from them the Lapps learnt to use this method. The terminology proves that primitive dam- and net-fishing (also under the ice) existed among the Lapps in ancient times.

Pearl-fishing has existed in some places since the seventeenth century, mostly in the River Lutto and its tributaries in Inari and Petsamo. It takes place about midsummer. The easiest method is to wade out into the shallow water and pick up the mussels in the hands; in deeper waters a man must dive. The Skolts learnt from the East Karelians a method of using a float of logs. In it a peep-hole is made into which a birch-bark cylinder is put, and through it one can see clearly to a depth of twelve to eighteen feet. The mussels, which at good places lie as close together as possible, are lifted on to the float with a net at the end of a pole.

FOODS

The most important articles in the housekeeping of the Lapps are the products of the reindeer. Its meat, fat, marrow, blood, and also milk are their food, though this last is not used by the Skolts. An average-sized family requires a herd of at least three hundred reindeer if they are to live mainly on their products. The deer are slaughtered generally from autumn to early spring, the slaughter beginning generally in early September when the hair is long enough for ordinary skin clothes. The first to be killed are young bulls of six to eighteen months old, their skins being then most suitable for dresses. The small amount of meat thus obtained is consumed comparatively soon. After that they begin to kill full-grown bulls, about the end of September, before the rutting-time. The cows are always spared, as they are necessary for the increase of the herd. Then the slaughtering continues as meat is required during the winter and until April, when the meat begins to be far too lean. The Reindeer Lapps have their most important slaughter at New Year when the animals are fattest and their hair thickest. The products then obtained are saved for the summer. A large family will slaughter as many as ten deer. The flesh is preserved, covered up in a *kēres* (sledge), until about March 20th when it is cut into thin pieces and, slightly salted, hung up to dry in the sun and wind for about three weeks, usually near the spring dwelling-places. Formerly no salt was used. The meat loses about two-thirds of its weight, and is then very concentrated food. The legs, neck, back, and head are eaten fresh. The Skolt Lapps, who generally own but a few deer, do not dry the meat, except for some who formerly stole deer for profit, especially those belonging to the

people of Inari and Sodankylä. Dried meat is only used as food in summer, especially on journeys and when there is a lack of fish. They also dry the stomach fat packed into the rennet-stomach of the deer.

The blood is very carefully preserved. What is not consumed at the meals after the slaughtering is poured into a cleaned first stomach which is allowed to freeze. The Reindeer Lapps also dry stomachs filled with blood in the spring. Sausages and "meat-balls" are made of blood mixed with rye meal. The Skolts make a kind of pudding with rye flour and blood in the stomach of the deer, which is boiled whole. The tibia and fibula are boiled for some minutes, split with the blow of a large knife, and the marrow eaten as a great delicacy. Tasty and easily boiled parts of the carcass are chosen for the first meal after the slaughtering.

Among the Lapps it is the husband who looks after the preparation of food, at least as far as meat is concerned. This is due to the old idea that the woman is unclean and must not touch game. Yet this attitude has become less important in our day, especially among the eastern Lapps and the settlers. In the mornings and throughout the day, cold and dry food is generally eaten. The chief meal, with plenty of boiled meat (or fish), is eaten late in the evening, often about midnight, and after that they sleep until late into the day.

The greater part of the products of the slaughtering are eaten without making any special choice, but there are some definite rules of sharing with regard to certain parts of the reindeer's carcass. These are certainly not observed all over the Lapps' areas but are so numerous that they must be ancient. In spite of the fact that with time these rules have been changed in different places and their meaning has often become obscure, it can be noted that their function is mainly to observe and emphasize the relations between the members of the family.

Another kind of food which is always a welcome change in the Lapp's monotonous diet is such game as is considered clean. Mammals regarded as edible are wild reindeer (already extinct), elk, squirrel, beaver (extinct), in some places also bear, hare, otter, seal, even in times of severe famine also fox and wolverine, but never wolf. The bear is skinned, then carried home and boiled under special rites, which are remembered far less in Finnish than in Swedish Lappmark. The Skolts, like other Starovery ("Old Believers," orthodox) do not eat bear meat, though the inhabitants of Inari consider that is because the Skolts believe they are descended from bears.

The most important bird is the ptarmigan or white grouse, because it provides the poor people with food and especially with an object of trade: a professional hunter can kill as many as 1000-2000 ptarmigan in a good year. In former

times the capercaillie in the pine forests were a very profitable booty. (The water birds have been described in connection with hunting.) Water birds' eggs used to be collected on a large scale on the Petsamo coast. Inland nesting-boxes (a small hollow log with a hole) are hung in the trees for garrot and merganser, which are to be seen everywhere in Lappland on the shores near dwellings. (Such nesting-boxes are also seen in north Finland, southeast Karelia, and on the islands of southwest Finland.)

Milk production economy was not associated with the earliest reindeer-breeding: to this very day it is unknown on the Kola peninsula and among most of the Skolts. Judging from some ways of treating milk and many of the terms relating to milking the practice began with the nomads of Scandinavia in imitation of the cattle-rearing, more civilized neighbors. The summer food of the Reindeer Lapps was of old mainly milk and cheese. In olden days the milking seems to have been chiefly done by the men; nowadays it is more and more done by the women. A reindeer cow will give rather little milk, perhaps only a cupful at a time, but it has much fat. (The percentage of fat is four to five times greater than that of cow's milk.) A small amount of it is taken fresh in the coffee, and for this purpose it is frozen in the autumn to keep it for use in winter. The greater part of the milk is used for making cake-shaped cheeses which are rather pungent to the taste but especially nourishing, and are kept dried a long time. Small pieces of this cheese are mixed with coffee instead of cream. Sometimes butter is also made from the milk by packing it into a deer's stomach or a cup. Towards autumn, when the weather is colder, the Reindeer Lapps dry milk curdled with rennet in a fourth stomach under the smoke hole of the cloth tent to be used as "coffee-cream" in the winter.

Those Lapps who have few or no reindeer live chiefly on fish in summer, when the Reindeer Lapps also fish if they have opportunity. The most important fish in the lakes are whitefish, and then bleak, then grayling, fresh-water salmon, and trout, and, when better kinds are lacking, pike, perch, and in winter burbot. Carp, ide, roach, smelt, and pike-perch are not found in the true Lappish districts. Salmon is the most important fish at the coast and in the rivers, but in the sea flounder, halibut, cod, haddock, sej (*Gadus virens*, a kind of cod), and herring are caught in large quantities. They prepare the fish by boiling fresh, or, when traveling, by roasting it in the flame, held in a split wooden stick. For preserving fish are generally dried. The better kinds, such as salmon and whitefish, are even salted, though often so slightly that they become sour and smell; the Laps are fond of such food like so many other primitive peoples. The drying of fish was

formerly so important in Inari that the summer dwellings were if possible built on a rocky shore where the heat was greatest and most even.

Vegetables are used as a welcome change in the diet. Among the fishing Lapps of Inari and Petsamo the white inner layer of pine bark was used instead of grain and was not so unusual even twenty years ago. It was boiled and cut into small pieces; then placed in fish or meat soup or dried at the fire, crushed, and eaten mixed with fish fat as a second course. In the hilly districts peeled *Angelica* stems are eaten either alone or with reindeer milk. Other plants mixed in milk are *Rumex*, *Oxyria*, *Mulgedium*; in some places also wild *Allium* and *Cochlearia*. In the late summer the vegetarian diet is more varied, when berries ripen; some of them are larger and juicier in Lapland than in the south. These too are mixed in milk, and also with boiled fish and roe. Crowberries and cloudberries are the most important. In the winter time the hunters roast the squirrel stomachs with their undigested spruce and pine seeds.

The Lapps have used bought rye flour for at least three hundred and fifty years, although up to the present in rather small quantities. At first they only made gruel and porridge. Later they began to bake thin cakes without any acidity. They were baked every day on a flat stone in the fire. The settlers and also the Skolt Lapps can bake ordinary bread, and the latter often have a little oven in the open air.

TRANSPORTATION

The Lapps' modes of transport can be divided into those used when the ground is bare of snow and those used in winter. The simplest way of crossing rivers and when fishing in the forest lakes is a little raft made of two to four logs (preferably of dried fir) with two cross-bars. Logs hollowed out of a stout trunk do not seem to have been used by the Lapps in recent centuries, but it is probable that their forefathers used some of the hollowed logs which have been found so widespread in the marshes and lake bottoms of central and east Finland. A thousand years ago the Lapps made real boats with a low keel and boards at the sides, bound together as if sewn with roots. As recently as the nineteenth century there were to be seen boats so light that a man could carry one upside down on his head for long distances, for example, alongside rapids or from one lake to another. At the turn of the century the Skolt Lapps were still using boats bound together with hemp. The eastern Lapps have rather small boats especially suitable for lake traffic, which resemble somewhat the oldest type of the Karelians. The Lapps are not lacking in courage in negotiating the rapids, but they generally turn the boat so that the stern points downstream and row with all their might

against the stream to reduce the speed. In the Teno River system long narrow boats are used, rather like the types in the rivers of north Finland. They are driven forward chiefly by poling, especially when moving against the current. The boats of the eastern Lapps are about sixteen to twenty feet, those of the River Teno twenty-four to twenty-eight feet long.

If in summer the water-ways cannot be used, the Lapp must go on foot. He easily covers forty to fifty km in a day, even seventy to eighty if it is necessary. He can carry up to forty or fifty kg for long distances, although seventeen kg has been the "legal load" from very old times. The Reindeer Lapps carry a long staff when walking. Goods are carried in a leather sack or knapsack on the back, among the Skolts usually in a bow-shaped container of north Russian type. The mothers carry their babies in a trough-shaped, leather-covered kind of cradle hanging on the back from a strap passed over the shoulders. Heavier loads are carried on the bull reindeer's back on a pack-saddle of two curved poles whose ends are bound together under the belly. Below the pack-saddle is placed a folded deerskin, a mosquito tent, or a woollen cover. The goods are placed in two oval or round boxes of thin birch slats bent and bound (the eastern Lapps used also a leather bag), one on each side hanging from the two points of the saddle. In such a box without a lid it is possible for children under five to travel in a sitting position. The reindeer's load must not exceed twenty-five to thirty-five kg (in warm weather less than in cold).

After the snow has fallen traveling is easy. The Lapps appear to have used skis from very ancient times, judging from the many finds in the bogs of north and central Finland. The type of skis of unequal length mentioned in Kemi Lappmark in the seventeenth century had a long, hollow gliding ski of pine or spruce for the left foot and a short kicking ski with skin on the bottom for the right foot. It is probable that the old Germanic name for the Lapps—*Skriithi* or *Skricfynn*—derives from this method of traveling. At the present time the skis of the Finnish Lapps are always alike in length, but in general those of the reindeer-breeders are longer and narrower than those of the fishers (their length varies from place to place, between six and ten feet). Formerly skies were often made of pine wood, now of birch, except among the Skolts, who make theirs of any fir wood and cover the bottom with sealskin. Until the present day skis have had no bottom groove except in Enontekiö, where the Lapps used almost the same kind of long skis as the Finns in Tornio valley. When skiing the Lapps have usually only one staff. The Reindeer Lapps also travel on skis while drawn by reindeer.

The most primitive means of conveying goods is a kind of skin sledge used at times by the Reindeer Lapps. The load is laid on deer- or sealskins and the

edges drawn together with rope threaded through holes. The deer is harnessed in front of this "*akja*,"² the thick hair of which enables it to glide fairly easily along the snow. The prototype of the real *akja* (sled) has perhaps been a kind of trough hollowed out of a log. The hunters of north Finland and Karelia had quite recently small light *akjas* which they drew themselves. These were provided with a kind of keel below and some boards at the side. The bottom boards of such *akjas* have been found in bogs and marshes all over the country, even in the south. Strangely enough we have no knowledge, either current or old, that the Lapps used such devices as hunting sledges, but there must be some connection between this type and the reindeer *akja*.

The ordinary *akja*, common everywhere, has, like the boat, a rather broad keel, several side boards (three or four on each side), and ribs with wooden pegs, and it has probably developed side by side with the boat in the north during the Iron Age. The driving sledge or *pulki* is narrower and more elegant than the goods-sledge and has a high back support, while the latter is usually open at the back. As recently as about ninety years ago the driving *akja* had a cover of wood and sealskin on the front part, under which the driver put his feet. A special kind of *akja* for goods has a wooden cover for its full length, part of which can be opened. On such sledges better things are kept during the journey. The deer draws the *akja* by means of a strap passing between the legs and having a wide loop at the end which is placed on its neck in front of the withers. Now wooden collars are used almost exclusively, and these the Finns of Lapland have copied from the collar of a horse. The driving deer is held by a leather rein attached to the right hand of the driver sitting in the *akja*, and runs to the neck of the deer, where it is joined to a bit-less bridle. For traveling to the market or when the family moves, a *raidu* or reindeer caravan is formed, in which the animals—ten or twelve in number—follow each other so the reins of each are tied to the *akja* in front. At the end are one to three deer without an *akja*, and it is their task to check the speed in going down hill and to be draught-animals when any of the others are tired. The weight carried by each sledge is about one hundred kilograms.

Judging from some finds of sledge-runners from the Bronze and Iron Ages in north Finland and north Sweden, and which still have counterparts among some Siberian peoples, it appears that the Lapps formerly had light sledges drawn by dogs or by one or two dogs and the hunter himself. The sledges were far too fragile for reindeer, then probably much wilder than today. It is tempting to assume that the *akja* was invented just for reindeer when trained as draught

² On pages 51 and 52 read the Lapp word *kêres* for *akja*, the Finnish-Swedish word [Editor].

animals. The Lapps began to use sledges again about one hundred to one hundred and fifty years ago for the transport of loads. In Enontekiö such sledges were of Scandinavian type with a low front: they are not used any more. In other regions the Finnish sledge with a high front has now displaced the *akja* in some places. About fifty or sixty years ago the Skolts began to use the *narta*, a reindeer sledge they acquired from the Zyryans and Samoyed when some of these people moved with their herds to the Kola Peninsula in the 1880's. The Skolts like to drive in the *narta*, which is drawn by two to four deer, but usually transport loads in *akjas*.

BUILDINGS

The buildings of the Lapps are very simple. The reindeer breeders and the trappers use as a temporary shelter from rain and wind a kind of half tent of sailcloth or sacking, the framework consisting of three poles placed cone-wise with forked ends at the top, and with other thinner poles in between. A fire is lighted on the open side; if the cold is very great even a log-fire. The tent can also be made with more poles: this too is cone-shaped, and then the fire is in the middle of the tent. The nomadic family's dwelling (*koatti*) resembles the latter very much. In summer it is covered with sailcloth or sacking, in winter with thick woollen cloths which are now woven by the Finnmark Lapps and sewn together, making two large cloths, one to cover each half of the *koatti*. The framework consists of two pairs of poles, bent outward, the tops being fastened in pairs and connected above with a horizontal pole, and half way down with two ridge poles, also horizontal. At each end of the top horizontal pole is an inward sloping support with a forked top, and round the framework twelve or thirteen straight poles are set up in conical form. In this way the framework makes the upper part of the *koatti* more roomy. The door, consisting of a piece of cloth, is placed towards the south or east. It hangs from one supporting pole and one straight pole. The floor is the bare earth, but at the sides it is covered with birch twigs and skins. In the middle is the fire on a low hearth of stones, and the smoke rises through a hole in the top of the *koatti*. At the back opposite the door the food, pots, and pans are kept on twigs. The cooking-pot hangs above the fireplace, suspended from the pole. The people sit and sleep on reindeer skins on both sides of the hearth, the dogs between them and the door, and in the evening firewood is collected and heaped between the door and the hearth. Two people can put up and take down the *koatti* in half an hour. In winter, when they come to the spot where they will put up their *koattis*, they first sweep the snow away; the stones for the hearth are carried in the *kēres*.

As recently as a few decades ago the Lapps in northwest Inari and in the

Petsamo district built permanent koattis that resembled these here described, but instead of covering them with cloth, the walls were made of whole or split tree trunks upon which there was a layer of pine or spruce bark, with peat above that. The floor was circular or among the Skolts hexagonal, a shape that corresponded to the framework of the cloth-tent (the four bent poles and the two supports with forked ends were at the door and the back). The floor was divided by two boards passing from the door-posts past the two sides of the hearth to the back part of the tent: this divided it into three parts, and the boards crossing in the opposite direction again divided it into three parts, so that the whole floor had nine divisions. The first division of the middle part was at the door, the second contained the hearth, and the third, at the back, was the place for the water and the cooking vessels. The side divisions included the corner by the door, the place for sitting and sleeping, and the back corner. The door was usually double and made of thin boards "planed" with a knife, not sawn. As the permanent koatti improved, it had a hexagonal floor of worked logs; others were four- or eight-sided. In the eighteenth century the hexagonal shape was to be found in Kemi Lapland, but the Lapps of Inari used the square shape apparently as early as the sixteenth century, judging from the old outlines in their former winter villages. In these six to fourteen koatti were built in a row along the shore.

The half-nomadic Fishing Lapps, from the 1750's onward, sometimes built simple wooden huts for the winter. Earlier the structure resembled a koatti to some extent: the floor was often the bare earth and the intermediate roof was lacking. Nowadays most of the Finnish Lapps—even some of the nomads—live in wooden huts which are rather small and have no stone foundation: the floor is laid on low mounds of earth or sand for warmth, and these are also heaped on the outside. There are one or two windows, and a stone stove without a damper in one of the door corners. These huts are very simply furnished. The Skolts have the bare earth as a floor at the side walls where the stove stands, and this corresponds to the back part of the koatti in so far as the cooking-vessels are kept there. The cattle-breeding and farming Lapps have one to three rooms, with a baking oven in one.

The Lapps have many kinds of simple stands and outhouses in which to keep their food and other necessaries. The most primitive is the branch of a tree on which meat or fish is hung to dry. In the eastern area there are also to be seen near a dwelling low pines of which the broken branches are two to four feet long. A little more developed is an arrangement of three branched poles placed together cone-wise. The slaughtered animal's flesh is hung at the top and in the branches. If more animals are killed, a second or a third similar erection can be combined

with a crossbar for hanging the meat. Three such erections can be placed on a triangular surface and four on a square. If some thin tree trunks or some inverted *kēres* are laid across two such structures a kind of roof is formed. At times this is so high that a simple kind of ladder is needed to climb on to it. The householder keeps his hay on such an scaffold both near his *koatti* and in the field, so that the reindeer cannot get at it in the autumn and winter. Still more developed is a rectangular construction: two poles with forked tops are bound together, and two of these pairs are joined by means of a ridge pole; then the whole thing has a roof which reaches from the ridge to halfway down both sides of the poles. The roof is usually of birch bark or fir bark, and beneath it is another thin pole from which are hung meat, fish, nets, harness, and similar things.

The Skolt Lapps had beside their dwellings a kind of tray placed on the top of a low pine stump, on which to keep their goods that had to be preserved from dogs and sheep. In the woods they made similar erections about six to eight feet high, but with a cover or square lid. On this are laid split tree stumps and on them again heavy logs or stones to prevent the wolverine or bear getting at the reindeer meat placed there in the late autumn to be taken home when the snow has fallen. Often such affairs are better built; for example, a small larder about three to four feet high with a roof and a door, placed upon poles ten to twelve feet high. Such larders were quite general up to the present in the woods and on the islands of *Suonikylä*, but also near their summer dwellings, and in them are kept game, dried fish, and leather winter clothes. In former times in *Inari* such store-houses were set on a very high pole near a place where the reindeer fence with snares ended; the snares were kept in the store-house from midwinter till autumn. The reindeer hunters also put up small square wooden structures on the ground, covered with logs, and laid heavy stones on top. In the autumn, before the ground was frozen, pits were dug to be lined with stones and twigs, or, if a better cellar was needed, with boards. The meat was covered with bark or branches and finally with big stones. The fish cellar among the Skolts is often like a little *koatti* as high as a man, with four straight supporting poles; the walls are of boards and covered with peat. In this the salted fish is kept in vessels. Such a *koatti* is also made for sheep but, of course, with no opening in the roof. The sheepfold among the Skolts and *Inari* Lapps can also be a little square wooden hut with a door, the roof of which is flat or sloping. The most complete among these storage-houses is the larder of the Fisher Lapps, which is always built on four poles, fifty to one hundred centimeters high, some of which are still rooted in the earth, while others are made from pine stumps brought to the spot. The poles are joined to the sidewalls with rafters. The walls are of

seven to ten logs on top of each other, with a sloping roof of boards, formerly of spars and the bark of fir trees. In these a floor of thin tree trunks or usually of split boards is laid.

The furnishing of the koatti is extremely simple. At the wall there are some oval boxes with convex lids in which small and valuable objects are kept. In such a box with a lock a rich Reindeer Lapp might have several thousand marks or Scandinavian crowns in silver. In the log hut there are generally one or two simple chests, fir tree stumps used as seats, a primitive table nailed to the back wall under the window, and a few fixed sleeping bunks. Bags and purses of different sizes are used for keeping certain foods, such as sugar, salt, and flour. They are made of tanned reindeer skin, leg-skin still covered with hair, or the whole skin of a loon. The largest leather bags are used as rucksacks when traveling and are provided with leather shoulder straps. The women have handwork bags; in east Lappmark they are sewn together with narrow decorative black and white sheep leg-skin strips—a kind of leather “plastic”—and have beautifully engraved openings of reindeer horn. Ever since the eighteenth century these have passed from mother to daughter (like the horn spoons, which, however, are not found among the Skolts).

UTENSILS

Birch bark is very extensively used in making vessels and baskets, especially in the east. The Skolt Lapps and those in Inari make four or five kinds of bark containers, small and large (even to two feet long or high), square, oval, round, flat, and cylinder-shaped with the gold-brown side either inwards or outwards and with or without a handle or lid. Water, berries, fish, roes, wool, etc., are kept in these. Formerly when traveling the Skolts used to lay cooked meat and fish on a double layer of bark which was formed of four or six pieces connected by strips of leather and then could be folded two or three times. Such wrappings were also used in Swedish Lappmark in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In some areas the Lapps also make small round or flat boxes with a bottom and a lid of birch bark in the same way as the Finns, and use them for salt. Small baskets of thin pine or spruce roots boiled in lye were formerly made by the women in Tornio and Kemi Lappmark, but now these are known only among the Skolts.

The cooking-pot in ancient times seems to have been a clay vessel, judging from an Iron Age find in south Varanger. The pots and copper kettles used later have, of course, always been bought goods. The meat was taken from the cooking-pots with a pointed stick, but the fish with a long-handled wooden ladle. A short-handled ladle of curly birch is used for drinking. The Reindeer Lapps

have also old-fashioned brandy cups of silver, often in Renaissance or Baroque shape made (like old-fashioned silver-spoons) by the goldsmiths of the northern towns according to the artistic ideas of the Lapps. Trough-like bowls of birch for the food are of different shapes and sizes, usually rectangular with square or rounded ends, but among the Skolts they are also half-moon shaped with blunted points, some deeper, some shallower. At meal-times the pieces of meat or fish are laid in a common bowl. Round curly-birch dishes are also used for the same purpose and also when baking bread. In east Lapland tools of reindeer horn can still be seen, and with these they peel and work pine bark. The bark is lifted from the tree with a broad-bladed chisel and with a smaller one, rather like a two-edged knife; the inner part is removed, and this is crushed when dried on the inside of a deerskin with a stamping tool which has two blades of horn on the lower end of a wooden handle.

CLOTHING

A great many of the Lapps still wear their old style clothes, which seem to be connected with older Finnish and Scandinavian costumes. In general it can be said that what is specialized has been best preserved in the skin and leather clothing. The reindeer skin garment is generally in the shape of a smock that has only a short opening in front, has the hair on the outside, and reaches to the knee or a little below. It is made of five reindeer calfskins (animals three to four months old), so that one skin forms the front, another the back, and from the other three are cut the sleeves, the collar, and a gore for each side from beneath the sleeve to the hem.

In winter the Reindeer Lapps wear under this fur coat, instead of the shirt and frock, a similar but smaller fur coat with the hair on the inside. But others have, ever since the 1850's, used cloth shirts, and from time immemorial long shirt-shaped smocks of gray, black, or white homespun, later also of blue or black broadcloth with gaily-colored decorative bands in summer, and over this the fur coat is worn out-of-doors in winter. The women especially have also had sheepskin coats without another coat, with the wool inside. The frock of the Skolt Lapps is the most primitive—cut like a poncho; the front and back are in one piece of homespun (the men's gray, the women's white), with an opening in the middle for the head. Sometimes the sleeves are also one piece with the front and back, and the seams at the sides under the arms are sewn with or without gores. About forty to fifty years ago other Lapps had another garment of the poncho type: on their winter journeys the men wore outside on their shoulders an oval piece of bearskin with an opening in the middle for the head.

Now that has been replaced by a garment of broadcloth covering the upper part of the body and having a hood. The trousers are tight, the upper part low and fastened at the hips with a cord inside the band, and made of homespun or broadcloth of the same color as the smock. The Skolt women and those of Inari did not wear trousers formerly but long homespun gaiters reaching to the knee. In the summer reindeer skin or sealskin shoes are worn, in winter shoes of reindeer head-skin or leg-skin; the Skolts make boots of the leg-skin of the elk. The toes of the shoe are raised—possibly to facilitate the tying on of the skis—and the upper reaches a little above the ankle where it is bound round with a long, decorated woollen band. Instead of stockings they use reeds or rushes. These are cut in masses with a little scythe or even a long knife in the osier thickets in the late summer, wound into large rings weighing ten to fifteen kilograms and kept dried. The Fishing Lapps, especially the Skolts, now generally wear woollen stockings, usually with hay in the shoes. In chilly or rainy weather they draw long leather leggings over their breeches, half way up the thigh, and the lower end is bound round the top of the shoe with the woollen band mentioned above so tightly that they can wade in water without the legs getting wet. In the winter the leggings are made of the leg-skin, and the Reindeer Lapps sew on to them short leather breeches which are drawn over the cloth trousers. We can assume that these short leather breeches are genuine Lappish and originated in a special covering for the genitals, of the so-called "breechcloth" type. On the hands they wear thick woollen mittens both in spring and autumn, also in winter when working or throwing the lasso, but they prefer gloves of leg-skin with some hay inside. The Lapps have nearly always a broad belt round the waist, of colored wool generally among the Fishers, but among the Reindeer Lapps always of cow leather with square or round brass, tin, or silver ornaments or also with rectangular, carved horn plates. The women usually have a belt similar to that of the Fishers. At a man's left side hangs a large knife in a leather, horn, or wooden sheath, while the women have their sewing materials, a bunch of sinew thread, a needle-case of brass or horn, scissors, and sewing-ring (instead of a thimble) of reindeer leather; formerly also a tinder-box in a pouch. The Lapp is very particular that the belt is in the right place, that the smock-frock or the fur coat should blouse out a little above the belt (on a man) and that the folds of the hem are straight and regular. Beside old clothes ("national costumes"), the Skolts have for more than a hundred years worn also "European" or Russian clothes, such as coats and trousers, the women again the long Russian skirt (*sarafan*) with shoulder straps. The other Lapps have also begun to wear European dress during the last few decades.

The old Lappish clothes are almost the same for both sexes, except for the headwear. The man used to wear a calotte or conical cap, in summer knitted in wool, in winter of fur so that the ears were protected from the cold. As recently as the 1880's the Lapps of Inari had knitted woollen caps and the Skolts even at the beginning of this century, but then they began to wear hats or peaked caps. More than a century ago the Varanger Lapps adopted the "four winds cap" of the Russian merchant and fisherman (the Russians had taken it from the Poles), and this new fashion spread rapidly all through Finnmark and Finnish Lapland. The people of Utsjoki and Enontekiö wear it all the year round, the winter one having a lining of otter-skin while the summer one is of cloth. The people of Inari wear it only in winter. The Skolts have had their own winter cap for a very long time, the upper part a rectangle of cloth and the long underpart of fox fur. The headwear of the Lutheran Lapp woman was formerly a cloth cap with a high arched top like an Achilles' helmet; the framework was a piece of wood skilfully hollowed out. It went out of fashion in the 1870's because it was preached against in church and the pastor called it a devil's horn. Then there was left only a rather round cloth cap with ear-flaps. When traveling the women wore a cloth garment covering the shoulders and the lower part of the head; above this a gay woollen kerchief was laid on the head and tied under the chin. The Skolt women's headgear is in the old Russian style, made usually of cloth embroidered in red and stiffened with birch bark. A girl generally wears a rather narrow cylinder without a crown; a married woman's cap has the upper part leaning over the forehead, while in that of a widow the upper part is lower and the color is dark or gray.

TECHNOLOGY

As regards the men's technical ability, they have only worked metal to a small extent. During the Bronze Age they seem to have known how to cast bronze (its name, *veäiki* or *veshki*—Finnish *vaski*, is the only genuine name for the metal), although the art was later forgotten. Then they could only cast tin and lead and make thin tin wire, and with this the women decorated clothes and harness; now even this is forgotten. From ancient times the Lapps have obtained all their iron and silver objects by trading with their southern neighbors. Not until the beginning of the last century were Lappish smiths to be found in Utsjoki and Inari who could forge simple iron objects, such as knives of different sizes, augers, hollowing tools, fishing-spears, train oil lamps, etc. A century ago the only tools a Lapp carpenter had were an axe, a knife, a drill, a little plane, and sometimes

a little knife-saw, but for all that he could produce well-made and even elegant articles.

The different kinds of wood are selected with great care: it is known exactly where good timber of pine or birch grows. They differentiate between the "male" and "female" trees, much preferring the latter for wood-working. (For birch-bark and horn as materials, see page 56.)

The Skolts and the Inari Lapps have known a very simple way of distilling tar: the so-called "wind-distilling" method. Resinous chunks of dried fir roots and tops are wrapped up in a large cornet of pine or spruce bark about six to nine feet long. This is then bound round with roots and laid on a slope so that the narrow end, under which is placed a vessel in a hole, lies lower than the other; a slight breeze blows toward the thicker end, which is set alight, and the whole is covered with peat. The distilling took from about three to twelve hours, according to the strength of the wind, the size of the cornet, and the thickness of the peat. In this way as much tar was obtained as was needed to smear some boats, akjas, and boots. Now the Lapps of Inari and Utsjoki can build proper distilling places—shallow circular pits.

The women tan reindeer leather in water in which willow bark has been boiled; then the hair is removed by being soaked in a lake or river. If the hair is to be retained, as in skin for coats and footwear, the blood membrane is scraped away with an edged tool such as is also found among the Ostiak, Vogul, Samoyed, and Chukchi. The edge is S-shaped, seldom straight, and stands out from the middle of a wooden handle about forty-five centimeters long. When the membrane has been scraped away, the back of the skin is smeared with train oil. The skin from the legs and head can also be treated with a thick "soup" of osier bark and in this way becomes fairly durable and does not get damp during thaws. Skin clothes are always sewn with thin threads torn from the dried back-and-leg-sinews of the reindeer and twisted into thread with the shin or thigh as support.

SOCIAL RELATIONS

From old documents it appears that mountains, hills, a watershed, and large bogs served as boundaries between the different villages (*siida*). They often quarrelled about the boundaries, usually because of fishing sites and beaver-trapping places. The arbitrators were sometimes men from "neutral" villages. The center of the village community was the winter village, where all the Fishing and Forest Lapps collected before the turn of the year. Here the churches were later built, so that the winter villages have become the center of the present parishes. It is the Skolts who have best preserved the former style of community. They have

village meetings (*norras*)—at which all the heads of the families gather—of two kinds: one (occasional) summoned at the request of an individual, and the other (regular), once a year, at which the common affairs of the village are decided. The elder, who acts as chairman, is elected in some villages for one year, in others for three. At the meeting proclamations are read, important agreements are ratified, and affairs regarding debts, taxation, and the conveyance of travelers are settled, the population is counted, quarrels are composed, less important crimes are judged (i. e., such as have been committed against the right of using common or private areas), permission is given to adopt children—including those from another village—and changes in the dwelling and reindeer marks due to death and inheritance are confirmed. The following is related of Kemi Lapland in the eighteenth century: The oldest men divide the hunting woods and the fishing lakes, and their decision is later confirmed by the regular judge who comes to Lapland once a year. If anyone has settled or hunted on another's area he is fined as a disturber of the public peace. The elder collects the taxes every year. At the village meeting marriages are also decided. "The unanimity and authority of the elders is such that one must admire their conferences. If worse crimes are committed they are referred to the regular court but other offences are settled mostly by fines."

In olden times in Lutheran Lapland—as is still the case among the Orthodox Skolts—trapping areas and fishing waters were probably divided between the different families. There they lived when the ground was bare of snow: in summer they lived beside the fishing lakes and in the autumn near the trapping grounds. Thus each Forest Lapp had at least two, but usually three to five dwelling-places: for spring, summer, autumn, and winter, and also in the winter village. Each individual family had its private area on the land of the great family. It is related of the Enontekiö Reindeer Lapps of the eighteenth century that the *koatti* team [group of householders] belonging to the same *vuobmi* (valley and moss area) were not far from each other because such areas were rather small. Every village had its own area, and each family its own "taxed land" within that. In that part of Enontekiö which now belongs to Finland there were four or five such village groups. It has been assumed that the idea of special deer pastures among the Reindeer Lapps developed both under the effect of large scale reindeer-breeding and also from intercourse between the Lapps and the settlers.

In olden days, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, each family father had his own private mark which very much resembled that of the Scandinavians and Finns. Their use was discontinued last century probably because of the art of writing, but the Skolts still use them today. This mark is inherited

in such a way that the son, when forming his own home, makes a little addition to his father's mark, while the youngest son who stays at home and looks after his ageing parents, not only inherits the greater part of their property but also his father's mark unchanged. This is placed on the seine floats, boats, oars, akjas, harness, and other valuable household utensils, also on documents, and besides that on small wooden labels tied under the neck of purchased reindeer. Special ownership marks are those made in the reindeer's ear, a custom which originated in very old times. Although the earmark is known all over the Euro-Asiatic reindeer-breeding area, it must not be assumed from this that the earmarks have all a common origin. In the beginning each Lapp family had so few reindeer that a mark was scarcely necessary. In several European countries, e. g., Scandinavia and Finland, owners' marks are cut in sheep's ears, and it is probable that the Lapps adopted this custom when their reindeer became more numerous. When a son separates from the old home he makes a little addition in the ear of the deer he receives from his father. The daughter generally inherits the mother's mark which she has brought from her home on her marriage. A herdsman can tell the earmark of a deer far away, even at fifty meters distance, and knows the marks of different people in his own district and also outside it, sometimes several hundred altogether. It follows from the primitive style of the mark that similar ones can be found in places far away from each other. In order to remember the marks they are made on birch-bark, leather, pieces of wood, beads, and paper, and the owner of the deer sometimes keeps these in bundles. The ears must be retained with the skins and furs, or else it will be suspected that the animals have been stolen.

The trade of the Lapps has until recent times been almost exclusively barter. It is known that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the bailiffs and "Pirkkalaiset" (see page 34) took with them to the Lapp villages in the winter grain, salt, butter, brandy, linen, homespun, hemp, cooking-pots, axes, knives, steel bows, spear-tops, and silver ornaments, and took in return hides, skins, furs, reindeer meat, fresh and dried fish, Lappish shoes and gloves. At times for example, a red fox skin was worth 1-2 lispund (18 lbs 12 oz) of hemp or half a lispund of butter or $\frac{1}{4}$ barrel of grain or 13 yards homespun: a beaverskin equalled 1-1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lispund butter or hemp or 4 yards cloth; an axe equalled 15 loaves or 1 lispund dried pike; 3 axes equalled 1 marten. At the present day the Finnish Lapps carry on trade mostly at the yearly winter market in their own country, but also in north Norway and north Sweden. Trading among themselves is still mostly barter. In the trade of the reindeer owners, hunters, and fishers, for example, the following "exchange rate" is common: a reindeer's tongue = a

ptarmigan; a three year-old reindeer cow = sixty ptarmigan; a draft reindeer = a driving kēres = a new tent cloth; a barren reindeer cow = a load-kēres; a two year-old reindeer cow = a pair of good birch skis; a barren cow's joint = fifteen small fish; a reindeer dog = one or two reindeer for slaughtering, etc. The wages of servants were formerly paid in skin and cloth clothes and in pregnant reindeer cows with calves, only very rarely in money.

RELIGION

Our knowledge of the mythology of the Finnish Lapps is scantier than that of those in Scandinavia. It looks as if the former did not have such well developed gods of Olympia as their kinsmen. Here were maintained those earlier beliefs of primitive character which seem to have formed the basis for the religious ideas of all the Lappish tribes. It is in vain that one seeks such names as Radienatshe, Varalden olmai, Horagalles, Stuurajunkare, Sarakka, Uksakka, Juksakka, Rana nieida, and Rota: the dominating figures are "Thunder" and Sieidi. The former was the most powerful of the rulers of the heavens, and was known by different names (Pajan, Aijeg, Tiermes). These names indicate both the natural phenomena and their controllers. It is clear that thunder and its enormous power has aroused a reverence for the divine in primitive man all over the world, and there is scarcely any reason to assume, as has been done, that it was the Tor of the Scandinavians that gave to the Lapps the idea of a god of thunder. Yet it seems that the Lappish god of thunder has adopted some further characteristics from the worship of Tor.

The central place for the worship of thunder by the Lapps was a little rocky island in Inari Lake. There is a cave there in which some rotted wild reindeer horns were found as recently as about thirty years ago, and there was also found a silver earring from the eleventh century, probably a sacrificial gift. According to the Fisher-Lapps' tradition wild reindeer heads with horns, capercailzie, and large fish have been taken to the cave. The Reindeer Lapps call thunder the ruler of the clouds, who appears to purify the earth from disease. He rides on a white cloud, carrying on his back a bag full of arrows (lightning flashes) and in his hands two hollow objects like wooden cups which he strikes together to cause the peals of thunder. Then he sends rain to prevent the lightning from burning up the earth. The Skolts believe that all kinds of reptiles increase in the summer heat, and that is why the thunder begins to "ride" and break up the earth to destroy evil beasts. According to a saga he also pursues the devil. This idea is even to be found in the Far East, e. g. among the Goldi (Tungus) of the Ussuri River.

The sun (Peäivi) was also worshipped in olden times. The Lapps celebrated the reappearance of the sun after the midwinter darkness, and sacrificed to it at midsummer so that it should refresh creation and make the grass grow. The Reindeer Lapps in Enontekiö still make a little cake of rye and reindeer blood to be hung over the door of the cloth hut in early spring or on a birch growing nearby, as a sacrifice to the sun.

The ruler of the wind was Pieggolmai (the Wind Man), and sacrifices were made to him, e. g. on a hill near the present village of Inari. More than a hundred years ago sacrificed deer horns were to be seen there. Pieggolmai could drive away the deer by blowing for a long time from the same direction. Sometimes the Skolts used the word piegg-jenn (wind mother) of the wind, especially the south wind, in the same way as some other Finnish Ugrian peoples do.

The ruler of the water (Tshatts-olmai) was prayed to actually on midsummer night at the rapids. One stood on the bank without speaking; one must only think of what was desired, e. g. fish, beaver, money. Tshatts-olmai stated how they could be obtained, finally showed himself as a man, and then disappeared. Even today people talk about Tshattse-haldi (Undine); the Skolts know about Tshatts-jenn who resembles a woman and whose loose hair is "horsehair worms" and who protects the young of fish and waterbirds.

Maddar-akku was the goddess of the earth: the old Lapps of Sodankylä talked about her more than one hundred years ago. There she had at least two sacrificial places in the woods where there were one or two tall tree stumps beside one other. To her were offered the flesh and horns of reindeer and rams, also the flesh of birds, a piece of each on a tray or in a birchbark basket. The worshipper bared his head, bowed three times, laid his offering on a stump, and sang, kneeling: "I have come from Maddar (Earth) and come into Maddar; I have visited Maddar and shall come to Maddar-akku."

The gods described here are now almost forgotten, some of them to such a degree that most of their names are unknown. On the other hand many less important nature spirits are fairly well remembered, though no one has ever sacrificed to them. The Finnish Lapps have known in various places about sixty different spirits, who were imagined, some in the form of people, some in the form of animals. Nature was conceived as so living that each tree had its spirits. If a Lapp was going to fell a tree, he had first to strike it with his axe-head to waken the spirit, and then cut off the lowest branch and throw it aside so that the spirit could escape with it. One must not remove the peat covering of a stone, otherwise the offender will find himself without clothing some day. The Reindeer Lapps in Inari tell about the wood-sprite (meättse-haldi), the spirit of the wilds

(*luodo-haldi*), the reindeer herd's spirit (*siida-haldi*), and so on. The best known among the evil spirits or ghosts is the *stallu*, a tall, strong but silly and wicked being, "half man, half devil," who lurks in the woods and challenges the Lapp to wrestle with him for life or death. The victor may kill his opponent and thus get possession of all he owns. Although the Lapp is weaker he usually overcomes the *stallu* by cunning and then takes his knapsack full of gold and silver.

Sieidi is of a different origin from other gods and spirits. He has apparently belonged to the Lapps' religion in its oldest manifestations and maintained his position until the present day. According to national tradition and old written sources about eighty *Sieidi* places of worship are known in Lapland and north Finland, and it is probable that some of the old Reindeer Lapps still sacrifice to their *Sieidi* in out-of-way places. *Sieidi* is usually a rock remarkable in color and shape, often on a lake shore, near a cliff, an island, a hill, or a mountain. Of such small rocks it was said that a man could lift them. In later times this conception of *Sieidi* has undergone such a change that some of the gods already mentioned were considered as living in separate *Sieidi*. Thus some *Sieidi* mountains represented *Äijih* (Thunder and Old Man), and some other mountains or stones his wife (*Akku*, Old Woman). The origin of this belief in *Sieidi* is obscure. The most correct opinion seems to be that of the Norwegian researcher, Qvigstad: "Es lässt sich nicht leicht entscheiden welche Auffassung die Lappen ursprünglich von den *Sieidis* und heiligen Bergen gehabt haben, ob sie nämlich den Stein oder Berg an sich oder den in ihnen wohnenden Geist verehrt haben." (It is not easy to decide what was the original conception of the Lapps as to the *Sieidis* and the holy mountains, whether they honored the stone or mountain itself or the spirit dwelling in it.) But at least in recent times the Lapps have honored and worshipped more the spirit dwelling in the *Sieidi* than the object itself. There were *Sieidis* to which larger circles of people sacrificed, others that were only worshipped by a great family, and others again that were revered by only a single family. The *Sieidis* differed also in the influence they exerted: some favored fishing, others promoted hunting, others reindeer-breeding, but all of them demanded regular sacrifices—fat fish, game, horns of reindeer, both tame and wild, small silver objects, and so on. But if the *Sieidi* rock, in spite of sacrifices, omitted to favor the occupation of a Lapp, he could repudiate, even punish, his *Sieidi*. It also is characteristic that some old Reindeer Lapps still think that the help of the Christians' God is not enough for their occupation: they need also the help of the *Sieidi*.

Formerly the Lapps all over the north were renowned for their skill in conjuring. This perhaps was chiefly due to the fact that they had divining or magic

drums, with the help of which the shaman or *noaidi* could do wonderful things. The magic drum links the early beliefs of the Lapps to the mythological conceptions of the old north Eurasiatic world and even more distant places: the magic drum is to be found also among the Eskimo and certain Indian tribes. It was oval in shape: its rather narrow sides were of thin birch wood, and its skin face was of tanned reindeer leather on which many kinds of figures were painted with alder bark. On the skin a brass ring was laid, and when the drum was beaten with a T-shaped stick or reindeer horn, the ring jumped about over the figures and finally came to rest on one of them. This was the basis upon which the shaman could foretell events. Only two or three of the Finnish Lapps' drums (from the seventeenth century) have been preserved to the present day: two from Kemi Lapland, one doubtfully from Utsjoki. In the former the skin is divided into three horizontal zones representing heaven, earth, and the underworld, with their gods and their sacrifices. In the earth-zone there are pictures of people, animals, Sieidi-places, a Lapp koatti, a church (?), and so on. The skin of the latter is divided into five zones, in which there are, besides the wind and thunder gods, the sun, the moon, etc., also God the Father, His Son, some saints, and down below the devils with hell-fire and a tar-cauldron. Thus here there is a strong Christian influence.

The Lapps believed, like many other primitive peoples, that if the bones of a reindeer and other animals were left whole after a meal and taken together to some sheltered place, a new living animal would arise from them. In the same way if fish-bones were thrown into the water, they would swim away as a new fish. Game was carried into the koatti through a special little door in the back wall which was not allowed to be used for anything else. On no account might the women go through that door, nor might they touch the hunting weapons of a man. The bear, "the king of the woods," enjoyed special reverence, though that did not prevent the Lapps from killing it when they met. When the bear was killed, many rites were observed in taking it home and eating it. Tabu words must be used, for the bear had mysterious powers: it could hear and understand human talk many miles away and see in sleep future happenings. Clever people could transform themselves into bears if they turned a somersault in a special way over a fallen tree or walked under a low bent tree trunk: the same belief is also found among the Samoyed of Siberia.

The Lapps fear the evil eye. For example it can so affect a gun that it misses the target. When a man comes from fishing, he hides his catch under the thwart. If in spite of this, any stranger happens to see the fish, he casts his knife among them. If one catches a rather rare animal, or some game in an unusual way, this

indicates some evil, even death, for the person concerned. A sleeping animal may not be killed: it must be aroused, for example by whistling softly, before one shoots it. The trapping apparatus on land and in water must not be examined and emptied on the same journey, and so on.

Illness is of the three kinds: (1) sent by God, incurable; (2) sent by an ill-natured person—this is cured by a shaman; and (3) an ordinary illness, which is not fatal. The spirit of man dwells near the heart. The signs of life are blood and breathing. The Skolts call the heart and genitals together spirit parts; they know nothing of the idea of a soul. On the other hand the Lutheran Lapps, in accordance with Christian belief, speak of the spirit and the soul. The Enontekiö Lapps believe that the spirit lives in the stomach and the soul in the head; in sleep one can get into contact with the spirit world. The Reindeer Lapps in Inari imagine that everyone has an invisible companion, who lives outside him or her and can appear as a double. It warns him of danger, and through it one can extract secrets from a sleeping or dying person. After death the double remains forever by the grave of its owner and can appear to others as a ghost. Every family among the Skolts has its invisible companion (*kaddze*) in animal shape. For one family it is a sheep, for another a bear, for a third the wild reindeer, for a fourth a hawk, for a fifth the burbot, and so on. This companion is inherited by the sons from the father and by the daughters from the mother and cannot be transferred to others. This conception resembles that of the totem in as far as the person in question may not eat the animal to whose species his *kaddze* belongs. The shamans send their *noaidi-kaddzes* to fight with each other. A shaman can also have several such companions.

When a Reindeer Lapp died, the body was taken out of the *koatti*, not by the door, but through an opening made by lifting the lower edge of the tent cloth (as also among many Siberian tribes), and a stone was laid upon his former sleeping-place. Then he was buried in his clothes, wrapped in reindeer-skins, and lying in a *kēres* or in a hollow tree trunk, on the shore of a stream or lake, or on an island, or in the forest. According to information from 1620 the dead person's dog was tied to the grave and his drum buried with him.

In excavating some Lappish graves from the seventeenth century skeletons were found with brass rings, horn drum-sticks, arrow-heads, knives, needle-cases, tinder-boxes, finger-rings, copper and silver coins, and bored bear's teeth (amulets). Even in Christian times the Reindeer Lapps—if anyone died during their seasonal migrations far away from the church—have hung the corpse in an *akja* between two birches, and left it to dry in the wind and sun. On their way back in

early winter the family would fasten the kēres behind a reindeer at the end of the caravan and take it to the cemetery.

MARRIAGE AND NAMES

Courting and wedding customs are rather different in the several parts of Finnish Lappmark. In earlier times the contracting of a marriage was very much like making a bargain; and here three characteristics are common to all Finnish Lapps: (1) the suitor is accompanied by a spokesman and often his father, and has with him lots of alcoholic spirits and gifts (e. g. silver ornaments and coins), also for the girl's relatives; (2) the relatives have the right to express their opinions on the matter; (3) the couple may not be too closely related. It is also usual that the girl who is being courted cannot be present until a decision has been made and also an agreement as to the betrothal gifts and dowry, and that the bridegroom shall pay the expenses of the wedding. The giving of presents to the young couple by the wedding guests is apparently a later addition copied from neighboring peoples. The following custom of the Kemi Lapps, reported from the seventeenth century, seems very primitive. At the betrothal the fathers of the young couple struck fire from the flint in order that "as the fire is hidden in the steel and flint and becomes visible in sparks, so should the fire of love produce children when the couple were united." Among the Lutheran Lapps the suitor stays out in the yard while his spokesman goes into the girl's home. Formerly the courting lasted a long time, even as much as one to three years, because the father and the relatives of the girl wanted to be regaled with spirits as long as possible—hence the proverb: "You don't get a wife in Lappland without spirits." Among the Reindeer Lapps the suitor and his spokesman drive with their reindeer three times round the girl's koatti—if anyone comes out to meet them a fortunate result may be expected. The wedding customs of the Orthodox Skolts are very complicated and resemble in the main those of the East Karelians and the North Russians.

According to the tax-registers of the sixteenth century and early sagas, the Lapps had formerly such names as Juksa ("a bow"), Tuksa ("store, stock"), Aigē (< *aigi* time), Sarrē (< *sarrah* "create"), Peäivē (< *peäivi* "sun, day"), Miellē or Mielak (< *miella* "desire," "disposition"), Akkē (< *akki* "age"), Tshoarvē (< *tshoarvi* "horn"); further, compound names like Aigēsarrē, Akkēmielak, Sarrējuksa, Akkēpeäivē, but also such names as cannot now be interpreted: Kuivē, Missē, Tsajjadsh, Tsumnadsh, Morokka or Morottijjē. Besides these Finnish and East Karelian names, some are used which the Lapps have most probably taken over from old tax collectors and merchants. Curiously

enough they had also some Christian names as early as the sixteenth century, although the real missionary work among them began only in the seventeenth century. At that time the Lapps had no surnames: such names first appear between 1680-1720, clearly under the influence of the priests and other authorities. Then the Lapps began to get Christian names—only one each—and many of the old ones were changed into surnames, for example, the Inari Lappish names Aikio, Kuuva, Mujo, Morottaja, Sarre, and Valle. Some of them were named after places; others were given Finnish and Scandinavian names; the Skolts again, when they became Christians, were given Russian names, both first and family names.

LITERATURE

The most primitive of the Lapps' national poems are the so-called *juoigus* (*jodels*). They are short, with the stanzas set to rather monotonous melodies in which the Lapp expresses his moods, e. g. on the mountains, when driving, at the markets, or on festive occasions, especially under the influence of intoxicants. There are specialists who know several hundred different *juoigus*, each with its own melody, about different persons; but remarkable events, lakes, mountains, reindeer, and other animals are also among their motifs. The *juoigus* (*levde*) of the Skolts are usually longer than the others; they have also epic songs.

Proverbs and riddles belong to their national prose poems, mostly among the people of Inari and Utsjoki, and also sagas and legends that are rather numerous everywhere, though least among the Lapps of Enontekiö. The sagas about shamans (*noaidi*) and metamorphoses are typically Lappish: in the latter people are transformed into animals—bears, wild reindeer, lake-salmon, giant flounders, etc. Stallu sagas (see page 64) are also Lappish. Legends about *tshudde* are very general—the wandering enemies who plundered and murdered Lapps. Their origin is to some extent in the boundary quarrels between the Finns and the East Karelians (or Russians); but some of them originated in prehistoric times. They are general also among the Finns, the East Karelians, and the North Russians. Animal sagas are great favorites: in them appear not only the Lapps, but also the fox, the bear, the wolf, and the reindeer. They probably originated from among the motifs of Scandinavia, although they have been adapted to a completely Lappish milieu so that they must have been taken over in very early times. Finally the Lapps have a large selection of sagas concerning adventures, kings, giants, devils, and so on—motifs which are found among most nations.

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1 Some scientists suppose that the "proto-Lapps" were Samoyed who came under a strong influence of the Finno-Ugrian languages when they were moving to the west and southwest.