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“As long as we continue to *joik*, we’ll remember who we are.”
Negotiating identity and the performance of culture: The Saami
joik

Jones-Bamman, Richard Wiren, Ph.D.

University of Washington, 1993

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"As long as we continue to joik, we'll remember who we are."

Negotiating identity and the performance of culture: the Saami *joik*

by

Richard Wiren Jones-Bamman

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

1993

Approved by



(Chairperson of Supervisory Committee)

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Doctoral Dissertation

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Abstract

"As long as we continue to joik, we'll remember who we are."

Negotiating identity and the performance of culture: the Saami *joik*

by Richard W. Jones-Bamman

Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee: Professor Christopher A. Waterman

Department of Music, Ethnomusicology Division

The focus of this dissertation is the indigenous musical genre of the Saami (formerly Lapps) of northern Scandinavia (Norway, Sweden, and Finland). Known throughout the region generically as *joik*, this is vocal music traditionally performed by a single individual without accompaniment. Even though joiking has always played an integral role in Saami culture, until very recently the genre was rarely heard in public contexts. While some of this can be explained in emic conceptions about performance, this development has primarily been the result of the negative reactions joiking has engendered among the neighboring Scandinavian populations who constitute a clear ethnic and cultural majority.

In the late 1960s, however, joik did re-emerge significantly from its secretive state, but most often in performances which no longer fit the 'traditional' parameters. In the course of once again publicly celebrating this vital cultural expression, many Saami musicians combined joik with a remarkable variety of instrumental ensembles, producing what became known as 'modern' joik. The popularity of these efforts not only demonstrated the viability of this particular approach to the genre, but eventually contributed to the revitalization of joik in many of its traditional contexts.

My primary concern in this work is to examine these developments from several different perspectives. First, I am concerned that such changes in performance not simply be regarded as the result of outside musical influences, but be seen as indicative of an ongoing pattern within Saami culture to negotiate a more positive ethnic identity, one which not only articulates intracultural diversity, but which also encourages the creation of a more unified Saami image than has previously existed. Second, I have posited that joik is ideally positioned to function as a rallying symbol for this movement, due to its primordial role in Saami culture as a means of incorporating individuals and the environment into a perceived community, which is actuated in performance. Finally, I have demonstrated that even in this symbolic role, joik is not restricted to a single inclusive/exclusive function, but is a crucial element in the negotiation of different levels of identity within Saami culture.

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This dissertation is dedicated to my mother and father, **Henry and Ruth Bamman**, who somehow always knew this would happen to me.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Scene 1

Just over thirty years ago, an old Saami¹ man in northwestern Sweden was laying out fishing nets on a lake, late one summer evening. The water was still, and the work easily accomplished, allowing the man ample time for reflection. Inspired by the activity and his surroundings, he responded musically by joiking, using his voice to describe the moment, or perhaps recall some particular event from his past, as generations of Saami had done before him. Standing on the shore of the lake, his great nephew heard the sound of the old man's joiks carrying over the water, the short repeated phrases conveyed with a guttural vocal quality that was unmistakable: *o-la-la-lo-a...la-la-lo-a...*no text in the formal sense, vocables sufficing to communicate his feelings at that moment.

No one else in the immediate vicinity responded, even though the joiking was clearly audible along the shore. If they heard the singing in the distance, they did not admit it to each other, for joiking was considered a sinful practice in this community, which, like many others in northern Scandinavia, was still caught up by the remnants of various evangelical movements which had swept through the area during the 19th century. To joik was to challenge the teachings of the church; to listen to joik, scarcely better.

The young boy who silently witnessed his uncle's 'sinful' behavior that evening (and on subsequent occasions), grew up abundantly aware of the importance of these musical utterances for the older members of the family and community, even if he felt constrained from discussing such an event with them. To joik under such circumstances was a predictable Saami response, he learned, and yet the activity was condemned and its

¹The terms "Lapp" and "Laplander" have been abandoned in recent years in favor of those words by which the members of the culture describe themselves: Saami or Sámi; likewise their language is Saami (not Lappish) and the regions of Sweden, Finland, Norway, and Russia which they occupy are known collectively as Sápmi (not Lappland). The term Lapp most likely originates in the Finnish word *lappalainen*, and is considered by most Saami to be pejorative. In those historical sources where "Lapp" occurs (or, as in some Norwegian texts, the term "Finn"), I have let the words stand as a reminder of the inherent problematical cultural relationships they suggest.

practitioners often publicly censured by the clergy and/or the community, most of whom were Saami themselves.

When I met this young man 1991, he told me this story about his uncle in order to underline the significant changes which he felt had occurred within the Saami population as a whole since that time, particularly as he saw them manifested in this indigenous musical genre. His own interest in joik had been piqued that evening thirty years ago, not the least by the complete lack of response of the others in his family who acted as though nothing unusual had occurred. In some areas of Saamiland this situation still obtains, but as he pointed out, it is also now possible to buy recordings of joik. My new acquaintance, I discovered, had developed an abiding interest in contemporary Saami musical artists and their products, all stemming from those initial experiences along the lake shore in his home region. There remained unanswered questions for him regarding that first exposure, however: had his uncle been aware of how his voice carried over the water, and if so, had his periodic joiking in this manner been some sort of musical protest against the religious strictures of the community, or simply the musings of an old man, made audible in song?

In spite of such stringent interdictions, joik remains an integral part of Saami culture because of its integrative quality. A joik connects the performer and his or her listeners, not only with each other, but with their collective past by uniting it with present experience--joiking effectively collapses time. Not all Saami can perform joik, but knowledge of the genre is still a key symbol of Saami communal identity. Even though its existence was long denied in public pronouncements, joik has continued to be practiced and heard.

Scene 2

On another night in 1991, I sat with an old Saami woman in the dining hall of a boarding school for Saami children. For years she had served as a language instructor in institutions like this, trying to find ways to interest youngsters in continuing to learn and speak the Saami language. Now we were discussing joik and its presumed decline, not just in the immediate area, but throughout Saamiland. She was old enough to remember a time when joik was heard more freely in Saami communities, particularly among reindeer herding families. Even if the priests and the lay ministers had railed against it continuously, joiking was still important enough for individuals to transgress these proscriptions on occasion. Her own mother had often joiked in the tent which served as the family home, until forced schooling eventually separated her and her siblings from their parents.

When I asked if she could joik, her immediate response was negative: too many years in a school system with Western music thrust upon her; feeling the pressure from the church and its members; not having the appropriate inspiration. Nevertheless, a smile crossed her face with the last denial, as she then confided, "But I have joiked, you know..." And then the story came out, of traveling in the northernmost region of Saamiland one summer night, the midnight sun lighting the sparse vegetation of the taiga plateau in the vicinity of Karasjok, Norway. Her husband drove while she sat beside him lost in her thoughts, recalling reindeer migrations with her family in summers long past. The combination of the midnight light, the surroundings, and her own recollections proved to be just the proper ingredients, and she burst forth with a spontaneous joik, so startling her husband that he drove off the road.

As she recounted this for me, she laughed about her poor spouse's dilemma, but made it abundantly clear that her response that evening had been involuntary and equally surprising to her. She had not joiked since, but certainly would not discount the possibilities for the future. "It is something which we Saami do sometimes," she said.

Today joik is not only heard and practiced more openly, even in staged public performances, but is increasingly being used as a means of confirming and elaborating important cultural issues to Saami and non-Saami audiences alike. In 1979, for example, a group of young Saami protested against the Norwegian government by setting up a tent in front of the *Storting* (parliament) building in Oslo, where they joiked nearly continuously as part of a week long hunger strike. In 1992 another protest was staged in the Swedish *Riksdag* (parliament) in Stockholm by members of a Saami youth organization, who joiked loudly from the public gallery and unfurled a Saami flag, decrying the passage of new legislation which affected the entire Saami population in Sweden.

Such public displays, although unusual in their vehemence, nevertheless demonstrate the extent to which the practice of joiking and conceptions about this musical expression have changed in the course of just a few decades. There are still remnants of the former religious suppression of the genre, to be sure, but by and large these have been subsumed in the emerging ethnic awareness which marks Saami-Scandinavian² relations in recent years, affecting not only musical activities, but virtually all aspects of Saami culture.

Scene 3

In 1992, a young Saami man stood on a small stage, fronting a rock'n'roll band in an old community hall in the southernmost district of Swedish Saamiland. He was wearing his *gákti*, the traditional dress for Saami, as were most members of the audience, but he was the only one on stage to do so--the rest were dressed in jeans and sweaters or leather jackets, not looking appreciably different from other young Swedes. As the lights came down in the hall, he stepped forward to the microphone and began addressing the crowd in Swedish, not

² Throughout this work, the terms 'Scandinavia' and 'Scandinavian' will be used in reference to the three nations in which the Saami currently reside: Sweden, Norway, and Finland. I have chosen this word according to convention, but am fully aware that Fennoscandia is perhaps the more appropriate descriptor. The other option is simply 'Nordic' or 'Nordic region', but to my mind this is not specific enough for most readers.

because he was concerned about those who might not speak Saami, but because he was not proficient enough in the language himself to explain the subtleties of the lyrics to his songs. Nevertheless, as the band jumped into the first piece, no one in the crowd was surprised to hear this same young man singing in the South Saami dialect. This is what we had come to hear, a Saami rock band, with all the vitality of the myriad 'garage bands' found wherever young rockers aspire to play together. The sound in the hall was deafening, with screeching electric guitar filling in, over, and around sequenced synthesizer parts, and a plodding bass player racing to catch up with the young guy on the drums--the band was off and running.

As the leader had briefly explained, this first song was "*Manne saemie leab*" ("I am Saami"), and as the band finally settled into a more predictable 'heavy metal'-flavored groove, this lyric was heard repeated often, each iteration more convincing than the previous. All around the auditorium, people were tapping their feet or nodding in approval; a pair of women seated to my side, aged 78 and 80 respectively, simply smiled.

After a brief pause for more explanations in Swedish, the group launched into "*Nilja*", a song which described the legendary prowess of a Saami wolf hunter from another community further north. This time the young man punctuated the rhyming Saami text with this same "Nilja's" personal joik, using it as a recurrent refrain: the short triadic melody repeating with variations, a Saami text interwoven with vocables, *Na-na-no-no, na-na-no-no*... The effect was immediate on those around me: the sound of joiking, amplified through a sound system and buttressed by all manner of electronic and acoustic reinforcements, rang throughout the hall, jolting everyone with its literal and figurative power. If the crowd had been polite in its response at first, the joiking quickly galvanized us into an enthusiastic audience, regardless of age or ethnicity.

And so the evening continued, with solo joiking interspersed among full-blown rock'n'roll songs and ballads, some of these also using joik--all sung in Saami. Afterwards, my two older companions happily shared their views of the entertainment: how fine it was to hear the

South Saami dialect conveyed in the voice of someone so young; how wonderful to hear someone so adept at joiking...Yes, it was too loud for them, and they did not really care for the other music all that much, but how very important that this was all happening, particularly since one always hears how the Saami culture is dying with the oldest generation...

1.1 "As long as we continue to joik..."

I have begun with these short vignettes in an effort to capture some sense of the complexity of the issues which I encountered while conducting fieldwork among Saami populations in northern Sweden and Norway between September 1991 and August 1992. As I trust will become apparent in the ensuing discussion, however, the analysis of these same issues depends to a large degree on a perspective concisely expressed in the quote found in the title of this work. The Saami joik, in spite of periodic cultural cloaking and concerted suppression, remains a viable and thriving musical genre because of its intimate connection with Saami conceptions of self, in both the individual and corporate sense. The central concern in this dissertation is not merely the mechanics of such longevity, but the reasons compelling Saami people to continue joiking in the face of 'inside' and 'outside' opposition, and moreover to do so increasingly in public fora.

I am not suggesting here that the joik represents an immutable institution--the eradication of the Saami rituals which once provided a primary context for joiking belies any such argument, as does the sheer amount of musical experimentation with the genre in the last three decades. In a very real sense, the joik as first encountered and described by early travelers to the region *has* ceased to exist for many Saami, as have language and traditional livelihoods. But the joik remains vital nevertheless, often serving in its most public deliveries as an encompassing symbol for all of Saami culture. My concern has been to demonstrate how this symbolic function not only derives from current problems facing the

Saami, but to try to place this phenomenon within a broader frame of analysis, taking into consideration past events which have influenced the direction and intensity of change in Saami culture, as well as recent Saami involvement in so-called Fourth World organizations,³ a move which I see as indicative of future aspirations within the culture.

Such explanations, I trust, will in turn serve to account to a great degree for the emergence of the 'modern joik' (Valkeapää 1969: 3) as a new musical concept, which incorporates joik in an astonishing number of musical styles lying far outside the purview of what has been traditionally accepted as a Saami performance context. Rather than viewing these developments as yet more examples of cultural 'grey out' and the hegemony of the popular music industry, I find myself increasingly in agreement with Appadurai (1990: 295), that such phenomena can be more positively approached to see what they tell us about the process of *indigenization*. The addition of a heavy metal band to joik performances, for example, not only illustrates the widespread popularity of this type of rock'n'roll, but also leads to questions about Saami musicians' own expectations for this 'outside' genre as a vehicle for conveying meaning to a predominantly Saami audience. As Slobin has demonstrated, such instances of transregional music production typically demonstrate a good deal more conscious decision making on the part of musicians than most hegemonic paradigms would allow (Slobin 1992: 8-9).

In order to address these and other related issues, I have found it advantageous to periodically shift my analysis to include data drawn from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives. My first task was to determine what functions joik has had in the past for the Saami, how it has been perceived by those outside Saami culture (particularly the Scandinavians), and the effects of these meetings of culture systems on the genre and its practitioners. It is my sense from these initial investigations that this cross-cultural dialectic

³ There are currently Saami delegates in both the World Council for Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) and the International Workgroup for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA); in addition, there were several Saami representatives in attendance at the 1992 Environmental Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

has long proven to be a strong catalyst for joiking among the Saami, even (and perhaps especially) in those areas where the genre has practically become moribund. Moreover, this historical approach illuminates the genre's current recrudescence by emphasizing precedents stretching back at least as far as the earliest records of contact between Saami and non-Saami populations.

I was also concerned that joik, as a cultural expression, has too often been analyzed as a free standing 'product', a musical fact to be dissected and subjected to quantitative analyses in hopes of arriving at normative forms for comparison with other musical products (both Western and non-Western) (cf., Launus 1908; Tirén 1942).⁴ Thus, one of my goals when I began my fieldwork was to use historical resources to resituate some of the early joik collections, in order to better understand both Saami culture and the culture(s) which encouraged the collection of joik examples. It was my thought that examining these systematic exchanges of information might prove relevant to the broader topic of Saami-Scandinavian relations.

On the other hand, the research for this project was motivated by my interest in the contemporary Saami cultural 'revitalization' movement,⁵ a topic primarily examined up to this point for its political implications, specifically in regard to minority-majority relations (Svensson 1976; 1988; Paine 1984; 1985; Paulston 1976). My fieldwork often took me to public arenas where this process was unfolding: from regional and national political meetings where Saami concerns were voiced, to joik concerts presented for both Saami and mixed (i.e., Saami/non-Saami) audiences. I also had extensive contact with individuals who were caught

⁴ There are notable exceptions to this, most recently demonstrated in the works of Graff (1985), Edström (1978), and Kjellström *et al* (1988).

⁵ My understanding of 'revitalization' derives generally from Wallace (1956), particularly his emphasis on the role of specific actors within a culture in consciously initiating what is perceived of as positive culture change. There is also often an aspect of 'revival' involved in this process (i.e., the reintroduction of cultural institutions and expressions) which I find helpful. Unfortunately 'revival' too often has implications of non-traditors essentially creating a romanticized ideal of a tradition, far removed from its original 'folk' context (c.f., Bohlman 1988; Jackson 1985; Ronström 1983).

up in these issues, in some cases as conscious, active participants, while others were brought into the fray quite involuntarily.⁶ Within these varied contexts, I found the joik was most often evident, whether in performance or discussion, as a musical affirmation of Saami pride and/or resistance, rather than fulfilling its more traditional role as an expression of community identity (cf., Gaski 1992; Jernsletten 1978).

This led me to the hypothesis that the significant audible changes in the modern joik, and the accompanying shift in context to include staged or mediated performances, suggest more than simple musical experimentation, but actually denote a shift in the ideology underlying the genre and its practice.⁷ This new function, however, builds on the significance that joik, as a means of constructing and maintaining collective identity, has always enjoyed within Saami culture, rather than marking a complete departure from past practices (Valkeapää 1969: 2). Consequently I have endeavored to analyze the modern joik as a musical phenomenon with great cultural depth, but one which is fueled by and reflective of the current Saami struggle for official recognition within Scandinavia. From this perspective, both the sound and act of joiking will be demonstrated to be powerful tools in generating and maintaining Saami ethnicity.

1.2 Ethnic identity/Ethnicity

Before beginning systematically to examine the hypothetical relationship between joik and Saami ethnic identity, I will first present what I feel are manageable parameters for addressing the more general questions of ethnicity and identity. Not only does this allow me

⁶ A prime example of the latter would be those Saami families in Sweden and Norway who became embroiled with their national governments after the contamination of large tracts of reindeer grazing land due to the Chernobyl nuclear accident in April, 1986. With the forced slaughter of thousands of animals and the subsequent arguments over financial responsibility, many reindeer herders were placed in a new adversarial position with the authorities.

⁷ This calls to question if these new contexts for joik performance actually constitute musical change in the way that Blacking uses the term, i.e., changes in the symbols and ideas involved in interaction and in the way they are used (Blacking 1986: 8; see also Blacking 1977). In these terms, I see the modern joik more as an elaboration of an existing set of symbols and ideas. This topic is addressed in depth in the concluding chapter of the present work.

to introduce some fundamental theoretical considerations which initially guided my fieldwork, but it provides the necessary background to address the ethnic minority-majority relationship (i.e., Saami-Scandinavian) which I feel strongly impinges on the manner in which the Saami are perceived both historically and in contemporary interactions. By extension, this same relationship has contributed significantly to the ways in which joik is conveyed and interpreted by both Saami and non-Saami.

Given the amount of attention heaped on ethnic group identity in the last decades, particularly in the aftermath of World War II,⁸ the prospect of finding a single definition for the myriad examples of 'ethnicity' promises to be a daunting task, at the very least. In lengthy summarizing articles, both Isajiw (1979) and Connor (1978) demonstrate just how troublesome the topic of 'ethnicity' has become, as evidenced by the sheer number of definitional approaches (often quite disparate) they each enumerate. Rather than reiterate these various arguments, however, I will instead focus on those issues which I consider to be most pertinent to the matter at hand, i.e., those which help lay a foundation for examining contemporary Saami ethnicity and the joik.

I would like to stress that my overarching concern in this regard is to view ethnicity as a *process*, rather than as a static category circumscribing a population for the purposes of analysis and/or control. It was Fredrik Barth who first suggested that any theorizing about ethnic groups should commence with the interactions between populations which encourage the formation of separate identity collectives, in this case ethnically aligned. This perspective encouraged researchers to focus on the symbolically constructed 'boundaries' which ethnic groups perform as a means of distinguishing themselves (Barth 1969: 14-

⁸ A number of writers have commented on the relationship between the experiences of World War II and the subsequent rise of pro-ethnic movements in Europe. One focus of these studies has been the negative implications of this process, when it is dominated by a sense of ethnically derived superiority and/or an historical imperative, such as existed in Nazi Germany. A second perspective on the post-war era has examined the presumed relationship between the increasing complexity of state bureaucracies and the appearance of multiple special interest groups, including those aligned ethnically. One of the best summaries of this latter situation is found in Allardt 1979.

15). These boundaries are entirely symbolic--they are not conceived of as necessarily coinciding with territorial or physical boundaries. They are instead socio-cultural boundaries marked by readily discernible group symbols such as language, dress, and other expressions (ibid.: 14).

Fundamental to Barth's model is the discretionary nature of boundary construction and maintenance. Membership within an ethnic group is understood to be determined subjectively, rather than through objectively observed criteria. Moreover, the parameters of inclusion develop as the result of a continual negotiation process, both within and between groups. Thus, the contributions that one group makes to another group's boundary construction should also be considered an essential element in the process of ethnicity. The nature of these contributions is largely dependent on the relationship between populations, ranging from 'borrowed' cultural expressions to the imposition of stereotypes, which typically serve to exclude through negative symbols (Royce 1982: 158).⁹

Once established, these boundaries are not perceived as immutable, locking individuals into static roles, but rather allow for bi-directional movement, encouraging exchange among populations.¹⁰ In effect, the boundaries serve to confirm the group for its members vis-à-vis their contact with others, while simultaneously alerting these 'others' of the existence of the group. This is important not only because it further emphasizes the ongoing negotiation process underlying a sense of collective identity, but also because it accounts for change within the group. Ethnicity in Barth's terms is ultimately dynamic: the 'stuff' enclosed in the boundaries may permute significantly, but as long as the boundaries remain important (i.e.,

⁹ In an article on North American gypsy communities, Silverman has argued that the negotiation of ethnic identity often requires adhering to 'outside' stereotypes. From her informants' perspective, such actions actually ensure that more significant 'inside' symbols of identity are protected from dilution through unnecessary exposure to outside influence (Silverman 1988: 265).

¹⁰ This aspect of Barth's model is particularly emphasized by those who view ethnicity as one of a series of strategic identities with which individuals negotiate a place for themselves in complex plural societies (Lyman and Douglas 1973: 349-354; see also Moerman 1965).

'intact'), an ethnic group's existence is secure across the dimension of time (Barth 1969: 10-11).¹¹

By extension, the symbols which comprise the ethnic boundaries are equally susceptible to change, since they develop in response to the current requirements of the group, rather than being locked in place by some force beyond the control of those who are most affected. It is not improbable, however, that the same group-defining symbols would retain their cogency for generations, particularly those which in some way are connotative of a lengthy existence as a group (a collective past). By shifting the focus of investigation to the interactions which give rise to these symbol systems, however, changes in or the replacement of important symbols need not necessarily be perceived as disruptive to the ethnic group in question.¹²

This aspect of the Barthian model has had a profound influence on my own analysis, given the pervasive changes within Saami culture since the 1890s and the persistence of a relatively well-bounded Saami identity in spite of these changes. The 'traditional' markers of Saami ethnicity--for example, language, subsistence, religion, and joik--have in some cases declined severely, but Saami culture is if anything more vital in the 1990s than it was a century ago in terms of its visibility within Scandinavia (Sámi Instituhtta 1990).¹³ I have considered it one of my primary tasks, then, to examine these changes in order to elucidate the impact of various vectors of influence from inside and outside Saami culture, both

¹¹ The 'importance' of these boundaries can be equated with the self-awareness of a group. The lack of self-awareness (or loss of it) leads to the disappearance of distinguishing symbols and the boundaries they comprise (Edwards 1985: 9).

¹² This situation is exacerbated when an ethnic group is subjected to prolonged acculturation or assimilation. In response to this threat of incorporation, old symbols may be reconfirmed, or new symbols arise--whatever is necessary to ensure group continuity (Banton 1981: 36; see also Edwards 1985).

¹³ Perhaps the best evidence to support this claim is the recent establishment of separate 'Saami parliaments' (advisory bodies regarding Saami concerns) in Norway, Sweden, and Finland, at the behest of the Saami populations in these countries--no other ethnic/minority populations in Scandinavia enjoy this right.

through the actions of individuals and more pervasive (if less 'visible') forces like national governments, ethnic voluntary organizations, and the media.

Such an analysis also suggests the need to explore the process by which symbols are developed and maintained. Given my interest in the joik, I approached this task largely through observation and interviews with Saami musicians and their audiences (Saami and non-Saami), trying to establish the parameters of the 'deeper' evaluative criteria that inform the creation and selection of such symbols and contribute to the aesthetics of performance.¹⁴ These internal evaluative structures serve as tangible models of behavior and form (Waterman 1990: 51), not only influencing the means by which the group distinguishes itself, but encouraging intragroup distinctions through self-evaluation (Wagner 1975: 10-16), with some members potentially seen as more 'ethnic' than others (i.e., 'better' or more competent cultural performers in some sense). Such internal stratification was particularly evident when I began to focus on specific individuals within the Saami population whom I felt were in a strategic position to both influence and articulate the direction that joik has taken in recent years. It has been my experience that many contemporary Saami musicians are abundantly aware of their potential role in strengthening Saami ethnic pride by bringing joik out into the open through public performance. As such, they are perceived of as cultural innovators,¹⁵ functioning at the boundary which both separates and defines the Saami. Their artistic decisions in this role, however, are more likely to be guided by communal

¹⁴ In Barth's analytical scheme, these criteria constitute a secondary or 'internal' boundary representing "basic value orientations: the standards of morality and excellence by which performance is judged" (Barth 1969: 14-15; see also Royce 1982 for a more exhaustive discussion of 'internal' and 'external' boundaries).

¹⁵ I use 'innovation' here as described by Barnett (1953: 7-10). Rather than replacing or overlaying an existent cultural form or expression with something entirely without precedent, innovation relies on reorganization or recombination of existing forms and symbols. This phenomenon suggests not only a thorough understanding of these existing forms and symbols, but also allows for personal input and/or incorporation of ideas from outside the culture, hence the argument that innovators function at the cultural 'boundaries' (see also Blacking 1986 for a discussion of innovation in musical systems).

aesthetics, than by personal interests. In this manner, the ethnic group effectively limits innovation.¹⁶

In spite of the impact of the work of Barth and his adherents, there is a good deal to be considered as well from other approaches to ethnicity, many of which continue to differentiate ethnic populations based on one or several objective traits. Although such approaches have been criticized as externally imposed constructs (cf., Honko 1986; Barth 1969), there are some important points which can be gleaned from them in more current theoretical formulations. Among these are recurring questions of the significance of a common group origin, as well as language and various cultural expressions, as indicators of group cohesiveness. Since I have found these issues to be of great concern among the Saami, I feel that a closer examination is dictated here.

The presumption of a shared historical or ancestral background has attracted considerable interest as a criterion for defining ethnicity, often representing the primary paradigm chosen for this type of analysis (cf., Parsons 1975). In its more strict manifestations, this approach to investigating ethnic identity presumes the existence of an unassailable and enduring bond, based on demonstrable group continuity. Furthermore, this collective link with the past gains strength by subsuming intragroup differences, thus making it possible to account for observable discrepancies among other critical objective traits (e.g., language, physical appearance). Unfortunately the parochialism of this method often leads to difficulties, given the fictitious 'reality' of many 'primordial' relationships.¹⁷

¹⁶ Turino refers to such enabling limitations as "internal dispositions," which become most readily operant when they are reproduced in performance (Turino 1989: 2). In such contexts, musical performance serves a dual purpose: it provides observable evidence of the group's unique existence within the larger social sphere, and offers a concrete realization of group coherence.

¹⁷ Clifford provides an excellent analysis of this problem in his article documenting the struggle among the Wampanoag Indians of Massachusetts for legal identification as a tribe. In this instance, the court was heavily dissuaded from granting the desired status because the group could not demonstrate sufficient historical continuity (Clifford 1988).

Rather than abandoning this particular criterion, however, a number of more recent ethnic studies have followed the lead of Hobsbawm and Ranger, who posit that these fictive accounts (dubbed "invented traditions") actually represent an important site for analysis (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983: 1-3). While the shared origin of a specific group may indeed be without much factual basis, the important concern becomes its cogency for the members of the group for whom it may very well provide a cognitive basis for unity. As tools for constructing or maintaining identity, these cultural inventions are strengthened through internal consistency and repetition, not through support found in historical accounts. Continuity is retained at the expense of objectivity, any discontinuities being effectively glossed over by the imposition of a cohesive mythological narrative.

It is this sense of connectedness which most often constitutes the nexus around which the various webs constructing ethnic identity are spun.¹⁸ Freeing one's analysis from merely authenticating the core of this structure encourages a more holistic perspective incorporating the views of those entangled in its different levels of interpretation. By shifting the burden of 'proof' onto the group itself (i.e., by acknowledging the importance of the invented tradition for group members), such a collective past can be analyzed more for its symbolic function than for its veracity, thus placing it among the repertoire of organizing symbols which are both productive and supportive of ethnicity.

If one acknowledges the potential in using group-derived interpretations of a common past or ancestor in developing a more thorough understanding of ethnicity, is it possible (or desirable) to similarly accommodate other traits in this formulation? The social science literature is rife with studies, for example, which have focused on such criteria as shared language or religion as indicators of group coherence (cf., Reminick 1983; Royce 1982). Unfortunately, both of these traits lose some of their analytical potential when one tries to

¹⁸ Anderson has suggested that nation building is dependent to a great degree on the strength of perceived relationships among group members which are in fact most often fictitious. He terms the resulting construct an "imagined community," a concept I find most helpful in analyzing contemporary Saami ethnicity (Anderson 1983: 14-16).

account for linguistic and religious practices which routinely cross ethnic lines of delineation (Keyes 1981:7). Nevertheless, language, religion, physiognomy, and other observable traits have often proven to be significant factors in the manner in which ethnic groups define themselves, and as such demand further exploration for their potential as symbolic elements of group identity.

On the other hand, the fact that a particular trait is no longer visible or in use by a group, should not be construed to mean that this criterion has lost its validity for a particular population. The significance of language for an ethnic group, for example, is not dependent on its everyday use; in fact, it may have greater symbolic potential if it is not actively spoken by a majority of the group.¹⁹ Edwards contends that any language, as a system of symbols, has two essential functions: communicative and symbolic. If the communicative (everyday use) function diminishes, particularly as the result of constraints introduced by assimilation or acculturation processes, a language may become more symbolic, encompassing a broad range of interpretations, including resistance in the form of ethnic solidarity (Edwards 1985: 17).²⁰ In this respect, even the utterance of a few words may have enormous significance to the appropriate audience.

I would argue, however, that this transformation process, from communicative to symbolic use (and vice versa) be viewed as a continuum along which both functions can occur simultaneously, rather than as a strict bifurcation into categories of exclusive functions.²¹

¹⁹ In support of this, Edwards writes of the Irish Gaelic language which currently is actively spoken by less than 3% of the Irish Republic population, and yet routinely receives financial support for its continuance as a symbol of 'Irishness' (Edwards 1983: 47-48).

²⁰ I found this very much to be the case among the Saami in Scandinavia, who have until quite recently been systematically discouraged from speaking their language in public fora (Eidheim 1969; 1987). Because of these proscriptions, language continues to be one of the dominant issues in Saami-Scandinavian discourse at the local and national levels, and a very important criterion for self-determined ethnicity (Stoor 1992; Sámi Instituhtta 1990). Allardt has noted similar findings among the nearly fifty language minorities in Western and Northern Europe (Allardt 1979: 13).

²¹ Here I am indebted to Cohen's analysis of symbol *systems* consisting of both symbolic *forms* and symbolic *functions*. In Cohen's terms, any number of forms can contribute to the same function, while the same form (i.e., language) can contribute to different functions as

Furthermore, I would suggest that this paradigm is not limited to language, but is equally well suited to other systems of symbols. As I shall demonstrate in subsequent chapters, one of the primary functions of the joik in its most 'traditional' Saami context has been as a means of expressing individual identity within a delimited interpretive collective. This function continues in some communities, but the modern joik, by virtue of staging and commodification, extends well beyond these original interpretive limits, suggesting a different function for the genre, one which seeks to encompass the entire culture in its promulgation.

I want to explore one last point to elaborate the dynamic potential of ethnic identity, involving as it does mitigating opinions and pressures from both within and outside the group, in its construction and maintenance. Ethnicity has frequently been linked with perceptions of race, based on physiognomy or other physical attributes. In the past such groupings were all too frequently the result of attempts to control populations through stereotyping (cf., Royce 1982), often focusing on features which had little or no meaning for members of the group in question.²² An unfortunate but germane example of this can be found in the fieldwork conducted by the von Dübens among the Saami in the 1860s and 1870s, in which attempts to codify a definition for this diverse ethnic group were supported with all manner of physical measurements and physiological descriptions, in accordance with then-current evolutionist thinking (cf., von Düben 1991). That such data in no way corresponded to the means by which the Saami distinguished among themselves had little bearing on the von Düben's findings nor on subsequent official documentation of the Saami population in general.

needed, thus adding to the potency of the particular symbolic form for its interpretants (Cohen 1969: 218).

²² Such stereotyping can occasionally lead to the formation of identity groups entirely based on criteria derived from an outside perspective, ultimately confounding those who find themselves conjoined by virtue of their physical appearance or other objective traits--this constitutes, in effect, a forced identity (Dirks 1975: 95-97).

I introduce this material, however, largely to draw attention to the potential conflicts which can arise when a dominant group (in this instance represented by European academia, with governmental backing) imposes its own defining criteria on a less powerful group, and how this dilemma in turn affects the construction of ethnicity. In this case, the perception persists within Scandinavia that all 'real' Saami fit an ideal physical model, even though ample evidence to the contrary is readily observable. More importantly, this same model affects to some extent the manner in which the Saami see themselves, once again reinforcing the contention that ethnicity is a dynamic process in which the roles of both 'inside' and 'outside' forces must be analyzed to understand the significance of particular symbols or symbol systems.

I do not want to place undue emphasis, however, on the power of individuals or institutions outside an ethnic group to exert influence on the manner in which the members define themselves. Paramount in the theoretical considerations explored here, is the concept of self-ascription; in order for an ethnic group to perdure, there must be collectively held assumptions within the group about what it takes to be a member. Cultural traits are imbued with symbolic quality by the members themselves and do not require validation from outside the group.²³ Thus, as I have endeavored to demonstrate, such traits as ancestral origins, cultural expressions, rituals, and practices, or even physical appearance may indeed be important criteria for ethnic identity, the caveat being that any such selection process requires acceptance from within--they are in fact often subjective traits, which are in turn elevated symbolically because of their perceived significance in representing the members of an ethnic group to themselves as well as to others.

Yet this selection process also implies the active participation of individuals or small groups within the ethnic group who strongly influence the direction of intragroup discourse. This task often falls to the so-called 'ethnic elite', leaders whose life experience includes

²³ Note that this in no way negates the influence that those outside the group continually bring to bear in this process.

extensive knowledge of both inside and outside perspectives and an interest in clearly articulating and maintaining the boundary between these (cf., Fox, Aull, and Cimino 1981). As discussed briefly above, I intentionally focused much of my research on individuals whom I felt were in this position by virtue of their status as Saami musicians. Several of these artists are recognized not only within their respective regions of Saamiland, but have come to represent important voices heard within the larger field of Saami-Scandinavian relations. As such, their careers--the subject of the last two chapters of this work--represent an important means of discussing the affect that individuals can have on the selection of symbols which encompass the entire group.

Whether derived in response to outside or inside forces, however, all of these symbols serve as signposts, clearly demarcating a specific group's existence in relation to other groups with their own symbolic markers. According to Spicer, such constructs represent the most unifying factor in the self-definition of ethnic groups:

A relationship between human individuals and selected cultural elements--the symbols--is the essential feature of a collective identity system; individuals believe in and feel the importance of what the symbols stand for. The display and manipulation of the symbols calls forth sentiments and stimulates the affirmation of beliefs on the part of the individuals who participate in the collective identity system.

Spicer 1971: 796

1.3 Ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples

The current literature on ethnicity suggests that one of the stumbling blocks for theoretical considerations of this cultural process is the notion that an ethnic group, as an identifiable entity, represents a predictable collective in terms of its scope and interests. Even if an ethnic group proves difficult to define specifically, it is nevertheless presumed that there are enough common features among these groups that one can speak with some authority of 'ethnic' as opposed to other identity groups.

But such theorizing provides too limited a paradigm for analyzing ethnicity at a time when researchers are increasingly distinguishing among different 'types' of ethnic groups (Petersen, Novak, and Gleason 1982: 20-26). One reason for this development has been a shift in analytical focus to include modern plural societies, large state polities within which various identity groups coexist and to a greater or lesser degree share in the control and benefits of state institutions (Maybury-Lewis 1984). Depending on the relationship which these same groups evolve with the enveloping state mechanism, they are often more specifically defined as 'minorities'.²⁴

In many contemporary examples, ethnicity is presented as a predictable response within a political system when it fails to properly address specific issues deemed important by a given minority constituency who conjoin along ethnic lines (Guidieri and Pellizzi 1988). According to this perspective, the failure of the 'melting pot' is really a reflection of the inability of liberal ideology to downplay differences among the populations comprising a plural society. Perceived inequalities fuel allegiances to these same differences, defeating the overall attempt to produce and control a homogenous populace (Fox, Aull, and Cimino 1981). The resulting relationships between both minority and majority groups and among minorities themselves, constitute the most important differentiating features for various ethnic group types within a plural society, with some demanding parity within the system while others seek complete autonomy.

In an effort to differentiate among ethnic group types, Gold and Paine have proposed the concept of "mother country" as a broad and inclusive metaphor expressing a powerful conception of a geographical location (historical or current) which becomes the focus of group identity (Gold and Paine 1984: 2). Within this analytical frame, several ethnic groups may

²⁴ This concept of minority does not necessarily imply a smaller population base within a larger majority population. Rather it is focused on differential access to and distribution of resources, with the majority (which may actually be a *numerical* minority) occupying the positions of power (Gold and Paine 1984). This relationship between a minority and the majority is inherently asymmetrical.

coexist within the same nation-state, each with its own unique conception of 'mother country' acting as a significant group motivator (ibid.: 4-7).

One form that ethnicity takes in this schema is the so-called immigrant minority group, in which self-determination is typically a low or non-existent priority. Even in this instance, perceived group connections most often proceed from commonly held images of the 'mother country'.²⁵ As an organizing ideology, however, this concept takes on an added dimension of complexity when applied to indigenous populations, or "aboriginal minorities" (ibid.: 6). Whereas an immigrant minority group retains a sense of connectedness with a location outside the geographical boundaries of the new homeland, often developing and maintaining trans-national relationships with other ethnically similar populations, an indigenous minority population within a plural society has typically been displaced from its 'mother country', or severely restricted in its access, by the majority (Weaver 1984: 182-84). For these individuals the 'mother country' no longer exists in an idealized form, for it is occupied by others who have wrested it from the proper 'owners', usually in the course of expansion through colonization.

This status in turn often gives rise to protracted arguments based on ancestral control and use of the land in question, with the colonizing parties viewed in violation of "natural law" (Gold and Paine 1984: 7). Unlike the situation facing immigrant groups, an autochthonous population must reckon with the entire state, rather than competing with other minority groups for resource allocation from the majority--they represent a 'displaced' host culture for what may conceivably be a variety of other cultures. It is the perception of this role that most often spurs indigenous peoples to make demands for rights and considerations above and beyond those of other minority groups, including the right to self-determination and the return of 'mother country' lands (Paine 1984: 212-215).

²⁵ The resulting sense of cultural continuity which this symbol provides often obtains after other 'ethnic' criteria--language, religion, food ways--fade away, crossing generations and securing a future existence for the group.

According to Weaver, the analysis of indigenous minorities first requires recognizing a basic bifurcation of ethnicity into public and private spheres of cultural performance and enactment.²⁶ The public sphere is dominated by symbols, which may or may not actually be of importance to the group itself, even though they serve to define the group vis-à-vis other minorities and/or the majority population. These symbols are most often a reflection of "the resources and rules that the nation-state assigns to the minorities," (Weaver 1984: 184) and thus are dominated by images which reinforce the outside perspective of this relationship.²⁷ Yet this public arena is also responsive to demands put upon it by the minority, particularly through the aegis of individuals within the ethnic group who are adept at functioning at 'the boundary'. Here again, the crucial players are the ethnic elite, or those who are invaluable in their understanding of how to best challenge dominant institutions by manipulating existing symbolic forms or creating new ones as required.

Public ethnicity, whether dominated by symbols constructed internally or those imposed externally, nevertheless is concerned primarily with projecting future images of the minority group and its relations with other groups. In a situation wherein an indigenous population seeks autonomy, its own public symbolic emphasis may be placed on images which clearly differentiate the group; if the majority population is intent on retaining control or stressing more egalitarian ideologies, however, public symbols are generated which downplay these differences, demonstrating unity in spite of diversity.

Private ethnicity, on the other hand, has as its focus the present, the state of *being* ethnic and the self-awareness that this implies. Although public ethnicity is not dependent on private ethnicity, the latter serves to unify through its emphasis on behavior within the

²⁶ On the surface, Weaver's model compares favorably with Barth's concept of two boundaries which 1) distinguish the group as a whole (external), and 2) further enclose the evaluating criteria for performance within the group (internal). Her analysis of public ethnicity, however, more clearly addresses the asymmetrical character inherent to majority-minority relationships (Weaver 1984: 184-85).

²⁷ In extreme cases, these symbols can contribute to divisions within a group, creating in effect a minority within a minority, the former constituting the officially supported (i.e., externally determined) identity (Paine 1984: 217).

group. Without this private enactment, ethnicity essentially becomes a category or means of inclusion and/or exclusion imposed from outside, with some who potentially fall within or outside the defining parameters against their will.

I find these points particularly persuasive in light of events in Scandinavia over the last two decades. The Saami are the region's indigenous minority and have recently begun to seek official recognition as such.²⁸ Most pervasive among the symbols of Saami ethnicity in the public sphere is that of the reindeer herder, one which the various Scandinavian governments have done much to support and promulgate, often to the detriment of Saami communities and individuals not involved in herding.

The struggle for indigenous status in Scandinavia, however, involves considerably more than simply challenging the appropriateness of this symbol. Equally important is the role that native concepts of land (or images of 'mother country') are playing in this ongoing process. In fact the current situation demonstrates that "natural law" may well have a place in the courts, as the judicial systems seek to grapple with an increase in conflicting claims to land and water usage. These two related issues impact all Scandinavian citizens, regardless of ethnic background, and the media have done much to draw this confrontation into the public sphere, where both indigenous and majority representatives engage in discourse filled with symbolic images of 'the land'.

In conjunction with these developments, a whole array of publicly displayed symbols has arisen to call attention to both the diversity, and perhaps most importantly, the viability of Saami culture in contemporary Scandinavia. Largely drawn from the private sphere of ethnicity, these include language, handicrafts, and joik, all of which were considered moribund at best, scarcely half a century ago. As they have been brought into the public

²⁸ Both Norway and Finland have ratified the United Nations' International Labor Organization Bill 169 (ILO 169), which defines and guarantees the rights of indigenous/aboriginal peoples around the world. Sweden recently rejected this again, choosing instead to define the Saami as a "special minority group" (cf., *Samefolket*, December 1992).

arena, usually as the result of the work of notable Saami individuals, these three elements of Saami culture have not only become more visible in a literal and symbolic sense, but have sparked a cultural revitalization that lends strength to the whole ethnic mobilization that is taking place.

Yet this activity has not occurred without controversy, particularly in regard to the joik, which was long suppressed in response to religious concepts introduced by Scandinavian missionaries--another example of the power of majority institutions. That the joik (and those who practice it) has not only survived this negative pressure, but has emerged in public performance, is itself evidence of the cogency of this genre for the Saami population. It is my contention that this development would never have occurred had it not been for several individuals who adopted a confrontational stance in support of joik, effectively paralleling similar streams of concern and action within Saami culture. This series of related events represents the locus around which the present work is structured. My concerns are not only to give an accounting of the so-called 'modern joik', but to contextualize its emergence, situating the musicians and their audiences within the broader issue of the ongoing proactive negotiation of ethnicity.

1.4 Symbols

The emphasis placed on symbols in the preceding discussion requires some elaboration at this point, particularly since I am suggesting throughout this work that the joik primarily fulfills a symbolic function within Saami culture. Symbols abound in both public and private spheres, from everyday traffic signs to objects, ideas, or activities, all imbued with meaning by those who interpret them. The relationship between any symbol and its referent is, however, understood to be arbitrary (cf., Leach 1976), its meaning not necessarily linked to some discernible resemblance or comparative quality with that which it stands for, deriving instead from an agreement among the symbol, that to which it refers (referent), and the interpretant (cf., Daniel 1984). Assuming that this arbitrary relationship extends beyond the

individual level of interaction and interpretation, suggests the existence of an interpretive community with sufficient knowledge and experience as a group to decipher what a symbol represents (or even to be aware of its existence as a symbol). But this also introduces the possibility that not all members of a given community will interpret a symbol in the same way nor to the same degree--esoteric knowledge, limited to specialists within the community, may be implied in some instances. Finally, the flexibility of symbolic interpretation provides the means for a single symbol to develop multiple functions which are played out among a variety of interpretive fields (cf., Cohen 1969).

The relationship between symbol and meaning is not only arbitrary from its inception, but remains so as long as the symbol is interpretable at some level of interaction. Even symbolic forms which have apparently lost their cogency can be effectively revived either to perform similar or new functions within the same group context (Cohen 1969: 219; see also Edwards 1985: 47-48). Moreover, there obviously exists the possibility for importation of symbols by one culture/group from another, either to bolster an already existent function or implement new ones. As an example of this last phenomenon, certain performances of rock'n'roll-based joik capitalize on the widely interpreted function of this popular genre to express dissatisfaction, rebellion, and even rage. But against whom this emotion is directed, is to a large degree dependent on one's interpretive position.²⁹

The fluidity of this arbitrary relationship between symbol and meaning introduces an important question, when attempting to analyze the symbols which best fulfill the function of building and sustaining socio-cultural boundaries. One methodological approach to this task would be to isolate those symbols which engage a specific population in an apparently uniform interpretation (e.g., a flag or some other cultural emblem³⁰). But does this yield a complete perspective of a group and its representative symbols?

²⁹ For a particularly insightful example of this type of situational interpretation of a popular recording, see Meintjes 1990.

³⁰ I use 'emblem' in the sense that Ortner has discussed the term: a symbol which may invoke reactions of reverence or catalyze a profound emotional response in the interpretant,

According to Cohen, some of the most powerful symbols are those which develop and encourage multiple interpretations: "the more meanings a symbol signifies, the more ambitious and flexible it becomes, the more intense the feelings that it invokes, the greater its potency, and the more functions it achieves" (Cohen 1974: 32). If we accept Cohen's premise, the symbols most likely to function organizationally for a group are not just those which invoke a unitary interpretation, but also those which engage individuals in a variety of responses.

Ortner has essentially adopted this same approach by differentiating between "summarizing" and "elaborating" functions, in her description of "key symbols", i.e., those symbols which most likely serve to delineate groups from one another (Ortner 1973: 1338). Since my own analysis has focused to a great degree on the potential of contrasting (and occasionally strikingly oppositional) interpretations of the same symbol or system of symbols, however, what I find most intriguing about Ortner's approach is the idea that a given 'key' symbol can fulfill both of these functions, by its ability to simultaneously engage different 'levels' of its meaning (ibid.: 1344), once again bolstering the concept of an arbitrary relationship between the symbol, its referent, and the interpretant.

As an example of this, one of the most crucial considerations for differentiating among various interpretations of joiking, in my experience, has been the context of its performance, a situation which takes on a different magnitude of complexity when the performance is staged and/or mediated.³¹ Under such circumstances, I would argue that a given joik performance is capable of functioning as both a summarizing and an elaborating symbol, the

leading to a "crystallization of commitment" to the ideal elaborated by the symbol (Ortner 1973: 1342). For a discussion of the emblematic potential of music see Nettl 1978.

³¹ As a brief example of this phenomenon, consider the different responses to the same staged joik performance from the following related perspectives: from within a family where joiking is a common occurrence; from the position of someone familiar with joiking, but not from the immediate interpretive community; from an audience that includes both Saami and non-Saami (cf., Gaski 1991).

level of meaning conveyed being dependent on the nature of the interpretive community and one's position either within or in some way distanced from it.³²

1.4.1 Self-referential symbols

There remains a final aspect of symbols and their interpretation which deserves special consideration, particularly given its applicability to an integral feature of the Saami joik. I am concerned here with those symbols which become imbued with such importance by an interpretive community, that they effectively become what they represent, i.e., they are self-referential (Wagner 1986: 6). I would suggest that this is very much in agreement with the traditional conception of joik in Saami communities. Through its descriptive abilities a joik often goes beyond the symbol-referent relationship to actually provide tangible (audible) evidence of the subject's existence. It is not merely a matter of the joik standing symbolically for a person or an animal: to joik someone or something is to give utterance to their being. To those familiar with the person joiking and with the subject, hearing the joik is tantamount to having the subject before them (Jernsletten 1978: 111)--in effect, a transformation occurs whereby the performer and those with sufficient interpretive skills do not differentiate the joik from the subject for the duration of the performance. Moreover, the sharing of this experience serves to confirm the immediate community of which one is part; it is an act of inclusion for those present.

If the joik functions as a self-referential symbol at this most intimate level of interpretation, however, what happens to that function if the same joik is instead performed in a radically different context, i.e., when consciously presented to galvanize a response from a crowd far exceeding the limits of the ideal interpretive community? I would suggest that the very reason that joik is capable of functioning as a symbol for group identity is to be found at least partly in its other function as a self-representing symbol. When hearing joik in this new context, individuals are drawn into the wider frame of group reference which

³² This does not simply imply a Saami/non-Saami bifurcation, but can equally apply to an all Saami audience.

ethnicity implies, but they do so through personal knowledge and/or experience with the genre in a more traditional setting--at all levels of meaning it is an inclusive musical symbol.

1.5 The joik as a symbol of Saami identity

From some of the earliest recorded contacts between Saami and non-Saami individuals, one of the most prevalent cultural features noted has been the unique indigenous vocal genre, the joik.³³ As both Edström (1978) and Lüderwaldt (1976) have suggested, this fascination with Saami music is primarily attributable to the role it played in shamanic activities. These were the most important rituals in Saami culture until their eventual eradication through the efforts of Christian missionaries. Although joik was never limited to this context, the shaman and all of his/her activities became the focus of so much attention on the part of outside observers, that the overwhelming amount of historical information pertaining to joik is limited to this single use in Saami culture. As these practices diminished, under increasing pressure from non-Saami authorities, the mention of joik in other contexts increased, giving us some insight into its overall importance in Saami culture (Edström 1978). Nevertheless, the initial presumed connection between this genre and 'heathen' exercises irreversibly cast joik and those who practiced it in a very negative mold, a situation which continues to exist in some areas of Saamiland today.³⁴

Even with the organized attempts of various authorities to discourage joiking, however, the most common outcome was that the genre simply disappeared from audible detection, only heard when it was considered safe to do so, either when alone (as described above, in the opening paragraph) or within the immediate family (presuming there were no familial objections). By the late 19th century, again as viewed from the outside in historical sources,

³³ The best overview of early printed sources in regards to the joik is Karl-Olof Edström's 1978 monograph on this subject, *Den samiska musikkulturen*, based on his doctoral research. Edström includes citations from materials dating back to the late 13th century, although the most reliable information is from significantly later (e.g. the 17th century).

³⁴ The overwhelming majority of resistance to joik in modern Scandinavia on religious grounds is actually from Saami Christians who align themselves with a particular evangelical sect to be discussed at length in Chapter 4.

the joik was thought a dying expression, a situation lamented by folklorists and lauded by the clergy (*ibid.*).³⁵ The former group responded by increasing their systematic efforts to collect and archive as many joik examples as possible in an effort to save it for future generations (of folklorists, at least); the latter redoubled their invective against the joik and its practice, particularly since they discerned a connection between the consumption of alcohol and public joiking--one more powerful strike against the genre in the minds of the pious Scandinavian society.

Yet the joik did not 'die' anymore than Saami culture did. As the result of research undertaken in the 1940s and 1950s, complete with modern recording equipment, the genre was found remarkably tenacious in both Norway and Sweden (*cf.*, Arnberg, Unsgaard and Ruong 1969). Clearly it was not as widespread as earlier sources would lead one to believe was once the case, but concerted efforts uncovered a surprising number of older people who still joiked with considerable skill.³⁶ Joiking was still primarily a very private affair, however. Centuries of negative reactions, both from outside and inside sources, had taken their predictable toll, with fewer people joiking overtly, and many actually denying any knowledge of the genre.

Under these circumstances of concentrated and unabated negative pressure, it is arguable that the joik may have eventually succumbed as predicted, particularly given the added threat from official policies in the late 19th century, which sought to divide and assimilate the Saami population, wiping out most vestiges of the culture in the process (*cf.*, Kvist 1992). In addition, changes in the schooling of Saami children, introduced in the early 20th century, brought increased contact with Western musical genres, both through formal

³⁵ See in particular the accounts of collectors/folklorists Armas Launis (1908) and Karl Tirén (1942), whose fieldwork and subsequent publishing activities are taken up in detail in Chapter 5.

³⁶ It should be stressed that the age of respondents to the Swedish Radio 'joik project' in the mid 1950s, is a reflection to some degree of the dominant folkloristic paradigms of the era which stressed the presumed authority of older informants (Arnberg, Unsgaard and Ruong 1969: 85)

music education, and prolonged exposure to the broadcast media. As many of these same young Saami migrated south to urban areas in search of work, they left behind the environment which most often prompted joiking, and the cultural milieu which reinforced its practice and interpretation. Like much of the rest of Saami culture, joik seemed destined for decline as the context for performance diminished, often in favor of styles viewed as less objectionable from the Scandinavian perspective.

A turning point, however, came in the 1960s, a decade in which immigration to Scandinavia increased dramatically, and governmental concerns subsequently turned toward minority populations for the first time (Stoor 1992). Concomitant with this development was the birth of a Saami "ethnic mobilization" which made use of existing Saami organizations to actively campaign for the rescinding of restrictive legislation and to suggest new solutions for what was being referred to as the 'Saami question' (cf., Svensson 1976). Out of what proved to be a protracted struggle between national governments and organizations representing diverse Saami interests, a more unified front began to appear, one which often found rural reindeer herders and urban dwelling Saami joined together to demand what they considered to be basic rights *as Saami*. This development saw the rejection of dominant (and legally binding) stereotypes of Saami culture and the emergence of self-determined criteria for inclusion in this ethnic group which now sought recognition as *the* indigenous people of northern Scandinavia (cf., Brøsted 1987).

With the more public stance which these activities dictated, a new context for joik began to transpire, one which brought the genre firmly into the open through both performances and commercial recordings. No longer relegated entirely to personal, often secretive practice, the Saami joik in the late 1960s and early 1970s underwent a flurry of musical developments, leading some to speak of a "joik renaissance" (cf., Edström 1988). It is this process and its results which form the basis of the current analysis.

Among the most important issues to be considered in this regard, is the apparent shift in the function of the joik, moving from a means of personal identification within a small interpretive collective to a cogent symbol of group identification. This entails more than simply relocating a given joik in a new performance context, for it implies a transformation in the underlying ideology of joik, shifting the locus of meaning from the individual (or at the very most, several individuals possessing intimate knowledge of each other) to a much more inclusive imagined community of interpretants (cf., Anderson 1983), thus stretching the commonly held understanding of how joik functioned (cf., Jernsletten 1978). It is my belief that this 'modern' joik has taken on the role of a summarizing symbol of Saami culture, as evidenced in part by its frequent (and sometimes blatant) public display, and the galvanizing effect that it has on Saami audiences, as expressed by some of its best known practitioners.

1.6 Dissertation organization

In order to properly account for this, however, it is first necessary to situate the joik historically in Saami culture, attempting to elucidate its various functions within that culture, whether or how these functions have changed over time, and what effect several centuries of contact with non-Saami populations has had. Thus, Chapter 2 provides an introduction to Saami culture, exploring the origins of the Saami and their own internally recognized distinctions and conjunctions. This is particularly relevant to any discussion of Saami identity, since official definitions (i.e., those imposed by outside authorities) have most often relied on perceptions of difference based on such criteria as livelihood or social organization. That these same definitions may have been contrary to Saami conceptions of themselves needs to be explored, specifically since their impact is potentially so divisive. Another topic explored is the underlying Saami world view as expressed in shamanic ritual. The activities of the shaman also serve to introduce the joik in its richest historiographic context, setting the scene for the ensuing presentation.

Chapter 3 is a thorough examination of Saami joik, beginning with an introduction to terminology and basic concepts. While the perspective adopted is essentially historical, information is also derived from contemporary sources to demonstrate both cultural continuity and divergence as expressed in joik performance. Of extreme importance in this regard is the sonic organization peculiar to the genre and how this has contributed to its identification across time. This discussion is followed by an explication of the fundamental structure of joik, taking into account melodic and rhythmic elements, as well as the use of words and vocables. The final sections of this chapter are devoted to the functions that joik achieves through performance within a Saami milieu; topics include its perceived descriptive ability, joik as a memory device linking past and present, and the role that joik plays in constructing and maintaining a sense of collective identity within a proscribed community

Chapter 4 continues in this mode of development by looking at the historical relations between Saami and non-Saami populations, emphasizing the segue from trade connections to colonial expansion and the conflict this engendered. In more recent decades the Scandinavian governments have sought to reverse many of the assimilationist policies enacted in the past, but the vestiges of these have proven unusually tenacious for all of the involved parties. This information is fundamental to understanding the group self-awareness which perforce accompanies any formulation of collective identity--the so-called ethnic mobilization of the 1960s had its basis in an early recognition of opposition and conflict over resources. To add support to this argument, the role of missionary activity is examined, particularly as it comes to bear on both Saami language and joik. The latter half of the chapter is devoted to an analysis of the efforts of the Saami to regain some means of control and self-determination from the Scandinavian governments, including early organizational attempts to unite an otherwise disparate people in the beginning of this century. Among the most successful vehicles arising from this cultural crusade was a Saami press which provided a much needed forum for debate and the promulgation of Saami

culture. Following World War II, several national Saami organizations arose, each with its own constituency and agenda. In spite of attempts to ameliorate the situation, this division still plagues the Saami population today, often contributing to distrust between potential agencies of change. A final section looks at the eventual emergence of several Saami institutions devoted to the study and furtherance of Saami culture. By and large, these are staffed and controlled by a Saami majority.

The fifth chapter once again returns to the Saami joik, this time from the perspective of several well-known ethnologists and folklorists in Scandinavia, whose interests and devotions to Saami culture earned them the sobriquet 'lappologists'. The motivation for many of these individuals, including those interested specifically in joik, was the perceived 'demise' of Saami culture, and a tremendous amount of collecting activity ensued as a result. One of the primary concerns in this chapter is how this perception came about, and to what extent the collecting activity instilled a similar sense of impending doom within the informant community, by compounding existing feelings of inferiority. What emerges from examining the collections of joik made during this period, is not so much a portrait of a 'dying' or 'dead' culture, but one which exposes communities rife with collective feelings of shame and guilt over practices (like joiking) which continued despite objections from outside and inside the culture. This material underlines the importance of the Saami organizations as harbingers of newly awakened self-determination, while it also provides a clearer picture of the status of joiking, as viewed from inside and outside, immediately prior to what would later be dubbed the 'joik renaissance'.

The 'modern' Saami joik is introduced in Chapter 6 as a response to the developments detailed in the previous chapters. Topics include the presumed shifts in conception and function that this contemporary approach heralds, and its reception within Saami communities. One important consideration is the role of the popular music industry in providing not only the physical mechanisms for creating and promoting this new joik form

(through control of recording and broadcast technology), but also the musical inspiration in many cases. For convenience of analysis, the modern joik is presented as an evolving process in several segments, from the early mention of joik in a popular song by a Saami rock'n'roll artist in the late 1950s, to the inclusion of joik in a Norwegian hit of the early 1980s. A related concern interwoven throughout in this chapter is the role of the media, specifically those in which there is significant Saami involvement, including record production, radio and television broadcasts, and concert presentations. An important consideration is the perceived market for what are unarguably commercial ventures, and how this has influenced the production of the artists involved.

Chapter 7 presents ethnographic data, largely drawn from interviews with current Saami musicians, all of whom are actively engaged in the creation and conveyance of modern joik. The five individuals each represent a different perspective, which is apparent not only in their dialogue, but their musical output and performance style as well. While recordings often provide the most convenient tangible evidence of such developments, I have interspersed this analysis with observations made during several public performances, ranging from intimate presentations for Saami audiences to large shows for mixed groups. Both points of agreement and divergence among these contemporary Saami artists are thus explicated by demonstrating how each has specifically approached using joik in her/his music created for public venues, and how the success of these different approaches is dependent on widespread conceptions about the function of joik in Saami culture.

The concluding chapter is a reconsideration of the basic premise that the joik has become a resounding symbol of Saami ethnic identity, one which not only suffices to distinguish the Saami in Scandinavia, but which is increasingly being promulgated in a global sphere through Saami involvement in Fourth World organizations and a conscious alignment with other circumpolar cultures. This use of joik draws on the historical function of the genre in Saami culture as a means of communicating identity, but, as I attempt to demonstrate, this

function has expanded to incorporate a much broader interpretive audience, a process which has in turn influenced the creation and maintenance of Saami ethnicity.

In addition to the text contained in this dissertation, I have prepared an audio tape with examples which support many of the points raised in various chapters. References to specific pieces are made within the body of the work at the appropriate time, and are highlighted with boldface type to make them easier to locate (e.g. Audio Example **B:5**, specifying the fifth selection on the 'B' side of the tape).

1.7 Research methods

Although I had initially presumed that I would implement the classic participant-observation strategy, with immersion in a single location (preferably out in the Saami equivalent of 'the bush') and concentration on a relatively small sample population, such was not the case when I finally reached Sweden to begin fieldwork. Funding contingencies demanded my affiliation with a university or similar academic institution, a situation which obviously restricted site choices considerably. In 1990, while on a preliminary trip in Scandinavia, I met with Dr. Roger Kvist, the acting director of the Center for Arctic Cultural Research (CAK) in Umeå, Sweden. Acting on his invitation, and with the blessings of my funding agencies, I subsequently elected to begin my fieldwork in Umeå, the largest town in northern Sweden (90,000 inhabitants) and one boasting a university with significant research facilities. For the eleven months my family and I were in the field, we used Umeå as a home base, with frequent trips in and around the Northern Shield (*Nordkalloten*) in which the majority of the Saami population resides (refer to Figure 1.1 at the end of this introductory chapter).

In hindsight, this location was fortuitous, for the university community provided me with my most invaluable contact, Krister Stoor, an ethnologist and president of the local Saami organization, *Umeå Sameföreningen*. With Krister's enthusiastic support, I was able to travel into communities and make contacts which I would have otherwise missed, either

through ignorance on my part, reticence on the part of others, or both. Along the way, Krister frequently served as a sounding board for my ideas, often helping me adjust my analytical lenses to see things a bit more in the 'Saami way'.

My other main contact person in Umeå was Lasse Andersson, a retired Saami reindeer herder currently employed by the regional government as a reindeer consultant (*rennäringskonsulent*). With his encouragement, I accompanied him on several trips to meet with herding families faced with the still present aftermath of the nuclear accident in Chernobyl (former U.S.S.R.) in April, 1986. Once again, I was privileged to be introduced to a much broader cross-section of the Saami population through the aegis of a friend.

The net result of the location and two Saami friends so intimately involved in different aspects of their culture (albeit in very different functions), was a quick rethinking of the type of research I hoped to accomplish and a concomitant reformulation of my original hypothesis to fit the realities of the field. Whereas I had initially planned to focus on how the 'modern' joik was received in a predominantly Saami community (or one with a significant Saami population), and how this impacted the performance of the more traditional form of joik, my attention shifted to those Saami individuals who for a variety of reasons were actively wrestling with their ethnicity, whether from living in urban areas far removed from their home regions, or forced into heightened oppositional stances by recent circumstances.

My 'area' thus expanded exponentially, stretching to include several different types of communities where Saami people lived, as represented by specific individuals, families, or in some cases by local organizations. Rather than limiting my perspective to a single community and its responses to the current cultural confrontations between Saami and non-Saami populations, I chose to concentrate on key players and fundamental issues in the burgeoning pan-Saami movement. This phenomenon is still unfolding, as Saami in Norway, Sweden, Finland, and even the new Russian Republic (Kola Peninsula) seek to formulate common goals and implement structures which will be effective transnationally.

In order to concentrate within such a broad population (there are approximately 60,000 Saami spread across the four nations), it was obviously necessary to develop some restrictive criteria. The first limit was essentially physical: even with a car to use for most of my stay, I could not hope to reach all corners of Saamiland, let alone conduct interviews and systematically gather data. Nevertheless, I did manage to travel a good deal, with time spent nearly equally among Swedish and Norwegian Saami populations; Finland proved to be less accessible for a variety of reasons, including language--I speak Swedish and Norwegian, but not Finnish.

Our location in Umeå, and my connections with the local Saami organization, eventually led to my recognition of the first of several important dichotomies, viz., urban dwelling vs. rural Saami populations.³⁷ This perspective on contemporary Saami culture was to prove particularly beneficial when analyzing data from the national Saami organizational meetings I attended--one of the most volatile issues split along these very lines, with much dismay expressed over the perceived intellectual hegemony of the 'City Lapps' (*Stadslapper*). Among those I spoke with in this regard, there was also a sense of further segmenting into 'elite' (*elit*) and 'normal' (*vanlig*) individuals, with the former term most often reserved for elected/appointed officials.

Another means of differentiating among the Saami is the split into reindeer herding and non-herding populations, a distinction which is highly codified in both Sweden and Norway by national legislation.³⁸ Even though they are the most visible group in terms of media attention, particularly through tourism and official exotification, the reindeer herders barely constitute ten percent of the total Saami population in these countries. As with the urban/rural dichotomy, this perspective was quite useful, not only when trying to

³⁷ I want to emphasize, that this and other such bifurcating constructs are the product of conversations with Saami individuals and groups: I would argue that the distinctions drawn are as much emic as they are etic.

³⁸ The long-standing internal discrimination between herding and non-herding Saami groups provided the Scandinavian governments a convenient means of officially segregating the Saami population through restrictive legislation that still prevails.

understand the machinations of the various Saami organizations, but in comprehending how current Saami concepts of 'tradition' or a 'traditional' milieu are constructed. For many Saami, the reindeer herders represent human repositories of much that is considered traditional. It is not surprising, then, that my quest for joik often brought me in contact with herding families.

The most typical intragroup divisions, however, are those which pertain primarily to language, grossly separated into North and South Saami speaking populations, spread across Norway, Finland and Sweden. Unlike the herding/non-herding dichotomy, the linguistic distinctions refer to specific geographic areas. These two groups retain a certain degree of cultural autonomy, from dress and joik styles to techniques of raising reindeer. In the past, such differences have often led to internal bickering, but one of the tasks of the emergent pan-Saami movement is to overcome such fractional attitudes in favor of a unified oppositional front vis-à-vis the Scandinavian majority. My various contacts were drawn from both North and South speaking Saami, or rather individuals who identified themselves as North and South Saami.³⁹

As a final, related point, I should also mention that nationalism is not an unknown phenomenon among the Saami, and must be reckoned with in any analysis of group or personal identity which has ethnicity as its focus. Consequently, I was often told that an individual or a particular practice was associated with the 'Swedish side' (*svensidan*) or 'Norwegian side' (*norsidan*) of the border, rather than being identified by one of the other criteria elaborated above. This distinction by nationality is strengthened by the great deal of disparity among the Scandinavian governments in the manner in which they both define and work with their respective Saami populations, a topic detailed in Chapter 4.

³⁹ These distinctions are not always easy to maintain, as in the case when intermarriage among North and South families occurs. In such situations that I became aware of, the children identified with the region where they were raised, typically the father's home area.

Lest these various criteria appear too limiting or artificial, let me add that I became aware of them only as the research unfolded during the first few months, in several instances as a result of being told about them by a Saami informant. Nor did I allow such dichotomies to dictate my contacts in any quantitative sense; I did not feel compelled to interview a like number of Saami from each convenient category. Furthermore, these criteria are in no way exclusive, as my urban-dwelling, North/South Saami friend from a reindeer herding family decidedly evidenced. The fact that this same individual, and virtually all the others I met, pointed out these distinctions to me, however, indicates that they remain significant in formulating and maintaining self definitions of identity within the group. The complexity of this framework of diverse intragroup interests made the prospect of discerning specific *group* symbols that much more intriguing.

1.8 Sources and Resources

This dissertation is primarily the result of materials representative of a variety of sources: formal interviews, informal conversations, observations emerging from numerous public events which I attended (musical, as well as speeches, conferences, and political meetings), the media, and a great deal of historical information derived from books, articles, and unpublished archival records. While I would not claim greater veracity for data provided to me by human sources, I certainly admit that this type of information was considerably more engaging personally in many respects than sorting through the analyses of those who preceded me in the field. Nevertheless, the historical materials proved invaluable in developing an analytical perspective to approach the 'modern' joik phenomenon as one which had significant precedent in Saami culture, belying its apparent sudden appearance as something completely new.

1.8.1 Interviews

As per my original plans, I sought out Saami musicians, arranging face-to-face meetings and interviews wherever possible. All but one of the artists discussed in Chapter 7

responded favorably to my requests, the single exception being Mari Boine Persen, whom I was simply unable to contact due to her hectic touring schedule. Given what I judge to be her remarkable importance in contemporary Saami culture, however, I have included her among the others, relying in this instance on the reactions of fans, other musicians, and the media for input. In all of the cases cited in this work, however, I saw these musicians in concert at least once; for three of the artists represented, I watched them perform on several occasions, for very different types of audiences, from both my own and the artists' perspectives. I have relied quite heavily on the information which these musicians shared with me, particularly in regard to my analysis of the emergence of 'modern' joik, but I feel this is justified given their generally recognized role in this ongoing process.

The interviews which I conducted fall into two basic categories: those which were recorded on tape and transcribed, and those which were documented with written notes only. More often than not, circumstances dictated that a tape recorder not be used--the Saami, like Native Americans in the United States hemisphere, have been subjected to countless studies by well-meaning anthropologists, ethnologists, sociologists, and folklorists, with the net result that many individuals are highly skeptical of strangers with fancy machines, no matter how unobtrusive. On one occasion, at the request of the individual being interviewed, I neither recorded nor took notes, relying instead on memory to reconstruct as much of the conversation as possible, minutes after its conclusion. Another interview which was recorded proved virtually impossible to transcribe given the ambient noise in the restaurant where the event took place, but subsequent informal conversation helped fill in the considerable holes. In these and other situations, my journals and notes have proven invaluable.

I have not necessarily given greater credence to information which I received as a result of formal interviews, however, for some of the most candid and cogent remarks emerged in more casual conversation. In order to avoid the potential of misrepresenting people, I made

every effort to check my recollections with those who initially shared the moment with me. If my role as a fieldworker fit any of the classic images, it was that of the inveterate note-taker with endless questions.

Nearly all of my informants/friends/collaborators appear here under their own names; the places mentioned similarly correspond to fact. On two occasions, however, I was specifically asked not to name my sources, requests with which I have obviously complied; as the information which I received from them is cited on only one occasion for each in this particular work, I elected not to assign these individuals with false identities, listing them simply as 'anonymous'. A third such citation in Chapter 7 came about through oversight on my part: I neglected to write down the name of the individual with whom I was speaking. I chose to include her remarks merely to lend support to what others (who are named) were discussing at the time.

Gender was also an issue which constantly demanded attention, particularly when it came to locating and interviewing active Saami musicians. A glance at the five individuals on whom I concentrate in Chapter 7, may suggest that I was remiss in finding a proper sample in this regard, since four of them are male.⁴⁰ This unfortunate development is easily attributable to one undeniable factor: as a male musician, relying in many situations on the combination of these qualities to make and maintain contact with Saami musicians, I found it quite easy to engage other males in lengthy discussions, less so with females. Thus, one might feel justified in questioning the weight I have given to the testimony of these particular individuals. And yet I would argue that since the overwhelming preponderance of Saami musicians who focus their interests on joik (my ultimate criterion for inclusion in this project) *are* male, this imbalance is representative of fact. Until very recently, women have

⁴⁰ In my defense, however, I would like to add that among the other Saami (and non-Saami) who provided me with information for this project, the gender representation was about equal, with more women than men in the post-40 age group responding positively to my queries.

not joiked as much in the public contexts where (as I have argued here) ethnicity is a fundamental concern.

Far from deflating my thesis that such public performances are constructive of a collective identity for *all* Saami who participate in them (joikers and listeners), however, I feel that this gender disparity is far more reflective of the changes within Saami culture which these same performances are trying to combat or reverse. Gender issues are addressed in contemporary Saami culture, particularly in literature, but to my knowledge they have as yet not constituted a discrete topic which joik stands to either ameliorate or exacerbate. Perhaps this genre will become an affective means of confronting these internal divisions as well; for the time being, however, I have operated under the assumption that the inclusive potential which joiking demonstrates within Saami communities suggests the construction of a positive collective identity (irrespective of gender), rather than the reaffirming of negative stereotypes at any level of interpretation. As it currently stands, the Saami individual who wields the most influence in the broadest array of interpretive fields is female, Mari Boine Persen. Yet Persen's musical persona and her success derive considerably less from her status as a woman, than they do from the powerful and empowering images she projects as a Saami.

1.8.2 The media

Since the 'modern' joik has been essentially a commercial phenomenon from its inception, I felt it equally important to explore the means by which this genre has been brought to market, and how that market is construed by the various participants in the production and dissemination of this form of popular music. I began by surveying the one predictable broadcast source, a daily (twenty minute) radio show devoted to Saami news and music, heard on Swedish national radio. I recorded and logged the musical selections for three one-month periods, in an attempt to ascertain patterns which demonstrated criteria for inclusion

on the program.⁴¹ Such an unscientific method could obviously not adequately account for the personal taste of the three DJs who consistently alternated on the program, but my aim was to simply survey the breadth of material being offered under the publicly declared rubric of "Saami music". The exercise proved helpful on several accounts: first, I quickly developed a feel for the sheer number of recordings made by Saami musicians. The great majority of these did not feature joik in any form, but they afforded a quasi baseline for developing a deeper understanding of the Saami soundscape which is reflected in my analyses. Second, it often provided a topic of discussion with Saami friends and informants; this was especially interesting when talking with a musician whose music is rarely featured on the program. Finally, on at least one occasion a recording heard on the radio led me to eventually contact and interview an individual whom I would have otherwise missed entirely. When I finally met some of the radio personnel, it came as no surprise that the ultimate criterion for program inclusion was simply personal discretion and a good deal of whimsy.

In conjunction with radio broadcasts, I was also interested in those concerned with record production. Of the four labels which have routinely featured Saami artists in Norway and Sweden in the past, two are out of business (or at least out of the business of producing records); the other two were quite accessible. Perhaps the most important interview in this regard, however, was with Erik Prost, the Saami music consultant (*Samisk musikkonsulent*) to the Norwegian Culture Board (*Norsk Kulturråd*). Not only does he have significant influence over how state moneys are distributed, but he was himself a producer of recordings by various Saami artists and groups in the 1970s and 1980s. His experiences and insights in these regards were most helpful, particularly in comprehending how important a factor Saami involvement in production really is, both to the potential consumer and the financial provider.

⁴¹ Even though I arbitrarily limited the amount of recording, I routinely listened to the show as often as possible, not infrequently in the company of Saami friends whose comments were always appreciated.

1.8.3 Other resources

Not all of the data pertinent to this project reflect the 'ethnographic present', however. It has been my contention all along that the modern joik as a musical phenomenon is reflective of changes in how the Saami view themselves in contemporary Scandinavia. Nevertheless, a thorough analysis of this process demands substantial historical grounding, not only to attempt to explain the degree or rate of change, but more importantly, why the joik is so well suited for this symbolic use. I do not view the current national Saami mobilizations or emergent pan-Saami movement as discontinuous events, but see them rather as phenomena which have important precedents in the past. On the other hand, it is not my intention to simply write another history of the Saami; thus I have endeavored to include material from those sources which primarily serve to reinforce and explicate the ethnographic data.

In this regard I have been selective also in terms of which types of documents to use and whose side in the frequently polemical issues to present. I deemed it necessary, therefore, to limit the historical discussion primarily to Swedish-Saami relations for several reasons. Until the early 20th century, Sweden was the dominant political force in the region, its sphere of control often extending far beyond current geographical boundaries; before 1809, for example, Sweden's policy toward the Saami population strongly impacted Finnish policy toward its Saami, since Finland was not a separate nation but attached to Sweden. Norway was also formally aligned with the Swedish crown until 1905. Consequently, most of the materials available regarding early Saami-Scandinavian relations are primarily written with a Swedish slant.

On a more practical note, I lived in Sweden for the duration of my fieldwork, and as such had much greater access to documents and books from that country than from Norway--my inability to speak or read Finnish once again proved an obvious limitation. Nevertheless, where I have found it important to draw comparisons with Saami situations in Norway or

Finland, I have included them, particularly in the post World War II era when the real disparities among the various governments' Saami policies became so apparent.

The same holds true for archival material pertaining to joik. Of the collections to be found in Scandinavia, both printed and recorded, a substantial amount are in Swedish institutions. One of the sources used in this project, for example, was Karl Tirén's extensive joik opus, published in Sweden in 1942. While the resulting book, *Die lappische Volksmusik*, is even available in some American libraries, most of Tirén's field materials were deposited in several Swedish regional archives. I also relied on the services of the Tromsø (Norway) Museum archive, although my interest there was largely in written materials, including many articles gleaned from newspapers and other popular media sources.

1.9 Language

Finally, a few words on the role languages played in my research and the organization of this work. The overwhelming majority of Saami people speak one of the Scandinavian languages, in most cases as their primary mode of expression. The Saami language as a whole has steadily regained a foothold in Saami communities, but in general it remains incumbent upon these same populations to speak Swedish, Norwegian, or Finnish as well. Consequently, I was able to function quite well in the field with my Swedish, a development that I am somewhat loathe to admit. I had great intentions to study Saami at Umeå University, but I very quickly found myself relying increasingly on my ability to converse in Swedish once fieldwork began in earnest--expediency won the battle, but not, I trust, the war. Because of this development, I am indebted to my Saami friends for their patience and help with text translations. What Saami I was able to pick up whetted my intellectual and emotional appetite to the extent that I certainly hope to learn more before my return trip to Saamiland--it is a courtesy which I owe to those who so graciously shared their culture and their experiences with me.

Throughout the dissertation I have included quotes from a variety of sources, not only to frame or reinforce a particular position, but often to give the individuals I interviewed a chance to be heard as well. This work would not have been possible without their participation, and this is one small way of repaying their efforts on my behalf. I have, however, elected to reproduce these various citations in the language in which I received them, with my translations immediately following. While I realize that this may prove irksome to those who do not read the language in question, I feel strongly that translation is a form of analysis and should be subject to the same degree of scrutiny as the other analytical processes that are engaged in the construction of a work of this scope. This is particularly true when the data being considered are essentially conversational (as many of mine are) and contain personal opinions and/or emotional responses which can be very difficult to transcribe, let alone translate. Therefore, I have included the original quotations in the main body of the text, in part as an invitation to those who can read them to participate in this level of criticism as well.

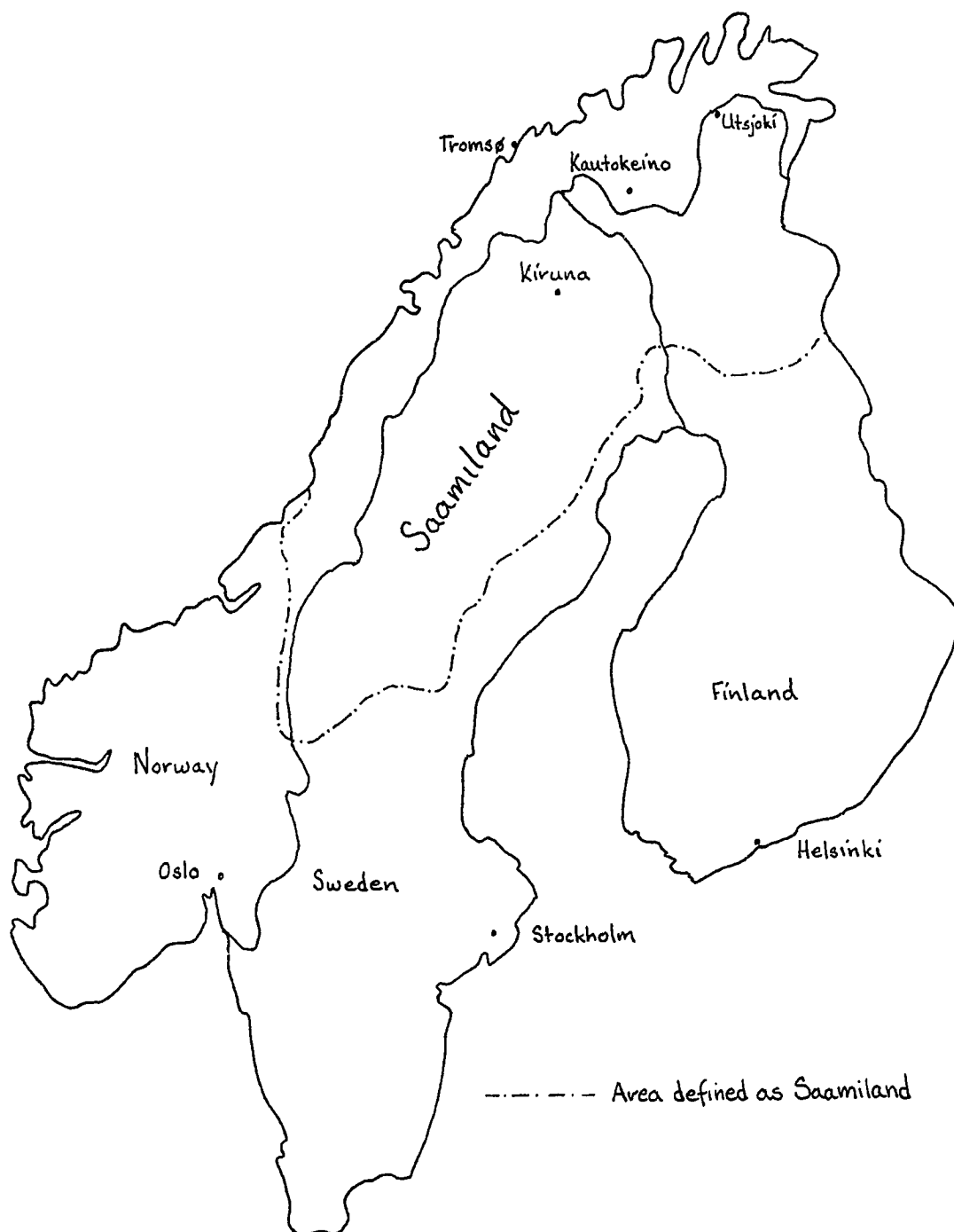


Figure 1.1 Map of Contemporary Scandinavia and Saamiland

Chapter 2: An introduction to Saami culture

"At around 3:30 a.m. Ante and his brother Mattis arrived at the truck with an ATV [all-terrain vehicle] and a trailer. We strapped gear down and climbed aboard for the trip up the mountain. Glad I borrowed proper clothes for the trip as it was very cold and required walking through some deep bogs. Finally arrived at camp on top of the mountains. From a distance, the fenced area for the herd looked like some sort of enormous compound with walls of canvas. Scenery was startling as we emerged at the camp. Teepees with smoke billowing out, dim light (very overcast), and Saami in traditional dress, camouflage [hunting clothes], and a mixture. Everything overlaid by the thick sound of the herd--adults make a grunting noise, while calves have a sort of bleat."

-from field journal (06/16/90)

2.0 Introduction

In June, 1990, I accompanied a Saami family to a mountain camp outside of Kautokeino, Norway, where they were to join with other family members in marking the newborn reindeer (*Rangifer tarandus*) calves. This annual procedure serves not only the practical purpose of sorting out the new additions to the herd, but reaffirms everyone's commitment to the whole process of herding, by bringing the extended family together to see and work with the herd in its entirety. It is a labor intensive period, demanding participation from all but the smallest children, and once begun (typically late at night), continues for many hours. Thanks to the 'midnight sun' of the arctic and subarctic regions where the herds are found, it is quite possible to work all night without more than a periodic coffee break. Calf-marking can take as long as a week, depending on the size of the herd, but far from being a tedious activity, it more resembles an extended party for all present--it is a time when the difficulties of the herding life are overlooked and the future is literally counted.¹

¹ The optimism I perceived among my hosts as they all worked round the clock during those few days was not unusual, as I was to discover in later discussions with various Saami friends, and while attending another calf-marking in 1992. Among herding families, calf-marking represents the high point of the annual cycle, usually coinciding with the nicest

Reading through my journal entries for that period, I am still struck by the contrasts which marked this particular experience: people in traditional Saami clothing (*gákti*) working along side others wearing their equally practical 'Helly-Hansens' (i.e., high-tech outdoor clothing); and teepees (*guahiti; lavvo*) constructed with simple birch pole frames, but also using the latest ripstop nylon sheeting as a covering against the biting, cold wind. Such conflicting images were equally apparent in the dense and never-ending soundscape, incorporating the noises of the herd, dogs barking, the roar of motorcycles and ATVs--all punctuated by shouts, laughter, and spontaneous joking. This was my first experience in the contemporary herding milieu, and one which certainly challenged my understanding of what it meant to be Saami. In some respects, the intrusions of modernity were a welcome relief for me, providing islands of familiarity in an otherwise new realm of sensations; but somehow the sudden confrontation with these material artifacts of 'my' culture ultimately proved to be more distracting than comforting, forcing me to face my own preconceptions of my hosts and their culture. Not for the last time, I was compelled to examine the nature and the types of images of the Saami which are conveyed to those who stand outside this culture, how these images are constructed, and how they continue to influence cross-cultural relationships.

In order to adequately address these issues, it is obviously necessary to develop a more thorough overview of Saami culture than popular images can communicate, taking into account not only historical perspectives, but interjecting where possible, materials drawn from Saami sources, to counteract some of the misunderstandings promoted by generations of outside reporting. The primary concern of this chapter, then, is to demonstrate the breadth and diversity of Saami culture as it was interpreted in the past (primarily by outside sources), and as it is manifested in contemporary Scandinavia. I begin with an exploration

time of year (midsummer), when there is continual natural light. The calves serve as tangible evidence of the survival of the herd, and by extension, as a confirmation of the future of the herding culture.

of the universal image of Saami culture, the reindeer herder. It is not my intention to deconstruct or debunk this pervasive caricature, as much as to provide a grounding for subsequent discussions in which the topic of reindeer and herding is frequently raised. The sections immediately following reveal the largely academic (and frequently conflicting) exercises to situate the Saami historically as a discrete people, and examines the importance of reindeer herding to such arguments. From reindeer herding, the chapter takes up two other aspects of Saami culture which have also garnered an impressive amount of reporting and speculation, particularly in regard to their presumed disappearance: traditional social organization and Saami ritual activities. The final section is an encapsulation of contemporary Saami life in Scandinavia, with emphasis placed on the role that expressive culture currently plays in defining Saami ethnicity. As I hope shall become evident, the Saami constitute a number of connected groups rather than a single people, distinguished linguistically and in myriad other ways. Nevertheless, it is possible to speak of the Saami as a unified population, currently striving to develop and maintain a corporate identity which more thoroughly celebrates this heterogeneity, and one which is no longer so easily represented by the single, predictable image of the reindeer herder.

2.1 The reindeer herder: dominant image of Saamiland?

Like most who are unfamiliar with the Saami, my own opinions about their culture were conditioned to a great extent by the public portrayals of Saami people found on post cards and in tourist literature; this was true even though I knew from personal experience that these representations were inadequate at best. These photographs typically depict the inhabitants of Saamiland as migratory reindeer herders, clad in colorful but seemingly cumbersome and outmoded outfits, complete with strange headgear and knee-high leather or fur boots. More often than not, the entire scene is covered with snow, drawing attention to the extreme northern latitude of the region where these individuals apparently all reside. In most examples, reindeer are in the foreground; if not, the overall effect is still contrived to

portray 'natural' people--motorcycles and snowmobiles (a ubiquitous feature in contemporary herding communities) are beyond the margins of the exoticizing frame provided by the camera.

Such pictures are not entirely inaccurate, per se, in that they offer a glimpse of Saami life which does, in fact, exist. These depictions use both materials and situations or activities which are to some extent truly a part of the lives of reindeer herding Saami. Where they depart from reality, however, is in their effort to encompass a multi-faceted culture with a single image, one which over-emphasizes some aspects of Saami life for the sake of easy and predictable interpretation. In this respect they not only misrepresent the complexity of Saami culture, but actually do damage to those Saami whose identity is not dependent on reindeer herding.² Given that less than 10% of the entire Saami population is involved in this livelihood, the prevailing image of Saami *qua* herder is highly misleading.

The question remains, however, how/why is this image so pervasive if sufficient information is available which clearly refutes it? On the one hand, these displays have developed in response to the demands and economic promises of tourism, an increasingly pervasive factor throughout northern Scandinavia, and as such they can be seen as subtle manipulations of the 'truth', often with full knowledge of the participants.³ From a different angle, they represent the continuation of governmental policies (albeit in pictorial form), which effectively divide the Saami populations against themselves, elevating a few at the expense of many. Each postcard depicting yet another pastoral scene with reindeer and

² To a large degree the rights accorded the Saami by the various Scandinavian governments have often used herding as a critical determinant, in some cases systematically excluding a significant number of Saami for not fitting this livelihood criterion. The problems stemming from this exclusive definition of identity formed the basis for discussion at the first Internordic Lapp Conference on Lapp Culture held in Jokkmokk, Sweden in 1953 (cf. Hill 1960), and continue to dominate discourse both among various Saami groups and between Saami organizations and the governments.

³ As an example of the influence of tourism, a project now underway to introduce horses into reindeer herding in Sweden was originally presented by Saami representatives to funding and research agencies as having more than a positive environmental impact: given its novelty, it was highly touted to bring more tourist money into the area (Sjöberg 1992, personal communication).

herders diverts attention from the problems facing the non-herding Saami population. But this phenomenon must also be considered from the emic perspective: to what extent are these constructs reflective of the way in which the Saami view themselves? Is there a hierarchy of 'Saaminess' within the culture, in which the herders play a dominant role, and if so what is the source and depth of this structuring process? Although such questions evade simple answers, they are indicative of the complexity of the discursive process contributing to ethnicity, with negotiations occurring not only across ethnic borders, but within them as well.

2.2 The question of origin

Among the many who have studied the Saami, one of the most compelling issues has been the question of origins, specifically when did these inhabitants of northern Scandinavia arrive, where did they come from, and who are they related to (if at all)? Given the continual interest that this has engendered for at least the last century, it should not be surprising that numerous, often conflicting theories have been posited, reflecting a striking variety of paradigms and motives for classifying different groups of people. Thus, the Saami have been variously described as close relatives of the Finns (or the Samoyeds) to the south and east; more generally as members of a 'mongoloid race' which stretches across Eurasia, with distant connections to Native American populations; and even as the lost tribe of Israel.⁴ In most instances these conclusions demonstrate a remarkable combination of 'scientific' data, highly subjective conjecture, and a tendency to repeat information published in the past without much challenge to its veracity.

Many early investigations were generated by spurious conceptions of race, amounting to attempts to demonstrate the 'natural' superiority of the dominant Scandinavian populations (Forsberg 1992: 1-2). The best of these studies depended on field-generated data consisting of quantitative measurements of living and dead 'specimens', originating in an era in which

⁴ Both Fjellström (1985) and Beach (1988) provide good summaries of these and other arguments.

evolutionist and diffusionist culture theory held sway. Work by individuals like the von Dübens, who in the 1860s and 1870s traversed Saamiland with a camera and various measuring devices and tables, produced innumerable data to be compared with similar findings from among other 'primitive' (i.e., non-European) peoples. From such efforts we have thorough physical descriptions of the individuals who served as subjects, but these results are typically no more satisfying than the accompanying stiff, posed photographs which provide only a surface glimpse of Saami culture (cf., von Düben 1991).

With the eventual decline of interest in pursuing such overtly racist studies, the concerns of many so-called 'lappologists' nevertheless remained entrenched in the enticing question of the origin of the Saami population and its relationship to early Scandinavian cultures.⁵ In the latter half of this century, these studies have involved several different methodologies, ranging from investigations and comparisons of blood genotypes among the populations of Scandinavia and northern Europe (cf., Cavalli-Sforza 1991; Nevanlinna 1984; Beckman 1959) to examining existing linguistic and archaeological evidence (cf., Sammallahti 1993; Wiik 1993; Zachrisson 1992 and 1976; Fjellström 1985; Simonsen 1959). In spite of such disparate approaches, however, the general conclusion is invariably the same: the Saami were well established throughout what is now northern Scandinavia much earlier than was originally imagined, in some areas most probably long before the arrival of what can be confidently identified as Scandinavian cultures. Where they came from and why, however, remain controversial.

Within the four countries with Saami populations, the Finns have generated some of the most convincing information regarding this issue, largely as a result of trying to determine the beginnings of their own culture. Both Saami and Finnish are Finno-Ugric

⁵ Curiously, some of these same earlier paths of inquiry (and some of the same data) are currently being re-explored, in part to determine the propriety of claims of indigenous status for the Saami in the various Scandinavian countries. Indigenous status was officially a non-issue in the former Soviet Union, and apparently continues to be so in the present Russian Republic where a small Saami population lives (cf., Beach 1992; Lukjantschenko 1989).

languages, leading most scholars to presume that there was at least extended contact between these two cultural groups at some point in the past, if not a common origin (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 20-21).

The most recent archaeological evidence, however, suggests that a single hunter-gatherer Finno-Ugric culture (i.e., predating distinct Saami and Finnish cultures) arrived in the region of modern Finland some time between 3300 BCE and 3000 BCE in the middle of the Finnish Stone Age (ca. 7000-1500 BCE). The members of this so-called Comb-Ceramic culture intermixed with the existing Jäkäril population and eventually became the dominant group in the area (cf., Sammallahti 1993).⁶

This Finno-Ugric culture remained dependent on hunting and gathering for sustenance, and consequently spread out over quite a bit of modern Finland. In approximately 2400 BCE, however, just preceding the Bronze Age (ca. 2000-500 BCE), an influx of Balts to the southwestern corner of the region brought the introduction of agriculture. This development not only affected the immediate area, but actually initiated a split in the established Finno-Ugric culture. The resulting division into settled and mobile populations led in turn to a basic bifurcation of the Finno-Ugrians into Baltic-Finnic (i.e., Finnish) and Saami cultures.⁷

With agriculture came an expansion in population, so that by the Iron Age (ca. 500-0 BCE) the 'new' Baltic-Finnic culture had moved northward and eastward, either absorbing the members of the earlier hunter-gatherer population (i.e., later to be identified as 'Saami'), or displacing them.⁸ Those that resisted the agricultural lifestyle continued north, eventually

⁶ The linguistic evidence for this theory is found in non Finno-Ugric words common to both modern Saami and Finnish, suggesting that there was much intermixing between the incoming Finno-Ugric population and the pre-existing Jäkäril people. Note that sharing of these loan words strongly supports the contention that Saami and Finnish have a common origin (cf., Wiik 1993).

⁷ Turning again to the linguists for support, the resulting language of the 'new' agricultural culture (proto-Finnic) shows evidence of many loan words from both Baltic and Germanic sources. These same words are not found in what is now considered proto-Saami (i.e., the language of the established hunter-gatherer culture) (cf., Wiik 1993).

⁸ Evidence of this movement has come from investigations looking for blood antigen markers. The data indicate that the Baltic-Finnic population, identifiable at this level of analysis by the high degree of mixing with Indo-Europeans, spread over most of contemporary Finland.

arriving in the area now identified as Saamiland.⁹ The significance of these findings has not been wasted on the Finns or the Saami, for such research strongly supports the claims of the latter that they are the 'indigenous' culture in Finland, in this instance by virtue of their retention of the earlier hunting and gathering lifestyle and their apparent rejection of agriculture. It remains to be seen, however, how this information will be dealt with in the other Scandinavian countries where the Saami are also seeking recognition of their primordial status.

Without a doubt one of the most radical and novel solutions to the question of early Saami culture in Norway and Sweden was proposed in the 1930s by 'lappologist' and linguist K.B. Wiklund. Wiklund bypassed the question of population movement into Saamiland to a large degree, focusing instead on the earliest evidence of habitation in the area now occupied by the Saami (i.e., ignoring 'where from' in favor of 'when'). Wiklund had early on noted enough disparities between Saami and Finnish to subscribe to the theory that the original Saami language was lost, having been replaced by some early proto-Finnic variant through the process of "language exchange," i.e., the adoption of the language of an incoming but presumably dominant culture (Collinder 1949: 34).¹⁰ Clearly, Wiklund argued, the Saami had occupied parts of modern Scandinavia long before the arrival of other peoples. In a controversial monograph published in 1947, he suggested that a proto-Saami culture had actually survived the last vestiges of the ice age (which finally dissipated in northern

Only 25% of the current population obviously derives from the earliest Finno-Ugric inhabitants (cf., Nevanlinna 1984).

⁹ What became Finnish (with its Baltic and Germanic influences) was well established in the south, while Saami (more closely related to the original Finno-Ugric language of the region) became ensconced with the hunter-gatherers in the north. According to Sammallahti, the differences now noted between these two languages are attributable to the eventual decline and demise of intermediary dialects that must have existed (cf., Sammallahti 1993).

¹⁰ Note the congruence between this linguistic solution to the problem and that cited above, which has been more recently proposed to explain the *similarities* between Saami and Finnish (cf., Wiik 1993).

Scandinavia around 7000 BCE), in an isolated northwestern corner of the present day Norwegian coast (Wiklund 1947: 4).¹¹

Wiklund based his theory on the discovery of the remains of the so-called 'Komsa' culture in the Alta area, which dated back to at least 9000 BCE. Unfortunately, as Fjellström has pointed out, there is no means of determining that this was a Saami or even a proto-Saami culture--there is no evidence directly linking it with what we now know of the Saami (Fjellström 1985: 99). Herein lies the weakness not only of Wiklund's theory, but of others who have sought proof of the origins of Saami culture in the discovery of prehistoric settlements, about which virtually nothing is known--it requires too great a step to conclude that they represent the remnants of a Saami population.¹²

Consequently, Fjellström has countered with a dual-culture theory of origin, primarily relying on linguistic data, which attempts to encompass several of these arguments. Fjellström, like Wiklund, accepts the existence of a proto-Saami culture located originally in the northwestern region of Saamiland, but offers as proof the striking dialectical variation evidenced in the Saami language. As another culturally similar, but more numerous population swept in from the east, she argues, the original group migrated southward, represented today by those who speak the South Saami dialect. The newcomers presumably spoke a proto-Finnish language which developed into modern Saami and nearly replaced the proto-Saami language in the process--the vestiges of the latter are those now expressed in the dialectical differences which routinely make communication difficult among the various regions where Saami is spoken (Fjellström 1985: 94-98; see also Edström 1987).

¹¹ The monograph in question is *Lapparna* (The Lapps), which was actually published posthumously by Ernst Manker and Sigurd Erixon. Wiklund died in 1935, leaving the manuscript incomplete. It should be added that Manker was highly critical of Wiklund's theory, publishing his own rebuttal that same year (1947) in *De svenska fjällapparna* (The Swedish Mountain Lapps).

¹² Archaeologist Lars Forsberg points out, however, that one must also resist dismissing the existence of a proto-Saami culture for similar reasons. He argues that the whole question of the transition to 'Saami' deserves much more thorough attention than it has received (cf., Forsberg 1992).

What is required to resolve this tangle, according to Simonsen, is not more speculation, but archaeologically generated data which accurately demonstrate the beginning of Saami *culture*, clearly distinguishing this particular group of people from other early inhabitants of the region in question (cited in Beach 1988: 4). By his reckoning, the first real evidence of this is found considerably later, from the beginning of the so-called 'Saami Iron Age', approximately 300 AD., in Varanger, the easternmost fjord district of Norway (Fjellström 1985: 108). What sets apart this 'Kjelmö find' from other excavations in the region, is that it appears to have been used only during the summer months, rather than constituting a year round settlement. Simonsen argues that this can only be interpreted as an indication of a shift in hunting and fishing patterns, brought about by the introduction of an elementary form of reindeer herding, most likely imported from Siberia (op. cit.).¹³ By this early date, according to Simonsen, the population of northeastern Norway--a group that he terms 'Saami'--was actively involved in some form of transmigration with their animals, implying a move away from hunting as the primary mode of subsistence toward domestication. By focusing on this cultural pattern, Simonsen is essentially claiming reindeer herding as the distinctive criterion for the emergence of Saami culture from an unspecified prehistory.

In 1991 paleobotanist/archaeologist Kjell-Åke Aronsson released preliminary findings which not only support Simonsen's choice of herding as a central identifying criterion, but pushes the date back tentatively to the beginning of the first millennium AD. Starting with selected forested areas of northern Sweden, which were known to be used in the past by Saami herding groups as resting or milking locations, Aronsson used soil core samples and pollen analysis to demonstrate that the existing pattern of vegetation dictated that reindeer had been actively herded and sequestered throughout the region much earlier than had been

¹³ Note, however, that Simonsen's theory depends on importation rather than an internal development. This conforms with the epistemological shortcomings that Forsberg cites, the remnants of evolutionist/diffusionist theorizing remaining endemic to some extent in Saami historical research (Forsberg 1992: 5-6).

imagined (Aronsson 1991: 38).¹⁴ Again, proof of early human activity in northern Scandinavia which can be confidently and specifically labeled 'Saami' is found to be dependent on this intimate relationship with reindeer.

Only Zachrisson departs from this particular perspective significantly, in her recent emphasis on the types of dwelling and grave sites with which she has been concerned in the southernmost regions of Swedish Saamiland. She argues quite convincingly that some of these sites can no longer be considered as evidence of early Scandinavian settlements, but must instead be recognized as exhibiting characteristics which are decidedly Saami, thus pushing the cultural 'border' further south at a much earlier date than has previously been accepted. Although the most persuasive data is relatively late (approximately 800 AD.), Zachrisson argues that existing data from earlier periods must be reanalyzed before the question of early Saami culture can be settled satisfactorily (Zachrisson 1992: 20).¹⁵

As can be seen, the origin of what is now regarded as Saami culture, from the perspective of the scientific community at least, remains clouded by past assumptions and a great deal of speculation. New data occasionally clear the air, but not without the risk of introducing some unforeseen controversy in the process, as is amply evidenced by the most recent Finnish research cited above. This problem is compounded as the goals change with the passage of time, from a desire to demonstrate racial superiority on one end of the spectrum, to bolstering claims of indigenous status with attendant rights on the other end. As Forsberg has noted, "the problems become more acute when contemporary social and political issues

¹⁴ In December 1991, Aronsson publicly defended this thesis as the final step of his doctoral work in archaeology at the University of Umeå (Sweden). The event attracted widespread interest, including an article presenting his findings published in the rather conservative national newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter* (December 4, 1991 issue). This type of coverage is unusual, and serves as evidence of the potential impact that Aronsson's work is expected to have on future decisions regarding land and water rights in Sweden and Norway.

¹⁵ Zachrisson's findings have elicited a great deal of controversy in recent years, largely because they potentially contribute to pending legal cases regarding contested inalienable rights to land and water. An archaeologist of very high repute in Scandinavia, she has nevertheless been forced into an extremely defensive position with the release of these challenging results (Zachrisson 1992, personal communication).

are at stake, as is the case with the interpretations of Saami prehistory, which can never be wholly separated from contemporary issues" (Forsberg 1992:1).

The most consistent (and perhaps the most convincing) explanation, however, lies outside the boundaries of science, emerging instead from the Saami themselves, who will be given the last word in this discussion. As recounted in an epic-length joik, first transcribed in its entirety in the early 19th century, it is a story as old as the culture: the Son of the Sun, after winning the hand of a daughter of the Giants, and outwitting her enraged brothers, returned to his realm where he and his new mate populated the earth with their children, the Saami. The continuing respect which subsequent generations of Saami demonstrated for their father the Sun and their mother the Earth, secured their existence as a unique people and guaranteed their rights to share in the land and its contents (cf., Gaski 1987).

2.3 How others have viewed the Saami

As demonstrated in the previous sections, the relationship between the Saami and reindeer is a fundamental issue which continues to affect the conception and even the definition of Saami culture. It is my sense that the specific impression which this aspect of Saami life produces, will remain the dominant force in determining a public image for Saami identity as long as herding is a viable and visible means of sustenance, even if the actual numbers of individuals involved continue to diminish. In order to provide a more detailed account of this process, I would like to examine several historical resources for supportive information.

The earliest mention of what is now presumed to be the Saami is found in Cornelius Tacitus' *Germania*, written in 98 AD. In this work, Tacitus describes a people he calls "Fenni,"¹⁶ found far north of the known Germanic tribes. The Fenni were supposedly

¹⁶ A great deal of discussion has been raised by this particular term, given its obvious proximity to the modern term 'Finn', suggesting that Tacitus may have been describing an early Finnish population. According to Ruong, however, such speculation is ill-founded, given that the term 'Finn' has long been used by the Norwegians to describe the Saami (instead of 'Lapp'); they call the Finns 'kväner' (Ruong 1982: 45). Moreover, it is thought that

hunters (both men and women being equal participants), had neither houses nor weapons (other than simple bows and arrows), and dressed in furs and skins (cf., Collinder 1949: 205-206). As Ruong has suggested, such a general description is hardly definitive, particularly since it differs so little from similar accounts of other 'primitive' peoples of the time, and was most likely the product of hearsay (Ruong 1982: 45). Nevertheless, the concept of an egalitarian hunting society, with women actively sharing in the responsibility of providing game, is not out of line with what is known about later Saami social organization, leading some to give Tacitus' writings more credence than they might otherwise engender (cf., Collinder 1949: 206).

The next significant literary account of the inhabitants of the far northern reaches of Europe comes from Prokopios, who in 555 AD. provided a rather curious description of a population of hunters (also noted for their apparent lack of gender differentiation for this livelihood) whom he calls the "Skrihifinoi". According to linguists, this term derives from an Old Norse cognate, *skriði*, which means 'to glide', and is related to the Scandinavian and English words for 'ski' (ibid.: 208). In spite of the questionable source of Prokopios' information, his mention of 'skiing/gliding Finns' is taken at face value by many as a solid description of early Saami culture (Ruong 1982: 45), now acknowledged as the probable origin for the earliest skis in Europe.¹⁷

It is of interest to note that neither Tacitus nor Prokopios mentions reindeer in their discussions. Their reporting, however, is the result of simply repeating information, most likely garnered through rumor and conjecture, rather than being based on personal observation. As such, omissions in these and other early works are not necessarily as

the Swedes first used the word 'Finn' to describe the inhabitants of Finland--they call themselves 'Suomi' or 'Suomalainen' (Collinder 1949: 205).

¹⁷ Not without controversy, however. The Ski Museum in Umeå, Sweden has an example of what they claim is one of the earliest skis known, dated to 1265 BCE. The published description of this artifact links it with Saami culture. Nevertheless, the Norwegians maintain that their forebears are the original skiers, and have their own ski museum to prove it (cf., Fjellström 1985).

significant as one might otherwise suppose. It was not until somewhat later that reindeer attracted sufficient outside interest to be inextricably linked with the Fenni/Finni of the far north. In the mid-8th century, in a history of the Langobards, Paulus Diaconus essentially recapitulates the explanations of his predecessors with one important addition: he mentions an animal resembling a 'red deer', which he cites as the primary source of meat and hides for the 'skiing Finns' (Collinder 1949: 209). Ruong finds this last bit of information, when added to the earlier evidence of skis and tunic-style skin/fur clothing, as the most solid description of early Saami culture, not significantly differing from more contemporary depictions of reindeer herders (Ruong 1982: 45-46).

In spite of the obvious importance that reindeer herding activity plays in the interpretation of both these literary sources and more recent archaeological data, it should be emphasized that this is not understood to constitute the degree of domestication of animals nor the extensive transhumanance that full-scale pastoral nomadism today implies.¹⁸ All evidence points to a culture which was reliant on hunting and fishing, with a few tame reindeer kept for use as draught animals and to serve as decoys for wild reindeer.¹⁹ In the English king Alfred the Great's chronicles from the late 9th century, there is a lengthy account by Ottar (Old English: *Ohthere*), a Norwegian chieftain of some repute at the English court. Ottar told Alfred of his journeys which took him up the coast of Norway, into the Arctic Sea, and all the way around to the Kola Peninsula and the White Sea (near present Murmansk). Along the way he met and traded with a great number of *Finni*, from whom he had acquired six hundred domesticated/tame reindeer and six decoy animals. The latter, according to Ottar, were very highly valued by this hunting population. Ottar was also

¹⁸ This more elaborate approach to herding and the accompanying lifestyle are a much later development, now presumed to be in response to conflicts between Saami and non-Saami populations (cf., Lundmark 1989).

¹⁹ The tame animals were tied to trees in the forests to attract wild game which served as a primary food source. According to one Saami friend, a governmental expert in reindeer husbandry, the most effective means of taming are castration and milking--a castrated bull (*härk*) makes a good draught animal, particularly if allowed to reach maturity before being castrated (Andersson 1991, personal communication).

careful to distinguish between the Finni (now presumed to be Saami) and the *Beormas*, who are thought to have been Karelians (Baltic-Finns). Although he noted that they had similar languages, he insisted that they were different peoples, only the Finni being actively interested in reindeer (cf., Collinder 1949: 209-211).

As Ruong has pointed out, the most convincing evidence of an ever-increasing involvement with reindeer among the Saami, depending on both domesticated and wild herds, is to be found in such accounts as Ottar provided, but not simply because they describe the importance of these animals in some detail. Ottar and his contemporaries extracted taxes from the various people they encountered, and among the Finni this fee was payable largely in reindeer hides. From such testimony it is possible to extrapolate that reindeer were an abundant and manageable resource among the Saami (Finni) to an extent that exceeded the situation within the neighboring populations, who paid taxes more often with other commodities (Ruong 1982: 46-47).

The later descriptions of Saami culture, including those which appear in several of the Icelandic sagas, resemble Ottar's account, in that they are more likely relating first-hand experiences. These largely provide information about the nature of commerce and taxation between Saami and non-Saami populations, thus not only yielding valuable ethnographic details, but also demonstrating the establishment of extensive trade networks during the European medieval period. The composite portrait of Saami culture which emerges from these sources contains a variety of elements which not only captured the imaginations of audiences in the past, but continue to color the perception of "Europe's last nomads," as they are often described in tourist literature. There is frequent mention of reindeer, tents, sleds/sleighs, attributed superior skills in hunting and fishing, and the unusual (but obviously practical, given the climate) choice of skins for clothing. In addition, many early observers commented on the strange behavior of the Saami, epitomized by the ritual activities of the shamans, whose 'magic' was perceived as powerful and dangerous to

outsiders.²⁰ Finally, there is the continuing confusion over the name for this people, originating with the term 'Finni', which dominated among written sources until Saxo Grammaticus introduced *Lappa* to a broad audience in the early 13th century, with the publication of his *Gesta Danorum*. Attempts to determine the etymology of this word point to a Finnish derivation, *lappalainen*, which in turn was taken up by the Swedes in the early 12th century (Collinder 1949: 212-213). *Sápmelas*, as the Saami describe themselves, until much more recently was rarely used by outside observers to represent either the population or the culture.

2.4 Traditional Saami social organization

Because of the existing controversies over what constitutes the earliest manifestation of Saami culture, little is known of their first approaches to group organization. It has long been assumed, however, that these developed in a manner similar to those found in other cultures wherein hunting and gathering predominate as the means of sustenance/livelihood (cf., Ingold 1978; Svensson 1976;). This hypothesis has gained considerable support in recent years by those who have concentrated on the Skolt and earlier Kemi Saami herding populations in northeastern Finland (cf., Ingold 1976; Paine 1964). It is thought that the more contemporary Skolt *siida*, a collective oriented entirely around reindeer herding, is actually an outgrowth of an ancient and much more broadly applicable conception of social organization, which previously functioned as the dominant Saami institution (Svensson 1976: 72-73).²¹

The term 'siida' is usually translated as 'village' or 'community', which can lead to lexical confusion since it incorporates both geographical as well as social implications (Mulk 1991:

²⁰ The suspicion and fear which this engendered eventually led to laws forbidding consorting with Saami 'wizards' (i.e., shamans), particularly since it was thought that they could exert influence over others for a price or out of spite. So pervasive was this perception of the Saami that even Milton referred to it in *Paradise Lost*.

²¹ Beach takes a much more cautious approach in his extrapolations from contemporary data, suggesting that the present Skolt *siida* at best represents one form of the traditional *siida* institution, which would probably have differed according to environment and focus of the group (i.e., predominantly herding or fishing or a combination) (Beach 1981: 60).

44; Ingold 1978: 152). As found among the Skolts and Kemis, the word is applied in several different contexts, from describing the membership of a reindeer herding group to the shared area where members of the group typically winter together with their herds (Beach 1981: 59-60). In more general terms, however, it is used in contemporary sources to designate "a form of cooperation between several households" (Svensson 1976: 72-73), describing the manner in which labor and land are divided equitably among members.²² This has proven to be particularly important within the herding populations of Saamiland, where collective labor during certain seasons and access to adequate winter pasturage are requisite for the continuance of the herd from one year to the next.

The siida necessarily retained a flexible structure, dictated by the demands of a harsh climate and the migratory lifestyles of a people either dependent on hunting and fishing, or whose movements were coordinated with semi-domesticated herds of reindeer. Indeed, the steady development of a more consistent pastoral livelihood for some percentage of the Saami population, involving a greater reliance on a specific, predictable herd, dictated a change in the conception of the siida, to incorporate several smaller groups into one large cooperative unit. This structure more closely resembles the siida found among the Skolts, and is how most analysts now use the term.²³

The large siida coalesced in the winter months, comprising several extended families, and up to as many as 100 members.²⁴ This large collective then split up into individual family units in the late spring for the migration to the summer pastures, reflecting the ability of smaller groups to function more efficiently when moving with the animals (Munk

²² Ingold (1978: 150) provides a similar definition: "...a small number of families who reside and migrate together, and who cooperate in the management of an aggregate herd of individually owned stock." It should be noted, however, that Ingold strongly favors equating the term 'siida' with the more ubiquitous 'band'.

²³ Ingold prefers the word *tjälde* to describe the structure resulting from the conjoining of several siida in response to the demands imposed by the development of pastoralism (Ingold 1978: 151).

²⁴ This number reflects a good deal of conjecture, and may be too high as a result (cf., Beach 1981). According to Munk, however, membership in the Sirkas siida which she investigated may at one time have been between 160-240 members (Munk 1991: 45).

1991: 44). Upon reaching the areas where the summer would be spent, the herd size expanded again, only to be divided once more for the fall migration. The tame reindeer held by these families were not commingled during the winter, as they were during the summer months, separate pasturage being allocated in response to need (Svensson 1976: 33).

Cooperation among households was imperative during the winter encampment, with the possibility of several hunting parties being drawn from the male population to share in the responsibility of providing meat for the entire group. In order to ensure access to fish, game, and fuel, the siida would establish its permanent winter location along a watercourse whenever possible, thus using natural boundaries to define the area to be used. This would also allow for the establishment of trade networks, but it must be stressed that the siida was essentially a self-contained social organization (Munk 1991: 44-45).

Membership in a siida was controlled by kinship and affinal ties (Ingold 1978: 154-155; Svensson 1976: 74-75), but remained extremely flexible within these bounds, allowing individuals and families to move from one group to another as long as some kin tie was demonstrable. The head of the large siida organization represented the most knowledgeable person in the group, his qualifications being measured in technical skills and his ability to command and delegate authority (Pehrson 1954: 1077). Yet within the siida each family had its own head of household who assumed a stronger leadership role when the group dispersed in the late spring. Among the Skolts, these heads of household constituted an assembly which gathered during the winter months, and which had jurisdiction in civil cases (Lowie 1945: 451); it is thought that this institution was once widespread throughout Saamiland before the Scandinavian legal systems took control.

Fundamental to the siida structure, is the emphasis on the group as the most important entity and the requirement that all individual members participate in order to maintain the group. This extended across both gender and generational lines, with women and men each having particular roles to fulfill, creating a system of mutual dependency. This cohesiveness

was extended considerably by the networks which resulted from the Saami practice of tracing kinship bilaterally, providing any individual member of a siida with an enormous number of family members (cf., Pehrson 1954).²⁵ The winter gathering place and its pasture lands were held collectively, divided among the member households as needed each year, so individual ownership was not an issue. When the group separated again at the end of the winter, the emphasis shifted in scale but not intention: it was still the functioning of the family which superseded the needs of individuals. Thus, families delegated the work to be done among themselves, with children taking an active role from an early age. In this manner, young Saami were slowly instilled with the requisite knowledge to become fully functional members of the group when their time came. If the siida population became too large for the environment, either a new siida formed, or enough individuals left to join other existing groups, placing the needs of the siida above personal desires (Svensson 1976: 74-75).

2.5 Saami world view and ritual activities

Some Norwegian merchants, during a sojourn among the Lapps, one day at mealtime saw how their housewife suddenly died. A sorcerer then brought forth an object which looked like a sieve, on which were pictured a whale, a reindeer with a sleigh, and a boat with oars. Having sung and danced, he fell down with black face and with slobbering mouth...

from *Historica Norvegiae*, an anonymous 13th century Norwegian manuscript
(cited in Collinder [1949: 147])

The Saami rituals of the pre-Christian era and their underlying cosmology, coalescing in the central figure of the shaman, represent one of the most long-standing areas of interest for those who have studied the Saami, second only, perhaps, to their relationship with reindeer. Many of the earliest historical resources (as in the example above) specifically

²⁵ These relationships carry with them specific roles as expressed in the elaborate kinship terminology encountered in the Saami language. A child, for example, calls his father's brothers and mother's sisters by different terms, reflecting their birth position and responsibility within the family (Jacobsen 1991, personal communication; N.P. Gaup 1992, personal communication).

mention the activities of the shaman, particularly his drumming and ecstatic/trance behavior (cf., Edström 1978). As contact between Saami and Scandinavian populations steadily increased in the 15th and 16th centuries, however, these indigenous beliefs fell under the scrutiny and eventual condemnation of the Christian church (the Catholics at first, followed by the Lutherans), which worked assiduously to convert the Saami through the agency of priests and lay clergy scattered throughout Saamiland in churches and missions.²⁶

Curiously enough, many of these same individuals took advantage of the personal relationships afforded by their missionary activities to gather information and report on the 'heathen' activities which they were simultaneously supposedly seeking to eradicate. These records often contain the only insight available regarding how the Saami conceived of themselves and their environment, and how this was enacted in rituals, before these practices were suppressed by outside authorities. As such, these accounts provide an invaluable resource, albeit one which must be approached with some pre knowledge of the prejudices and ethnocentricities of the writers (Kjellström and Rydving 1978: 6).²⁷

Those empowered to convert the Saami populations most often tackled shamanism in the same manner as they would do when encountering similarly regarded 'sinful' behavior in their own, more familiar cultures: the activities of the shaman were interpreted as evidence of the workings of evil powers, and a proscribed protocol, including exorcism and baptism, was followed to put a stop to further incursions of this pernicious influence (c.f. Hultkrantz 1978b; Bäckman 1978). In so doing, the clergy were quite successful in discouraging the public enactment of shamanism, particularly in the areas of Saamiland where churches were

²⁶ By the time a church was built in 1250 in Tromsø (in the northwest corner of Norway), there were already a number of established churches in the southern region of Saamiland. By 1500 there were churches all along the northern Norwegian coast, but few had been built inland yet; it was not until well into the 17th century that the missionaries gained a secure hold in the center of Saamiland (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 24).

²⁷ According to Gjessing, the common assertion that Saami religious practices borrowed heavily from early Norse cultures, is itself a product of a more general interest in things 'Nordic' during the late 18th and early 19th centuries: the clergy were apparently not immune to the incipient nationalism of the era, choosing to ignore the equally convincing argument that the flow of influence was in the opposite direction (Gjessing 1954: 24-25).

well established. But these religious victories were often quite shallow, as both church and court records show: there is ample evidence that a surprising amount of shamanic-related activity continued unabated (albeit privately) throughout the periods of the most intense conversion efforts (i.e., 17th-19th centuries), much to the dismay of the clergy and other authorities (Edsman 1985: 121).²⁸

These mixed results, according to Hultkrantz, stem from a fundamental misunderstanding of shamanism on the part of the Christian religious community, who failed to perceive that such activities were essentially external manifestations of a particular 'world view' which differed significantly from that of western Europeans (Hultkrantz 1978a: 9-11).²⁹ Shamanism was merely one segment of a much broader, integrated cultural field which comprises conceptions of: time and space; the origin of the world, the supernatural, and its influence; nature, and the relation of human kind to it; human beings and their relations to others; and the structure of society (Manninen 1977, cited in Järvinen 1989: 89). Such conceptualizing provides a framework for the people within a culture to develop systematic explanations of their lives, and on which to base expectations for the future. Even at the level of individual choice, this world view is very much in effect, directing the processes which are engaged in the development of a subjective *Weltanschauung* (op.cit.).

By focusing primarily on shamanic rituals as evidence of the machinations of Satan, however, the majority of Christian authorities completely failed to perceive the underlying framework which informed and guided the behavior of the culture's most visible exponents,

²⁸ Even though subjected to extreme castigation by the state church, coupled with threats of capital punishment, some aspects of shamanic activity continued in a number of communities well into the 19th century. Gjessing even cites several reports of practicing shamans in Norway and Sweden in the early 20th century (Gjessing 1954).

²⁹ According to Anisimov, who has written extensively about Siberian cultures, these conceptual differences were largely the result of the arctic and sub-arctic environment. The harshness of the climate and the sparse flora and fauna gave inhabitants of the extreme north a profound appreciation for "the immediate meaning of nature," which in turn manifested itself in their cosmological concepts (Anisimov 1963: 157-158). Although this argument is usually refuted for its narrow perspective, there remains in contemporary Saami culture a conviction that the landscapes and the climate of Saamiland profoundly affect how the Saami see themselves in relation to other populations and to the natural world.

and thus had far less impact than intended. In fact, as Bäckman has noted, even the process of baptism, considered by the clergy as proof of their triumph over paganism, could be 'reversed' by a shaman at a later date, the individual being given a Saami name again within his or her own community (Bäckman 1983: 37).

2.5.1 Traditional relationship with 'the land'

*Hur kan man förklara
att man ingenstans bor
eller ändå bor
när jag bor
bland dessa vidder
Du står i min säng
mitt avträde är bakom buskarna
solen är min lampa
sjön mitt tvättfat*

*(How can one explain
that one doesn't live anyplace
nor lives there any longer
when I live
among these fjells
You're standing in my bed
my privy is behind the bushes
the sun is my lamp
the lake my washbasin)*

from Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's "Vidderna inom mig" 1987
(my translation)

In order to further explore the traditional Saami world view, particularly as a preface to understanding how this is realized in various cultural expressions, I would like to focus first on the relationship that the Saami manifest towards 'the land', evident both in descriptions of the physical surroundings and its presumed use and/or ownership. In the Saami view, the land is not easily distinguishable from its inhabitants, but is rather an integral element of the culture (as Valkeapää so eloquently states in the quotation provided above). What sense of land ownership existed previously, was collective, reflected in the siida organization which divided up the available space per need, so that all could thrive in their endeavors. Although there were certainly disputes over the best grazing and hunting areas, these existed between groups, not individuals (Svensson 1976: 77).

It may be, as Anisimov has suggested, that this development is part of a more generalized pattern among arctic and sub-arctic peoples, whose relationship to 'nature' is continually refocused by the harsh climate and sparse flora and fauna. Life in these regions perforce draws humans into "the immediate meaning of nature," which is played out in the struggle to survive (Anisimov 1963: 157-158). Although such a causal explanation is

obviously overly simplistic, it underscores the conviction I have heard expressed by Saami friends, that to be Saami necessitates an understanding of one's natural surroundings from a perspective derived only from personal experience, whether working as a herder or spending weekends in the woods and mountains:

Sami culture is a specialty, a way of surviving in the Arctic climate, a part of this environment. Our philosophy is based on living in such a way that we are constantly in harmony with Nature. We have to show respect for mountains and climate, thunder, wind, fog, sun and rain.

Valkeapää 1983: 59

Indeed, the source of conflict between Scandinavian and Saami cultures began with, and continues to be plagued by different aspirations for the land: on the one hand it is understood to be property, capable of being bought and sold (or possessed as the result of conquest), and thus fair to manipulate and exploit; on the other hand, it is seen as something which is fundamental to the self-definition of a people as a distinct culture--in Saami terms one does not possess the land, one is a part of it (cf., DuBois 1992).³⁰

2.5.2 The Saami *Noaidi*

Along the way, E. began telling me about her powers as a healer, and her ancestors who were noaidit and joikers. She has often been called on to help people with various problems. She even told me of being drawn to a seite when she was younger, and had just finished laying nets with a friend-- they lit a small fire there and she became very aware of the power which the site contained.

from field journal (03/31/92)

Implicit within this perceived relationship with the physical surroundings, is an understanding that humans are not inherently the dominating force in nature, but are

³⁰ According to DuBois, this perceived relationship to the land is the key to the development of a Saami group identity which transcends inter-regional differences, land rights being one of the few constant and common goals (DuBois 1992: 2; see also Baer 1982 for a declaration of the 'indigenous' goals of the Saami which corroborates this view).

instead contributing elements in a unified environment. Unlike their predominantly Lutheran neighbors, the Saami did not subscribe to differentiation between animate and inanimate objects, recognizing instead a 'spirit' in all things which must be equally respected, whether found in people, animals, or natural phenomena. The latter category included mountains, bodies of water, or smaller objects such as stones and trees (Collinder 1949: 165). In some instances these spirits were perceived as potential allies, while others were essentially unpredictable and/or dangerous (Bäckman 1983: 35-36). This perception served to inextricably link the Saami with their surroundings, for it dictated in large degree how one behaved, not only toward other humans, but other spirit possessing entities.

The Saami often acknowledged these connections formally by singling out a particular entity, such as a rock formation or a distinctive piece of wood. These locations (known as *seite*) served as the focus of much ritual attention, including animal sacrifices and other forms of propitious offering. Visiting a *seite* might involve a special trip, or it could be so located that it was passed on a regular basis--for those who knew of its existence, it was a normal procedure to at least make a token recognition of the power that resided there (Turi 1919: 8-9). Although a *seite* could be associated with individuals, or even an entire *siida*, they were most commonly used by the immediate members of a family who would in turn visit the spot either collectively or individually (Collinder 1949: 166-167).

Such activities were most often taken by non-Saami as proof of idolatry, and there are a number of depictions of individuals prostrating themselves before a 'god' in the wilds, which attempt to explain this process (Schefferus [1673] 1956: 138, 140). In reality, however, these offerings represented a practical application of the Saami world view which emphasized maintaining balance within the surrounding universe. Thus, to the reindeer herder, it made perfect sense to periodically 'give back' an animal by slaughtering it at a *seite*, in order to ensure the continuation of the species--the same held true for those whose lives depended more on hunting and fishing or agriculture (Turi 1919: 11; Collinder 1949: 164-165). Without

this formal acknowledgment of the fragility of the state of equilibrium, the Saami felt that the resources on which they depended would soon be depleted and they, as participants in the whole complex, would cease to exist.

This belief system also included a variety of supernatural beings who resided in realms which existed beyond the tangible world, but who played a role in everyday Saami life. One of the most powerful was *Jabmiekkka*, who presided over the dead in an underground world. It was here that the spirits of the deceased Saami came to rest, but *Jabmiekkka*'s charges were often the source of continuing trouble for their living relatives, bringing about certain physical and mental ailments (Hultkrantz 1978b: 43). Other spirits with whom the Saami regularly convened, served primarily as guardians: the *passevara olmah* ('sacred mountain' people). Among this group were found the three feminine spirits responsible for overseeing and protecting the Saami household: *Sarakka*, the midwife; *Uksakka*, who lived under the tent door; and *Juksakka*, whose domain was the hearth (Collinder 1949: 169). A third type of being was the assistant or 'theriomorphic' spirit (*sájva*), which lived in a specific place known as *Sájva-ájmuo*. These commonly appeared as animals: the bird (*sájva leddie*), the reindeer bull (*sájva sarvá.*), and the fish (*sájva guelie*) (Bäckman 1975: 144).

All of these supernaturals could and did impact the lives of the Saami, but it was the ritual specialist, the shaman or *noaidi*, who was empowered to interact with and to some extent control these spirits. Although he might be called upon for several different reasons, including overseeing or conducting offerings at a *seite*, the *noaidi*'s principle role was "to establish contact between man and the powers in critical situations," (Hultkrantz 1978b: 42). Through a combination of drumming and joking the *noaidi* entered the spirit realms, often with the help of one of the *sájva*, where he engaged in confrontation or battle with those whom he sought out.³¹ In this manner, the *noaidi* served as a powerful mitigating force,

³¹ In every source save one which I have consulted, both written and verbal, the *noaidi* has always been referred to as 'he', leading me to believe that this is essentially a unique male role. Lundmark discusses several isolated examples of female *noaidi*, but suggests that they represent very late manifestations and cannot be counted as typical (Lundmark 1987: 167).

crucial to the well being of the group or *siida* which he represented. In a sense, his role was an extension of the process represented by personal offerings made at a *seite*: the goal of the *noaidi*'s efforts was to maintain balance among the myriad elements which comprised the Saami universe, in this instance on behalf of his *siida*.

It is important, however, to distinguish between the activities of the *noaidi* and those that have been described as "family shamanism" (Bäckman 1978: 66), in which the heads of household within a Saami *siida* participated. The *noaidi*'s skills were best used when the group/*siida* was threatened or seeking results which affected all members, whereas less specialized individuals took responsibility for the more routine concerns of families. It has often been reported that the family shaman was adept at divination, for example (Sjulsson 1979: 77; cf., Hultkrantz 1978b: 49). Given the constant expansion and contraction of the *siida* organization, depending on the season, it is also possible that the family shaman occasionally served as an interim or first-line defense until a proper *noaidi* could be consulted (Bäckman 1978: 85-86).

This hierarchy of skills was not easily discernible to outsiders, however, who most often were startled by any proceedings which could be construed as 'pagan'. This situation was exacerbated by the fact that the only visible ritual object, the drum, was a fundamental element in virtually all such activities. This led to considerable confusion being conveyed in the historical resources, whereas in truth, "it seems to have been usual that the family head had a drum which he consulted when any important decision had to be made...[but] the ownership of a drum did not necessarily imply that its possessor was a shaman" (*ibid.*: 66).

The drum in question was made in two distinct physical types, the difference depending largely on the region of Saamiland in which it was found: the *gievrie*, from the southern part

Thus, although women routinely participated in many rituals, they were apparently precluded from being fully empowered *noaidi* in traditional Saami culture (cf., Bäckman 1978; Hultkrantz 1978a; Edström 1978). There is also a more recent exception to this gender issue which has surfaced in the last decade: an increasing number of 'new age' Saami *noaidi* are publicly declaring themselves, including at least one woman (Ellen Marit Gaup-Dunfjeld) who recently passed away (Orenstein 1991: 16).

of Saamiland, was a frame drum, usually ovoid in shape and having a single membrane (reindeer hide); the frame was spanned by a cross-member of wood (or two, making an 'X'), which served to preserve the shape and integrity of the rim and to function as a grip; often hanging from this in the back were various small items which were part of the noaidi's personal regalia or a testament to successful hunts engineered by the noaidi: bells, feathers, strands of pewter thread, etc. (Kjellström and Rydving 1988: 10). The *gobdas* or *goavddis*, found primarily in the northern regions, was a basin drum, carved like a shallow bowl with a single membrane stretched across the lip; the back of the bowl was pierced by a pair of elongated oval openings which created a handle for the noaidi; the back was also frequently decorated with elaborate carving and incising (ibid.: 11).³² The wood used for making the drum was to come from specific trees (SSa: *gievriemuore*) which were not to be cut down deliberately, lest their power be disturbed; one was to wait for the tree to fall of its own volition before taking a suitable piece of wood (Bäckman and Kjellström 1979: 79).

Both types of drum typically had paintings on the membrane surface, with a representation of the sun (usually depicted as a rhomboid) often serving as the central figure. Other figures included stylized animals and people, different spirits, and geometric shapes.³³ These paintings are thought to depict the Saami cosmological system, with various spirits and more mundane creatures arrayed semi-concentrically around the prominently displayed sun (cf., Manker 1938; 1956). In the northern region of Saamiland, the membrane area is often divided horizontally into three distinct regions instead, with the middle section thought to represent the physical world sandwiched between the upper and underworld spirit realms.

³² One Saami craftsman who has made several drums in recent years, however, challenges what he sees as the overly simplistic north-south division into instrument types. From years of interviewing older people and researching Saami sources, he feels that there was considerable intermingling of the frame and basin types (Risfjell 1992, personal communication). Manker's exhaustive research on the 72 drums in the Nordic Museum's collection (Stockholm) showed considerable intermingling of types as well.

³³ Note the correlation with the "sieve" mentioned in the passage from the *Historica Norvegiae* (see above): the sieve was undoubtedly a gievrie-type drum, with the depictions of the whale, reindeer, and boat painted directly on the membrane.

Although some see this as strong evidence of early Christian influence, Bäckman argues that the Saami conceived their cosmology in tripartite form long before the arrival of missionaries (Bäckman 1978: 67).³⁴

In practice, the drum served two purposes: it was both a tool for divination (not limited to the noaidi's use) and a means for initiating trance for the noaidi. In either case, the actual method of playing is presumed to have been very similar. The drum was held parallel to the ground and struck with a T-shaped hammer, usually made from reindeer antler (Kjellström and Rydving 1988: 6-7). When being used for divination--such as predicting the outcome of a hunting expedition or checking on the location of a herd--a small object (often a brass ring)³⁵ was placed on the membrane; striking the surface or the edge of the drum caused the object to move, as this early 17th century account by the Swedish priest Niurenus describes:

När de skola gå på jakte, värma de trumskinet framför elden, för att det skall bli spänt, lägga grodan på dess mitt och låta den medels täta hammarslag hoppa så länge, tils den stannar på något av de målade djuren.

(When they are going to go hunting, they warm the drum skin in front of the fire so that it is taut, put the 'frog' on it in the center, and then with sharp hammer blows, let it hop around until it stops on one of the painted animals.)

cited in Edström 1978: 49 (my translation)

³⁴ In recent years, several radical departures from these more conventional explanations have emerged. Sommarström argues that the great majority of the figures on extant drums correspond to astral charts, leading him to the further conclusion that the Saami had knowledge of the astrolabe and star charts, presumably from early contact with other cultures (c.f. Sommarström 1985). In another highly controversial article, Stephens has suggested that the figures represent the constant interplay of feminine/masculine forces which she claims are the root of the Saami cultural system (Stephens 1987: 209-213). Although such speculation is thought provoking, it has gained very little acceptance among the Saami, whereas Manker's explanations are readily supported (see Tomasson 1922 for an interesting review of Manker's early work from the Saami perspective).

³⁵ Bäckman has hypothesized that the use of brass rings in Saami rituals and ceremonies is an outgrowth of early exposure to the trappings of Christianity. Historical accounts of traveling priests reveal that most of the Catholic regalia was made of brass rather than silver or gold, keeping the cost down. The Saami noted the respect and care given to these objects and adopted the material for their own use (Bäckman 1992, personal communication).

To the individual using the drum, the place where the pointer came to rest was a sign to be interpreted, potentially leading to more drumming before the answer to the question was reached. Similar reports by others confirm that the method employed for consulting the drum was essentially the same, regardless of who was using it, or the region in which the practice was observed (Hultkrantz 1978b: 49-50).³⁶ It was not to be used capriciously, however: given its function as a connective device with the spirits, drum divination was reserved for "questions transcending place and time" (ibid.: 51).³⁷

There were tasks which fell specifically to the noaidi, however, particularly any event or mishap which concerned personal contact with the realm of the spirits (Rheen 1671, cited in Kjellström and Rydving 1988: 6). An integral element of the Saami cosmological system was the belief in two souls for humans, one of which remained with the individual until death before moving to the spiritual realm of the dead (Bäckman 1983: 26-27), and another which was capable of traveling between the physical and spiritual realms of existence (cf., Hultkrantz 1978a) even while the individual lived.³⁸ Yet the control of this secondary manifestation was beyond the ability of most, often leading to situations in which one's 'traveling soul' was effectively held captive in a spirit realm, requiring the services of a specialist who was adept at interpreting and mediating with the spirits to negotiate for its return (Anisimov 1963: 174). In traditional Saami culture, this was only accomplished by the noaidi, who was able to journey throughout the cosmos via self-induced trance.

³⁶ According to Sjulsson, recounting his own childhood experiences, the Saami practiced this type of divination well into the 19th century, with each household keeping a drum for this purpose (cited in Bäckman and Kjellström 1979: 77).

³⁷ Both Hultkrantz and Bäckman cite an early source (Mattias Steuchius), who claimed that there were actually two different drums, one used for divination (and thus less 'powerful'), and the other reserved for the noaidi to use on his soul journeys. Neither finds this evidence conclusive, but admit to the possibility of such a drum hierarchy (Hultkrantz 1978b: 60; Bäckman 1978:73-74). One wonders if this claim may somehow be related to the contention that both frame and basin types coexisted in some areas (see Note 27 above).

³⁸ For a comparative analysis of this multiple soul concept among Finno-Ugric peoples see Teryukov 1989 and Ajkhenvald *et al* 1989.

Rather than undertaking such a potentially dangerous journey alone, however, the noaidi had several assistants he could call upon, primarily the helping spirits (*sájva*) mentioned above. These either served to transport his soul (they are all conceived of in animal form: fish, reindeer, bird), or else the noaidi could actually transform into one of these helpers for the trip. Besides assisting him in confronting other spirits, the *sájva* also provided the noaidi with the opportunity to find game or lost individuals and objects. With the help of the bird (*sájva leddie*), he could soar through the cosmos, or simply glide over Saamiland seeking the best herds of wild reindeer. The fish (*sájva guelie*) gave him powers to cross lakes, rivers, and even seas. In the guise of the powerful reindeer bull (*sájva sarká*) the noaidi often sought to entice large herds of wild reindeer, thus contributing to the good of his entire *siida*. This same helper identity could engage in battle as well, not only with spirits, but with other noaidi who underwent similar transformations in preparation for the conflict. These battles usually occurred when the noaidi sensed an imminent threat to the *siida*'s reindeer herd, either through theft or enchantment, which would adversely affect the entire group's livelihood (Hultkrantz 1978b: 55-56).³⁹

Through these techniques, the noaidi also had an effective means of looking after the health of those in his community, thus ensuring that balance within the cosmological system was maintained at a personal level as well. If an individual became grievously ill, and it was determined that the cure exceeded the skills of the family, a noaidi was sent for.⁴⁰ Under such circumstances, the noaidi might first consult his drum, seeking a diagnosis through divination, and to discover which spirit required an offering (Rheen 1671, cited in Kjellström and Rydving 1988: 6). Thereafter, he began the process of locating the sick person's traveling

³⁹ There is some suggestion that such battles also occurred for personal gain, with the victor accruing more personal power and perhaps even wealth (Hultkrantz 1978b: 56).

⁴⁰ According to Turi, the noaidi was never to directly approach a sick individual, being required to wait until called for. Occasionally this could be circumvented by involving a third party who would make it known that a skillful noaidi's services were available (Turi 1919: 28-29).

soul, which often necessitated a trance-journey, leaving the noaidi in a near-death state, as the following 17th century eyewitness account reveals:

När någon insjuknat och man vet att en lapp med spådomsande och skicklighet att slå på trumman är i närheten, pläga de sända bud för att tillkalla honom. När lappen kommit till kåtan, där den sjuke ligger, bör denne först låta slakta en ren, den största som finns i hela den hjord han eller hans hushåll äger. Den renen offras åt avguden. Därefter börjar lappen att slå på sin trumman och medan han slår faller han död till marken och hans kropp blir hård som sten. Så ligger han nästan en timmes tid. När denna tid förfluttit, börja de som stå omkring honom sjunga en visa, ty så har han desförinnan manat dem att göra. Vid ljudet av sången reser sig den döde upp och tager åter sin trumma i handen och sätter den vid sitt öra och slår saktar på dem. När han gjort det en stund, sitter han och eftersinnar, därpå börja han berätta, var han vistades under tiden när han låg som död. Han säger att han steg ned under jorden. Där var ett folk, som är våra motfotingar, ståligt och vördnadsvärt att se på. Hans ande hade förts dit av spådomsanden, sade han. De underjordiska hade någon sak från den sjuke, som förts ned till dem, antingen hans mössa eller hans sko eller handske eller något annat. Denna sak hade spådomsanden kunnat återföra eller ej.

(When someone becomes sick and one knows that a Lapp with a helping spirit and the skill to play the drum is in the vicinity, they carefully send a request for his services. When the Lapp comes to the tent where the invalid lies, he ought to first ask that they slaughter a reindeer, the biggest that the sick person or his relatives own. This reindeer is offered to the god [lit: idol]. Thereafter, the Lapp begins to strike his drum, and while he is beating it he falls dead on the ground and his body becomes hard as stone. So there he lies for nearly an hour. When this time has passed, those standing around him begin to sing a song, because he has previously requested that they do so. At the sound of the song, he awakes from the dead and takes up his drum in his hands again and puts it next to his ear and strikes it softly. When he has done this awhile, he sits and meditates, and then begins to tell where he has been while he lay as though dead. He says that he went down below the earth. There he found a people who are our counterparts, magnificent and venerable

*to perceive. His own spirit had been taken there by a helping spirit, he said.
The underground spirit had some item belonging to the invalid, which was
brought down to them, either his cap or his shoe or his glove or something else.
This item was something the helping spirit either could bring back or not)*

from Schefferus' *Lapponia* (1673), 1956 edition: 175-176

(my translation)

The other essential tool for the noaidi was joik. Like the drum, this vocalizing served as a trance vehicle, and it is in this context that the genre was first noted by outsiders. In most of the historical accounts, the noaidi is depicted as drumming and joiking simultaneously, but there is also strong evidence that joik alone could induce some level of trance (Edström 1987; Hultkrantz 1978c: 94-95). According to the Norwegian priest Skanke, joik actually could actually serve an actively constructive role in ritual circumstances, determining how large and powerful the manifestation of a particular *sájva* was: "the more the shaman could sing *juoigos*, the longer was the fish or snake [i.e., a *sájva* guelie]" (cited in Hultkrantz 1978c: 99).

Joiking during a noaidi's trance-journey was not restricted to the noaidi himself, but occurred among the other participants as well. As the Schefferus quotation (above) reveals, this was often in response to a request from the noaidi, who may have even instructed the others as to what they should joik and when. According to Edström, the role of some female audience members was quite well defined: they were essentially assistants to the noaidi who were to joik continually while he lay in trance, reminding him of his task in the spirit realm, and helping him find his way back to his corporeal existence (Edström 1978: 76-77). Several early sources also mention a 'chorus' which joiked in unison during trance rituals, possibly calling on various helping spirits (*sájva*) to assist the noaidi in his task (Hultkrantz 1978c: 104). Another situation in which joik figured prominently for both the noaidi and other participants was in making offerings or sacrifices to a *seite* (Edström 1978: 77).⁴¹

⁴¹ According to Turi, this is a practice which continued well into the late 19th century. Reindeer herders, coming to rest at a known *seite*, commonly poured a small amount of

While it may appear obvious to draw comparisons between joiking in various ritual circumstances and similar musical phenomena in Western religious contexts, it is imperative to keep in mind that this practice among the Saami represented much more than a musical celebration of faith. The joiks that the noaidi knew and used were perceived as having power which could change the course of events if used appropriately by a knowledgeable specialist. Some of these were thought to originate with the spirits themselves, and may have played a role in the experience of becoming a noaidi, as the following 18th century source reveals:

...kommer spådoms andan till honom och sig uppenbarar, så sjunger spådoms andan, och samma visa måste lappen ha i minnet. Dagen därefter går lappen till samma ställe. Är det så att spådoms andan vill vara hos honom, kommer spådoms andan...och uppenbarar sig åter med sjungande...måste lappen sjunga samma visan som han har hört av spådoms andan.

(...the spirit comes to him and reveals itself, then the spirit sings, and the Lapp must keep the same song in his memory. On the day after, the Lapp goes to the same place. If it happens that the spirit wants to be with him, the spirit comes...and reveals itself again by singing...the Lapp must sing the same song he hears from the spirit.)

Nicolai Lundii, cited in Edström 1987: 2 (my translation)

Moreover, the noaidi was a resource for joiks which could be put to use within the community. These he often taught to others for their own private purposes, perhaps during the times when the siida was separated into family units and the head of household had more responsibility for ritual and spiritual matters. Isaac Olsen, who worked among the Saami in northern Norway at the beginning of the 18th century writes:

Så lär han nåjden sitt folk och sina tillhörare att jojka...för vart ändamål...och de böner, ord, sånger och trollvisor som tjänar till ett skall inte brukas till något annat, så lär han dem...sånger...till människor när de är sjuka, för eld särskilda ord, böner och visor om de har skadat sig...)

brännvin (similar to vodka) on the ground and joiked as a simple offering of thanks (Turi 1919: 13).

(Thus the noaidi teaches his people and his followers to joik...for every purpose...and the prayers, songs, and magical songs which serve one shall not be used by another, he teaches those...songs...to people when they are sick, illuminating certain words, prayers, and songs when they have hurt themselves...

cited in Edström 1987: 3 (my translation)

From these, and other similar accounts, it is evident that the primary function of joik in rituals was not simply musical accompaniment. Joiking, like drumming, was an active process by which its practitioners established and maintained predictable links with other realms. In this regard, it functioned well within the traditional Saami world view, for in its performance, joik provided a means of retaining balance, not only within the immediate tangible world, but with the spirits who impacted Saami life. While the noaidi, as the ritual specialist, was the leading exponent of this vocal art, he was not the only one who joiked, nor was the genre restricted to ritual activity. As an expression of one's connection with the surroundings, it was inextricably embedded in the entire Saami cultural experience--to joik was to confirm the belief that balance was attainable. Early observers, as they became more familiar with Saami culture, were often struck with the breadth of topics addressed in joiks and the fact that it was such a widespread practice among the Saami, not limited to what many outsiders perceived as a religious context. In 1747, for example, Per Högström reported on his experiences in Swedish Saamiland:

En sådan deras sång angår dels deras Renar, resor och flyttningar, dels deras älskogs saker, frierien, djurfängen, väderleken, jämväl spådomer och allt sådant mer, som kan tjena andra Poëter til ämnen.

(As such their songs concern in part their reindeer, trips, and migrations, in part their love concerns, courtship, hunting, the weather, as well as prophesizing and anything else which serves other poets as material.)

cited in Kjellström, et al 1988: 85-86 (my translation)

While it may be true that by the mid 19th century formal shamanic activities were effectively eradicated throughout Saamiland, that drums had disappeared in all but the most recalcitrant households, and joiking was shunned by increasingly pietistic Saami and non-Saami populations as a reminder of the not-so-distant 'heathen' past, the underlying premises for these practices remained remarkably intact, even if giving voice to them meant perforce cloaking the manifestations in less threatening forms. Of these important cultural expressions, joiking remained the most evident, continuing to provide a link with other realms of existence and other means of interpreting experience at a time when such connections were otherwise discouraged. Through its performance, joiking served to remind the Saami of their past and was a component in ensuring their cultural survival.⁴²

2.6 Contemporary Saami Culture

One of the advantages of having conducted fieldwork in a series of localities in northern Scandinavia was the opportunity it afforded to meet and observe a number of Saami people representing a broad cross-section of their culture. Not only did I encounter individuals who worked and lived in a variety of circumstances, from traditional herding families to urban-dwelling professionals and students, but in some instances I was able to compare how similar livelihoods were carried out in different locales and environments. Among the herders whom I met, for example, these contrasts were profound, ranging from families who continue to live semi-nomadically to more permanently established collectives, whose members have adopted more business-like practices in the name of efficiency and profit.

As stated previously, the Saami do not comprise a single cultural entity easily circumscribed by lists of shared objective traits and behaviors, so much as a collocation of peoples demarcated by differences manifested in livelihood, language, and material and expressive culture. And yet they are unified to the extent that they choose to embrace and

⁴² Pelto and Mosnikoff, in a long term study of the Eastern Skolt Saami, found the continuation of traditional handicrafts and music to be two of the strongest components of a "cultural heritage" which effectively kept assimilation into Finnish culture at bay through the 19th and 20th centuries (Pelto and Mosnikoff 1978: 209-211).

publicly confirm their ethnicity, a mode of action that an increasing number of individuals are choosing, as evidenced by the pronounced escalation in official Saami population figures in recent years (cf., Beach 1988). The following descriptions are meant to encapsulate my own impressions of this complex cultural system, as well as those of more formal sources, both Saami and non-Saami in origin.

2.6.1 The Saami population

One of the more difficult tasks currently facing the Saami (and those agencies whose official concerns include Saami issues), is the need to generate accurate census figures in order to assess their position as a minority vis-à-vis the majority Scandinavian populations. Until very recently, the major hurdle to be overcome has been the lack of comprehensive defining criteria which are consistently applied among the various countries in which the Saami currently live, leading to the possibility that a person who is officially 'Saami' in one country may not be considered so in another country.⁴³ Thus, total population estimates have ranged from a conservative 50,000 to the more optimistic 80,000 (cf. Ruong 1982; Beach 1988; Sámi Instituhtta 1990). In 1980, at a Nordic Saami Council meeting in Tromsø, Norway, with delegates representing the various Saami populations of Scandinavia, the process of creating universally acceptable defining norms was advanced considerably when a set of criteria was adopted which strongly favored self-ascription and language usage. According to the corresponding section of the Saami Political Program (*Same Politiskprogram*) which emerged from the meeting,

Som SAME anses:

*-den som har samisk som førstespråk eller den som har far, mor
eller en av besteforeldrene med samisk som førstespråk, eller*

⁴³ This particular problem has been exacerbated by the emphasis which both Sweden and Norway have placed on reindeer herding as a sanctioned 'Saami' activity, with specific areas set aside for this purpose; in Finland, herding is open to all who live within a proscribed region of the country.

-den som anser seg selv som same, og som fullt ut innordner seg samenes samfunnsorden, og det representative samiske organet godkjenner vedkommende som same, eller

-den som har far eller mor som er same etter de vilkårene som er nevnt ovenfor.

(A SAAMI is regarded as:

-a person who has Saami as their first language or a person who has a mother, father, or one grandparent who had Saami as their first language, or

-a person who considers themselves to be Saami, and is fully incorporated in Saami society, and is recognized by appropriate Saami organizations as Saami, or

-a person who has a father or mother who is Saami according to the criteria named above.)

cited in Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 11 (my translation)

These criteria, in turn, have greatly influenced the governments of Norway, Finland, and most recently, Sweden in developing mutually agreeable means of defining their respective Saami populations.⁴⁴ Although the language criterion remains problematic (for reasons discussed below), the issue of self-ascription effectively removes the potential for racially motivated differentiation that earlier official proclamations exhibited--one is no longer subject to being classified Saami against one's will. Consequently, there has been a slow, steady increase in the number of individuals now identified as Saami in each country, as more people embrace their ethnic heritage without as much fear of societal/cultural backlash (Eronn 1993: 2).⁴⁵

According to the most recent statistics published by the Saami Institute (*Sámi Instituhtta*), there are approximately 40,000 Saami in Norway, 17,000 in Sweden, 5,700 in

⁴⁴ The exception is the newly formed Russian Republic which has not yet updated the 1986 Soviet census which officially identified 1,678 individuals as Saami, all of whom were engaged in reindeer herding (cf. Beach 1992). The recent political developments in the former Soviet Union have made it possible for the Russian Saami to visit and attend pan-Saami conferences outside their country for the first time.

⁴⁵ This is not occurring without some pessimism, however, as one Saami scholar recently noted when describing the potential problems created by "Saami 'Wanna-be's'" (Stoor 1992: 5).

Finland; without taking into account those living in Russia, this yields nearly 65,000 Saami overall. The significance of these numbers is more telling, however, when compared with the total population figures for each country. Norway, with a population of 4,500,000 thus has nearly 1% of its inhabitants self-classified as Saami; in Sweden the Saami represent just .2% of the Swedish citizenry (population 8,500,000); and in Finland, the Saami number just slightly more than .1% of the population of 5,300,000 (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 13-14).

Obviously, with such small numbers, the question of population concentration is of greater importance in trying to assess the potential/actual clout that the Saami can wield in any given country or region. In Norway there are actually Saami majorities in several counties in the far northern provinces (*län*) of Finnmark and Troms, including Kautokeino and Karasjok (op. cit.).⁴⁶ In Sweden the Saami largely reside in the three sparsely populated northern *län* which make up 35% of the country's total land area (Norbottenslän, Västerbottenslän, and Jämtlandslän). Nevertheless, they still barely constitute 3% of the combined provincial populations and do not have a majority in any Swedish counties (Eronn 1993: 1-2). The Finnish Saami also primarily occupy the northern part of that country, in the so-called 'Saami homeland' counties of Utsjoki, Inari, Sodankylä, and Enontekiö (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 14). As far as can be determined from the meager data available, the Russian Saami essentially all live in the Lovozero district, a region near Murmansk on the Kola Peninsula, and are one of several recognized ethnic groups associated with reindeer herding and husbandry in the area (Beach 1992: 115-116).⁴⁷

⁴⁶ The Scandinavian countries are divided and subdivided into units which approximate similar civil administrative units in the United States, without the state independence of our republic system. To use Sweden as an example, the nation is made up of interdependent *län* (provinces) with provincial governors appointed by the national government and located in the main city of each *län*; a *län* further comprises several *kommuner* (counties), each of which also has a local government to oversee the proper functioning of nationally funded programs and entitlements. While working in Sweden, I lived in the town of Umeå (within the Umeå kommun), which was also the main city of Västerbottenslän, one of the two northernmost *län* in the country.

⁴⁷ I want to emphasize that the Russian Saami represent an unknown in most regards, having only recently been the subject of limited research conducted without Soviet

Those Saami who do not live in the 'core' regions mentioned above, can be found throughout Scandinavia, with a great number concentrated in the larger cities--Stockholm, for example, has a Saami population of more than 2,000, giving it the largest numerical concentration of Saami in a Swedish city (Heikka 1980: 12-15). Clearly these individuals are not dependent on reindeer herding for their livelihood, working instead in myriad careers, from professional and service occupations to factory employees and other blue-collar jobs. Since the 18th century, Saami people have also worked in the silver and iron mines of northern Sweden and Norway (Sámi Instituhtta 1990:29-30).

Even among those living in the core areas, however, the great preponderance are not reliant on reindeer herding. The northern *kommun*, Kiruna, for example, the largest in territorial terms in Sweden, has a significant Saami population, but most of these people either work in the local mines or in maintenance positions along the roads and stretches of railroad that traverse the entire region as distribution conduits for the mining industry. This example is not atypical, however, when balanced against the fact that less than 10% of the combined Saami population spread across the Scandinavian countries still make their living solely through herding. Of Sweden's 17,000 Saami, for example, only approximately 2,700 are full-time herders (including all family members).

Yet this low figure does not necessarily represent the severe culture change one might expect. Whereas it is irrefutable that more families in the past followed large herds on foot through the annual migration cycles, an even greater number practiced a less involved form of herding, which concentrated on a few domesticated animals, and was easily combined with fishing, hunting, and even some farming. Through the process of assimilation and changes engendered by centuries of legislation, however, many of the part-time herders eventually

restrictions. I will occasionally introduce rather general material pertaining to this group, however, when I feel that it helps define a broader perspective of the Saami than would be available with material drawn just from Scandinavia.

gave up their reindeer, becoming part of the increasing body of Saami who do not have direct connections with this livelihood.

The great diversity within Saami culture is visible to some extent in the preceding examples, but to concentrate entirely on the Saami workplace in this fashion is to give a greater indication of the processes of cultural change and assimilation than is desirable in developing a broader perspective of contemporary Saami life. Certainly these factors are extremely important, but they fall short of explaining why other differences within the Saami population are so evident, manifested in areas which routinely ignore the dichotomy generated by discussions of reindeer herding. If a more holistic view is to be obtained, it is imperative to also examine the means by which the Saami differentiate among themselves, for even the herding communities are by no means a uniform minority within a minority.

2.6.2 Language

According to Edwards, language serves as one of the key markers of both individual and group identity, providing speakers not only with the means of communicating common goals and values with each other, but also with a symbol which stands expressly for the group as a whole. In this latter role, a shared language can even draw individuals together who may not actually speak the language themselves, but who embrace it as an important manifestation of their cohesiveness (Edwards 1985: 57-58). This certainly can be seen to a large degree among the Saami: their language is distinctive in Scandinavia, immediately identifiable among most non-Saami as something virtually unintelligible; not surprisingly, it is also perfectly suited for the most typical 'Saami' activities and situations. From the special terminology developed for reindeer herding and myriad snow conditions, to the use of Saami lyrics in popular songs to mark the performance as something distinctly 'Saami', the language has both a practical and symbolic function within contemporary Saami culture.

Yet this potential as a unifying link among the various Saami populations is mitigated to some extent by the remarkable diversity which is found in the language across Saamiland.

Among those who speak Saami, there are three distinct language regions which linguists feel began diverging at least 1,000 years ago (Korhonen 1989: 112). Those Saami living in northwestern Russia and the northeastern corner of Finland speak what is known as **Eastern Saami**, comprising Skolt, Kildin, Ter and Enare Saami dialects; those in northwestern Finland, northern Norway, and much of northern Sweden speak **Central Saami** dialects, represented by North, Lule, Pite, and Ume Saami; and the southernmost Saami populations of Norway and Sweden speak **Southern Saami** (see Figure 2.1, linguistic map of Saamiland). There is some question whether or not these languages all developed from a similar root (Korhonen 1989: 112), particularly since they have each developed to an extent so as to be nearly mutually unintelligible: individuals from different regions are often forced to resort to one of the Scandinavian languages in order to communicate (Beach 1988: 5).⁴⁸

The Central Saami dialects are the most widely spoken, in terms of population figures, and are more commonly lumped together by speakers under the rubric North Saami (hereafter: NSa). The boundary between NSa and South Saami (SSa) has never been clearly defined, however, with Lule, Pite, and Ume Saami serving as intermediary dialects of sorts;⁴⁹ of the three, Lule Saami (LuSa) is the most actively spoken. Some dialect maps depict this in-between status as a narrow band stretching across Sweden and Norway, essentially encompassing the region defined by the Lule, Pite, and Ume rivers which flow northwest to southeast.⁵⁰ The Eastern dialects, given the isolation of the Saami population

⁴⁸ This is the source of Fjellström's argument presented above: according to her theory, the extreme divergence between the Central and Southern Dialects is evidence of two distinct cultural groups, one of which arrived much earlier than the other and eventually adopted the language of the more numerous/ aggressive latecomers (Fjellström 1985: 94-98).

⁴⁹ I received confirmation of this from an individual who strongly expressed the opinion that knowing LuSa gave her much greater access to both NSa and SSa (Ericsson 1991, personal communication).

⁵⁰ Even this linguistic boundary has become extremely blurred, however, due to a series of forced migrations of NSa speakers into LuSa and SSa regions in the early decades of this century. Within one herding district in Sweden that I visited on several occasions, I encountered both NSa and SSa speaking families working together, albeit speaking Swedish with each other.

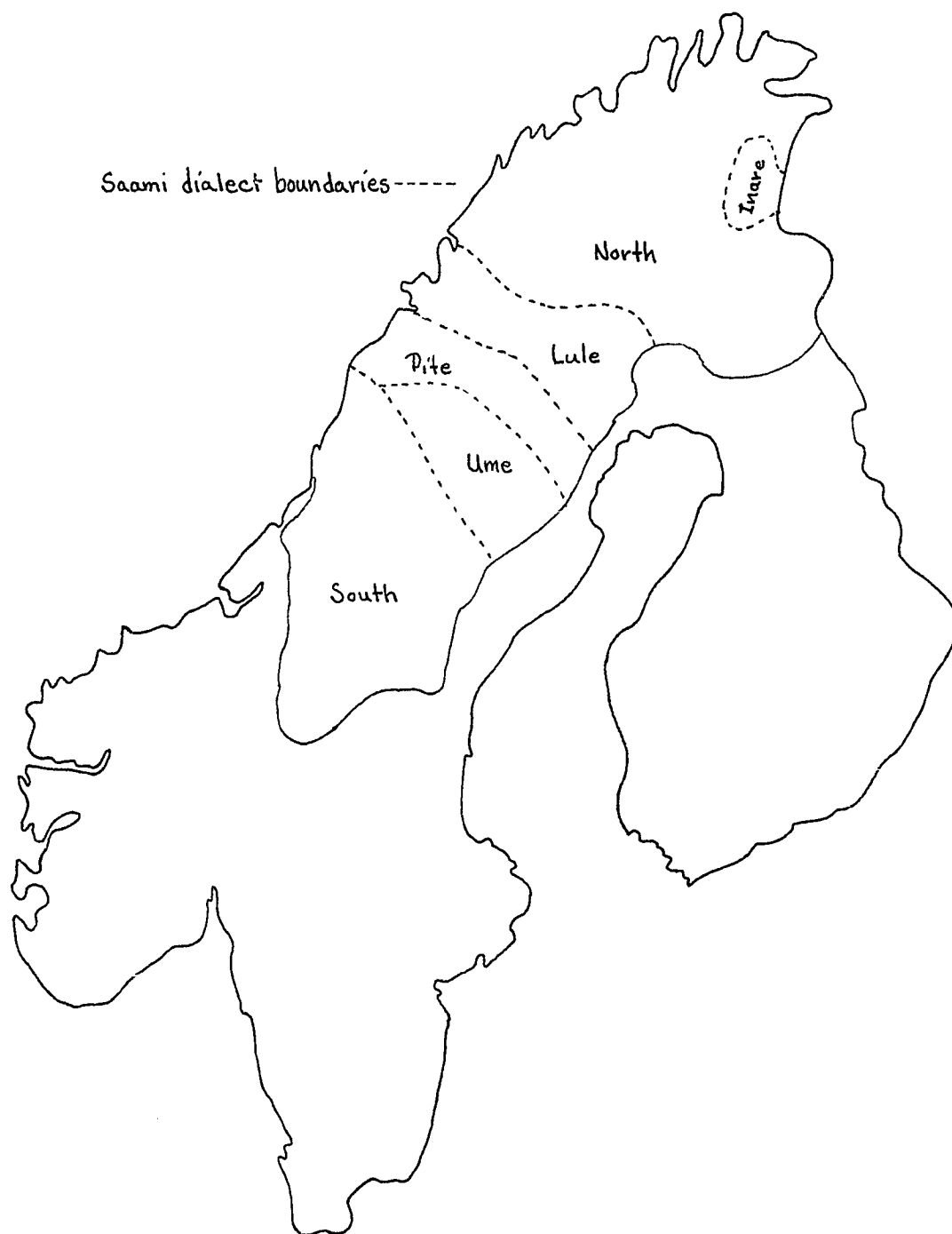


Figure 2.1 Linguistic Map of Saamiland Showing Different Dialect Areas

imposed by the former Soviet Union, are essentially unknown outside of their geographical area, and present the greatest linguistic challenge to other Saami speakers.⁵¹

As citizens of the Scandinavian nations, both NSa and SSa speakers are perforce bilingual, with some Saami along the Norway-Finland and Sweden-Finland borders actually being trilingual (M. Anderson 1978: 182). Up until World War II, however, Saami language was in an extreme state of decline in many areas of Saamiland, largely through as the result of assimilation policies which enforced the use of the dominant languages in all public discourse, including schooling. The post-war period, has seen a reversal of these efforts, with the result that Saami is more widely used again, and the stigma which once obtained for those who spoke it in public has diminished considerably (c.f. Eidheim 1969). Nevertheless, it is in the areas of highest Saami population concentrations that the language thrives, meaning that many more speak NSa than SSa (Korhonen 1989: 111-113). This situation is particularly evident in the print and broadcast media: the overwhelming production of materials for public consumption is in NSa, making it even more difficult for individuals to learn SSa formally (Jacobsen 1991, personal communication; Johansson 1992, personal communication).

Even during the worst period of concerted efforts to eradicate the language across Saamiland, however, the one arena in which Saami has always remained vital is reindeer herding (M. Anderson 1978: 183). As an agglutinative language, it is possible to encode a remarkable amount of description efficiently, simply by manipulating prefixes and suffixes, combining roots, and chaining inflections (Beach 1988: 4-5). This makes Saami ideal for specifying natural phenomena which would prove more cumbersome linguistically in Swedish or Norwegian. Thus, it is quite easy to accurately depict a single animal within a large herd with the minimum of confusion, *if* one speaks Saami. Consequently there has

⁵¹ This problem is compounded by the fact that most of the Eastern Saami speaking population uses Russian as their second language, leaving them with limited opportunities to communicate with their compatriots in Scandinavia without translators.

been a decided effort within the herding communities to use the language as much as possible.⁵² According to Beach, recent research demonstrated that among non-herding Saami in Sweden, 20% were incapable of understanding Saami at all, 40% could not speak it, 65% could not read it, and 85% could not write Saami (ibid.: 5). Within the herding populations the numbers who read and write Saami are not remarkably different, but it is thought that more than 80% speak Saami fluently (Eronn 1993: 2). Clearly the herding communities serve as important linguistic resources for the entire Saami population, regardless of which dialect (NSa, LuSa, SSa) is spoken: a SSa language instructor summed it up best when she told me that there was no better "laboratory" for learning Saami than working with a reindeer herd, where the language can be used in a "natural" context (Rihpa 1992, personal communication).

2.6.3 North and South Saami subcultures

The bifurcation into distinctive North and South regions which is so evident in the Saami language is reflected throughout the culture, including material goods and the premier Saami expressive art, joik. As is found in the language, these other cultural expressions are not particularly homogenous within the regions, but exhibit notable 'dialect' variation. Thus, for those immersed within the culture, it is possible to determine the specific village an individual comes from, not only by hearing her speak Saami, but also by seeing her in traditional dress, or hearing her joik. In spite of this diversity at the regional/village level, however, there are some general characteristics which serve to solidify the impression of two distinct Saami subcultures within Scandinavia.⁵³

⁵² At the 1992 meeting of the Swedish Reindeer Herders' Union (SSR), one delegate gave an impassioned speech (in NSa) decrying the decline of the language among the youngest generation of herders, and beseeched those attending to teach the youth at every opportunity. Even among this group of individuals, a surprising number were forced to make use of the simultaneous translation services provided (i.e., from NSa to Swedish).

⁵³ One could also argue that the Lule Saami constitute their own subculture in the same manner, but the distinction is not nearly as clearly marked by outward expressions. As with the language, some of the most observable manifestations of Lule Saami identity appear as transitional, between the North and South Saami, even if 'experts' would align them more often with the North. The East Saami language region doubtless exhibits its distinctiveness

Perhaps the most easily discernible difference from the outsider's perspective is in clothing. The basic man's coat/tunic (*gákti*), for example, is now usually made of heavy, navy blue, woolen material, to which colorful pieces of cloth (dark red, yellow, blue and green being the most traditional choices) are stitched to form panels along the shoulder seams and across the front and back of the yoke. These additions have no practical purpose, serving merely as ornamentation. In simple terms, the further north one goes, the more elaborate the decoration, with the Karesuando (Sweden), Kautokeino, and Máze (Norway) areas representing the most extravagant use of both appliquéd materials and embroidery. By comparison, the jackets from the southern regions are understated and nearly somber, with color used sparingly, and virtually no incidence of brocade or similar imported goods. In addition, the South Saami jacket is usually cut longer, resembling a frock coat or a style more commonly associated with the old Lutheran clergy; in some North Saami communities the shorter jacket is accentuated even further with a pleated and decorated bottom edge, providing a skirt-like appearance. All coats are worn with a leather belt which is also subject to much variation: among the North Saami the fancier belts, reserved for special occasions, often have silver medallions attached along the full length; the typical South Saami analog uses both embroidery and small panels of colored cloth for a less bold appearance, in keeping with the overall reserve that the jacket expresses.⁵⁴ When diverse groups gather from around Saamiland (for a national meeting, for example), the wearing of traditional clothing on one level is a statement of pride and belonging, while the specificity of North and South communities is retained in the ornamental differences that are evident; to a lesser extent

in other areas as well, but falls outside the purview of my experience with the Scandinavian Saami populations.

⁵⁴ One could just as easily contrast dresses or men's and women's headgear from the North and South Saami districts with equivalent results (cf., Porsbo and Nordenhem 1988; Manker 1975).

this is carried to the individual level as well, although one's clothing should not exceed the aesthetic boundaries of the particular community (cf., Amft 1992).⁵⁵

Another area in which the distinctions between the North and South Saami regions are quite evident is in handicrafts, not only expressed in different types of objects made, but in terms of overall design, materials, techniques, and ornamentation. The most common contemporary Saami handicrafts (*duodji*) originated in the production of functional items such as tools and utensils, created from materials at hand. As these were replaced or replicated by manufactured goods, many of them became more decorative than functional, occasionally transforming into 'art' objects in their obsolescence (Risfjell 1992, personal communication).⁵⁶ Examples of this phenomenon include needle cases (made from antler) and the larger carved wooden bowls and cups which have given way to cheaper and less fragile alternatives.

The ubiquitous Saami sheath knife, though, is an example of the parallel production of so-called "working" and "ornamental" items, one for everyday use and the other for bearing as one would a piece of fine jewelry. The difference is often more than decoration, however, with better quality knives featuring hand-forged blades and other superior materials (antler/horn instead of wood, for example); regardless of the beauty of the finished product, though, the ultimate test remains in its utility value as a tool. Whether working outdoors or dressed for an important community event, many Saami men and women carry a knife prominently on their belts as an obvious expression of their identity.

⁵⁵ Occasionally an individual purposely challenges these boundaries to the extreme, as happened in February, 1992, when a well-known young Saami woman wore an otherwise traditional dress made with vibrant purple velvet to an annual gathering in Sweden. This resulted in a photograph of the woman and the questionable dress appearing on the cover of a national Saami publication with the headline "She has the style! (*Hon har modet!*)" (*Samefolket* 73[3]).

⁵⁶ One of the outcomes of this process has been an increased interest in Saami *duodji* as collectible commodities, particularly among tourists. This has not only driven the prices of some objects up beyond the means of many Saami, but has created competition among *duodji* craftspeople where none existed previously (Risfjell 1992, personal communication). The positive side of this has been the recognition that both individual artisans and Saami *duodji* in general have generated in a broader public forum.

Just as with clothing, the shape and design of the accompanying knife are subject to regional and 'dialect' variations. A North Saami knife generally has a sheath carved in an exaggerated 'L' or even 'J' profile, accomplished by selecting reindeer antler material from close to the animal's skull, where it is thick and naturally curved. The South Saami sheath has a much less pronounced sweep, and often tapers significantly at the tip, the antler material preferred coming from further up the rack; both blades are basically straight, fitting equally well in either shape of sheath. The decoration is usually limited to incised lines similar to engraving or scrimshaw, but the actual design motifs differ significantly, with floral and pictorial representations common on North Saami knives and intricate, repeated geometrical patterns found on the South Saami efforts.⁵⁷

Even more than with clothing manufacture, a degree of personal interpretation is expected in the making of this and other types of Saami duodji, but it, too, should not extend beyond the aesthetic parameters of the community (Gaski 1993:1). It would be entirely inappropriate for a South Saami artisan to use the basic shape of a North Saami knife sheath, for example; to do so would be to deny or challenge one's own communal aesthetic. It would also be highly unusual to carry a knife which was not reflective of one's region of origin; even in its ubiquity the Saami knife remains a unique statement of personal belonging and group alignment.

Other examples of duodji expressing this basic North/South Saami dichotomy are found not only among objects existing both regions, but in items and/or techniques which are peculiar to a specific area. To some extent these are developments in response to the availability of materials or particular needs in conjunction with occupations or lifestyles. But there is also significant evidence of influence from other cultures through centuries of trading, both with the surrounding Scandinavians and the Russians (cf., Fjellström 1985). In the southern region, there is quite a bit of embroidery used as decoration, either done with

⁵⁷ These differences in motifs are not just found on knife sheaths, but also pertain to other items such as needle cases where carving/etching are used for decorative purposes.

pewter thread or glass beads, both the pewter and the beads being trade goods originally. Some of the common designs and patterns used in this type of ornamentation, particularly multiple or repeated cruciforms, also demonstrate the effect of prolonged contact with Christian populations and symbol systems, including those of orthodoxy. Embroidery of this type was not formerly found in the North Saami regions, although a recent revival of interest in pewter thread work has led to the use of this material on purses and even watchbands and bracelets throughout Saamiland (Rihpa 1992, personal communication).

As the demand for many objects has risen (not to mention the prices for some products), so has the incidence of copying by non-Saami sources, both in the individual and mass-production spheres. In order to retain what are regarded as unique regional and district expressions in duodji, a national Saami handicrafts organization in Sweden (Same Ottoman/RSÄ) has worked since 1950 to prevent too much importation and exchange of ideas and materials, and has fought to develop a workable registry for 'authentic' duodji artisans. Saami crafts people desiring to register their wares must submit examples to RSÄ's committee for evaluation, where they are judged for technical expertise as well as adherence to regional standards. In addition there are several 'field consultants' whose job is to encourage the continuation of Saami handicrafts while seeing to it that quality and regional style are not sacrificed. Although the system is not without administrative problems, it is an effective means of self-policing what are regarded as highly valued Saami expressions.

2.6.4 Herding

Among the small percentage of Saami who continue to work full-time with reindeer, there are considerable differences in style of herd management and size, which are dictated to a large degree by environment. This is most obvious today in Sweden, where the reindeer districts exhibit two strikingly different profiles which have been described as constituting 'extensive' and 'intensive' herding practices.⁵⁸ The groups of individuals associated with

⁵⁸ Beach's 1981 work, *Reindeer-herd Management in Transition*, remains the most exhaustive treatment of this subject. Beach lived and conducted fieldwork for a number of

these contrasting methods are known respectively as 'mountain' and 'forest' Saami (*fjäll-* and *skogssamer*), emphasizing the geographical regions in which they live and work. The combined land area devoted to herding in Sweden currently accounts for 240,000 square kilometers, all of it within the borders of the three northernmost län (see Figure 2.2), stretching east-west across the breadth of the country (cf., Beach 1981).

The mountain Saami (*fjällsamer*) represent the 'classic' reindeer herders that predominate in public images of this livelihood. In the past they were semi-nomadic, living in tents when on the move with the herds, but often having more permanent dwellings in the summer pasturage in the mountains and/or the winter grazing areas in forested regions. The great preponderance of herding families in Sweden still retain much of this profile (39 of the 52 official districts are classified as 'mountain Saami'), although the introduction of snowmobiles and motorcycles in the 1960s, and most recently helicopters, has made the need for whole families to migrate considerably less a necessity--it is much more likely that the head of household (usually male) bears this responsibility, with others joining in whenever possible. The three predominant features of this type of herding are relatively large herd populations (usually at least several hundred animals per herder), long migratory routes exhibiting considerable variations in environment dictated by the needs of the animals, and less sustained human-animal contact. Once the long spring and fall migrations are complete, the herd is merely watched over to keep it from straying outside specific district borders, and to ward off predators. This herding technique is known as 'extensive' and stands diametrically opposed to the 'intensive' technique associated with those whose domain is the forests (Beach 1988: 9).⁵⁹

years in a region of Sweden in which both extensive and intensive herding practices were forced to coexist.

⁵⁹ These 'extensive'/intensive' distinctions are constructs of the authorities who continually exert pressure and influence on herding communities to adhere to highly codified rules and regulations. Nevertheless, the mountain/forest dichotomy is often heard expressed by herders themselves, who are obviously aware of the differences in techniques which these two environments have dictated for centuries.

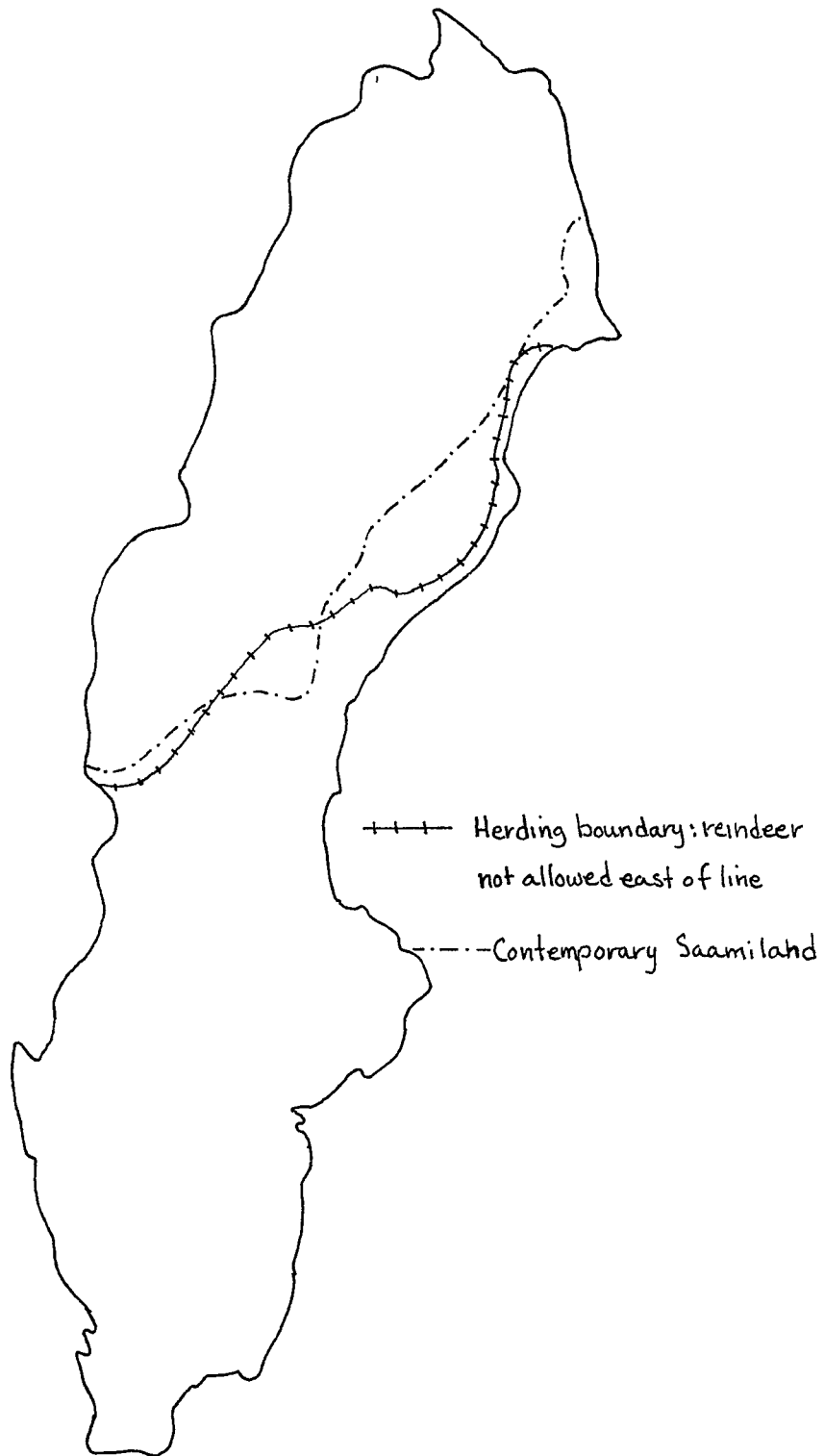


Figure 2.2 Area used for reindeer herding in Sweden (1992), showing extensions beyond Saamiland boundaries

The greatest differences in the methods of the forest Saami (*skogssamer*) are to be found in their migratory patterns and their reliance on tamer animals; in a very general sense, the herd sizes are also smaller.⁶⁰ Unlike the mountain Saami groups who may move several hundred kilometers each year with their animals, the forest Saami migrations are typically more confined, following a pattern which is reflected in the more circular shapes of their districts. This approach dictates more frequent moves in order to find adequate food for the animals, and thus implies steady contact between herders and reindeer, leading to a greater degree of domestication (Andersson 1991, personal communication). In the past, most forest Saami routinely milked their reindeer, which made the animals even more accustomed to human contact--this is a rare practice among contemporary herders, however.⁶¹

Not surprisingly, these different approaches to herding are manifested to some degree in cultural expressions as well. In terms of language, for example, the forest Saami districts all lie within the Lule and South Saami speaking regions (see Figure 2.1), making these communities solid repositories of these dialects. I became acquainted with two older individuals (male and female) from different forest Saami districts, each of whom had grown up speaking Lule Saami in herding families, but had developed fluency in North Saami as well, through repeated contact with mountain Saami groups; neither one thought this was an unusual situation, given the proximity of migration routes.

As a result of the importance of milking to the forest Saami, some of the more common traditional wooden utensils are large, carved milk bowls (*nahpi*) and a variety of cheese molds. To a great extent, however, these exist today only as artifacts or as examples of

⁶⁰ In Sweden there are limits not only on the maximum herd size (depending on the territory allotted for herding), but the minimum as well (currently between 300-500 per herder [Andersson 1991, personal communication]). The latter figure is derived purely by economic considerations, i.e., how many animals are necessary to maintain what the government considers an 'adequate' lifestyle (Beach 1988: 9).

⁶¹ I did not encounter anyone who still milked their animals, although I did have contact with several older individuals who remembered this aspect of herding very well. This is supported by Manker, who found virtually no evidence of milking among the forest Saami while conducting fieldwork in the late 1950s (cf., Manker 1968).

modern Saami duodji, more often adorning a wall or mantelpiece than being put to use. Nevertheless, they serve as tangible reminders of this distinctive forest Saami practice.

Another striking difference is found in the older dwellings: whereas the more migratory groups have been dependent on tents for obvious reasons, those whose movements are more contained have developed huts made of both wood and turf. These resemble the teepee structure of the tents, but are intended to be more permanent, having often included windows and conventional doors, as well as wooden floors, and a cast iron wood stove for heating and cooking. These differences are not nearly as apparent among contemporary herding communities, however, with virtually all households maintaining at least one conventional house as a permanent residence.

An area where such distinctions remain quite clear, though, is joiking. With the greater continual contact between humans and herds, there is a stronger tendency among the forest Saami to include reindeer as the primary subject of joiks. By comparison, the typical mountain Saami joik repertoire is more likely to be dominated by humans and other animals, reflecting the lower level of daily involvement with reindeer (cf., Edström 1978).

As a final comment on herding in contemporary Saami culture, it should be emphasized that this livelihood alone retains the closest approximation of the traditional organizational structure, the *siida*. Although herding is now very carefully controlled as an occupation by the various national governments, with access allocated to specific qualified communities and individuals, the vestiges of the *siida* are still to be found in the collective activities which revolve around the period of winter pasturage. Each sanctioned herding group coalesces in the late autumn to divide the large herd into smaller, more manageable family owned units which are then put out in the forest lands used by the group as a whole, each herding family having a specific plot. The supervision of the animals is divided up among members, confirming that this is a group effort which depends on the participation of all of those families involved. Furthermore, in legal matters, or situations requiring official

representation, there is a headman who is elected to this position by the heads of household, to some extent recreating the older structure of an authority figure who takes responsibility for the group when necessary, making decisions and mobilizing others within the group (Svensson 1976: 78-79).

2.7 Public expressions of Saami identity

As the census figures support, the Saami clearly constitute a minority in each of the Scandinavian countries where they currently live. Although this status has often been conferred in objective terms of language, livelihood, and to a lesser extent dress, physical appearance or blood genotype, such criteria are now generally recognized as too exclusive to account for the number of individuals who ascribe to a Saami identity. Centuries of culture contact, intermarriage, and enforced assimilationist policies have stripped away a great deal of the distinctive Saami cultural elements which early observers were so determined to elaborate in their writings--only the reindeer herder remains as a readily interpretable image which apparently dates back to the period of early contact.

And yet, as has been discussed here, modern Saami culture is remarkably vibrant and diverse, reflecting not only regional and dialectical differences, but even the same distinctions which serve to differentiate the Scandinavian population in general (*viz.*, rural vs. urban living, liberal vs. conservative, professional/management vs. skilled labor, etc.). In some respects the latter categories argue convincingly that the previous goals of assimilation have been met to some degree; but this overlooks the fact that the individuals within these groups are by and large still *choosing* to be identified as Saami.⁶² I do not mean to imply, however, that all who could claim Saami ethnicity in Scandinavia do, but rather that this has become an increasingly visible stance.⁶³

⁶² In his article, "Varför vara same? (Why be Saami?)", Nils Jernsletten suggested that the ability to choose a Saami identity represented the single most important issue facing this minority group, even if in so doing an individual goes against the ostensibly equalitarian policies of the various Scandinavian governments (Jernsletten 1970: 137-138).

⁶³ As cited above, both Beach and Eronn in recent publications have noted significant population increases among the Saami in Sweden which cannot be explained simply by a rise

Among the Saami people I met in Scandinavia, this self-ascription was observable in a variety of ways, from joining local and national organizations, to prominently displaying a Saami flag in a car window or on a briefcase. But even this level of activity requires significant support, and often a degree of enticement, to help overcome what many would still consider a social stigma (Jernsletten 1970: 136; see also Eidheim 1969). Perhaps the most successful fora for this process in recent years have been found in the arts, where personal expression is intermingled with symbols of group identity. Through performance and publication both Saami artists and their Saami audiences have the potential to develop and express a cultural distinctiveness in a manner which is relatively benign to those in the majority Scandinavian populations. The latter either ignore the results or, as has happened increasingly, develop or renew an interest for the minority within their midst, through positive exposure to their literature, music, drama, and handicrafts.⁶⁴

Numerous examples of this phenomenon exist, stretching back to the 1910 publication of the first book written in Saami, *Muittalus Samid Birra* (*A Saami Life*), by Johan Turi. Turi's book serves as a remarkable record of a lifestyle which few in this century remember, and is still read by Saami students (in both Saami and in translation), as well as by interested non-Saami. It is particularly valuable as an account of Saami life made without apologies for the obvious discrepancies with the surrounding Scandinavian norms. In 1990, Saami poet and artist Nils-Aslak Valkeapää was awarded the Nordic Prize in Literature, becoming the first Saami to do so. His book, *Beaivi, Ahcázan* (*The Sun, My Father*) is a collection of historical photographs (largely derived from anthropological and ethnological archives), drawings, and poems which summarize the Saami experience, from creation and the pre-contact era,

in the birth rate. The first few months of 1993 saw the introduction of a voluntary national registration in Sweden to determine who would vote in the upcoming Saami Parliament elections. The results are not conclusive as of this writing, but it is presumed that they will demonstrate a more realistic Saami census than has been generated heretofore (cf., *Samefolket* 1993 [January-May]).

⁶⁴ This is most apparent in some of the recent reviews which Saami artists Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Mari Boine (Persen) have attracted from the Scandinavian print and broadcast media.

through the time of intensive assimilationist policies, and into the modern era--a multi-voiced testimony to the tenacity of a people. Another interesting contemporary example was the 1992 day-long multi-media presentation of Saami verbal and musical arts, *Det Samiske Gästebudet (The Saami Invitational)* staged at the National Theater in Stockholm before a full house, largely made up of Saami attendees. The event featured performances by actors, poets, musicians, scholars, and even a few politicians, mixing Saami and Scandinavian participants on stage. What these examples (as well as others) share is the conscious intent of the authors/performers to present Saami culture to a predominantly Saami audience, and to publicly evince pride in that culture and instill it in others. In so doing, they also draw the attention of the majority population away from prevailing images of the reindeer herder as the only culture bearer, by demonstrating a diverse area of interests and expertise.

Although there are some well known Saami visual artists (notably Lars Pirak and Nils Nilsson Skum) who have worked in the media of painting and sculpture, far more have devoted their efforts to traditional handicrafts (duodji). In many instances the interest in specific artists has become so concentrated that prices for what were previously conceived of as 'folkloric' objects (i.e., knives, carved cups, embroidered bags and pouches) now approach the levels of 'fine' art. Admittedly this has resulted in some items being primarily aimed at the wealthy tourist market, but the overwhelming majority of duodji production, not taking into account the pieces made for family and friends, is for Saami customers (Risfjell 1992, personal communication). For these individuals, a well-crafted item such as a cup or a needle case serves several purposes: whether used in a practical application or displayed on one's belt (or wall), it is another expression of identity which is widely recognized from within and outside Saami culture (Svensson 1978: 226).

Perhaps the most constantly visible/audible forum for these efforts, however, is found in music. The degree of potential exposure for musicians through live and mediated performance has scarcely been tapped, and yet the most well known Saami artists of the

current generation are those whose work is in some way defined as 'Saami music'. Beginning with the recordings of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää in the mid 1960s, through the 'joik renaissance' of the 1970s and early 1980s, and up to the present work by pop bands like Almetjh Tjööngkeme and Mari Boine Persen, the joik has steadily emerged from its long seclusion, to once again become one of the most readily identifiable elements of Saami culture (Pelto and Mosnikoff 1978: 198). The unique sound of joik has not dissipated in the years since it was routinely heard in most Saami communities.⁶⁵ Whether performed in the traditional unaccompanied manner, or delivered as a refrain in a 'heavy metal' anthem, the joik is still capable of connecting individuals to each other and to their surroundings, and it is in this role that it remains most effective. Equally important, joiking is easily recognized by outsiders as something which is decidedly 'Saami', making it possible for performers of the genre to add their efforts to the process of delineating clear ethnic boundaries and ensuring the future of Saami culture (Svensson 1978: 229).

In each of the examples cited above, the individuals involved have contributed a great deal toward the expansion of the combined Saami and Scandinavian publics' awareness of the inadequacy of a single image to convey a culture. As artists, most of these people occupy a very visible niche from which they generate both acceptance and controversy, but above all they serve as representatives of the cultural diversity which needs to be emphasized if older stereotypes are to give way.

⁶⁵ This is certainly not to suggest that joik styles have not changed--they have, dramatically to most ears. But what seems a disjunct development to many, is actually the result of a gradual process (A.M. Gaup 1990, personal communication). What makes these changes so glaringly apparent is the fact that joik has often been a secretive practice, surfacing only when it was deemed appropriate or non-threatening.

Chapter 3: Joik--vuolle--luohti

*Juoigos lea jurdagiid luotkka
gosa jurdagiiddis doalvu
Danin das eai leat sánit nu ollu
mat olggos addojuvvojit
Dat luovus jienat mannet
viidáseapput go sánit*

*Juoiggus lokte olbmo miela
girdá jurdagiiguin
balvaziid badjel
Atná jurdagiid
guoibminis
luonddu čábbodaga siste*

*Joik is a refuge for thoughts
where one sends one's musings
Therefore very few words
are included
Its free sounds travel
farther than words*

*Joik lifts a person's awareness
to soar with thoughts
over the clouds
It has thoughts
as its friends
in nature's beauty*

Paulus Utsi, Giela giela (1974)

3.0 Introduction

The only extant indigenous musical expression among the Saami is the vocal genre, the *joik*.¹ In its most traditional context, it is performed unaccompanied, usually by a single individual. Many of the historical accounts concerning the practice of joik, particularly those from the 18th century and earlier, are linked to descriptions of the shamanic rituals which were themselves often the primary focal point of travelers and other persons interested in the Saami.² As such, some of these chronicles are overshadowed by the behavior of the *noaidi*, with little factual evidence of the content or character of his joiking. Nevertheless, to these individuals encountering joik for the first time, a number of audible elements invariably stood out, as evidenced by their writings: joik's repetitive structure, usually with short reiterated sections; the irregularity of phrasing (from a Western musical perspective); an unusual vocal timbre which often incorporates both nasality and constriction of the voice

¹ Several historical sources also mention a simple aerophone known as *fadno* (or *fadnu*.) This oboe-like instrument was made from a mature stalk of the archangelica plant (*Angelica archangelica* [NSa: *kvanne*]) which grows in some areas of Saamiland. Angelica was primarily a food source among the Saami, serving both as a vegetable, and in the preparation of various milk products (see Fjellström 1964 for a thorough explanation of the importance of *kvanne* in Saami diets). Given its disposability, the *fadno* is thought to have been more of a recreational device than an important instrument (Edström 1987).

² The earliest reference, according to Edström (1978: 49) is an anonymous account from the late 13th century depicting a man playing a drum and singing himself into trance and subsequent death (see also Collinder 1949: 183).

to some degree; the complexity or unpredictability of the rhythm; and an apparent fondness for words/syllables which stress vowel sounds in the final position (e.g. "la"; "no"). Although such reactive descriptions were typically heavily burdened with cultural prejudice, they have not mollified significantly with time: many people hearing contemporary performances of joik initially develop similar responses.

In the following chapter, I would like to begin by exploring these various components, in order to illustrate the structural complexity of the genre, before tackling the more elusive questions of the motivation and the functions of joik within Saami culture. I will start this process, however, by clarifying several important inconsistencies which have arisen among the numerous cursory descriptions of the genre, emanating largely from historical sources.

3.1 Basic terms and concepts

The first issue is the term *joik* itself, which is derived from either Norwegian or Swedish sources (*joik* and *jojk* respectively ³), and as such is only partially expressive of the Saami conception of the genre. The equivalent Saami word is *joigut*, which is a verb describing musical production as opposed to its product. The latter has a variety of terms, depending on both type and function discussed, and the particular dialect of Saami one speaks or refers to: in North Saami (NSa), the genre is known as *luohti* (pl: *luođit*); in South Saami (SSa) it is *vuolle* (pl: *vuolleh*). In short, one joiks a *luohti* or a *vuolle*, in the most correct use of the terms. There is a further bifurcation drawn between those *luođit* and *vuolleh* which have words and those which do not: in NSa the verb for 'to sing with words' is *dajahuset*, whereas in SSa it is *tsábme*. At some point during the early period of contact between Saami and Scandinavian cultures, however, non-Saami speakers began using the word *joik* or *jojk* to describe both the performance and its contents, creating an inclusive term for the sake of convenience. This proved pervasive enough that by the early decades of this century, the

³ In common English usage, the Norwegian spelling has been adopted as the less problematic (cf., Edström 1978; Lüderwaldt 1976). There have also been several attempts to further anglicize the term in order to alleviate pronunciation confusion, viz., yoik.

word 'joik' was even being used similarly among many Saami communities, particularly those in which Saami language was losing its primacy. This practice in turn led to the present general acceptance of 'joik' as a universal term, regardless of ethnic background: in common usage, then, one joiks a joik.⁴ There are those who persist in using the more appropriate Saami words, but this is not a dominant practice in my experience. Throughout this work, I will consistently use 'joik' unless it differs in direct quotations.

Another issue to be addressed is the occasional discrepancy encountered in older written sources regarding the acapella nature of joik performance, specifically those which imply that a drum was used as an accompanying instrument in some circumstances. While it is certainly true that joiking and drumming by a single individual was observed and reported on numerous occasions, it must be emphasized that these are invariably accounts of shamanic ritual behavior, and are not thought to be representative of other contemporaneous contexts for joik (cf., Edström 1978). Moreover, the relationship between drumming and joiking is not thoroughly understood, given the early eradication of shamanic practices by missionaries. It is not at all clear, for example, whether the Saami conceived of these two sonic phenomena as anything other than twin components of a ritual--there is no corroboration that the drum was an 'accompanying' instrument from an emic perspective, even if this was reported in early descriptions (cf., Schefferus 1673 [1956]). Based, however, on research among other circumpolar cultures in which shamanism is still an active component, the evidence would suggest that both the drum and the vocalizing were equally important, but separate elements of the shaman's ritualistic repertoire (Ajkenvald *et al* 1989: 158; see also Edström 1978).

Yet one more source of confusion is the question of group joik performance as reported in several historical references (cf., Edström 1978; Kjellström *et al* 1988). Once again, most of

⁴ This is even evident in the seminal Saami newspaper, *Samefolkets Egen Tidning*, which as early as its second year of publication (1919) makes reference to the term *joik* as a common substitute for *vuolle* (cf., *SET* 1(2): 9).

these typically detail part of a shamanic ritual, specifically the point when a noaidi's human helpers joiked to guide him or advise him on his journey. It was imperative for the noaidi to be constantly reminded of his task, lest he become confused or even lose his 'traveling soul' (cf., Bäckman 1978). In most reports of this activity, the participants were all women, but there is occasional mention of a mixed gender group, when all of those present are said to have joiked in unison.⁵

There remain, however, several examples of what appear to be group performances which cannot be included in the above explanations. One well-known source states that joiking could occur among individuals engaged in conversation, as if this practice was a logical extension of speaking, sufficing to express feelings that words alone could not convey (P. Læstadius 1928: 108); the participants simply moved from one vehicle of communication into another (and back again). Nevertheless, they did not perform the same joik together, each joiking something or someone separately instead. This latter phenomenon, then, does not really constitute group performance, but rather several people joiking in response to the situation and to each other, not at all an unusual occurrence.⁶

Sophus Tromholt, who lived among the Saami in Kautokeino, Norway in 1882-83, describes a small group of Saami joiking simultaneously, but further comments that they were completely incapable of singing together in what he considered a sonorous manner (i.e. homophonically). This account apparently depicts a heterophonic performance in which each individual took a different approach to the joik melody:

⁵ Edström has devoted considerable effort to deciphering this phenomenon, coming to the conclusion that both male and female participants would occasionally joik together, either in unison or at the octave (Edström 1978:). The important point in his discussion, however, is that all of those who joiked were essentially joiking the same thing, most likely with a heterophonic texture.

⁶ I witnessed this myself on one occasion, while riding in a car with a young Saami man and his uncle. The two sat in the front seat discussing the events of the past days spent in the mountains with the family reindeer herd, prompting first one, then the other to joik momentarily, before continuing with the conversation; this repeated several times before we reached our destination.

...när 6-8 juöikar tillsammans är det inte två som samstämmer. Var och en sjunger i sin tonart, litet högre eller litet lägre än den andre.

(...when 6-8 joik together, there are not two who are in tune with each other.

Each one sings in his own key, a little higher or a little lower than the others.)

Tromholt 1885: 184; cited in Arnberg *et al* 1969: 70

(my translation)

In the early part of this century, joik scholar Karl Tirén collected several examples of simultaneous joiking by more than one individual (Tirén 1942: numbers 129, 134-164).

Unfortunately, he does not elaborate on the circumstances, other than to state that each joik was sung in unison. Fundamentally, however, joik has been and remains a solitary performance genre, and is perceived by the Saami as such.⁷

In each of the preceding discrepancies, the disparity among the various sources is largely attributable to conflicts which arise as a result of cultural dissonances between Saami and non-Saami populations. What is reported often carries with it a good deal of prejudicial baggage which must be unpacked before the material presented can be evaluated. This is particularly true when the parties responsible for gathering this information are clearly operating with ulterior motives. Such was the case with those priests and missionaries who sought to eradicate any vestiges of Saami religion; to these individuals joiking was anathema, and as a consequence its derision became official policy in some regions of Scandinavia. As shall become obvious in the following discussions, this lack of familiarity with Saami culture remains a problem, often tainting analyses and subsequent results.⁸

⁷ I have actually experienced a group joik performance on several occasions, but these were contemporary staged events in which the audience was encouraged to joik along with the performers, typically joining in on what amounts to a 'joik refrain'. It is interesting to note that in each case, the resulting mass joik had a decided heterophonic texture.

⁸ Most recent joik studies identify problem areas from the outset, seeking to avoid unnecessary interpretive problems. Arnberg and Unsgaard, for example, are quite clear in setting limitations for their study, suggesting that a truly objective analysis is beyond their skills or interests (Arnberg *et al* 1969: 53). In the 1988 work *Om joik*, Kjellström is equally frank in explaining his lack of interest in some areas of the genre (e.g., 'modern' joik) (Kjellström *et al* 1988: 7, 17; Kjellström 1992, personal conversation).

If anything, this situation becomes more difficult to avoid when something occurs which appears to bridge the cultural gap, as when joik performances increasingly 'sound' like familiar Western musical genres. Comparisons are easily and understandably drawn, with the Saami productions often seen as novelties by non-Saami audiences. My object in this chapter is to introduce not only the structural characteristics of Saami joik, but to explore the underlying ideology of the genre. With this information at hand, I propose to approach the more recent manifestations of joik as extensions of traditional Saami cultural expressions, rather than merely aping Euro-American music models.

3.2 The sound of joik

Descriptions of audible phenomena often prove frustrating, even when one is discussing something which is entirely familiar--in order to share information, one resorts to comparison and metaphor to transform a sentient experience into language. This process is exacerbated, however, when the example in question is one which differs to a significant degree from the sonic norms of the reporter (and presumably his/her audience). It is all too easy under such circumstances to allow cultural biases to influence the direction that ostensibly objective description takes. If the literary sources available for perusal are a fair depiction of past meetings between Saami and non-Saami individuals, this difficulty in remaining objective while discussing cultural differences would appear to have great historical depth: in many cases, those encountering joik for the first time reacted negatively, if not in an outright hostile manner. Even putting aside the prejudice which the genre engendered through its association with shamanic ritual, the response to hearing someone joik was not favorable in most instances--the major objection to joik was its unique *sound*.

One of the more vitriolic accounts of joiking, and one of the first divorced from descriptions of ritual behavior, comes from the writings of an Italian traveler, Giuseppe Acerbi, who visited northern Scandinavia in the late 18th century. Regarding his encounter with Saami music, he wrote:

We wanted to hear them sing, since we were anxious to test their musical ability. I tried several times, both with the help of money and cognac, to induce the Lapplander shepherds to demonstrate their melodies, so that, if possible, I could develop some understanding of their music. But the only thing I could accomplish was to get them to utter some atrocious shrieks, in response to which I was forced to stick my fingers in my ears. It seems hardly believable, but it is true that the wandering Lapplanders of the mountains do not have even the slightest inkling of anything connected to harmony, and that they are completely incapable of enjoyment, so that singing which nature has not so completely denied to any other race or nation, as far as I know.

Acerbi 1802, cited in Arnberg et al 1969: 68

Later European academicians were no less judgmental of Saami musicality. Belgian musicologist François Joseph Fétis, while avoiding such scoriating language, was equally condemning in his address to a gathering of ethnologists in 1867: he stated frankly that the Saami were the only people on earth who did not sing (cited in Emsheimer 1950: 78).⁹ The priest Niurenus was only slightly more forgiving in his description of joiking as a sonic experience reminding him of "dogs howling" (Edström 1987: 13).

Such harsh accounts of musical phenomena are not unique to Saamiland, of course, nor are they entirely just vestiges of a past rife with similar ethnocentrically inspired attitudes. But in their uniformity of opinion, they do provide an interesting glimpse of a completely different aesthetic of tone production than that which was current within Western musical genres of the time. In listening to joik today, one is struck with how this aesthetic has perdured in spite of myriad changes in Saami culture. That joik still sounds different from the vocalizing of surrounding peoples, is a testimony to the importance of timbre and specific vocal techniques in defining the genre.¹⁰

⁹ Tirén suggests that another factor in such profoundly negative judgments was the guarded attitude that most Saami adopted in the presence of non-Saami. After generations of contact with outsiders who derided them for their lack of musicality (or for its inherent 'heatheness'), it was understandable that the Saami were hesitant to joik in front of others (Tirén 1932: 7)--note Acerbi's statement to this effect (above).

¹⁰ In order to acquaint the reader with these particular qualities, I have included two examples of contemporary joiking as the first selections on the accompanying audio tape

The primary vocal characteristic in the traditional performance of joik has been described variously as "constrained" or "compressed" (Edström 1978: 120; Arnberg *et al* 1969: 54). This is the result of a singing technique which exerts tension on the vocal cords while restricting the throat, yielding a timbre which has little of what we refer to as 'chest' or 'head' resonance.¹¹ The sound is often quite nasal and harsh compared to Western vocal tone aesthetics, particularly when the individual gets up into the higher registers of her/his vocal range. As the individual runs out of breath, rather than fading out, however, it is more common to completely stop the air flow by bringing the back of the tongue up against the palate, producing an abrupt stop (Arnberg *et al* 1969: 56). This technique requires a good deal of breath control, making it rather strenuous to joik for any length of time.¹²

Another feature which stands out is the manner in which notes are articulated: in contrast to the *bel canto* aesthetic which dominates much of European 'art' music, there is a predilection in joik performance for sliding into and out of pitches, using what Tirén described as "gliding notes" (*glidtoner*), to produce an overall legato effect (Tirén 1928: 295). This characteristic is intensified by the periodic interjection of single grace note figures which invariably approach the desired pitch from above, dubbed "tossed notes" (*slängtoner*) by Tirén (op. cit.)--the resultant sound is a sharp, sliding interruption of the melodic line, rising and falling very rapidly.¹³ Other vocal ornamentation such as vibrato is generally used only for effect, not being considered an essential component of 'tone' among the Saami.

(Audio Examples A:1 and A:2); it is my hope that these will provide a reasonable sound reference for many of the points made here. Descriptive notes for all of the audio examples can be found in Appendix C.

¹¹ Several sources further describe this phenomenon as requiring the individual to sing with the lips nearly closed and with strained facial muscles (cf., Edström 1978: 121), but I have not found this to be particularly the case in my own research.

¹² Tirén described paying a return visit to one of his favorite older informants after a hiatus of a year, only to discover that he no longer possessed enough 'breath' to joik at all (Tirén 1932: 3). Arnberg and Matsson reported similar difficulties with several older potential informants--rather than joiking without the proper 'voice', these individuals chose not to joik at all (Arnberg *et al* 1969: 57).

¹³ Edström rather apologetically suggests that it was just such ornamentation which led individuals to compare joiking with the sound of dogs howling (Edström 1987: 13).

Tirén calls this technique "chevrottering" and states that it is used to suggest motion, as in the rise and fall of waves on a lake, or to describe the undulating movement of a reindeer herd (Tirén 1932: 31).

Along with the characteristic manner in which specific pitches are articulated in many joik performances, another audible phenomenon often noted by listeners unfamiliar with the Saami musical system, is the penchant which joikers have for intervals (i.e., the distance between two discrete pitches) which do not quite correspond to Western expectations. This is evidenced not only in intervals which sound a bit 'wide' or 'narrow' (again, by Western standards), but also in the occasional use of intervals which are often considered particularly dissonant, like the tritone.¹⁴ While this can be the result of idiosyncratic performance practices, and is certainly not an absolute or universal feature of the genre, it has been noted enough by those attempting to transcribe joiking to be considered another important attribute of the overall anticipated sound that a given joik should achieve.¹⁵ As I discovered in my own research, most contemporary joik performers are abundantly aware of this potential discrepancy with Western musical standards, and the inherent limitations one faces when trying to joik with instrumental accompaniment.¹⁶

¹⁴ Note that this 'dissonant' quality has not been articulated by Saami sources to my knowledge. Among the recordings on the massive Sweden's Radio collection (see Discography) is a performance of "Lars Ruong's vuolle" in which the joiker freely alternates between a fifth and a tritone.

¹⁵ In the introductory chapter to his massive work *Die lappische Volksmusik* (1942), Tirén acknowledges the difficulties he encountered in trying to transcribe intervals which exceeded the constraints of Western notation, and the influence that Hornbostel's writings exerted in solving this problem to some extent. As Edström has noted, both Launis and Tirén used diacritical notation sparingly (perhaps too much so) compared to later transcribers of joik like Smedeby (Edström 1978: 122). The notational problems confronting these early joik researchers have not lessened to any considerable degree, with Terhag recently proclaiming that virtually any attempt to capture joik on the staff is doomed to failure (Kjellström *et al* 1988: 70-71).

¹⁶ One young Saami musician suggested that the resulting 'collision' simply represented "two different philosophies--musical philosophies which meet," each of which has its own parameters of "pure sounds" (A. Gaup 1992, personal communication). The effect of this on commercial recordings of joik will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

As a result, the overall impression from a Western musical perspective is one of a genre in which specific pitches are rather loosely defined. This affects not only intervallic relationships, but the entire structure of a joik, which can exhibit a considerable shift in tonality within a given performance (discussed in detail below). In making a comparison between joik and other vocal genres in Scandinavia, Ternhag has pointed out the profound influence that instrumental music has played in reshaping and redefining the overall orientation to pitch. As instruments became more standardized in their production, so did their pitch repertoires, which in turn affected vocal music by providing a reliable pitch reference. Among the Saami, instrumental music has been virtually nonexistent (see, however, footnote 2 above), vocalizing being the sole musical outlet.¹⁷ Consequently the tendency to standardize to the ubiquitous Western tempered scale has not been particularly noted, nor (according to Ternhag) should it be anticipated (Kjellström et al 1988: 72-73).

Such idealized descriptions of the various vocal techniques and ornaments which contribute to the sound of joik are, like all generalities, subject to exceptions. Not only are there contemporary individuals whose joiking resembles more familiar Western singing styles, but this may actually be a trend, if cursory comparisons of field recordings made during this century are any indication.¹⁸ The influence of the surrounding populations has long been significant, but has increased markedly with the invasive nature of the mass media of the last fifty years. Yet even in the most recent manifestations of joik 'fusion', there remains an unmistakable sound which is more than the use of particular melodies or rhythmic structures: its distinctiveness originates in the same vocal qualities which first

¹⁷ Obviously this does not take into account the great number of Saami people who have taken up various instruments, including quite a few who achieved significant status among their Scandinavian neighbors for their expertise on fiddle and accordion, two of the mainstays of Scandinavian dance music. Ternhag's point is that this activity is outside Saami culture and has thus had considerably less effect on joiking.

¹⁸ Thanks to the recent release of a compilation LP (*Joik-Vuolle-Luohti*) by the Ajtte Saami Museum in Sweden (ALP-1), such comparisons are now quite possible. This work includes examples ranging from Tirén's cylinder recordings (1909-1916) to field recordings made in the 1950s; when coupled with commercially recorded materials of the last three decades, the sound-picture of joik in the 20th century is nearly complete.

caught the attention of newcomers to Saami culture, and is reinforced by some of the audible characteristics described above, which are still evident in modern performances. It can no longer be argued that the unique sound of joiking is simply the result of so-called 'primitive' culture--it is instead increasingly recognized as the conscious marking of cultural difference.

3.3 The musical structure of joik

The Saami joik, in spite of distinct regional variations, does exhibit enough formal musical characteristics which make it possible to discuss the genre in more general terms. One of the most notable features to outsiders, aside from the unmistakable sound of joiking, is its frequent asymmetrical rhythmic organization, often making it difficult to locate a steady pulse.¹⁹ On closer examination, however, it is apparent that this is not at all a random approach to rhythm, but one which exhibits a marked propensity for repeated patterns based on stressed pitches or syllables, occasionally interpolated with intentional pauses (cf., Edström 1978). According to Tirén, for example, asymmetry in joik was such a primary attribute (at least among the Swedish Saami with whom he worked at the beginning of this century), that his own attempts to 'smooth' out transcriptions most often proved inadequate, since they tended to produce gross misrepresentations of the originals--indeed, as he discovered, many of the joiks he collected derived much of their meaning and character from these apparent rhythmic anomalies (Tirén 1932: 6).²⁰ As if in recognition of this admonition, most recent transcriptions of joik have adopted either shifting time signatures

¹⁹ As an example of this, one Swedish acquaintance, who is a self-described folk musician, complained vociferously about the lack of a steady beat in the joik performances he had heard. With his dance music orientation, this complex rhythmic structure was unfathomable (Lind 1991, personal communication). Nevertheless, most contemporary joik performances evince a regular beat--it is the differing lengths of phrases which most likely contribute to the perceived complexity for many listeners (see Figure 3.1).

²⁰ When Tirén was collecting joiks at the beginning of this century one of his informants, 75-year-old Nils Ribbja, stated that a joik must have a "crooked beat". When Tirén demonstrated his own transcription of Ribbja's efforts, he inadvertently left out a single eighth note rest, making a 12/8 measure. Ribbja responded by declaring that such music was "not Lappish" (*icke lappisk*)--when Tirén re-inserted the pause, Ribbja gave his approval (Tirén 1932: 4). In his survey of published joik collections, Edström reports that fully 33% of Tirén's material falls into this 'crooked' classification (Edström 1978: 119).

(e.g., 5/8/6/8), compound meters (e.g., 3+4/8; 6+7/8), or increasingly have shied away from using measures altogether (cf., Edström 1978; Kjellström *et al* 1988).

Even though there has been obvious and substantial influence from Western musical genres on contemporary joiking, this is less observable in regard to rhythmic structure. Many contemporary joiks, particularly those which continue to be performed without accompaniment, retain a degree of complexity similar to those examples preserved in the works of Tirén and other collectors, transcribed nearly a century ago.²¹

The following piece (Figure 3.1) is a personal joik to a woman, and is taken from the repertoire of Ingor Antte Ailu Gaup. With its vocal leaps and rhythmic intricacy, the performance amply illustrates a typical unaccompanied joik from the North Saami region (Kautokeino, Norway in this case). The transcription represents three iterations of the joik of differing lengths, all marked by a consistent pulse, however. Note that each is considered 'complete' in and of itself by the performer. This discrepancy in length of 'phrases' is to some extent indicative of the regional aesthetic, but is also an element of this particular performer's style (A. Gaup 1992, personal communication). I have not indicated the microtonal shifts in pitch which were evident in this performance, since my primary concern here was more in illustrating the basic gestalt of a typical contemporary North Saami joik. For comparison to the original, however, refer to Audio Example A:3 on the accompanying tape.

²¹ The addition of accompaniment initially necessitated either restructuring existing joiks to reflect a more predictable duple or triple metric organization, or composing new joiks with this rhythmic framework in mind. Recently, however, there have been several Saami artists who strongly emphasize the intricate rhythmic structures of some of joik repertoire by working with ensembles more capable of playing with shifting or complex meters (see Chapter 7 for specifics).

Ta-ja e-le-la ka laj lo-na El-le Som-ma mon jo go joi-ka dan

ta-da ka le vel-lo go jo ha vel-le jo jo fara hevel-lo go lo navel

haj El-le Som-ma vel jo no joi-ka vel-le El-le Som-ma vel-lo lab

Figure 3.1: North Saami joik, performed by Ingor Antte Ailu Gaup

3.3.1 Joik grammar?

Although the rhythmic organization of a joik is typically reflective of patterns based on stresses and pauses, it may seem surprising that these elements are not dictated or influenced by text. If anything, the text is subordinate to the melody and rhythm, occasionally leading to a notable disjuncture with the way these same words and phrases are normally pronounced and emphasized in speech (Tirén 1932: 2-3). Tirén describes the joik composition process as a series of steps beginning with a short melody which exhibits a particular rhythmic structure that the joiker finds pleasing and appropriate--these two elements are inseparable in terms of importance. As this evolves into a longer composition, words may eventually be added, but this is by no means necessary for the joik to be considered complete (*ibid.*). It is the combined elements of rhythm and melody which are the most important components of a joik, in most cases conveying 'meaning' in a manner that text alone cannot (Edström 1978: 32).²²

²² Hence the inherent inadequacy of the collections of joik texts, gathered and published as examples of 'folk poetry' primarily in the 19th century (cf., Wiklund 1906). Not only is this a

According to several researchers, working with materials from different Saami populations, the means by which melodic and rhythmic ideas conflate, is the melodic motif (Launis 1908; Tirén 1942; Edström 1978).²³ From an analytical perspective, at least, this represents the basic unit of composition in joik. A motif may be just a few notes, or at most several measures (in Western terms), and is usually one of several similar fragments linked together in some manner, most often demonstrating considerable repetition. Edström, in re-analyzing Launis' collection of joiks from the Finnish-Norwegian border, for example, has noted that the 'four-motif' joik is the most common, with the form *abac* prevailing (followed by *abab* and *abcd*), where each letter stands for a discrete motif (Edström 1978: 116). This form can quickly become quite complex, however, as is shown in Edström's own transcriptions of joiks recorded in Sweden in the 1950s: one example reveals six separate motifs in numerous combinations and permutations, producing a highly complicated structure (*ibid.*: 124-25; see also Figure 3.1).

By breaking a joik down into these components, it has been the theoretical premise that some overall compositional grammar can be developed, leading to a better understanding of how joik is structured, and ultimately how meaning is conveyed within this structure. This has proven very difficult, however, given the highly improvisational nature of much joik performance, a phenomenon which can affect not only melodic and rhythmic components, but text as well when present. One is basically free within the structure of most joiks to change a performance by adding or subtracting both musical and textual elements, all without

violation of the intentions of the traditors of the genre, as some folklorists have claimed (c.f. Bronson 1969), but it seriously impedes any understanding of the meaning of a given piece. There is, however, a notable exception to this relationship between music and text in joik, that being the so-called 'epic joik' to be discussed below.

²³ Launis collected extensively throughout northern Finland and along the Finnish-Norwegian border between 1904 and 1906; Tirén concentrated on the Swedish Saami population, collecting in all of the regions from 1906-1916. Edström's work has primarily involved analysis (or re-analysis) of other collections, including Launis and Tirén--his doctoral dissertation (published 1978) is a thorough examination of the historical resources concerning Saami joik.

dramatically affecting the meaning of the composition.²⁴ The individual who performs a familiar joik (either self-composed or from some other source) essentially uses a framework to which he adds his own interpretations, in keeping with both personal and regional aesthetic parameters. One well respected joiker told me that the range of variation possible was dependent to some degree on the region one came from, but he reiterated that improvisation was a key element of joiking everywhere. Moreover, it was something expected by knowledgeable audiences, playing a crucial role in determining the efficacy of a joik performance (A. Gaup 1992, personal communication). Thus, even the highly systematic analyses of Launis and Tirén must be regarded as descriptive transcriptions at best, ostensibly capturing a specific performance rather than providing a model *for* performance in the future.²⁵ The manner in which meaning is communicated in a joik is apparently less dependent on these individual motifs than on the entire gestalt of the piece, including elements which emerge only in its actual performance, like mimesis or gesture, both of which are obviously extremely difficult to transcribe with conventional notation (A. Gaup 1992, personal communication; see also Tirén 1932).

This concept of recombinant motifs, while useful perhaps in developing a very general overview of joik structure, runs into more problems when one takes into account that such a paradigm cannot readily be used to elucidate a tightly delimited form with a clearly defined beginning and ending. In the same manner that a specific 'motif' (or combination of motifs) is subject to personal interpretation and improvisation (often changing with each iteration, as in Figure 3.1 above), any given performance of a joik is likely to start and stop rather abruptly, frequently in what would be considered mid-phrase in Western terms (or in this

²⁴ There are exceptions to this noted in historical sources in regard to shamanic practices. In some instances it was apparently important for the *noaidi* to repeat a joik in the exact manner each time to guarantee its effectiveness (cf., Edström 1987; Kjellström *et al* 1988).

²⁵ This is an important distinction (i.e., 'descriptive' versus 'prescriptive' transcriptions) since so much of Tirén's and Launis' work proceeds from what appears to be general data to specific theoretical conclusions regarding the structure and predictability of joik. Given the emphasis Tirén himself placed on the improvisatory nature of the genre, such theorizing is tenuous to say the least.

context, mid-motif). Although this has a great deal to do with how a joik is conceived once it is created (to be discussed below), this apparent limitless (or circular) conception of joik presents another fundamental analytical problem: it is difficult to generalize about a musical structure if it has no firm point of departure nor caesura, no cadence nor climax which clearly provide structural boundaries. In my experience, most joiks actually begin more or less the same with each performance (although this may not always be the case from the performer's perspective); what may further contribute to this confusion, however, is the fact that a person joiking may start quite hesitantly, before finally settling in to the performance. Nevertheless, joiks can, and often do stop at different points, making analysis troublesome.²⁶

From the standpoint of an inexperienced listener this potentially disorienting attribute of joiking is exacerbated by the manner in which phrasing is essentially made subordinate to breathing. Rather than adhering to the Western musical conception of unobtrusive pauses for breath, usually coordinated with textual phrases, a person joiks until she no longer has enough air to support the production of sound; she then halts momentarily to refill her lungs, and starts where she left off; alternatively she may just stop all together, if the joik is complete to her satisfaction. Ultimately, however, such brusque stops and re-starts are not usually the result of conscious decisions by the performer, but are instead dependent on the mechanics of breathing.²⁷ Nevertheless, they often add to the initial confusion confronting many listeners with Western musical backgrounds, and have contributed historically to the misunderstanding of the 'musicality' of the Saami.

Joiking is inherently an emotionally charged means of expression, which affects the mode of performance in predictable ways. Once a joik is underway, there is a tendency to gradually

²⁶ In his transcriptions of the Swedish Radio joik recordings (i.e., Arnberg *et al* 1969), Edström places a symbol above what amounts to the 'final', which often does not correspond with the end of one of his motifs.

²⁷ They are, however, indicative of an important aspect of the underlying ideology of the genre in which joik compositions are not perceived to have a beginning or end once created or re-created in performance (A. Gaup 1992, personal communication; Stinnerbom 1992, personal communication). See §3.7 below for a more thorough discussion of this.

raise the pitch with each reprise, as the individual becomes more involved with the subject he is joiking (Edström 1978: 124; see also Arnberg *et al* 1969). This phenomenon can be quite subtle (as is most common) or strikingly significant: Arnberg and Matsson recorded a Swedish Saami man whose performance demonstrated a continual pitch elevation, eventually encompassing an entire octave (Arnberg *et al* 1969: 52). Coupled with this unusual performance feature is a relative lack of dynamics, particularly if one is joiking for others, a situation which usually dictates being as loud as possible.²⁸ The sound of joiking can nevertheless carry quite a distance when performed outside, not unlike yodeling (to which it has often been compared). In fact there are a number of accounts by Saami people that joiking was used in interpersonal communication across mountainous regions, to reassure grazing animals, and even to scare off potential predators.²⁹

Not surprisingly Western musical influence has had an effect on these aspects of the genre as well, with more 'regular' phrasing and the judicious use of subtle dynamics now found, particularly in commercially produced recordings; the introduction of instrumentation has placed an obvious constraint on the tendency to raise the fundamental pitch as well.³⁰ All such changes, however, are less perceptible in the more spontaneous realizations of joik which continue to occur within the Saami milieu.

3.3.2 North and South joik

When one analyzes joik melodies as whole units, the regional differences within the genre become more apparent. Some of this discrepancy may be the result of varying degrees of contact with non-Saami populations, but this is not necessarily predictable. Music

²⁸ This can be quite different if a person is simply joiking to himself, which is often not much louder than a barely audible hum.

²⁹ In this regard, joik takes on a function similar to the Scandinavian vocalizing (*vallåtar*) associated with cattle and sheep herding found throughout mountainous regions of Sweden and Norway (cf., Ling 1964).

³⁰ An interesting exception to this is found in the work of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, perhaps the leading proponent of the modern joik. Rather than compromise his joik performances, he has relied on synthesizers for much of his accompaniment specifically because they are capable of following his subtle pitch changes--thus fitting the technology to his tradition rather than the reverse (Valkeapää 1992: personal communication).

associated with the Christian church, for example, has not had a uniform affect on joik styles, even though it, along with Christianity, has spread nearly universally throughout Saamiland. The regional variations are much more likely an expression of the different Saami 'micro-cultures' within the Saami population. Therefore it is quite possible to distinguish among joik styles which follow the same lines of delineation evidenced in language, material culture, livelihood, etc. (see preceding chapter): North Saami speakers, for example, also have a North Saami joik style, which is discernibly different than that found among South Saami speakers.

This rather simplistic bifurcation nevertheless clarifies some useful melodic tendencies for each style in the following areas: ambitus, scale types, and intervallic preferences. Within the northern regions, for example, there is a marked bias toward relatively wide intervals (P4 or greater) and an overall melodic contour which often exceeds an octave (see Figure 3.1, above).³¹ In contrast to this, the southern style of joik typically exhibits a narrower ambit (rarely more than a m6) and intervallic movement is more restricted, with seconds and thirds predominating (see Figure 3.2). In terms of scale types, the southern joik style is also more constrained (to use a Western concept), with many joiks making use of repeated two- and three-note patterns. Shifting the analytical perspective up north, the scales comprising the melodies tend toward pentatonic and even hexatonic.³²

Like the joik transcription presented above, the next example (Figure 3.2) is from a contemporary Saami musician, this time from the southern region of Saamiland. The joik

³¹ Much of this information is taken from my own observations, but I have also relied on Edström's re-analysis work with various historical collections to develop a broader perspective; for more statistically oriented information, see Edström 1978, particularly Chapters 7 and 8. I have chosen not to express these stylistic differences in terms of percentages (although Edström does), as I feel this leads to more specific categorizations than the data warrant. I would reiterate that these regional criteria should be read as 'tendencies' rather than 'fact', particularly when placed in the current cultural context in which mass communications play such a dominant role.

³² Edström (following Tirén's lead) further distinguishes between pentatonic and anhemitonic pentatonic scales, with the latter predominating in the northernmost Saami regions (i.e., northern Norway) (Edström 1978: 118; 1987: 14; see also Tirén 1932).

presented here is one which the young man learned from an older person in his home district, and is a joik to a mountain somewhere along the western edge of central Sweden (the person joiking here was unsure of the exact location). Note the relatively narrow ambit of this example (a fifth), with a melody that seldom moves out of a frame emphasizing both the fifth and a minor third. This transcription represents a single repetition of the basic joik melody from which this particular performer rarely varies, also keeping the phrase lengths and the basic metrical division (which I have organized in 6 with a strong first and fourth beat) constant.³³

Original: down M3

A-ja-na ja-na ja-na na ja-na ja-na na ja-na na ha-na no-jo

a-ja- na ja-na na ja-na na jo-a-na o-no-no jo lo o no jo

Figure 3.2: South Saami joik, performed by Lars-Jonas Johansson

Returning for a moment to the actual sound of the joik, there are also some regional differences which deserve consideration. The 'tossed notes' and similar ornamentation are generally more common in the southern Saami districts. When combined with the relatively narrow ambit and limited melodic movement, the results are distinctly audible in contrast to the North Saami style (contrast Figures 3.2 and 3.1; note the use of 'tossed notes' to emphasize a pitch which is frequently repeated [e.g., from the 'c' to the 'a']). Given both the wider range and preference for larger intervallic leaps in the northern region, there is a corresponding change in vocal timbre to accommodate the resulting vocal acrobatics--this may even include the use of falsetto for males.

³³ This performance can be found on the accompanying tape as Audio Example A:4.

In contemporary practice, these regional melodic differences are not nearly as sharply drawn, a situation which can be attributed to several interrelated developments. In the southern districts of Saamiland, the loss of language is much more pronounced, with only a small percentage of the population speaking Saami as a first language. Concomitant with this has been a more generalized cultural decline (or at least a marked 'cloaking' of distinctly Saami practices), the success of assimilation policies being much more evident. Consequently the joik, always the subject of some inter-ethnic controversy, has not been a particularly viable means of expression in the southern region through most of this century. By comparison, the northern districts represent the 'heartland' of the Saami world, with a number of communities even having a Saami majority population. Far from being moribund, Saami is taught in a number of the schools and remains the language of choice in many families. Given this vigorous cultural environment, the joik has remained more audible in general in the north of Saamiland. With the gradual emergence of more public performances of joik, both staged and mediated, the northern style has dominated to the extent that it even serves as a model for other regions. The net effect of this has been a reawakening of interest in joik throughout Saamiland, but one which largely looks to the northern districts for aesthetic direction, a process which obviously downplays regional differentiation to some degree.

3.4 Joik texts

Given the lesser role that words play in conveying meaning in Saami joik, it is ironic that it was through the reproduction of joik 'poetry' that Saami culture first achieved widespread notoriety in Western Europe. In 1673 Johannes Schefferus published his *Laponia* (in Latin), containing among other items two lengthy joik texts dictated by a young Saami man, Olof Sirma, who was a theological student at the University of Uppsala in Sweden. These pieces, "Kulnasatj, my little reindeer cow" and "May the sun shine warmly on Ekkorvattnet [lit.: the Squirrel Water]", were subsequently reprinted in English (1674),

German (1675), French (1678) and Dutch (1682), and widely distributed as examples of unusually beautiful 'native' poetry.³⁴

With the exception of Schefferus' original publication, however, there was little in the later printings to suggest how this 'poetry' was performed, let alone any accurate description of its musical vehicle (Kjellström *et al* 1988: 106-107). Had there been more texts of similar 'literary significance' readily available, both the quantity and quality of joik scholarship would undoubtedly have followed a much different path of development, in all likelihood more closely resembling the monumental Scandinavian ballad studies of the 18th and 19th centuries.³⁵ Be that as it may, there was sufficient interest engendered by the Sirma-Schefferus collaboration that others periodically collected/published texts or fragments, providing us with some idea of what role text has played in the joik and to what extent this has changed.

If one listens to contemporary joik (or to virtually any of the historical recordings), however, it is difficult to reconcile the rather elaborate texts provided by Sirma and other Saami informants up through the early 19th century. For the most part the lyrics found in joik today are fragmentary by comparison (as was found in Figure 3.1, above); moreover, they often give way entirely to long strings of vocables comprising primarily single syllables ending in vowel sounds (monophthongs and diphthongs), viz., lai, la, lo, a, na, no, vai, etc. (this was exemplified in Figure 3.2, above).³⁶ Rather than indicating a degradation of the

³⁴ Von Herder translated these two poems for inclusion in his *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* (1778-79), which in turn later inspired both Goethe and Longfellow in their respective efforts to create a national poetic voice (Gaski 1987: 18-19).

³⁵ Although balladry and ballad scholarship is clearly beyond the purview of this work, it should be mentioned that the paradigms of European ballad collecting and analysis reached were established through works of such Scandinavian scholars as Grundtvig, Afzelius, Moe, Bugge, and others. In most cases the emphasis was on text, not music--had the joik been a more 'literary' form, perhaps it would have been collected with greater zeal from the beginning.

³⁶ There are exceptions, of course, including some disyllabic vocables (velle, volle, aja, etc.). In addition, some text transcriptions treat "na, na, na..." as "nan, nan, na..." since it is difficult to determine where the nasal /n/ initiates and ends--the same obviously holds true wherever this nasality occurs: "no, no = non, non..."

form, however, this apparent ambiguity is explained by the previous existence of different types of joik, of which only a small percentage contained lengthy texts (Gaski 1987: 11-13). The majority of joiks were of the type familiar to current audiences, containing sparse texts (if at all), interspersed with vocables (Kjellström *et al* 1988: 21).

Simply because so many of the joik texts appear incomplete or abbreviated, however, does not imply that they are meaningless or insignificant in the communication of meaning. It is important in this regard to recognize that any joik constitutes an inseparable musical entity in which melody, rhythm, and text/vocables all play a role in describing the subject of the joik. Foremost in importance in this structure is the combined melody and rhythm, which may suffice to fulfill the descriptive function without any textual contribution; the text provides hints and details in most cases.³⁷ The following is an example of how a just a few words interpolated into the melody can successfully add to the overall understanding of the joik subject, in this case a reindeer bull; note also the interspersed vocables.

And it was the reindeer bulls...val va la...
 They dashed, they rang
 with large bells...va la va la vol...
 And when the summer arrived
 their horns grew
 numerous reindeer, like a willow glade...

Anders Fjällman, Arjeplog Sweden (cf., Edström 1987)

This short example is quite representative of the genre, comparing favorably with other joiks collected at various times throughout Saamiland. Each line is merely a fragment, not meant to convey complete thoughts. The words instead contribute just a few additional details to what often constitutes a fairly complex and accurate musical 'portrait', describing both animate and inanimate subjects--the text works with the other components, but does not dictate how they take form.

³⁷ The exception to this being the subgenre of so-called 'epic joiks' in which text predominates (discussed below).

What such simplistic analyses of joik texts cannot adequately demonstrate, however, is the role that the Saami language takes in this process. It is not just cultural chauvinism which dictates the use of Saami in joiking, nor is it simply a matter of convenience, for there are those in the potential joik audience who do not speak the language with any fluency.³⁸ The answer lies instead in two interrelated aspects of Saami which make it ideally suited for this purpose. First, as a Finno-Ugric language, Saami is agglutinative, encouraging complex descriptive constructs simply with the addition or substitution of prefixes and suffixes to existing words. This creates the potential for a language rich in interpretation, even with what appears to be a rather limited vocabulary (Gaski 1993, personal communication). A working knowledge of Saami thus demands that one remain aware of the importance of context in discerning among multiple meanings of specific vocabulary. Consequently, the apparent brevity of many joik texts is in reality a clear example of the efficiency of the language to convey a message with relatively few words.

Aligned with this structural quality of Saami is a decided proclivity among speakers of the language for metaphor, making it possible to communicate several layers of meaning simultaneously. A particular joik text may adequately describe a herder's relationship with his animals on one level, for example, while actually depicting his concern over a series of failed love affairs (Gaski 1993, personal communication). Depending on one's linguistic abilities, either one or both of these subjects will be understood at some level. It is this layering function of the language which not only cultivates a more concise approach to text, but actually promotes the development of hidden meanings. Such has apparently often been the case, as when individuals (often non-Saami) have been rather effectively lampooned or castigated in joiks without their knowledge--even if they are Saami-speaking themselves, the

³⁸ This is more a reflection of a modern problem, that of declining language usage in some regions of Saamiland. Nevertheless, it reinforces the fact that joik is a complex form which supersedes the more conventional reliance on lyrics found in most song genres for conveying meaning.

intricacies of the language and the specific context can be combined to exclude all but the most intimately involved participants (cf., Jernsletten 1978; Gaski 1987).

Nevertheless, it must be reiterated that even in these examples the text remains subordinate to melody and rhythm. This becomes more apparent if one realizes that the same joik can be performed with vocables instead of some/all of the words without significant loss of meaning. Although this shift may further delimit the interpretive population, this is not an unusual occurrence, particularly when a specific joik is relatively well known within a community or region (Valkeapää 1968: 3; A. Gaup 1992, personal communication).

Yet, this does not imply that vocables are merely substitutes for language. There are many joiks which exclusively make use of these 'nonsense syllables' rather than resorting to conventional text; in no way are these considered degenerate or less functional, since their primary means of communicating (melody/rhythm) remains intact. To some extent the use of vocables is regional, with more examples of their exclusive use found in the southern districts of Saamiland,³⁹ but they are found in virtually all joik repertoires regardless of geographic orientation (cf. Tirén 1928).

3.4.1 Epic joik

There also exists, however, a small body of joiks which differ markedly in their greater reliance on text to convey meaning, often relating stories and myths, or describing more complex situations in detail, all within a framework that more closely resembles some of the epic genres of surrounding cultures.⁴⁰ These are known primarily through historical collections rather than contemporary performance, leading several scholars to conclude that this was once an important sub-genre of joiking which has faded or was driven into extinction by the effects of assimilation and christianizing (cf., Gaski 1987; Wiklund 1906).

³⁹ This has led some to suggest that the use of vocables exists in inverse relation to the use of language, but there is little historical evidence to support this.

⁴⁰ Some scholars have concluded that the so-called epic joik was really just a copy of existing epic singing/recitation in Scandinavia rather than endemic to Saami culture (cf., Wiklund 1906). This perspective has been effectively challenged by both literary and linguistic scholars in recent years as ethnocentric at best (cf., Gaski 1987).

Given the complexity of the texts, and to some extent the evidence of regular meter, it is presumed that these joiks were far more rigid in their performance, necessarily adhering to a fairly simple melodic structure which served as a vehicle for the unfolding of the story--an obvious reversal of the usual importance of melody in joik.⁴¹

Surprisingly, the best evidence for this supposition, however, comes from a pair of remarkable performances of very long narrative joiks, recorded as part of the Swedish Radio joik project in Tärnaby, Sweden in 1953. Nils Mattias Andersson, a retired reindeer herder, was 71 at the time of the recordings. Like many of the informants used in this particular project, he had strong personal memories stretching back to a time when herding families were self-sufficient and virtually entirely nomadic, a Saami lifestyle which seemed destined to complete extinction in post World War II Scandinavia. Of the two joiks which he provided, the better known is "The reindeer herd on Oulavuolie," a complex narration which continues to captivate listeners/readers with its tale of a herd of reindeer perilously close to disaster on the great Oulavuolie glacier.⁴² Andersson's joik is a prime example of the subtle use of allegory and metaphor to describe a subject which is simultaneously about his personal losses and the demise of his culture--the old man's voice often breaks under the emotional strain of the performance.

The musical component, however, verges on monotony, being subordinated in this case to the communication of a profoundly text-oriented message. The ambitus is restricted to a m3 at most, with many phrases/motifs reiterating just two pitches. Rhythmically, the text guides the structure as well, with a notable syllabic/recitational approach throughout.

⁴¹ This conjecture must be taken with a note of caution, however, as there is evidence of extreme editing and/or restructuring in some of the preserved texts (cf., Wiklund 1906; Gaski 1987), as was the practice of much folkloric collecting during the early 19th century in western Europe.

⁴² Andersson's second joik, "The Priest Joik" is an often humorous account of the meeting of cultures, symbolized by the visit of a Lutheran priest to a Saami family. The latter character demonstrates a great degree of compassion and understanding for his Saami hosts, providing a much more benign view of the clergy than often emerges in their own writings about their Saami parishioners.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of Andersson's two joiks, though, is the fact that they were spontaneously improvised, a feat he was never able to repeat despite efforts to do so. In this regard, these performances do not differ significantly from other joiks in their underlying motivation to convey an emotional response to a perceived and remembered experience. Nevertheless, they represent a unique record of what is now regarded as a lost type of joik, having taken their place along side the historical collections of similar epic-style texts. Even within the so-called 'joik renaissance' of the last few decades, there has been no similar performance reported.

3.5 Joik as a descriptive musical device

Given the fact that the joik is an oral/aural tradition, and one which furthermore emphasizes improvisation as an integral component of both compositional and performance processes, it should be obvious that it is problematic to define strict universal stylistic parameters governing anything but the most general structural features of the genre. As discussed above, there are instead distinct regional styles of joiking, which at the macro level, essentially follow the same geographical deliniations as language and other cultural expressions (i.e., North, South, Lule, etc.); at the micro level, residents of a community or district may further distinguish their own efforts from that of their close neighbors. Thus, one may speak with certainty not only of Northern and Southern joik styles, for example, but Kautokeino as opposed to Masi or Karasoik styles within the Northern region.⁴³

What is common to all of these areas, however, is the descriptive function that the genre fulfills: a joik always has a subject; it is never simply a melody without any reference to something in the joiker's environment or life experience. Through myriad combinations of rhythm, melodic fragments or intervallic patterns, tempo, text, and even mimesis or gesture, the individual creating a joik (or recreating it, for that matter) attempts to capture the

⁴³ As well as constituting convenient etic categories derived for analysis, these distinctions are in keeping with emic classifications. Just as one finds with language, there are discreet dialects of joik throughout the districts of Saamiland where the genre is still prevalent--one can only assume that these regionalizations were more obvious in the past.

essence of the subject, whether human, animal, or some other entity. This aspect of the genre is fundamental to Saami culture, not just as a means of entertainment (although this is an important role as well), but in the manner in which such 'descriptions' serve to connect individuals to and within a particular conception of community.

3.5.1 Personal joiks

Just as joik as a whole demonstrates regional stylistic variations, there are also some differences in the type and popularity of joik subjects. The most prevalent type overall is the personal joik (cf., Edström 1978: 101; see also Arnberg et al 1969), which when conveyed in the appropriate way, reveals an accurate musical portrayal of a particular individual (A. Gaup 1992: personal communication). Given the dominance of this type of joik, it is surprising to most outsiders that not all Saami have a personal joik, nor is there an expectation that all will have one within their lifetime (cf., Jernsletten 1978). Nevertheless, having a personal joik remains an important element in the construction of an individual's identity in a number of Saami communities, due in no small part to its potential for drawing people together; this is particularly true in the northern Saami regions (op. cit.). A person receives this type of joik from another rather than creating it for himself; nor will he perform his own joik, even after acquiring it--that remains the responsibility of others.⁴⁴

Although the practice of joiking rarely extends outside of Saami culture, the subjects of joik are not so circumscribed, with numerous examples found in the literature of joiks to non-Saami; the latter include quite a surprising number of officials (both local and national), and a great variety of personal joiks for non-Saami friends.⁴⁵ Such joiks need not be positive, either, and may actually be quite blunt in their negativity, depicting an individual at his

⁴⁴ This practice may be changing to some extent, with one well known joiker in Norway suggesting that one's own joik might serve as a means of introduction--a musical calling card of sorts (A.M. Gaup 1990, personal conversation). So far, however, I have found the proscription against auto-joiking to continue as the normative practice.

⁴⁵ In Karl Tirén's collection (*Die lappische Volksmusik*) of joiks, there are several such examples, including joiks to a public office, not to a specific personage (Tirén 1942; see also Edström 1987 for an example from Tirén).

worst moments (Turi 1917: 202; Tirén 1942: 41). Often a personal joik will include a touch of humor or irony as well, which is perfectly in keeping with the Saami predilection for subtle teasing and word play, a practice that crosses both generational and gender lines (A. Balto 1992, personal communication). As an example of this, I once heard a German woman joiked in recognition of her ethnological work in a Saami community; the old man joiking concluded his performance with a sharp "Achtung!" which brought much laughter from all those present (including the subject of the joik). The irony of this performance was not lost on the older members of the audience, however, most of whom had lived through the Nazi occupation of Norway and forced relocations of World War II.

Regardless of the person singled out, the overarching principle is the same: to capture that individual's personality and/or physical appearance with a musical depiction. Rather than trying to create a complete musical portrait, however, a personal joik most often builds on notable behavior or attributes. These serve as the core around which the person creating such a joik elaborates. One might wish to describe an individual by her way of walking, or perhaps concentrate on a deed--physical prowess is a common characteristic, but there are also examples which focus on a person's wealth (Edström 1987). Those adept at this practice can both convey this information to others, and interpret it for themselves when presented with a joik they have not heard, providing it is within their specific realm of interest and skill. A good personal joik, thus, is one which faithfully details another person, while simultaneously demonstrating an intimate knowledge of that individual's character, appearance, and personality (A. Gaup 1992, personal communication; see also Forsslund 1914: 97-102).⁴⁶ Although mimesis may be an aid in this process, it is not necessary by any means--the methods more likely are restricted to musical and textual information alone.

Having a personal joik goes beyond simple peer recognition, however--this type of joik frequently serves to situate the individual more firmly within Saami culture. To joik someone

⁴⁶ It is this implied connection between joiker and subject which makes self-description an untenable prospect--such behavior would be seen as something akin to bragging or boasting.

or something gives expression to a perceived intimate link with the subject. According to one informant, this is particularly true when the subject is another person: "It's like saying 'I love you', or 'I hate you', but instead it's 'I joik you'," (A. Gaup 1992, personal communication). To receive a joik (to be joiked by another) is a recognition of one's value to the individual who joiks; in fact, it is an inclusive process whereby one is brought into an acknowledged relationship with that person, and under the right circumstances, with an entire community. Among some Saami, there is even a strong sense that receiving a personal joik is a "naming process" by which an individual is formally inducted into his/her immediate group (Gaski 1992: personal communication).⁴⁷

This aspect of joiking introduces a critical facet of Saami culture, in that it demonstrates a conception of individuality which best finds expression and confirmation within the context of a group of peers (Kjellström *et al* 1988: 16-17). The act of being joiked theoretically provides an accurate description of one's personality, appearance and comportment; as such, it is a credit to who one is as an individual. Yet this is played out in front of others who serve to validate the musical definition by their participation as interpreters, and potentially as performers themselves--it is a dynamic process which encourages the involvement of many. Moreover, a personal joik becomes a type of communal property: the person who creates the joik relinquishes it to the individual in question, but it is then free to be used by others when describing or recalling that same individual (Gaski 1993, personal communication; see also Turi 1917).⁴⁸

As if to reinforce this relationship, a joik is always named for its subject, never for the individual who created it. Thus, "Anden Piera" is the personal joik of Anden Piera, it

⁴⁷ I know of a Saami family in which all of the children are joiked soon after birth and quickly learn to respond to this 'name'. On one occasion I heard the father call his children by joiking them--even the baby reacted favorably to her joik. Nevertheless, these childhood joiks are not likely to carry into adulthood, particularly since they do not provide a full description of the individual. The children will more likely be joiked again later in life, as they assume more responsibility and demonstrate their own character.

⁴⁸ A personal joik is actually the property of the individual joiked, and in theory she/he must give permission to anyone wishing to perform it (A. Gaup 1992: personal communication).

describes Anden Piera, and not the individual who joiks it. Once a person is joiked, that specific composition continues to identify the subject for others whenever it is heard, regardless of whether that individual is present or not. This does not dictate an immutable form, however, for such a joik is also likely to change, reflecting perceived differences in a person's character over time (A. Gaup 1992, personal communication).⁴⁹ This malleability further induces others to become part of the ongoing process, which in turn reinforces one's position within the community.

Because of the intimate nature of personal joiks, it is highly possible for a person to have more than one joik, a situation which may arise in a variety of ways. An individual of significant stature may essentially attract this type of personal homage from others, particularly if she has several remarkable attributes which encourage such honors--each joik might express some particular aspect of this person's life. A person may also have a joik that describes some trait (either positive or negative) which remains relatively unrecognized by others. There are also instances where an existing joik is modified slightly to fit another--one can inherit a joik, for example (A. Gaup 1992, personal communication).

Presuming that a person has a joik, however, one's viability as an individual within the community is dependent to a great extent on the periodic performance of that joik by others, under various validating circumstances. It can be used as a form of greeting among friends, for example, as when one joiks someone upon seeing them, or as a means of recalling someone who is not there. What fosters this continuity has been characterized by Jernsletten as a "joik milieu" (Jernsletten 1978: 117), wherein a group of individuals (often no more than an extended family) are sufficiently familiar with each other, and with the immediate joiking tradition, to provide the ideal interpretive community for both the creation

⁴⁹ Here I would reiterate that one rarely performs one's own personal joik--it is up to others to create, bestow, and continue performing this 'gift', thus emphasizing how this genre contributes to the construction of a sense of community, by encouraging the involvement of others.

of new joiks and the persistence of older ones.⁵⁰ This 'joik milieu' is in other words predicated on the effectiveness of the *süda* structure. Joiking at this level of personal interaction is grounded in common experiences and common frames of reference, allowing for much use of coding and brevity, in respect to the use of both musical formulae and texts. Thus, in order to fully appreciate the accuracy of one's own personal joik, one must be (or become) fully immersed within this community. Lacking this intimate perspective, a joik likely remains indecipherable to the person for whom it is intended, at least at the level of cognition from which it emerges.⁵¹

Not only are people a common joik subject, but the range of emotions and relations experienced among people are joiked as well. Thus there are myriad joiks which address the sensations of love, joy or sorrow, while others deal with activities like courtship or parting. In each instance, the person creating the joik draws from the same variety of melodic/rhythmic, textual, and gestural/mimetic resources as are used for joiking particular individuals. Although less specific in scope, these joiks are still conceived as an emotional response to the subject, and may be triggered by direct experience, or by something which simply engages the memory process. In either case, the resulting joik is thought to be the most inclusive of human responses, drawing the subject and the person joiking together in a manner surpassing other expressions.

⁵⁰ The specificity of this perspective obviously presents a problem when trying to account for many of the new joiks which are spread far outside these rather narrow cultural confines via the media. Nevertheless, Jernsletten's views provide a valuable place to begin understanding what I see as an inherent quality of the genre, that of drawing individuals together.

⁵¹ Gaski offers an interesting and insightful hypothetical situation which confirms this: he posits that an individual (A) joiks an individual (B), who is not from the same immediate family/community. Thus, B does not recognize himself in the joik until he becomes more familiar with A's joik milieu. B accomplishes this by listening to the same joik (his own) a number of times, slowly learning to identify it; in the process he is drawn into the community to a different degree than before (Gaski 1991: 103-107).

3.5.2 Reindeer joiks

Humans are not the only subjects for joik, however. Given the importance of the environment for those Saami still connected with reindeer herding and other traditional lifestyles, it is not surprising that many joiks are concerned with the other inhabitants of the forests, mountains, rivers, lakes, and plateaus that one finds throughout Saamiland. Among the joiks to animals, the most prevalent describe reindeer, either as stereotypes (e.g., a joik to 'the white calf' or 'a tame castrated bull'), specific animals (e.g., a joik to a particular prized sled-pulling animal), or even entire herds. Reindeer joiks (and those to other animals) describe not only the animals' physical appearance, but as in those to human counterparts, their behavior as well. An example of a reindeer joik can be found on the audio tape (Audio Example A:5).

One Saami man suggested that the type of relationship herders have with their reindeer actually has a profound effect on joiking practices. As he pointed out, among the Lule and South Saami, whose technique of herding (intensive) brings them into close contact with their animals, the great preponderance of joiks are to reindeer, superseding even the personal joiks in these regions (K. Stoor 1991, personal communication; see also Edström 1978: 112). The sheer variety of joiks to reindeer found throughout Saamiland, and in all of the major collections in Scandinavia, attest to the value of this animal in Saami culture.⁵² Given this status, the reindeer is often used metaphorically in joiks as well, sometimes called upon to represent specific individuals or more general personality traits which are considered analogous with humans (Gaski 1993: personal communication). Moreover, the reindeer as a ubiquitous symbol of Saami life can serve to express some aspect of the culture as a whole, including concern over marked change, as in the epic joik, "The reindeer herd on Oulavuolie" described above.

⁵² There are joiks to virtually all aspects of reindeer herding, including the slaughter of the animals (cf., Edström 1987).

3.5.3 Other animals

Other frequently joiked animals are the predators which range over Saamiland: the wolf, the lynx, the wolverine, and the bear (K. Stoor 1992, personal communication). Wolf joiks generally focus on the animal's voracious appetite for reindeer, and may resort to extreme hyperbole to make this point in texted examples (cf. Edström 1987; Kjellström *et al* 1988). The lynx and the wolverine, while both posing a threat to herds, are not the subjects of joiks nearly as often as the wolf, who remains the most disparaged culprit.⁵³ A wolf joik is included on the accompanying tape (Audio Example A:6).

The bear represents a special case, given the historical importance of this animal in Saami ritual (Manker 1972). Joiks to the bear typically include a mixture of reverence and fear evincing the high regard in which the animal is held; the animal's status is further evidenced by the elaborate ceremonies conducted in the past, in preparation for the killing and subsequent consumption and burial of a bear (Norlander-Unsgaard 1985). From descriptions of these rituals we learn that mimesis played an important role in properly joiking the bear. Even after the decline of these rituals, bear joiks could be particularly moving, as the following account by Karl-Erik Forsslund demonstrates:

Och där är Greta Johansson, en liten rättfram, humoristisk gumma, hon sjunger en lång sång om sitt möte med en björn: >>Björnen går och slår ihjäl en skällvaja, och den stupar, och han börjar äta och gräver en grop i sanden och äter kött och sand tillsammans (så bråttom har han, menar hon), och när han är mätt av köttet, somnar han. Då kom jag till honom, och när han fick se mig komma, blev han rädd och sprang sin väg--jag ropade, och han sprang till skogs.>> Hon framför sången mycket dramatiskt, härmar björnens lunk ypperligt både med sångens rytm och med åtbörder, vaggas hela tiden av och

⁵³ This difference in perception is not limited to joik. Wolves still represent the most significant four-legged threat to reindeer throughout Scandinavia, as an ongoing series of articles throughout 1991-92 in the magazine *Samefolket* will attest. The Saami have run into political difficulties in recent years with potential allies in the Green Party over this issue, the latter advocating protection for the wolf, while the former routinely shoot them to protect their herds.

an, svänger och vevar armen--djupt allvarlig, stirrar rakt fram, helt gripen av minnet--hon ser björnen framför sig lika tydligt, som hon såg honom i skogen.

(And there is Greta Johansson, a small outspoken, humorous, old lady, she sings a long song about her meeting with a bear: "The bear came and struck down a bell-cow, and it died, and he began to eat and dig a pit in the sand and to eat meat and sand together (he was in such a hurry, she means), and when he is full he sleeps. Then I came up to him, and when he saw me coming, he became scared and ran away--I shouted and he ran into the forest." She presented the song very dramatically, imitated the bear's trot superbly both in the rhythm of the song and with gestures, rocking the whole time to and fro, swinging and waving with her arms--deeply serious, staring straight ahead, just as she saw him in the woods.)

Forsslund 1914: 97 (my translation)

Virtually any creature found in the Saami environment is appropriate for joiking. Consequently there are examples of rodents, various birds (particularly the ptarmigan), fish, and even insects (cf. Tirén 1942; Edström 1978).⁵⁴ But a joik to these animals may also imply something other than a simple desire to describe another inhabitant of Saamiland. In discussions of shamanic ritual, the reindeer, the bird, and the fish are described as 'helper' figures to the noaidi. Thus, some existing animal joiks may actually retain remnants of the joiks to these integral participants in the noaidi's journeys. Animal joiks can also be used in a pedagogical fashion: by joiking a particular animal in response to some human behavior, one can draw a parallel between animal and human--an obstreperous young boy may be likened to a lemming, for example (Tirén 1942: 30). In this manner, the joik serves double duty, describing both a well-known animal and, by extension, suggesting to an individual that he should modify his behavior or suffer further chastisement--a fine example of the potential for multiple levels of interpretation of a joik.

⁵⁴ The ubiquitous mosquito is the subject of joiks, thanks to its role in driving the reindeer up to the mountains in the early summer--the animals move willingly to escape this pesky insect.

3.5.4 Other joik subjects

Not all joik subjects are living either, although their characterization may be anthropomorphized to some extent. Examples of this include both physical sites or locations, objects, and events--in all cases, the subjects reflect some significance for the individual joiking them, conveying highly personal feelings rather than simple commentaries on physical features of the environment (Ruong 1969: 16). One can joik a specific mountain which figures in the annual migration (the joik in Figure 3.2, for example), a particular grazing area, or other important features on the landscape, thus creating musical landmarks. In the past, sacrificial offering sites were commonly joiked (cf., Tirén 1942), although this practice has understandably decreased with the decline of ritual behavior in the wake of organized missionary activity.

Another subject for joiking can be a town or village, in this case perceived as an entity which many experience together.⁵⁵ In recent years there have even been joiks to the newest work mates in the Saami environment, the snowmobile and the motorcycle. In addition, there are joiks which descriptively document events. One of the best known historical examples of this is a joik commemorating the so-called Kautokeino massacre in 1852, in which several non-Saami were killed during a protest by the Saami population (cf. Edström 1987; Sámi Instituhtta 1990).

Like personal joiks, these musical descriptions are intended to communicate intimate feelings about the subject, rather than merely listing observable characteristics. As such, they also provide a link between the individual joiking and his/her subject, in much the same manner as is expressed among humans through personal joiks. In this instance, however, the connection typically extends beyond the confines of one's immediate community to embrace the environment, and those entities which share it. Whereas a joik to a mountain

⁵⁵ At a concert in April 1992, I heard a Saami man joik Kautokeino (Norway) as part of the annual Easter week celebrations there. He was not joiking the inhabitants of the town, but the whole location as a single conception.

may not seem to suggest the same order of intimacy that a personal joik does, it is nevertheless a charged means of situating oneself firmly as a participant in the same environment, by expressing one's close relationship with the subject.

3.6 Constructing meaning in joik

Just how such descriptions are accomplished musically presents an analytical conundrum for the outsider, regardless of the type of joik subject discussed. Past attempts to elucidate this issue have adopted a number of approaches, from quantitative analyses of intervals, melodic contours, rhythmic patterns, and music/language relationships (cf. Lüderwaldt 1976), to focused research on the repertoire of a single individual in hopes of generalizing a joik 'grammar' of sorts (cf., Graff 1985).⁵⁶ What emerges from these various efforts, beyond highly systematic dissections of joik melodies and texts into statistical units, is a recognition that this descriptive process is deeply embedded within all of Saami culture, on one level, while remaining subject to regional and even personal interpretation. No amount of objective data, apparently, will get us any closer to the 'meaning' of the joik and how it is conveyed musically, unless we also focus our attention on the specific 'joik milieu' wherein composition and performance occurs.⁵⁷

Within each community where joiking remains vital, there is a tacit understanding among those who practice the genre that this function to describe something/someone with music exists. With some types of joiks, there may be a conscious effort to include sonic elements such as bird calls or other animal noises, all of which provide concrete hints and

⁵⁶ While Graff's work is an exemplary attempt to solve this musical riddle, it has proven difficult to extrapolate beyond the individual in question and his immediate surrounding community (Graff 1990 and 1992, personal communication).

⁵⁷ One is reminded here of Geertz's queries regarding the advisability of someone from outside seeking to adequately penetrate the 'native' point of view. By picking apart various joik examples, seeking a 'grammar' in order to explain such phenomena as its descriptive function, there seems all too often to be a conspicuous omission of the role that cultural inculcation plays in this process. A concentration on hard quantifiable data is not justified in this instance if underlying cultural assumptions about the genre are not addressed at the same time (cf., Geertz 1973; 1986).

reinforce the desired link with the subject.⁵⁸ In other instances, the imagery in a joik is bolstered with mimicry and gesturing, or even a combination of audible and visual cues. But the vast majority of these musical descriptions rely on much more abstract relationships between sound and image, one which requires a great deal of personal involvement with the person joiking and her subject before accurate interpretation is possible. For those outside the milieu this poses a problem, as Hugh Beach, an American anthropologist who lived for many years among the Saami in Jokkmokk, Sweden observed: "For a Saami a joik can be a joik, while to an outsider the same joik can only be heard as a song. To hear one spring unannounced from the lips of a herder in the context which inspired it and to share its feeling is an unforgettable experience" (Beach 1988: 13).⁵⁹

Going beyond a lack of innate familiarity with the genre based on long term exposure, however, what often further thwarts attempts to analyze this phenomenon is a preconception generated by similar perceived functions within the Western musical system. Through exposure to descriptive devices commonly used in our own music compositional processes, we have come to accept the use of particular timbres, harmonic stresses, recurrent motifs, and instrumentation, all arrived at by the composer and carefully contrived to produce a predictable response in the exposition of a particular story or theme. As is generally true among the Saami, our ability to interpret the results is dependent upon our experience with the given genre (orchestral music for example), and our familiarity with the works of the specific author and/or composer. But our response is also quite context bound: I suspect that we do not all immediately think of "Il Commadore" in Mozart's *Don Giovanni* each time we hear a trombone, even if played 'ominously'; nor do we necessarily recognize the function

⁵⁸ I have recordings of two men who each make extensive use of such audible mimicry in their joiks to various animals, including dogs, cats, ptarmigan, crows, and others.

⁵⁹ Swedish musicologist Carl-Allan Moberg's experiences in this regard provide an excellent example of the potential interpretive difficulties faced by outsiders. Told by an informant to listen closely to a particular reindeer joik which was supposed to describe how powerfully the animal moved, he states, "although one was directed to pay attention to that feature, one could not understand in which way this joik came 'more powerfully forth' " (cited in Edström 1987: 8 [my translation]).

of the sequence of notes Berlioz chose to describe the protagonist's head dropping in the basket in the "March au supplice" in his *Symphonie fantastique*, if we have not been informed of its significance before hearing the piece performed. Clearly the relationship between the musical phenomena constituting these 'images' and the images themselves is symbolic, arrived at arbitrarily by the composer, who may or may not heed musical conventions in the process. In the best of situations, there is enough agreement between the composer's choice of these devices and the interpretants' preconceived understanding of them, that lengthy explanations are avoided. We are accustomed to approaching this type of music as a potential puzzle, often to be solved only by consultation with 'experts'.

It is not at all unusual, then, that our first reaction to the descriptive potential of Saami joik is prejudiced to a degree by our own culturally influenced perceptions. We expect to find a similar broad vocabulary in place (or at least the conception of one), but this leads to an obvious disjuncture, or at the very least, a good deal of frustration. Instead of the vivid sound palette we have come to anticipate through Western classical music traditions (to continue with the example developed above), we are faced with a single human voice and a series of reiterated short melodic motifs, with or without text. And yet, within the performance of a joik, these few elements combine to produce a persuasive picture of what is being joiked--one which admittedly requires culture-specific 'lenses' to be properly understood, but where these lenses exist, they are shared to a great degree by all those whose lives are intertwined with the individuals who joik.

Rather than presenting the Saami 'audience' with an enigma to demonstrate his/her expertise, a person joiking uses the musical resources at hand to articulate effectively and *efficiently* with his peers in a manner that transcends language. This is imperative if the joik is to continue in its role as a unique means of communication within Saami culture: when the efforts of an individual exceed the knowledge of the interpretant(s), the joik fails both in its potential as a descriptive device, and as an element in the inclusive process which

serves to link the joiker, the subject, and the interpretant. The traditional performance of joik (i.e., within the 'joik milieu') is a highly personal expression (the product of an individual), but one which is bound by aesthetics and standards that emerge from interpersonal exchanges within the performer's community. Innovation is secondary to meeting the expectations of one's peers, who play an important role in the entire process (Gaski 1993: 1-2)--both the individual joiking and the listening/receiving party (which may admittedly be just the joiker) are active participants in the performance, with the subject of the joik representing the locus of attention.

For non-Saami (particularly Westerners), however, there is little to draw on in our own musical experience that is analogous to this tripartite relationship. Attempts to analyze joik repertoire in hopes of discerning specific patterns have proven fruitful in a very general sense, in that it is possible to list structural characteristics which are identified with various regions in Saamiland (e.g., wide or narrow ambitus). With such knowledge it is a relatively simple matter to learn to distinguish among the joik 'dialects',⁶⁰ beginning with the grossest distinctions (e.g., North/South) and becoming more geographically specific with practice. What remains elusive in these exercises, however, is the underlying knowledge of metaphor (both musical and text oriented) and self-referencing which occurs continually in these compositions and provide the best clues to 'meaning' in joik. With a grasp of Saami language, this is alleviated to some degree, but only to the extent that one recognizes the potential multiple interpretations of words and phrases endemic to the language and to the particular dialect used (Gaski 1993, personal communication); even in the example of joiks which have no text--and in some areas these represent the majority of joik compositions--fluency in Saami may still be of great importance in trying to comprehend what is being

⁶⁰ I use this term largely because this was how regional differences were explained to me by various informants. I take this description to mean that there exists some degree of systematic mutual intelligibility among those who joik in different 'dialects', even though I realize that this definition is not without controversy from a socio-linguistic perspective (Edwards 1985: 1922; Fromkin and Rodman 1988: 254.)

expressed in a joik performance, given the oft suggested relationship between language and joik.⁶¹

For each community in which joik retains an active role, then, there are conventions of performance which incorporate a variety of elements, from preference for melody types and subject matter to linguistic and musical metaphors and allusions. While there is predictable discrepancy from one interpretive community to the next (i.e., due to local differences in joik styles), this need not mean that individuals from separate villages cannot communicate through joiking with or for one another. Those who participate in joik performance, either by joiking or interpreting, share an underlying ideology which accounts for the fundamental descriptive capacity of the genre and overrides obvious audible disparities in their joiking styles. It is just such a cultural assumption, downplaying differences in style to a significant degree, which makes it possible to discuss joik as a single musical entity representing all of Saami culture.⁶²

In practice, however, these confrontations of style (and potential dialectical confusion) are a relatively recent manifestation, in that prior to the wider dispersal of joiking through media resources, most performances were confined within specific communities or families. To be sure there has always been a great deal of influence from other Saami and non-Saami sources, with some joiking sounding rather remarkably like hymnody or even Scandinavian dance music (cf., Edström 1978), but by and large the regional joik dialects have been

⁶¹ There is actually some evidence of a connection between the sound structure of Saami language and joik. One informant suggested to me that this relationship was most evident in the rhythms of a joik, a claim that he further demonstrated by first speaking a sentence slowly in Saami, carefully articulating syllables and stresses, and then using the resultant patterns to make a joik (A. Gaup 1992, personal communication).

⁶² I want to emphasize here that this is not just a personal observation, but one which was reiterated by various Saami informants. What sets joiking apart from prevailing Western musical genres is its presumed ability to engage Saami audiences at a level which is often seen as endemic to the culture--by virtue of being Saami, one understands joik (Johansson 1992, personal conversation).

retained.⁶³ As was mentioned earlier, however, some of these same dialects have begun to dominate mediated joik performances to the extent that they are evolving into a more generalized pan-Saami style. Moreover, in the process of becoming less regionally specific, this new style is effectively boosting the overall viability of the genre by providing models of performance in regions where joiking has been severely curtailed (Kjellström *et al* 1988: 17).

3.7 Joik as a memory device

In his 1910 book *Muitalus sámiid birra*, Saami author Johan Turi provides a simple summary of joiking, which, in spite of its brevity, demonstrates a unique inside perspective on the genre missing from most of the early European sources⁶⁴: "This is a way of recalling other people; some are remembered with hate, some with love, and some with sorrow. And often these songs concern certain places, or animals...the wolf, and the reindeer, and the tame reindeer" (Turi 1917: 163). While this citation handily reiterates the variety of typical joik subjects, perhaps the most significant aspect is Turi's emphasis on 'recall' (or 'remembering' as it can also be translated). Building on the genre's potential for creating accurate descriptions of a subject, Turi's sparsely worded description introduces the means by which a joik serves to establish a profound connection between performer/ interpretant and subject, that of actively engaging memories.⁶⁵

As was the case with musical description, however, the concept of recall or memory is rife with preconceptions which deserve some cautionary attention. According to Neisser, our

⁶³ Striking examples of this can be found in Jokkmokk, Sweden, where two different Saami populations (one North and the other Lule speaking) co-exist, the northern group having migrated to the area some seventy years ago. Yet, each retains its own distinct joik dialect.

⁶⁴ Turi's statement remains one of the most engaging encapsulations of the genre, perhaps because it is so deceptively simple. See Arnberg *et al* 1969; Edström 1978; and Kjellström *et al* 1988 for other recent examples using this quotation as a point of analytical departure.

⁶⁵ Kjellström uses the analogy of a photo album to try to describe the process by which joiking strengthens memories for those who are actively involved with it: not only does a photograph jog our memory of how an individual or place appears, but it provides us with something concrete to focus our memories. Although I think this is an interesting comparison, I agree with Kjellström's own critique that this comparison falls short of relating the depth of feeling that many Saami report when experiencing a particularly well conceived and performed joik. (Kjellström *et al* 1988: 19; Kjellström 1992, personal conversation).

Western proclivity for separating the process and products of 'memory' from other processes of the human mind (e.g., 'will', 'thought', 'emotion') is a holdover from medieval epistemological models which organized human experience into discrete categories. Such constructs unfortunately prevent us from fully comprehending how people use past experiences in their present-day lives--we fail to see how all of these thought processes potentially combine as an "organic whole," one in which 'memory' plays a significant role in our comprehension of present 'reality' and our aspirations for the future (Neisser 1982: 10-12). And yet, among those who joik, such categorizations are less clear: given the intimate link implied between subject and joiker, no matter how distant across space and time, and the crucial role that memory plays as a motivator and source in the genre, I would contend that such concepts as past, present and future collapse in the practice of joik, at least for the period of performance.

I can think of no better clarification of this phenomenon than to return to the way in which personal joiks are used to both honor and recognize an individual. Within Saami communities and families where joik remains a common occurrence,⁶⁶ joiking an individual is tantamount to a formal recognition of his or her existence, even if they are not physically present at the time of performance (Valkeapää 1978, cited in Kjellström et al 1988: 16).⁶⁷ For the individual joiking (and by extension to her 'audience') the very act of describing a person in this way is enough to make the subject momentarily perceptible to all of those participating at the performer's same level of comprehension (Bær cited in Jernsletten 1978: 110-111). This musical representation, as related above, draws on the essence of the subject to develop its descriptive power, but is fundamentally an act of combining memories with

⁶⁶ I want to draw a distinction for this argument between joik which occurs in a 'traditional' context and that which is conveyed largely from staged or mediated contexts. It is my thought that the potential symbolism of performances of the latter type derives largely from the function of joik elaborated here--I develop this argument later in ensuing chapters.

⁶⁷ Anders Bær explains: "A luohiti is like a friend; when you are alone out in the mountains and recall a good friend, you joik that friend's luohiti, and it does you a great deal of good" (cited in Jernsletten 1978: 113 [my translation]).

whatever present experiences provoke the actual impetus to joik. As Turi avers, this is primarily an act of *recalling*, providing a means of giving voice to memories of individuals, animals, places, etc., and rejuvenating them in musical form.⁶⁸

This same relationship between joiker and subject, however, extends beyond the present to include those who are no longer living, a process which ensures both the continuation of one's life (via memory) within a community, and the persistence of the community itself (Stoor 1991, personal communication). By joiking an individual after her death, the joiker recreates that person for himself and those around him, in the same manner as if she were merely momentarily absent (i.e., there is no particular memorial function implied).⁶⁹ Each time the joik is heard, this acquaintance is renewed, providing a predictable connection between performer/listener and subject, which in turn serves to confirm a perception of community by stressing shared experience. At the moment of performance, past and present converge: utilizing the potential descriptive power of the genre, the individual joiker supersedes the barriers of time, uniting immediate experiences with memories and putting them in an audible, and thus tangible form. Through this process, younger generations not only gain valuable knowledge of their forebears (on the order of listening to stories), but actually become part of the process through the inclusive function which joik fulfills. To joik a deceased relative (or an animal, for that matter) pays homage to the past, but in so doing, brings the matter very much into the present (and vice-versa).⁷⁰

⁶⁸ While recording joiks for a Swedish Radio project in the 1950s, Matts Arnberg and his partners had an encounter with a Saami woman (Karin Stenberg) which bears witness to the potential power of these personal joiks. The woman and those in her family were so overcome with her performance that she later asked that her contribution be erased, a request with which the collectors complied (Arnberg *et al* 1969: 142-43).

⁶⁹ According to Mikkel Gaup (cited in Kjellström *et al* 1988: 18 [my translation]), "By joiking my parents I experience a feeling of togetherness with them, even though they are no longer living." See also Turi 1931: 216.

⁷⁰ Ruong has argued that some of the joiks to reindeer herds or even geographic landmarks are in fact clever metaphors for cultural attrition and events of the past. At the same time that they give voice to memories of specific animals or places, these joiks evoke broader themes, equating the loss of reindeer with changes in Saami culture, for example (Arnberg *et al* 1969: 25-29).

A Saami man, who has done a great deal of joik collecting in recent years, further explained this phenomenon by stating that all joiks, once made audible, exist in a different "realm" of understanding, accessible to all who become an inherent part of the process by virtue of long term exposure and participation (Stinnerbom 1992, personal communication). In effect, this suggests a liminal environment wherein memories, once enacted through joik performance, continue to exist independently. Each subsequent utterance of a particular joik merges this 'realm' with the more mundane state, drawing in the participants through shared comprehension. When the performance concludes and the sound fades, the joik nevertheless continues to exist both in the minds of those who experience it (becoming another memory), and as a potential for future use--it resides on the margins of perception (ibid.). This is why, according to the same individual, emic descriptions of the open-ended formal structure of joiks have proved so confounding for those outside of Saami culture (ibid.). Whereas the researcher/collector clearly hears (and transcribes) boundaries which denote a 'beginning' and an 'end' of each performance, many Saami steadfastly maintain that the joik has no such enclosing parameters. Even though, as a musical expression, it is first experienced through the efforts of an individual, a joik is conceived as an extension of its *subject*, and therefore its beginning is impossible to ascertain. On the other hand, the fact that a joik is no longer audible does not mean that it has ended in any meaningful sense--it awaits recurrent enactment.

3.8 The performer-audience relationship

So far this discussion has focused largely on the influence of a community on the performance and interpretation of a joik, as if all such occurrences necessarily involved a performer-audience relationship as we understand it. Although one may joik in front of others, both historical and contemporary resources make it abundantly clear that such an 'audience' is not necessary for a joik performance to be considered complete (cf., Tirén 1942; Arnberg *et al* 1969; Kjellström *et al* 1988). This is because the joik in its traditional setting

is fundamentally a private mode of expression, its meaning ultimately not dependent on interpretation by anyone other than the individual who performs it--in effect the performer is often the best and only audience for her efforts.

For confirmation of this particular aspect of the joik in a more recent context, I can refer again to my own experiences: while seated in a tent with a Saami family one evening, I heard barely audible joiking from an older man standing just outside the structure--he was smoking a cigarette alone and joiking quietly for his own pleasure. No one else in the immediate environment responded in the slightest, even though there were two other very competent joikers in the tent. I had a similar experience on several occasions, while traveling by car with another Saami friend, who joiked softly to himself periodically--his joiking was not for my benefit, but his own.⁷¹

In each of these instances cited, the individual joiking was doing so largely because of the inspiration of the moment, responding in a manner that is wholly in keeping with one of the genre's essential motivations: to experience a connection with that which is joiked, no matter how fleetingly. In the words of one Saami man, for the short period of time that a joik occupies, the person performing is not separable from that which he/she joiks (Stinnerbom 1992, personal communication). This concept is reinforced by the Saami insistence that one never joiks 'about' something, one simply joiks it.⁷² The musical description which is expressed in a joik is not simply a two-dimensional portrait of the subject in question--a joik is meant to *be* that subject for the moment that it is performed.

To joik is to give utterance to an impulse which may be triggered at any time, by sights, smells, sounds--virtually any experience, whether positive or negative, which is perceived by

⁷¹ In the latter situation, the man was often not cognizant of his impromptu joiking, as evidenced by his response to my comments the first time this occurred. He stated somewhat self-consciously that he considered himself unable to joik, although he greatly admired those who could.

⁷² The distinction may seem petty, but this is probably the result of translation: "*Man aldrig jojkar om någonting, man bara jojkar någonting.*" In effect, what is being expressed is that one takes a very active role in the process of joiking something, seeking to connect with the subject rather than simply listing its characteristics.

the person joiking as somehow inspiring this musical interpretation. But this does not imply that joiking is always completely spontaneous, nor is this response unaffected by specific environments. One informant summarized this aspect by describing joik as a phenomenon which invariably occurred (speaking for himself) in "Saami time." In making this admission, he drew a clear distinction as to what constituted the appropriate motivation to joik: in his case, a return to the mountain region of his youth, leaving behind the job and other responsibilities which keep him in an urban environment most of the year. Once back in the mountains, joiking is as much a part of the experience as building a fire for brewing coffee, or putting on the broad leather belt which holds both his knife and carved wooden cup, essentials for life away from the city. In support of this, he noted often that joiking was an integral part of his return to 'Saami time'--his joiks were a sonic element of his cultural regalia, all of which helped confirm his identity as a Saami man in modern Scandinavia.

I would argue that for this man, and many other Saami like him, 'Saami time' is not simply a momentary vacation from the vagaries of urban life, but represents a state of being which he periodically seeks out through active participation in those cultural aspects with which he continues to feel some connection, in this case hunting, fishing, and herding. In part, this is strengthened through joik performance, which serves to connect him viscerally and emotionally with his surroundings, both animate and inanimate, visible and intangible. Furthermore, given the inclusive function of the genre, if he does joik in the presence of others he is once again within the cultural fold to a depth exceeding the other trappings he bears. This is ultimately the reason for joiking for one's peers: to joik alone gives voice to emotions and experiences which need no validation; but to share these with others is to acknowledge the importance of the group in the continuation of that which is distinctly Saami, by inviting/seeking their participation.

3.9 Learning to joik

As discussed in Chapter 2, several historical sources have linked the process of becoming a *noaidi* with learning specific joiks, either from another *noaidi* or from spirits. In passing on these joiks, the latter became intimately connected with this individual, serving as personal helpers while the novice shaman traverses the different realms of existence (cf., Edström 1987; 1978). While this explains the inculcation of some joik repertoire within the setting of the traditional *siida*, it certainly does not account for the other uses of the genre in this same context, nor does it offer much insight into the means by which joik is learned in contemporary Saami culture, now that the *noaidit* have disappeared.

Among those whom I interviewed, this question evinced answers which fell roughly into two categories, distinguishable by the degree of conscious participation on the part of the individual learning to joik. For some of the Saami I spoke with, particularly older people and those whose lives are still entwined with herding, joiking was such a pervasive practice that one simply learned by imitation. One young individual (a reindeer herder) even likened this experience to learning to talk: he remembered hearing joik at an extremely early age, and being given great encouragement whenever he joiked; gradually, his own efforts reflected and merged with what he referred to as his family's 'style' (*stil*), an aesthetic to which he felt he still solidly adhered. None of these developments was the result of conscious effort, however, and he seemed genuinely surprised when I asked him about this; he elaborated that he could not imagine 'learning' to joik in any other manner (Bær 1992: personal communication).

While not all had such positive experiences with joik in their youth, particularly those who were raised in highly religious communities, the genre was still present often enough for many that they developed a familiarity with it akin to those who did not suffer such restrictions. Thus, an older woman reported that she had heard her mother joik frequently, even though it was acknowledged as sinful behavior in her home district. As an adult she had also joiked on occasion, always spontaneously, and was sure that her siblings had done

so as well. Yet it was something they never discussed, apparently all still feeling the twinges of guilt which had been planted early in life (Eriksson 1992: personal communication).⁷³

Whether out of shame or simply lack of confidence, several whom I spoke with described the learning process as a more solitary undertaking, one which proceeded from performance in absolute private to more public venues, suggesting awareness of a particular aesthetic. One man, for example, told of joiking for years on his own while he watched the family reindeer herd, before venturing to joik for others (Andersson 1991: personal communication; reiterated by Johansson 1992: personal communication). Others, like the individual described above, had no concrete memory of when they had first joiked in the presence of others in their immediate family or community, but could recall having often joiked in private when younger (Pirak 1992: personal communication).

When I put this question to a well-known Saami musician, Ingor Antte Ailu Gaup, I was surprised that he had actually initiated the learning process himself to a great extent, seeking out people within his community who were respected for their joiking abilities to serve as informal mentors (Gaup 1992: personal communication). This information was even more shocking weighed against the fact that two of his siblings, Ante Mihkkala and Sáara Máret, are also fine joikers who have performed on stage on numerous occasions. Their parents were quite devout and forbade any of the extended family to joik in their vicinity, yet this was apparently liberally enough interpreted to ensure that joik was audible on a recurring basis, primarily thanks to older uncles and aunts. What these and other 'mentors' provided was the same type of feedback that others had mentioned: encouragement to continue joiking and models for performance conveyed by joiking (*op. cit.*). Within Ailu's own family, and that of his older brother, however, there has been a conscious break with their

⁷³ At a point later in our conversation, she recalled a number of individuals who routinely joiked in her community when she was a child. While some dismissed this as evidence of drunkenness (a correlation which she also recognized), most of those within hearing range made no comment whatsoever--as she said, "it was just always there," (Eriksson 1992: personal communication).

parents' practices, with joiking today being heard on a regular basis, both in their home and when out in the surrounding environs. Moreover, each of their children has her/his own joik which they easily learn to recognize as well as their names (A. Gaup 1992: personal communication; A.M. Gaup 1990: personal communication).

I want to make it clear, however, that not all Saami joik. This does not indicate a degradation of the genre in comparison with a less restrictive past, but apparently has always been the case. As primarily a spontaneous reaction to stimuli, either external or internal, a joik in the traditional sense does not fulfill a particular expectation, except perhaps for the individual who joiks.⁷⁴ But the same environment which fosters the learning of joik as a developmental process akin to the acquisition of speech, also serves to educate the other important factor in joik performance, the interpretant(s). In this manner, those who do not joik themselves are nevertheless constructive of the idealized joik milieu in which one's individuality and place within the collective are celebrated each time joiking is heard. Within this analytical frame, then, both joiking and listening to joik potentially have equally active roles in the performance of the genre.⁷⁵

Clearly, however, there are individuals who joik, who have not grown up within this environment, and have subsequently learned their skills by conscious imitation. To what extent this was prevalent in the past is difficult to ascertain, particularly since joiking was a condemned practice for such a long period in many regions of Saamiland. Yet in contemporary Saami culture this phenomenon is readily discernible, a fact which several

⁷⁴ Here I would distinguish between those joiks which were used in a ritual or divination context and those which had a more mundane function. The former category of joiks were typically used only when necessary, and were often consciously performed with a strict model in mind to ensure their efficacy.

⁷⁵ While discussing this at length with one young man, I missed this lack of distinction entirely until I recognized the linguistic trap I had fallen into. Whereas he kept saying, "Alla samer kan joik," I continued to interpret this as "All Saami know how to joik," implying an inherent performative edge which was part of Saami culture; in reality (as I finally discovered), he was using this statement as it is applied to languages, i.e., "Jag kan svenska," ("I speak *and* understand Swedish"), to stress the importance of both perceived roles (Johansson 1992: personal communication).

whom I spoke with confirmed from their own experience. For all of those I talked with about this, the media had a profound impact on both their desire to learn to joik, and the eventual approach to joik which they adopted.

For many Saami, the opportunities to hear joik live in its 'natural' setting, are very limited, owing to the great number who no longer have connections to the one environment in which joik has most successfully been maintained, reindeer herding. Thanks in large part to recordings and radio broadcasts,⁷⁶ however, joik has been much more accessible to these same individuals in the last thirty years, not only expanding the cultural knowledge of the listening audience (slowly educating a broader interpretive field), but also inspiring some to joik as well.

A predictable result of this process, however, is that the joik 'dialects' are not remaining within the geographical confines where they were once nurtured, but are instead cropping up in regions of Saamiland (or outside of Saamiland) where they are not so strongly associated with particular communities. Consequently, whether consciously or not, the North Saami style of joiking now predominates on several levels simultaneously: there are more individuals within this region of Saamiland who joik than in any of the other regions, providing obvious numerical dominance; it is the style most often represented on recordings, making it heard more often on radio which relies almost exclusively on commercial records for its Saami music programs; and it is increasingly serving as the model for performance in other regions, ensuring that more will joik in this style than before. Furthermore, the media have also created joik 'stars' whose personal styles then become standards for future performance. Thus, a young woman in Ammarnäs, a South Saami community in western Sweden, readily acknowledges her desire to joik like her idol, Mari Boine Persen, who comes

⁷⁶ To date, television has played virtually no role in the dissemination of joik via mediated sources.

from the northernmost region of Saamiland (Kaddik cited in Nordell and Andersson 1991: 16).⁷⁷

I suspect that joik will continue to be learned in families and within those cohesive communities where the genre no longer suffers from the vitriol of past generations, but this will undoubtedly be the less common means for most Saami. Increasingly, joik in mediated contexts is not only making the genre more accessible than ever before, while inspiring some to joik and others to listen more attentively, but in the process it is redefining the 'joik milieu', expanding its boundaries even beyond Saamiland.

3.10 Summary

Whether one approaches joik as primarily a descriptive device by which the Saami encapsulate and respond to each other and their immediate environment, or if one's focus shifts to examine the manner in which description and memory converge in joik performance, in each case the results of such analytical exercises serve to explicate the unique position that the genre occupies as an important device for the construction and maintenance of Saami culture. By joiking something or someone, the immediate result is an audible affirmation of the link one feels with the subject. Even if couched in what we regard as negative terms (e.g., hatred, fear, sorrow), the performance implies an intimacy with the subject which is made manifest in the accurate portrayals which joiks are thought to evince. Nowhere is this more evident than in the case of personal joiks, which not only offer musical portraits of specific individuals, but which in the process of their creation, interpretation, and repetition, serve to draw these persons into a stronger relationship with both the joiker and his immediate community.

In all of these cases, the joik functions primarily *inclusively*, bringing the individual who joiks closer to her immediate environment by demonstrating her relationships with other people, animals, objects, places, and events. But when one takes into account the conception

⁷⁷ The fact that Mari Boine herself learned to joik from recordings makes this particular example even more instructive.

that a 'joik relationship' is not bound to that which is visible or otherwise demonstrably tangible, that it often articulates memories as opposed to responding to direct stimuli, the level of inclusion increases dramatically. Events of the past, deceased relatives, lost livelihood, all are experienced in joik as occurring in the moment of performance--joiking gives them a voice and brings them to life. In this manner, the Saami have kept alive a profound sense of their collective history. In spite of the objections and derision from outside sources, leading in some instances to severe intracultural divisions, the genre has been retained, largely because of its important function as a means of preserving a sense of community apart from the dominant Scandinavian society. Through joiking, the past and present conflate in a liminal state where memories are stored and eventually emerge. With this musical enactment, the Saami find both meaning in daily life and direction for the future.

Chapter 4: The Effects of Culture Contact:

Colonization, Assimilation, and Organized Response

Overalt langs fjorden lever samene, og også andre steder i Nordland. Men i det vidstrakte fjellandet lever reinsamene (Lappefinnerne). Og i gamle dager da reinsamene og sjøsamer hadde sin egen konge, levde det ikke en eneste nordmann i området, men samene hadde makten over hele denne delen av landet, så langt sør som til Helgeland...Men hele denne delen av landet, både fjellene og kysten, tilhørte samene. Motle, navnet på samenes konge, han hersket der på Harald Hårfages tid. Men nå er sjøsamene den norske kongens undersåtter, og fjellsamene betaler skatt til tre konger...

(The Saami live all over along the fjords, and also in other places in Nordland [Norway]. But in the vast mountain areas, the reindeer Saami (the Lappefinns) live. And in the old days, when the reindeer Saami and sea Saami had their own king, not a single Norwegian lived in the region, for the Saami had control over all of that part of the country, as far south as Helgeland...For all of that part of the country, both the mountains and the coast, belonged to the Saami. Motle, the Saami king, reigned during the time of Harald Hårfagre. But now the sea Saami are the Norwegian king's subjects, and the mountain Saami pay taxes to three kings...

-from the 17th century writings of Norwegian teacher Petrus Claudi (cited in Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 32 [my translation])

4.0 Introduction

The preceding chapters have made frequent reference to the effects of culture contact between Saami and Scandinavian populations, particularly in regard to the joik, its practitioners, and the genre's traditional performance contexts. From the earliest written evidence of these exchanges, the portrayals of the Saami are typically the result of a mixture of apprehension and awe on the part of the observers. With their clothing made of reindeer skin, their skills in skiing, the activities of their *noaidit*, and their apparent mastery of the hostile environment in which they lived, the Saami were both impressive and frightening to

the explorers, travelers, and missionaries who were drawn to Saamiland under various pretenses, as extant journals attest.¹

Even as contact became more predictable through the development and elaboration of trade networks, the impression of the Saami as savvy, if somewhat mysterious or dangerous adversaries continued. This situation eventually contributed to the passage of laws either empowering various authorities to carry out official transactions (both business and church related), or in some cases actually forbidding individuals to consort with the Saami under any circumstances--in short, limiting access between Saami and Scandinavian populations.² In many areas of Saamiland, the indigenous population found itself circumscribed by newcomers who laid claim to the land and its resources, as part of an expansionist process which has more recently been described as "internal colonization" (cf., Paine 1984).

Up until the 19th century, however, the majority of the governmental policies enacted in Scandinavia which impacted the Saami, were not specifically aimed at any given ethnic segment of the population, but were much broader in scope from their inception. In some instances, the Saami were caught up in rules and regulations which were applied universally to some degree throughout the realms in question; in others, they were victims primarily by virtue of their geographical location, the northern reaches of Fennoscandia being hotly contested for several centuries among the empire builders of Sweden-Finland, Denmark-Norway, and Russia (Kvist 1992).³

¹ Hans Lilienskiöld's *Speculum Boreale*, published in 1698, for example, praised the Saami for their adaptive skills and their knowledge of the Arctic, judging them to be far superior to his fellow Norwegian citizens (Gjessing 1954: 13).

² Often it was fear of the power of Saami 'sorcery' or 'witchcraft' which led to such restrictions on the non-Saami populace. The Saami were thought to be able to impart power to individuals who were willing to pay for their services.

³ The terms Sweden-Finland and Denmark-Norway are used to describe the historical period when both modern day Finland and Norway were under the control of the Swedish and Danish Crowns respectively. To avoid confusion, I will refer to them hereafter in contemporary terms, except where necessary to distinguish between those eras when Finland and Norway had yet to achieve independence. It should be kept in mind, however, that prior to 1809, almost all of modern Finland was considered part of the Swedish realm, so negotiations and policies between the Swedish Crown and the Saami typically impacted populations in both Sweden and Finland.

In no way do these developments diminish the degradation and hostility which many Saami experienced during this time period (i.e., prior to the 19th century), but it is important to distinguish between those policies which affected the Saami as generic inhabitants of the polities in question, and those which were consciously formulated to control, segregate, or subsume the Saami populace and their culture by specifically identifying individuals as 'Saami' (or 'non-Saami', for that matter). The difference in these two approaches was not so much a matter of degree, but one of intent: the objective of the latter day legislative efforts was the eventual assimilation of the Saami populations into the dominant Scandinavian cultures.

The reason for focusing on this distinction, however, is not simply an intellectual exercise, for the shift in the official ideology (*viz.*, identifying a Saami 'problem') not only produced drastic new laws and regulations, but encouraged wide-spread, organized resistance among the Saami for the first time, a development which continues into the present (cf., Svensson 1976). As such, this point provides a segue between the general Saami cultural information presented in the preceding chapters, and the more specific topic of increased ethnic awareness and its performance in joik, which is explored in later chapters.

What follows, then, is an examination of the relationships between Saami and Scandinavian populations, once again from a primarily historical perspective. Rather than dwelling on numerous early accounts of contacts between cultures, however, my goal here is to concentrate on the periods when official segregation and assimilation policies in Sweden and Norway were conceived and brought into full effect. Ultimately, my interest lies in the results that these different levels of intervention provoked among the indigenous minority, with an emphasis on the rise of Saami organizations and institutions to contravene against the governments' stated goals. It is within these often contrastive and conflicting structures, that the so-called Saami ethnic mobilization first found fertile ground and continues to develop.

As background to this volatile period, though, I will begin with a short discussion of the nature of earlier Saami-Scandinavian contacts and the ensuing relationships which transpired, including the introduction of several policies which I feel put the events of later centuries in a clearer perspective.

4.1 Traders and early Scandinavian settlers in Saamiland

Obviously the first contact between Saami and non-Saami groups/individuals cannot be firmly ascertained, particularly since the origin and early history of the peoples occupying Scandinavia remain shrouded in speculation. Nevertheless, there are accounts (some of which were detailed in Chapter 2) of a variety of initial cross-cultural meetings, many of them detailing trade transactions. From these it is easy to deduce which resources the Saami had access to that others found useful and/or desirable: such things as fur (not just reindeer, but squirrel, marten, ermine, and fox) and dried fish. In return, the Saami received goods which they could not gather or produce themselves: initially items like salt, flour, and iron implements (cookware, traps, knife and ax blades), but later the list grew to include tobacco, coffee, cloth, sugar, and beer or *brännvin* (brandy) (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 29). Another popular trade item, although arguably of less practical value to the Saami, was silver and gold jewelry. These ornaments represented wealth which was both easily displayed and transported; they could also be conveniently hidden in natural caches like hollow trees or wedged under stones during migration periods, to be recovered when returning through the area later in the year (Gjessing 1954: 9-10).⁴

Though the exact trade networks cannot be accurately reconstructed, the basic flow of goods is known to have first followed an east-west pattern, the Saami having found partners among other peoples who occupied the arctic regions of Europe and present day Russia. North-south routes developed to any significant degree only after the emerging Scandinavian

⁴ Silver jewelry still plays an important role in contemporary Saami culture, where it is often incorporated as a brooch, pin, or belt on the finest clothing reserved for celebrations and important occasions.

nations took note of their neighbors to the north and the great trade potential this population represented (Beach 1988: 7). Some of these early traders were actually Saami, who functioned as intermediaries between Russians⁵ or Scandinavians and Saami communities, routinely transporting goods across Saamiland with reindeer sleds right up through the 16th century (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 31; Beach 1981: 69).

Evidence of vigorous Russian trade is still visible in some of the geometric design motifs popular among the South Saami which are thought to be of eastern origin (cf., Fjellström 1988). The extent of other international contacts is highly speculative, but physical evidence (particularly coins found in archaeological excavations), travel accounts, and shipping logbooks suggest that the quality and quantity of Saami fur and fish production was well known throughout northern Europe by the early 16th century. Even the English ventured as far northeast as the Kola Peninsula and the White Sea (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 31-32).

Not all of the early contact was limited to such sporadic or seasonal trade, however, particularly once a number of Scandinavians had migrated north to resettle in territory once occupied by the Saami and/or their ancestors. Those who made this move usually did so in order to take further advantage of the rich resources which Saamiland had to offer. Given the virtually unlimited prospects for fishing and hunting/trapping in the region, these first newcomers did not pose a significant threat to Saami livelihoods, and contact undoubtedly remained minimal.

Some of the earliest sustained encounters were most likely between Norwegian fishing families who settled along the northwestern coastline of present-day Norway, perhaps as far back as the 4th century, and those Saami who lived in small communities (*siida*) deeper

⁵ More precisely, the citizens of Novgorod which had administrative control of what is now the Karelian region of Finland and Russia. Novgorod's power declined considerably when Moscow became the seat of power in 1478 (Lorenz 1981: 25). The Russians in general were favored partners when it came to bartering with fish--they were apparently much less demanding than the Norwegians, for example, in terms of the quality and/or species of fish which they would accept (Gjessing 1954: 40).

within the myriad fjords which mark the region (Lorenz 1981: 23).⁶ The evidence of consistent relationships between these groups can be found in place names, many of which have their origins in Old Norse (Gjessing 1954: 10); it is also observable in a number of distinctive Saami motifs found in some Norwegian handicrafts. These design concepts apparently traveled south with ethnic Scandinavians returning to their home territories (cf., Fjellström 1988).

Because of their greater familiarity with the area and its resources, and their optimal location away from the mouth of the fjord, (i.e., closer to crucial raw materials), the coastal Saami populations were able to provide their new neighbors with both vital fishing expertise, and with boats which were appropriate to the local conditions. Even though the Scandinavian fishers relied extensively on their own suppliers in the south for clothing, nets, and other fundamentals, they primarily contracted with Saami boat builders for their vessels right up into the 18th century (Gjessing 1954:11).

Archaeological evidence has also demonstrated that the coast of the Bothnian Bay (the body of water between Sweden and Finland) was occupied along its length by Scandinavians at some point early in the first millennium AD. (cf., Zachrisson 1992). These relative newcomers presumably pushed existing Saami or proto-Saami communities/groups further inland in the process (cf., Ruong 1969). Most of the non-Saami population initially refrained from venturing into the interior of the far north on a permanent basis, however, preferring to settle close to the mouth of one of the several large rivers which emptied into the bay. For their part, the Saami continued to range primarily throughout the forests, mountains, plateaus, and valleys, following wild game, while developing or maintaining trade contacts as necessary.

⁶ Although Lorenz supports this early date of non-Saami settlement, he is cautious about how far north these communities spread at that time, suggesting that such migration halted around the province of Troms until as late as the 9th century (Lorenz 1981: 23).

The protracted intermingling of cultures which settlement and trade encouraged in northern Scandinavia, had a profound effect on the manner in which these populations eventually developed as distinct ethnic groups. According to Kvist, it is extremely important to recognize that this was a bi-directional process, with both population groups impacting each other to a significant degree: "...Saami and Scandinavian ethnogenesis took place in a situation of mutual cultural and genetic exchange" (Kvist 1992: 74), thus reiterating that attempts to discover a precise period of first encounters between Saami and non-Saami cultures are bound to be futile. What is more important, is the nature of these encounters, how they changed over time, and how these developments were reflected in a series of policies which progressively sought to clearly delineate separate cultures for purposes of control and/or assimilation.⁷

4.2 Taxation and the beginnings of pastoralism

In Ottar's account of his travels along the northern coast of Norway and into the White Sea in the late 9th century, he told not only of the different peoples he had encountered, but also related the variety and amount of goods he had collected from them as taxes for the use of land nominally in control of his sovereign and benefactor--in fact Ottar's role as a tax collector is what motivated his journeys to the region in the first place.⁸ It remains unknown to what extent the legitimacy of extracting such revenues was ever challenged (or payment avoided) during this period, but Ottar was certainly not alone in his interests in collecting *finneskatten* ('Finn' tax) among the Saami (Ruong 1969: 46).

⁷ In comparing so-called 'native' policies enacted between the Swedish government and the Saami, and those introduced by the Europeans colonizers concerning the Native Americans, Kvist has argued that the lack of a firm date of initial contact in Saamiland shaped the resulting policies considerably, since the Saami and the Scandinavians coexisted for many years before colonization and assimilation efforts began (Kvist 1992: 74; see also Fur 1992 for an interesting comparison of Swedish colonists in Saamiland and in America).

⁸ Ottar was ostensibly collecting taxes on behalf of King Harald of England, whose Norse extraction gave him theoretical dominion over parts of Scandinavia as well (Ruong 1969: 46-47).

From the late Middle Ages on, the Saami were caught in the midst of increasingly troublesome border disputes, as Denmark, Sweden, and Russia each sought to control the region and expand its sphere of power. Prior to the first real border agreement between Sweden and Russia in 1323, many Saami were regularly forced to pay taxes to all three European Crowns; to some degree this unfortunate situation continued until the early 17th century when borders were finally more clearly defined (Lorenz 1981: 26-27).

By 1270, the struggle to retain some control over the disputed region led to the development in Sweden of a whole class of tax collectors who operated as official representatives of the Crown in Saami territory. Known as *Birkarlar*, these were merchant-farmers (ethnic Finns and Swedes)⁹ who essentially purchased the right from the Crown to collect taxes in kind (furs and other goods) from the Saami population (ibid.: 25-26; see also Beach 1988: 7). As representatives of the Crown, the *Birkarlar* were expected to send a significant percentage of the revenues they collected south to the official seat of government, but this arrangement operated in most areas in theory only, with the Swedish King actually receiving little from the transactions (Beach 1981: 73).

As part of their contract, the *Birkarlar* were each granted an exclusive region known as a *lappmark*, the boundaries of which were usually determined by the larger rivers which emptied into the Bothnian Bay, basically flowing northwest to southeast. The *Birkarlar* established their own settlements at the mouths of these rivers, but made frequent trips to the interior of their respective regions to trade and collect annual taxes from the largely Saami population--no other transactions were allowed in a *lappmark* without the permission of the appropriate *Birkarl* (Ruong 1969: 47-48).

⁹ The term *Birkarl* (pl., *Birkarlar*) actually refers to the ethnic Finns who held this post in the region surrounding the current Swedish-Finnish border; the Swedes were known as *Hälsingar*, and their territory extended along the northeastern coast of the Bothnian Bay. In virtually all modern references, however, this ethnic distinction has given way in favor of the convenient rubric, *Birkarl/Birkarlar* (cf., Kvist 1992; Lorenz 1981; Beach 1981).

This system strongly encouraged nepotism, with the concession and all of its privileges being passed among generations. As these individuals and their families consolidated power, communities developed around their strongholds, eventually becoming port cities and commerce centers (op.cit.). Even if the Crown did not benefit monetarily to any great extent from the Birkarlar, the strong presence of the latter in the region did much to support claims of sovereignty over the land, and served as insurance against hostile aggression from the other countries wrestling to control the territory of Saamiland.

Somewhat surprisingly, the Saami population steadily increased during the nearly 300 year period when this system operated. As a result of the codified trading relationships which the Birkarlar established and carefully maintained for their own benefit, the Saami were provided with a reliable source of supplementary foodstuffs (particularly butter and flour), making the long winters less threatening to survival than they had been before such goods were readily available. This development also marked a significant departure from the state of self-reliance which a purely hunting and gathering economy had previously encouraged (Kvist 1992: 65; see also Lundmark 1982: 72-74).

Although much of Saamiland was nominally under Swedish control throughout the Birkarl period (with holdings which included all of present-day Finland and a portion of northern Norway), prior to 1550 the attention of the Swedish crown was focused elsewhere, leaving the northernmost regions and their populations virtually disregarded except as potential contributors to the royal coffers. Up until the mid 16th century King Gustav Vasa (circa 1494-1560) was engaged in solidifying his power in the southern regions, after a protracted period of factionalism had left the country with a number of quasi-kingdoms under the control of an equally divided nobility (Moberg 1971: 172). It was Gustav Vasa's intention to restructure land ownership to reflect greater royal involvement, which he accomplished in large part by dispossessing a substantial number of peasant property

holders, and declaring that *all* land titles had originated with the Crown and were thus revocable if insolence or insurrection was suspected (ibid.: 173).

Gustav Vasa subsequently turned his consideration to the north of his realm, with an eye toward securing the Crown's rather ambiguous hold over this largely unknown territory (Kvist 1992: 64). Among the first actions undertaken by the king in this process, was an official letter to the Birkarlar in 1642, in which he derided them for attempting to control the settlement of the lappmarks, and thus keep their own power intact. Gustav Vasa declared that all unoccupied regions of Sweden rightly belonged to "God, Us, and Sweden's Crown and to no other" (Ruong 1969: 50), thus exerting his royal prerogative over the rights of the Birkarlar.¹⁰

As part of this scheme to consolidate and extend the power of the realm, the king recognized the need to subjugate the local population to a greater extent, drawing the Saami under the official 'protection' of the Swedish Crown. This was to be accomplished through the establishment of a royal administration designed to replace the Birkarlar, whose monetary generating performance as representatives of the Crown remained highly unsatisfactory. Like their predecessors, these new officials (bailiffs) were empowered to collect taxes in kind from the Saami, but this time all of the revenues were delivered to the King. This change in policy served not only to bring the indigenous Saami population under the unitary control of the Crown, but also contributed significantly to the royal treasury (op. cit.). Once this more direct method of taxation was set into place, the Saami were quickly recognized by the national government as a predictable source of income, one which was furthermore easily exploited without much resistance (Beach 1988: 7).

¹⁰ This and similar official proclamations by Gustav Vasa and his successors (particularly Karl XI in 1683) established a precedent for Crown ownership of lands which lies at the heart of a major continuing dispute over what the Saami see as inalienable rights versus usufruct rights to the land for purposes of herding, fishing, and hunting (cf., Jahreskog/Rättsfonden 1982).

As a result of this development, the Saami population was burdened with an escalating financial responsibility to the government, a situation which eventually had a much more profound impact on traditional Saami culture than earlier taxation had engendered. During the period of the Birkarlar, and the early years of the new bailiff system, the Saami continued to trade and pay taxes, while most pursued their livelihoods as hunter-gatherers. Reindeer were domesticated for transport and decoy purposes, but the majority of the herds in the region were still wild, hunted for their meat and pelts. Although the reindeer were an important component of this early Saami economy, such activity was considerably augmented by seasonal fishing and hunting for other animals. Some percentage of all of these goods was kept aside for trade and to meet the tax responsibility--it was a system which had encouraged the gradual movement away from self-sustenance toward a moderate reliance on goods from outside, and (as mentioned above) led to a notable rise in the Saami population.

As the tax burden increased, however, fueled by Sweden's empire building in the Baltic and the decision in the late 16th century to attempt to extend dominion northward to the Arctic Ocean (i.e., annexing territory that ostensibly belonged to Denmark), the Saami were forced to produce greater quantities of dried fish and reindeer or face severe penalties (Kvist 1992: 65).¹¹ These economic demands, coupled with the burgeoning Saami population, carried the potential for disastrous results. Although some Saami fled across the borders into Norwegian territory in order to escape the King's justice system and/or starvation, others looked to the still-plentiful herds of wild reindeer for a solution to both problems.

By steadily increasing the number of domesticated animals in one's family holdings, and thus relying less on hunting, some Saami were already in a better position to meet the requirements of the government, but not without having introduced a new variable which

¹¹ The Swedish king, Karl IX, eventually lost this bid to extend the border to the Arctic Ocean during the Kalmar War with Denmark-Norway (1611-13); in the process, he also lost his life (Ruong 1969: 49).

dramatically affected their lifestyle. Such an approach demanded nearly constant attention to the herd, in keeping the animals together, protecting them from predators, and moving with them as they followed their instinctual migratory cycle. In a relatively short period of time, and largely as a result of the pressure of outside interests, a segment of the Saami population became wholly dependent on reindeer pastoralism, a development which unevenly split the culture into a minority who adopted a trans migratory lifestyle (the herders), and the majority for whom a greater reliance on fishing and even farming became a more viable option, in lieu of hunting wild reindeer (Beach 1988: 7; Lorenz 1981: 28-29).¹²

While the more transitory Saami herders retained some cultural autonomy outside of the spheres of Scandinavian influence, the sedentary Saami population was much more vulnerable to the demands of the increasingly dominant cultural institutions introduced in their region by the Crown and its representatives. Thus, by the time King Karl IX of Sweden chose to include "King of the Lapps in the Northern country" among his official titles at his coronation in 1607, most of his Saami constituents had already been "far more subjugated to state power than during the Middle Ages [...] [T]he people and economy of Lapland became subordinated to taxation principles, vested interests, and institutional forms created by the central power that grew in southern Sweden" (Kvist 1992: 65). The bifurcation into exclusive herding and non-herding populations which resulted from these developments, was a change which had final and far reaching effects on traditional Saami culture.

As exploitative and ultimately divisive as this situation proved to be for Saami culture, the underlying intention of the governments involved was territorial expansion and the codification of boundaries for trade and defense purposes. The taxes exacted from the Saami

¹² Olaus Magnus, in 1555, made reference to the practice of reindeer pastoralism among the Saami, leading some scholars to suggest that this development in Saami culture occurred as early as the beginning of the 16th century (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 29). Nevertheless, it is presumed that the incidence of this practice, and the number of families/communities involved increased significantly later in the century, under the demands to meet higher taxes and to overcome starvation resulting from the unpredictability of hunting (cf., Beach 1981; Ingold 1990).

population were harsh, but they were not dissimilar to those levied on the other poorer inhabitants of Scandinavia at the time. Through these and similar policies, the Saami were loosely incorporated into the dominant culture's peasant population, having no more rights than their counterparts in other regions of the country. In a system clearly more intent on retaining exclusive class divisions than developing as a nation equally responsive to all off its citizenry, the Saami were unfortunate pawns in a game which included Saamiland and a great deal of the Baltic region as its 'board'.

Another effective means of controlling and subjugating was the work of Christian missionaries who sought to rein in the inhabitants of the north as part of their efforts to convert all of Scandinavia and bring it under the influence of a single spiritual authority.

4.3 The impact of early Christian missionary activity

Even as early traders were exploring the coastal areas of Saamiland, introducing new materials and goods and returning with stories of 'magicians' and other strange encounters, the Catholic church was making great inroads in Scandinavia, initially through the activities of Celtic missionaries who sought to replace indigenous beliefs and practices and expand the influence of Rome. Eventually these activities spread northward into the Saami regions, with permanent churches appearing in southern Saamiland as early as 1200, followed by expansion along the Norwegian coast as far north as present-day Vardøy by 1307.¹³ On the Swedish east coast (Bothnian Bay) where the Birkarlar ensconced themselves, the church was equally involved, establishing a number of edifices between Bygdeå (1169) and Torne/Kemi (1340) to service migrants from the south and to begin the work to convert the local population, both Saami and non-Saami. Along the far eastern frontier of Saamiland, the Greek Orthodox church built a cloister on Lake Onega in Karelia in the early 14th century, and slowly spread north from there to the White Sea and the Kola Peninsula during the 15th and 16th centuries (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 24-25).

¹³ The first attempt to Christianize the Saami was actually undertaken by Stenfi, the 'Apostle of the North', in 1050 (Beach 1988: 7), but was of little consequence.

4.3.1 The Church and Crown combine forces

Most missionary activity among the Saami, however, was fairly sporadic and limited to coastal locations until the late 16th century, when the Scandinavian governments began to recognize the potential which the church represented as a further means of contacting and controlling the entire Saami population (Beach 1988: 7).¹⁴ In 1602, Duke Karl of Sweden (later to become King Karl IX) proposed the establishment of an ecclesiastical organization with missionary outposts throughout Saamiland, which would work assiduously to bring the Saami into the church and thus under the dominion of the Crown. The newly constructed churches would serve not only as stations for religious instruction, thus inculcating the indigenous population with state approved dogma, but as official centers for transacting the business of the realm, i.e., collecting taxes and overseeing lucrative trade. In order to encourage these latter activities, the churches and their attached communities became the hosts for annual fairs which attracted the majority of the Saami within any given region. Such events often represented the best (if not only) opportunity to trade for goods, particularly among those whose lives were increasingly dictated by the migration of their herds (Kvist 1992: 64).¹⁵ These activities also brought the reign of the Birkarlar to an abrupt and complete halt. Unable to countermand the work of the church by virtue of its ostensibly spiritual goals, these former authorities in Saamiland were completely cut off from their major sources of income: tax and trade with the Saami. They were actually constrained from even visiting with the Saami under any pretense after Duke Karl's proposal was instituted (op.cit.).

¹⁴ This symbiotic relationship between church and state had occasionally been exploited in earlier attempts to convert the Saami. In 1313, for example, the Norwegian king used a twenty year tax reduction as a one-time conversion inducement which was extended to all, including the Saami (Beach 1988: 7).

¹⁵ It is interesting to note that the vestiges of these annual fairs are still very much in evidence throughout northern Sweden. In 1992, I attended local events in Jokkmokk, Lycksele, Åsele, and Pajala, all towns which started as church villages for the Saami population; the Jokkmokk fair (*Jokkmokksmarknad*), held annually in February, has run continuously since 1619, and still serves as an important gathering for Saami from all over Saamiland.

The Crown's schemes to use the church in this manner collapsed, however, with the death of Karl IX in 1611 during the Kalmar War; many of the new parishes were closed and even the tax administration returned to a system resembling that of the Birkarlar (i.e., the responsibility of private entrepreneurs) (ibid.: 65). Nevertheless, the impact of the introduction of such intensive missionary activities could not be rescinded simply by the withdrawal of personnel. While it lost several regional bases of operation, during the scant decade that these policies were in effect, the church gained an important toehold in Saamiland. The move to convert the Saami had received a significant push from the Crown, which continued to support such activities, even though its earlier dreams of controlling all of the territory to the Arctic Sea had faded.

For the Saami, these new circumstances entailed much more than a transfer of fealty from one dominating force to another (i.e., from the local Birkarl to the Crown/church). Even when intermingled with the motives of the Crown, the real 'work' of the church remained the conversion of people and their subsequent salvation. Pursuant to these goals, the priests and lay clergy engaged in a campaign to drive out indigenous beliefs and replace them with the ideology and practice of Christianity. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Saami *noaidi* represented the most tangible threat to the success of these efforts and thus became the initial focus of all of the forces which the church could bring to bear--with the full support of the Crown, these forces were extremely persuasive, if not formidable. Not only were drums confiscated and burned in public gatherings, but several *noaidit* were actually executed for their continued practice of 'heathen' rituals (Edsman 1985:128). The desired result (viz., the eradication of all individual and group beliefs which could be construed to be contrary to Christian principles) were clearly not entirely realized by these radical efforts, but the continuation of any such 'Satanic' practices was largely withdrawn from open scrutiny.

4.3.2 The first Saami schools

A major obstacle for the clergy in these initial forays into Saamiland, however, was the paucity of Saami speaking individuals who could assist in the conversion process. With the emphasis on vernacular approaches to religious instruction which the Reformation ushered in, initial missionary success was recognized to be largely dependent on the linguistic competence of the priests and lay clergy. Consequently, as early as 1584, the Swedish king began a campaign to enlist the help of Saami speakers to serve as translators, and encouraged the clergy to master the Saami language themselves (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 48).

By 1617, these efforts had been successful enough to bring about the establishment of a small Saami school for religious education in the coastal town of Piteå, Sweden; in 1619 both a psalm book and an 'ABC' primer in Saami were produced by the school's director, Nicolaus Andreæ, becoming the first publications in this language (ibid.: 50). The appearance of these books marked another aspect of the combined temporal and spiritual mission which the church administered, that of educating the Saami, primarily so that they could assume religious duties themselves and thus expedite the long range conversion process considerably. In 1632, a Saami school was started in Lycksele, Sweden where the young male students learned to read and write both Swedish and Saami, as well as Latin, Greek, and mathematics. Whereas it had been possible earlier than this for Saami students to enroll in both secondary school (a *gymnasium* in Härnösand) and university (in Uppsala), the emphasis of the Lycksele school, under the direction of a Saami priest, Olaus Stephani Graan, was to achieve literacy in Saami and use it in turn for religious instruction in Saami communities (op. cit.).¹⁶

In 1635, the church and the Swedish government were once again formally linked in their mission in Saamiland, when a Saami man discovered silver ore in Nasafjäll, near the Norwegian border (Kvist 1992: 65). The promise of such a potentially lucrative resource for

¹⁶ Graan also published a religious instruction manual, *Manuale Lapponicum*, in 1669, becoming one of the first to attempt to write in the South Saami dialect.

the support of government activities led to the re-establishment of the same administrative and church institutions which had proved successful during the truncated expansion attempts of Karl IX. These included new tax levies and increased church involvement as the official representative of the Crown. A new twist to this scheme was the impressed service of Saami herders who served as draughts men for the ore coming out of the mines, a development which wreaked havoc on the fragile herding economy and led once again to massive immigration over the Norwegian border to escape the king's policies (ibid.: 66).¹⁷

Although the mining operations did not prove as successful as hoped, they certainly served to refocus attention on Saami territory and the indigenous population to a degree that had not previously been attained. With each wave of official interest came new potentially disruptive forces and policies (from the Saami perspective), often entrusted to the clergy to carry out during their missions to the interior of the region. By the end of the 17th century, the church was well established throughout Saamiland, with permanent buildings and staff extending far inland to small Saami communities. As in the early part of the century, these ecclesiastical outposts not only saw to the spiritual needs and education of the population, but also served as gathering spots for trade and taxation purposes.

For those Saami who lived in more remote areas, a system of circuit priests was developed, whereby Saami speaking individuals would travel constantly seeking to convert those they encountered. Of these, perhaps the best known was the Norwegian priest, Thomas von Westen, who between 1716 and 1727 successfully journeyed throughout Saamiland delivering his sermons and training lay clergy in his impromptu 'schools' to continue in his stead. Von Westen was particularly vehement in his attacks on the *noaidit* and all of their activities, including joking, which he considered to be the epitome of demonic-inspired behavior (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 54).

¹⁷ Such trans-national movements were easily accomplished by the Saami since they routinely traveled across the loosely defined national borders during the course of their migrations with their animals, in order to get to the best grazing lands.

4.3.3 The Saami response

In spite of these Christian-inspired intrusions into Saami culture, and the attacks on traditional rituals and their practitioners which such activities necessarily engendered, the fundamental world view which lay at the core of Saami religion, and found expression in such common contexts as joiking, remained remarkably intact. As the results of numerous investigations conducted by the clergy and the courts from the 17th through the 19th century into 'magic' or shamanic phenomena indicate, the indigenous Saami belief system had not been replaced but had instead become a "covert social institution," (Gjessing 1954: 27). Those drums which were not surrendered or confiscated were hidden away, brought out only at times when it was judged safe to do so. Joiking, by virtue of its obvious association with Saami rituals, also receded, but did not disappear by any means--both its spontaneity and its unique expressive quality within the culture ensured its continued practice, even if it was in many areas no longer a routine element of the Saami soundscape. The *noaidit*, however, as the most visible representatives of indigenous religious practices, continued to be hounded by church and court authorities, becoming virtual pariahs in most communities. It is interesting to note, however, that the eventual disappearance of these important individuals may have unwittingly contributed to the continuation of other ritual behaviors, by providing a focal point for those who sought to impose Christianity. The responsibilities for divination and some types of healing were traditionally more strongly vested in the head of household, and were private, familial affairs. Consequently, these activities were not necessarily subjected to the same degree of active condemnation as those rituals which were the obligation of the *noaidit*.

To a great extent, then, the Saami population throughout Scandinavia adopted those Christian principles and ideals which did not conflict with their own values and mores, a situation which held during the periods of intensified missionary activity of the 17th and 18th centuries. Yet the role which local authorities (including the clergy) occasionally

played in supporting these developments cannot be dismissed, particularly in those regions where the priests and constables were themselves Saami. To these individuals, the 'old religion' was not particularly perceived as threatening, and some practices associated with this belief system were even encouraged in some instances. In 1688, for example, Olof Sjulsson, the constable of Vapsten (Sweden) successfully defended the continued use of drums by his constituents before a magistrate: he argued that the drum served as a 'compass' for the Saami, guiding them home from their journeys; a similar case was heard in 1715 in Åsele, Sweden, this time defended by the local priest (Edsman 1985: 127-28).¹⁸ Prosecution for these infractions against the state church were doubly difficult after the reorganization of district courts in the mid 17th century, which resulted in all-Saami juries within Saamiland.¹⁹

4.4 Colonization policies in Saamiland

Although the expansion of Swedish territory north to the Arctic Sea was thwarted by crucial losses in the Kalmar War (1611-1613), and the mining operations of the mid 17th century did not prove to be as lucrative as the Crown had hoped, the governments of Sweden (which still included Finland in its jurisdiction) and Denmark (including Norway) continued to view Saamiland as a greatly under-utilized resource. According to the official thinking of the time, to realize the riches of this vast area required repopulating Saamiland with ethnic Swedes and Norwegians, rather than relying solely on the efforts of the indigenous inhabitants.

Aside from the successful establishment of fishing villages in northern Norway, most of the early colonization efforts in the region were aimed at developing agriculture, particularly in northern Sweden. For most of those who lived in the more populated and settled

¹⁸ It should be noted that in neither case was there any mention of the realms in which these journeys took place.

¹⁹ Nevertheless, there were convictions, with the death penalty meted out in Sweden as late as 1708 to a Saami man caught making offerings at his *seite* on behalf of a sick friend (Edsman 1985: 132).

agricultural districts of the south, however, the advantages of remaining in familiar territory far outweighed the fears and perceived dangers of moving north, to an area that was primarily known through oral and written accounts of its strange native inhabitants. Thus, in order to entice more Swedes to the region, the government offered inducements designed to appeal to the agricultural peasantry. In 1673, the Swedish Crown enacted such a law, which excused homesteaders (the *nybyggare* ['new builders']) from their tax burden for a period of fifteen years, if they were willing to relocate to Crown lands in Saamiland, and further relieved males from compulsory military service for life (Lorenz 1981: 45).

From their inception, such policies were meant to encourage *parallel* use of the land, the theory being that the traditional Saami lifestyle would not be seriously impacted either by the intensification of land use implicit in agriculture, or the population increases which accompanied this development. Such thinking proved shortsighted in at least two areas, however. First, a poor comprehension of the agricultural potential of the region, unfortunately based on models of land use in the south, meant that many homesteaders failed in their initial efforts. Second, a complete disregard for the relationship between Saami traditional livelihoods and the environment, particularly concerning the negative impact of a settled population on grazing land, led to predictable confrontations and bitter competition for hunting and fishing rights (op. cit.). Consequently, the earliest attempts to increase the Scandinavian population of Saamiland met with little success.²⁰ These same policies did, however, have an unexpected side effect: an increasing number of the non-herding Saami population chose to adopt a more sedentary lifestyle, for they, too, were entitled to the tax relief being offered by becoming homesteaders themselves.

In conjunction with these developments, the Swedish church persisted in its mission to draw as many of the Saami into the Christian fold as possible. To enhance the prospects for

²⁰ Another reason for the failure of these first policies was a real lack of a surplus Scandinavian farming population to move north, in spite of the opportunities offered by the government (Kvist 1992: 67).

success in these ventures, after 1723 all clergy who worked in the region were required to learn Saami, if they could not already speak the language (Kvist 1992: 67); in addition, reading materials continued to be produced in Saami to expedite this process, virtually all of them devoted to religious subjects.²¹ In yet another example of combining church and Crown efforts for a common goal, an ecclesiastical board for all of Swedish Saamiland was installed in Stockholm in 1739, and quickly became a *de facto* governing body with influence ranging far beyond the sphere of religion; furthermore, its membership was not limited to the clergy, but included leading individuals from the cabinet (op. cit.).

The Norwegian settlements in Saamiland, on the other hand, were still confined essentially to the northwestern and northern coast, as they had been for more than a thousand years, with excellent prospects for fishing and trade remaining the impetus for moving to or settling in the region. In spite of these economic lures, however, the area witnessed a steady decline in its non-Saami population, through the 16th and 17th centuries, threatening the important trade relationships between Denmark and Russia. By 1751, the Danish Crown began a desperate program to repopulate the region with prisoners, who since the late 17th century had occasionally been allowed to work off their sentences in agricultural and fishing jobs (Lorenz 1981: 48). This decision was enforced until 1789, when trade reached a satisfactory level again (Gjessing 1954: 14).²²

The non-Saami population in this region, though not as substantial as the government would have liked, was sufficient enough by the 17th century to exert considerable pressure on the sea Saami communities. Many Saami who had relied on fishing, or had combined fishing with hunting and some herding, moved further back into the fjords and eventually settled down as farmers--without easy access to the open sea, they had little other choice (cf., Gjessing 1954). Thus, as had occurred in Sweden, one of the effects of colonization along the

²¹ The system of Saami schools established at churches throughout Saamiland made it possible to train Saami priests and lay clergy, who were then turned back into the field in myriad regional parishes (Sami Instituhtta 1990: 49-50).

²² The policy remained on the books, however, until 1842 (Lorenz 1981: 48).

Norwegian coast, was the conversion of entire Saami communities from a traditional semi-nomadic lifestyle (as hunters and fishers) to the more sedentary existence necessitated by farming, a development which served to reinforce existing differentiations between herding and non-herding Saami populations. The low mountain plateaus of inner Finnmark (the northernmost province of Norway), on the other hand, remained largely unexplored by non-Saami, and represented a stronghold of traditional Saami culture for the entire region; even the church did not establish a permanent footing in the area before the early 18th century (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 24).

4.4.1 The 'Lapp Codicil': Saami Magna Carta?

One of the most important governmental decisions to affect Saami life during this period of colonization, however, was the finalizing of the border between Norway and Sweden in 1751, encompassing a stretch of nearly 1600 kilometers. This agreement, based on the results of cartographer Peter Schnitler's work, served to clarify the territories that each country had a right to occupy and govern, but in so doing, it erected a potential impediment for the herding population of Saamiland. Up until this time, herders had freely roamed the northernmost regions without any regard for borders--the latter were so tenuous from one decade to the next that there was little or no effort to police them. The 1751 decision, however, changed all of this, since it implied that there not only were acknowledged Swedish and Norwegian areas of Saamiland, but Swedish and Norwegian Saami populations who occupied them, and who were subject to the same restrictions as all citizens of the respective Crowns. Given that the natural migratory routes of the reindeer often involved crossing these artificial boundaries, the strict enforcement of the new border could have disastrous results for those herding families/communities who would no longer be able to follow their animals. The pressure which colonization initially brought to bear, leading to the adoption of a pastoral lifestyle by a greater number of Saami, was now threatening to further impede these same individuals.

Luckily the arbitrary nature of this border agreement (from the Saami perspective) was recognized before it was ratified, and a codicil (known officially as the "Lapp Codicil" [*Lappkodicellen*]) was appended, which attempted to specifically address this issue (Beach 1988: 7; Lorenz 1981: 48-49). This document recognized the immemorial rights of the Saami to use the land in question, without restriction, thus allowing herders to follow their animals during the migratory periods of the year (spring and fall), moving freely to the mountains or out to the coast, regardless of borders. The codicil also liberated the Saami population from double taxation, a vexing problem in the past, and guaranteed that they be treated fairly even if the two countries should happen to be at war with one another (Ruong 1969: 54-55).²³

4.4.2 The Lappmark and Agriculture Lines

Immediately prior to, and after the passage of the 1751 border agreement, the Swedish government intensified its efforts to bring its section of Saamiland under the control of the Crown, primarily by continuing to encourage colonization and repopulation by ethnic Swedes. While these official activities proceeded, the steady influx of *nybyggare* (homesteaders) from the mid 18th century forward resulted in myriad disputes over land usage, between those Saami who continued with their conventional livelihoods (and who still constituted a majority of the population) and the Scandinavians who were attempting to carve out farms in the interior of the region (Ruong 1969: 60).

In an effort to salvage the Crown's policy of parallel land use, various ordinances were passed to try to avert these clashes, with the Saami somewhat surprisingly coming out ahead in most instances until the 1780s (Kvist 1992: 68). The reason for this, however, was more economically motivated than altruistic: trade with the Saami for goods which could be successfully marketed in Scandinavia and throughout northern Europe, remained a

²³ The codicil has become known as the Saami Magna Carta, and remains one of the most important legal documents of its kind, often being referred to in contemporary land use disputes (cf., Marainen 1982). The implementation of those sections specifically concerned with the free crossing of borders has become the responsibility of a bilateral (Norway/Sweden) regulatory commission (Beach 1981: 7).

significant concern for the Crown, and one which still promised greater short term rewards than agriculture in the same region. As the nybyggare population increased, and agriculture became a more important and realistic factor in the Crown's plans for the region, the official regard for the Saami side in these matters diminished.

Unfortunately, the arguments over land usage were not just limited to the nybyggare and the Saami who resided in the forested interior of Swedish Saamiland. Those Swedes who lived along the northern Bothnian coast (stretching back to the time of the Birkarlar), had long been accustomed to venturing inland periodically for better hunting and fishing possibilities, often driving away the Saami who occupied the areas. Before the arrival of the nybyggare, these intrusions attracted very little attention; the combined complaints of these homesteaders and the Saami, however, proved more difficult to ignore and eventually led to the establishment of the so-called Lappmark Line (*lappmarksgränsen*) in 1751.²⁴

This demarcation ran from the Torne River in the north (comprising the current border with Finland) to south of the Ume River, and then swung northwest to the border with Norway, running parallel with the Ångerman River (see Figure 4.1). It was an attempt to divide the coastal region--which was primarily settled by Swedes--from the interior Crown lands, now populated by Saami and nybyggare (Ruong 1969: 53-54; see also Lorenz 1981: 61-63). After 1751, those living to the east of the Lappmark Line were to refrain from crossing into Crown lands and disturbing the inhabitants, while those living to the west of the boundary were to stay within their designated region. Although this protected the hunting and fishing rights of the Saami (and the nybyggare), it also created problems for those reindeer herders who customarily moved their animals down to the Bothnian coast in the summer--the Lappmark Line effectively prohibited them from continuing with this in many instances (Beach 1981: 75).

²⁴ This boundary was actually proposed in 1749, but was not agreed upon until the summer of 1751 (Lorenz 1981: 61).

Even though some of the Saami and the nybyggare occupied the same basic region of Saamiland, their claims to the land, and their tax responsibilities, remained disparate. As mentioned above, most homesteaders enjoyed a break from taxes for at least fifteen years, while those Saami who continued with their nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyles were still required to pay taxes to the Crown. Until the 1760s, the land used by the Saami under this arrangement was basically considered 'free hold', with rights of inheritance and sale included; after the 1760s, however, the Crown looked upon this same property as a royal possession, and the Saami who used it as permanent tenants were entitled to stay only as long as they paid the taxes due (Kvist 1992: 68).²⁵ This change not only denied the Saami their ability to buy and sell the land in question, but implied that they lived on this Crown land by *privilege* rather than by immemorial right, thus laying the foundation for the government's future involvement in deciding which Saami enjoyed these 'privileges' and which did not.

Eventually the Lappmark Line could no longer be used to settle disputes over land ownership and hunting and fishing rights, particularly as the area to the west of the boundary attracted more homesteaders. With each wave of new settlers came a concomitant threat to traditional Saami culture, as the Saami were forced to modify their customary livelihoods to accommodate the greater demands on the environment made by population increases throughout the region. One direct result of these changes was that the Saami, trying to eke out a living and continue to meet the tax burden under increasingly restricted conditions, suffered considerably more from poverty than their immediate Scandinavian neighbors (Ruong 1969: 60-61). Another related problem that continued to arise, was the question of adequate and predictably available grazing land for the reindeer. As the nybyggare moved westward they were often confronted by herds of animals under the control

²⁵ The Saami were not being singled out by the government in this regard, but were rather included in a far-reaching decision to attach as much land to the Crown as possible, and reassign ownership to the king. When this general policy was rescinded by popular demand in the early 19th century, however, the status of the Saami was unaffected (Kvist 1992: 68).

of Saami families with whom they subsequently found themselves in competition for the same tracts of land; from the other side, herders returning to pasturage which had long been used by the same *siida* might find a house and cleared fields where there had once been a forest. Adding to this steady incursion into traditional Saami territory, was the renewal of mining activity along the western border with Norway in the 1820s (Lorenz 1981: 63).

Out of these contradictory demands for land came yet another boundary in an effort to placate all sides, the so-called Agriculture Line (*odlingsgränsen*) which was finally agreed upon in 1873 (Ruong 1969: 61). Like its predecessor, this border ran north-south, coinciding with the Lappmark Line just south of the Torne River in the north, and intersecting it again along the Lappmark Line's southern limit (see Figure 4.1). Within the region to the west of this line, no agricultural development was allowed, its primary use being reserved for reindeer herding; to the east of the boundary, herders retained the right to move to traditional pasturage, but only during the time when it was needed according to migration cycles--all other use of this land by Saami herders was restricted.

Although both the Lappmark and Agriculture Lines were ostensibly drawn up to protect the Saami living in Swedish territory, they were most effective in restricting their movement eastward, thus confining the Saami population to a continually diminishing portion of their original territory. Out of poverty and discouragement over the loss of land and opportunity, not to mention the effects of steady proselytizing, centuries of taxation, and frequently lopsided trading arrangements, the Saami populations of Sweden and Norway were reduced not only in numbers,²⁶ but in spirit, making them ripe targets for a new wave of Christian missionary activity in the first half of the 19th century.

²⁶ By the middle of the 19th century, the nomadic Saami population had the highest infant mortality rate for the entire country of Sweden, contrasted with the settled population which enjoyed the lowest rate (Kvist 1992: 68).

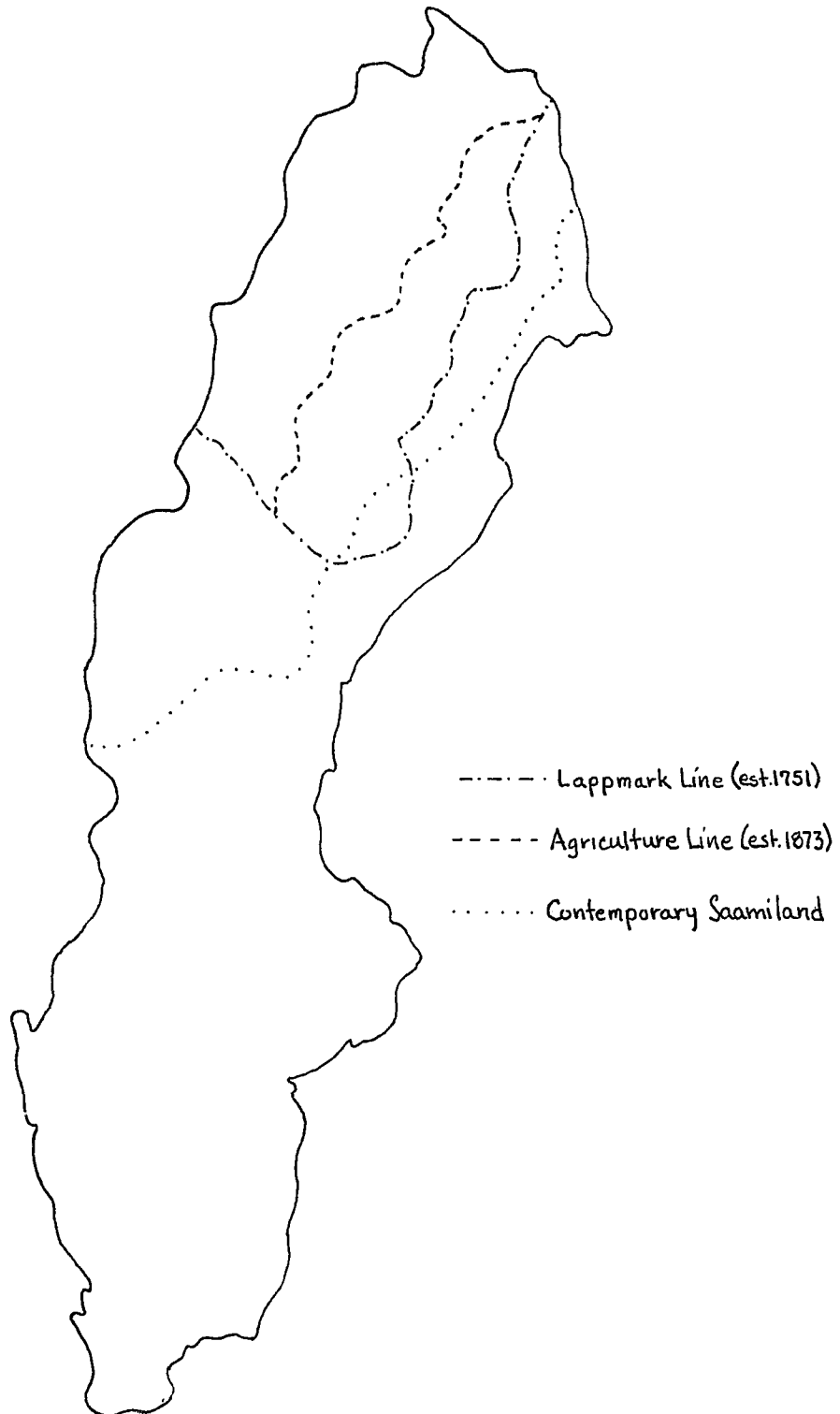


Figure 4.1 The Lappmark and Agriculture Lines in Sweden

4.5 Responses to the pressures of late colonialism

By the 1830s, the effects of several centuries of continual contact with Scandinavians, both on personal and official levels, had left traditional Saami culture depressed in many areas of Saamiland. Not only was the division into herding and non-herding communities steadily solidifying (with governmental encouragement), but many Saami who settled down did so at the eventual expense of their own ethnicity, thus further cutting themselves off from those Saami who continued with more traditional livelihoods. As a result, many of their offspring and subsequent generations essentially became Swedes or Norwegians, learning to 'pass' by adopting the language, dress, and folkways of the dominant Scandinavian cultures.²⁷

On the other hand, those Saami who retained more customary livelihoods, including the herders, were also in contact with outsiders who plied them with new goods and ideas and eventually had a profound influence on how they came to view themselves. The priests and lay clergy steadily harangued them for their apparently unrepentant (if surreptitious) 'heathen' beliefs and practices. Government authorities extracted taxes in kind for land which no longer was used with any assurance or privilege of ownership. And the traders discovered that the Saami's lack of cultural familiarity with distilled spirits could be used to great advantage when it came to making deals--indeed, alcoholism was an enormous problem throughout Saamiland by the early 19th century, with numerous accounts of collusion

²⁷ The prospect of passing was obviously impeded to some degree by linguistic competency and physical appearance. Whereas language became less of a problem in the course of a generation or two, the darker hair and skin of many Saami (not to mention relatively short stature) were more difficult to disguise, even through intermarriage with non-Saami. This led to the use of such disparaging terms as 'black Swede' or 'black Norwegian' to describe those whose heritage was suspect, a categorization which persisted even among Scandinavian immigrants in the United States well into this century (Fjeld 1992: personal communication).

between authorities and merchants who worked to ensure that local distillers and distributors of *brännvin* stayed in business (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 64-65; Beach 1988: 8).²⁸

And yet the Saami were not completely powerless in these developments, nor were they without allies among the Scandinavians. Throughout much of the period of missionary activity, a great number of local clergymen were sympathetic to the plight of their Saami parishioners, recognizing that the processes of colonization had wrought cultural havoc. This was particularly true among those priests and lay officials whose own ancestry was Saami, or who had long standing familial connections in Saamiland. Thus, some of the only records of the vestiges of shamanic activity which survived into the 19th century are found in the journals and writings of priests obviously familiar with these phenomena (cf., Edström 1978).²⁹ The same can be said of joiking, especially the so-called 'epic joiks' which related Saami history and cosmological events with much greater emphasis on text and detail than is now associated with the genre. The few examples of these long narratives which have survived into the 20th century, have done so largely because of the work of concerned clergy (Gaski 1987: 11).

One of the most remarkable joik texts to have emerged from this period of rather informal collecting is "*Suola ja noaidi*" (The thief and the noaidi), preserved in great part by

²⁸ The practice of using alcohol to ease trade relationships is unfortunately not entirely a matter of the distant past. On one occasion an older man told me of his own father who was persuaded to sell off most of his herd for a pittance of its value to non-Saami buyers, who first got him exceedingly drunk. The family had no recourse but to start over again--the local authorities (including the priest) thought it a just reward for such egregious behavior on the part of the herder (Anonymous 1992, personal communication).

²⁹ I want to distinguish here, if possible, between those data gathered by priests and other church officials which were used to combat or debase the Saami population, and those which were generated through friendship and/or genuine curiosity. Both Beach and Gjessing warn against placing too much credibility in any of these sources, particularly since there is evidence that some information was extracted through threats and/or beatings (Gjessing 1954: 24; see also Beach 1981: 7-8). Nevertheless, as Gaski and others have found, there were priests in Saamiland who felt responsible for recording any information of the 'old beliefs', before these practices disappeared from view (Gaski 1987: 11; see also Edström 1987).

the priest Jakob Fellman in the 1820s, who lived in the northwest corner of Finland.³⁰ What sets this particular joik apart is its juxtaposition of clashing points of view, expressed by two characters. The 'thief' of the title is a newcomer to Saamiland, who proudly announces his domain over the land; the noaidi openly challenges this position by questioning how one can possess that which one knows nothing about. This thinly veiled protest against the various non-Saami forces converging upon Saamiland (coalescing here in a single metaphorical figure, the thief), is all the more remarkable for its unsettling conclusion, demonstrating as it does, the perception of continued cultural incompatibility and suggesting a future which remains tenuous for the Saami. After several verbal exchanges with the thief, the noaidi attempts to use the power of words via his own joiking to dispel the interloper:

<i>Ha deg vekk, langt bort herfra</i>	<i>(Be gone, long away from here</i>
<i>Der du kommer fra, dit skal du dra</i>	<i>Go back where you have come from</i>
<i>Jeg er fremdeles over deg</i>	<i>I am still above you</i>
<i>Jeg drar, jeg tar, jeg setter bort</i>	<i>I drag, I take, I set aside</i>
<i>Jeg kaster deg langt bort herfra</i>	<i>I cast you long away from here)</i>

To which the thief derisively replies:

<i>Så forgår du og blir til intet,</i>	<i>(So perish and become nought</i>
<i>din sjaman</i>	<i>you shaman)</i>

Gaski 1987: 51 (my translation)

This unusual joik demonstrates how the genre could be used as a form of protest (in this case against the colonial powers), putting the struggle for rights in a communicable form, even as it acknowledged the seemingly unstoppable course of events which gained momentum in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Other known examples of 'protest' joiks, were typically more subtle, relying on the complexity of Saami language to convey pointed if cloaked messages to knowledgeable audiences (Gaski 1992, personal communication). As increasing pressure was brought to bear in Saami communities,

³⁰ Gaski points out that Fellman's text is actually a partial reconstruction of an otherwise unknown original performance (Gaski 1987: 48). I am relying here entirely on the translated version (in Norwegian) reprinted in Gaski's book on epic joik, *Med ord skal tyvene fordrives*.

however, just the act of joiking became a protest in and of itself, regardless of the subject or content.

4.5.1 Læstadianism: a Saami evangelical movement

Occasionally the church actually became the vehicle for Saami social mobilization, as first occurred in the late 18th century. An evangelical movement known as the *Roperne* ('Shouters'; in NSa: *Cuorvuts*), had begun among Saami Christians in the Torne region of northeastern Sweden in the 1770s and spread to outlying communities, eventually reaching Kautokeino and Karasjok, Norway (Gjessing 1954: 26). Like many similar sects throughout Scandinavia, the *Roperne* were influenced by pietistic doctrine which emphasized ecstatic activities during worship services as a means of encouraging personal religious experience, all of which occurred within the protective confines of a spiritual community, and under the guidance of a charismatic leader. As was the case with the *Roperne*, such movements quite easily took hold in Saamiland, intermeshing with existing Saami ritual trance behavior, and producing a syncretized variant of the state sanctioned Lutheranism, (op. cit.).³¹

Much to the consternation of local civil servants and some church officials, the *Roperne* in Kautokeino additionally used their services to rally support for community concern over the activities of those perceived as 'outsiders'--outside not only ethnically, but in their lack of apparent religious fervor as well. Central to the *Roperne*'s faith was an ideal model of Christianity, glimpsed in group ecstatic visions, and proclaimed loudly by members during services (hence the name, 'shouters' or 'callers')--those who did not share in this belief were publicly castigated (Outakoski 1991: 157). The continuation in the region of such sinful enterprises as *brännvin* distillation and distribution was decried, and a general call for sobriety issued--all in the language of the *Roperne* believers, Saami. Although relatively short-lived, the *Roperne* movement provided a necessary cathartic for its Saami members,

³¹ These sects did not separate themselves from the state churches, but existed in a parallel manner. Members continued to be christened and confirmed as Lutherans, but other worship activities were held within the sect, which often developed rituals of its own for holidays and weekly/daily services (Stenman 1980: 3).

who used the tools of their Christian teachers to give voice to issues which they felt the state Lutheran church and its representatives were conveniently overlooking (op. cit.; see also Lorenz 1981: 54).

This foray (albeit brief) into the direct confrontation of cogent social issues through the medium of the church was quite influential in the northern region of Saamiland, and it was not long before another similar movement emerged, again under the guidance of an evangelical priest, Lars Levi Læstadius (1800-61). The Læstadius family constituted a near dynasty among the clergy who lived and worked in Saamiland, having produced several generations of priests. They were moreover of Saami ancestry, making their connections to the area and interests in its inhabitants that much more profound (Outakoski 1991: 156; Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 64).

Læstadius did not begin his career as a minister, but as an avid botanist who traveled throughout Saamiland cataloguing flora and listening to the stories of the Saami whom he met and stayed with. During this period, he developed a particular interest in personal accounts of the *sájva* (helper-spirits) and their activities. Læstadius later used much of this information in formulating both his own interpretation of Christianity and its promulgation among a largely Saami populace.³²

Unlike most of his predecessors and contemporaries, Læstadius realized that denying the existence of these spirits did not necessarily diminish their importance for Saami parishioners, many of whom remained quite adept at retaining many aspects of their indigenous beliefs while professing their faith in the Christian church (Gjessing 1954: 28). Læstadius instead drew attention to the *sájva*, addressing them in several of his sermons as potentially dangerous spirits, against whom only the Christian god was superior in

³² Læstadius committed very little of this information to print, the exception being his *Fragmenter i lappska mythologien* (*Fragments of Lappish Mythology*) originally submitted to a French publisher in 1845 for private distribution; it was finally printed in Swedish in 1959 (edited by Harald Grundström).

strength.³³ His knowledge of how the saive functioned in traditional Saami belief systems--as helpers who could prove vengeful in their behavior toward their mortal partners--provided him with a much more effective means of attacking these same beliefs.

In his fiery sermons, beginning in the Karesuando area in the 1830s, Læstadius portrayed the *sájva* as "immoral, dishonest creatures that drank 'dragon's poison', that is strong alcohol, and were all treacherous and vain" (Outakoski 1991: 162). Proof of the *sájva*'s power and capriciousness was hardly necessary, for most of Læstadius' Saami audience were well aware of these qualities from personal experience; yet if evidence of their negative influence *was* needed, the high incidence of alcoholism in Saami communities in the early 19th century was very persuasive, if Læstadius was correct that the *sájva* were somehow involved. Against this uncertainty which continued belief in the saive seemed to imply, Læstadius submitted a better alternative to his followers, the promise of salvation and eternal peace which Christianity and its concept of Paradise offered (ibid: 160-61).

Not only was the power of the *sájva* challenged by Læstadius, but even the means by which one communicated with these lesser deities, joik. Accordingly joiking was condemned, in part as a product of the *sájva* maidens who functioned siren-like, using joiks to lure the Saami into contact with the inhabitants of other realms--in Læstadius' own words, joiking was no more than "a whore's song" (ibid: 162). As with his informed attacks against the *sájva*, Læstadius based his assault on joik by formally recognizing the power that this musical expression had for his followers; he did not dismiss the genre or its practice as 'primitive', but instead suggested that to continue joiking was to court disaster for it implied establishing and retaining contact with dangerous beings. In this respect, Læstadius was much more inclusive in his condemnation of the genre than many of his predecessors, arguing emphatically that all joik performance was fundamentally the same in its conception

³³ According to Gaski, the occasional replacement of less effective deities by other, more powerful ones was wholly in keeping with Saami traditions (Gaski 1987: 51). Thus, there was some cultural precedent for the argument that Læstadius and his followers developed in order to draw in more Saami worshipers.

as a means of establishing intimate connections through performance. Where several centuries of missionary activity had essentially succeeded in pushing joik out of the public performance sphere, Læstadius and his adherents were much more strenuous in their disavowal of the practice (based largely on their belief in its power) and were eventually rewarded for their efforts: among the communities where Læstadius' teachings took hold, joiking virtually disappeared.³⁴

A great part of the appeal of Læstadianism (as this evangelical sect came to be known) was thus in the manner in which it acknowledged and built upon the indigenous world view, rather than simply attacking it or denying its veracity. This is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the organization of Læstadian communities. Whereas other priests had typically focused on the noaidi as a worthy (if inherently evil) spiritual adversary in the battle for souls, Læstadius succeeded in portraying him as a weak opponent who must be cast out in favor of a stronger and more beneficial community leader, the *predikant* (preacher) (Gjessing 1954: 28). The *predikant*, generally a member of the non-ordained lay clergy, usually served as the head of a Læstadian group; like the noaidi, the *predikant* was conceived as the most qualified intermediary/interpreter for the spiritual realm.³⁵ This individual played such a key role within the congregation, that the word of God, as found in the Bible, was in some instances considered secondary to the immediacy of the messages of the *predikant*'s sermons--God presided over creation and judgment, while the *predikant* was the spiritual guide for all of the mundane events occurring between these processes (op. cit.).

³⁴ This was emphasized to me on numerous occasions by various Saami people I spoke with, from those who had grown up in Læstadian communities, to those who were more aware of this phenomenon through contact with others. I am particularly indebted to a Læstadian *predikant*, Mikkaal Urheim, however, for the explanation of how joik was perceived differently by Læstadius than by his contemporaries in the clergy (Urheim 1992, personal communication).

³⁵ It is important to distinguish between ordained Lutheran priests and the Læstadian *predikants*. The former continued to represent the only state authorized church (Lutheran), and were present to some degree even in those communities where Læstadianism held sway. The *predikants* most often 'answered the call' to preaching rather than being formally educated and ordained. They were only nominally sanctioned by the state church, being allowed to administer communion, but not to confirm.

Because of this emphasis placed on the predikant, Læstadianism actually assumed many localized and diverse forms. Although Læstadius limited his own activities primarily to the Swedish Saami villages of Karesuando and Pajala, his followers spread throughout Saamiland, adapting Læstadius' teachings (published as sermons) to better fit their own conceptions of the movement and the communities it inspired. Yet all of these varied approaches agreed on at least two dogmatic points.³⁶ First was the belief that the congregation constituted the incarnate body of Christ and had the power of absolute forgiveness of all sins committed by its membership. This ideological focus on the inherent strength of a community, found obvious rapport among those whose own cultural experience was grounded in and molded by the *siida* social structure, and may well have developed in response to this indigenous concept.

The second point of agreement was also arguably derived from Saami culture. Under the guidance of the predikant, and through the sanctioned sacrificial ritual of Christian communion,³⁷ the Læstadian service emphasized group ecstatic behavior (*liikutukset*) as a means of interacting directly with the deity *en masse*. Not only was this phenomenon superficially reminiscent of the noaidi's activities, but such experiences again served to reinforce the communal experience over that of the individual, standing in stark contrast with Protestant dogma which stressed personal/individual faith as the only means of salvation.³⁸ Moreover, this, too, encouraged the formation of closed groups of believers, segregated from outsiders and often from other Læstadian communities, again

³⁶ Eventually these local variants were somewhat more codified, becoming six different Læstadian sects spread across Scandinavia (including Finland) and into Russia. In contemporary Scandinavia, the Læstadians are divided into Western and Eastern groups, with the former giving particular credence to Læstadius' own written teachings and published sermons (Stenman 1980: 3).

³⁷ According to Bäckman, the communion ritual was particularly meaningful to the Saami from its introduction via Catholic and Lutheran priests, primarily because the transubstantiation of bread and wine was very similar to indigenous offertory rituals involving reindeer (Bäckman 1992: personal communication).

³⁸ It is interesting to note that women are apparently more often affected by this group ecstatic experience than are men, suggesting a parallel with the traditional activities of the noaidi and his reliance on female adepts as helpers in certain rituals (cf., Edström 1978).

demonstrating a remarkable affinity between these groups and the traditional conception of a siida (ibid.: 29).

The impact of Læstadianism was by no means limited to Saami communities (nor is it today), but it was within this particular cultural milieu that the movement took form and prospered, largely, it has been argued, because of the ability of Læstadius (and his immediate successors) to address the Saami population on their own terms while extolling the virtues of his faith. Given that the actual introduction of Christianity throughout Saamiland was accomplished long before Læstadius began his preaching career, and that there were many other Saami Christian priests, the results which Læstadius attained in a relatively short period of time (approximately 1830-1861) were that much more remarkable in contrast to the efforts of his predecessors and contemporaries, suggesting that perhaps something beyond effective presentation of dogma was responsible. If one takes into account the cumulative effects of colonization and extended, often coercive culture contact, however, the response to a charismatic figure like Læstadius is more easily explained.

Læstadius was not an outsider, but was of Saami ancestry and was personally well known in the northern region of Saamiland through his botanical work. Many of his sermons acknowledged his extensive debt to Saami culture, and were, moreover, delivered in Saami and/or Finnish rather than the dominant language, Swedish.³⁹ The salvation which he promised his followers was clearly Christian in origin and intent, but it had a distinct Saami cast to it, particularly in his use of the native world view as a point of reference and contrast. His attacks on the prevailing social issue of the era, alcoholism, were aimed not only at those who themselves sinned, but those who enticed others to sin in this manner⁴⁰--and not just

³⁹ At the time that Læstadius was active, the region where he lived and worked was undergoing a systematic 'Swedification' process. These efforts, which included enforced use of Swedish, were enacted in order to assert Sweden's control over the area, after losing its Finnish holdings in 1809 to the Russians. The language most non-Saami (and bilingual Saami) spoke in the region was Finnish, making Læstadius' use of Saami and Finnish much more radical than it otherwise appears (Stenman 1980: 1).

⁴⁰ In 1852, the so-called 'Kautokeino Massacre' occurred, in which two Norwegians (a civil servant and a merchant, both of whom were involved in the sale of brännvin) were killed and

mortals: even the *sájva* had apparently succumbed to this temptation, providing Læstadius with further justification for demanding that his followers abandon their contact with these Saami helper-spirits.

What Læstadius offered, beyond the promises of his faith, was a means of buttressing up Saami culture at a time when it was beset by outside pressures and influences which continually threatened to divide and conquer the entire population. But this measure of cultural refurbishing came with a caveat: it demanded the formal abandonment of traditional rituals and the behaviors associated with them, including *joik*. In their place the Læstadians developed unique expressions which not surprisingly demonstrated a stronger connection with Saami culture than that of the neighboring Scandinavians.

Whether or not Læstadius was actually more successful than others in eliminating the influence of the *noaiðit* and the *sájva* remains debatable. According to one Læstadian scholar, belief in the *sájva* still manifests itself strongly in Læstadian ideology, wherein he has found frequent mention of benign spirits who offer "love, help, and security" to those who believe in them (Outakoski 1991: 163). Supporters and detractors alike agree, however, that the movement which Læstadius launched had a profound effect on the preservation of many aspects of Saami culture, particularly in the face of the concerted efforts to assimilate the Saami population which began in earnest at the time of Læstadius' success (Lorenz 1981: 56; Urheim 1992 personal communication).

The language of the sect was predominantly Saami, even at a time when this was increasingly discouraged within the parent Lutheran church. The group's anti-materialism effectively warded off intrusions of new goods and customs, stressing instead the inherent quality of older style homemade products, and the value of retaining Saami aesthetics. The focus on community which was endemic to traditional Saami society, found a welcome forum

the local Lutheran priest was beaten by a number of Saami, as the result of a protracted dispute over the rights of the local population to determine, among other things, whether alcohol should be sold in the community. These actions were carried out by fervidly religious followers of Læstadius' movement (Lorenz 1981: 56-58).

among the Læstadians, who tended to keep their organizational scope equivalent to that of the old siida system, rather than coalescing into a large group (like a Lutheran congregation) with a hierarchical structure extending beyond the immediate community. And finally, in their religious practices, the Læstadians retained the emphasis of their forebears on ecstatic behavior, even if they consciously shifted the attention of these rituals to the omnipotent god of the Christian church, and downplayed the influence of the Saami spirit realms in the process. Joiking on the other hand, condemned by Læstadius for its intrinsically dangerous properties, was at best sublimated in Læstadian communities, if not eradicated. Nevertheless, it occasionally found its way into their psalmody and hymnody, providing a melodic skeleton for new words of praise (Nederjord 1991: 111; Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 175-176).⁴¹

4.6 Assimilation

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the forces of nationalism which gripped much of Europe (cf., Hobsbawm 1990; Anderson 1983) were fully engaged in Scandinavia. In Sweden the first waves of liberalism and change resulted in the drafting of a constitution in 1809 which severely reduced the power of the monarchy, and stripped the Crown of its hold on much of the land it had annexed since the 1760s (Kvist 1992: 68). That same year Sweden lost its control over Finland, surrendering the territory to the Russians. Subsequent attempts at 'russification' (i.e., instituting Russian institutions to replace those of the former Swedish authorities) met with strenuous and protracted resistance among the Finnish population, who sought instead to reinforce their own beleaguered cultural heritage. Norway shed the protective mantle of the Danish crown in 1814, and strove to bolster its own separate national identity through all of the 19th century, in spite of the fact that it remained in formal union with Sweden until 1905.

⁴¹ Læstadian song books were printed with texts only, the melodies used reflecting regional preferences. With the familiarity which most early members of the sect must have had with joik in their own communities, it is not surprising that the melodies which developed (and continue to be used) had such a pronounced resemblance to local joiking in many cases.

These developments obviously had a profound affect on the Saami populations occupying the northern regions of all of these emerging nations. The attempts to settle Saamiland were redoubled, with many non-Saami families establishing themselves further inland. The expansion of the forest industry provided an extra incentive, particularly in Sweden, where the non-Saami population expanded sufficiently by the 1870s to become the majority in Saamiland (ibid.: 69). While each successful repopulation endeavor introduced a potential threat to all of the indigenous Saami, the hardest hit were often the herders. As the result of continuous disputes between Russia and Norway over the rights of settlers, for example, in 1852 the Finnish-Norwegian border was closed to Saami herders who had been accustomed to move their reindeer freely throughout the region. This led to forced moves of many herding families (with their animals) from northern Norway into Sweden, thus displacing quite a few Swedish Saami who themselves moved further south, and eventually caused similar population shifts in Finland (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 59-60).

Rather than continuing with the earlier policies which had theoretically encouraged parallel land use, the governments sought to incorporate their Saami populations into the mainstream citizenry through the enactment of a number of crucial laws making it even more difficult to maintain any semblance of Saami identity. The basis of this legislation was the wedding of then-current scientific evolutionary theory to concepts of perceived differences based on race, producing a hierarchy of racial types of which the dominant culture (i.e., Swedish, etc.) invariably represented the zenith.

As these precepts took hold in the scientific and legal communities of Scandinavia, the Saami were increasingly portrayed as backward or primitive, with strong implications of racial inferiority when compared to their neighboring ethnic Swedes, Norwegians, and Finns.⁴² The traditional Saami semi-nomadic and pastoral livelihoods were viewed as

⁴² Such descriptions/depictions of the Saami were not helped by the circulation of accounts of chronic alcoholism or numerous tales of supposedly dangerous Saami 'magicians' whose powers had been erroneously recorded by generations of travelers and missionaries.

unfortunate holdovers from a past stage of social/cultural development, and were presumed to be destined for eventual disappearance as the nations moved toward modernization and greater reliance on industrialization. More significantly, the governments increasingly viewed such 'anachronistic' pursuits as impediments to the greater national goals, and began a determined legislative campaign to hasten their demise.

Those who persisted in reindeer herding, however, in keeping with the paternalistic paradigm which developed, were thought to require the support of the state, thus obviating the further involvement of the government in Saami culture. Such attitudes led to an official economic definition of Saami ethnicity, particularly in Sweden, where those who were herders were accorded governmental protection, while all others were given no such consideration--for all intents and purposes, after the 1870s, the latter were no longer considered 'Saami' to the same degree as the herders (Kvist 1992: 69). The artificial bifurcation of the Saami population into herding and non-herding components, which had begun as a result of tax policies in the 16th and 17th centuries, had finally become law, with disastrous results for both sets of constituents.

As the forces of nationalism took hold in the parliaments of Norway and Sweden, the 'foreign' populations (i.e., the indigenous Saami and the transplanted Finns) occupying the northernmost districts of each country increasingly came under attack as liabilities in the effective defense of the borders--disputes such as the one between Norway and Russia in 1852 merely added fuel to these arguments, and the governments reacted with a series of measures designed with assimilation of the 'foreigners' clearly in mind. The Norwegians took a very strict approach to the problem, passing legislation in the 1870s which forbid any non-Norwegian-speaking individual from owning property--those who did not meet this criterion were faced with immediately learning and using Norwegian or surrendering their rights as property owners.⁴³ Although many Saami and Finns were bilingual, their first

⁴³ This law actually remained on the books until 1965, although it was rarely enforced after W.W.II.

language, and the one used in their schools, was either Saami or Finnish, making them the obvious targets of this new law. The Swedes were equally insistent on the issue of language, being particularly suspicious of those who spoke Finnish, but did not make this a prerequisite to land ownership (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 70-71). The Finns, on the other hand, were much more tolerant of those who spoke Saami, perhaps because Finnish speakers themselves had long been discriminated against during the centuries that the region was under the control of the Swedish Crown. Even as Finnish slowly became the language for official purposes, as well as that spoken by most of the population, those who spoke Saami continued to do so without fear of governmental reprisals (*ibid.*: 72).

One of the first clear moves to systematically assimilate the Saami, then, was the imposition of Norwegian and Swedish (replacing Saami) as the languages of instruction in Saami schools. In Norway this was accomplished in stages, actually beginning in the 1850s with the substitution of Norwegian for all subjects except Bible studies; by 1870 (coinciding with the new land ownership regulations), even religious instruction in Saami was discontinued, and teachers were given bonuses as an extra inducement to discourage all use of Saami in the school environment (*ibid.*: 68-69).⁴⁴ In Sweden, the law regarding language in the schools was changed in 1846 to reflect the majority population within any given parish where a Saami school was found--since the Saami rarely had a demographic edge, the language of instruction became Swedish (or even Finnish). By 1877, these same Saami schools were opened to non-Saami students to accommodate the widespread population change, and Swedish became the only language of instruction (Kvist 1992: 69; see also Henrysson 1986).

These policies had the desired effect in both nations to a great extent, gradually reducing the number of Saami who spoke their own language with any fluency.⁴⁵ For those who had

⁴⁴ Note that it was not only the Saami who were affected by these linguistic policies, but Norway's (and Sweden's) substantial Finnish population as well.

⁴⁵ Among contemporary Swedish Saami, for example, 20% cannot understand Saami at all, 40% cannot speak it, 65% cannot read Saami, and fully 85% cannot write it (Beach 1988: 5).

adopted a more settled lifestyle during the period of homesteading, the shift in language in schools was primarily a formality--many already spoke either Norwegian or Swedish fluently enough to function or even pass in the dominant culture. The one exception to this development, however, was the herding minority, for whom the advantages of Saami, with its unique descriptive capabilities and specific herding vocabulary, were made manifest daily.⁴⁶ For these individuals/families, the existence of a practical context for using the language, in addition to the long periods of relative isolation which herding dictated, encouraged the retention of Saami as the best (if not only) means of communication. This linguistic distinction eventually served to further distance the herding population from other Saami communities for whom language retention had become nearly an impossibility.

4.6.1 Reindeer grazing restrictions

Having begun the process of assimilation, the governments of Norway and Sweden turned their attention to the most recalcitrant segment of the Saami population, the herders. The same paternalistic attitudes which first strengthened official involvement in reindeer herding in the mid 19th century, reached a climax in the 1880s with the enactment of a series of different laws, all of which aimed at completely circumscribing the herding populations of each country, controlling their movement, and defining their relationship with the ever enlarging agricultural communities.

In 1883 the Norwegian parliament introduced a reindeer grazing law which not only restricted herders from impinging on farmlands (regardless of previous customary use), but made the herders directly responsible for any damages to crops or land which occurred as the result of grazing; in exchange, they were granted parcels of government land and a guarantee that their migratory paths would not be hindered in any way (including agricultural and mining development). In 1897, this legislation was strengthened by an addendum which basically defined government supervised reindeer grazing districts within

⁴⁶ See Chapter 2 (§2.6.2) for further discussion of the linguistic advantage this language offers reindeer herders.

which the only sanctioned herding could take place--use of private lands was allowed, but was subject to approval by the owners which was seldom granted. The result of this law was catastrophic, particularly for those herders in the southern area of Saamiland: 33 counties in Norway, previously used to some degree for herding activities, were closed off (Lorenz 1981: 70-71).

The situation was similar in Sweden, with the first major legislation to control the herding population being passed in 1886. This created a system of *lappbyar* ('Lapp districts')⁴⁷ which more or less corresponded to the old *siida* divisions in Saamiland (Beach 1988: 8). Within each *lappby*, those who herded were granted exclusive rights to the use of the land, including hunting and fishing, but they were not to be involved in agriculture under any circumstances. As in Norway, herders were also held responsible for damages incurred by neighboring farmers, while the latter were forbidden to use the land within the *lappbyar* for any reason whatsoever. In theory, every Saami in Sweden had the right to herd reindeer, but given the geographical restrictions imposed by the boundaries of the new *lappbyar*, the size of the herding population could not change significantly. More importantly, those Saami who did not herd had no legitimate access to the land comprising any given *lappby*. This did not just affect those who had taken up farming, but stretched to include those who had traditionally fished or hunted and trapped as a primary livelihood; they too were prohibited from continuing if their customary fishing/hunting areas fell within the boundaries of a *lappby* (op.cit.).

This legislation was reinforced in Sweden in 1898, this time more thoroughly codifying the distinction between those Saami who herded reindeer and those who did not. Without

⁴⁷ *Lappbyar* (singular: *lappby*) literally translates as 'Lapp villages', which generates considerable confusion, since there is no direct correlation with a village or town. A *lappby* instead defined the entire region in which migration took place, and thus could encompass hundreds of square kilometers; it also referred to the collective of individuals who raised reindeer within this proscribed district. In accordance with an editorial policy adopted in 1992 at the Center for Arctic Cultural Research in Umeå, Sweden, I find the term 'Lapp district' obviously more manageable.

official encouragement to continue, in the guise of protective legislation corresponding to that which affected the herders, the rest of the Saami population (comprising nearly 90%) were systematically excluded from pursuing their traditional ways of life, making them that much easier targets for assimilation.

By contrast, the Saami in Finland were spared many of these attempts to control the population of non-Finns. Eventually the government did adopt a policy which defined an exclusive geographical region for reindeer herding, but they did not restrict those within the district from pursuing other livelihoods, either simultaneously or in lieu of herding. Moreover, there were no ethnic limitations, with reindeer herding being an approved occupation for anyone living within the region, a situation which continues into the present (op. cit.).

4.6.2 Segregation: "lapp skall vara lapp"

The limitations of the new reindeer grazing laws were such that only those Saami who were fully involved as pastoral nomads had any specific right to pursue this livelihood. All others who had combined herding with fishing, hunting, and perhaps limited farming, were legally constrained from continuing to keep reindeer, and it was presumed that these individuals, constituting the great majority of the total ethnic Saami population, would gradually become constructive members of the dominant culture. Once the governments of Norway and Sweden had instituted their respective legislation, therefore, the concern among officials at both the regional and national levels in regard to the Saami remained fixed on the small percentage of Saami who persisted in their efforts to herd and migrate with their reindeer.

The herders, their movements controlled and their culture effectively circumscribed both physically and psychologically, became the objects of further legal action to ensure that they would remain 'Saami' according to governmental standards, and segregated from their ethnic counterparts. This attitude was prophetically summed up as "lapp skall vara lapp" (a Lapp

shall be Lapp), implying that a single set of romanticized criteria existed by which all should be judged, and which could be used to limit and control any influence which fell outside these criteria (Lorenz 1981: 81). It was presumed that the herding population was still in need of protection, which the governments seemed only too willing to provide.

One of the first applications of this revised theory occurred in Sweden in 1913, when it was determined that henceforth all Saami schools should avoid exposing Saami children to the amenities of a settled life, for fear of attracting too many of them away from their nomadic lifestyle (ibid.: 80). The ensuing Saami school law introduced tent-schools (*kåtaskolar*), replacing permanent buildings with large tents or turf huts where children lived and studied together under the guidance of Swedish instructors--the language was largely Swedish, but this was not strictly defined nor enforced (Henrysson 1986: 12-13). This act was not limited to physical surroundings, however, for it also impinged on the curriculum and the amount of compulsory education: typically a child attended no more than four terms, with only one offered each year in the winter, when the herding families were least active (Kvist 1992: 71). Although this law was restructured to a degree in 1925, the situation did not change appreciably until the 1940s, in accordance with new rules introduced in 1938.⁴⁸ For nearly thirty years, Saami education in Sweden only consisted of these temporary field schools designed to limit exposure to what the government had determined were 'non-Saami', and therefore threatening influences--children from non-herding families were required to enter the regular Swedish school system (op. cit.).⁴⁹

In contrast to the tent-schools, the Norwegians built large boarding facilities in the 1920s to replace the system of local Saami schools. This enabled the national government to oversee curriculum development and thus continue to control what Saami children learned.

⁴⁸ After the 1913 school act, there was some Saami advisory participation prior to drafting later legislation, but this input apparently went unheeded (Kvist 1992: 71).

⁴⁹ In a particularly egregious example of self-fulfilling prophesying, the 1928 Reindeer Act used the high incidence of illiteracy among the Saami herding population as evidence of the need for more stringent control in regard to education. The law makers felt that expectations for educating the Saami had perhaps been too high in the past (Lorenz 1981: 81).

In this respect, the Norwegian approach was considerably more benign than its Swedish counterpart. The "lapp skall vara lapp" ideology did not particularly hold sway to the same degree, but with the restrictions imposed on the herding population by the grazing acts of the late 19th century and the earlier laws tying land ownership to language, the effect was nearly identical. For those Saami who were not incorporated into sanctioned herding districts, there was little recourse but to learn Norwegian and educate their children to do the same (Lorenz 1981: 81).⁵⁰

With the passage of the 1928 Reindeer Act, the Swedish government finally solidified its position regarding its Saami population. Whereas previous legislation had intimated that only certain Saami would be considered 'official' (i.e., those who actually herded, as opposed to the entire Saami population who theoretically retained the right to do so), the 1928 law codified this view by declaring that only those who were *registered* members of a lappby could henceforth remain legitimate herders with all of the land use, fishing, and hunting rights that this entailed. Furthermore, in order to register in a lappby, one was required to show proof of a parent or grandparent who was/had been a full-time herder--Saami heritage was no longer sufficient to be included among those who chose to raise reindeer.

This legislation had two profound affects on the Saami in Sweden, above and beyond the obvious finalization of the segregation of the herding population. First it gave the Swedish government the ability to control not only the size of the herding population, but its ultimate location as well. On several occasions in the early part of this century, North Saami herding families were forcibly relocated to South Saami lappbys to settle disputes between farmers and herders; the new registration process expedited this by making it possible to simply register individuals/groups wherever space was judged to exist, disregarding often extreme differences in herding techniques, not to mention language, dress, and other cultural

⁵⁰ As in Sweden, the overwhelming preponderance of Saami in Norway were not herders; in this instance the majority were fishermen--so-called *sjösamer* (sea Saami) living all along the northern coast.

expressions. The second affect was the rather subtle transformation of Saami rights into Saami *privileges*. Although this process had begun with the grazing acts of 1886 and 1898, it reached fruition in the 1928 Act, which transferred control of land and water use to the agency which registered the users, i.e., the state. The implication of this was simple: those who wanted to continue herding, hunting, and fishing on land which had previously been owned by the Crown, but essentially controlled by the Saami themselves, were now forced to apply for membership in order to remain. This situation was aggravated by the fact that more individuals qualified than could actually become lappby members--the government controlled the number of positions in each lappby as well, according to formulae derived from successful agricultural models for raising cattle and sheep.

In a relatively short period of time, beginning in the 1880s and culminating in the 1920s and 1930s, the Swedish and Norwegian governments managed to effectively cut off the Saami herding population from the rest of Saami culture in Scandinavia. It was the collective official presumption that the rest of the Saami population would merge into the mainstream of the dominant cultures and the Saami 'problem' would remain easily contained. As often happens in such master planning, however, the goal remained elusive, particularly since the objects to be controlled had a will to remain self-determining. By the time the 1928 Reindeer Act was passed in Sweden, two large Saami organizations had held national meetings, and several newspapers were being published by Saami groups calling for the revitalization and support of Saami culture, and demanding a voice at the national level on their own behalf.

4.7 An organized Saami response

From the rather distant perspective that this fundamentally historical analysis has so far afforded, the relations between the Saami and Scandinavian populations appear to have followed a pattern in which the increasing involvement of various government and church institutions led to a decline in what has rather cautiously been defined here as 'traditional'

Saami culture. With each new era, laws and regulations were passed which progressively divided the population against itself, and brought the remaining herding minority more firmly under the control of the authorities, culminating in an official definition which set strict parameters for Saami identity. By the early 20th century, then, the overarching image of the reindeer herding Lapp' had a legal as well as a romanticized basis, and strongly influenced the manner in which the Saami were perceived by outsiders, and how they perceived themselves.

Surprisingly, in virtually each instance cited in the preceding pages, the Saami (both individually and collectively) seemingly offered little resistance to these developments, yielding to the demands of the Scandinavian majority, and to some degree embracing the cultural institutions of their colonizers. But such a simplistic conclusion ignores the dynamic character of culture change--affecting and engaging all parties to some extent--and downplays the successful strategies adopted by Saami individuals, families, and even whole communities, to retain some semblance of self-determination. When confronted with excessive taxes, for example, a significant number of Saami families living in Sweden simply fled to Norwegian territory and out of the reach of the authorities, a tactic which proved effective until the border was more carefully controlled.⁵¹

When the forces of change were more long-term and/or invasive, other strategies came into play, none of which necessarily implied conscious action on the part of the Saami. In spite of the fact that the state church's ubiquitous presence throughout most of Saamiland meant that missionary activity was not easily avoided, the impact of this institution was mitigated to some degree by Saami participation in the conversion process. Many supposed Saami converts adopted only those aspects of Christianity which either did not seriously interfere with indigenous beliefs, or at least did not entirely discount their potential incorporation into local interpretations of Christian dogma and rituals. Such an approach to inculcating

⁵¹ Even this change in 1751 was mitigated considerably by the simultaneous passage of the 'Lapp Codicil' (see §4.4.1 above).

religious objectives frequently encouraged the emergence of syncretized variants of Christianity which hardly would have been recognizable in other regions of Scandinavia, and often pitted the local clergy, who tacitly overlooked such developments, against the national church authorities (Fur 1992: 47-51). Even Læstadianism, which made such strong inroads in Saamiland and established a firm Christian base in the process, stood apart from the sanctioned state church and arguably sheltered many aspects of Saami culture under the guise of conservative religious dogma (Lorenz 1981: 56).

This latter example notwithstanding, however, none of these responses was consciously organized to the extent that it could be readily transferred from one Saami community to another, ultimately producing a more unified Saami population (cf., Svensson 1976). Lacking both a clear agenda for group action and acknowledged leadership to implement any goals that might arise, the effort to remain discernibly 'Saami' in Scandinavia most often manifested itself at the level of personal commitment, particularly for those individuals and families who were systematically excluded from the 'official' Saami population (i.e., the reindeer herders). In most situations, it was much less threatening for this same populace to 'pass' (whenever possible), or at the very least to cloak one's Saami identity by adopting the language and other objective traits of the majority (cf., Eidheim 1969).

One of the impediments to any organizational attempt was the fact that the Saami did not (and do not) constitute an homogenous population. As previously discussed, the Saami ranged among diverse environments (from the coastlines, to the taiga plateaus, mountains, and valleys, and spread among the birch and conifer forests), and manifested different lifestyles and livelihoods appropriate to the particular regions, from hunting and fishing (often augmented with cultivation) to pastoral nomadism.⁵² Language variations abounded, as did differences in virtually all aspects of expressive culture, from housing preferences to

⁵² Even though the exclusive reliance on reindeer herding is thought to be a relatively late development, largely in response to the pressures of colonization (Lundmark 1982: 169), there is compelling evidence suggesting that more limited herding existed in the forested regions of Saamiland much earlier (cf., Aronsson 1992).

the types of materials and designs used on implements and decorative items. It was apparently only in the realm of such core cultural components as ritual activities and the inextricable practice of joiking, that some degree of underlying unity existed, but even these were subject to tremendous regional interpretation in their performance (cf., Edström 1978.)

The prospect of a unitary voice emerging from such cultural diversity was dubious, unless a clear issue impacting the various factions more or less to the same degree, constituted sufficient motivation to downplay the inherent intracultural differences. If anything, however, this internal struggle was further exacerbated through the implementation of segregationist policies by the Swedish and Norwegian governments, which encouraged more serious rifts within the greater Saami population than had previously existed. And yet this period of increased intervention, represented by the passage of such legislation as the Swedish Reindeer Pasturage Laws of 1886 and 1898, and the Saami school act in 1913, eventually served as the catalyst for the first organized resistance efforts which sprang up simultaneously among various communities throughout Saamiland in the early years of the 20th century. What began as local protests eventually evolved into a more unified Saami front against assimilation, an organized action that was spurred on considerably by the threat that later legislation like the 1928 Reindeer Act presented.

4.7.1 The impact of the 'folk movements'

These early attempts to forge different Saami organizations did not simply manifest as the result of group or individual dissatisfaction having reached critical mass, but actually drew much inspiration from similar types of efforts occurring at nearly the same time among the farm labor and working class populations of Scandinavia (Ruong 1985: 14). Among the most profound influences in this regard were those exerted by the temperance/sobriety movement (*nykterhetsrörelsen*), the so-called 'free' or non-state-affiliated church (*frikyrkorörelsen*) movement (Stromberg 1992: 1), and the workers' movement (*arbetarklassens kamp*), all of which swept through Scandinavia (including Saamiland) during the late 19th and early 20th

centuries. The impact of these interrelated phenomena on the development of a Saami movement was not limited to the introduction of an organizational framework, however. In some cases, it actually meant the cooperation of key individuals (both Saami and non-Saami) from within these movements, who worked together to define and further a unified Saami cause.

Although the emergence of each of these 'folk movements' (*folksrörelsen*) in Scandinavia during the early to mid 19th century, was initially dependent on a variety of only loosely connected factors, their remarkable growth in the latter part of the century was linked to the increased industrial activity in Scandinavia after the 1870s. As the interest in manufacturing and the demand for goods grew, so too did the labor force which either worked in the factories or cut and/or extracted the raw materials which fueled these industries. In short order, this led to massive population displacements and a general urbanization, both of which took a predictable toll on the heretofore majority rural populations (cf., Isaksson 1981). Alcoholism, a long-standing problem in Scandinavian cultures, reached catastrophic rates in many regions, even as local church authorities sought in vain to diminish its effects. Dissatisfaction with the state controlled Lutheran church and its urban-based hierarchy increased proportionally, as alcohol consumption and other 'sinful' behavior appeared to take over Scandinavian peasant culture (cf., Sköld and Kvist 1988). Into this desperate environment were introduced the combined forces of the temperance and the free-church movements, encouraging personal responsibility and commitment, and demonstrating the power of organizing around a single group ideal, whether freedom from the oppressive bottle or a more active role in one's destiny. Even the workers' movement, though steeped in socialist and communist ideologies, drew much of its character from the practical experiences of those involved in both the Sobriety Union and the free-church. This was particularly

notable in the revival-styled meetings, complete with fiery speeches and group singing, that organization representatives adopted to attract and retain prospective members.⁵³

The Saami were not immune to these ills of mainstream society, nor were they ignored by or ignorant of the folk movements and the solutions they espoused. Having been subject to nearly constant missionary activity for centuries, the mechanisms for reaching the Saami population were already in place when representatives of the free-church ventured into the area in the early 1880s.⁵⁴ Læstadianism was one of the earliest and most successful of this type of movement among the Saami, but its moral strictures occasionally proved too ascetic, making the latter day free-churches a more tenable option in some communities. In several regions, the free-church movement became so strongly associated with the Saami population, that it resembled a localized Saami movement, yet the control remained in the grips of the dominant culture.⁵⁵

In an effort to increase the effectiveness of their messages of salvation, the free-church and temperance groups often combined their missions, linking sobriety with the pursuit of a more personal religious experience, and ultimately individual freedom. As discussed above, drinking had long been a pernicious problem in many parts of Saamiland, particularly where consumption was supported by traders and authorities who used alcohol as a means of controlling the Saami population. Consequently, the temperance union leaders found an

⁵³ I am indebted to Bertil Wanheinen for information on the early years of labor organizing in northern Sweden. It was apparently not uncommon for both the temperance and workers' movements to combine forces, the leaders of the latter recognizing the advantages of a sober constituency (cf., Isaksson 1981)

⁵⁴ The beginning of the free-church movement in Sweden, for example, stemmed from a split between the state church affiliate, EFS, and the non-affiliated (i.e., 'free') Svenska Missionsförbundet (SMF) in 1879; thereafter any church group which was not aligned with the Lutheran church was classified as 'free'. The seeds of this movement are found much earlier among the first organized revivalist missions which were imported to Scandinavia from the United States in the early part of the 19th century, represented at first by Baptists, but later supplanted by Pentecostals (Wilson :121-122; Gustavsson 1982: 10).

⁵⁵ The Norwegian Freechurch (*Norske Frikirke*) was actually responsible for funding the publication of one of the first newspapers written in Saami (*Nuorttanaste*) in 1898, an effort it has continued into the present (Sami Instituhtta 1990: 74-74; Ruong 1985: 13).

attentive audience among those Saami who responded well to the implicit self-determination that this movement offered those who forswore continued dependence on distilled spirits.⁵⁶

The framework of the workers' movement, with its emphasis on equality and fair treatment, was most effectively promulgated in the nascent union halls and factories of the growing urban centers, but it had an obvious appeal to Scandinavia's rural poor as well. The impact of this particular movement on the Saami, however, did not come about through contact in the industrial workplace, although there were many Saami who worked in the mines. It was instead absorbed largely through exposure to radical politics while attending secondary school and/or university, and was thus limited to those few Saami individuals who were able and encouraged to pursue such educational goals. Many of these same people, upon returning to their home communities, became vocal champions for Saami rights, not infrequently drawing on contacts within the workers' movement for support (Ruong 1985: 13-14; Lorenz 1981: 86-87).

4.7.2 The first Saami organizations

With each succeeding decade in the late 19th century, the need for suitable raw materials increased significantly, eventually leading the Scandinavian governments to reconsider all of their land holdings and the uses they afforded. When the Swedish government instituted efforts in the 1890s to colonize and develop the last secure regions of Saamiland (i.e., west of the Agricultural Boundary), it met resistance from the local Saami inhabitants, whose subsequent actions clearly demonstrated the extent to which the aforementioned social movements had an effect. In 1898, the members of several of the worst affected southern herding districts sent a delegation to Stockholm to officially protest these infractions on what they considered to be their land. Although their requests were not particularly heeded,

⁵⁶ The frequent occurrence of joiking as an aspect of drunken behavior in Saami communities brought this practice under increased scrutiny and condemnation from outside sources. As the free-church and temperance movements became internalized in many of these communities, so too did the conviction that joiking was contrary to the betterment of the Saami, essentially adding to the arsenal who sought to eradicate the genre on moral and religious grounds.

under the leadership of Thomas Nilsson this small group of South Saami herders collectively had taken the first in a series of steps toward the establishment of a formal vehicle for the Saami to present their grievances to the Swedish and Norwegian authorities.

On a similar excursion to Stockholm in 1904, three South Saami representatives sought out the Swedish radical journalist, Gustav Z. Hedenström, with whose help they founded the first national Saami organization, *Lapparnas Centralförbundet* ('The Lapps' Central Association). Although this group was short-lived (1904-06), it succeeded in drafting and introducing a resolution concerning the agricultural restrictions placed on herding communities, which eventually attracted the attention of the Swedish *Riksdag* (parliament). Through the combined efforts of an MP, Carl Lindhagen, who was interested in Saami affairs, and the journalist, Hedenström, the resolution was formally considered by the Riksdag in 1908, with the result that the restricted access to lappmark land by non-Saami was more clearly defined (Kvist 1992: 71). While this development was only marginally favorable to the particular Saami districts which precipitated the action, it represented a positive step at a time when social-Darwinism influenced policy making throughout Scandinavia (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 76). Perhaps the more significant achievement emerging from the founding of *Lapparnas Centralförbundet*, however, was the organizational flurry that it encouraged in its wake, resulting in a number of Swedish (and soon thereafter Norwegian) community Saami groups, in many cases patterned after the workers' unions with which several South Saami leaders had had contact (Ruong 1985: 16; see also Lorenz 1981: 86).⁵⁷

During this same period, some individuals in the North Saami population were involved in similar ground-breaking activities. The Saami voters in Finnmark (Norway's northernmost

⁵⁷ The very first local Saami organization was founded in Fatmomake, Vilhelmina parish (Sweden), in 1904. The president was Hans Magnus Nilsson, who was the first Saami to attend a so-called 'folk college' (see §4.7.5 below). These institutions were founded to encourage alternative higher education for all citizens, and in their formative years, were often repositories of radicalism (c.f. Paulston 1980). The first Norwegian community Saami organization was started in Trondheim in 1906.

province, and the only one with a Saami majority) exercised their rights in the 1906 parliamentary election, and placed Isak Saba in the Norwegian *Storting* for two terms, making him the first Saami to hold this position in Scandinavia.⁵⁸ Saba and another Saami activist, journalist Anders Larsen, furthermore sought to bridge the gap between the North and South populations by inviting representatives from the South Saami organizations to participate in a joint conference in Finnmark in 1911. Among the South Saami attendees was Elsa Laula, who had helped found Lapparnas Centralförbund.⁵⁹ With her help, North and South groups later coalesced in what was called "the Norwegian Lapps' First National Meeting" held in Trondheim in 1917 (Lorenz 1981: 85). Thanks to Laula's familial and political connections across the border, a Swedish Saami delegation attended as well.

This latter event in turn inspired those on the Swedish side to formally convene the first general Saami meeting in Östersund in 1918 (under the leadership of Hans Magnus Nilsson), which attracted approximately 300 attendees from both Sweden and Norway--Finland was not represented (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 76-77). In an opening address to an assembly representing the different sectors of Saami culture, Laula remarked on the unusual turn of events that such a congress signified:

Vi har ikke staat sammen, vi har aldrig fortsaat at handle sammen som et folk. Idag forsøker vi for første gang at binde norske og svenske lapper sammen.

⁵⁸ Although there have been other Saami MPs in the *Storting*, this has not been the case in the Swedish and Finnish parliaments, where a Saami has yet to win a seat. Neither Sweden nor Finland has sufficient Saami population concentrations to elect an individual on a purely ethnic platform, even though there certainly have been MPs in both countries who were sympathetic to Saami issues.

⁵⁹ Laula married a Norwegian herder in 1908, thus joining forces with other South Saami activists across the border. In 1910, she started the first organization devoted to Saami women's issues, *Brurskanken samiske Kvindeforening* (Brurskanken Saami Women's League) (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 75).

(We have not stood together, we have never continued to act together as a people. Today, we attempt for the first time to bind the Norwegian and the Swedish Lapps together.)

Laula 1918, cited in Lorenz 1981: 85 (my translation)

Despite this optimism, however, the meeting often turned fractious, as could be expected with such an historically disparate body of individuals. A split developed between those who espoused radical politics (led by Hans Magnus Nilsson) and those who favored more religious participation and content (led by Gustav Park),⁶⁰ with the result that Nilsson stepped down from directing the meeting to be replaced by a moderate, Anders Wilks (Ruong 1985: 16). This development proved prophetic for the direction and agenda of future Saami organizations, particularly those in Sweden: the Saami clergy played a prominent role (including providing some of the most important leaders) in the various efforts to gain some degree of self-determination, and continue to do so at the present time (Stoor 1991: personal communication).

Although the results of this first meeting were perhaps less fruitful than anticipated in terms of concrete accomplishments by the group as a whole, it served on two counts to make the aspirations of this particular cross-section of the Saami population better known, both to the dominant culture and eventually to other Saami. First, the gathering in Östersund came about in no small part through the efforts of the radical MP, Lindhagen, who worked with Gustav Park and another Saami man, Torkel Tomasson, to see that the Saami in attendance were properly recognized as an organized entity by the Riksdag--this remarkably at a time when the government sought vehemently to discourage any such development (Kvist 1992: 71). Second, the experiences at the meeting convinced Tomasson in particular that a Saami journal or newspaper was necessary to keep all of the various participating groups aware of

⁶⁰ Note, this was primarily due to the influence of members of the free-church; the Læstadians opposed any organizations whatsoever, and thus did not participate in these early meetings.

each other, and furthermore to provide a predictable forum for cogent issues in hopes of developing a more unified stand in the future.

4.7.3 *Samefolkets Egen Tidning*

In November, 1918, Torkel Tomasson published the first issue of *Samefolkets Egen Tidning* (The Saami People's Own Newspaper; hereafter *SET*), launching what he hoped would become a journal in which the Saami could freely address one another (Ruong 1985: 14).⁶¹ Although it was not the first Saami newspaper, nor even Tomasson's initial venture into this type of enterprise, *SET* quickly established itself as an important medium dedicated to expressing the opinions of an increasingly broad Saami constituency; moreover, Tomasson, unlike several of his predecessors, elected to use a Scandinavian language (Swedish) for his publication, in hopes of reaching those who could not read Saami.⁶²

Tomasson's personal credentials for undertaking this job were remarkably varied and unique, but his experiences serve to underscore how important it was for these early Saami leaders to develop and maintain relationships with influential individuals on both sides of the ethnic boundary. As the son of Saami rights pioneer, Thomas Nilsson, and a participant in the first meeting of Lapparnas Centralförbund in 1904 (where he was elected secretary), and the national meeting in Östersund in 1918, his qualifications as a politically aware spokesperson were unassailable. His journalism career began as the editor of *Lapparnas Egen Tidning* (The Lapps' Own Newspaper), the house organ for Lapparnas Centralförbund between 1904-06. It was while working in this capacity that Tomasson became acquainted

⁶¹Published originally in a newspaper format, *SET* eventually gave way to a magazine known simply as *Samefolket* (The Saami People). It is still produced monthly in Östersund, Sweden, and remains the only such medium steadfastly dedicated to the entire Saami population.

⁶²Occasionally articles were published in Saami, and even Finnish, in the early issues. Writing in Saami, however, was fraught with problems since even those who spoke the language fluently could rarely read it as well. The lack of an agreeable orthography for either North or South Saami, not to mention the radical differences in dialects, made a Scandinavian language the only practical solution if the paper was to fulfill Tomasson's goals.

with the radical Swedish journalist, Hedenström, whose own politicization stemmed from his involvement with the workers' movement.⁶³

While Tomasson's first newspaper was short-lived, he used the opportunity to address such issues as the mechanisms of effective organizing, the continuing problem of alcoholism in Saamiland, and even launched a campaign against a conservative Lutheran bishop, who was outspoken in his disregard for the Saami, publicly defaming them at every opportunity (Ruong 1985: 14). It was journalistic experiences such as these, and the response they engendered, which made Tomasson aware of the untapped potential that a magazine or paper represented for the furtherance of the goals of a *bonafide* Saami organization. Although the conclusion of the 1918 Östersund meeting left some delegates in doubt as to the viability of any such organization in the future, Tomasson seized the opportunity and began writing, editing, and publishing his new journal to coincide with the reorganization of the old Lapparnas Centralförbund, dormant since 1906. In so doing, however, Tomasson made the decision to abandon the term 'Lapp' in favor of 'Saami' on the masthead of the new publication--it was a move which Tomasson recognized as symbolic for the future of the move toward self-determination (Tomasson 1918: 1).

Tomasson had a broad range of educational experiences as well: as a member of a herding family he had attended the 'nomad schools' and had become a herder himself; in 1906, at the age of 25, he left herding to first complete secondary school in Stockholm, before entering Uppsala University where he studied law. In the course of this work, which obviously proved beneficial to his interest in Saami rights, he also became familiar with the work of various contemporary ethnologists and folklorists (so-called 'lappologists') who had focused on the Saami. Tomasson fleshed out the information garnered from these academic sources with his own experiences and recollections to develop a unique perspective on the nature of Saami-Scandinavian relations which later surfaced in much of his writing.

⁶³ Hedenström actually served as Tomasson's assistant editor on *Lapparnas Egen Tidning* (Ruong 1985: 13).

From even the earliest issues of *SET*, it was clear that Tomasson took the role of editor very seriously, seeing himself as one who could mold opinions. Yet he was also abundantly aware of the persuasive nature of the printed word, and how easy it was to abuse the trust of readers. In many instances, he sought to rectify misconceptions about Saami culture with informative articles in which he occasionally pointed out how ethnographic information had been used to falsely or inadequately portray the subjects.⁶⁴ At other times he lauded the contributions of researchers who stood outside of Saami culture, such as occurred when Tomasson reviewed the results of amateur lappologist Karl Tirén's extensive joik collecting project (Tomasson 1919: 9-10).⁶⁵

Whether correcting the mistakes of others, or applauding their efforts in print, Tomasson used this medium to actively engage his audience in the appreciation (and often the reconstruction) of their collective past. At the time that he addressed such ostensibly private subjects as joiking or the activities of the *noaidit*, Tomasson's paper often represented the only public forum for acknowledging the importance of these issues for a Saami population which remained largely disorganized and withdrawn from the scrutiny of its Scandinavian neighbors.

Above all, however, *SET* served as a vehicle for the discussion of ideas and problems affecting the Saami readership at the moment. Personal and community confrontations with authorities were openly mulled over in print, as were more mundane issues such as the obituaries, marriages, and birthdays of all manner of individuals, not just the luminaries in the Saami world--in such ways, Tomasson successfully created an extended Saami community with his paper. *SET* also reviewed legislation which impacted Saami livelihoods and/or regions of Saamiland, providing a forum for constructive criticism on a recurring basis. To this end, Tomasson made an effort to present as many Saami 'voices' as possible,

⁶⁴ See, for example, his article on the Saami drum in *SET* 4(2): 14-16.

⁶⁵ *SET* attracted articles from most of the prominent lappologists, almost from its inception. Besides several articles submitted by Tirén, Ernst Manker, K.B. Wiklund, and Björn Collinder all contributed to the paper in its first decades of publication.

encouraging others to write letters and articles--yet it was his own voice which most often was heard above the others. In a 1921 book review of Valdemar Lindholm's landmark publication in South Saami, *Dat läh mijen stud* (*These are our desires*), a short monograph which attempted to sketch out a unified Saami agenda, Tomasson selected two terse paragraphs from the text to summarize his own lifelong call to action:

Vi vilja att svenskarna skolle inse, att vi ej stå i större skuld till svenskarna än att de stå i skuld till oss.

Vi vilja därför från början fastslå, att vi, vädjande till svenskarnas rättfärdighetskänsla, icke komma som tiggare för att bönnfalla om nåd för "den döende lappkulturen," utan vi komma, som ett av motgångar och prövningar härdat, ännu livshungrigt och livsdugligt folk, och kräva vår rätt, intet mer, men ej en hårsman mindre.

(We want the Swedes to realize that we are not greatly indebted to them, rather they are indebted to us.

We therefore want to establish from the beginning that we, appealing to the Swedes' righteousness, do not come as beggars to plead for mercy for "the dying Lapp culture," but come instead as a people hardened by adversities and trials, but still hearty and healthy, and craving of our rights, nothing more, but not a hair's breadth less.)

Lindholm cited in *SET* 1920 (my translation)

The popularity of *SET* through the ensuing years (Tomasson died in 1940, passing the editor's position on to Gustav Park) attested to the veracity of the founder's original beliefs, that all which directly concerned the Saami could and should be openly discussed. Yet neither Tomasson nor his successors felt that the publication could ever be as effective as human interactions for promoting the needs and desires of the Saami--the only recourse to arrest "the dying Lapp culture" from becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy was the organized response which Tomasson never ceased calling for (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 77; Ruong 1985: 17-18).

4.7.4 Arvidsjaur 1937

Following the general organizational meeting held in Östersund in 1918, the various Saami factions representing different communities and interests were in significant discord, having come to few conclusions as to how best to proceed. In 1921, a third and final large Saami meeting was held in Trondheim again, the results of which effectively signaled the deferment of such efforts to organize on such a large scale until a later era (Lorenz 1981: 86). One casualty of these developments was the recently reorganized Lapparnas Centralförbundet, which finally disbanded in 1923, leaving Tomasson without any concrete organizational support for his fledgling newspaper.

It was not until 1937 that another large group of Saami convened, 600 of them arriving in Arvidsjaur, Sweden, where Gustav Park assumed the leadership. As a Saami clergyman, Park's ascension was understood as crucial, not only because it guaranteed support from the church which was still a force to be taken into account in all Saami communities, but because his perceived neutrality represented the best chance to mollify the divergent and often dissenting blocs within the group.⁶⁶

Among the most contentious of the forty-seven topics formally introduced for consideration and vote, was the continued forced relocation of North Saami herding families into areas which had previously been exclusively occupied by South Saami herders (Ruong 1985: 29). This had been a particularly disruptive aspect of the reindeer controlling legislation in Sweden (see §4.6.2 above), which unfortunately gained momentum after a new convention governing the borders between Norway and Sweden was enacted in 1919, pushing still more herders southward. Given that the North Saami practiced a different style of herd management than their southern counterparts (i.e., 'extensive' as opposed to 'intensive'

⁶⁶ By the early part of this century, many of the influential clergy in Saami communities were actually of Saami extraction, products of the system which had actively striven to educate and employ as many Saami as possible to ensure the effectiveness of the church in what some authorities still viewed as a hostile environment. The power (and compassion) that many of these individuals demonstrated in their communities extended into the burgeoning political sphere into which many of these same communities were drawn.

herding), with much larger herds and less human-animal contact, these moves nearly destroyed herding patterns that had been in place for at least several hundred years, and contributed to virulent confrontations between North and South Saami families.

It fell to those meeting in Arvidsjaur to try to defuse this issue, even though any such attempts hardly had the backing of the responsible government agencies.⁶⁷ This task obviously proved overwhelming, and very nearly derailed the entire meeting as the various parties lapsed into endless debates. On the positive side, however, it was determined that the best course of action for this and other problems facing the Saami in Sweden was to redouble efforts to organize at the local level. With Park's backing of this course of action, the church no longer stood in the way, and a great deal of Swedish Saamiland was soon represented by community based organizations. It was presumed by those present in Arvidsjaur in 1937 that these local groups would eventually prove instrumental in forming permanent national and even inter-Nordic Saami organizations--a decade later this conjecture was proven correct.

4.7.5 World War II and the post-war era

The hiatus necessitated by the war which engulfed all of Scandinavia to some extent, had a number of different effects on the Saami, depending on the country in which they lived. In Norway, the German occupation of Finnmark for its strategic access to the Arctic Sea meant the forced relocation of nearly all of the inhabitants of the region, including the substantial Saami population. The tragedy of this development was exacerbated when the German troops retreated, destroying virtually everything as part of their heinous 'scorched earth' policy. Similar dislocations occurred in Finland, particularly after the loss of the '100 days war' in 1939, wherein an area of northeastern Finland was ceded to the victorious Soviets, a

⁶⁷ The Swedish government did, however, provide the financing for the entire Arvidsjaur meeting. Once again the radical Swedish MP, Carl Lindhagen, was instrumental in lobbying the Riksdag for this support.

region previously occupied by many Saami who were subsequently faced with moving westward or becoming new Soviet citizens.

Not too surprisingly, the only real positive development in Saamiland during this interim period took place in Sweden, which was spared the ravages of occupation due to its neutrality in the conflict. In 1942, after several intermediary actions to challenge the continuation of the infamous 'nomad school' system, the Saami Folk College (*Samernas Folkhögskola*)⁶⁸ was opened in Sorsele, Sweden, under the auspices of the Swedish Missionary Society and the bishop of Luleå. While this was seen as a positive step by many concerned with the lack of higher education opportunities for the 'official' Saami student body (i.e., the children of herding families who used the 'nomad school' system), the new institution was initially little more than a continuation of the "*lapp skall vara lapp*" policies of earlier generations, with its emphasis on 'Lapp' subject matter (including instruction in animal husbandry) at the expense of course work more commonly found at this level of education (Paulston 1980: 160).

In 1945 the school moved to its current location in Jokkmokk, Sweden, where Saami students came to live and study not only the intricacies of herding, but eventually Saami traditional handicrafts as well.⁶⁹ Instruction in the main was provided in Saami, thus fulfilling the governmental mandate of earlier decades that these young people not be exposed to too much Swedish/Scandinavian influence, lest they be drawn away from herding.

Contrary to original expectations, however, the school in Jokkmokk also served as a focal point for the aspirations of those who sought greater Saami self-determination. By 1945, current and past members of the Folk College population helped launch the first Swedish

⁶⁸ Although a literal translation of *folkhögskola* would be "folk high school", I have opted for Paulston's choice of "folk college" to convey that this system more closely resembles our American community colleges than our secondary schools (cf., Paulston 1980). Today the Saami Folk College is also referred to by its Saami name, *Sámij Al'mukalaskáv'lå*.

⁶⁹ These courses implied some gender differentiation, with men being encouraged to pursue handicrafts only as an adjunct to their herding activities. Women, on the other hand, were precluded from studying animal husbandry. There was further delineation within those studying handicrafts, with women working in 'soft' media like leather, weaving, and sewing, while men concentrated primarily on carving, either wood or antler/horn; these gender-determined practices were reflective of traditional distinctions in Saami culture.

national Saami organization with any longevity, *Riksförbund Same Ätnam* or *RSÄ* (essentially the National Organization of Saamiland), a group dedicated to the encouragement, development, and preservation of Saami culture, particularly as it was expressed in handicrafts and other arts.⁷⁰

The influence of Folk College graduates in the national arena was not limited to handicrafts, however: for those students who came to Jokkmokk to study reindeer herding and husbandry techniques, the school eventually served as a conduit for the founding and maintenance of the other important Swedish Saami national organization, *Svenska Samernas Riksförbund* or *SSR* (most often translated as the Swedish Saami Reindeer Herders' Union), which began in 1950.⁷¹ Between these two new organizations, the move toward developing a more comprehensive Saami political agenda (in Sweden, at least) took a significant step forward, with *SSR* addressing those issues which primarily concerned the small herding population, and *RSÄ* reaching out to encompass those who did not enjoy official Saami status.⁷²

One of the primary concerns of *RSÄ* became the continuation and/or revitalization of Saami language. Thanks to the 'nomad school' system, Saami was essentially only available as a language of instruction for the children of herding families; all other Saami students were expected to attend the regular Swedish schools, where Saami was discouraged, if not outright forbidden by the instructors. Although the Saami Folk College perpetuated this

⁷⁰ A caveat is necessary here: because of its non-exclusive bylaws, until the 1968 reorganization of *RSÄ* took place, over half of its membership consisted of non-Saami individuals, many of whom were interested in Saami handicrafts as an example of 'native art' (Ruong 1985: 38).

⁷¹ The groundwork for *SSR* was laid at a national meeting in 1948, and was partially inspired by the founding of a similar organization in Norway (Ruong 1985: 39). Unlike *RSÄ*, *SSR*'s membership was limited to delegates from other Saami organizations, particularly the local Saami groups, and the *lappbyar* or "Lapp districts" created by the government in 1928. Consequently there were no non-Saami members in *SSR*. The first president of *SSR* was none other than Gustav Park, whose participation in the Saami struggle for self-determination dated back prior to the 1918 Östersund general meeting.

⁷² Membership in one does not preclude membership in the other, particularly since *RSÄ* remains a fairly open organization, with non-voting status available to anyone. In addition, *RSÄ* sends a voting delegation to *SSR* meetings, and vice versa.

situation to a degree, as an extension of the 'nomad school' system, the leaders who emerged from this institution, as Saami speakers themselves, became adamant spokespersons for maintaining the language as an integral component of the battle for cultural autonomy (Paulston 1980: 160-161). Consequently, a number of graduates of this program, were able to effectively turn the system back on itself and spread the fruits of their own educational experience among a much broader segment of the total Saami population, by demanding and eventually securing support for language programs from the Swedish government.

The membership of SSR, on the other hand, developed a more confrontational stance from the inception of the organization, seeing themselves as the embattled representatives of the last vestiges of 'traditional' Saami culture. Whereas RSÄ concerned itself primarily with such issues as development and control of a Saami handicraft market, or the support of activities for Saami children in school, SSR's leadership continually challenged government preconceptions about herding and actively fought the implementation of any new legislation enacted without the involvement of Saami representatives. As the result of frequently contentious interactions between the government and SSR, the organization created a Saami ombudsman position in 1962, appointing an individual who worked specifically on the behalf of the Swedish reindeer herding population, occasionally representing their cause in court.⁷³ Even with this seemingly limited scope of interest, however, the members of SSR showed themselves to be advocates in a fairly wide range of issues, actually duplicating some of RSÄ's efforts to some extent on the question of language development. The broad scope of this organization eventually necessitated the appointment of a full time 'cultural specialist' as well, whose work only marginally impinges on topics associated with herding.⁷⁴

⁷³ See, for example, Saami ombudsman Tomas Cramér's discussion of his role in the Skattefjäll case, which was first brought before the Swedish Supreme Court in 1966 (Cramér 1982: 131-142).

⁷⁴ SSR's current cultural specialist, Maj-Britt Omma, for example, was instrumental in securing funding for a joik collecting project which began in 1990 and is scheduled to continue in the future (Heikka 1990: 32).

While RSÄ and SSR overlap each other in several regards, they remain separate organizations representing fundamentally different constituents. SSR is now more of an umbrella organization, admitting only corporate members to its voting ranks (i.e., representatives from other organizations and groups); and reindeer herding remains the most important item on SSR's agenda, leaving some non-herding Saami feeling left out of high level discussions with the government. The alternative, RSÄ, remains relatively open by comparison, having both individual and aligned voting members, and is the only viable forum for the non-herding population aside from local organizations. The latter continue to provide an invaluable service at the community level, not only in the rural areas of Saamiland, but increasingly in the large urban centers of Sweden as well.⁷⁵ These groups serve to encourage contact among Saami families, provide a predictable framework for Saami celebrations, and contribute to the expanding Saami network linking individuals and communities with national and even pan-Nordic organizations.

The Swedish Saami have not been alone in these important developments, however. In 1948, the analog of SSR was founded in Norway, *Norske Reindriftssamers Landsforbund* or *NRL* (Norwegian Saami Reindeer Herders' National Association), with the express purpose of representing the interests of the herding population in that country; membership was initially drawn from the herding districts only, but was later extended to include a 'supporter' status for other interested Saami (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 80). The other significant organization in Norway is *Norgga Samiid Riikkasearvi* or *NSR* (Norwegian Saami National Organization), which has as its principle goal the granting of indigenous status for the Saami in Norway; its members are also very active in supporting and maintaining Saami cultural expressions such as language, handicrafts, and even joik (ibid.: 81-82). In a move indicative of the difficulty in adequately representing all perspectives in a single organization, a group split away from NSR in 1979 and started *Samernas Landsforbund* or

⁷⁵ Both Stockholm and Göteborg, the largest cities in Sweden have active Saami organizations (Heikka 1980: 12-15).

SLF (The Saami National Organization), which adopted a more conciliatory stance toward the national government than either NRL or NSR (Paine 1985: 230).

The situation in Finland has been quite different. Although a national support organization *Lapin Sivistysseura* (Lapp Promotional Society) was started in 1931, this particular group attracted nearly as many non-Saami as Saami members (Ruong 1985: 38, 40). The first significant development was really the establishment of the Finnish *Sameparlamentat* (Saami Parliament) in 1973, the result of the recommendations of a national investigative community concerned with Saami affairs. Currently there are 20 members of the Finnish Saami Parliament, which represents the only elected 'committee' in the Finnish government. This designation is apt, however, for the delegates as a body serve only in an advisory capacity to the regular parliament. Voting rights to elect these representatives drawn from the four northern provinces of Finland (the Saami 'homelands') are extended to those who qualify as 'Saami' by virtue of their language: one is considered Saami for these purposes if one speaks the language, if one's parents spoke the language, or if one's grandparents spoke it.⁷⁶

The future of all of these organizations, however, lies in the ability to engage the youth in their respective communities--and this has always been the case. Given the active role played by the students and recent graduates of the Saami Folk College in the mid 1940s, for example, both RSÄ and SSR in Sweden owe their existence to the organizing efforts of Saami youth (Sápmi 1985: 15). Not surprisingly, in 1963 the school's same politically fertile environment yielded an ancillary youth organization for SSR, *Svenska Samernas Riksförbunds Yngre Råd* (SSR's Youth Council). This group served as a political training ground for future SSR leaders until 1973, when it was reorganized as *Sáminuorra* (Saami

⁷⁶ This emphasis on language as a criterion of ethnicity first emerged in Finland during the 1962 census, when only those living in the 'homelands' were so questioned. In recent years this criterion has been extended to include all self-ascribed Saami, regardless of place of birth or residence in Finland. Note that the language criterion has also been used in Norway (beginning in the mid 1980s) and Sweden (beginning in 1992) to determine a voting population for each of these countries' Saami Parliaments.

Youth).⁷⁷ One of the reasons for this split was the desire to include a broader membership than the strictures of SSR's bylaws could allow--the young people wanted to encourage non-herders to join as well. Since the reorganization, Sáminuorra has continued to grow in size and importance, attracting nearly 2,000 members (Sikku 1991: personal communication); while there is an age limit for officers (they cannot be over 30), there is none for general membership, meaning that many older Saami actively support Sáminuorra. Moreover, as an official youth group in Sweden, it is formally aligned with other Swedish youth groups, providing the members another valuable forum for expressing their interests and grievances. Sáminuorra remains the most radical of the national Saami organizations, as has been abundantly evident at recent national meetings of both SSR and RSÄ.⁷⁸ Among other issues, their agenda calls for better support for language instruction, particularly in the South Saami districts where few can still speak with any fluency, and for more Saami representation in the current history curricula for all grades (Sparrock 1992: speech delivered in Stockholm, 3/8).

4.7.6 From a national to a pan-Nordic Saami perspective

Not long after each of the Scandinavian Saami populations began the process of creating its own specific organizations to tackle the issues particular to the countries concerned, several individuals representing some of these various groups began discussing the possibility of a meeting to formally unite Swedish, Norwegian, and Finnish Saami delegates in an organization with a pan-Nordic perspective. The first such Saami Conference was held

⁷⁷ Note at the time of this reorganization, the president of the Youth Council was Ingvar Åhren, who is now president of SSR and the new Swedish Saami Parliament. Even with the dissolution of the official relationship between Sáminuorra and SSR, the two organizations remain closely aligned.

⁷⁸ At the 1992 meetings of both SSR and RSÄ, members of Sáminuorra openly challenged the Minister for Saami Affairs (an ethnic Swede) who was in attendance, in one instance calling him a liar and suggesting that he not address the assembly until he had something of substance to report (Sparrock 1992: speech delivered in Östersund Sweden 6/10). Note that this type of outspoken criticism has occasionally led to strong differences of opinion between Sáminuorra and SSR (Sápmi 1985: 22). Sáminuorra's position within RSÄ is still in the formulating stage, having been admitted as a voting member to this organization in 1992.

in Jokkmokk, Sweden in 1953, where it was decided that a Nordic Saami Council (*Nordisk Sameråd*) should be formed, to meet every three years, rotating the location among the three participating countries.

The Jokkmokk meeting not only attracted Saami leaders from every conceivable cultural faction, but quite a few non-Saami, whose academic interests or government positions empowered them to address the attendees as well. Among the topics discussed was the need to start and/or support better programs for teaching Saami language throughout all of Saamiland (i.e., not just limited to the 'nomad school' systems). The problems facing reindeer herders as the result of various legislative actions were also given considerable weight in the meeting, as was the plight of those Saami communities which had formerly relied on fishing and hunting for their chief livelihoods. Even the question of Saami origins in Scandinavia was taken up for discussion (cf., Hill 1960).

In regard to the general state of cultural repression which continued to plague Saami communities throughout Scandinavia, however, a Saami delegate from Norway, Per Fokstad, argued passionately for recognition of the value of what he felt were the Saami's 'unconventional' arts, among which he listed storytelling, proverbs, and joiking. According to Fokstad, these expressions served the Saami well in the worst of time and deserved support as invaluable resources for the future:

Ofte viser det seg at når en vond og vanskelig tid möter et folk eller en folkestamme, så tyr det til sin kunst og sin diktning for å finne styrke og krefter til å holde seg oppe.

(Often it has been shown that when a people or a tribe encounter a hard and difficult time, they venture toward their art and their poetry to find strength and the power to hold themselves up.)

Fokstad 1953, cited in Ruong 1985: 42 (my translation)

As a teacher himself, Fokstad felt that a Saami academy should be established in which students would be free to study and develop these arts as well as other aspects unique to

Saami culture, but outside of the conventional performance contexts, rather than restricted to a specific community or environment (op. cit.). In this regard, Fokstad was previewing what became one of the most fervently discussed issues at the 1953 meeting: the need to escape the bonds of 'tradition' as imposed largely by outside interests, in favor of adapting traditional culture to the demand and urgency of the new technologies of the post-war era; Saami culture was historically flexible and needed to remain so in the present if it was to have a future. This attitude which pervaded the proceedings of the meeting, was summarized in the official resolution issued by the delegates at its conclusion:

At present the Lapps are in a period of economic and cultural crisis as the modern development of the North fosters a culture with techniques dangerous to the people. If they are to survive and take advantage of the possibilities modern science and techniques offer them, improving their means of livelihood and enriching their own culture, the Lapps must adapt themselves to the new age. This does not imply the indiscriminate rejection of their own cultural values, but the fusion of their inheritance with modern trends. The Lapps themselves must actively participate in this and contribute to the research that will maintain the true standards of Lapp culture.

Hill 1960: 22

With this self-directed challenge for the Saami people to meet the present and demonstrate their viability as a separate culture in Scandinavia, the agenda for the post-war period was set, with both the individual national organizations and the newly installed Nordic Saami Council poised to take up the struggle for greater self-determination. In 1956, the council met again in Karasjok, Norway, and has continued to do so without interruption; as of the 1992 council meeting, held in Helsinki, the Russian Saami population was included in these proceedings for the first time, making the organization truly representative of all Saami interests.

In 1983, a pan-Nordic youth group, *Sámi Albmoga Nuoraid Searvi* or *SANS* (The Nordic Saami Youth Organization) was started in Karasjok, Norway to provide a political vehicle

similar to Sáminuorra, but expressly with all Saami youth in mind. Their goal was to initiate discussion across borders on topics which particularly interested young people in the region. As a result they have sponsored various activities which encourage trans-national travel and contact, including organized trips and courses. Membership is open to individuals as well as other organizations (Sápmi 1985: 24-25; see also Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 96).

As a postscript, the same widening perspective which led to the founding of the pan-Nordic Saami Council and SANS was again evident in 1976, when the Saami became charter members of the fledgling international organization, The World Council for Indigenous Peoples (WCIP), founded in Port Alberni, Canada in 1975.⁷⁹ Through this group, the Saami have not only gained access to much broader media attention for their own specific causes in Scandinavia, but have become recognized participants in the so-called Fourth World, whose members represent indigenous/native populations without their own independent nations (cf., Hall 1987). The exchange of information among peoples at the WCIP conferences and activities is not limited to legal or political discourse, however, but quite often includes art exhibits, theatrical productions, dance presentations, and concerts, all of which emphasize the unique cultural expressions of the membership.⁸⁰

4.8 The emergence of Saami institutions

One measure of the success of the various Saami organizations in Scandinavia has been the development of distinct Saami institutions whose goals include education, public services, and research from a Saami perspective. These have emerged either as free-standing units, or more commonly, formally aligned with existing structures such as universities. In 1973, the *Sámi Instituhtta* or *NSI* (Nordic Saami Institute) was created by the Nordic Saami Council.

⁷⁹ The Saami representative to the WCIP are drawn from the elected members of the Nordic Saami Council.

⁸⁰ As shall become evident later in this work, the development of an 'indigenous music' genre is largely attributable to the artist network which has been encouraged by organizations like the WCIP. Thanks to the international fora which these meetings afford, Saami joik has not only been heard around the world, but quite often in combination with other 'Fourth World' musics, where it functions both as a symbol of distinctiveness (i.e., 'Saaminess') and inclusion (with other Fourth World peoples).

Headquartered in Kautokeino, Norway, this is primarily a research organization which sponsors and/or initiates projects concerning current issues facing the Saami populations throughout Scandinavia. Preference is given to Saami researchers in an effort to reverse the pattern of the past, whereby data collected in Saami communities were removed and analyzed without much opportunity for feedback or further input from the sources. NSI is divided into three sections: one for language and culture, one for education and information, and a third for questions about the environment and Saami rights, including reindeer herding (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 98). While all three divisions have generated considerable interest within Saamiland, the environmental/legal section has come to function as a training ground for future Saami leaders, similar to the role the Saami Folk College played in the 1940s and 1950s (Forsberg 1993: personal communication).

Among the more pressing and ongoing concerns at NSI, are to develop and implement bilingual educational programs and to provide accurate information to the appropriate governmental agencies throughout Scandinavia about Saami culture from both historical and contemporary perspectives; the goal of this latter effort is to correct past misinformation and prevent its further dissemination. In both of these obviously long-term projects, NSI has been active in publishing materials as well, including a concise 'handbook' on Saami for use in higher education, currently printed in Saami, Norwegian, and English editions.

With the discontinuation of the 'nomad schools' during and after World War II, several permanent boarding schools were established to continue instruction in Saami for grades 1-9.⁸¹ Although these were conceived to meet the needs of herding families (including a school schedule designed to accommodate the labor-intensive migration periods), they are now open

⁸¹ The Scandinavian school systems have no kindergarten, and offers several options for secondary education, depending on the student's goals. Compulsory education continues only through grade 9.

to all Saami families willing to send their children away for education; these are located primarily in the south of Saamiland.⁸²

In those geographical pockets in Norway where the Saami actually constitute a majority of the population (primarily in the province of Finnmark), Saami is the language of instruction in all courses in the public school--Norwegian is introduced in grade 2 as a 'foreign' language. Currently there is only one Saami secondary school, situated in Karasjok, Norway. Consequently most Saami students who continue with secondary education are forced to enter the mainstream Scandinavian system.

On the other end of the educational continuum, however, there are an increasing number of Saami preschool/daycare centers, not only in the obvious Saami towns and communities, but even in such urban centers as Oslo, where there is a sizable Saami population (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 137); as in the elementary and secondary schools, Saami is the language for all student-student and student-teacher interactions in these institutions. With the rise and continuance of all of these educational options, the most recent generations of Saami students have been able to retain or develop their language to an extent that scarcely existed before W.W.II (cf., Eidheim 1987).

A number of opportunities have also developed for higher education in Saamiland, with instruction in Saami as well as Scandinavian languages. The Saami Folk College in Jokkmokk is still accepting students, but due to budgetary problems in the 1980s and a declining student population, this institution was forced to begin admitting non-Saami students to a specially designed environmental course; Saami students may also pursue this line of study, as well as the more established courses in reindeer husbandry and handicrafts--the latter is by far the most popular. For those seeking a university degree at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, Tromsø University (Norway), Umeå University

⁸² During my fieldwork, I visited Saami schools in Snåsa and Hattfjelldal, Norway, and Tärnaby, Sweden. In addition, I visited the Saami Folk College in Jokkmokk on several occasions, meeting and interviewing students and instructors.

(Sweden), and Rovaniemi University (Finland) each have a Saami studies department.⁸³ As part of the long-term goal to bring more Saami language into the schools throughout Saamiland, there are several opportunities for Saami teacher training, including the teacher college in Kautokeino, and a smaller program in Bodø (Norway).

Finally, in recognition of the power of the broadcast media, there are three interrelated Saami radio stations (one each in Norway, Finland, and Sweden), all of which are tied to the respective national broadcasting companies. These stations develop their own programs in Saami for daily broadcast, and are heard via local tie-ins throughout the three countries, making it possible for those residing outside of Saamiland to continue listening to the news and other shows of interest.⁸⁴ In addition there are many local shows for Saami audiences, some of which are broadcast in Scandinavian languages in recognition of the lack of language skills among many Saami. As a partial amelioration for this problem, the radio has even been used as a formal educational medium: Saami language lessons, complete with written materials, were broadcast in Norway, Sweden, and Finland during the mid 1980s with some success.

Radio has not only been an important resource for language, however, but in more recent years it has been an ideal vehicle for the public performance and promulgation of joik. On the daily Swedish Saami Radio morning broadcast, for example, half of the segment (ten minutes) is devoted entirely to music, of which a surprising amount features recordings of joik, both in solo and accompanied performances; the other dominant genre is so-called 'Saami pop', consisting of both cover versions (in Saami) of Scandinavian or American/British rock songs and originals in the same style.⁸⁵ With this convenient promotional vehicle, the

⁸³ Note that these programs are open to all interested/qualified parties, and include a surprising number of non-Saami students.

⁸⁴ Television programs in Saami are rare, and are typically found only at the local level. This is hardly surprising, however, given the dominance of American and British television shows in the Scandinavian countries, almost to the exclusion of everything else.

⁸⁵ The data for these obvious generalizations were obtained by listening to the daily broadcasts on Swedish Saami Radio, and periodically keeping track of titles and genres for as much as a month in one stretch.

growth of an independent recording industry for Saami artists was inevitable, and has resulted in the establishment of several small companies devoted to publishing materials either specifically or primarily for the market.⁸⁶

The emergence of such culturally supportive and enriching programs could hardly have taken place without the establishment of viable and vital Saami organizations dedicated to the reconstruction of all aspects of Saami culture, and the renegotiation of Saami-Scandinavian relations. This movement, coming on the heels of World War II, signaled the eventual reversal of the assimilationist and segregationist tactics which had dominated the cross-cultural discourse for most of the preceding century. Not only have these organizations asserted the rights of all Saami, regardless of livelihood, geographical location, or perceived 'cultural competence', but in so doing, they have challenged the prevailing image of the reindeer herder as the archetype for a very complex culture. Even if this convenient stereotype proves impossible to eradicate--it obviously has a factual basis for a small percentage of the Saami population--its dominance is no longer assured, particularly as the demands for more control in such areas as education meet with positive approval by the Scandinavian governments. Each succeeding generation able to take advantage of these gains, brings the diversity of Saami culture into better focus for the surrounding majority population.

4.9 Summary

The series of relationships which the Saami--taken for the moment as a diverse, but culturally connected people--developed with their Scandinavian (and Russian) neighbors were not unlike those experienced by colonized peoples elsewhere (cf., Gold 1984). A period of initial contact was quickly followed by exploration and/or the establishment of trading networks, which for some time proved beneficial to all parties to some extent. Thereafter, as

⁸⁶ Even those Saami controlled companies which actively seek to develop broader audiences for their artists presume that their primary responsibility is to promote within the Saami realm which the radio broadcasts help define.

various European crowns became involved in extending their dominion through territorial expansion, Saamiland proved of greater interest as a geographical entity to be annexed without much regard for the indigenous population. Only later did it become more evident to the reigning heads of state that the Saami represented a unique asset, and the struggle began to ensure that they remained under control, even as the borders were constantly challenged and renegotiated. Not only did the Saami pay taxes on land which was arguably their own to begin with, thus contributing to the national treasury in a manner from which many of their immediate Scandinavian neighbors (i.e., the 'nybyggare' or homesteaders) were immune, but they could also be conscripted to work in the mines that periodically required extra hands. In return for their payments and their labor, a small percentage of the Saami population were encouraged to herd reindeer in ever-decreasing tracts of land--the rest, it was presumed, would become fully assimilated as Saamiland became progressively 'Swedified' or 'Norwegified'.

Throughout much of this time, the state-supported church, particularly that of the post-Reformation Lutherans, was active in Saamiland serving a dual purpose: salvaging souls and collecting taxes. It was in the latter role that the clergy were initially most successful, having both the mechanism (an established parish church) and the excuse (the celebration of holidays) to routinely and predictably act as agents of the Crown. Christianization, on the other hand, was not such an easy undertaking, particularly given the mobility of many would-be converts and the sheer size of the parishes. Added to these temporal problems was the recalcitrant attitude of many within the Saami population who continued to embrace their own well-established belief system, even if the most active and visible components (i.e., the noaidit) were increasingly enjoined from any public display of their skills.

As numerous historical accounts relate, the conversion process among the Saami was slow going and often yielded strikingly syncretic results. It was not until the issue of religion was addressed more sympathetically and in a charismatic manner from the pulpit by

someone with strong Saami connections, that Christianity (albeit in an ecstatic, pietistic form) was more firmly entrenched in Saamiland. Even Læstadianism, however, found its strength in Saami communities by observing and building upon the depth of indigenous beliefs--the church gained a foothold, but the most evident shoes were worn by the Saami themselves.

As Sweden-Finland and Denmark-Norway separated or regrouped in the early 19th century, and the controlling monarchies gave way to more populist forms of government, the concerns of nationhood dictated that those living within the newly drawn borders be unified in a fashion which exceeded past expectations or desires. New policies were enacted under the guise of defense and unification which made it difficult to retain a sense of regionality, let alone ethnic distinction. The same vehicles which had served to inculcate the Saami population in the ways and beliefs of the church, were now to serve as dispensers of language skills as well: all school instruction shifted to the language of the dominant culture. The exception remained that small minority of the population which could easily be segregated by virtue of their livelihood, reindeer herding. They were instead to be circumscribed physically and mentally to ensure that 'a Lapp shall be Lapp', at least as determined by government-generated criteria.

In response to these policies, the Saami reacted initially as indignant individuals, or at most as independent communities, objecting to what they perceived as unfair treatment; they did not respond with a unified 'Saami' voice because their own internal cultural diversity precluded such utterances. Nevertheless, as other organized movements emerged throughout Scandinavia, attracting broad support for platforms espousing greater self-responsibility and freedom from hierarchical state structures, various Saami individuals began to participate in these groups, along side their Scandinavian neighbors. For some, these experiences proved to be the catalyst for action on the behalf of their own families and communities.

Not surprisingly, it fell initially to the herders to meet the dominant culture head to head, beginning with the small but official protests from single communities and progressing to the large meetings at the beginning of this century, which brought individuals together from throughout Saamiland, irrespective of national borders. Although these did not produce the results that the participants had hoped for, they did spawn local organizations in nearly all of the herding communities by the late 1930s. The general meeting in 1937 in turn encouraged the emergence of other local groups whose needs, as non-herders, were not being addressed either by the government or the burgeoning Saami movement toward self-determination.

Throughout this period of awakening ethnic awareness, several Saami publications provided both support and a necessary forum where all manner of topics important to the Saami audience could be discussed, relying on a mixture of contemporary and historical materials to project a positive future. Under the visionary guidance of individuals like Torkel Tomasson and his successors, what had been a rather disorganized and fractious effort began to take on a cohesive shape, leading initially to the establishment of different national organizations representing the range of cultural perspectives, and culminating in a large scale ethnic mobilization with a decidedly pan-Nordic outlook, a phenomenon which continues into the present.

The effect of these developments is presently measurable to some degree in such tangible accomplishments as the establishment of independent Saami schools and university programs, as well as the growing involvement of Saami representatives in national politics.⁸⁷ It is also evident, however, in less obvious, but potentially more pervasive ways. Since the late 1960s Saami culture has been increasingly visible and audible throughout Scandinavia,

⁸⁷ As of December, 1992, Sweden joined Norway and Finland in approving a Saami Parliament (*Sameting*) which will act as an advisory body to the Riksdag. There are now plans to convene an inter-Nordic Saami Parliament with representatives from each country, in an effort to exert stronger influence in decisions which impact the entire region of Saamiland.

in large part due to the work of Saami writers, artists, and above all, musicians. Along with the general trend to reconstruct or revitalize the culture in part through language and handicraft programs, a number of individuals have demonstrated specifically the value of using traditional themes, designs, and melodies to galvanize an audience and consequently expand the sense of community. Each of these expressions draws strength and character from a perceived connection with the past which is given body in performance. The Saami writer/poet, the craftsman, and the musician often consciously manipulate this link by highlighting it in their work, either through reproducing traditional forms, or by incorporating these same forms in new productions, using juxtaposition and/or interpolation to introduce elements which lie outside traditional contexts. The more successful of these attempts encourage a collective response which supersedes the different factional influences, which otherwise divide the Saami population, and dilute its potential as a microculture in Scandinavia; in the best productions, the unified voice of Saamiland is clearly audible.

Chapter 5: Folklorists and 'Lappologists': Saving the joik from extinction?

*Vem känner nu detta språk utav toner,
som fordomtima var fagert och rikt?
Vem kan nu tolka dess rytmer och gångar
och giva liv åt bortglömd musik?
Blott den, som lyssnat med kärleksfullt sinne,
lyhört för ljud från en hänsvunnen tid,
skall uti fjällvärldens ensliga dalar
än finna sångar, som ekot gömt kvar.*

*(Who now knows that language of sounds,
which formerly was fine and rich?
Who can now interpret its rhythms and gaits
and give life to forgotten music?
Only the one, who listened with a loving sensibility,
with a sensitive ear for sound from a bygone time,
shall out in the mountain's solitary valleys
still find songs, which echoes have hidden away.)*

-from Nils Schillander's poem to Karl Tirén, on the occasion of his 60th birthday (Schillander 1929: 24; my translation).

5.0 Introduction

As has been discussed in previous chapters, the practice of joiking in particular came under considerable scrutiny for its association with the shamanic rituals which Christian priests and lay clergy actively sought to expunge. Both church authorities and their representatives in the field presumed that all such 'pagan' activity was concrete evidence of organized and continued consorting with the devil or his minions (cf., Bäckman 1978). The combination of the public condemnation of noaidit, the seizure and destruction of ritual regalia (including many drums), and constant proselytizing by converted Saami created a hostile environment for joiking, which not only affected various ritual behaviors, but even the spontaneous outbursts of joik which routinely punctuated daily Saami life--all manifestations

of the genre, if practiced openly, were subject to strident and often public castigation.

Unlike the drums of the *noaidit*, however, joik represented a cultural expression which was not so easily purged. Its continued existence in a community depended less on specialists with esoteric knowledge, being instead a personal means of communicating with one's environment and the members of one's *siida*, which was available to all within the culture; it was only periodically used in strictly ritual contexts. Consequently, joiking receded in many Saami regions, but did not entirely disappear.

In some areas, joik and its underlying conceptions were simply subsumed by the dominant culture, maintaining a parallel, if secretive, existence. Individuals joiked, occasionally vociferously, but such activity was rarely acknowledged by those within earshot. I was told on several occasions that joiking was a situationally acceptable practice among some families, even in those who held that such activity was essentially 'sinful'--to joik was often such a spontaneous and emotional reaction, that it was difficult to entirely suppress occasional outbursts.

The association between joiking and drinking, also noted previously, only strengthened the resolve of those who sought to extend the purview of the church to control such behavior. Yet the phenomenon proved very difficult to extinguish--as long as alcohol was readily available, its potential as a catalyst for such expression remained. One older woman I met offered an insightful comment on this problem, suggesting that imbibing alcohol sometimes had a necessary cathartic effect in her own childhood community: "I think that maybe it [drinking to excess] made us remember we are Saami--it [joik] just had to come out" (Eriksson 1992: personal communication).

In other regions, particularly those where the Læstadian sect was most active, joik was sometimes transformed into a musical expression which was more acceptable to church authorities, as occurred when joik melodies were wedded to hymn texts, either consciously or unwittingly. I was provided with a concrete example of phenomenon this by a contemporary

Læstadian 'predikant', who sang several Saami hymns for me (i.e., hymns with texts in Saami), to demonstrate what he considered to be another important (and often overlooked) aspect of Saami culture (i.e., liturgical music); these all had a pronounced 'joik feel' melodically, even if the performer chose not to acknowledge this relationship (anonymous 1992: personal communication).¹ A young Saami musician who has occasionally played organ in Læstadian services in his home district, recently made a similar observation:

Vi har også samiske sanger som i høyeste grad har et joikisk preg, selv om f. eks. dom som er troende læstadianere vil si at de ikke 'joiker', de 'synger' salmer.

(We also have Saami songs which have a joik character of the highest degree, even if, for example, those who are practicing Læstadians want to say that they do not 'joik', they 'sing' psalms.)

Nedrejord 1991: 112

There are also a number of documented instances of more overtly syncretic developments, in which joiks were subsumed in what appeared to be more 'Christian' forms. During the late 17th or early 18th century in and around Arjeplog, Sweden, for example, it was discovered that joiks previously associated with the Saami goddess, *Sarakka*, were transformed to honor the Virgin Mary:

Maria fick ärva Sarakkas låtar, man behövde ju bara ändra namnet

(Mary inherited Sarakka's songs, one merely had to change the name)

Edström 1978: 85

Grundström also noted a number of joiks which demonstrated pronounced Christian themes and subjects, ranging from church bells to Jesus or God (cited in Edström 1978: 85-86).

While all of these examples reinforce the contention that the joik remained a flexible genre

¹ I was not alone in my assessment of the melodic similarity. A Saami friend who was sitting next to me, and is very interested in joik, remarked that the hymn tunes were certainly joiks originally (Stoor 1992, personal communication).

capable of adapting or even momentarily 'disappearing' as needed, there is still significant evidence that pressure brought to bear by the Christian church had a profound affect on how the joik was perceived within Saami communities, and how those who continued to practice the genre perceived themselves.²

Yet it was not just the church which proved an adversary in this regard. Because of the unique sound quality of joiking, many outsiders found it difficult to equate the genre with their own musical expectations, nearly always ensuring that joik was described as 'primitive' or worse; by extension, those who performed joik were similarly subjected to derision and mockery, much of which took place during public confrontations. Thus, even within those Saami communities where the church officials were relatively benign in their attitude toward joiking, there was a good chance that contact with outsiders would eventually lead to derogatory remarks about the genre. Rather than continually suffer the consequences, most Saami remained steadfastly silent in the presence of anyone who might offer objections to joiking. Moreover, after restrictive legislation in Sweden and Norway made it difficult, and increasingly undesirable to remain 'Saami' if one had no legal connection to reindeer herding, joiking, which along with language and traditional dress represented one of the most observable objective traits of Saami ethnicity, was subsumed by the pragmatism required for 'passing' in Scandinavian society.

5.1 The 'lappologists'

Concurrent with the governmental and religious efforts which tended to divide and diminish the Saami population in Scandinavia, however, was a growing concern among a sympathetic group of scholars that such policies would indeed engineer the cultural demise of the Saami. Known as 'lappologists' by their peers, they constituted a rather disparate

² It must be reiterated that a number of the field clergy were actually quite sympathetic to the Saami in regard to joik, particularly those church representatives who were from Saami backgrounds themselves. Even though they were under orders to eliminate all traces of pre-Christian practices, some understood that joiking did not necessarily represent competition for souls (cf., Edsman 1985).

collection of amateur and professionally trained ethnologists, philologists, and folklorists who were united by their interest in the Saami. Although these individuals had long been active chronicling and analyzing examples of material and expressive culture retrieved from Saamiland, their work received new impetus once it was perceived that the rate of change in Saami culture had increased significantly, and many 'traditions' were disappearing or severely declining as a result. While hindsight now suggests that many of the lappologists were over-reacting and, more importantly, that they often failed to recognize the significance of their own results, some of the more visible aspects of Saami culture had indeed experienced a notable decline by the late 19th century, spurring fieldworkers to a near frenzy of activity, as they sought to 'save' what was left.

Even with this added cultural imperative, however, the lappologists' motivation remained most often academically inclined, the books and articles they produced being predestined for an educated and predictably non-Saami audience. Consequently, there was rarely much thought given to how these materials might be made available to future generations of Saami, or even that such interest among the informant population could be an issue. Several early examples of this type of scholastic enterprise have already been cited in the current work, in conjunction with discussions of Saami history and joik in earlier chapters: Schefferus' *Lapponia* (1673), for example, which contained two joik texts dictated to the author by a young Saami man studying for the priesthood in Uppsala. This work was written in the prevailing European academic language of its time, Latin, and was not printed in Swedish translation until 1956; it was, however, translated to English (1674), German (1675), French (1678), and even Dutch (1682). *Lapponia* became quite well known throughout Europe as *the* resource for information about the Saami, in spite of the fact that Schefferus' writing (like that in many early examples) was essentially contrived from second- and third-hand reports, rather than from materials collected *in situ*.

By the late 18th century, however, there was sufficient interest among a number of Scandinavian scholars in their own 'folk' traditions (particularly in narrative and poetic forms), that fieldwork and collecting began in earnest in all of the Scandinavian countries. These collector-scholars were very much influenced by similar trends on the European continent, particularly by the writings of von Herder, who argued that the 'soul' of a nation lay in the language of its 'folk', from whom it could and should be carefully extracted and used in constructing/maintaining national self-awareness (Anderson 1983: 66).³ Out of such efforts came not only large collections of tales, sagas, sayings, and proverbs, but also ballads, all to be catalogued and analyzed for the hints they presumably provided about the cultural individuality of the 'folk'.

The ballads were imbued with especial value by Scandinavian researchers, because of the genre's presumed origin in medieval European aristocratic society. These musical minimalist narratives were thought to illustrate a stylized (if admittedly romanticized) glimpse of the past, and in their continued performance, suggested an uninterrupted cultural connection with that same glorified era (cf., Colbert 1989). The systematic approach to ballad research which developed in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway in the early 19th century, eventually established the paradigms for this field, and greatly influenced similar undertakings with other musical genres throughout Scandinavia.⁴

³ As noted in Chapter 3, von Herder himself was both impressed and influenced by the joik texts published in *Lapponia*, finding in them perfect examples of the naive voice of the folk (cf., Anderson 1983).

⁴ For early important ballad collections in Scandinavia, see Afzelius and Geiger's *Svenska Folkevisor* (1814-1818), Bugge's *Gamle norske Folkeviser* (1858), and Grundtvig's monumental *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser (DgF)*, published in twelve volumes between 1858 and 1976. Even Child, in the introduction to his *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1882-1898), freely acknowledged his indebtedness to the Scandinavians, particularly the work of Grundtvig. Examples of the influence of this style of research on other genres of Scandinavian folk music can be found in the large collection of Norwegian *hardingfele* tunes, Andersson and Andersson's *Svenska låtar*, and in Tirén's joik collection (*Die lappische Volksmusik* 1942), to be discussed below.

5.2 19th century collections of joik

Most of this interest in European folk materials in the 18th and 19th centuries was closely connected to the emergence of nationalism throughout the region (cf., Hobsbawm 1990; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), so it is scarcely surprising that not as much effort was devoted to collecting similar data from the Saami, except as examples of exotica--the existence of a thriving non-Scandinavian 'folk' genre was hardly of interest to those seeking to find or develop their own Scandinavian cultural roots.

There were, however, a few notable exceptions. In an account published in 1802 of his travels in northern Scandinavia (*Travels through Sweden, Finland and Lapland, to the North Cape, in the Years 1798 and 1799*), Giussepe Acerbi not only gave his impressions of joiking (negative), but included a transcription of a joik, becoming one of the first to do so in print.⁵ That same year a Swede, A.F. Skjöldebrand, published a similar chronicle of his journey to the North Cape (*Voyage pittoresque au Cap du Nord*), which contained transcriptions of joik as well (Edström 1978: 18). It was not until 1818, however, that joik was presented in a musical treatise. Johann Christian Friedrich Hæffner, a German-born composer and organist, wrote an article for the Swedish journal *Svea*, entitled *Anmärkningur öfver gamla nordiska sången* (*Remarks about old nordic song*), in which he not only discussed Swedish folk music, but Saami joik as well. Hæffner had met a number of Saami in Stockholm in the 1780s, from whom he collected and transcribed several joiks.⁶ In keeping with the practice of many of his contemporaries, however, Hæffner published these joik

⁵ This was the same Acerbi cited in Chapter 2 who found the Saami to be wholly lacking in musical or lyrical talent, in spite of the fact that he and the members of his party were joiked by their hosts (Arnberg *et al* 1969: 68).

⁶ In the introduction to his article, Hæffner described the immense difficulty involved in copying down such unfamiliar melodies, thus offering one explanation for the omission of musical notation in most early collections of joik texts. This practice was actually indicative of a much broader tendency in the 18th and 19th centuries, however, to disregard the importance of musical information in favor of texts in vocal genres (cf., Bronson 1969).

melodies not as he originally transcribed them, but with piano accompaniment (Kjellström *et al* 1988: 110-111).⁷

After these initial efforts to collect and present joik in its complete musical form, a period of nearly one hundred years passed before anyone else attempted this task. In the intervening decades, however, several important joik text collections appeared. The first of these was Jakob Fellman's *Anteckningar (Notes)*, printed in the 1820s, and containing several examples of 'epic joiks' which he transcribed while working as a priest in Utsjoki, Finland.⁸ Later, in 1876, the Finnish philologist Otto Donner published his *Lappalaisia lauluja (Lappish songs)*, which presented quite a few longer narratives given to Donner by the Saami priest/poet, Anders Fjellner. Fjellner (occasionally referred to as the "Saami's Homer") 'developed' various mythical themes (some of them also found in Fellman's book), to produce joik-poetry in an older style presumably lost/changed through the long process of colonization (Gaski 1987: 11; see also Kjellström *et al* 1988: 119).

A third publication, indicative of a more apologetic and resigned approach not uncommon among late 19th century lappologists, was K.B. Wiklund's *Lapparnes sång och poesi (The Lapps' song and poetry)*, printed in 1906. Wiklund combined his interests in philology, history, and ethnology to expound on the nature of 'folk poetry', using joik texts as examples of yet another 'true' folk art which was either lost or in danger of disappearing. Much of the material presented was taken from other sources (including Fellman and Fjellner), but Wiklund's own analyses remain of interest, for they provide a strong impression of the view shared by many of his contemporaries that the absorption of 'primitive' Saami culture by the

⁷ For similar examples of this type of 'arranged' transcription, see Berggreen's eleven volumes of piano arrangements of Danish folk songs, *Danske folke-sang og melodier* (1860-70); see also Hæffner's arrangements of Swedish folk music in Afzelius and Geiger's *Svenska Folkevisor*, published between 1814-18.

⁸ It should be noted, however, that Fellman lived and worked for over six years among his Saami parishioners before he was able to persuade anyone to even admit that they could joik (Edström 1978: 16).

more developed Scandinavian nations was an inevitable, if regrettable phenomenon.⁹ A few melodies were included in the book as well, but these were primarily added to demonstrate very general melodic structure and were heavily edited--in their strict metric divisions and precise Western-influenced pitch organization, their form was more similar to Swedish folk songs than joik.¹⁰ While Wiklund's monograph on joik was elaborated to a great extent with contextual background drawn from his own fieldwork as a linguist, it essentially represented a continuation of the type of textual exegesis favored by his contemporaries within the realm of ballad scholarship.

5.3 Armas Launis, pioneer in joik research

At nearly the same time that this work was published, however, Finnish musicologist Armas Launis was busy collecting joiks in northern Finland and Norway with the express purpose of writing a detailed musical analysis of the genre. During the summers of 1904 and 1905, Launis wandered through the region seeking out likely informants and transcribing their joiks while they performed for him; one of these individuals, a Finnish Saami man named Juoni Aikio, was personally responsible for 208 examples, an unbelievable accomplishment for a representative of a 'dying' culture. At the end of the second summer of fieldwork, Launis had more than 800 joiks and variants, all carefully notated in his journals (Kjellström *et al* 1988:120-121). Shortly thereafter, in 1908, a representative sample of Launis' enormous collection was published in German (*Lappische Jouigos-Melodien*),

⁹ Wiklund was an interesting character, in this regard. It was he who believed that an Ur-Saami culture had survived the last ice age, thus representing the oldest population in Scandinavia, and one worth preserving at all costs (see Chapter 2 above); yet Wiklund also strongly supported the 1913 Saami school act which resulted in the infamous tent-schools and further divided the Saami in Sweden (Kvist 1992: 71).

¹⁰ Wiklund used transcriptions from other sources, including the Italian Acerbi who so harshly criticized Saami musical abilities in the 18th century (see Chapter 3. above) and various priests, whose own musical training was unfortunately rarely questioned. To Wiklund's credit, these examples are identified as generalizations, and are presented to provide a simple musical reference for what is otherwise text analysis (see for example Wiklund 1906: 8-9).

becoming the first book of its kind, devoted entirely to the melodic character of Saami joik (ibid.: 122; see also Edström 1978 for details of Launis' work).

Launis' analytical approach was very systematic, with much emphasis on a given tune and its variants, thus lending a degree of finality to the melodic structure which was a bit overstated for a genre which was/is essentially improvisatory. In this respect, his work demonstrated the influence of the reigning folkloric paradigm which presumed that an 'authentic' version of each item for analysis existed, and moreover that it could be identified through careful comparison among variants. The process by which one informant was judged more 'authentic' than another was often not clear, suggesting an unacknowledged subjectivity on the part of the collector/analyst.¹¹

In spite of this classificatory over-emphasis, *Lappische Jouigos-Melodien* was a landmark publication, demonstrating the diversity and depth of joik to an extent that had been entirely lacking in other attempts to describe the genre to an audience poised outside the culture. Far from being a 'dead' tradition, Launis' work showed that joik was quite vibrant, at least in the region of Saamiland where he concentrated his collecting efforts. For a single individual to have amassed more than 800 examples in such a short time, spoke volumes about the continued importance of the genre among the Saami, despite the protracted efforts of those opposed to its performance in any form--endangered, yes; dead, no.

Besides the thoroughness and care for musical precision with which the author approached his data, Launis' work also represented a departure with past practices in another significant area. Twenty-eight of the transcriptions were actually collected by another Finnish folklorist, Väinö Salminen, who had taken a cylinder phonograph with him on his field trips in Norway and Sweden, becoming the first to capture the *sound* of joik on a recording (Kjellström *et al* 1988: 122). The advantage which this radical methodological

¹¹ Even those collectors who defined clear criteria for inclusion were often undermined by their own zeal. Child, for example, following Grundtvig's lead, gave preference to materials collected orally from informants, but failed to take into account the role that written/printed sources could play among the same informants (cf., Andersen and Pettitt 1979).

approach to cataloguing musical data clearly evinced, particularly material which proved very difficult to transcribe with conventional Western notation, was soon to affect the life and work of yet another collector of joik, Launis' counterpart in Sweden, folklorist Karl Tirén.

5.4 Karl Tirén

Of all of the lappologists in the 19th and early 20th centuries, two members of the Tirén family stand out in their efforts to record and preserve Saami culture, for they did so largely out of a concern for the Saami which exceeded that of most of their contemporaries. For their work, brothers Johan and Karl Tirén received at least as many accolades from the Saami individuals and communities they worked with and among, as they did from the Swedish art and academic circles within which they functioned professionally.¹²

The elder brother, Johan (1853-1911), made his reputation as a genre painter, his subjects usually being the Saami in their 'natural' surroundings, i.e., in the forests and fjells of northern Sweden, often represented with such familiar fauna as reindeer, wood grouse, or ptarmigan. Johan Tirén's goal was to produce paintings which did not depict the Saami as 'primitive', drawing them instead as individuals at one with their environment, well-versed in skills which allowed them to lead rather extraordinary lives--at least from a more typical Scandinavian perspective (Sivertsson 1989: 12). His most famous (and most controversial) painting, "Lappar tillvaratagande skjutna renar" ("Lapps guarding shot reindeer"), depicted an all too familiar result of the continual confrontations between Saami herders and Swedish settlers: reindeer shot by outraged farmers in a dispute over a parcel of land. This picture currently hangs in the National Museum in Stockholm (Tomasson 1938: 15-16).¹³ Johan

¹² Perhaps the greatest evidence of the high regard for the Tiréns among the Saami is the number of articles devoted to their work and their personal lives printed in the Swedish Saami journal, *Samefolkets Egen Tidning* (see below). To my knowledge, no other non-Saami individual has received as much attention in this forum.

¹³ The painting was purchased by an MP sympathetic with the plight of Saami herders, who subsequently hung it in the parliament building to generate support for a legislative battle concerning the use of a large tract of land in Tirén's home province. Apparently the ploy worked, since the parliament decided in favor of the Saami and against the landholder, who was also a prominent MP and outspoken Saami opponent (Tomasson 1938: 16; Sivertsson 1989: 12).

Tirén's works are still held in high regard among the Saami, one large painting ("Efter snöstormen" ["After the snowstorm"]) having been included in the new permanent Saami installation at the Jämtland Museum in Östersund, Sweden.

Although initially somewhat overshadowed by the work of his older brother, Karl Tirén (1869-1955) went on to make his own mark as a painter, a researcher, an instrument builder, and above all as a musician and collector. At an early age, Tirén developed an abiding interest in the regional folk music of his home district, Härjedalen in the province of Jämtland, taking up the fiddle which became his lifelong instrument and the focus of a good deal of his professional career. Like Johan, he also grew up with an awareness of the indigenous Saami population, but his efforts to learn about their music, joik, were thwarted until he was an adult--joiking in the Härjedalen region was no longer a common public occurrence by the late 19th century.

In 1909, however, Tirén had a chance encounter with a Saami woman, Maria Persson, which completely changed the direction of his life's work, launching him on a series of field trips which eventually took him through all of Swedish Saamiland collecting joiks. Persson was permanently settled in Arjeplog, Sweden, but had been an active herder in her youth. She was thus well known among both herding and more stationary Saami families, and was in addition a fine joiker. At Tirén's request, she served as his first informant, performing a number of her own joiks and those of family members; she also functioned occasionally as Tirén's interpreter and unofficial assistant, frequently convincing otherwise reticent individuals to joik for the Swedish stranger who was interested in Saami music (Tirén 1941: 1; see also Forsslund 1914: 95). As a result of this auspicious meeting with Persson, Tirén established a rapport with the local Saami community which transferred handily to other localities, often preceding him on his collecting trips; with each subsequent excursion, Tirén typically found a number of informants willing to participate in his effort to notate and

preserve joik, their enthusiasm largely based on positive reports from other communities or individuals with whom he had worked (Tomasson 1919: 9-10).

Besides his obvious interest in music, Tirén shared the concerns of other lappologists that Saami culture was rapidly and irreversibly moving towards complete extinction. The event which served as a catalyst for Tirén's actions, however, was the dissolution of the Norway-Sweden Union in 1905 (T. Tirén 1982: 5-6). As a result of the closing of long stretches of the border between the now separate nations, nearly 15,000 Saami were forced to slaughter most of their herds and take up farming or similar livelihoods. Without access to the mountains and/or the coast which an open border had allowed, herding families had no recourse but to move south with the remains of their herds (which some did), or settle down to a new life.

From Tirén's perspective, this meant the assured loss of traditional Saami culture to a significant degree. Similar forced confrontations in the past demonstrated that the Swedish and Norwegian populations would not likely encourage the continuance of Saami language, nor would they welcome such customs as joiking. As his son later recalled, Tirén felt that this cultural demise would occur very quickly, perhaps within a single generation's time:

De gamle skulle då nödgas ta med sin rika sångskatt av jojkar i graven--då de unga ej längre fick tillfälle att lära sig dessa sånger, ej heller utöva jojkningen.

(The old ones would be forced to take their rich song-treasure of joiks with them to the grave--thus the youth would no longer have the opportunity to learn these songs, nor to practice joiking.)

Torkel Tirén 1982: 6 (my translation)

As a lifelong employee of the Swedish railroad, Tirén enjoyed a modicum of free time to travel and pursue his other interests. Without a university education, however, he was entirely dependent on his own financial resources to support his fieldwork ambitions. Tirén was aware of the shortcomings that his 'amateur' status potentially entailed for the eventual

publication of his collection, but he later countered defensively in print with his firm opinion that it was not possible to wait for a 'qualified' (i.e., properly educated) individual to take on the arduous task of gathering what he considered to be rapidly disappearing cultural property of enormous value to both the Saami and the Scandinavian majority (Tirén 1932: 1; see also Kjellström *et al* 1988: 125).

Having begun his joik project in 1909 with the fifty transcriptions from Maria Persson's personal repertoire, he embarked in 1911 on the first of several lengthy collecting trips which took him throughout Saamiland over the next five years:

...blev jag efter år 1911 satt i tillfälle genomvandra nästan alla av svenska lappar bebodda trakter, från Lyngenfjord och Senjen i norr till Härjedalens sydligaste fjälltrakter. Därunder besöktes stora delar av Tromsø och Nordlands amt, där svenska lappar före 1918 fingo vistas under somrarna. Dessutom hava sex vinterresor företagits till tätare befolkade lappsamhällen.

(...after 1911 I had the opportunity to wander through nearly all of the districts inhabited by Swedish Lapps, from Lyngenfjord and Senjen in the north [of Norway], to Härjedalen's southernmost mountain areas. Meanwhile [I] visited large parts of Tromsø and Nordland's administrative district [in Norway], where Swedish Lapps spent their summers prior to 1918. In addition, six winter trips were undertaken to more densely populated Lapp communities.)

Tirén 1932: 2 (my translation)

On each of these trips, Tirén took with him a cylinder recording machine, which he had earlier elected to use as an aide in transcribing the melodies he collected.¹⁴ In this enterprise he was supported financially by the Swedish Academy of Sciences (*Vetenskapsakademien*) in Stockholm (the only monetary help he received for the entire undertaking), which was interested in seeing how this new technology functioned under field conditions. In choosing to rely on this unconventional methodology, however, he attracted

¹⁴ He had actually experimented with a cylinder recorder as early as 1909, but his Saami recordings did not begin in earnest until the first trip in 1911 (T. Tirén 1982: 4).

considerable opposition from many within the academic music community who could not comprehend why conventional Western notation would not suffice to capture this material. Tirén, who by virtue of his lack of formal higher education stood outside this circle to some degree, responded to his critics forcefully in a report addressed to the Swedish folk music commission (*Svenska folkmusikkommissionen*), drawing a comparison between his efforts and the highly respected *Svenska låtar* (*Swedish tunes*), a large compendium of Swedish instrumental folk music collected and edited by Nils and Oloff Andersson.

De samlade fonogrammen utgör likväl i sin mångsidighet tillräckligt övertygande prov på alla i de följande omnämnda taktarter och säregenheter, att mina uppteckningar styrkas av fonogrammen och därför skäligen bör tillerkännas åtminstone samma samlarvärde som de i "Svenska låtar" upptecknade, icke fonograferade melodierna.

(In their versatility, each of these collected cylinders constitute sufficiently convincing proof in every way, in the following mentioned rhythms and [melodic] peculiarities, that my transcriptions are strengthened by the cylinders and therefore ought reasonably to be considered at least of the same worth as the non-recorded melodies transcribed in "Svenska låtar").

cited in Stenman 1991: 16 (my translation)

By 1916 Tirén had recorded nearly 700 cylinders of joik performances, each one usually having several different joiks on it.¹⁵ From these he hoped to transcribe and analyze as many melodies as possible, seeking on the one hand to preserve an aspect of Saami culture which he felt was severely threatened, and on the other to produce a document which would intellectually engage his colleagues in Western musical institutions. Tirén succeeded in transcribing 541 joiks,¹⁶ all of which were eventually published in a single collection, *Die*

¹⁵ The accompanying tape has an example of one of Tirén's cylinder recordings: Audio Example A:7.

¹⁶ *Die lappische Volksmusik* also includes 16 joiks either notated by others or from non-Saami sources; the last appendix contains 6 examples of Saami psalmody.

lappische Volksmusik (1942), the third volume of the Nordic Museum's *Acta Lapponica* series, edited by the preeminent lappologist, Ernst Manker.¹⁷

The release of this book represented a significant contribution to joik scholarship not only in its sheer volume of data, but in the sophistication of the analyses which accompanied the transcriptions. Tirén broke the genre down into categories which specified those joiks which he felt were Saami in origin (personal joiks, animal joiks, joiks to places/things, 'magic' [i.e., shamanic] joiks), and those which showed the influence of contact with neighboring cultures (here he detailed thirteen different subcategories, including such things as lullabies and drinking songs). In trying to ascertain a suitable form for comparison with Western music, Tirén chose the *leitmotif* as a compatible structural concept, using examples from Wagner's operatic works to reinforce his point (see for example Tirén 1942: 42-43).

While this level of analysis may have been primarily aimed at a musicologically oriented audience, the apparent complexity of the joiks came as no surprise to many of his Saami supporters, who early on took his interests as a sign of the presumed sophistication of their own musical genre, and as a validation of their culture by someone they felt was an eminent authority. In the first of several articles devoted to Tirén and his joik project, Torkel Tomasson, editor of the Swedish Saami journal *Samefolkets Egen Tidning (SET)* made the following observation which elucidates how important Tirén's collecting effort was considered to be shortly after the completion of his fieldwork:

Som musikkännare har Karl Tirén framför andra forskare, som före honom ägnat intresse åt forskningen utav samefolkets vuoleh, ägt de naturliga förutsättningarna för att kunna tränga in och belysa den samiska sången och

¹⁷ In correspondence with a Swedish colleague in the 1930s, Tirén complained of having no time to complete the project as originally conceived. He had deposited the great majority of his cylinders (over 500) with the Nordic Museum and kept the rest for his own use (Stenman 1991: 16). Unfortunately most of those entrusted to the Nordic Museum were shipped to Germany in the mid 1930s for a plating process to preserve them, only to be lost in W.W.II. Today the Music Museum in Stockholm has the remaining 257 of Tirén's cylinders in its archives, of which 222 have been copied to magnetic tape; there are plans to re-copy them digitally (Stenman 1991, personal communication).

musiken. Förgångsman för att icke säga vetenskapsman på detta säregna sångforskningsområde har Karl Tirén med tillhjälp av fonografen taget fram vuoleh efter vuoleh ur folkets egen mun och inför den etnografiska vetenskapen påvisat att samefolkets vuoleh verkligt är metodisk musik. Och än' mer att denna musik måhända har några anknytningspunkter med en del kulturfolks musik.

(As a person knowledgeable about music, Karl Tirén possesses the natural qualifications to be able to penetrate and illuminate Saami song and music, beyond all other researchers before him who were dedicated to the study of the Saami people's vuoleh.¹⁸ A pioneer, not to mention scientist in this singular song research area, Karl Tirén has taken vuoleh after vuoleh from the people's own mouth[s] with the help of the phonograph, and has demonstrated to ethnographic science that the Saami people's vuoleh truly is methodical music. And even more, that this music perhaps has several links with part of the cultured people's music.

Tomasson 1919: 9 (my translation)

In a move which solidified his standing among his informants, Tirén elected to make his research results first available to *SET*, not to an academic journal as one might expect. In 1926, Tirén gave Tomasson a two-part article for inclusion in succeeding issues (Volume 8, issues 2 and 3), the first such in-depth musical analysis to appear in the magazine. Entitled "*Några inledande ord om joikning och vuolleh*" ("*Some introductory remarks about joiking and vuolleh*"), the material presented was a brief synopsis of what would eventually emerge in elaborated form in Tirén's book in 1942, including his thoughts on the fundamental melodic and rhythmic structures encountered, several stylistic features found in performance, and mention of his comparisons between joiks and Wagnerian *leitmotifs*.¹⁹

¹⁸ Note that Tomasson, as well as Tirén, distinguished between the act of joiking (*joikning*) and the product (*vuoleh/vuolleh*).

¹⁹ These two articles were combined and reprinted with minor editing as "*Om joikning och vuolleh*" ("*Regarding joiking and vuolleh*") for a more academic audience in the Swedish folkloric journal *Förnvårdaren* (Vol. 2, issue 2-3: 294-306) in 1928. It was in this latter publication that Tirén first attracted the attention of a broader audience of individuals concerned with the preservation of 'folk' traditions, and Saami culture in particular;

Even though publication for a broader audience was somewhat delayed, other lappologists were nevertheless abundantly aware of Tirén's work, in part through the writings of a prominent colleague, K.E. Forsslund. The latter accompanied Tirén on one of his annual treks, and included these experiences in his 1914 book, *Som gäst hos fjällfolket* (*A guest among the mountain people*). Forsslund's first-hand narrative accounts of Tirén's manner with his informants provided an unusual opportunity to witness the field collector in his chosen milieu, and demonstrated Tirén's rather remarkable skills: Tirén apparently had a means of instilling confidence and trust in those Saami he met, to a degree which was unusual for a non-Saami. While attending a recording session at Maria Persson's home in Arjeplog in 1913, for example, Forsslund reported on Tirén's avoidance of the potential cross-cultural confrontations between Saami and Swedes:

Och de allra flästa låta höra sig, några lite motvilligt i början, men alltmer hågade, ju mer de kommer i farten. Endast när andra svenskar ett par gånger kom på besök, tystna de--för att fortsätta, när främlingarna gått. Är det sålunda sant, att de äro svårtillgängliga, inbunda och misstrognas? Ja, i viss mån--men i regel beror nog misstänksamheten och den avvisade hållningen på den, som blir föremål därför. Och alltför ofta är den säkert ett berättigat och välbehövt försvarsmedel.

(And the majority of them allow themselves to be heard, a few a bit reluctantly at first, but all the more disposed as they get going. Only when other Swedes came for a visit, were they quiet--only to continue when the strangers had gone. Is it thus true that they are reserved, uncommunicative, and mistrustful? Yes, in some ways--but in general this suspiciousness and rejecting attitude is probably dependent on what one has been subjected to. And all too often it is certainly a justified and much needed means of defense.)

Forsslund 1914: 96 (my translation)

nevertheless, Tirén's first recognition came from within the informant community with which he had so successfully worked for nearly a decade.

These early publications of Tirén's material, and the reception they received among such respected members of the Swedish Saami community as Torkel Tomasson, served to reinforce what Tirén's son later cited as his father's overarching goal when undertaking the project: that joik be preserved for future generations of Saami so that they, too, would have the opportunity to partake of this unique musical genre (T. Tirén 1982: 6). In this enterprise, Tirén would seem to have been uniquely qualified, having sufficient musical training to attempt the task of transcribing the data he collected, but also a healthy degree of skepticism regarding the adequacy of conventional field methods, based largely on the results of other collectors. His decision to use a recording device meant that interested parties would ostensibly be able to hear the data as well as read them in notational form, and established an invaluable precedent for those who followed him into the field. Moreover, Tirén's status as an outsider in the musical academy meant that he was not bound to the 'primitive/sophisticated' dichotomy which dominated the research paradigms of his peers in musicology. In fact, an ancillary issue for Tirén was the acceptance of the 'sophistication' of Saami joik by those in the Western musical world, particularly composers whom he hoped would find inspiration in his collection (T. Tirén 1982: 6).²⁰ Finally, Tirén apparently felt that his work was somewhat akin to a mission which had been entrusted to him. At some point during the months of preparation before his first collecting trip, Tirén had a dream which proved to be not only prophetic in regard to his entire undertaking, but actually served as a means of solidifying his relationship with the many Saami informants for whom he later recounted the experience.²¹

²⁰ This wish was first realized when Swedish composer Wilhelm Peterson-Berger wrote his so-called 'Lapland Symphony' entitled "*Same Átnam*" in 1917. Peterson-Berger used a number of joiks as motifs, all of which he chose in consultation with Tirén (T. Tirén 1982: 6-7).

²¹ I am including this story for two reasons. First, it occurs in very nearly every account about Tirén, whether in popular or scholarly sources. Second, it was a story which I was told personally by an older Saami woman, who firmly believed that it demonstrated the importance and appropriateness of Tirén's work among her own community at the turn of the century. I have read and compared as many versions of the 'dream' and its interpretation as

In this dream, Tirén encountered a small casket in an empty church amongst the barren fjells of Saamiland. Drawn inexplicably to look closer, he lifted the lid and removed the body of a Saami child clad in traditional dress. As he hugged the tiny corpse and carefully breathed on it, the child was rejuvenated and opened its eyes, smiling at him. He was immediately interrupted by the family of the deceased who demanded to know why he was apparently defiling the body, the others being unaware that the child actually lived. As he showed them the revived child, Tirén asked if they had many offspring and was told that they had had seven, of which the previous six had also died. This marked the end of the dream.

Crucial to this story (at least as it has been retold) was the interpretation which Tirén received from an old Saami woman whom he supposedly met as he embarked on his first collecting trip. After listening to Tirén recount the entire dream, the woman told him:

De sex döda barnen är samernas gamla sånger som aldrig mer skall höras. Men det barn du väckte ur dödssömnen och värmde vid ditt hjärta är resten av den sångskatt som ännu finns att rädda. Du skall lyckas i ditt framgång, även om inte alltid samerna själva skall förstå värdet av ditt samlarbete.

(The six dead children are the Saami's old songs which shall never again be heard. But that child which you awoke from the sleep of death and warmed next to your heart is the rest of the treasury of song which is still there to save. You shall be successful in your undertaking, even if the Saami themselves do not always understand the value of your collecting.)

Torkel Tirén 1982: 6 (my translation)

The veracity of this story is not the issue here, but rather the strong sense of support for Tirén's efforts which was obviously invested in the constant retelling of the dream, its interpretation, and its effect on the Saami with whom he came in contact. If Tirén did indeed relate this experience to others--and there is no reason to doubt this--it must have served as

I could locate, and have found virtually no deviation among them, suggesting that both the sequence of events and the precise wording are understood to be significant. For a complete retelling in modern sources see either T. Tirén 1982 or Sivertsson 1989.

a very effective means of establishing his motives for collecting among his informants: all interpretations pointed to his role as *the* person who would save this aspect of Saami culture where others (including the Saami themselves) had failed.

5.5 The impact of Tirén's work

*Du, Karl Tirén, som känt lappens hjärta
mjukt och försynt har Du nalkats hans härd
tålmodigt lyssnat Du har till de gamle--
sprucken var stämman men själen var ung--
och uti hängiven kärlek Du tecknat
stapplande tongång till skön melodi.*

*(You, Karl Tirén, who knew the Lapps' heart
softly and considerately you have approached his hearth
patiently you have listened to the aged--
the voice was cracked but the soul was young--
and out of devoted love you have transcribed
stumbling successions of notes to beautiful melodies.)*

-from Nils Schillander's poem to Karl Tirén on the occasion of his 60th birthday (Schillander and Tomasson 1929: 24; my translation)

Obviously, the results of Karl Tirén's years of collecting cannot simply be measured by the number of joiks he recorded and transcribed, however considerable these are in their own right. One must also take into account the impact that he had on his two chosen audiences: first, those Saami who served as his informants and their relatives and friends, all of whom for whose sake he felt he had first taken on the project; and second, the assembly of interested non-Saami, including other lappologists and ethnologists, as well as musicologists and composers/musicians.

The affect of Tirén's collection and analyses on the academic and musical audiences is the easier to discern. The publication of *Die lappische Volksmusik*, as mentioned above, set a standard for joik research against which subsequent efforts were measured, even if some of

his theoretical conclusions elicited more arguments and outright challenges than he may have envisioned (Park 1944: 33).²² Moreover, his use of a recording device in the field demonstrated the effectiveness of this technology and influenced the course of future joik research--all subsequent collecting projects have depended on recordings as the primary means of gathering data.²³

Tirén did not restrict the promulgation of his collection to publication, however, for he often presented his material through lectures on the joik, either relying on his cylinder recordings or playing melodies himself on the violin to provide musical illustrations (Tomasson 1924: 15). As for his wish that musicians outside of Saami culture find inspiration in the collection, and thus help others develop an appreciation for Saami music, Petersson-Berger's symphony, *Same Átnam*, remains the best known example of Tirén's influence in this area. Other lesser-known pieces have been written incorporating joik melodies from the collection, including works by Erland von Koch, Gunnar Hahn, and Roland Forsberg, whose 1975 composition "*Orgeljojk*" used no less than 23 different joiks in a five-section suite for organ (cf., DAUM document #3670).

Despite his intentions, however, Tirén's goal to actually preserve or salvage the vestiges of Saami joik through systematic collecting and publication fell short of its rather lofty mark. His book was of little practical use in most Saami circles, since its publication in German severely delimited the audience--German was an academic language in Scandinavia, and one with which very few Saami had any familiarity. While the joik texts were included in Saami, the orthography of the era was inconsistent and in many instances antiquated, making the

²² That which apparently drew the most fire from colleagues was Tirén's comparative model based on the *leitmotif* (cf., Park 1944).

²³ In the late 1930s, for example, the *Dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet* (Dialect and folklore archive) in Uppsala, Sweden began aggressively compiling data on Saami culture using recordings. This resulted in a very successful joik project in the 1940s conducted by a number of prominent experts, some of them actually Saami themselves (Kjellström *et al* 1988: 127).

Saami texts of questionable use soon after their publication (Doj 1982: 6).²⁴ Furthermore, even though part of an esteemed and ongoing academic publication series (*Acta Lapponica*), *Die lappische Volksmusik* was not readily accessible, being most often consigned to university libraries and various archives throughout Scandinavia. The recordings which survived (see footnote 14 above) were until very recently not available for public use, the wax cylinders being too fragile a medium for constant replaying; even listening to the current tape copies of the cylinders requires a trip to the Music Museum in Stockholm, making their use as a resource quite limited.²⁵

Yet Karl Tirén, the man, had an undeniable influence on those with whom he had contact, as is borne out by the stories of his collecting trips told and retold by his informants and their successors, and it is within this sphere that Tirén's success is perhaps best measured. The image that emerges from these accounts invariably speaks of an individual whose personal involvement with joik was exceeded only by his respect for Saami culture.²⁶ In this regard, Tirén's collecting efforts exerted a profound and positive effect on his adopted community, for his genuine concern for joik stimulated pride and renewed interest in an activity which had long been subjected to condemnation and harassment, either directly or

²⁴ There have been numerous requests from Saami sources for a Swedish translation of *Die lappische Volksmusik*, complete with orthographically updated Saami joik texts, but so far nothing has come of this (Doj 1982: 6). There is a Swedish draft in the Nordic Museum archives (#LA 699) which corresponds to the German text, but this is available on a very limited basis and may not be mass reproduced (Kjellström 1992, personal communication).

²⁵ Because of the inherent surface noise of the cylinder medium, most of the current generation of tape copies in the Music Museum archives are nearly impossible to comprehend. Recent plans to re-record the entire collection digitally will also make use of technological advances which reduce extraneous noise significantly (Stenman 1991, personal communication). In the meantime, there are several clear examples from Tirén's collection included on the compilation recording "Jojk--Vuolle--Luohti" produced by Karl-Olof Edström and Ajtte Museum in 1987 (ALP-1).

²⁶ Some of the more intriguing Tirén stories include reports of suspected shamanic powers which allowed him to more effectively arrange meetings with recalcitrant sources or overcome difficult physical barriers (Sivertsson 1989: 13). I was first told of Tirén's activities in a South Saami community by an older woman whose own family had served as informants--it was clearly a matter of pride that a relative had joiked for the collection.

surreptitiously. Forsslund found evidence as early as 1913 of the efficacy of Tirén's work in countering these forces, at least as regards joik and its performance:

*I själva verket har Tiréns samlargärning redan börjat bära goda fruktar--
värkligt levande fruktar med grobara frön. Den har värkat väckande och
återupplivande på den halvt avsmnade vuolle-diktningen; joikningen har
redan här och där börjat återupptagas och idkas allt allmännare.*

*(As a matter of fact, Tirén's collecting efforts have already begun to bear fruit--
real living fruit with fertile seeds. It has effected an awakening and revival of
the half departed vuolle-poetry; joiking has already resumed here and there,
and is practiced more generally.)*

Forsslund 1914: 102-103 (my translation)

This joik rejuvenation which Tirén apparently sparked was not just limited to the generation with which he had the most contact. In 1944, Gustav Park reported:

*Samerna har också fått mod att åter med frimodighet sjunga sina gamla
sånger, som genom Karl Tiréns insats upplevat en formlig återupprättelse ur
glömska och förakt. Den värld av skönhet, som många joiklåtar avslöja, har
sålunda åter öppnats för sångbegåvade samer.*

*(The Saami have also found the courage to once again sing with candor their
old songs, which experienced a genuine rehabilitation from oblivion and
disregard through Karl Tirén's contribution. The world of beauty which many
joik songs unveil, has thus opened again for musically talented Saami.)*

Park 1944: 33 (my translation)

As shall become more evident in ensuing chapters of this work, the resurgence of interest in joik in the post World War II period cannot realistically be credited to Karl Tirén's work among the Saami at the beginning of the 20th century, but the positive manner in which he approached and eventually promoted this genre certainly did help restore joik and its performance to a position of pride in many of the communities in which he collected his materials. Of all the accolades from different cultural and social circles which were bestowed

upon him during his lifetime for this accomplishment, perhaps the most inclusive was Torkel Tomasson's simple description of Tirén as "*samevän*" ("Saami friend") (Tomasson 1919: 10), a term not to be lightly interpreted at a time when the Saami as a minority population in Sweden were increasingly feeling the pressure of the state and their neighbors to conform to Swedish standards in language, religion, education, and choice of livelihoods.

5.6 Others

Tirén's experiences among the Saami, however, were indicative of a trend among outsiders who were concerned with the viability of Saami culture, for he, too, was quite surprised by both the quantity and quality of joiking which he encountered once he began his search (Tirén 1932: 1-4; see also Forsslund 1914: 96). Like his colleagues, Tirén justifiably presumed at the onset of his project that the assimilationist policies enacted in the late 19th and early 20th centuries had redoubled the forces of change brought to bear on traditional Saami culture, and undoubtedly hastened the inevitable demise of what was left of 'Europe's last nomads'. But as these same individuals often discovered, the overall effect of these 'Norwegianization' and 'Swedification' activities was more realistically compared, in many cases, to a veneer which thinly covered a latent but existing Saami culture (Gjessing 1954: 28)--such was the situation even Læstadius encountered when he began preaching in the 1840s, and was an experience repeated by those who later vigorously researched among the Saami.

What had changed, radically in most cases, was the context for performance of many aspects of Saami culture, including joik. For those who had become Christians, the indigenous belief structures were altered to accommodate the system introduced by the missionaries. As Outakoski and Bäckman have each argued, the resulting syncretized religion functioned well into the 20th century--even Læstadius and his immediate successors understood the necessity to build on existing beliefs rather than trying to simply replace them (Outakoski 1991: 161-163; Bäckman 1992: personal communication). Joiking, no

longer tolerated in public gatherings in many Saami communities, nevertheless continued among individuals and families, even if not acknowledged. Occasionally the consumption of alcohol proved the necessary cathartic, and the sound of joiking was once again heard in villages where such activities were ordinarily discouraged; more frequently, one suspects, joiking continued in the contexts which were not so obviously scrutinized: the fjells and forests of Saamiland where spontaneous performance was in little danger of being overheard.

The intrusion into this environment by outsiders would obviously yield more silence and reticence than confidence on the part of would-be informants (see Forsslund's account, above), a situation which was no doubt exacerbated through the enforcement of increasingly restrictive policies and laws. And yet for those who gained the trust of these same individuals, the veneer was often peeled back enough to provide some insight into the depth of various cultural manifestations, typically resulting in a much greater data pool than originally conceived by the researcher. Such was the case with both Launis and Tirén, who not only found a more vibrant tradition than expected, but whose own collecting activities apparently encouraged many Saami to openly joik again--hence the laudatory claims of 'rejuvenation' and 'rehabilitation' in the Saami press (see above).

More importantly, however, this phenomenon continued to repeat itself with succeeding generations of researchers. Beginning in 1942, under the auspices of the *Dialekt- och folkminnesarkiv* (Dialect and folklore archive) in Uppsala, Sweden, a research group consisting at various times of Björn Collinder (who headed the project), Dag Strömbäck, Manne Eriksson, Folke Hedblom, Carl Allan Moberg, and Israel Ruong (a Saami man who worked as a school inspector) ventured into the field on several occasions with recording equipment to document Saami joik and were, like their predecessors, surprised with the results:

Skörden vart oväntat rik--vidpass 1200 sångnummer. Överallt i Lappland levde jojkningen kvar, jämväl i Gällivare och Jukkasjärvi (Kiruna), där likvisst västlæstadianskt tabu gjorde våra mödor fruktlösa.

(The harvest was unexpectedly rich--about 1200 songs. Joiking continues to live throughout Lappland, even in Gällivare and Jukkasjärvi (Kiruna), where of course West Læstadian taboo made our efforts fruitless.)

Collinder 1958: 5 (my translation)

To date, two small volumes of joik transcriptions and texts (translated into Swedish and German) derived from this massive collection have been published: *Lapska sånger I: Jonas Eriksson Steggo's sånger (Lappish songs I: Jonas Eriksson Steggo's songs)* by Grundström (text translation) and Väisänen (musical transcription) in 1958; and *Lapska sånger II: Sånger från Arjeplog och Arvidsjaur (Lappish songs II: Songs from Arjeplog and Arvidsjaur)* by Grundström (text) and Smedeby (transcription) in 1963. A wealth of material remains catalogued, but not transcribed or translated, in the archive in Uppsala.

In 1953 and 1954, *Sveriges Radio* (Sweden's Radio, the nationalized broadcasting corporation; hereafter *SR*) instituted its own joik project by sending two experienced field collectors, Matts Arnberg and Håkan Unsgaard, into Swedish Saamiland with tape recorders (the newest technological advance). These two Swedes were accompanied by Israel Ruong, the Saami school inspector who had worked with Collinder in Uppsala a decade earlier. Ruong's rapport within Saami communities (not to mention his ability to speak several dialects of Saami) guaranteed a measure of success which Arnberg and Unsgaard in all likelihood would have found lacking on their own (Arnberg *et al* 1969: 78). Even with strong evidence to the contrary, however, the underlying assumption of this project was once again that joik, as a dying genre, needed to be preserved by outside intervention:

*Avsikten var att rädda och samla samisk jojktradition till eftervärlden...
Liksom alla insamlare av folklöre råkade också vi ut för allehande
olycksprofetior; den lapska jojken var så gott som utdöd, och det lilla som
fanns kvar var omöjligt att komma åt. Resultatet överträffade dock våra mest
optimistiska förväntningar.*

(The object was to save and collect the Saami joik tradition for posterity... Like all other collectors of folklore, we too were caught up in all sorts of prophecies of misfortune: the Lappish joik was as good as dead, and the little that remained was impossible to retrieve. The result, however, exceeded our most optimistic expectations.)

Arnberg, Unsgaard, and Ruong 1969: i; 2 (my translation)

Although the original intention was to use the collected materials for a series of radio broadcasts, these plans changed when the fieldwork results demonstrated no paucity of fine examples. In the end, all but one of the 273 joiks which were recorded were released in 1969 on a series of seven LPs, with the texts translated (to Swedish and English) by Ruong. The latter were included in an accompanying book (*Joik/Yoik*) which also gave background details on all of the informants and a general introduction to the genre. Not only did Arnberg, Unsgaard, and Ruong find joik to be remarkably vital throughout Saamiland, but they even inadvertently captured what may be the finest contemporary performances of the 'epic' type joik, Nils Mattias Andersson's "*Renhjorden på Oulavuolie*" ("*The reindeer herd on Oulavuolie*") and "*Prästjoik*" ("*Priest joik*").²⁷

Although there have been similar experiences reported by fieldworkers in the intervening years, and the number of joik field recordings continues to increase,²⁸ the most recent systematic joik collecting project demonstrates an interesting departure from all of the others in one important aspect: the two individuals responsible for all of the fieldwork are themselves Saami, and the entire enterprise was conceived of by SSR, a national Saami organization in Sweden. In 1990, Sig-Britt Persson Toven and Leif Stinnerbom, in

²⁷ See Chapter 3 of this work for details of Andersson's performances.

²⁸ The music archive at the Tromsø Museum in Tromsø, Norway has hundreds of hours of contemporary joik performances preserved on tape, much of it transcribed and cross-referenced. This project was started by Ragnald Graff in the 1950s, and has been continued by his son Ola, whose own interests include the nearly extinct joik repertoire of the Norwegian sea Saami. Unlike most other collectors, however, the Graffs began their project with an acute awareness of the vitality of the genre; this is particularly true of Ola who grew up hearing joik constantly thanks to his father's interests (Graff 1990, 1992: personal communication).

conjunction with *Sameradion (Saami Radio)*, began a study of joik among those Saami living in the southernmost region of Saamiland, with the hopes of locating older informants and recording not only joik performances, but their reminiscences about joik and those who were skillful performers in the past.

Even for Toven and Stinnerbom, however, the most pressing question was not how many could still joik, but *if any* could--each was independently quite convinced that the genre had disappeared with the last generation (Toven 1992: personal communication; Toven 1991: 71). To their admitted surprise, they succeeded in conducting 40 interviews in just two weeks, and recorded over 20 joiks; in one instance, the performer was someone Toven had known for many years, without ever having know of her ability to joik (Toven 1992: personal communication). Although many of their informants were quite old (15 of them were born before 1910), they also found a number of young people who joiked.²⁹ Toven, who began the project somewhat skeptically, later summarized the results as follows:

Man har märkt ett nyvaknad intresse för den traditionella sydsamiska jojken, för att bevara den, de äldre som ännu kan och minns är intresserade av att lära ut det till de yngre och de yngre är intresserade av att lära. Detta är viktigt att värna om och arbeta vidare med. Ett frö har såtts så låt det växa upp!

(One has noticed a newly awakened interest for the traditional South Saami joik, to try to preserve it, the elders who still are able and remember are interested in teaching it to the youth and the youth are interested in learning. It is important to safeguard and work further with. A seed has been sown so let it grow!)

Toven 1991: 74 (my translation)

²⁹ Based on these results, both Toven and Stinnerbom hope to continue with the project in other regions. As of 1992, the recordings had not been transcribed or edited, but there are plans to produce a series of radio broadcasts and perhaps a CD or tape as well (Toven 1992: personal communication).

5.7 Summary

In this last example, one still finds the vestiges of doubt which pervaded the reasoning of many of the lappologists, and served as the impetus for much of their collecting activity.³⁰ As joiking became increasingly suppressed in Saami communities, either disappearing entirely from public performance, or at best relegated to secretive and sporadic practice, it appeared headed toward inevitable extinction with the passage of each generation. Fueled with such fears and a zealous desire to preserve what was left of Saami culture for posterity (albeit in the halls of academia), Tirén and his contemporaries continually returned to the field, expecting a disaster but often coming away with a bountiful harvest.

While it is tempting to credit Tirén's lack of perception to naïveté, it must be remembered that he and the other lappologists were themselves products of the social-darwinistic paradigm which dominated Saami-Scandinavian relations during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and which was manifest in the legislation that sought to absorb the Saami through assimilation and segregation. The patronizing attitude which accompanied this development was not limited to policy makers, however. Many fieldworkers of the era, including Tirén, saw themselves as the only ones capable of preserving 'the dying Saami culture', while none of them ever questioned the underlying assumption that extinction was inevitable. That many Saami acquiesced to this, acknowledging outsiders as 'cultural saviors', is an indication of the degree to which this ideology was also effective in producing victims.

Yet such perceptions proved difficult to dislodge, as demonstrated by reactions to the discovery on several different occasions over the last century that joik perdured under seemingly impossible circumstances. In each instance where data were collected, individual researchers invariably commented on the tenacity of this genre and its performers, as though

³⁰ Stinnerbom has recently been quite outspoken in his defense of joik as a 'living tradition' (Stinnerbom 1992: personal communication). He has also been very active in the last three years as a joik performer and lecturer, his interest in the subject in part reawakened by his participation in this project.

unaware of the broader implications of their findings, i.e., that the act, and even the sound of joiking have been and continue to be an integral element of Saami culture, serving to enfold the population in a mutually constructed cognitive realm. To joik a friend, an animal, or an event, or to be joiked oneself by another, is the means of inclusion within an interpretive community; even to hear and comprehend joiking is to participate in that community to a degree which is virtually impossible for an outsider to fully comprehend.

The joik was in effect a cultural lifeline, connecting individuals to each other and their communities; one which, moreover, did not require constant, predictable performance, but remained sufficiently effective through sporadic and spontaneous realization. Long after the remnants of the *noaidit's* ritual activities had disappeared, Saami people continued to joik, thus retaining their cultural awareness and bolstering their ability to remain separate from their Scandinavian neighbors. The preacher Læstadius knew this well, hence his emphasis on completely abolishing joik, and his periodic vitriolic attacks on those who continued its practice in spite of his and his followers' efforts (Outakoski 1991: 162). Until the Saami could be effectively persuaded to cease joiking entirely, no amount of threats, whether spiritual or temporal, would bring them irrevocably within the tenets of a new faith, or convert them to become good Swedes, Norwegians, and Finns, for that matter. Throughout Saamiland, the Læstadian communities have apparently been the most successful in this endeavor, but even this is open to interpretation. In Collinder's introductory remarks to the 1958 publication of *Lapska sånger I* (see above), it is clear that the "West Læstadian taboo" made collecting an impossibility, but these same strictures did not entirely impede the continuation of the genre even in the regions most affected by the sect's activities (Collinder 1958: 5).³¹

³¹ The SR team encountered a similar phenomenon in the early 1950s when at least one potential informant refused to participate on the grounds that joiking in a public forum (particularly if it should be broadcast on the radio) would violate his Læstadian beliefs; he did not, however, deny his familiarity or own expertise with the genre (Arnberg, Unsgaard, and Ruong 1969: 96). One could also argue that the preference for joik-like melodies in

Thus, a joik proved to be much more than a musical artifact to be analyzed and compared with melodic phenomena from other cultures. The attempts to codify and categorize various elements which were found to occur with some frequency in the genre, from intervallic preference to basic rhythmic divisions, typically proceeded from the notion that such quantitative analyses were capable of rendering an absolute form (or series of forms) which served as the basis of variation. All too often, however, this occurred at the expense of trying to elucidate emic conceptions of the genre, which dictated that any given joik had neither beginning nor end in this same formal sense, but was most often the product of inspiration and was improvised to a great degree.

As awkward as Tirén's attempts to link joik with the Wagnerian concept of *leitmotif* may seem at this juncture, he was nevertheless wrestling with the expressive quality of Saami music in a manner that his contemporaries assiduously avoided. Rather than concentrating entirely on the rhythmic and melodic structure of his data, Tirén endeavored to explicate the cognitive relationship between a given joik and its subject, and how this was expressed in performance. In addition, through his division of the collection into those joiks which he determined were of Saami origin and those which demonstrated non-Saami influence, Tirén underscored the adaptability of Saami culture. Not only could a specific joik change continually to incorporate new aspects of the subject, or even an entirely different subject, but the genre was capable of absorbing musical ideas and forms from outside the culture, with individuals creating new types of joiks in the process.³²

Of the lessons to be garnered from the various collecting efforts of the folklorists/ethnologists/philologists discussed in this chapter, perhaps this last is the most

Læstadian songs is further evidence of the failure to completely remove the genre from these communities (cf., Nederjord 1991).

³² It was not demonstrated, however, that these changes were recognized as such by Tirén's informants themselves. The bifurcation which Tirén devised has its use as an analytical tool, but is undoubtedly an etic construct--it is highly unlikely that the Saami woman who provided one of the so-called 'lullaby joiks' identified it as categorically different from other joiks in her repertoire.

valuable. The fixation by many of the researchers on change as an eroding process, contributing to the eventual demise of a genre, form, or design, in many cases led these same individuals to overlook the potential of change as a strategy for cultural survival. I am not implying that all such strategizing is conscious, but that change within a cultural system is ongoing and often comprises an effective defense against what are perceived of as pervasive or persistent forces directed from both outside and even inside the system. In the succeeding chapters, I will discuss the means by which changes in the form of joik, and even the incorporation of myriad musical influences ranging far beyond the 'traditional' purview, have functioned to once again 'salvage' the genre, but also to solidify the position of the Saami in both Scandinavia and the rest of the world as a distinct indigenous ethnic group.

Chapter 6: The Emergence of Saami Culture In Popular Music

*Jag är lapp och jag har mina renar, (I'm a Lapp and I have my reindeer,
Jag har trolltrummans rytm i mitt blod. I have the magic drum's rhythm in my blood.
Jag kan jojka åt hedniska stenar; I can joik toward the heathen stones;
Ser jag ännu där engång de stod I still know where they once stood.)*

from Sven-Gösta Jonsson's 1959 recording, *Vid foten av fjället*

6.0 Introduction

With the release of several commercial recordings during the decade spanning the late 1950s to the late 1960s, Saami culture and Saami people gained a new level of visibility/audibility in Scandinavia, one which challenged listeners to confront preconceptions of Saami music and, by extension, prevailing images of the Saami population. This challenge was extended not only to the ethnic majority, but to many Saami people as well, for the musicians who were involved in this development often adopted a stance which was confrontational in spirit and intent.

The following discussion will trace this development diachronically, from early attempts to interject Saami themes in conventional popular music to the eventual emergence of a small Saami-controlled music industry which produced and promoted commercial recordings for what was perceived as a distinctly Saami listening audience. The last section details the release of a joint Norwegian-Saami recording which for a short while actually dominated the popular music charts in Scandinavia and received substantial exposure elsewhere as a result--for a brief period in 1980, Saami joik was literally heard throughout Europe, albeit in the guise of a pop song.

The number of recordings of Saami musicians produced in the time period covered in this chapter (roughly 1960-1980) is really quite astonishing, particularly when one considers that virtually all of this activity took place after 1968.¹ In order to limit the scope of my analysis,

¹ Nearly 25 LPs and tapes were released by Saami artists between 1968-1980, most of them through Saami companies. See the Discography for details.

however, I have kept with my original intention to examine primarily those examples which feature joik, or are what I have termed 'joik-derived'.² It is not my intention, however, to provide a detailed account of each of the myriad artists involved, but rather to highlight some of the recordings and performances which describe the process by which Saami joik rather suddenly emerged from its cultural seclusion to become a very public genre, performed on stage, recorded commercially, and broadcast over the radio. To this end, I have relied extensively (but not exclusively) on the performances which my friends and informants (both Saami and Scandinavian) referred to when discussing this phenomenon. Those with whom I had sustained contact were obviously aware of my interests, and consequently provided me with insights which strongly informed my own opinions; to a lesser extent, I have also made use of the print media, particularly for checking statistical and historical accuracy.

Not all of the examples discussed were received among the Saami listening audience to the same degree, however. By including performances which met with varying levels of success, it is my intention to construct an overview which takes into account a dialogic process which I feel represents a fundamental shift from the manner in which joik was conceived in Saami culture, before it became a commodity (cf., Gaski 1993). With joik being performed on stage and via the commercial media, the line dividing joiker and audience is much more sharply drawn, and yet it is my sense that most of the artists who joik professionally are aware of a profound responsibility to meet the expectations of their listeners; these expectations or models for performance are in turn affected by the musicians themselves, who can influence an audience significantly with their efforts. As one Saami musician expressed this, no matter how personally committed to experimentation he is, his

² I have attempted to let the words and opinions of both my informants and the musicians themselves (occasionally found in liner notes or published interviews) establish the admittedly flexible parameters which this term suggests. Note that there are some exceptions to my self-imposed 'joik rule' in this chapter, but it is my feeling that they represent an important element of the process under discussion.

joiking must still pass the judgment of those members of his immediate community whom he most respects, the individuals from whom he learned to joik as a child (A. Gaup 1992: personal communication). From his perspective, to exceed these local aesthetic boundaries potentially negates the power of any musical statement he makes, even if it is purposely aimed at a broader audience. Thus, when possible I have tried to include the opinions of others about the musicians and recordings examined here to try and elucidate this feedback system if and where it exists.

The reader will also discern a tendency on my part to relate Saami musical trends to similar contemporaneous developments in popular music, both in Scandinavia and in the broader Euro-American field, often indicating what I regard as direct influence from a known source. Once again, the process by which I came to these conclusions was initiated to a great extent by the awareness of these trends, expressed among the musicians I met, as well as members of their audiences. What I hope emerges from the following pages, however, will articulate a marked contrast to the more typically encountered hegemonic perspective of popular music. The latter suggests that the degree and direction of change within a microculture or minority group develops in response to forces in the control of the dominant culture or group, and that the products of such change are essentially derivative of the prevailing aesthetic within the majority population (cf., Appadurai 1990; Wallerstein 1990). I feel strongly that the development of Saami popular music has not merely been a process of aping the accomplishments of others outside Saami culture, nor, in most instances, have Saami musicians been co-opted by music industry forces beyond their control. From my conversations with musicians active during the period covered in this chapter, there is instead strong evidence of a conscious effort on their part to transform popular music genres into vehicles for demonstrating the cogency of Saami culture to an increasingly self-aware Saami audience. The reason that such a process was necessary, rather than simply reintroducing or reviving traditional joik practices, was the steady decline of this genre in

many Saami communities as a public phenomenon--as late as the 1960s, joiking, which once had been an integral element of the Saami soundscape, remained fundamentally a private expression.

6.1 'Traditional' joik in contemporary Saami culture

Just as there were a variety of negative pressures brought to bear (from both outside and inside Saami culture) on those who continued to joik, there were obviously different levels of success in suppressing the genre among the various types of Saami communities. The results of these efforts, however, were still very evident in many districts of Saamiland as late as the 1950s, and to some degree are reflected in contemporary Saami culture. Those areas in which the Saami population has largely settled in permanent housing, where fishing, agriculture, and other occupations have dictated continuous contact with non-Saami institutions and individuals, have experienced the greatest decline in the spontaneous joiking which once characterized the inhabitants of much of the region; those communities which have a strong Læstadian or free-church orientation continue to show little active interest in the genre, their own sacred singing practices not withstanding.

Not too surprisingly, joik has remained most viable within the herding populations, particularly among the North Saami.³ On one hand, the time spent outdoors by herding families and their direct involvement with the life cycles of flora and fauna continues to provide a strong motivation to joik, as it did in the past. At the same time, the migratory lifestyle required by reindeer herding has meant less constant confrontation with those circumstances and/or individuals which discourage this musical practice. It is within this cultural niche that children are most likely to hear joik as a part of the soundscape, and thus learn to joik themselves in a less self-conscious environment than that of their non-herding counterparts.

³ This is borne out by both the numbers of professional joikers/musicians from this area, and by various businesses which have arisen in response to the interest in joik in the region.

Nevertheless, awareness of the potentially objectionable aspects of joiking still pertains, even among these individuals engaged in what many consider to be the most traditional of Saami livelihoods. This has developed, as among other populations, largely through contact with both Saami and non-Saami who are opposed to the promulgation of joik in any context. In what is often called the 'heart' of Saamiland, Kautokeino (Norway), for example, it is still forbidden to joik in the schools, even though the school board is under Saami control-- evidence of the continuing power of religious proscription (Eliassen 1992: 9; Valkeapää 1984: 135). Many of the children attending these and similar schools in Saamiland are restricted from an activity which is otherwise encouraged within the home, often creating a rift between families and even among family members (A. Gaup 1992, personal communication).⁴

Against this long-standing background of organized suppression, and in many cases voluntary compliance, the public emergence of both joik and controversial Saami themes through the medium of commercial recordings can obviously be regarded as a significant series of events. The artists who started this process in the 1950s and 1960s were certainly not universally acclaimed within their respective communities, let alone within the Saami population as a whole, but they succeeded in capturing enough interest and support to eventually launch what has been referred to as the "joik renaissance", a period in which joik was heard in a variety of performance contexts, ranging from the traditional to the boldly experimental. To a great extent, however the re-emergence of traditional joiking was predicated on the success of those who dared experiment with other musical genres first.

6.2 "I'm a Lapp"

In September, 1959 Sven-Gösta Jonsson, the self-described "Rocking Saami" (*den Rockande Same*), recorded "Vid foten av fjället" ("At the foot of the mountain") which became a rather surprising hit in his native Sweden in a short period of time (*Bildjournalen* 9/30/59).

⁴ There is a positive side to this, however, as related by a Saami man who is an educator and a renowned joiker: children, like adults, he notes, often react negatively to restrictions placed on activities which they enjoy; thus, they continue with the forbidden practice to spite the authorities (A.M. Gaup 1990, personal communication).

By the end of the year, Jonsson's name appeared on several top artist lists in Scandinavia, the young Saami star sharing the upper echelons with Elvis, Cliff Richards, Bobby Darin and Umberto Marcato (*Bildjournalen* 12/23/59). In so doing, he became not only the first Saami performer to achieve such notoriety, but also one of the first Swedish citizens to do so (c.f. Smith and Wiwatt 1990).

Jonsson's song recounted a simple story of a Saami man's chance encounter with a young Saami woman in the forest while tending his reindeer herd. Sung in Swedish, the lyrics were easily understood around Scandinavia, which obviously provided the largest potential audience; had Jonsson sung in Saami, it is doubtful that the recording would have ever been released.⁵ The musical arrangement was equally approachable, with simple electric guitar and a rhythm section (string bass and drums) providing the basic accompaniment, and occasional background vocals added to fill out the sound--not at all dissimilar to the recordings of Jonsson's contemporaries in Western popular music in the late 1950s. As if to further demonstrate an affinity with his musical peers, the melody chosen by Jonsson was actually a slightly reworked version of the American tune, "Red River Valley".

With the opening statement, "I'm a Lapp and I have my reindeer," Jonsson was ostensibly conforming to several of the prevailing stereotypes that Scandinavian audiences retained about their indigenous population (see excerpt above; for complete text, see Appendix B; the recording is included on the tape: Audio Example A:8). Not only was the protagonist a reindeer herder, experienced with life in the wilds of Saamiland, but he still retained the vestiges of 'heathenism' which continued to influence Scandinavian impressions of the Saami, despite centuries of contact, commerce, and intermarriage with their Swedish, Norwegian, and Finnish neighbors. In the first stanza he freely admitted his ability to joik

⁵ The other obvious option was to sing in English, but this practice was not common in Scandinavia until the mid 1960s. By the late '60s it was even possible for a band to record the same song in both English and Swedish with the result that it charted on two different lists simultaneously: the Swedish Top 10 and the regular Top 10 which included European and American artists--in 1968, for example, Sweden's Flamingokvintetten dominated both lists with "Happy Birthday, Sweet 16".

(albeit outdoors and presumably alone), but more significantly, he acknowledged that he knew where the *seite* in his area were, leaving his audience to infer that he still practiced rituals out in the woods with the rhythm of the noaidi's drum coursing through his veins, away from the surveillance of the dominant culture. Furthermore, by choosing to use the more familiar term 'Lapp' at a time when 'Saami' was being strongly promoted as the favored self-descriptor, Jonsson actively engaged all of this latent stereotypical imagery, providing a convenient frame to make his performance more believable.

In other respects, however, this recording went beyond simple reiteration of dominant perceptions of the lifestyle of the Saami. It was also a musical encapsulation of the relations between the Saami and the Scandinavian authorities in the late 1940s and early 1950s, as each side sought to redefine its position in the aftermath of World War II, a time of heightened consciousness of the potential abuses of nationalism and the vulnerability of minorities within the nations of Europe (cf., Hobsbawm 1990). For the first time on so grand a scale, this recording presented a Saami man publicly declaring his resolute difference from the majority of his fellow citizens, and doing so without apologies. Any perceived threats were greatly mollified by the performance itself, however: the lyrics verged on self-mockery and the melody was at least slightly familiar to many listeners.⁶ Though couching his message in a common, seemingly innocuous musical vehicle, Jonsson nevertheless managed to effectively remind his audience of the 'exotic' culture in their midst, one which heretofore had tended to stay in the background unless controversy (or the profits to be gained from tourism) brought it to the front of the societal stage.

Jonsson's song, for all of its apparent conforming imagery, heralded a change in attitude which was increasingly being played out in the political spheres of Scandinavia: the Saami

⁶ I was surprised at how well known this American tune was: both Saami and Swedish acquaintances remembered hearing it on the radio and in school prior to Jonsson's recording. My first exposure to "Vid foten av fjället" was actually a live performance by a Saami man who introduced it as "the Saami's version of 'Red River Valley'." ("*Det här är samernas 'Red River Valley'*") (Andersson 1991: personal communication).

were becoming a more visible and vocal minority. Even in personal appearances and publicity photos, Jonsson embodied the cultural dichotomy in which many Saami found themselves ensnared: he wore the traditional *gákti* of his home region while sporting a mandatory guitar and the Brylcreme-built pompadour fashionable among rock'n'rollers and their followers throughout most of the West. Moreover, he was simultaneously a rebel figure on two different levels, representing both a non-assimilable Saami and a teenager.

The success of "Vid foten av fjället" can be credited to a great degree on its appeal as a novelty, an exotic example of an already exotic genre largely populated by foreign artists. Jonsson's failure to continue as a major Scandinavian popular music star is further evidence of this level of attraction--part of his success was certainly dependent on his fad appeal, and fads change capriciously. From a broader perspective, however, Jonsson's initial popularity was not quite as unforeseen as it might appear. Although dwelling on Saami themes, "Vid foten av fjället" essentially represented a localized variation of the 'skiffle' music phenomenon which began in Great Britain in the early 1950s and eventually spread to the Continent (cf., Woods 1980). In 1954 Scottish singer Lonnie Donegan topped the popular music charts in the UK with a skiffle cover version of Leadbelly's classic "Rock Island Line" (cf., Munro 1984). The combination of a 'genuine American folk song' with its infectious refrain and a simplistic instrumental arrangement, propelled Donegan and his followers into the popular music mainstream and catalyzed the emergence of a youth dominated do-it-yourself musical movement which eventually bore fruit in the mid 1950s--it was the first step in a series of urban-based folk music revivals.⁷

This model replicated itself throughout Europe, with a number of musicians launching careers based on the success of their skiffle-influenced treatments of American 'folk'

⁷ The popularity of skiffle music in England and Scotland, according to Munro, actually led to a split in the audience by the mid 1950s, with one group embracing more traditional native folk music genres, while the other quickly shifted their sphere of interest to include African-American rhythm and blues artists and their white counterparts (cf., Munro 1984). The former became the core of the folk revival, while from the latter group of skiffle musicians came the basis of many British rock'n'roll bands (cf., Lloyd 1982).

material, often with local themes appended or interpolated (cf., Woods 1980). In this regard, Jonsson's reinterpretation of "Red River Valley" had significant precedent in the popular music market--with its demonstrable link to an American melody, its simple instrumentation, and the overtly Saami themes rendered in the lyrics, "Vid foten av fjället" successfully entwined the exotic and the familiar.⁸

I must admit, however, that I was quite unprepared for the positive reception that this song found (and continues to enjoy) among the Swedish Saami population. In concentrating on what I perceived as a reification of stereotypes, beginning with the first stanza, I clearly missed a contrasting interpretation which unfolds with the lyrics in subsequent stanzas. The young herdsman, convening with his natural surroundings (where he is apparently very much at home, as befits an individual who spends so much time outdoors with his animals) meets a "Lapp girl" (*lappflicka*) with whom he has a brief but seemingly unforgettable exchange (we are informed of this predicament in the last two lines of text, explaining his return to the meeting spot each year). On the surface, this is a concise example of the type of unrequited love story which has circulated in popular music for centuries,⁹ and undoubtedly represents the conventional reading of this specific text.

Yet, as one Saami friend pointed out in response to my incessant queries, there is another possible explanation to this song. The 'lappflicka' might actually be a *sájva*, or spirit who inhabits the spot (a *seite*) where the story occurs; the annual return by the herdsman thus implies a desire to re-establish contact with this female apparition. When placed in the context which the opening stanza describes--joking before a *seite* and the 'magic' of the drum--this interpretation is quite plausible, although it obviously requires esoteric

⁸ Jonsson's other recordings were equally derivative in their construction: another one of his hits "Bim, Bam, Bom" was strongly influenced by that other pseudo-American export, calypso (presented in this case, as interpreted by Harry Belafonte and the Kingston Trio).

⁹ Witness the number of occurrences of this theme in European and Euro-American balladry, for example (cf., Grundtvig 1838; Child 1898).

knowledge which the vast majority of the audience would not have (or possibly would not care to acknowledge).¹⁰

In many respects, however, such an admittedly 'deep' explanation is not as significant as the more conventional portrait which emerges from the text, that of a young Saami man who fits the prevailing stereotypes--a herder, at home outdoors, a 'natural' being--but who furthermore engages in behavior which in the 1950s was denounced by non-Saami and many Saami alike: joiking and other 'heathen' practices. Jonsson took these images and used them to challenge his listeners on two levels. First, he publicly acknowledged his ethnicity to his predominantly Swedish audience, celebrating it in song in a manner which was ultimately positive, saying in effect: Yes, I am a Lapp with reindeer; yes, I have inherently superior knowledge of my surrounding environment; and yes, I still know the 'old' ways--*but*, I am also responsive to the present...at least as it is expressed in the immediacy of a popular song with a rocking beat. To his Saami listeners, this positive acknowledgment of ethnic identity included a discussion of things which were not often aired in a public forum of any type, even if they were widely known to exist in private contexts; Jonsson's song gave voice to these subjects without remorse.¹¹ With his *gákti* and guitar both prominently displayed, 'Jonsson the Lapp' straddled the cultures of his homeland, without losing ground as a Saami, and his popularity encouraged others to do the same. Although he had not introduced the *sound* of joik into popular music, by mentioning it in such a positive light, he cleared the way for those who would soon do so.

¹⁰ I did not hear this opinion expressed again, nor did I ask others about such an interpretation, feeling that to do so would potentially introduce an explanation where none existed.

¹¹ What continued to strike me, whenever the subject of this song came up, was how genuinely fond Saami people were of Sven Gösta Jonsson. One fellow, a distant cousin to the 'Rocking Saami', explained that Jonsson had been a culture hero for many of the post-W.W.II generation, demonstrating that the Saami were just as much a part of modern trends as their Scandinavian neighbors (Andersson 1991, personal communication).

6.3 The birth of the 'modern' joik

In the decade following Jonsson's success with "Vid foten av fjället", many Saami began to speak out more openly against what were perceived as social and institutional inequities within the Scandinavian countries which affected them as individuals and as a collective. As discussed in Chapter 4, these activities were increasingly played out at the national level, as the various Saami organizations in Norway, Sweden, and Finland sought to unify their requests and solidify their respective memberships into a more cohesive bloc (cf., Svensson 1976).

In Sweden, the most significant gains were made in the preservation and promotion of Saami language, a program which Saami leaders persuasively argued deserved the same support that similar efforts affecting refugee populations enjoyed (Stoor 1992: 3). It was also a time when the highly divisive 'lappby' legislation was determined to have run its course, and members of the Swedish government were actively involved in drafting what was to become the 'reindeer grazing law' (*Renbeteslagen/RBL*) of 1971, redefining the governance of herding and herders.¹² With so much activity in these and other public spheres, the Saami population in general was more visible than it had been in previous decades, a situation which generated a good deal of acrimony in some regions of Scandinavia, but one which simultaneously encouraged the drive to achieve greater self-determination (cf. Svensson 1976).

In the midst of these activities a small literary record company in Finland, Otavas OY, released an EP recording in 1968 entitled "Joikuja/Joik från finska Lappland" ("Joiking/Joik from Finnish Lappland" [OT 155]),¹³ which represented the first commercial attempt to

¹² Among other things, the RBL did away with the term "lappby", substituting "sameby" (Saami district) in deference to the Saami population's desires to be addressed as 'Saami'. The RBL also dismantled the last vestiges of the infamous 'Lapp sheriff' system which had resulted in different legal standards (more restrictive) for the herders than for other Swedish citizens (cf., Svensson 1976).

¹³ There is some confusion about the date of release, since an EP with the same title was released in 1969 (by the same company, Otavas [OT-LP 50]), containing everything on OT 155, as well as other pieces in the same style; this is actually the record that most are

bring joik to a broad listening market, albeit in a much modified format. The artist who made these recordings was Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (1943-),¹⁴ a Saami man from the northwestern edge of Finland. Valkeapää grew up in a herding family, but received formal training to be a teacher, an occupation which he subsequently ignored in favor of pursuing his interests in art, literature, and music (Valkeapää 1992: personal communication).

While developing his skills in these fields, he became concerned with what he saw as the nearly complete degradation of joik as a unique Saami genre. In order to reverse this trend, he resolved to actively joik himself, demonstrating a highly personal approach which included staged performances, an unusual occurrence in the mid 1960s. Taking advantage of the liberties which this new context afforded, Valkeapää experimented with simple accompaniment for his joiks, including the use of a nylon-string acoustic guitar. His stated goal was to breathe new life into what he considered to be one of the great Saami cultural assets, which had unfortunately suffered through centuries of prejudicial attitudes (Valkeapää 1969: 3-4). To this end, he simplified his performances to some extent, particularly in structural terms. The resulting joiks were more symmetrical and less rhythmically and melodically complex than their traditional counterparts, and thus easier to accompany. In his own words,

För att publiken skall ryckas med och för att underlätta ackompanjemanget måste jojkens levande, pulserande rytm uttolkas.

(In order that the public be carried along and to simplify the accompaniment, the joik's living, pulsating rhythm must be interpreted [i.e., rendered more predictable].)

Valkeapää 1969: 4 (my translation)

familiar with--the first recording and release, however, occurred in 1968 (Valkeapää 1992, personal communication).

¹⁴ Valkeapää was also known professionally as 'Aillohas' ('little Ailu', Ailu being derived from 'Aslak') until quite recently, when he opted to use his full name again. Out of deference to his wishes, I will not use Aillohas except as it occurs in citations. It should be noted, however, that the great majority of Saami people continue to speak of him fondly as Aillohas.

When the opportunity to record some of his joiks presented itself, Valkeapää chose to add not only guitar, but in some instances string bass and 'natural' sounds as well (Audio Example A:9). Given the literary focus of the recording company, Valkeapää considered the entire project in a rather light-hearted fashion, not anticipating a huge response, either positive or negative. Under these circumstances he felt considerable latitude to continue with his experimentation, never presuming that the results would have long-reaching effects on Saami culture (Valkeapää 1992, personal communication). Nevertheless, his experience with live performance alerted him to the fact that some found his efforts objectionable in their departure from the traditional unaccompanied, solo performance context. Actually these remonstrances eventually came from two different sides, the first of which repeated a now-familiar theme:

Jag har mött motstånd från två håll för mitt jojkande. Först från de troendes sida--de anser jojkningen vara synd. Det andra motståndet kom från kulturromantiskt håll--där ansågs att jag förfalskat den rena jojken.

(I have met opposition from two directions for my joiking. First from the believers' side [i.e., religious]--they consider joik to be sinful. The other resistance came from the culture-romanticist side--there it is considered that I have falsified the pure joik.)

Valkeapää 1969: 3 (my translation)

The latter group--the 'culture-romanticists'--particularly raised Valkeapää's ire, for he found their desire to preserve joik, unaltered at all costs, to be untenable with what he felt to be true about joiking from his own experiences with the genre, both in its traditional context and in the new performance-oriented frame which he was helping to develop:

Alla jojkar på denna skiva skulle kännas igen, även om de framfördes på traditionellt manér...Givetvis har jag förändrat jojkarna. När man uppträder, tvingas man att tumma på kravet om improvisation. Framförandesituationen har förändrats och texten utkristalliserats.

(All of the joiks on this record should be recognizable, even if performed in a traditional manner...Naturally I have changed the joiks. When one performs in public, one is forced to restrict the inclination to improvise. The performance context has changed and the text has become crystallized.)

Valkeapää 1969: 3-4 (my translation)

Finally, in response to the harshest critics who labeled his efforts "modern", Valkeapää replied:

Jag har tidigare varit motståndare till benämningen "modern jojk"...Då jag inte anser mig behöva bli beskylld för vare sig syndig eller förfalskad jojk, har jag accepterat modern jojk som ett bra namn.

(I have earlier been opposed to the label "modern jojk"...However, since I do not consider that I should stand accused of sinful or falsified joik, I have accepted modern joik as a fine name.)

Valkeapää 1969: 3 (my translation)

This 'modern' approach to joik was not meant to challenge Saami culture, to shock the population into action/reaction. It was instead an affirmation of that aspect of Saami culture which Valkeapää felt was the source of its greatest strength: its adaptability (cf., Valkeapää 1984). To strive, as some argued, to preserve the culture in an immutable form was to deny the processes of change which Valkeapää saw as endemic to Saami existence. He felt that his critics opted instead for what he feared would become a 'museum culture', bereft of the dynamism which continually challenges the definition of 'genuine' and 'traditional' and contributes to what he describes as a 'living culture':

The sign of a living culture is precisely flux and constant change. It seems as though the adherents of preservation want to press our culture the way one presses plants, in order to admire them later in a herbarium.

Valkeapää 1983: 57-58.

In effect, Valkeapää's early interpretations provided a new context for joik which was remarkably devoid of most of the more contested qualities of the genre which had led to its condemnation. To begin with, Valkeapää's joik style was influenced to some extent by his

early church activity, with the result that his vocal quality was more reminiscent of singing than the joiking of some of his contemporaries. This had a very positive effect on older members of his audience, who otherwise felt uncomfortable when confronted with joiking; it also appealed to younger listeners who found Valkeapää's style easier to comprehend, many having had little exposure to more traditional performance (Stoor 1992: personal communication). The joiks included on this first record were also quite short (averaging one minute each), and were very simply arranged and presented with a clear start and finish--quite a change from the asymmetrical phrasing usually associated with the genre.¹⁵ Furthermore, the inclusion of a guitar steered the listener toward other familiar European folk and popular genres and away from any hint of shamanic ritual--there was no drum or other sonic evidence to even suggest this connection. To those who persisted in only equating joik with the noaidit, Valkeapää insisted that such opinions were too limiting in scope:

Om jojkens uppkomst har framförta många teorier. Många av dem förefaller mig vara rena uppfinningar. Jag tror inte att jojken ursprungligen föddes för något bestämt ändamål, religion eller så.

(Many theories have been put forth regarding the origin of the joik. Many of them appear to me as pure inventions. I do not believe that the joik originally emerged for any specific purpose, religion or otherwise.)

Valkeapää 1969: 3 (my translation)

Yet even in this new guise, the joik was eminently recognizable to *all* audiences. The basic melodic structures remained intact, as did the mixture of words (in Saami) and vocables which typifies joik, particularly from the northern region of Saamiland. In his performances for the recording, Valkeapää also followed the Saami tendency to raise the pitch slightly with each iteration of the joik melody, with the result that the voice and

¹⁵ It should be emphasized, however, that Valkeapää recognized the compromise that these structural changes represented. In his explanatory notes he was careful to mention that joiking was primarily an expression for oneself, and that any recording represented a fundamental challenge to this function (Valkeapää 1969: 3-4).

accompaniment were frequently at musical odds.¹⁶ Even when the tonal center was not so obviously in contention, the potential clash between a tempered instrument and a vocal genre which did not fit these parameters was abundantly evident in these early recordings.

These cross-cultural musical disputes were offset to some extent by Valkeapää's use of 'natural' sounds drawn from the Saami environment and prominently mixed into the recordings. These included dogs barking, reindeer bells, people shouting, and the blowing wind. The result was a recreation of the soundscape within which one most likely expected to encounter spontaneous joiking (or even to joik oneself): the outdoors was given its own 'voice', thus supporting Valkeapää's belief that the Saami are inextricably linked with the environment and that their cultural expressions are reflective of this relationship (Valkeapää 1983: 59). In effect, the addition of these natural components resituated the performances in a Saami milieu, suggesting a more intimate connection between the person joiking, the subject of the joik, and the listener, than a recording of this type would seem to allow.

The release of these accompanied joiks might have been unique within Saami culture, but they certainly were not without precedent in the broader frame of popular music in Scandinavia. Not unlike Jonsson's skiffle-influenced hit of the previous decade, Valkeapää's first record drew on an existing model which was prevalent throughout Europe in the mid to late 1960s: this time it was the 'folk music' promulgated in the recordings of Bob Dylan and other American 'folkies' in the early 1960s which served as inspiration (Valkeapää 1992, personal communication). The sound of an acoustic guitar and a solo voice was thus not particularly novel in 1968, not even in the northern reaches of Scandinavia--the ubiquitous radio crossed cultural and geographical boundaries with equal aplomb. By adopting this approach for his own productions, Valkeapää (like Jonsson before him) intermingled the familiar with the more exotic--this time with a twist, however. From his first recording to his most recent, Valkeapää has steadfastly considered his primary audience to be the Saami

¹⁶ This is offset to some extent by the use of periodic half step modulations, thus drawing the voice and guitar together again for a brief moment.

population (Valkeapää 1992: personal communication). Consequently the most 'familiar' aspects of his first efforts were his joiking and his use of Saami language, the two immediately identifiable components which clearly marked the performances and the performer as 'Saami', and excluded those who were not. It was the addition of accompanying instruments which represented the 'exotic' element in these performances, and generated the greatest interest (both positive and negative) in Valkeapää's seminal efforts.¹⁷

Nevertheless, the simple commitment of joiks to the inflexible medium of vinyl, and for commercial purposes, introduced other variables whose effects continued to be a factor long after the controversy of using accompaniment had diminished. Not only was a single performance called upon to capture a highly improvisatory form (a problem often discussed by field collectors of joik [cf., Arnberg *et al* 1969]), but the recorded result in turn served to codify that same joik structurally for future performances--people began expecting to hear a given joik in a particular fashion. This development also led to a clear delineation between the 'performer' and the 'audience', a distinction which was not at all in keeping with the traditional function of joik in Saami communities (cf., Jernsletten 1978). This differentiation eventually meant that individuals could be expected to joik upon demand (particularly in a staged situation), de-emphasizing the spontaneity which had characterized most joik performance. It also encouraged a new level of professionalism where none had existed previously: Saami musicians began to realize that an audience for Saami music was quickly developing and that joik had commercial potential.

6.4 The beginnings of a Saami music industry

As a project aimed at a very specific audience (by the artist's own account), and one which was released by an admittedly obscure Finnish company, it comes as no surprise that Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's "Joik från finska Lappland" was not a monetary success to the extent

¹⁷ Valkeapää's recording career has continued to explore new musical realms, incorporating myriad influences and genres. In virtually all of these, however, the joik has been the unifying element from one experiment to the next.

that Sven Gösta Jonsson's "Vid foten av fjället" had been a decade earlier. Even though at least one of the joiks ("Helkarinmoinen kellonkalke" [Audio Example A:9]) received extensive airplay over the Saami Radio station in Karasjok, Norway, this was obviously not a recording which was contrived to reach a broad audience outside the cultural sphere of Saamiland. But the value of this project is best measured in the reactions that it provoked within the culture, particularly among other aspiring musicians, rather than actual record sales. Among all of the individuals whom I interviewed or spoke with at any length, Valkeapää's name invariably entered the conversation, and usually in reference to his first recording, "Joikuja/Joik från finska Lappland".¹⁸ For a few, this earliest production represented his best work, his subsequent projects being judged unnecessarily complex, or too full of 'foreign' (i.e., non-Saami) elements by comparison. For the majority of people, however, this effort was seen as the first of a series in a career that continues to engage Saami (and some non-Saami) audiences. In either regard, "Joik från finska Lappland" was a benchmark for its era, against which not only Valkeapää's own works were measured, but those of other artists as well (Stoor 1992, personal communication; A. Gaup 1992, personal communication; Johansson 1992, personal communication; Gaski 1990, personal communication).

One of the clearest examples of Valkeapää's influence is to be found in the work of Dædnugádde Nuorat/Tanabreddens Ungdom (The Youth from the Shores of the Tana [River]), a Saami quartet comprising three men and a woman from the Tana region in northeastern Norway.¹⁹ Their first recording was a self-titled LP ("Dædnugádde Nuorat"), released in 1973 when the members were still in their teens. It featured four instrumentalists from Oslo (where it was recorded), and was produced in conjunction with the Oslo Saami Organization (*Oslo Sameforening*), with support from the Norwegian Culture

¹⁸ Even though the record is long out of print, it still manages to circulate via cassettes. The public library in Vilhelmina, Sweden currently houses the largest general Saami archive in that country, and includes a number of recordings in its collection--one of the most requested for home loan remains "Joik från finska Lappland".

¹⁹ The four members were, Irene Pettersen, Leif Wigeluis, Ingvald Guttorm, and Harvig Hansen.

Board (*Norsk Kulturråd*). The record was actually released by a small Norwegian company (MAI), which was primarily known for its support of radical political issues (Prost 1992, personal communication).

Like Valkeapää, the members of Dædnugádde Nuorat joiked and sang exclusively in Saami. Reflecting the group's emphasis on language, their first album included an elaborate booklet which contained all of the texts to their material, printed in both Saami and Norwegian. This decision was partially in response to a desire to reach a more general audience (and was possibly suggested by the Norwegian funding agency [op. cit.]), but was primarily dictated by the realization that a great number of their Saami listeners were either not sufficiently proficient in Saami to follow the lyrics or spoke a different dialect. By printing the texts in Norwegian, they crossed numerous linguistic barriers and attracted a larger following as a result.

Whereas Valkeapää used very simple and understated accompaniment to reinforce his joiks, Dædnugádde Nuorat made use of more complex arrangements and a variety of instruments, including congas, recorder and flute, string bass, accordion, acoustic guitar, and even five-string banjo and pedal steel guitar on some of the later recordings. In their own words, this move was just part of a more inclusive effort to expand the parameters of the joik:

Gruppen Dædnugádde Nuorat har akseptert instrumenter som et middel til å utvikle joiken. I første rekke er en del tradisjonelle joikemelodier tilpasset rytmeinstrumenter. Samtidig arbeider de med å skape nye joikmelodie båda med og uten instrumenter.

(The group Dædnugádde Nuorat has accepted instruments as a means of developing the joik. On the one hand, a number of traditional joik melodies have been adapted for use with rhythm instruments. At the same time they are working to create new joik melodies, both with and without instruments).

from "Dædnugádde Nuorat" (MAI 7402) (my translation)

The inspiration for these arrangements was not limited to Valkeapää's earlier experiments, however. A number of my Saami friends/informants described the Dædnugádde

Nuorat recordings somewhat facetiously as "country-western jojk", referring obviously to the instrumentation, but also commenting on the popularity of country music, not only among the Saami, but a good deal of the Norwegian population as well.²⁰ Given the strong historical interest in American country music in Scandinavia, it is understandable that it too served as a model for Saami musicians during the 1970s, when so much musical experimentation was taking place.²¹

Besides the greater reliance on instruments and country-influenced arrangements, another distinguishing feature of the first Dædnugádde Nuorat LP (as well as their subsequent releases) was their use of unison and occasional harmonized group vocals. This practice was clearly a departure from what was regarded as traditional joik performance throughout Saamiland. More significantly, however, this choral texture was developed in conjunction with an overall shift in the group's conception of joik structure. In many of their arrangements, the members took the non-texted sections of the joik (i.e., those phrases with vocables) and transformed them into a predictable refrain which alternated with the texted 'verses'. This constituted a markedly different understanding of how far a joik could/should be altered to fit the stricter forms of popular music. What had previously been a rather random mixture of text and vocables in traditional performance practice, became codified to the extent that the results, as recorded by Dædnugádde Nuorat, were much more song-like in their conception and performance.

One of the better examples of this development was the piece "Guoktelogiovcci" ("Twenty-nine") which was originally a traditional joik from northeastern Norway (the complete text is in Appendix B; the recording is Audio Example A:10). The performance begins in a conventional fashion with only one of the vocalists joiking unaccompanied--this constitutes

²⁰ In fact, Norway has the distinction of harboring one of the largest audiences for country music (per capita) outside of the U.S., providing venues and revenue for both American and Scandinavian country artists (c.f., Malone 1968).

²¹ Even Nils-Aslak Valkeapää made a recording in 1974 ("Vuoi, Biret-Maaret, vuoi") which had a pronounced 'country feel', with American style fiddling prominently featured on one piece.

the first repetition of what will become the refrain. The texted section features all four vocalists, and introduces the accompaniment as well (in this case, acoustic guitar, string bass, and congas); all three joikers/singers continue together in unison (with octave division) for the rest of the piece.

In spite of its rather disparaging lyrics concerning the comparative inadequacies of the Scandinavian female population (which a non-Saami speaker would obviously have difficulty in understanding), "Guoktelogiovcci" proved to be quite popular, not just among Saami audiences, but on the Norwegian radio as well. What contributed to this 'cross-over' success was the joik-refrain which served as the requisite 'hook'--with its lack of text and simple melody, it was easy to remember and to sing along with.²² The initial positive response to this reworking of a conventional joik established a model which both Dæadngádde Nuorat and many of their contemporaries used to produce music which had a strong pop orientation, but which was still ostensibly heard as joiking.

Not all of the pieces on this first LP were joiks or joik-based (i.e., joik melodies with new texts, or melodies which demonstrated an obvious joik derivation). Two of the selections were products of a burgeoning parallel trend among some Saami youth to attempt to confront socio-political issues with song. In most of these pieces, the lyrics were of utmost importance, often supplanting joik's role as the rallying point of the production (Edström 1988: 9). Although the group was primarily joik oriented, the members of Dædnugádde Nuorat chose to include one of the most powerful examples of this song genre on their first album: "Goatto-ænan" ("My Homeland"), a collaborative effort by Saami poet Paulus Utsi, and composer Lars Vilhelm Svonni. With references to forced moves and lost traditions, the lyrics metaphorically describe the rapid changes in Saami culture experienced in the last decades,

²² The proof of this contention came to me quite unexpectedly when an Estonian musicologist told me that this same 'refrain' was very popular as a rallying song among her countrymen immediately prior to their official independence from the former Soviet Union. She had no knowledge of its origin as a Saami joik, but was quite sure that it had been broadcast over the radio as a pop song at some point in the past (Lippus 1993, personal communication).

thus touching on themes with which most Saami have had some personal experience. Consequently, "Goatto-ænan", despite its lack of overt joiking, remains one of the most beloved examples of modern Saami music, and is one of the few Dædnugádde Nuorat recordings to have retained significant popularity over the two decades since its release (Svensson 1984: 48).²³

With their next two albums, "Dædnugáddis" (1976) and "Dædnugádde Nuorat 3" (1979), the group continued to produce a melange of older and contemporary joiks intermixed with songs, all cast in country/folk-style arrangements--if anything the instrumentation became decidedly more 'country' with the addition of pedal steel on some selections. As with the first LP, the group also included the lyrics to their joiks and songs in their later recordings, printed in both Saami and Norwegian, and thus continued in their attempt to incorporate the broadest possible audience within Scandinavia.²⁴

Both of these later recordings also contained considerably more pieces actually composed by members of the group or their friends, reflecting a trend by a number of Saami artists in the late 1970s to produce music which was representative of current concerns within Saami culture. In response to some criticism from Saami circles, Dædnugádde Nuorat included a short introduction with the second album, in which they defended their use of instruments and their choice of material. Foremost in this discussion was their contention that attempts to distinguish between joik and song were increasingly difficult to accomplish with any consistency--nevertheless, they made it clear that joik remained the underlying influence for all of their musical endeavors:

Vi har laget en del nye joiker, noen har fått plass på denne plata, og vi har laget en hel del nye tekster. Det siste både til tradisjonelle joiker, som vi da

²³ In 1991 it was re-recorded by Utsi's daughter, Katerina Utsi, who abandoned the country-flavored approach of her predecessors in favor of a large orchestral arrangement. It was released as part of an entire CD of Paulus Utsi's poems set to music (*Báze Dearvan Goahttueanen* [DAT CD]).

²⁴ The booklet included with the second LP, "Dædnugáddis", also has the lyrics in English, but the translation is virtually incomprehensible.

har gitt vår tolkning med instrumenter, og ikke minst til egne visemelodier. I mange av disse kan en høre noe av joiken. Vi kan vel derfor si at i noe av vår joik klinger det en vise mens det klinger en joik i mange av våre viser.

(We have composed a number of new joiks, some of which have found a place on this record, and we have written a lot of new texts. The latter have been for both traditional joiks, which we have interpreted with instruments, and not least, to our own song melodies. In many of these one can hear a trace of joik. We can therefore say that in some of our joiks a song is heard, while a joik is heard in many of our songs.)

from "Dædnugáddis" (JLP 101) (my translation).

6.4.1 The first Saami record company

One of the most significant differences between the later Dædnugádde Nuorat LP and their first release, however, was their switch to a Saami owned record company, Jár'galæd'dji, in Tana, Norway. This was a cooperative business venture among a number of Saami musicians, including the members of Dædnugádde Nuorat. This development not only meant that Saami artists and groups had much easier access to a recording company, but it also encouraged the growth of a small, specialized music industry, complete with studio musicians and producers who were more sympathetic to the projects than some of their Oslo counterparts had been (Prost 1992: personal communication).²⁵ Building primarily on the success of Dædnugádde Nuorat, this record company went on to produce the majority of Saami music recordings from the mid 1970s into the mid 1980s, before succumbing to bankruptcy.

The variety of musicians produced by the Jár'galæd'dji label in its relatively short life span, was an excellent indicator of what was being included under the umbrella of 'Saami music', particularly during the late 1970s. These recordings were by no means limited to joik

²⁵ Even though there was an effort to use Saami performers in all stages of production, a number of the featured musicians were Norwegian. Their participation was apparently welcomed, however, because of their expressed interest in Saami music (Prost 1992: personal communication).

or joik-derived efforts, although these certainly received a great deal of the company's attention; the Jár'galæd'dji artist catalogue also comprised a number of singers and bands who produced everything from cover versions of American country music to thrashing rock'n'roll, all of it, however, performed in Saami. It was a time when the success of groups like Dædnugádde Nuorat inspired myriad others to play and record music which continually pushed the envelope surrounding traditional notions of 'Saami music', only occasionally to the consternation of the Saami audience which demonstrated an insatiable appetite for nearly anything 'Saami' (Prost 1992, personal communication).²⁶

With rare exception, however, the albums from this time period all shared at least one common theme, expressed in the cover artwork.²⁷ The artists were photographed in their finest *gákti*, the costume usually reserved for special events and celebrations. Furthermore, most of these photos were posed outdoors, reinforcing the impression of the Saami as a 'natural' people (even while playing electric guitar), whose musical inspiration was apparently not found in studios or concert halls, but within the same familiar environment which had produced generations of joikers. The consistency of this image from one album to another underscored the presumption that this was all *Saami* music, even if the contents of the recordings demonstrated marked diversity in the interpretation of this category. With the release of any new product which adhered to this visual precedent, there was thus a non articulated expectation that the offering would be judged first by its ethnic orientation (demonstrated on the cover), and only then subjected to more critical analysis.

The other thread of continuity among these recordings was obviously language. As the struggle to restore and support the use of Saami gained momentum in all of the

²⁶ I was often quite surprised by the acceptance of these diverse musical products, particularly by a number of older Saami people (over 60 years old) I spoke with. Several expressed a decided preference for "old joik" (*gammal joik*), but did not dismiss the more modern efforts as I had anticipated they might. I suspect that some of this broad appreciation is attributable to constant exposure on the daily Saami radio broadcasts.

²⁷ This is not only true of the records produced by Jár'galæd'dji, but other small companies like Nortalent, Indigenous Records, and Nordisc, all of which recorded and released Saami artists to some extent; only Jár'galæd'dji was Saami-owned at that time, however.

Scandinavian countries, a record album represented a perfect medium for demonstrating the value of the language to address Saami concerns, particularly since it did not require reading skills to decode its contents.²⁸ Virtually all of these records included a bilingual lyric sheet as well, which not only served to make the music more accessible (even attracting some non-Saami listeners), but had educational value as well, providing both stimulus and reinforcement to improve one's linguistic skills. Thus, in some instances these products arguably functioned more effectively to promulgate an overtly pro-Saami agenda, with the actual musical performance taking a secondary role.

This attitude was quite clearly expressed in a review of two recordings representing opposite ends of the Jár'galæd'dji musical spectrum: a Dædnugádde Nuorat LP ("Dædnugádde Nuorat 3" [JLP 909]) and a raucous first effort by a Saami rock band from Kautokeino ("Jávrras Ivnniiguin" [JLP 707]).²⁹ After much comparison and contrast of the two groups (and some casting of aspersions) the reviewer, editor Pål Doj, stated:

Som helhet kan båda skivorna rekommenderas, även om det inte sker med större entusiasm. Men det utkommer ju inte så många samiska skivor, så därför är det välkommet med alla nya som produceras.

(On the whole, both records can be recommended, even if without the greatest enthusiasm. There are not very many Saami records released, so therefore all new ones which are produced are welcome.)

Doj 1980: 5 (my translation)

6.4.2 Angels with a punch

Among those who followed the course charted earlier by Valkeapää and Dædnugádde Nuorat, one of the more unusual groups featured five young girls known simply as Máze Nieidat (The Girls from Máze [Norway]). Working primarily with new material written by

²⁸ It should perhaps be reiterated that Saami is spoken/understood by a significantly larger percentage of the Saami population than can read and/or write the language with any proficiency (Beach 1988a: 5).

²⁹ A piece from the Jávrras Ivnniiguin recording, featuring joik with rock'n'roll is Audio Example A:11.

several Saami and Norwegian musicians, the members of Máze Nieidat joiked and sang on two LPs;³⁰ they were joined on these projects by a sextet of male instrumentalists who played banjo/mandolin, guitars, drums/congas, string bass, flute, and accordion.

The results provide a rather remarkable study in contrasts, even when compared with other Saami recordings from the late 1970s. Both albums featured newly composed songs interspersed with both solo and group joiking, the latter often performed in harmony. The young female voices were used to great advantage, in many cases sounding more like a youth choir than the pop-inspired instrumental arrangements would seem to have warranted. Moreover, much of the new material juxtaposed harsh, politically oriented lyrics with joik-inspired melodies, all delivered in a vocal timbre more reminiscent of the church than the stage. One of these, "Haerva" ("Ornament"), is particularly striking with its very simple melody, pop music arrangement (with the drums prominently featured in the mix), and a text which strikes out at the hypocrisy of the Norwegian government, perceived as being too interested in the affairs of other countries to notice the plight of its own indigenous population (see Appendix B for complete text; Audio Example A:12). The refrain, delivered in simple two-part harmony, does not pull any punches:

<i>Dusse hearva sidjiide</i>	<i>(For them we are only pretty ornaments;</i>
<i>Lea go ávvki midjiide</i>	<i>But what good is the beauty of our clothing?)</i>
<i>Suohpalaste láhtise</i>	<i>Take out the broom and dustpan,</i>
<i>Norgga láhti corgese</i>	<i>And clean up in front of Norway's door!)</i>

The producer of these and similar recordings, Erik Prost, represented a bit of an anomaly in Saami musical circles, being a conservatory trained classical guitarist with a very broad performance background, having also played jazz, swing, and pop music in his native Sweden. After completing his education at the University of Göteborg's Music Academy, Prost eventually found his way back to Saamiland where he began working as a studio

³⁰ "Máze Nieidat" (JLP 202 [1977]) and "Máze Nieidat 2" (JLP 505 [1978]) both released by Jár'galæd'dji.

musician and producer, participating on a number of Jár'galæd'dji recordings (Prost 1992: personal communication).

Prost's production work with Máze Nieidat did not differ much audibly from that of his predecessors Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (his earliest recordings, at least) and Dæadnugádde Nuorat, but his performance experience made him extremely aware of the potential problems encountered when trying to combine what he perceived as disparate musical sources (in this case, Saami and Western music). As both a producer and musician he strove to downplay what he considered to be an over-concern with pure tone and precise pitch, but also felt that too much dissonance between what he described as "parallel musics" would have disastrous results (op.cit.).

If anything, this caution resulted in a rather sterile approach which is evident in many of the Máze Nieidat performances. Nevertheless, these types of musical experiments were an enjoyable and practical benefit of a Saami-owned record company. With Saami producers and artists working together, the focus was on making recordings strictly for a Saami audience--there was no need (nor much desire) at that point to reach a broader market. From this perspective, the Máze Nieidat LPs, though arguably over-produced and lacking much spontaneity, represented another step in the process by which joik in all of its manifestations was quickly becoming a commercial product more firmly controlled by Saami forces.

6.4.3 The expanding Saami commercial music industry

With the establishment of a company like Jár'galæd'dji, funding for Saami recording projects also became easier to secure, with the great majority of financial backing coming not from private individuals, but from national sources like the Norwegian and Swedish Culture Boards (cf., Prost 1991).³¹ Both of these agencies became increasingly interested in

³¹ These organizations distribute funds to an enormous variety of projects, typically categorized as 'folk' or 'folkloric'. The overwhelming preponderance of these are obviously viewed as inherently (i.e., ethnically) Norwegian or Swedish, but the inclusion of Saami interests in this purview is seen by all as a very positive development (cf., *Samefolket* 70[10]).

promoting Saami culture in the 1970s, particularly after the success of such musicians as Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and his immediate followers had made the Saami so much more visible and audible. Were it not for the continuous support of the various governments provided to the record producers, it is highly unlikely that the re-emergence of joik would have blossomed as quickly as it did (Prost 1992, personal communication).

While Jár'galæd'dji remained the only Saami controlled label through most of this period, the Saami book publishers, Davvi Media, also released an occasional recording (e.g., Ante Mihkkala's "Luohterámit" [DMLP 87-1]). In Finland, Valkeapää succeeded in establishing an agreement with several small companies during the 1970s, including Finnlevy and Indigenous Records, although some of his recordings actually appeared on his own Aillohas label.³²

The decline of Jár'galæd'dji in the early 1980s coincided with the tapering off of the 'joik renaissance'--in practical terms, this simply meant that fewer recordings were being produced each year for the Saami market. Two other companies emerged, however, which have taken up the bulk of publishing activities. DAT, with offices in Norway and Sweden (making it eligible for funding from both governments) produced its first LP in 1985, "Ean Mássan", a recording of traditional joiks from Norway. Soon after, the company took over the publication and distribution of all of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's books and recordings, and have even begun to reissue some of his most critically acclaimed earlier work.³³ Currently DAT represents several artists, all of whose recordings, however, bear the unmistakable Valkeapää imprimatur.

The second major Saami company established since the dissolution of Jár'galæd'dji is Iðut, based in Norway. Started in the mid 1980s by Age Persen, primarily to publish

³² Note, he did not return to the literary label that had first released his ground-breaking work, "Joikuja/Joik från finska Lapland.

³³ Note, this has not included his first recording, which many would like to see re-released. When I last spoke to one of the owners of DAT, there was still no indication that Valkeapää would consent to such a reissue (Utsi 1992: personal communication).

recordings made by his (ex-)wife, Mari Boine Persen, Iđut has gone on to produce a variety of Saami artists, including traditional and modern joik performances, and even a Saami pop band, Sáve. Like DAT and its predecessors, Iđut is highly dependent on funding from outside sources, either at the national level (e.g., the Culture Boards), community level (local Saami organizations), or a combination of agencies (Fjellheim 1992: personal communication).

A third alternative has always been self-production and distribution. In 1991, for example, the South Saami rock band, Almetjh Tjööngkeme, recorded and produced its own CD/cassette on their fledgling label, Joikbox. While the artists did not encounter serious problems initially with funding (primarily obtained from the Swedish Culture Board, but supported by Saami organizations as well), they quickly discovered how difficult it was to distribute a recording without label recognition, even though most Saami recordings are sold through so-called 'non-traditional' markets (i.e., museums and gift shops, as opposed to more 'traditional' record stores). If they record again, they hope to attract the attention of a company like Iđut (Johansson 1992: personal communication).

Regardless of the specific record company, however, the primary means of reaching an audience remains the radio, in particular Saami Radio which continues to broadcast Saami music (defined as a very broad category with Saami language as the main criterion) on a daily basis. Without exposure on this medium, it is virtually impossible for musicians to reach beyond their local audiences, despite the best marketing efforts on their behalf by the record companies (Johansson 1992: personal communication). As non-commercial stations (virtually all broadcast media in Scandinavia are nationalized), the DJs are at least free from the bonds of hit-programming, making it theoretically possible for the various companies to compete equally for air time.³⁴ Even with these admittedly limited possibilities for exposure,

³⁴ According to one knowledgeable source, the programming is entirely reflective of the taste of the individual in the radio studio at the time--there are apparently no specific policies to ensure equal atrium (Burman 1992: personal communication).

and the constant need to rely on governmental funding agencies, the Saami music industry continues to expand, largely by attracting new, young artists and audiences. If the number of recordings released in 1992 (eight CDs/cassettes) is any indication, the viability of this small, but important industry is quite secure.

6.5 The revival of 'traditional' joik

I do not mean to imply that all of the Saami recordings released in the volatile mid to late 1970s were met with open ears and minds by the entire Saami population, for many within the potential listening audience still found any reference to joiking objectionable, while others felt that such experimentation might somehow damage the genre.³⁵ But, as I have also tried to convey, this was not merely a youth movement either, even if the overwhelming preponderance of those actually recorded fit into this age category.

Given the limited amount of Saami literature published, not to mention the inherent language problems that books written in Saami presented for a significant percentage of the Saami population, these recordings took on particular symbolic importance for both the musicians and their audience. Such musical products were tangible evidence that the labors to gain recognition as a unique culture within Scandinavia had finally begun to bear fruit, particularly since these particular items (records/cassettes) constituted a form which was immediately recognizable as a sign of success, not only within Saami communities, but by virtually anyone coming in contact with one of the records.³⁶ As part of a general trend which led to increased support for and interest in Saami language, the strengthening of Saami organizations, and the establishment of important Saami controlled institutions (e.g.,

³⁵ One of the most insightful articles on the social function of joik, Nils Jernsletten's "Om joik og kommunikasjon", was published in the height of this musical development (1978). Although not attacking modern joik directly, the article strongly expressed Jernsletten's belief that joik lost its strength as a unique communicative device within the impersonal mediated context of recordings and broadcasts (see also Gaski 1991 for an interesting discussion of the expansion of the 'joik milieu' via mediated performances).

³⁶ Most of these records and tapes were (and still are) sold primarily by so-called non-traditional sources, however (handicraft stores, museums, or direct mail), rather than in conventional record stores, making their impact on non-Saami markets admittedly negligible.

Sámi Instituhtta), these recordings served to bolster pride in Saami culture, and contributed to the continuance of an important cultural expression. Moreover, the appearance of joik in contemporary musical contexts, as Valkeapää stated, was another signal of the tenacity of the Saami and their ability to adapt to new circumstances (Valkeapää 1969: 3). In what later was referred to as the 'joik renaissance' or the 'reflowering of joik', a number of the albums by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, Dædnugádde Nuorat, and others issued throughout the 1970s, continued to provide inspiration for both musicians and the general Saami listening public, whether played at home or over the radio.

Yet this musical phenomenon had another effect which was equally important. Thanks in large part to the resituating of joik in less 'threatening' performance contexts by many of the artists discussed above, an interest in the more traditional manner of joiking gradually developed, particularly among the younger listeners who had had less personal experience with this aspect of the genre. In those areas of Saamiland where the practice had remained essentially viable but concealed, this constituted a re-emergence of joiking, with some community members being publicly acknowledged as valuable resources, often for the first time. The Jár'galæd'dji company, for example, not only released recordings by the more 'modern' Saami musicians, but included several well known 'traditional' artists in its catalogue as well--in some cases individuals even recorded in both categories, further demonstrating their legitimacy as interpreters of the genre.³⁷

In other regions, particularly in the southern parts of Saamiland, this new interest in 'traditional' joik was more closely related to the folk revival phenomenon which had been an integral component in the development of distinctively Scandinavian popular music since the late 1960s (cf., Ramsten 1992; Gudmundsson and Möller 1991; Kjellström, Ling, Mattson,

³⁷ On the Jár'galæd'dji label this included 'traditional' recordings by Mattis Hætta ("Juoiga" 1980) and Ingor Antte Ailu Gaup ("Luodit" 1979), both of whom were simultaneously very active as 'modern' Saami musicians. Even Nils-Aslak Valkeapää has periodically released joik recordings devoid of any accompaniment, although often featuring group joiking--his 1973 Finnlevy record "Juoigmat" and his 1976 Hi-Hat recording "Duvva, Ailen Niga Elle ja Aillohas", for example.

Ramsten, and Ternhag 1985). Like joiking, certain genres of Scandinavian folk music, particularly fiddling and other dance-oriented styles, had suffered vociferous condemnation by both the state churches (Lutheran) and the 19th century pietistic movements which reached much of rural Scandinavia (cf., Ling 1969). Predictably, this resulted in the near disappearance of some regional styles and repertoires, and even led to mass public destruction of violins. Beginning in the late 19th century, this trend was slowly reversed by a series of officially sanctioned 'revivals' of a variety of folk arts and expressions, largely initiated by artists and students who had strong nationalistic tendencies (cf., Isaksson 1979).³⁸

It was not until the early 1950s, however, that folk music began to develop its own institutions (i.e., separate from so-called classical music concerns) throughout Scandinavia, initiated by the inclusion of field recordings of fiddle music on national radio programs (cf., Mattson 1985).³⁹ By the late 1960s, a combination of interests, both musical and social, coalesced in a youth movement which was largely fueled by what was regarded as 'traditional' Scandinavian folk music. Those who took part included many for whom the skiffle phenomenon (see above) had served as an earlier catalyst; others came to folk music through their connection with back-to-the-land and ecology organizations, whose memberships often included active folk musicians; still others were attracted because of what was perceived as the anti-corporate/anti-establishment ideology which some musicians adamantly espoused (cf., Ramsten 1992). For whichever reason people chose to participate, the interest that traditional music and dance generated from the late 1960s through the

³⁸ It should be noted that some of these same early revivalists were responsible for a great deal of the systematic collection of Scandinavian folk music undertaken in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; this includes the work of Karl Tirén, who was also a champion fiddler and tune collector.

³⁹ Fiddling had often been broadcast prior to this period, but most often performed by classically trained violinists who played from transcriptions--the 'real' material was considered too harsh for general consumption (cf., Ramsten 1980).

1980s had a profound effect on the profile of Scandinavian popular music, detected not only at home, in and among the various countries, but abroad as well (op. cit.).⁴⁰

Against this backdrop, the resurgence of interest in traditional joik in some regions of Saamiland might easily be interpreted as a similar combination of feelings of ethnic/regional pride and disenfranchisement from a majority, in this case represented not only by the Scandinavian 'establishment', but essentially by all of Scandinavian culture. Where this phenomenon differed significantly with the Scandinavian folk revivals, however, was in the degree to which ideals of 'the folk' and 'tradition' played a part in the process, and how these were in turn interpreted by each of the larger Scandinavian societies.

The stereotypical Swedish revival musician, for example, was urban dwelling and well educated; for this individual, taking up the fiddle or the button accordion, as well as donning the appropriate apparel (from regional folk costumes to more generic 'folk' outfits: black pants, wooden soled clogs, collarless shirts) for a festival or celebration, was an important but finite act of identification with an ideal which had found popular and/or official support to some degree for over a century (op. cit.; see also Isaksson 1979). Furthermore, this ideal was embodied in the individuals who served as important resources for the continuance of the revival, and with whom the revivalists had frequent contact: those *bona fide* 'folk' musicians and dancers who typically provided the most effective means of inculcating new enthusiasts for the traditions to which they as 'authentic' folk were the legitimate heirs. As regional representatives, these esoterics also helped maintain regional differences which were manifest in techniques, repertoires, dance types, costumes, etc. Local, regional, and nationally supported festivals and workshops served as the meeting grounds where these forces conjoined in a seemingly unanimous desire to propagate traditional Scandinavian cultures.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Some groups, like Sweden's Filarfolket, had some success marketing their recordings in other areas of Europe, as well as around Scandinavia (cf., Gudmundsson and Möller 1991).

⁴¹ The distinction between 'revivalist' and 'authentic' folk musicians is obviously difficult to maintain under close scrutiny, particularly given the mobility of individuals in modern

Even the most politically motivated participants in this movement, however, did not anticipate that the revival would lead to the demise of the social-welfare state, in their striving for a new, more socially conscious nation--if anything their focus on egalitarian ideals was by and large attributable to the differences encountered between social-welfare ideology (which most embraced) and its practice in modern Scandinavian society. To the governments, such efforts deserved support, since they tended to counteract the potential for divisiveness perceived in many 'outside' popular music genres, and reinforced the image of a diverse but unified national culture.⁴²

Among the Saami, however, the same kind and level of revivalist activity was immediately identifiable as an inherently separatist activity, for it clearly served to demarcate musicians and their audiences as different, in much the same manner that they had been perceived for centuries. If anything, the revival of traditional joik was viewed as more threatening than the modern joik performances which occasionally found their way to mainstream Scandinavian audiences; the latter were easily interpreted as examples of musical mimicry or novelties, in much the same vein as Sven Gösta Jonsson's performances in the late 1950s. Seeing a crowd of Saami in their *gákti*, however, listening attentively to an individual joiking was potentially disconcerting for many non-Saami, for it provided concrete evidence of a segment of the population which struggled to retain its own cultural identity in defiance of the national goal to encourage an egalitarian and uniform population. This

Scandinavia. Nevertheless, I feel that this differentiation is important in discussing the revival process. It has been suggested that the essential difference lies in the degree to which one consciously participates in folk/traditional activities and how these are learned, revivalists often taking advantage of written and recorded sources to reinforce what they observe in practice, whereas authentic learn through lifelong participation in the folk culture (cf., Ledang 1986; Ronström 1983; Jackson 1985).

⁴² This is obvious in the continual financial support which all sorts of traditional arts and expressions receive throughout Scandinavia, with each region/province having its own cultural board to oversee the disposition of funding and to promote local culture. All of this activity is subsumed by corresponding agencies at the national level which supervise the development of separate-but-equal policies, ostensibly seeing to it that all regions are equally represented in national folkloric activities (Kjellström, Ling, *et al* 1985: 6-17; see also Sæther 1984).

reticence toward traditional Saami music was even notable among some folk revivalists, who were openly confused by this musical development, even though it clearly paralleled their own movement.⁴³

Within the Saami communities where this revival activity could have the greatest positive impact, however, the reappearance of joik was often forestalled by the paucity of knowledgeable individuals who could serve in the critical role of mentor, particularly in the southern region of Saamiland, where assimilation and prolonged cultural contact with the Norwegian and Swedish populations had taken their toll. Not only were people hesitant to joik (for all of the reasons discussed so far), but in some areas, there really were no surviving competent joikers. Given the importance of a 'joik milieu' as the ideal environment for learning to joik, this lack of active traditors severely deterred the continuance of the genre into the late 20th century in many South Saami communities, leaving some researchers to despair that it was truly a dead tradition by the late 1960s (cf., Arnberg *et al* 1969).⁴⁴

For those individuals who sought to reintroduce joik into these regions, the process was thus different in degree, than that experienced in areas where the genre had more or less merely become dormant in public contexts. What was often required was an unimpeachable source from outside the immediate community to serve as a catalyst, not only to present joik in a more acceptable format (as had occurred with Valkeapää's earliest recording), but more fundamentally to rekindle interest in the genre. This is where the recordings released by

⁴³ In a series of conversations with an active revivalist (an accordion player), I was continually struck by his negative attitude toward joik. To this individual, the encouragement of Saami music in Sweden was similar to governmental support for the cultures of immigrant and refugee populations, a situation which he saw as ultimately divisive and contrary to national interests. On the other hand, in his estimation, the Swedish folk music milieu was inclusive enough to incorporate any and all who chose to participate, regardless of their original ethnic orientation--playing or listening to 'his' music was, in his terms, a means of becoming "more Swedish" (Lind 1991-92: personal communications).

⁴⁴ During the massive collecting project underwritten by Swedish Radio (SR) in the early 1950s, the average age of the informants was well over 60. This was due to some degree to the collectors' inability to locate younger Saami in many communities who were even marginally proficient joikers (Arnberg, *et al* 1969:).

Jár'galæd'dji and others had a particularly profound effect on Saami audiences who resided far outside the regions where these records were made. Both the 'modern' and 'traditional' artists provided an unprecedented resource for those who sought to learn to joik against the odds. They also introduced significant changes in the process, for this development meant that the northern style of joiking, already more secure given the greater concentration of Saami population that the North Saami subculture represented, came to be the dominant approach throughout Saamiland. Moreover, this phenomenon was reinforced by the greater availability of North Saami produced recordings.

Thus, as a result of the 'joik renaissance' of the 1970s and early 1980s, a wide ranging revival of sorts did occur, but one which in many cases led to the replacement of moribund local traditions by the more vital and vibrant joiking tradition exemplified by North Saami artists; even in those communities where a such a stylistic transfusion was not necessary, the influence of the northern joikers (via recordings and personal contact) was still felt.⁴⁵ In much the same manner that the North Saami dialect is now the predominant form of Saami spoken, read, written, and studied (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 140-143), North Saami joik has come to stand to a significant degree as *the* ideal Saami musical expression (Johansson 1992: personal communication).⁴⁶

6.6 "Sámiid Ædnan": Joik enters the mainstream

Two decades after the release of Sven Gösta Jonsson's "Vid foten av fjället", and at the height of the commercial joik activity initiated in part by Jonsson's success, a Saami

⁴⁵ The northern influence on local joiking styles has been particularly profound in those southern Saami districts where North Saami herding families were forced to migrate in the early part of this century. As discussed earlier, the latter group had a variety of cultural expressions which differed markedly from those of their southern compatriots. The intracultural confrontations which occasionally ensued, prepared the ground for the eventual dominance of many aspects of North Saami culture, including joik style.

⁴⁶ In the course of my fieldwork I was able to discuss this issue with several South Saami and Lule Saami, who confirmed the recent ascendancy of North Saami joik (and joikers) as the premier dialect of the genre, often to their dismay. This was further borne out by the results of the 1992 Sámi Grand Prix joik contest held in Kautokeino, Norway: all eight finalists joiked exclusively in the North Saami style.

musician, Mattis Hætta, once again surfaced on the popular music charts, this time in Norway. Where Jonsson's popularity was primarily limited to Sweden, Norway, and Finland, however, the recording which introduced Hætta to pop music fans was eventually heard all over Europe as part of an international popular music contest, the Eurovision Grand Prix, which annually attracts entrants from virtually every European nation. The process by which an ostensibly Saami recording and the artists involved in its production came to officially represent Norway in this event bears further examination, particularly since it serves to reinforce much of what has thus far been developed in this chapter, and introduces one of the key problems to be considered in the following chapter, i.e., the relationship between the promulgation of joik via marketable products and the promotion of a collective Saami identity.

The recording in question was titled "Sámiid Ædnan" ("Saamiland" or "Saami homeland") and was actually the result of a collaboration between Hætta, who was unknown at the time outside his Saami village in northern Norway, and an established Norwegian pop star, Sverre Kjeldsberg. Kjeldsberg had made his reputation as the lead singer for one of Norway's most popular rock groups, The Pussycats, which in late 1979 was no longer as active as they had been in the previous decade.⁴⁷ Kjeldsberg was embarking on a solo career when he scored a huge hit with "Sámiid Ædnan", a record that frankly seemed a highly unlikely candidate. It combined two melodies, the first wedded to a text (which Kjeldsberg sang in Norwegian) entirely devoted to Saami issues, while the second was a catchy joik 'hook' performed by Hætta--it was, in fact, the refrain which carried the piece up to the top of the music charts and launched it in the international market via the Eurovision contest: with this particular vehicle, joik was very suddenly the focus of a huge popular music audience, albeit in a much arranged and constrained format.

⁴⁷ I am grateful to Ola Graff for this and other information about The Pussycats and Kjeldsberg. Graff is not only a highly respected authority on Saami joik in Norway, but an accomplished musician and brother to the original guitarist in The Pussycats.

The subject of "Sámiid Ædnan" was equally unusual, being essentially a metaphorical synopsis of an ongoing conflict in northern Norway between the indigenous Saami population and the Norwegian authorities over the proposed damming of the Alta River, and the subsequent flooding of thousands of hectares of irreplaceable reindeer grazing land. Before the conflict was resolved, several large scale protests occurred, involving not only the aforementioned concerned parties, but a number of radical Norwegian politicians, environmentalists, and eventually sympathizers from all over Europe (Paine 1985: 193-94).

The actual event chronicled in the song, however, was a much more symbolic (and ultimately more effective) protest staged not at the proposed site of excavation, but hundreds of kilometers south, in Oslo. On October 8, 1979, a small delegation of Norwegian Saami erected a Saami *lavvo* (tent) on the lawn in front of the Norwegian *Storting* (parliament) building. All of the participants in this dramatic occupation were members of a collection of activists, the Saami Action Group (SAG) which had split away from a larger national organization, the Peoples' Action Group (PAG), a coalition founded in 1978 specifically to oppose the Alta dam proposal through civil disobedience (op.cit.). Members of SAG felt that the construction of the dam and the forced displacement of the entire population of the village of Máze (approximately 400 people), was one more example of the century-long conflict centered on Saami rights to land and water, and that its resolution must involve some discussion of these larger issues; for their part, PAG participants were more concerned with the immediate environmental impact of the dam and the precedent that it established for similar projects already in the planning stage.

Those SAG members who set up camp in front of the Storting did so out of desperation, and were acting without strong support (or foreknowledge) from other Saami organizations.⁴⁸ They proposed a hunger strike, interspersed with impromptu press

⁴⁸ Eventually two of the three national Saami organizations in Norway came out in support of the SAG Oslo protest, *Norsk Reindriftssamers Landsforbund* (NRL) and *Norske Samers Riksforbund* (NSR); the third group (*Samernas Landsforbund* [SLF]) was adamantly opposed to this action on grounds that it was far too confrontational (Paine 1985: 198).

conferences, to be carried out literally under the noses of the Oslo officials who had not been forthcoming in responding to previous Saami demands for reconsideration of indigenous issues. As part of the activities around the lavvo, the Saami participants joiked loudly and often, thus not only symbolically transforming their small plot of Oslo ground into Saami territory from a visual perspective, but audibly as well. According to one striker, joiking was a particularly powerful tool in this situation:

"my best moment was when we sang our ballads (joiks)--it was quiet on the streets of Oslo then, and people began to understand that the Saami culture is quite different from the Norwegian."

cited in Paine 1985: 200

All of these activities attracted considerable attention from the media, as well as the general population of Oslo, who descended in huge numbers on the area to witness the unfolding events. The sight of the Saami contingency sitting in and in front of their lavvo had a surprising effect in this regard, for their very presence apparently galvanized the crowds into sympathetic action. Some of these adjunct participants verbally and physically confronted government authorities who cautiously approached the lavvo in hopes of reaching some compromise. From eyewitness accounts, Paine reports that a number of Oslo citizens pushed through the crowds of onlookers to embrace the strikers and declare their own Saami heritage, something which many of them had never done before for fear of reprisal from their Norwegian neighbors and coworkers (ibid.: 196).

After a week the protest disbanded, the lavvo was removed, and the participants returned to Saamiland to continue with the political action which they had initiated. The immediate result was a commitment from the government to desist from construction, until the appropriate council could meet to reconsider the project in light of the new Saami demands which had surfaced in such a public and obtrusive fashion. In his analysis of both this activity and subsequent events connected with the Alta River project, Paine has suggested that the efficacy of the Oslo protest lay in its ability to rearrange "the conventional

relation between centre and periphery, that is between Norwegian and Saami society" (ibid. : 202). This eventually led to a prolonged public debate "in all the media, particularly the newspapers, on such issues as the difference between law and justice, civil disobedience in a democracy, the roles of different levels of government, and--of course--the notion of aboriginality" (op.cit.).

In late 1979, the Oslo occupation was still very much in the minds of most Norwegians, thanks largely to the media coverage which had primarily presented the protest in a positive manner. Thus, when Kjeldsberg and Hætta recorded and released their song describing this historic event ("Sámiid Ædnan"), they were capitalizing on a public mood which was at least receptive to a pro-Saami musical portrayal, if not enthusiastically supportive. Although Kjeldsberg's part in the project was considerable (he wrote the music and sang all of the lyrics), it was nevertheless Hætta (a native of Máze, the disputed community) who captivated audiences with his joiking and basically stole the show.⁴⁹ The song's official title was quickly lost, to be replaced by "Låla" (pronounced 'Lola'), taken from the specific syllables used as vocables in the joik section--indeed, Kjeldsberg's and Hætta's hastily assembled follow-up LP was appropriately titled "Låla!", taking advantage of the familiarity already established by the single.

The lyrics of the piece were composed by R. Olsen, another Norwegian, who effectively used references to both the lavvo and joiking, to convey the symbolic power which these elements of Saami culture evoked during the confrontation with the Norwegian authorities, leaving the listener with the impression that the struggle had just begun (the complete text is included in Appendix B; the recording is Audio Example A:13). The last stanza, which also served at one point as a secondary refrain imposed over the joik, reiterated this sentiment of a protracted argument which could only have one logical outcome, a peaceful victory for the Saami:

⁴⁹ Hætta was thus the second Saami act to emerge from the village of Máze in this time period, the first being Máze Nieidat, the group of young girls described above.

<i>Joik har större kraft än krut</i>	<i>(Joik is more powerful than weapons</i>
<i>Sámiid Ædnan--Sámiid Ædnan</i>	<i>Saamiland--Saamiland</i>
<i>För en joik tar aldrig slut</i>	<i>Because a joik never comes to an end</i>
<i>Sámiid Ædnan.</i>	<i>Saamiland.)</i>

The joik which Hætta used was a traditional piece from the Máze region, where it was known as "Máze nieidat" (Máze girls). It was a typical North Saami joik in every respect, including a triadic orientation, very regular rhythmic pulse, and relatively wide ambitus (an octave). There was no text other than the vocables 'lo' and 'la'. In its performance, Hætta abandoned the traditional irregular phrasing which Saami breathing patterns usually dictate, in favor of a smooth Westernized approach with obvious phrase endings and beginnings, corresponding to the structure of the whole piece--in other words, very much like the early performances of both Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Dædnugádde Nuorat, who purposely altered the structure of their original joiks to match the accompaniment.

What is particularly interesting, however, is the overall scheme developed by the arrangement, effectively alternating perspectives between the Norwegian narrator/interpreter and the Saami man, whose participation lends some musical and cultural legitimacy to the project--in effect, Hætta represents the 'official' voice of the people being discussed in the text. The song opens with the narrator singing *sotto voce*, the lines "Simple sounds--two small words/Sámiid Ædnan--the Saami world" (refer to Audio Example A:13). The performance gradually builds dynamically through the second stanza to the point where the narrator literally shouts out, "There they sat, in front of the parliament," only to drop back a moment later as he introduces the impending joik performance with "Joik was heard day and night". This entire section is heavily and artfully orchestrated (by Norwegian, E. Monn-Iversen), producing a pop/big band sound which at least suits Kjeldsberg's vocal style, if not the content of the lyrics.

Given this very stylish and loud introduction, the segue to Hætta's joik is even more striking for its stark and quiet presentation--this is ostensibly the sound which wafted over the streets of Oslo, and helped capture the attention of a nation. But Hætta's soliloquy is truncated by the re-emergence of the orchestra providing accompaniment, this time playing in a decidedly bombastic, 'oompah' style, nearly turning the joik into a parody by drawing attention to its relative musical simplicity when compared with the 'Norwegian' melody.

Finally, the voice of the narrator returns, this time in counterpoint to the joik, and provides a simultaneous commentary of the Saami performance, ostensibly interpreting for the non-Saami listener: "Joik is more powerful than weapons/.../Because a joik never comes to an end." The piece concludes with a sudden solo reiteration of the joik, capped by a *fortissimo* chord played by the orchestra, which thoroughly drowns out everything else.

Within the brief time frame (approximately three minutes) typical of a pop song, then, we have apparently been given a remarkable encapsulation of several issues surrounding the relationship between the minority Saami population and the dominant Norwegian or Scandinavian cultures: we are told of an act of protest, itself the ultimate result of decades of cultural clashes over resource rights; we are, however, distanced from the intended object of the song (i.e., the Saami), their 'otherness' reaffirmed for us both linguistically (it is sung entirely in Norwegian, not Saami, implying that 'we' would not understand 'them') and spatially (a proxemic effect is created through the manipulation of orchestration, placing the joik and its performer far 'away' in the sound field); and finally we are left with the suspicion that the irony suggested by pitting the solitary voice against the orchestra is somehow symbolic of the aftermath of the paternalistic and assimilationist policies of the dominant cultures in the not-so-distant past.⁵⁰ The song, like the protest in Oslo, ends inconclusively,

⁵⁰ This last point, the sense of conflict created by juxtaposing the solo joik with the orchestra, was one which I heard expressed by several Saami friends who wondered rhetorically what outcome was actually implied (Gaski 1992, personal communication; Stoor, personal communication).

with much posturing to demonstrate a willingness to incorporate the Saami perspective--but with what result?

In spite of the controversy which the song could have inspired, "Sámiid Ædnan" proved remarkably successful with both Saami and non-Saami audiences, as is evidenced by its selection for the Eurovision contest. It was the "Låla" refrain which provided the most memorable element of the song (the 'hook'), and quickly became synonymous both for joik, and eventually Saami culture in general for many 'outside' listeners--there was, in fact, an underlying assumption that all Saami must certainly know this piece and be able to perform it (Stoor 1992: personal communication). Not only did the song provide many non-Saami with their first opportunity to hear joik, but it did so in a relatively non-threatening manner--the exoticism of the genre was carefully constrained by the musical surroundings, both literally and figuratively.⁵¹ The presentation, with 'color' commentary by the narrator, more closely resembled a television or radio broadcast, allowing the listener to retain a distance from the subject and the event--at no point in the performance was the joik too intrusive, becoming instead a subject for benign sing-alongs.

And yet the success of "Sámiid Ædnan" (the 'hook' notwithstanding) was ultimately dependent on the event which the singers/composers attempted to capture in song. The Oslo occupation brought Saamiland into the midst of Norwegian territory by transforming a plot of ground previously representative of the nation's power, through the symbolic act of erecting a lavvo and having the participants act as though they were in their own homeland--they joiked, an activity completely foreign to Oslo inhabitants.

This transformation was reinforced by both the media attention it attracted, bringing images and sounds of the protest into homes throughout Europe, and the crowds of onlookers who rather uncharacteristically supported the occupying forces. "Sámiid Ædnan", coming so

⁵¹ Whereas it is true that many Norwegians and some Swedes had previously encountered a similar approach to joiking through the recordings of Dædnugádde Nuorat (see above), the audience for "Sámiid Ædnan" extended far beyond the borders of Scandinavia, thanks to the Eurovision contest which is broadcast on television each year to more than 6 million viewers.

soon after the event had taken place (a matter of a few months), served as a tangible reminder of the controversy, by recalling the inherent drama and carefully reintroducing the sound most strongly associated with the protesters.

Once the protest was forgotten, or was at least sufficiently diminished in importance by other equally engaging events, Kjeldsberg's and Hætta's performance lost a good deal of its cogency for the non-Saami audience. "Sámiid Ædnan" placed last in the Eurovision contest in 1980, and the album ("Låla!" [MAI 8009]) which was quickly thrown together to support the success of the single, was an unqualified failure in all critical circles.⁵² Nevertheless, the "Låla" joik proved to be remarkably tenacious, even to the point that it became the fight song for a local hockey team in northern Norway--none of the players was Saami (Gaski 1990, personal communication). The "Máze nieidat" joik also became embroiled in a legal battle, with Norwegian dance band conductor/composer, Kjell Karlsen, claiming that he had first used the theme in the early 1970s in his own hit "Laplandsminner" ("Lapland Memories"), and thus held a legitimate copyright controlling its use by others. In the meantime, members of several Saami communities (besides Máze) alleged that the joik was actually from their districts and was improperly appropriated by Hætta, who did not have permission to perform it (Gaski 1991: 102). In many respects these developments were a harbinger of struggles throughout the 1980s and into the present to bring Saami culture more thoroughly under the control of the Saami themselves, through local, national, and inter-Nordic organizational efforts.

On the positive side, by bringing joik into the mainstream of Scandinavian popular music (however briefly), Hætta and Kjeldsberg opened the door for other Saami musicians to reach beyond the self-imposed cultural boundaries, within which so many operated during the 'joik

⁵² One Saami friend laughingly told me that the "Låla!" album was the worst example of Saami music he could possibly imagine, and was luckily out of print (Stoor 1992, personal communication). Although Mattis Hætta has recorded two more albums, he never again collaborated with Kjeldsberg. Kjeldsberg recently surfaced on a reunion album by The Pussycats (Graff 1992, personal communication).

renaissance'. Rather than copying the model established by the success of "Sámiid Ædnan", however, the majority of these individuals have sought to synthesize a modern joik genre which is more representative of the contemporary Saami perspective. The most important distinction, however, is that many of these more recent efforts have found a broad popular music audience without an outside 'interpreter' to make them less threatening or more palatable.

6.7 Summary

From the emergence of the 'Rocking Saami' in 1959, to the hit which Mattis Hætta scored with "Samiid Ædnan" in 1980, much had clearly transpired in the interim between the dominant Scandinavian cultures and the Saami population, making it possible for a Saami musician to freely express himself in the genre of his own culture. One could hardly have predicted in the late 1950s that a substantial percentage of the Scandinavian popular music audience would one day not only be listening to Saami joik on the radio, but in many cases singing along with their favorite "Låla" refrain. That the popularity of this particular song to some degree was also tied to an act of civil disobedience, in which the Saami emerged as the media victors (for a short while, at least), made the whole "Låla" phenomenon even more incredible.

Yet, as I have tried to explicate in this chapter, the very fact that joik was used by the Saami protesters in Oslo during the Alta conflict to mark the surrounding environment with an audible symbol of Saami occupation, was itself an outgrowth of the joik revitalization process. Had it not been for the efforts of individuals like Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, the members of Dædnugádde Nuorat, and others involved in the 'joik renaissance', this indigenous genre would have remained cloaked in secrecy throughout most of Saamiland, to be heard only when it was safe (within the confines of the family, or more commonly, alone), or as a result of the inducement that alcohol often provided.

Although Sven-Gösta Jonsson openly discussed the 'heathen' activities of his forebears, and frankly admitted to continuing with some of these practices within his 'Jonsson the Lapp' persona, he did not actually joik publicly. Moreover, his recording "Vid foten av fjället" was essentially popular throughout Scandinavia as a novelty, one which his clashing gákti-and-pompadour image served to reinforce--it was difficult to determine the extent to which self-parody played a role in Jonsson's performances, but it was clear that the juggling of contrasting images contributed to his success among both Saami and non-Saami audiences.

For Valkeapää, ten years later, the use of juxtaposition had extended beyond personal image and/or the possible underlying meaning of lyrics, to encompass the performance itself. For the first time, Saami joik was pitted against the popular music of the majority, represented in this instance by the ubiquitous acoustic guitar accompaniment of the American (and thereafter, European) 'folkies'. Valkeapää used this format to create a 'safe' atmosphere for joik, one which in its familiarity for all audiences removed the onus of shamanism which still attained in so many areas of Saamiland, and made the genre essentially unknown to outsiders. With the release of "Joik from Finnish Lappland" in 1968, joik returned as a relatively secure means of public expression. In the process, however, this recording challenged the more traditional conception of the 'joik milieu', for here were joik performances which were clearly created for a much larger audience than would exist within the confines of this idealized interpretive community (cf., Jernsletten 1978)--joik was once again heard prominently within the Saami soundscape, but increasingly through the auspices of the media.

In the years immediately following the release of Valkeapää's influential recording, a number of Saami musicians capitalized on its success by more or less continuing in the same vein, i.e., combining joik with fairly staid popular 'folk' instrumentation. The resulting performances not only proved to be acceptable to a broad Saami audience, increasingly through promotion on Saami radio broadcasts, but ultimately were accessible enough to

occasionally reach beyond the ethnic boundaries, as occurred with the music of Dædnugádde Nuorat. The establishment of a Saami-owned record company, Jár'galæd'dji, further demonstrated that there was an audience for joik, at least within the non-threatening performance context which Valkeapää had created.

As this movement continued, however, it gave rise to a resurgence of interest in traditional (i.e., unaccompanied) joik, and a popular song genre which featured both covers of existing pieces and newly composed songs (often with overtly politicized lyrics). Yet these parallel developments were not exclusive, with a single artist being perfectly capable of assuming multiple musical roles, occasionally even on the same recording. More importantly, as the variety of styles that came to be marketed and performed as 'Saami' music expanded in the late 1970s, joik was interpolated into a number of contexts which would have been unimaginable to listeners inside or outside the culture a decade earlier. Far from representing a dilution of the genre, however, these experiments were evidence of how firmly entrenched joiking remained in Saami culture. By either adding joik to an existing popular song structure (as occurred in many cover versions), or composing a new piece around a joik (whether recently inspired or familiar), the musicians who were active during this 'joik renaissance' were clearly marking the performance as an expression of Saami culture, in a manner that carried considerably more weight than the lyrics--while the latter remained inaccessible to a sizable percentage of the Saami population, joik was something that all could recognize, and increasingly it was a sound with which they could identify.

Given this period of great experimentation and production, the phenomenal success of "Samiid Ædnan" is a bit easier to put into perspective. As joiking began to be performed and heard with greater regularity during the 1970s, both live and via the media within Saami communities, the surrounding populations were obviously aware of these developments as well. For many Scandinavians, these performances represented the first awareness that such a musical phenomenon as joik even existed, let alone that it was something which still

apparently had some cogency for the minority Saami population. Thus, at the same time that the genre was becoming more firmly re-established among the Saami as a discrete cultural expression, it was again quickly becoming a means of marking the Saami from outside, through the exposure that largely came about as a result of recordings--joiking was recognized on both sides of the ethnic boundary as something distinctively Saami. This point was emphasized by the activities surrounding the Alta protest in Oslo, and reiterated and amplified by the subsequent song celebrating this event.

For a brief moment, however, thanks to the popularity of "Samiid Ædnan", the joik ceased to be exclusively 'Saami', becoming instead a hook which powered a pop song to the top of the music charts in Norway and eventually attracted international attention. The "Låla" refrain, more than any other joik performance up to that point, made joik (and by extension, Saami culture) accessible to an audience that previously was inconceivable. Yet the capriciousness of the popular music industry made this a short-lived phenomenon; by the time the follow-up album ("Låla") was released the great majority of the non-Saami audience had diverted its attention to other groups and other songs.

For many Saami, the success of "Samiid Ædnan" was viewed with trepidation, particularly after the copyright disputes erupted which pitted Saami versus Saami, and more alarmingly, Norwegian versus Norwegian, battling over the 'ownership' of a joik. To avoid seeing their own work co-opted in a similar fashion, the recording and performance activities of Saami artists in the post-"Låla" period turned increasingly inward, with many adopting a markedly confrontational stance and correspondingly exerting little effort to include non-Saami audiences. In the ensuing decade, the ethnic boundaries separating these groups became more critically defined, with Saami joik posing as one of the key symbols of identity.

Chapter 7: "As long as we continue to joik..."

*Manne saemie leab.
Ib manne nyöjkkh dam!
Manne saemie leab.
Goh almetjh lea,
Manne leab.*

*I am Saami.
I don't deny it!
I am Saami.
Just as other people are,
So am I.*

from "Goh almetjh lea" by Lars-Jonas Johansson and Tomas Drevine
(1990)

7.0 Introduction

The preceding chapter traced the development of Saami popular music in Scandinavia, with particular emphasis given to the period in the 1970s often referred to as the 'joik renaissance', and to specific musicians whose work was characteristic of the diversity of recordings issued under the rather broadly interpreted rubric of 'Saami music'. Most of this activity was clearly directed toward building and maintaining a Saami audience, replete with the establishment of a Saami-owned record company, and the growth of a small but dynamic Saami music industry. As a result of the numerous recordings released during this period, the media exposure afforded artists through Saami Radio broadcasts, and increasing opportunities to perform before live audiences, Saami joik was once again audible in public contexts. In the course of barely a decade many of those who performed joik in their own communities saw their status transform from pariah to valued cultural resource.¹

And yet the popularization of joik came about largely through a change in the approach to its performance, a development which some Saami critics felt was robbing joik of its quality as a unique Saami expression (cf., Jernsletten 1978), and led others to draw a sharp distinction between what was considered 'traditional' as opposed to 'modern' joik (cf., Kjellström *et al* 1988). What began as the addition of instrumentation to a previously

¹ This was particularly true in the North Saami regions, where joik had proven most tenacious; in the South Saami communities, while the genre may have been more openly discussed as a result of its popularization in the 1970s, there remained few who could still actively joik, a situation which is only now beginning to change.

unaccompanied genre, had quickly evolved by the late 1970s into a seemingly endless process of combining joik with other musical styles, from generic 'folk', to country and rock'n'roll, and eventually branching out to include jazz and Western classical music. In some instances joik served as the basis or musical core for these syncretic efforts, its own melodic and rhythmic structure dictating how the piece was crafted; in other examples a joik was simply grafted onto an existing song or served as a refrain.

Most of the critics who objected to this trend, did so cautiously, for there was clearly a positive side effect, observable in the resurgence of interest in joik in its most 'traditional' context.² There were others, though, who were more outspoken against any additions or changes to the genre, but their objections did little more than occasionally succeed in provoking the wrath of those who were actively involved in the burgeoning Saami music industry (Valkeapää 1983: 56-58; see also 1969: 3). This dialectic does not appear to have been widespread, however, being confined primarily to specific individuals. Judging from my own interviews with various Saami musicians and members of their audiences, the response to the preponderance of this musical activity was (and continues to be) overwhelmingly positive, even to the extent that some individuals, who professed to dislike rock'n'roll in any other context, would still make an effort to see a *Saami* rock band perform and even buy their recordings.³

I want to be careful to emphasize, though, that this does not imply a blanket acceptance of all performances by Saami musicians, whether live or mediated, for there remains one important criterion which must be met in order to reach the broadest conceivable Saami audience: the piece in question must either feature joik prominently or be demonstrably

² As previously explained, a number of commercial joik recordings from the late 1970s hardly differed from the field recordings of a previous generation: the performances are completely devoid of instrumentation and typically feature only an individual's personal and family repertoire.

³ The positive support for much of the musical experimentation which has taken place, extends to the Saami press as well (see, for example, the quote from Pål Doj's review of two Saami records, cited in the previous chapter). There are limits to this benign acceptance, however, as shall be demonstrated below.

derived from joik in some manner.⁴ As a distinctive Saami musical event, joik, elaborated in myriad forms during performance, continues to evoke a profound response from Saami audiences, by focusing attention on the culture from which it arises to an extent that no other musical expression can achieve.

On the other hand, this does not suggest that the particular vehicle chosen for joik performance--be it rock, pop, jazz, or even 'traditional'--is irrelevant. In recent years a number of Saami artists have emerged whose success has depended in no small part on their ability to manipulate other genres of music as well as joik, allowing them to also capitalize on audiences which already exist (e.g., introducing jazz listeners to joik via performances which fall within the parameters of the more well-known genre). As shall become evident, this often implies conscious decisions on the part of performers as to how best to reach a target audience; for some individuals this has even meant changing musical direction in order to fulfill artistic obligations to both themselves and their perceived listeners.

Of the five Saami musicians whose musical lives are examined below, only two trace their involvement with joik to their childhood, and are moreover among the most influential of those whose careers coincided with the joik renaissance period: Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Ingor Antte Ailu Gaup. The other musicians--Mari Boine Persen, Lars-Jonas Johansson, and Frode Fjellheim--have all benefited from the groundbreaking work of artists like Valkeapää and Gaup, but each has taken a decidedly different approach to joik, based to a large extent on personal interests in other musical genres. All five individuals, however, have adopted a course of action which allows them to integrate personal ideals with what they personally perceive to be the needs of their fellow Saami. In some instances the focus of their musical activity and concern is regional, while in others

⁴ Another important criterion is the use of Saami language, but it is my contention that this element is secondary when compared to joik, in the quality of response that it engenders from a Saami audience.

it is clearly aimed at situating the Saami in a global context. What they all share is a desire to identify themselves as Saami (both to other Saami and to outsiders) through their use of joik, and in so doing, draw attention to the cogency of this genre for contemporary Saami culture.

As a means of introducing these artists and their contributions during the last decade, however, I would like to return momentarily to the one recording that has been declared both the nadir and zenith of the Saami music explosion in the 1970s, "Samiid Ædnan" (cf., Edström 1988; Gaski 1991). In attracting the largest and broadest audience for any record featuring a joik performance, it contributed significantly to the manner in which subsequent recordings of joik were received by Scandinavians and Saami alike, and obviously impacted those Saami whose livelihood was dependent on music to any degree.

7.1 Aftermath

Following the surprising success of the Norwegian-Saami collaboration, "Samiid Ædnan", and its resounding defeat in the 1980 Eurovision Grand Prix song contest, the attention of the mainstream popular music audience in Scandinavia was quickly diverted to other hit-makers. The poor response to the follow-up album ("Låla!") only served to exacerbate this situation, for both Sverre Kjelsberg and Mattis Hætta found their political integrity questioned by their respective communities for the lack of seriousness which the album conveyed--if anything, the poorly conceived performances that it contained, mixing loosely accompanied joiks with slickly arranged Norwegian pop songs, served to question the credibility of both artists who suddenly appeared quite opportunistic in hindsight.⁵

Another contributing factor to the waning audience for this type of musical production, however, was the generally negative public and media response engendered by continuing protests surrounding the Alta dam project. Unlike the successful symbolic encounter that

⁵ The last piece on the album, "What's another joik?" was a blatant parody of the winning selection in the 1980 Eurovision contest, "What's another love?". As a gesture commenting on the absurdity of the entire album project (which was hastily thrown together), it could hardly have been more fitting (Stoor 1992, personal communication).

the Saami hunger strikers carried out in Oslo, subsequent protests were much more confrontational and occurred on the site in Alta. These eventually led to full-scale civil disobedience tactics and an occupation of the disputed area by both Saami and environmental groups, who unfortunately did not agree with each other (Paine 1985: 214-215). When several hundred police were moved in to physically remove all of the protesters, a violent solution was narrowly avoided, but many were arrested in the process.

As before, these events were covered extensively by the European media, but in this instance, the majority of Scandinavian citizenry questioned the sincerity of those involved, particularly since they were divided amongst themselves (ibid.: 226). The Oslo hunger strikers, originally embraced by the majority population, were quickly forgotten and the song/joik which celebrated their deeds was consigned to ubiquity--in a relatively short period, for many Scandinavians the "Låla" joik had become synonymous with Saami culture, and as such required no elaboration in other popular song contexts for the time being (cf., Gaski 1991).⁶

For his part, Hætta recovered to some extent by releasing an album of traditional joiks ("Juoiga") on the Saami label, Jår'galæd'dji (JLP-1006) in 1980. He has continued to explore pop music as well, however, even releasing a Saami language version of "Samiid Ædnan" on a 1982 recording ("Máze" JLP 1007), which in its attempt to synthesize an overall 'pop-joik' sound bears some resemblance to the aforementioned "Låla!".⁷ I had the opportunity to see Hætta perform twice in 1992, the first time joiking alone on stage in Stockholm, and the second as a contestant in the pop song category of the annual Saami

⁶ The extent to which "Låla" remains a symbol for Saami culture primarily for outsiders was amply demonstrated by a video I saw at a teachers' conference in Norway. This had been prepared by a Norwegian preschool teacher, who had developed a curriculum to introduce Saami culture to her primarily Norwegian students. The film documented a number of events staged during the year, including erecting a Saami tent (*lavvo*) and taking part in a reindeer drive, but it culminated in a performance of "Låla" by all of the children.

⁷ Hætta's recording of the song is considerably more generic than the original, however, with the lyrics essentially serving as a commentary on the physical beauty of Saamiland--all references to the Oslo protest have vanished.

Grand Prix joik/song contest in Kautokeino, Norway. In contrast to his success in 1980, however, Hætta's popularity today is primarily dependent on a Saami audience, and to my knowledge he has made no effort to extend beyond the ethnic boundary since.

In the aftermath of the abortive Alta protests, however, two other Saami artists emerged who collaborated on a recording project which sought to portray the Saami perspective on the events surrounding this period of confrontation and its eventual outcome. The resulting 1982 release, "Sápmi, vuoi sápmi!", marked yet another stylistic shift in the career of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, who had continued throughout the 1970s to explore several musical directions; it also re-introduced a young man from Kautokeino, Ingor Antte Ailu Gaup, whose prior recordings included an album of Saami rock'n'roll. Even with its unusual combination of narrative, 'nature sounds' (i.e., ambient noise from Saami environments), and joik, this recording was actually a much better indicator than "Samiid Ædnan" of the current state of Saami popular music and its future direction.

7.2 Nils-Aslak Valkeapää/Aillohas

Jag jojkar inte för någon. Det jojkar i mig. I mitt blod.

(I don't joik for anyone. It joiks within me. In my blood.)

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää

In spite of the success that "Joikuja/Joik från finska Lappland" achieved, soon after its release in 1968 Nils-Aslak Valkeapää shifted his artistic attention away from the 'folk' idiom he had previously used to great effect, and thus established a career pattern which continues to apply. Rather than persisting in a similar musical vein, with the recording of each new album Valkeapää charted unfamiliar territory, occasionally dismaying some of his audience, but never failing to engage their attention. This desire to constantly move beyond his previous accomplishments is indicative of his feelings about Saami culture in general--he expresses little interest in the past, per se, except as it can be demonstrably

connected to the present.⁸ To become mired in what was once Saami culture, and bemoan the forces of change, according to Valkeapää, is to deny the basic flexible quality of that culture which has allowed it to perdure through centuries of contact (Valkeapää 1992, personal communication).

It must have been quite surprising, then, when his second album, "Jouigamat" (Finnlevy SFLP 8531) was released in 1973, consisting entirely of 'field-like' (i.e., live/on location) recordings of different people joiking, individually and in groups, without any accompaniment whatsoever; Valkeapää made the recordings himself among Saami friends in Finland. Most of the performances are personal joiks, including two examples where individuals actually joik themselves ("Aillohas"; "Duvva"), contrary to what has commonly been acceptable practice throughout Saamiland.

This record, like his first album, represented another landmark, in that it was the first commercial release of what some Saami increasingly referred to as 'traditional' joik. While "Juoigamat" arguably demonstrated Valkeapää's own expertise in this realm, he personally proved the folly of such categories by continuing to stand with one foot firmly planted in each musical camp. For the duration of the decade, he released albums which more or less followed the pattern established by the first two, i.e., alternating 'modern' and 'traditional' performances.

⁸ When I interviewed Valkeapää in 1992, I asked about his involvement in the recent re-release in CD format of three of his most popular LPs, which have long been out of print. He stated frankly that he had little interest in them personally, but understood that the music they contained was still valued by his public; as such, he had agreed to their re-publication by the Saami record company, DAT, accompanied by the following introductory poem:

*It is not so easy to relive your old doings.
Especially if you remember...
if only you would have had more money,
if only you would have had more time,
if only you would have been able to work
in a decent studio and not in a dark cellar,
...if only you would have known how.*

*In some doings there is history hidden.
And then they just...
live their own lives.*

One of the aspects of Valkeapää's early experimentation which he found extremely frustrating, however, was the inherent structural limitation of the 'folk' idiom which he had chosen. As previously discussed, in opting for simple acoustic guitar accompaniment to his joiking, Valkeapää constrained his performances so that they became more song-like, with very clear beginnings and endings. Whereas this approach made the joiks accessible to a very broad audience, the results were also quite stilted, with the various participants often at odds with each other over pitch and phrasing. Consequently, Valkeapää was constantly searching for other musical possibilities which would demonstrate the viability of joik in new contexts, without compromising the basic structure of the genre to the same degree that he had experienced previously (Valkeapää 1992, personal communication).

It was during this period in the early 1970s, that he became aware of an eclectic ensemble from Finland called Karelia. Under the direction of saxophonist Seppo Paakkunainen (aka 'Báron'), this group had built a reputation for their jazz interpretations of Finnish folk idioms. Among their first recordings was a spirited attempt to use joik melodies for extended improvisation, both instrumental and vocal. Although he later described Karelia's results as "completely crazy," Valkeapää was intrigued with the possibilities that a similar jazz group might provide for his own efforts to explore new musical territory with joik. Thus, when a Finnish television project brought Valkeapää and Báron together in 1971, the two discovered mutual interests and began a musical partnership which continues today (Valkeapää 1992, personal communication).

In the period following the "Juoigamat" LP, Valkeapää worked occasionally with Báron, producing one recording with him in 1975, "Vuoi, Biret-Maaret, vuoi" (Jár'galæd'dji/Aillohas Records AILP-1), which actually had a rather striking 'country' feel to several of the pieces, due to the prominent inclusion of fiddle and harmonica.⁹ Besides

⁹ As discussed in the previous chapter, American country music was and continues to be a very popular genre throughout Scandinavia, leading to quite a few country-inspired joiks.

these instruments, the ensemble also included saxophones, clarinet, keyboards, 12- and 6-string guitars, drums and electric bass--quite a departure from the simple acoustic guitar of Valkeapää's first recording. The most notable difference, however, was the nearly complete avoidance of joik, the majority of the pieces being songs in Saami with occasional joik-like refrains.¹⁰

This project was followed with two more records in 1976, "De cabba niegut runiidit" (Hi-Hat/Aillohas Records HILP-111/AILP-2) and "Duvva, Ailen Niga Elle ja Aillohas" (Hi-Hat/Aillohas Records HILP-3/AILP-3). The first of these matched Valkeapää with two other performers, Åsa Blind and Jaakko Gauriloff, all of whom sang rather than joik. The second LP was a return to unaccompanied joik performance with two other fine joikers, Johan N.P. Sara ('Duvva') and Ailen Niga Elle, and featured both solo and duet performances, once again offering a bit of a challenge to some listeners who felt that 'traditional' joik should be a solo genre.

The first album which actually demonstrated the full potential of the Valkeapää-Báron relationship, however, was surprisingly not released until 1978, when the two joined forces with a number of Finnish musicians to produce "Sámi eatnan duoddariid" (Indigenous Records IPLP-1). In much the same manner that "Joikuja/Joik från finska Lappland" had impressed listeners with its originality a decade earlier, "Sámi eatnan duoddariid" alerted the Saami audience that Valkeapää's years of experimentation had culminated in yet another approach to combining joik with other musics--one, however, in which the Saami genre needed no longer be as constrained by Western musical structures. All five of the selections on the album feature extensive improvisation, providing ample space for Valkeapää's joiking to unfold in a fashion which was much more in keeping with 'traditional' conceptions of the

In 1992, for example, I was asked to accompany Ingor Antte Ailu Gaup on 5-string banjo, while he performed what he called "country joiks."

¹⁰ In hindsight, it should be pointed out that this recording coincided with the phenomenal success of groups like Dædnugádde Nuorat, whose repertoire featured a number of songs which they described as joik-derived (cf., Dædnugádde Nuorat 1975).

genre than his earlier accompanied performances had been. Even the potential problem of beginning and ending was avoided to some extent with the subtle use of fading to bring in a contrasting instrument while the joik part receded (Audio Example B:1).

The group assembled for "Sámi eatnan duoddariid" included electric guitar, electric and string bass, multiple keyboards (including Moog and ARP synthesizers), Báron's various saxophones and flutes, drums, and two extra percussion players--by far the most ambitious blending of instruments among the many Saami productions of the era. The overall sound, however, had a decided 'multi-ethnic' edge with the inclusion of so many percussion instruments taken from a variety of cultures. Here the interests and talents of Báron were clearly evident (Valkeapää 1992, personal communication). While a saxophone player by training, he has collected instruments from all over the world and is constantly devising new means of incorporating them into his work.¹¹

According to Valkeapää, however, the inherent difficulty in finding so many musicians who could work together on this particular project, precluded the establishment of a formal band, and eventually led instead to the formation of a trio consisting of Valkeapää, Báron, and Esa Kotilainen (aka 'Goahtelas'), the keyboard/synthesizer player. With this configuration they could reproduce most of the music on "Sámi eatnan duoddariid", and continue to explore new material--when necessary they could always augment the group with others (Valkeapää 1992: personal communication).

For those in Valkeapää's Saami audience who were initially attracted to the artist through his earlier work--or at least had grown accustomed to his unique approach to joik over time--his subsequent switch to what was being termed 'jazz-joik' (cf., Edström 1988) was difficult to

¹¹ Valkeapää described Báron's house as a "music museum" with instruments everywhere. When I finally met Báron in 1992 in Kautokeino, he had happily just purchased several reindeer bells which he was intent on using that evening in concert. During that particular show he played tenor and soprano saxophones, psalmodikon (a Swedish monochord), rattles, bells, whistles (including his hands), and a small frame drum--all with equal aplomb and comfort.

keep up with, and a few expressed dismay with this new development.¹² Yet from Valkeapää's perspective, the music on "Sámi eatnan duoddariid" was in keeping with his own artistic intentions to present joik as fully the equal of other musical genres which were already familiar to his audience. Valkeapää felt that joik had for too long been unfavorably compared with Western music by the numerous travelers and scholars who visited Saamiland, but he also recognized that his Saami audiences were strongly influenced by Western music and could not help but make similar comparisons themselves. He therefore opted to synthesize new musical contexts for joik which would show the genre to its best advantage, and in the process bolster Saami pride in a unique cultural expression (Valkeapää 1992: personal communication). In his capable hands, he fashioned music which was intended primarily for Saami audiences, even if it challenged them with virtually each new production. All of this was in line with his underlying philosophy that Saami culture could not afford to remain static, lest it truly begin to function like the 'museum culture' that he felt had been continually imposed upon the Saami by nearly a century of assimilation policies (cf., Valkeapää 1983).

And yet even in its supposed modernity, Valkeapää's approach to Saami music was predicated on the connective power of joik which had always served to link individuals to each other, to their environment, and to those spirits who affected their destiny. By relying almost exclusively on joik in his concerts and recordings, he was clearly not denying the cogency of the past for Saami culture, but was instead reminding his audience that in 'joik time' past and present collapse, allowing one to experience what is expressed and made tangible each time one joiks or hears a joik.

¹² A Saami friend related that he and several acquaintances (all teenagers at the time) had hired Valkeapää to give a concert for their entire community in the late 1970s, anticipating that he would simply joik with minimal accompaniment. The audience was quite surprised when he arrived with a jazz/pop ensemble and presented material which later appeared on the "Sámi eatnan duoddariid" album--many older people in particular were apparently quite disappointed, but my friend and the other younger participants were delighted to hear something which showcased joik within this musical framework (Stoor 1992, personal communication).

In 1982, Valkeapää produced two albums which once again demonstrated the breadth of his interests and his desire to juxtapose different ideas in his own work. Of these, "Davás ja geassái" (Indigenous Records IRLP-7) is quite similar to the earlier "Sámi eatnan duoddariid", both in terms of the type of ensemble and the individual compositions. If anything, the multi-ethnic influence which was audible in 1978, was considerably expanded in the newer recording, capitalizing once again on the talents of the musicians. Not only were percussion instruments from all over the world evident, as before, but such things as mbira, kantele, and sambur were used to develop even more complex textures. What set this particular recording apart from his earlier efforts, however, was Valkeapää's narration, which was as much an element as the joking or the instrumental music.

The companion recording, "Sápmi, vuoi Sápmi!" (IRLP-6), however, was altogether different from anything Valkeapää had attempted. As mentioned above, this album came about as a result of the Alta dam protests and the eventual loss of Saami land, with the completion of the hydroelectric project. The record was essentially a sound montage consisting of three elements which were layered together in ever-changing combinations: on-site recordings featuring people, animals, and sounds found "in the nature of Sápmi"; joking performed by Valkeapää and Ingor Antte Ailu Gaup; and Gaup's spoken commentary on the events. Rather than being divided into short vignettes, the album had just one long track on each side, with the various elements flowing into each other, and demanding attentive listening.

Valkeapää's innovations were not limited to the sonic contents of the product, however. The gatefold packaging included black and white photos taken at the Alta site, showing the forceful removal of Saami protesters by Norwegian police, as the confrontation moved toward its inevitable resolution. These stark representations nevertheless amplify the pervasive sense of self-empowerment which the recording manages to convey, whether through the reiterated chants of the protesters, or the interwoven joiks.

The entire album, then, was conceived to be experienced as a single entity, representing a subtle but very effective commentary on the entire Alta affair and its repercussions within Saami culture. Moreover, in keeping with Valkeapää's underlying interest, the interpretive field was limited entirely to the Saami perspective--the use of Saami language throughout, and the complete lack of instrumentation located the performance firmly within Saami culture, to the exclusion of virtually anyone else. The effectiveness of such a multi-media approach to both define and communicate with a specific audience, which "Sápmi, vuoi Sápmi!" amply demonstrated, not surprisingly had a profound influence on the approach which Valkeapää adopted for the duration of the 1980s and into the 1990s.

7.2.1 *Beavi, Áhčážan*

While Nils-Aslak Valkeapää has been presented here primarily as a musician and a producer, in practice these roles are inextricably entwined with his activities in other fields, particularly as a poet and fine artist.¹³ During the 1980s the degree to which these different interests impinged upon each other were hinted at with the publication of his book of poems, *Vidderna inom mig* (*The wide expanses within me*), in which he not only provided illustrations which linked the work from cover to cover, but made frequent allusions to joik as *the* Saami literary form.

In 1990, however, Valkeapää mustered all of his talents in a project representing the culmination of nearly a decade of work to provide a retrospective of Saami culture through historical photographs (primarily from ethnographic archives), poetry, drawings, and joik. The resulting product was not only a book (*Beavi, Áhčážan* [*My Father, the Sun*]), but a recording as well ("Eanan, Eallima Eadni" ["Life's Mother, the Earth"]), which was intended to serve as a 'soundtrack' while thumbing through the nearly 600 photos and/or poems contained in the book (and excerpt can be heard as Audio Example B:2). Whereas many of the

¹³ Among his many accomplishments, Valkeapää is also a founding member of the Saami authors' association, *Sámi Girjecálliid Searvi*, which celebrated its tenth anniversary in 1990.

pictures convey images of increasing oppression at the hands of the Scandinavians (all dutifully recorded by ethnographers and other field workers of the past), the recorded sounds from Saamiland's varied landscape and the remarkably slow, legato joiking of Valkeapää (all held together with subtle synthesizer parts played by long-time collaborator, Esa Kotilainen/'Gohtelas') provide an inescapable sense that the culture has survived these forces and will continue to do so. This juxtaposition is obviously intentional, and represents one more example of Valkeapää's use of contrasting (and sometimes contradicting) materials to make his point, that the strength of the Saami lies not in cultural isolation, but rather in the ability of individuals and groups to actively engage those who stand outside the ethnic boundary, thus creating their own identity rather than accepting what is created for them by ostensibly more powerful forces.

Like his earlier efforts, *Beaivi, Áhčážan* was conceived as a project for Saami audiences only. This became particularly evident when he expressed extreme reticence over a proposed translation of the poems into Norwegian and Swedish. As a compromise, the texts were eventually translated, but they were published without the collection of photographs which were such a fundamental element in the original format--Valkeapää was adamant in this regard. When I spoke with him about this, he pointed out that the disputed photos belonged to the Saami, representing a form of cultural property which had now been repatriated through their publication in a Saami book. As to the translation, he despaired that any such effort would be able to accurately depict the inherent multiple meanings of Saami language in general, and of which he is so fond of taking advantage;¹⁴ he apparently acquiesced on this matter because there remain so many Saami who do not have sufficient reading skills to tackle a work of this magnitude (Valkeapää 1992, personal communication).¹⁵ In spite of the controversy initially

¹⁴ This point is in no way disputed by his primary translator and friend, Harald Gaski, who has often commented about the difficulties of adequately translating Saami to Norwegian or English (Gaski 1990, etc., personal communication).

¹⁵ Those who can speak and understand Saami (the North dialect) do have another alternative as of 1992: Valkeapää recorded himself reading all of the poems on a series of 4 CDs which also include the accompanying music from the original recording. For many

surrounding the publication of the monumental project, Valkeapää's efforts with *Beaivi*, *Ahčážan* were rewarded in 1990 when he accepted the Nordic Council's annual prize for literature, becoming the first Saami to be so recognized.

When it came to presenting this material before live audiences, Valkeapää relied again on his ability to manipulate several media simultaneously, instituting what he now calls "poetry concerts". Although these events have no set format, they typically involve a number of participants with specific roles. The show I witnessed in April 1992 made use of both Báron and Gohtelas, who provided a constant musical accompaniment with myriad wind and percussion instruments intermixed with synthesizers and pre-recorded/sampled sounds. With this duo providing the underpinning, Valkeapää alternated between reading poems from *Beaivi*, *Ahčážan* and painting a small canvas with vibrant acrylics; a young Saami man (and recent Valkeapää discovery), Johan Anders Baer, joiked periodically, in between the readings, while a fourth participant read from the Norwegian/Swedish translations of the poems. When the painting was finished, Valkeapää began joiking as well, and the concert culminated with spontaneous joik duets, the two voices only occasionally consciously coinciding as each interpreted a series of different joiks.¹⁶ The nearly unanimous Saami audience which had sat for over two hours, responded with a standing ovation, an extremely rare occurrence within this culture.

Once again, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää had relied on the continuing impact that joik exerts on his people, by using it to tie together the various elements of his presentation, and in the process he demonstrated how ephemeral such categorizations as 'modern' and 'traditional' become in the midst of performance. Instead, the melding of new and old was evident at every level that evening: computer-generated sounds merged seamlessly with Baer's and Valkeapää's

of Valkeapää's potential readers, however, the full appreciation of *Beaivi Ahcázan* can at best be approximated by having both books and the album, "Eanan, Eallina Eadni".

¹⁶ Several months later I recalled this experience for Valkeapää, who told me that this had rarely happened before and that the results had been a pleasant surprise to him as well (Valkeapää 1992, personal communication).

vocals; the 'non-Saami' medium of paint on canvas was used to depict figures whose origins are found on the decorated surfaces of the noaidit's drums; words printed on a page, but delivered and empowered orally, recalled generations worth of Saami stories and proverbs which were never written down until outsiders collected them and published them.

As for the immediate future, Valkeapää has been chosen by the Norwegian government to provide the music for the opening ceremonies at the 1994 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, a tribute not only to his artistic expertise, but a fitting recognition of the approximately 40,000 Saami who live in Norway. Beyond that auspicious performance, however, no one is hazarding a guess as to which direction Nils-Aslak Valkeapää will next lead his audience.¹⁷

7.3 Ingor Ántte Áilu Gaup: the 'Joik Ambassador'

Joiken kjenner ingen grenser. Det unndrar seg all systemtasering og tvangstrøyer.

(Joik knows no boundaries. It evades all systematizing and straightjackets.)

Ingor Ántte Áilu Gaup

When Nils-Aslak Valkeapää asked Ingor Ántte Áilu Gaup¹⁸ to collaborate on several projects in the early 1980s, the younger Gaup was already quite well known for his own artistic activities. In 1979, when he was just 19 years old, he released two separate recordings on the Jár'galæd'dji label. The first of these, "Luodit" (JMC 808), was a cassette of unaccompanied joik performances, the majority of which were personal joiks from his family. Unlike similar recordings available at the time, Gaup prefaced each of the joiks with a short explanation in Norwegian, making the resulting tape a valuable resource for teaching others (both non-Saami and Saami) more about the genre. Gaup's

¹⁷ I found Valkeapää to be extremely hesitant to discuss the future other than to comment that he would like to continue to work with Báron, Goahtelas, and Johan Anders Baer to see what they could develop together.

¹⁸ For the sake of brevity, I will refer to the artist as Áilu Gaup throughout the rest of this chapter. Within Saami circles, however, he is always introduced by his full name which relates his patrilineage and further serves to distinguish him from the well-known Saami poet also named Áilu (or Áilo) Gaup.

second recording that year, the self-titled "Jávrras Ivnniiguin" (JLP 707), featured him singing and playing flute with a Saami rock'n'roll band of that name from his home in Kautokeino, Norway (cf., Audio Example A:11). While these latter performances only included one example recognizable as joiking, in a recent conversation, Gaup was quick to point out that all of the pieces had been "joik-inspired songs" which became decidedly more rock oriented after being arranged by the band (A. Gaup 1992, personal communication).

Reaction to these two recordings was positive, with the Jávrras LP even warranting a review in *Samefolket*, in which the group was applauded for their "daring" attempts to play Saami rock music--Áilu was singled out in particular for his promise as a singer/songwriter.¹⁹ As Nils-Aslak Valkeapää had accomplished nearly a decade earlier, Áilu Gaup's successfully demonstrated the ability to excel in two Saami musical spheres simultaneously with the release of his first recordings. This duality, far from being a hindrance, has continued to define the direction of his career, made manifest by his efforts to reconcile his personal desire to experiment musically, on the one hand, with what he perceives as the more conservative aesthetic of his own Saami community.

Growing up in a reindeer herding family in the Kautokeino district of Norway certainly provided Áilu Gaup with a firm understanding of this aesthetic. When the family moved to a house in the small town of Kautokeino when Áilu was eight, it marked the first time that they did not spend the entire year living in a tent. Thus, he was raised in an environment in which traditional Saami culture flourished.²⁰ In spite of this

¹⁹ The reviewer stated:

...de har en som heter Ailu Gaup som är på väg mot att bli mycket bra.
 (...they [Jávrras Ivnniiguin] have a member named Áilu Gaup who is on the way to being very good)

Doj 1980: 5 (my translation)

In looking through hundreds of copies of *Samefolket*, this was the only outright review of a recording which I found, making its appearance that much more impressive.

²⁰ Although he no longer herds animals himself, two of Áilu's brothers are still active in this occupation, and there is ample opportunity for part-time participation. Both times that I

seemingly 'ideal' milieu, however, Áilu did not learn to joik within the immediate family, for his parents were very religious and felt that joiking was sinful. Any joiking he was exposed to came about largely through contact with his extended family (he has at least two uncles who are renowned joikers) and other members of the community. Through a process that can only be described as trial and error, he began joiking as a young teenager, and encouraged by others in the community, never stopped.²¹ By the time he recorded his first cassette, he already had a substantial repertoire and a local reputation as one of the better young joikers in the region.

Áilu's experimentation with rock'n'roll at this point primarily represented an outlet for his musical curiosity, but it also prompted a desire to better comprehend the structural characteristics of joik. The first attempts to perform in this new genre were apparently an eye-opening experience:

Så det var min 'konfirmation' til at tenke hold takt, og mot takt...og vals, og rock'n'roll takt...og 6- og 4-dels takt. Og det var ikke enkelt alla ganger, for det sånn hadde jeg ikke aldri tenkt nå jeg jojkte. For meg var det, om jeg jojker da det er altså melodier som er 'grund elementa'.

(So that was my 'confirmation' to having to think about keeping with the beat, and against the beat...and a waltz, and a rock'n'roll beat...and 6- and 4-part rhythms. And that was not easy for me all the time, for I had never thought about that while I joiked. For me it was: if I am joiking then it is the melodies which are the 'basic elements'.)

Áilu Gaup 1992, personal communication (my translation)

While many of the joiks which he knew rather conveniently fit into the duple meter form of most rock musical structures, the realization that rhythm was an important underlying element in joik was a revelation, which led him to a closer examination of

have visited Áilu and his family in Kautokeino, I have been invited along to go out and visit with the other family members as they tended the herd.

²¹ As noted in Chapter 3, both Áilu's older brother Ánte Mikkhala and his sister Sara are fine joikers as well.

those pieces in his repertoire which did not easily merge with such an even rhythmic division:

Det der har jeg fått hjelp till å se joik, hva det er musikalisk, dessa komplicerta ritmer som går i udde takt ofta og blandade takt takter: 3-4-2-3; 5, 7, 9, 10, 11.

(This helped me to really comprehend joik, what it is musically, these complicated rhythms which are often in odd meters and mixed meters: 3-4-2-3; 5, 7, 9, 10, 11.)

Áilu Gaup 1992, personal communication (my translation)

Not long after the release of the Javrras Ivnniiguin LP, Áilu and the other members of the group were approached by poet Ailo Gaup (no relation, see note above), who was interested in having a cycle of 35 of his own poems set to music. The band eagerly complied and worked on the project through 1980 with the help of the author and the film director, Nils Gaup (no relation, either). After much revision and a mutual decision to delete a number of poems, the resulting production became the first piece specifically composed for Saami musical theater; it also marked the beginning of the Norwegian national Saami theater, Beavvvás, which is currently the most highly regarded of the various Saami theater groups (Sámi Instituhtta 1990: 164-165). In the process of putting together this first production, Áilu Gaup discovered a real affinity for theater work as well, and began another facet of his artistic career, as both an actor and theatrical musician.²²

It was in this latter role, that he continued to write and sing Saami music which, although joik-derived, was more closely related to Scandinavian popular genres. In this regard, he was to some extent yielding to pressure from outside interests whose support for the theater was critical in its early years--even Saami Radio was more interested in his songs in the early 1980s than in his joiking:

²² He remains a founding member of Beavvvás, which is permanently housed in a theater built for the group in Kautokeino. Although this is Áilu's principle employment, he still tours as a musician on occasion.

...det kjennst det var 'OK' at man gjorde sangen, for noen av de blir veldig god likt i Sameradio, de spillt ofta: "Ja, sing, sing, men icke joik..." "Nej, nej, gör sanger...fint!"

(It felt 'OK' that one wrote songs, for some of them became really well liked on Saami Radio, they were played often: "Yes, sing, sing, but don't joik..." "No, no, write songs...great!"

Áilu Gaup 1992, personal communication (my translation)

Consequently, Áilu's outlet for joiking had to come outside of the theater (at least in its early years of existence). In the early 1980s he joined forces with another talented joiker and singer, Anne-Jorid Henriksen, and Saami instrumentalist, Erik Prost.²³ Together the group toured in Norway and Sweden, playing for both Saami and non-Saami audiences. The performances featured a mixture of joiking and popular music genres sung in Saami (Henriksen's own recordings at the time were very country-influenced), allowing all of the musicians ample opportunity to demonstrate their abilities in different contexts.²⁴

It was during one of these tours that Áilu met a Swedish jazz musician, Krister Bothén, whose own interests were in the musics of West Africa, based on several years living in that part of the world. Bothén had several African expatriates in his group, 'Alkimeds Badkar', and played *dozongoni* as well as various reed instruments. The meeting proved fortuitous for all involved, and eventually led to a workshop with Bothén and some of his band members, sponsored by the newly formed Saami music organization SAMUS

²³ Erik Prost was still working primarily as a producer for Jár'galæd'dji Records at the time. In this capacity he had produced Áilu's record with Jávrras Ivnniiguin (see Chapter 6 for more on Prost's activities as a producer).

²⁴ One of my closest Saami friends had helped produce an appearance by this group in Umeå, Sweden in the mid 1980s. His fondest memory of the evening was hearing both Áilu and Anne Jorid joik late into the night after the concert in a local pub (Andersson 1991, personal communication).

(another one of Prost's innovations). For Áilu, this event was another life-changing experience:

Det var første gang jeg for alvars hørde den afrikanska trummeln, eller perkussion som akustic spillt...ljuder, jo de kan fenge...men det var det jeg fikk for alvars smak på den. Dette med skikkelig perkussion musik...hand trummor, og so videre...Og när vi var ferdig med det som vi ska gjøre sammen, so kunde jeg ikke la væra og joika...og det gikk bara som sant...som vi hade forberede sammen...

(That was the first time I actually heard the African drums, or percussion acoustically played...that sound you can capture...but that was what I got a real taste of. All of that with good percussion music...hand drums, etc...And when we were finished with what we were going to do together, I couldn't help but joik...and it went as though it was planned...as though we had rehearsed together...)

Áilu Gaup 1992, personal communication (my translation)

Shortly after this first chance to play together, Áilu began working with Bothén sporadically, making the long trip down to Stockholm or meeting the band on the road whenever his schedule with the theater would allow. It was their first big show in Stockholm in 1985, however, which convinced him that Saami joik could reach a very broad audience with this type of musical vehicle:

Det var ju da min først test at jeg fikk se hvordan folk--publikum--tog imot joik i Sverige...eller første gang i en stor stad. Og det gikk overallt forventning--folk har veldig intressert og de hade aldrig hørt det stor parten av det...det de hade hørt var som samisk visa, 'pop' melodier, med vestlig musik struktur, men på samisk språk...so rent musikalisk var det ju icke so veldigt...ha, det var det samma som man har hørt i stort sät på till de flesta språk. Men det her var altså med helt musikalisk noen nytt og det er vel so at vi mennesker vi blir alltid engasjered...vi blir på en mått engasjered, positivt eller negativ på noen nytt. Så visst du gjør noen nytt, inne for musiken også, og du er lit heldig, so kan du skora 50% bara med det--ja, det er so...men vi var veldig glad på det at folk tog det so god imot.

(That was thus my first chance that I got to see how people--the public--reacted to joik in Sweden--or, the first time in a big city. And it went beyond all expectations--people were very interested and they had never heard the greater part of it before...what they had heard were like Saami songs, pop melodies, with Western structure, but with Saami language...so purely on musical terms not so very...yeah, it was the same as you heard for the most part in many languages. But this here was, musically, something new; and it's true, that as people we are always engaged--we are engaged in some manner, positive or negative, by something new. So, of course, if you do something new, within music as well, and you're a little lucky, you can score 50% just with that... but we were really happy about that, that people responded so well.)

Áilu Gaup 1992, personal communication (my translation)

Bothén's band went through several incarnations in the intervening years, first becoming Bolon Botha and finally Bolon X (as it is currently known). While the members of the group also shifted periodically, the core musical concept remained a fusion of jazz and West African elements, with the instrumentation typically including tenor saxophone, trap set, electric bass, various percussion instruments, dozongoni, and electric cello or guitar. Rounding out the ensemble was a vocalist/percussionist (Marianne N'Levmo) whose family is Nigerian and Swedish. N'Levmo used her voice most often to repeat short phrases rather than sing specific songs, thus contributing to the strong riff orientation of the group (Audio Example B:3).

For Áilu, playing with Bolon X provided him with the first real opportunity to develop the part of his joik repertoire which had previously been restricted to solo performance, those joiks whose complex rhythmic structures defied inclusion in the more simplistic pop music of his early rock'n'roll days. This meant not only composing new joiks to take advantage of this musical situation, but learning/resurrecting joiks from the Kautokeino

region which fit into this category.²⁵ This experience, by his own admission, also opened Áilu to other musical possibilities for developing his personal approach to joiking, whether with accompaniment or acapella. Having become intrigued with the rhythmic elements of joik, he began adding simple percussion instruments to his own solo performances, including a pair of shakers with which he can establish a basic 3:2 rhythmic relationship to accompany the joiks with compound meters.

In addition, his reputation with Krister Bothén brought attention from other jazz artists in Scandinavia. In 1990, Áilu was asked to participate on a recording with Norwegian saxophonist, Jan Garbarek ("I Took Up The Runes" ECM1419). The two pieces which they played together ("His eyes were suns" and "Rahkki Sruvvis"), featured joik combined with Garbarek's band and the Brazilian percussionist, Nana Vasconcelos, another example of using an extremely complex rhythmic background to accompany two otherwise 'traditional' joiks.

When I questioned Áilu about the reaction in Kautokeino among the same individuals who had nurtured his joiking skills, to his use of the joik (whether his own compositions or older repertoire) in such unusual musical settings, he was quite forthcoming in acknowledging the potential problems this creates, particularly for some older Saami, but was equally confident that his own joiking skills were basically capable of winning over those who doubt his intentions:

Det er icke helt automatisk at folk her sier å "Áilu Gaup, Ingor Ántte Áilu, han kan joikar." Noen vill sikert sier at "nå han brukar musik, da joikar han icke lengre." Jeg har ett svar til de brukar...jeg brukar si som her, at nå jeg laga en joik, so langt jeg kan med min stemme--akapella--at kompanera en joik so det hørs ut som en gammal joik, med de ingredienser...men det er en nylagad joik...nå jeg da finner musikerer

²⁵ On the one occasion I heard him perform with Bolon X (March 8, 1992 in Stockholm), the most effective pieces (and those which garnered the biggest response from the largely Saami crowd as well) took full advantage of the layers of interlocking rhythms which this group was capable of creating and sustaining while various soloists played off and against the established groove.

som jeg kan samarbeide med, jeg kan beholde den joiken akkurat som skal være...og den blir ikke forandret...og vi kan spille med akkompagnement, og jeg spille den for en person, en sámí, kanskje helst ett eldre sámí: "en ortodoks joikar," kan du säga for eksempel...so kan jeg spille den samma joiken, og tar bort musikken, til en andra karl...og i sånn da sier han, "Jaha, kor kommer den joiken fra?" Det er for meg en test.

(It's not completely automatic that people here say, "Áilu Gaup, Ingor Ántte Áilu, he can joik." Someone will certainly say that, "when he uses music [i.e., accompaniment], he's no longer joiking." I have an answer to those who...I usually say this, that if I compose a new joik, as much as I can I use my voice--acapella--to compose a joik so that it sounds like an old joik, with those ingredients...but it's a newly composed joik...if I find musicians that I can work together with, I can preserve that joik exactly as it should be...and it won't be changed...and we can play it with accompaniment; and if I play it for a person, a Saami, perhaps preferably an older Saami: "an unorthodox joik," you could say, for example; so then I can play that same joik, and take away the music, for another guy...and in that case he says, "Jaha, where does that joik come from?")

Áilu Gaup 1992, personal communication

What invariably comes through in conversations with Áilu is his profound sense of self-assuredness about his various undertakings. He is by nature an extremely gregarious individual, making him an excellent musical ambassador from Saamiland, a fact which is not lost on various agencies in his homeland: in 1992 alone, he was sent with the Saami delegation to the World Environmental Summit in Rio de Janeiro, and later acted as an artist-in-residence at the Headlands Cultural Center in the San Francisco area, having been chosen for this by the Norwegian government. Wherever he goes, he is anxious to perform, either solo or with others (even I have been pressed into service on occasion), and his facility with a crowd is impressive, perhaps because of his theatrical experiences.

What is distinctly lacking in his performances, however, is any overt political agenda. In private, he has told me of the impact of both the government and the church on Saami culture in the Kautokeino region, and he was personally involved in the Alta protests, but this has not transferred into his persona as a Saami musician--according to Ailu, joiking in and of itself is a political act which requires no elaboration. While on the one hand, he leaves little doubt as to his ethnicity (compounded by his appearance in gákti for every performance), to date he has not used this identity as a means of creating controversy beyond that which is already endemic to his musical experimentation. In this regard, he stands quite apart from some of the other Saami artists of similar stature, who often use joik as part of their political activism. It is my suspicion that as an individual raised in the most 'traditional' Saami milieu (i.e., a reindeer herding family), Áilu Gaup is very secure in his own identity as a Saami, and is more intent on bridging ethnic boundaries with his music than in building or reinforcing them.

7.4 Almetjh Tjööngkeme: Hard rock joik/Hard-core Saami

<i>Manne áadtjoem joejkedh,</i>	<i>I am going to keep joiking</i>
<i>goske tijje nááhkeme lea.</i>	<i>until my time runs out.</i>
<i>Mujhteht dov kulturem' jih</i>	<i>Remember your culture and</i>
<i>mujhteht datne saemie Leah.</i>	<i>remember that you are Saami.</i>
<i>Datne hov saemie Leah!</i>	<i>Remember that you are Saami!</i>

from "Hierre Daatjh" by Lars-Jonas Johansson (1990)

Soon after arriving in Umeå, Sweden in 1991, I began hearing about a young Saami rock band that supposedly combined a typical guitar-dominated 'hard rock' sound with joik to produce what was described to me as "face-to-face" (i.e., highly confrontational) music.²⁶ For several months I chased after what I began to think might be more phantasm than reality; the only concrete evidence I had after three months of asking questions and making phone calls, was a double-cassette recording ("Vaajesh") by a group that I

²⁶ The phrase used was "*de ställer sig ansikte mot ansikte*" (*they place themselves face to face*), in reference to the attitude the band members adopted (anonymous 1992, personal communication).

presumed was the one I had been told about, 'Almetjh Tjöönghkeme' ('A Gathering of People'). A few months later, I found myself in a tiny old movie house in the town of Jokkmokk, Sweden (just north of the Arctic Circle), where my family and I sat squeezed in with an audience of young Saami people waiting to see a band with the same unpronounceable name.

When the show finally began, the small stage barely contained the five people who had 'gathered' for this particular event: four young men and a young woman. The young woman and one of the fellows were dressed in Saami finery, with the others looking more like aspiring rock musicians in their leather jackets and blue jeans. By contrast, nearly everyone in the audience was dressed in gákti, for this particular concert was the beginning of the Saturday night festivities at the annual Jokkmokksmarknad, a Saami winter street market held annually since the early 17th century, attracting people from all over Saamiland.

The two on stage who were obviously Saami (by virtue of dress) turned out to be the group's singers/joikers, while the others provided accompaniment to a limited degree--in reality the band relied heavily on pre-recorded tapes with which the instrumentalists simply played along on electric guitar, drum synthesizer, and keyboards alternating with electric bass. The male singer also played acoustic guitar and Dylan-esque harmonica.

After getting off to a rather shaky start--they had trouble sequencing the taped and live elements--the group found its feet, and for the next 90 minutes we were given a show which included spontaneous joiking from audience members, 'joik-alongs' initiated by the band, and even a fog machine which belched smoke over the stage and out into the audience during a song about a mythical noaidi's drum. Very quickly that evening I realized that I had found the group I had been seeking for the last five months--Almetjh Tjöönghkeme was indeed a "face to face" band, if this performance was an accurate representation (Audio Example B:4).

When I next saw the group, barely a month later, the personnel had changed somewhat (the young woman was gone), as had the audience. Instead of a crowd of young Saami, the people who had come to see Almetjh Tjöönghkeme on this occasion were of all ages, from babies to grandparents, but Saami nevertheless. The concert was produced by a local Saami association in Funäsdalen in the southern corner of Swedish Saamiland, very close to the Norwegian border.

That particular day had begun with seminars and discussions hosted by the same organization, with the goal of elucidating support for the rather beleaguered Saami population in the area. The latter were embroiled in a legal battle with a huge wood products company over land usage--once again the rights to land and water for reindeer herders were being challenged and seemed destined for the courts.²⁷ Almetjh Tjöönghkeme, brought in from another Saami community further north, was expected to provide entertainment and bolster people's spirits before we all adjourned to another hall for a communal reindeer dinner and a dance, with music provided by local musicians. I must admit that I could not imagine how the group would fare with such a mixed crowd, but they assured me that they were accustomed to playing for all ages, and that such events were not at all uncommon for what amounted to Sweden's only Saami rock band.

As intriguing as the band continued to be for me, I was much more interested on this occasion in the reactions of those who attended the show. Admittedly, the crowd was not particularly boisterous, the joik-along participation, so evident the first time I saw Almetjh Tjöönghkeme perform, was limited to a few die-hard young fans in the front rows, and the fog machine produced more laughs than smoke. Yet the evening included some fine joiking on the part of the lone singer in the group, who had correctly surmised that this was the repertoire that would be the most popular with this particular audience.

²⁷ Soon after this concert in March, 1992, the conflict was tentatively resolved before it reached the courtroom--one Saami legal expert had suggested that this particular case would probably have taken close to thirty years to work its way through the courts (Baer 1992, personal communication).

After the concert that evening I circulated among these folks whom I had come to know after spending several days in the area, hoping to learn more about their particular aspirations for Saami culture. Their foremost concern as a group was language, which very few still spoke with any fluency, and even fewer could read or write to any degree--without more support from the governments (both Sweden and Norway) for South Saami language instruction and curriculum development, they felt certain that their culture would continue to decline; even the reindeer herders in the area were using less Saami in their work, a fact which several older people found unfathomable. As far as joik was concerned, there were none whom I spoke with who admitted to being able to joik personally, but quite a few told me of having heard joik continually as children, or of knowing someone elsewhere who might still joik--stories similar to ones I had previously heard in other parts of southern Saamiland.

In hindsight, I should not have been so surprised at the positive reaction which Almetjh Tjöönghkeme received in Funäsdalen that evening, for the band embodied the future that many in the audience hoped for. All of the songs were performed in the South Saami dialect, much to the delight of most who were present, even if many did not understand what was being said.²⁸ Furthermore, the liberal use of joik, either as a refrain in some songs, or in its more familiar context (both solo and accompanied), provided ample evidence for all of those present that at least some of the South Saami youth could still perform this most important of Saami cultural expressions.

Two older women whom I had observed at the concert were very forthcoming in their praise, as we discussed the show over dinner together. The elder woman, who was 80, smiled broadly as she told me how proud she was of the young singer who had worked so

²⁸ As is the habit of the lead singer/joiker in the group, each song was introduced in Swedish, complete with a short explanation of the text. I had discovered earlier, however, that this bilingual demonstration had a more practical basis than simply engaging the audience: the singer was not conversant enough in Saami himself to speak freely with the crowd.

hard to learn South Saami, in spite of the fact that he made so many grammatical errors; moreover, she found his joiking abilities quite remarkable, to which her daughter-in-law quickly added, "She should know, for she had joik with her mother's milk," eliciting laughs and nods of affirmation from all at the table. A bit later I noticed that this same matriarchal figure had cornered the young singer and was shaking his hand, announcing loudly for all to hear that he should continue joiking to inspire other young people. As I was later to discover, this was exactly what the singer had in mind.

When I finally left Funäsdalen, there was still talk about the concert, but I also detected some animosity toward one of the band members who acted as the group's manager. Apparently there was some residual acrimony over his continual claims that he was Saami himself, a fact that was hotly disputed by those whom I knew in the community.²⁹ From their perspective, such a Saami 'wannabe' was not welcome, particularly at a time when their own sense of collective identity was so obviously threatened by outside forces. While obviously an unfortunate conclusion to an otherwise uplifting event, this development was a cogent reminder of the fragility of the relations between the local Saami and their Scandinavian neighbors

In spite of this infraction I was still impressed with the group, particularly the male singer/joiker, Lars-Jonas Johansson, who had been the center of attention at both Almetjh Tjöönghkeme concerts I had attended. After another month of missed connections, I eventually visited him in his home district, a South Saami community near Tärnaby, along Sweden's western border. What became quite clear as we spoke that afternoon, was

²⁹ This was a situation which I unwittingly contributed to by remarking to several people that the individual in question had surprised me by claiming that *all* of the band members were "Saami to some extent" (Forsgren 1992: personal communication). This initiated a steady diatribe directed by my Saami hosts against this particular young man, and more generally against those who pretend to be Saami at a time when basic rights are a real issue. This complaint was later amplified in a short field study conducted in the same area, examining the question of whether a non-Saami woman marrying into a Saami family should be allowed to wear a Saami dress--the answer was resoundingly "no" (Amft 1992:).

the underlying philosophy for the band which Johansson himself had formulated, belying what otherwise appeared to be a rather haphazard group of musicians.³⁰

7.4.1 Lars-Jonas Johansson

On a previous trip to the Tärnaby area, I had visited the Saami school there (first through ninth grades), one of just a handful of these institutions in Sweden. Consequently, I knew that the region supported a Saami population of some significance, even if their presence was overshadowed by the local skiing industry.³¹ I also had recently met a Saami woman, Pia Persson, who had organized a joik workshop in Tärnaby one summer (1990), where she interviewed a number of potential informants (cf., Toven 1991). It was her considered opinion, however, that very few in the immediate region were capable of joiking any longer. When pressed about Lars-Jonas and Almetjh Tjöönghkeme, she laughed, remarking that "they sing well...but they aren't joiking!" (Persson 1992, personal communication).³²

As it turned out, Persson's objection to the group's use of joik had nothing to do with the musical context--she claimed to like their music--but stemmed instead from the manner in which the two young Saami performers had learned to joik, ostensibly from recordings rather than through exposure to live resources (op. cit.). While I had never encountered this particular criterion of 'authenticity' before, it clearly suggested that Almetjh Tjöönghkeme was positioned at the center of more than one controversy.

As I had suspected, based on both the experience of trying to locate the band initially, and having seen them perform in different locales, Almetjh Tjöönghkeme was not so much a band as a concept, emerging from the ideas of several individuals who played key

³⁰ I should point out that I had already spoken with Lars-Jonas on several occasions, but had never had the opportunity to talk with him for an extended period without interruption from other band members, particularly the group's manager, Anders Forsgren.

³¹ Tärnaby and near by Hemavan are arguably Sweden's most famous ski resorts, thanks in large part to the success of the local hero, Ingemar Stenmark, Olympic gold medalist and World Cup champion in skiing.

³² "*De sjunger ju bra...men de jojkar inte!*"

roles at various points in a process which began in 1988. That year, the local Saami organization in Östersund, Sweden had received funds from the Swedish Cultural Board (*Svensk Kulturråd*) to produce a recording which was to survey the diversity of musical talent in the South Saami region (Nilsson 1992, personal communication). Without previous experience in this field, however, the organization opted to hire two independent (non-Saami) individuals, Ulf Karlsson and Anders Forsgren,³³ to supervise the actual recordings, and act as musical arranger and producer respectively; the organization members were responsible for locating the specific Saami performers and for the album artwork and layout (op. cit.).

Among the different artists/groups featured on the resulting LP/cassette ("Åarjede Laavloeh" [Samien 1]), were three young Saami musicians (all around 20 years old) who knew of each other, but had never played together: Lars-Jonas Johansson, Charlotta Berglund, and Lars-Joel Nilsson. One of the reasons these three had never collaborated in the past was their disparate tastes in music. Lars-Jonas was a self-professed Springsteen fan, who played acoustic guitar and sang a varied repertoire, quite a bit of it in Saami—he had also begun to joik with simple guitar accompaniment, which was specifically why he was chosen to participate on the record (Johansson 1992, personal communication). Charlotta Berglund was a singer whose taste ran more to the kind of pop music heard on both Swedish and Saami radio; she also sang occasionally in Saami, but did not joik at the time of this particular recording. Lars-Joel Nilsson had the most parochial tastes of the three, being primarily interested in what is known in Scandinavia as "dance band music" (*dansbandsmusik*), an electric guitar and accordion/keyboard dominated genre which is a product of the 1960s, largely influenced by such English groups as the

³³ Forsgrene was the same person who later caused so much difficulty over his presumed Saami identity. It is my understanding, however, that at the time of this first project, the question of his ethnicity had not yet arisen—he was perceived by the members of the Östersund organization as 'non-Saami'.

Shadows;³⁴ Lars-Joel played guitar and sang (in English, Swedish, or Saami depending on the repertoire) in a Saami dance band, but did not joik at all (op. cit.).

While there was some discussion among the three during the recording sessions about forming a band, the impetus for becoming a performing group actually came from the record's producer, Anders Forsgren. According to Lars-Jonas, it all began when the organizers of a proposed Saami music concert in Norway phoned Forsgren in 1989. Due to Forsgren's involvement with the project in Östersund, the promoters presumed he might have possible leads on South Saami artists to round out the concert program:

Så ringde de till han och frågade vars de får ta på oss. Och då sade han--han visste att vi hade ju pratade som göra någonting mer då--så då sade han att vi..."De har börjat gör en grupp," sade han. "Så ni kan ju ta ditt de!" "Vad heter de då?" Ja, han droppa till med 'Almetjh Tjöonghkeme' (skrattar)[...] var ett skit-bra namn: 'Almetjh Tjöonghkeme' betyder att du har samlat folk--det var precis som han har gjort. Han höll på med en sydsamisk ordlista då, så han hade de där paperna framför sig: 'tjöonghkeme' och 'samlat' och 'almetjh'--'folk'...ja, Almetjh Tjöonghkeme!"

(So they phoned him and asked how they might get hold of us. And then he said--he knew that we had talked about doing something more then--so he said that we..."They have started a group," he said. "So you can bring them up there!" "What are they called?" Yeah, he came up with 'Almetjh Tjöonghkeme' (laughs) [...] it was a damned good name: 'Almetjh Tjöonghkeme' means that you have gathered people together--that was precisely what he had done. He had been looking at a South Saami wordlist, so he had the papers in front of him: 'tjöonghkeme' and 'gathered' and 'almetjh'--'people'...yeah, Almetjh Tjöonghkeme!)

Johansson 1992, personal communication (my translation)

³⁴ While the repertoire for these bands is remarkably varied, the emphasis is always on providing music for such well known Scandinavian couples dances as the hambo, the schottische, and the waltz (Andersson 1991, personal communication).

Lacking an actual band or a cohesive repertoire, were not sufficient impediments to stop Lars-Jonas and Charlotta from accepting the offer to play at the Sámi Nuorrad Festival that summer in Karasjok, Norway. Thanks to Forsgren, the producer, there were copies of the background tracks from the Östersund sessions, which proved an adequate substitute for live musicians; Forsgren himself played some bass and operated the tape machine and sequencing devices, essentially becoming a one-man-backup-band for Almetjh Tjöonghkeme's first show. Almost overnight, a South Saami rock band was born, albeit one with a questionable ability to sustain itself.

With such a chaotic beginning and the diversity of interests among the members, it is easy to understand why Almetjh Tjöonghkeme quickly ran into difficulty in gelling as a cohesive musical unit. Nevertheless, the group was well received in their early appearances, first at the festival in Norway, and later at the 1990 Jokkmokksmarknad; for this second performance, the group was augmented by the presence of Lars-Joel, the third 'member'. In a review of the latter event in *Samefolket*, the reporter stated:

Bra gjort av ungdomarna att både presentera sina jojkar och sånger på samiska och sjung allt på samiska!

(Well done by these youths, to both present their joiks and Saami songs, and sing all of it in Saami!)

Heikka 1990: 25 (my translation)

As the above implies, one of the most remarkable aspects of the band's performance was its use of Saami for its entire repertoire, leading one to presume that the members all spoke Saami with some degree of competency. Yet, as it turns out, this too is open to considerable question. None of the three singers was raised speaking Saami, while all have gained what skills they have through studying the language in school. Consequently their abilities were and remain rather tenuous by their own admission (Johansson 1992, personal communication). Nevertheless, they are individually committed to writing and

singing in the South Saami dialect as much as possible, even if the results are full of mistakes. According to Lars-Jonas, all such efforts reinforce the language, proving that it is not by any means 'dead':

Om jag skriver en text så är det alltid någon som säger det där är fel (skrattar) därför att den där djävlar grammatik. Och så är det inte äns om stavningen och så är det olycka dialekter, vet du...Tärna har en dialekt och Vilhelmina har en dialekt och Ammarnäs har en egen dialekt [...] Det är ju många familjer som inte kan ett dugg--det är så ojämnt det där: på vissa ställen där levde det kvar, men levde inte på andra ställen, alltså själva språket. Och för den skuld ska man inte säga att språket är dödt--det är inte dödt, men det bara villan!

(If I write a text, there is always someone who says that it is incorrect (laughs) because of that damned grammar. And then of course there's spelling and then there are different dialects, you know...Tärna has a dialect and Vilhelmina has a dialect and Ammarnäs has its own dialect [...] There are many families who cannot speak a word--it is so uneven: in one place it lived, but didn't in another place, the language, that is. And for that reason, one can't say that the language is dead--it's not dead, it's just resting!)

Johansson 1992, personal communication (my translation)

Another point in Almetjĥ Tjööngkeme's performances which quickly caught the attention of their early audiences, was their use of joik. Both Charlotta and Lars-Jonas joik on stage, but it is clearly Lars-Jonas who dominates in this respect.³⁵ Besides performing acapella or with simple accompaniment, many of the songs he has written more recently actually include joik refrains.

While it is problematic to some extent to speak of regional joik styles today, particularly given the availability of recordings by joikers from different areas of

³⁵ In support of this contention, prior to the Almetjĥ Tjööngkeme show in Jokkmokk which I attended in 1992 (see above), Lars-Jonas gave a solo joik concert at the local Saami museum, Ajtte.

Saamiland, Lars-Jonas's personal approach to the genre certainly sounded more like North Saami joik than what I would have expected from a South Saami performer. Thus, I was curious how he had learned to joik, particularly if he had used specific recordings as a model, as I had heard from others (see above). While he acknowledges influence from both Ingor Antte Ailu Gaup and Nils-Aslak Valkeapää,³⁶ he steadfastly maintains that the ability to joik is a skill common to all Saami, and is not so much a process of learning as it is one of simply doing:

Men joiken den finns inom varenda samer. Det är bara att väck upp...det är bara det att våga: alla kan joik men det är just där att våga joik...men alla kan. För joiken det är en känsla och det här veta jag [...] Då man känner för det så är det bara att börja.

(But joik, that exists within every Saami. It is just to awaken it...it is just to dare: all can joik but it is just that, to dare to joik...but all can. Because joik is a feeling, and that is something I know. [...] If one has a feeling for it, it's simply a matter of beginning [to joik].)

Johansson 1992, personal communication (my translation)

Although Lars-Jonas first publicly demonstrated his own joiking abilities just prior to making the Östersund recording, his decision to begin joiking at all was grounded in what he perceived as a serious problem of intolerance within the South Saami community. For his part, at least, joiking became an act of defiance aimed as much at these forces within his culture as those on the outside:

Folk har...ja väll, fortfarande rädd att joik, för att de säger "Den där dummskal som sitter och joik han är inte riktigt klug...vilket tokig

³⁶ In discussing Valkeapää's influence:

"Men det är klart, inspireras man lite ut av Aillohas--det är klart det kan ju händer att det blir lika."

(But it is clear that one is inspired a bit by Aillohas--it's clear that it can even happen that it [joik] is a bit alike.)

Johansson 1992, personal communication (my translation)

djävel...tänk!" Ja, du förstår inställning vad jag menar att en del de skratt åt de andra som jojk--och har varit så.

(People have...yeah, well, they're still afraid to joik, because they say, "That dumbhead who sits and joiks, he's not all there...what a stupid ass...imagine!" Yeah, you understand the attitude I mean, that one group, they laugh at the others who joik--and it has been that way)

Johansson 1992, personal communication (my translation)

Based in large part on the success of their first shows, Almetjh Tjöönghkeme decided to release their own recording. Once again, Forsgren, who continued to play bass and manipulate the necessary electronic equipment in concert, was the catalyst for this project. With his help, the group secured financing from both the Swedish Culture Board and the Saami Fund; when this proved insufficient, Forsgren actually used his own resources to see the project through completion.

The resulting CD/cassette ("Vaajesh" [Jojkbox 1]) is the odd mixture of genres which one would expect, given the different musical backgrounds of the three core members of the group. The overwhelming majority of the songs included (eleven of nineteen total) feature Lars-Jonas. Of these, four are joiks performed without accompaniment, and four of the others fall into the category that he defines as "hard rock joik," with a joik interpolated as a refrain, often repeated several times with variation and increasing volume. Charlotta sings three pieces of her own which have a strong pop sound, and briefly adds her joiking to one of Lars-Jonas's songs. Lars-Joel, on the other hand, contributes two songs which demonstrate his interest in dance band music, but display no joik influence whatsoever. The remaining three selections are all instrumental interpretations of joiks derived from a published collection, and feature the group's arranger, Ulf Karlsson (the only non-Saami given performance credit on the recording).

And yet, despite the apparent genre disparity, there is a thematic unity which pervades the entire recording: nearly all of the songs address some aspect of South Saami culture,

whether delivered in the inflammatory language that Lars-Jonas seems to prefer, or posed in a more rhetorical manner as exemplified by Charlotta and Lars-Joel. The topics range from condemnation of treatment by the Scandinavians in the past and present ("Hierre Daatjh"/"Master Race"; "Gaajhkem vaalteme"/"Everything has been taken"), to rather wistful longings for a simpler Saami lifestyle ("Mojtoeh aehtjeste"/"Our old father"; "Gieje ligkelamme"/"At the end of the road").³⁷

The other integrating element to these performances is the overall production, accomplished in this instance by once again bringing in Ulf Karlsson, as well as several studio musicians to handle all of the arrangements and the instrumental chores. The resulting sound is very polished, supplying just the right amount of 'bite' when necessary to emphasize the more accusatory lyrics, but equally underplayed on some of the less polemical pieces. Instrumentation leans heavily on synthesizers, with multiple keyboards providing chordal accompaniment and bass parts; even the rhythm tracks are all covered by a drum machine. Most of the solos are deftly handled by an anonymous electric guitar player.³⁸

The danger in producing such a technically sophisticated recording, however, is readily apparent when seeing the group perform before an audience. Even by hiring a guitarist and a drummer, Almetjh Tjöönghkeme cannot match the sound created in the studio, leaving them no alternative but to continue to play and sing along with the pre-recorded tracks from the album.³⁹ Without better instrumentalists, the group is destined to

³⁷ Unfortunately much of the impact of these lyrics is diminished by the failure to include translations from South Saami in the accompanying booklet. This decision, however, was part of the conscious plan to make this a product by and for South Saami audiences, no matter how commercially limiting this might be (Johansson 1992, personal communication; Forsgren 1992, personal communication).

³⁸ Neither Forsgren nor Johansson could recall the name of the studio musician brought in for this recording.

³⁹ The last time I saw the band, the young Swedish guitar player hired for the occasion quickly realized he was out of his league compared to his pre-recorded counterpart, and turned his volume *down* each time a guitar solo was called for--the recording was what the crowd heard, while they watched a stand-in literally go through the motions.

continue in its largely amateur state, a realization which apparently contributed significantly to the decisions of both Lars-Joel and Charlotta to leave the band (Johansson 1992, personal communication). Yet this situation is not in the least problematic for the one member whose presence has proven most constant, and whose songs and performances have clearly dominated the group since its inception, Lars-Jonas Johansson. By Johansson's reckoning, the band, even in its current state, is an effective vehicle for his own aspirations, the majority of which have little to do with music, and a great deal to do with his perception of his own culture.

Far from being his main musical outlet,⁴⁰ Almetjh Tjöonghkeme has always been viewed by Lars-Jonas as a means of demonstrating the distinctive character of South Saami culture, not only to the Scandinavians who encounter his music via the media,⁴¹ but to other Saami as well. This point is exemplified in his steadfast refusal to have the lyrics to the record translated, either to Swedish or even the more commonly spoken North Saami dialect.⁴² While this decision would also seem to have excluded a significant percentage of the current South Saami population, it is a predicament for which Johansson feels he and Almetjh Tjöonghkeme have created the ideal solution with their music:

Mitt mål det är att väka upp samisk ungdomen och framför allt sydsamisk ungdomen, men även andra samer. Och det är att ta upp det här med jojk, lär sig som att lyssna på samisk musik. För att jag tror att vägen till att lära sig ett språk, det är även att du måste gilla och måste vara intresserad av det. Om man kan gå in bakvägen genom att spela en bra låt som all gå och rinna på, och därmed om du sjung den där låten vill de även tar rätt på

⁴⁰ Most of Johansson's performance interest is invested instead in a conventional rock and blues group which he formed with what he describes as "four hippies" (*fyra övervinklade hippies*). They perform largely in bars in the Tärnaby region during the ski season (Johansson 1992, personal communication).

⁴¹ The group's record had reasonable airplay on the mainstream Swedish rock radio programs after its release; in addition, an independent video chronicling the making of "Vaajesh" was shown on Swedish national television in 1991.

⁴² A lyric sheet in Swedish was, however, made available to the media when the recording was first released. As far as Johansson knows, this has never circulated through other channels.

texten, och via den vägen så gå de in vid texten--analysera texten--och till slut måste de kanske gå till någon som kan det där och måste ju som tvinga sig till att ta tills med det. Det är också ett sätt att väka intressa för samiska. Det är därför att vi har inte haft någon svensk text på skivan.

(My goal is to awaken the Saami youth and above all South Saami youth, but even other Saami. And moreover to do this with joik, teach them to listen to Saami music. Because I believe that the way to learn a language, is that you have to enjoy it and must be interested in it. If one can come in the back way through playing a good song that everyone goes crazy for, and furthermore if you sing that song they will even want to pay attention to the lyrics, and via that route they then become involved with the lyrics--analyze the lyrics--and in the end they might have to approach someone else who understands it and must nearly force themselves to become a part of it. That's also a means of awakening an interest in Saami language. That's why we did not have any Swedish text with the record.)

Johansson 1992, personal communication (my translation)

In his own way, Lars-Jonas is an effective cultural crusader who is not in the least adverse to ruffling the feathers of those whom he sees as counter forces to his explicit goals. When I asked about his decision to combine joik with a potentially confrontational musical genre such as hard rock, he was equally forthcoming in his belief that this was the way to best reach those who need to be engaged if South Saami culture is to remain viable, the youth:

Det var en ut av orsakarna till att vi har satt så lite på rock och joik och försök och förena de två. Därför att vi tänkt som så vi nu ska gå vidare och försök att få ungdomer att bli intresserad av det här då vi måste göra någonting som de hoppar på, som de gillar hög på. Det går inte bara håller på med 'kultur'--kultur och kultur--det blir för tungt. Ska vi vänder till ungdomer då måste du använder litet av deras språk och av deras musikstil som de vill hör--och blues, det går hem överallt...och rock, det går också hem--det är lätt lyssnad--det går ju hem hos ungdomer ganska bra. Så att då tänkte jag, jag ska testa det här ibland ungdomer, för att förre om man var ju van med hur sydsamisk musik...det har mera varit som de

djäckla psalmer och väckelsen möten (skrattar) och det låter så bedrövad som man gråter om man sett på en sydsamisk sång konsert. För att jag vet...tänkte vi måste ha lite roligare saker, måste ha lite mer 'hip-hop...När vi fick hör att vi ska göra skivan, jag ska prova att göra någon på sydsamiska. Jag fick gå som jag vill--om man inte ta ett chans, då vet man inte om det funka.

(That was one of the reasons that we worked a little with rock and joik, and tried to unite the two. Because we thought, if we are now going to go further and try to get the youth to be interested in this, then we must have something which they'll jump on, something they like to grab onto. It doesn't do to just be concerned with 'culture'--culture and culture--that becomes too heavy. If we are going to turn the youth, then you must use a little of their language and of their musical style which they want to listen to--and blues, that's always popular...and rock, that's popular too--that's easy to listen to--that hits home today with the youth really well. So then I thought, I should test this among the youth, because earlier, if one knew about South Saami music...it was more like those awful psalms and revival meetings (laughs), and that sounded so grim that one cried if one saw a South Saami song concert. So then I thought,...that we must have a little more fun things, must have a bit more 'hip-hop'...When we found out that were going to make the album, I was going to try to do something in South Saami. I got to go the way I wanted--if one doesn't take a chance, one won't ever know if it works.)

Johansson 1992, personal communication (my translation)

As to the remaining thorny issue, that of the group manager/bassist, Anders Forsgren, who periodically has caused difficulty regarding his own ethnicity, Johansson comes to his defense by claiming that Forsgren's relatives long ago gave up their Saami identity and blended into the community as Swedes, leaving Forsgren with no one to support his desire to be recognized as Saami:

Men, du vet, hans släkt har dött ut, så han...det är inte så många som lever kvar där. Och de som lever kvar, de har börjat med andra näring arbetar

som bonderi och de vill inte kännas sig att de har samer släkt...finns många som gör det också.

(But, you know, his relatives have all died, so he...there aren't so many of them still living there. And those who are living, they have taken up other agricultural work like farming, and they do not want to acknowledge that they have Saami relatives...and there are a lot who do that also.)

Johansson 1992, personal communication (my translation)

On the other hand, Johansson is also pragmatic about his friend, recognizing that without Forsgren's financial backing and bureaucratic expertise, there would never have been any hope to put his own plans into practice.⁴³

No matter how involved Forsgren or the other band members remain, however, the future of Almetjh Tjöönghkeme is entirely dependent on the desires and efforts of Lars-Jonas Johansson. I think I was particularly aware of this when I watched them perform in Funäsdalen. Those in the audience were there largely because it was specifically a South Saami event; whatever musical expectations they had were clearly secondary to the celebration of their culture which the Almetjh Tjöönghkeme performance represented. Even midst incessant tuning and equipment problems, and the occasional lack of synchronization between the live and pre-recorded musicians, the most important elements shone through: language and joik. Assuming a rather unlikely role for a rock musician, Lars-Jonas' offered proof with his singing and joiking that evening that the young generation had accepted the challenge to continue struggling for ethnic recognition.

For all of his discussion about enticing other Saami youth to learn their own language by studying the lyrics which he so painstakingly writes, I do not believe that Johansson

⁴³ When I spoke with Forsgren he demonstrated an almost paternalistic pride in Lars-Jonas and the rest of the band, explaining to me how much better a joiker the young singer had become thanks to the exposure which the group had garnered after the release of their record--a point reiterated by a Saami woman sitting within earshot of our conversation. He would not discuss his own financial commitment to Almetjh Tjöönghkeme, however, preferring to create the impression that he had merely acted as a much-needed adviser (Forsgren 1992, personal communication).

uses South Saami simply as a coercive tool or as a means of demonstrating his own linguistic prowess. I would instead suggest that he correctly understands that for most South Saami, their language has effectively become more symbolic than communicative (Edwards 1985: 17). His choice to use this dialect for his songs is a means of marking each performance as a symbolic event--even those Saami (regardless of their specific region of origin) who cannot understand a single word of Lars-Jonas' lyrics, recognize the significance of the act of using this dialect, particularly by a young person. It is an affirmation that the language, and by extension the culture, are capable of being sustained.

As important as the linguistic aspect of his performance is, however, I think that Johansson's use of joik is even more capable of galvanizing an audience. Whether used as a hard rock refrain or delivered acapella, the sound of joik is unmistakable to his Saami listeners, and like language, it marks the event indelibly. This point was made abundantly clear not only in the reactions of older people in Funäsdalen, who applauded his joiking in any form, but also among the wildly enthusiastic young Saami crowd in Jokkmokk, who responded to the joiking from the stage with their own spontaneous outbursts, or joined in *en masse* on the 'joik alongs'. Moreover, because of the rather nebulous personal style which Lars-Jonas has developed, his joiking is less specifically South Saami, functioning instead as a symbolic expression encompassing more of his Saami listeners with each iteration, so that regional differences are downplayed and a broader sense of ethnicity is encouraged.

If, however, Lars-Jonas' performances actually do inspire others to pick up the cultural torch and learn South Saami or begin joiking, he will have come much closer to realizing his own goals for this particular musical venture. For the time being, at least, he seems content to keep pursuing this objective, with Almetjh Tjöönghkeme serving as a most convenient vehicle for his ideas:

Får jag tio ungdomer att börja, tio ungdomer att lyssna på det här, eller som tar tidelse där, då har jag nått en stor säkring. Och det vill jag göra med min musik. Jag vill slå mig fram--inte för egna minne, men för alla andra [...] Jag vill breda den sydsamiska musik för att få ungdomer att välla höra på det också--vissa att det finns..."Vi kan, vi också här söderut!"

(If I get ten kids to start, ten kids to listen to this, or who will take the time with it, then I have achieved a great rescue. And that is what I want to do with my music. I want to make my own way--not for my own remembrance, but for all the others [...] I want to spread South Saami music around to get the kids to want to listen to it as well--show them that it exists..."We can do that too, we here in the south!")

Johansson 1992, personal communication (my translation)

7.5 Frode Fjellheim: Listening to the voices of the past

Jeg er inte noen særskilt 'joik vetenskapsman' utan jeg er musikker--och vil gjerne spille musikk!

(I'm not particularly a 'joik scholar', but am instead a musician--and I really want to play music!)

Frode Fjellheim

The published collections of joik from the early part of this century bear witness not only to the successful field experiences of such folklorists as Karl Tirén and Armas Launis, but offer tangible evidence of a surprisingly vibrant joik tradition at the time this work was undertaken, albeit one which was often deliberately and carefully subsumed not only from outsiders, but from other Saami as well. As was discussed in Chapter 5, however, the transcriptions and detailed analyses which emerged from this fieldwork had more direct impact on later generations of folklorists and others scholars interested in Saami culture, than they did on the Saami who served as informants or on their descendants.

In most instances, it has been fair to assume that these works, once produced, reside quite unknown on library and archive shelves, rather than circulating amongst Saami

communities--often published in German, they are with few exceptions regarded by the current generation of Saami musicians as more trouble to decipher than they are worth. Only the most recent large-scale collecting project by Swedish Radio, which resulted in 1969 in seven LPs and a book aimed more at the popular market, continues to elicit response as a potential resource for a Saami audience. Indeed, there have been several official requests to bring the whole series back in print, this time with the Saami texts included (Prost and Jernsletten 1980: 21).⁴⁴

In 1991, this situation changed momentarily with the release of a recording of instrumental interpretations of joiks, nearly all of which had been found by the arranger, Frode Fjellheim, in Karl Tirén's massive opus, *Die lappische Volksmusik*. While these did not represent the only use of Tirén's collection by a composer/arranger (see Chapter 5), they were nevertheless quite remarkable for two reasons: the arrangements marked the first such application of Tirén's materials by a Saami artist; and the recording was the culmination of a project which reintroduced Fjellheim to his own Saami background. It was, in short, a case of joik examples from the past inspiring a present day exploration of the nature of ethnicity from a highly personal perspective.

Frode Fjellheim was born in the South Saami district in Norway (near Røros), but was early on displaced from his cultural moorings there, when his father accepted a position at the Saami high school in Karasjok, necessitating a move to the northernmost area of the country when Fjellheim was seven years old. While the region encompassing Karasjok and nearby Kautokeino could arguably be considered the heart of Saamiland, particularly given the majority Saami population and the number of important cultural institutions in the immediate area, it is nevertheless a bastion of North Saami culture, and as such proved to be quite overwhelming for the newly transplanted South Saami family. For Fjellheim,

⁴⁴ The accompanying book, *Joik/Yoik*, was published in Swedish and English only, with all of the Saami joik texts translated by Israel Ruong. All requests to re-release the records/book have been refused on financial grounds (see for example Janzon's 1980 reply to Prost and Jernsletten in *Samefolket* 61[10]: 22).

this regional disparity was most keenly expressed in his inability to speak North Saami, forcing him to rely on Norwegian as his only means of communicating with friends. By his own reckoning this linguistic handicap prevented him from participating in many cultural activities, including learning to joik, and left him feeling "bound and constrained" in Karasjok (Fjellheim 1992, personal communication). He was, however, abundantly aware of the genre, having often heard it performed among his age mates and their families, particularly at private parties where the sound of joiking periodically punctuated the evening's activities; even in this cultural heartland, joik was not yet a publicly performed genre in the early 1970s (op. cit.).

While joik remained on the margins of his own musical development, it was through music that Fjellheim actually established his most enduring identity in his new home region. He had begun formal musical training on the piano at a young age, and continued to play conventional Western classical repertoire through his teens; it was his second interest, American and British rock'n'roll, however, which brought him the most recognition from his Saami friends in Karasjok--transferring his skills to electronic keyboards was a simple matter, and Fjellheim spent a number of years playing in local rock bands, primarily with other young Saami musicians, who like himself had developed a marked preference for the music of the Beatles and the Stones over local alternatives (op. cit.).⁴⁵

In 1980, Fjellheim moved south to study piano performance at the University in Trondheim, not far from the area where his family had originally come from. Curiously enough, it was in this academic environment that he first explored Saami joik from a purely musical perspective: in order to complete a music theory assignment, he elected to

⁴⁵ Fjellheim's prowess in this regard was reiterated in conversations with other Saami musicians who had been active in the region during the same period. While not involved directly in bands with him, two individuals I spoke with knew him by reputation as a keyboardist (Prost 1992: personal communication; A. Gaup 1992, personal communication).

transcribe and analyze several joiks from field recordings in the university archives. According to Fjellheim, divorcing the *sound* of joik from its performance context, created a less emotionally-laden environment, which encouraged his own intellectual engagement with the genre for the first time (op. cit.). While continuing his studies in Western music performance, he periodically returned to the archives to look for more joik recordings to continue this exploration, but found the experience frustrating due to an apparent lack of systematic organization of these particular materials.

After finishing his studies, Fjellheim settled in Trondheim, working as a free-lance musician, and became increasingly involved in playing jazz piano. He also became involved in Trondheim's budding recording industry, often playing keyboards for various commercial projects, from LPs to advertising jingles. The majority of his work, however, came from the local theater groups, who hired him to compose, arrange, and even conduct the music for their productions.

It was in this capacity, that he was eventually approached in the late 1980s by Anna Jacobsen, an older member of the South Saami community, who asked if he was interested in contributing to a proposed musical/dramatic production featuring a Saami cast. The idea was intriguing to Fjellheim, even though he considered himself ignorant of South Saami culture to a great extent.⁴⁶ Fjellheim suggested that he might try to incorporate some joiks from the region into his composition, having in mind the transcriptions he had completed at the university. Jacobsen agreed enthusiastically, but suggested that he also look at some published transcriptions which she had selected from Karl Tirén's *Die lappische Volksmusik.*, a resource with which Fjellheim was completely unfamiliar.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Fjellheim told me that when asked, he invariably told people that he was from Karasjok, even though his father has become very active in the South Saami region in recent years, after returning to the area of his own upbringing at about the same time that Fjellheim moved to Trondheim (Fjellheim 1992, personal communication; reiterated by his father, Sverre Fjellheim 1992, personal communication).

⁴⁷ This situation reinforces my contention that most of the results of the early folklorists who worked in Saamiland, while not inaccessible, have thus far been of little practical use to those outside of the academic institutions where they are stored in books and recording.

Jacobsen's knowledge of this collection derived from two sources. As an older member of the South Saami community, she had actually known a number of individuals who had served as informants to Tirén, and had thus heard first-hand details of the experience of joiking into a cylinder recording device for the great joik collector (Jacobsen 1991, personal communication). Furthermore, in 1982 when the Music Museum in Stockholm first transferred the remaining cylinders from Tirén's fieldwork to magnetic tape, Jacobsen was approached to serve as a consultant to oversee the reprinting of the South Saami texts using a more current and standardized orthography. Jacobsen's many years as a South Saami language teacher made her the ideal choice for this project (op. cit.; see also Doj 1982: 4). While looking through the material provided by the museum, she ran across a number of joik examples collected from her home region, and in some cases from past acquaintances; these transcriptions, in turn, are what she gave to Fjellheim for his consideration.

Fjellheim initially worked up three arrangements from the materials Jacobsen provided, even going so far as to record them himself in a local studio using a variety of synthesizers and different percussion instruments. As an instrumentalist, Fjellheim had no intention of trying to reproduce the vocal performances which the transcriptions ostensibly represented, but opted instead for interpretations in which he played the joik melody several times through, while the 'ensemble' provided both melodic and rhythmic support; as Nils-Aslak Valkeapää had done before him, Fjellheim made use of 'nature' sounds for contextual background for his 'joiks'.

Even though the show for which these arrangements were made never materialized, the recordings eventually were included in the Östersund Saami organization's 1989 compilation album of contemporary South Saami music, "Åarjede Laavloeh" (described

Fjellheim's frustrating experiences with the Trondheim archives were repeated when he later tried to attain some materials from the huge ULMA archive in Uppsala, Sweden--after repeated attempts, he simply gave up (Fjellheim 1992, personal communication).

above).⁴⁸ Fjellheim's interest had been piqued by the experience, however, and he began searching through Tirén's collection (which he obtained from the university library) for examples from his own family's home region. Ultimately he envisioned an entire album of his instrumental arrangements which even in their modernity would pay homage to the culture from which he himself had become increasingly estranged. He also hoped to draw attention to Karl Tirén, whose collection he described as "a gift" (*en gave*) to all Saami people, but one which had gone unrecognized for far too long, particularly in those communities where the materials were originally collected:

Verden omkring har ofte hatt en nedlatende holdning til joik. De tidligste kildene beskriver til og med samene som et folk uten musikk!

Desto større grunn har vi til å takke dem som har tatt joken på alvor, og som har gitt oss muligheter til å bevare noe av den for alltid.

En av dem er Karl Tirén. Han reiste rundt i sameland og gjorde opptak og nedtegninger av joik. Hans arbeid ble i 1943 [sic] utgitt under titteln <<Die lappische Volksmusik>>.

(The outside world has often assumed a condescending attitude toward joik. The earliest sources even describe the Saami as a people without music!

Therefore we have even greater reason to thank those who have taken joik seriously, and have given us the possibility to preserve some of them for eternity.

One of these is Karl Tirén. He travelled around in Saamiland and made recordings and transcriptions of joik. His work was published in 1943 [sic] under the title, "Die lappische Volksmusik".)

Frode Fjellheim: introductory remarks to "Sangen vi glemte" (1991) (my translation).

⁴⁸ When I spoke with Fjellheim for the first time in 1992, he was unaware that the three recordings had actually been used in the project, having never heard anything back after he submitted his musical contribution. In a related development, I later discovered that the inclusion of three instrumental selections on Almetjh Tjöonghkeme's "Vaajesh" album came about as a direct result of the interest which Fjellheim's earlier arrangements had generated with the arranger of both "Åarjede Laavloeh" and "Vaajesh", Ulf Karlsson (Johansson 1992, personal communication).

In order to bring the proposed recording project to fruition, Fjellheim contacted the Norwegian Saami Music Consultant, Erik Prost,⁴⁹ who serves as the official go-between for potential recipients of funds and the Norwegian Culture Board which finances many different arts projects each year (Prost 1992: personal communication). With Prost's help, Fjellheim secured support from both the Norwegian and Swedish boards, whose combined involvement was a symbolic recognition of the inconsequential nature of national boundaries for the Saami population (op. cit.).

For nearly two years, Fjellheim worked on his album of instrumental 'joiks', eventually releasing "Sangen vi glemte" ("Songs we forgot") in 1991. Of the eleven pieces included, all but one are taken from Tirén's published transcriptions, which according to Fjellheim yielded enough material for several more albums if he ever feels so inclined (Fjellheim 1992: personal communication). Unlike his earlier recordings, however, Fjellheim assembled a number of other musicians for this project to add diversity to his own synthesizer and percussion parts. The joik melodies on "Sangen vi glemte" are performed by English horn, saxophone, harp, guitar, flute/recorder, krumhorn, bassoon, and synthesizer--through sampling technology, even a reindeer 'joiks' on one selection. While the emphasis remains on the simple reiteration of a given joik melody, by expanding the personnel to include a number of his jazz playing friends, the resulting recorded performances also demonstrate quite a bit of improvisation, using the joik as inspiration (Audio Example B:5). Furthermore, Fjellheim carefully constructed the soundscape for each piece with field recordings of animals and other natural sound-producing phenomena--his goal was to express what he perceives as the profound connection between the structure of a joik and the environment from which it emerges (op.

⁴⁹ This is the same individual who worked as a record producer and studio musician for the Jår'galæd'dji label during the so-called 'joik renaissance'. His position as a consultant for the Norwegian government began in 1984 (Prost 1992, personal communication).

cit.), a point with which contemporary joikers concur (A. Gaup 1992, personal communication; A. M. Gaup 1990, personal communication).

Besides the introductory notes calling attention to Tirén's contributions (see citation above), Fjellheim identifies the original informant for each example,⁵⁰ in addition, as per his plan, all of the joiks included are taken from the South Saami region, largely from the Swedish side of the border where Tirén was most active. The titles are those provided by Tirén, ostensibly having come from the informants themselves--Fjellheim gives them in both Norwegian and South Saami, a language consultant having been of great help with translation (Fjellheim 1992, personal communication).

While the musical results contained on "Sangen vi glemte" have so far demonstrated a much broader appeal than some of the other recordings described here, even bringing Fjellheim offers to appear at several major jazz festivals in Scandinavia to recreate the music on the album, his reasons for undertaking the project in the first place, and the support he has received from the South Saami since its inception are much more germane issues for this discussion of music and ethnicity. According to Fjellheim, what initially attracted him to the Tirén collection, was the quality of the transcriptions. Based on his own experience as a music student struggling with the problems of translating sound to notation, he felt Tirén had done a remarkable job. Yet he came to realize that the reason these published results appeared to function so well had more to do with his personal background with the genre and with Saami culture.

Having grown up on the margins of the 'joik milieu', Fjellheim felt qualified to fill in the information which could not be captured by notes on the page, even if he did not feel capable of joiking personally. This awakened a long dormant appreciation for his upbringing, and by extension led him back to the culture of his parents in South Saamiland

⁵⁰ One of his arrangements, "På leiting/Ohtsedeminie" ("On the hunt"), uses two different joiks set in counterpoint; all of the others make use of a single joik at a time (Audio Example B: 5).

(op. cit.). With each year that he had lived in Trondheim, he had felt his Saami identity give way to that of the Norwegian jazz musician by which he was known to other players and employers. Discovering the wealth of material contained in Tirén's book not only inspired a successful recording project, but actually gave Fjellheim pause to reconsider his ethnicity and to eventually take a stand in this regard:

Jeg er ingen bærer av sørsamisk musikktradisjon, og har heller ikke satt meg som mål å rekonstruere den musikken som Tirén hørte. Likevel håper jeg at innspillingen kan kaste lys over en kulturarv vi alle kan glede oss over, og gi nytt liv til sangen vi glemte.

(I am not personally a bearer of the South Saami music tradition, nor have I set a goal for myself to reconstruct the music which Tirén heard. Nevertheless, I hope that this recording can shed some light on a cultural heritage that we all can be glad about, and provide new life to songs we forgot.)

Frode Fjellheim: introductory remarks to "Sangen vi glemte" (1991) (my translation).

As a result of Fjellheim's decision to seek funding specifically as a Saami musician, "Sangen vi glemte" was released on a Saami record label, IDUT, and moreover, was given support by the South Saami cultural organization, *Saemien Sijte*, headquartered in Snåsa, Norway. In addition to taking over the promotion of the recording through their own mailing network, this group also arranged the first performance of Fjellheim and his friends, before a distinctly Saami audience (op. cit.; supported by Persson 1992, personal communication).

Perhaps the greatest test of Fjellheim's musical experiments, however, came in June, 1992, when he was invited to provide the entertainment at the annual meeting of the National Organization of Swedish Saami (SSR), held that year in Östersund. Accompanying Fjellheim for the performance were five young Norwegian jazz musicians (non-Saami), playing soprano saxophone/bass clarinet, electric guitar, electric bass,

drums (trap set), and percussion, while the arranger sat behind an acoustic piano and two different synthesizers. Even though a sizable percentage of the crowd was middle aged, the positive response to Fjellheim's hybrid jazz-joiks was palpable, initiating not only two standing ovations, but an encore and an extemporaneous laudatory speech by the former editor of *Samefolket* magazine, Pål Doj, in which he clearly expressed the thoughts of many present:

Jag nu har föllt med den nordsamiska jojkens utveckling, ifrån Mattias Kuljoks 'vuolle' [jojkar själv] till Áillohaš' utveckling...från den tid han gav ut sina första gramafonskivor som var ren samisk jojk ifrån Áillohaš' området. Och så kommer ni då, du, och presenteras sin sydsamisk jojk fräkt och direkt in så väldigt modern som ungefär mina barn höra på P3 Radio--men samtidigt så hör jag den här mjuka tonen. Märkte ni som är van att lyssna på jojk ifrån nordsamiska området, märkte ni den här sydsamiska mjuka jojkning?..Men här har vi nu mött en fräkt sydsamer som har gått direkt ifrån gamla orginal jojken till modern musik...Får vi höra en sak till?

(I have now followed the evolution of North Saami joik, from Mattias Kuljok's 'vuolle' [joiks to demonstrate] to Áillohaš' development...from the time when he released his first records which were pure Saami joik from Áillohaš' own district. And now along come you, you, and present your South Saami joik fresh and direct, so completely modern sort of like the music my children listen to on P3 Radio [Sweden's popular music station]--but at the same time, I hear those soft sounds. Didn't you notice, you who are accustomed to listening to joik from the North Saami region, didn't you all notice that soft South Saami joiking? (much applause)...And now we have met a fresh South Saami who has gone directly from the old joik to modern music...May we hear one more? (applause).)

Pål Doj, addressing SSR concert attendees 6/10/92 (my translation)

The fact that joik has served as a means of personal ethnic affirmation for Frode Fjellheim, should come as little surprise at this stage of the discussion. For those within Saami culture, the *sound* of joik has always represented a connective device nearly as

potent as actually performing joik--perhaps even more so among recent generations of Saami for whom joiking has become more of a passive exercise, after the emergence of Saami 'artists' like Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Ingor Antte Ailu Gaup. Consequently, when Fjellheim encountered Tirén's transcriptions in *Die lappische Volksmusik*, by his own admission it was his experience with the sound of joik which fleshed out the notes on the page, and more importantly made him aware again of his cultural heritage. In choosing to reconcile his two identities in a single project, merging his ethnicity and his musical interests, he stood the chance of alienating himself from both of these spheres, and yet he accomplished just the opposite. While discussing this with the members of his band one night after a performance, they all commented that Fjellheim's jazz-joik experiments represented his best and most challenging work, and that they looked forward to future performances with him. On the other hand, his recording, "Sangen vi glemte", has been embraced by Saami audiences throughout Saamiland, who in spite of the modern settings, apparently perceive the same voices from the past that Fjellheim hears.

7.6 Mari Boine Persen: Joiking in the 'Global Village'

*Mari gjør mer for den samiske selvfølelsen enn titusen sametingsvalg.
Hun får oss til å forstå verdien av å være same, og hun får fram gleden og entusiasmen.*

(Mari does more for Saami self-awareness than ten thousand Saami Parliament elections. She leads us to understand the worth of being Saami, and she brings forth happiness and enthusiasm.)

Kjell Inge Eriksen, cited in Enoksen 1989a

I would be completely remiss in this discussion of contemporary Saami musicians who consciously use joik in their performances, if I did not discuss the one individual who has perhaps had the widest impact of any Saami artist, Mari Boine Persen. Yet I do so with some trepidation, because I was unable to speak with her personally during the period that I

was working in Scandinavia.⁵¹ I did experience her performances on two occasions, however, providing me with some insight regarding her effect on both Saami and non-Saami audiences. In addition, her name was constantly introduced into both casual conversation and interviews with most of the Saami I met, once they became aware of my particular interest in contemporary joik practices.

Mari Boine has also been the subject of an astonishing number of articles, appearing in both the Saami press, and the Scandinavian mainstream media. In each printed example that I have encountered, she is invariably treated with respect verging on adulation, an attitude which usually is the result of having seen her perform live.⁵² Consequently, I feel beholden to at least briefly examine Mari Boine's incendiary career, which has made her not only the favorite of many Saami, but has brought her joik-inspired music to an ever expanding audience through her performances around the world.

In many respects, Mari Boine's earliest relationship to joiking was not dissimilar to the experiences of Lars-Jonas Johansson or Frode Fjellheim, recounted above. Raised in the small Saami settlement, Grensen, just outside of Karasjok, Norway, Mari Boine was aware of joiking, but was forbidden to participate in the genre in any manner--her family

⁵¹ It was not for lack of trying that I failed to interview Mari Boine (as she prefers to be called), but her hectic schedule and semi-permanent residence in Oslo made a meeting virtually impossible to arrange.

⁵² One particularly striking example was written as a preview article for a forthcoming Mari Boine performance at the 1991 Umeå Jazz Festival. The writer went so far as to credit Mari Boine with changing his life and his understanding of the 'power' of music, in this case based on listening to her second recording, *Gula Gula*::

Intuitivt känner jag att detta är musik som vet mer om mig än vad jag någonsin kommer att veta om musiken. Jag kan ana rötterna till kulturer och livssammanhang som människorna i industrivärlden håller på att slita sönder för gott [...] Hon sjunger huvudsakligen på samiska, men man svävar ändå aldrig i tvivel om den grundläggande innebörden i hennes sång. Så stark är musikens makt.

(Intuitively I know that this is music which knows more about me than I shall ever know about the music. I can detect the roots to cultures and life connections which people in the industrial world are putting down for good [...] She sings primarily in Saami, but one is never in a state of doubt about the fundamental contents of her song. So strong is the music's power.)

Larsson 1991: 9 (my translation)

were strict Læstadians, who felt that any expression which did not glorify God was sinful (cf., Hagen 1990). The result of this upbringing, combined with the anti-Saami prejudice she constantly encountered within the Norwegian dominated society, eventually turned Mari Boine away from her Saami culture, to the extent that she was ashamed to be recognized as Saami when she was a teenager:

Inntil Alta-kampen hørte jeg til dem som ville bort fra det samiske. Jeg lo av alle som var opptatt av det samiske. På gymnaset dannet en del elever en same forening, og jeg var blant dem som lo høyest.

(Before the Alta protest I belonged to those who wanted to be withdrawn from anything Saami. I laughed at everything which was accepted as Saami. In high school a number of students started a Saami organization, and I was among those who laughed the loudest.)

Persen, cited in Hagen 1990 (my translation)

Eventually she challenged the precepts which had instilled so much anger and shame regarding her family and her culture, yet as Mari Boine relates, this remains a persistent problem, typically beginning in childhood in Scandinavian controlled institutions:

Det började i skolan. Där fick man veta hur högstående och bra det norska samhället är, medan det samiska samhället var ingenting värt. Det tog mig 10 år att komma över skamkänslan att vara same.

(It began in school. There one learned on what a high level Norwegian society stands and how fine it is, while the Saami society was nothing of value. It took me 10 years to overcome the sense of shame of being Saami.)

Persen, cited in Andersson 1990: 56 (my translation)

Mari Boine's first recording, *Jaskatvuoda manná / Etter stillheten (After the silence)*, released in 1985, reflected this personal struggle, with songs like "Ná darvánii jáhkku ahte sápmi lei heittot" ("So I began to believe that Saami was inferior"), a biting Saami text set to the melody of John Lennon's "Working class hero". While the texts were certainly engaging, and pulled no punches in regard to the Scandinavian majority (e.g., "Ceavlas

galbma gárvvuid siste"["Behind cold hard masks]; "Alla hearrá guhkkin Oslos" ["Distinguished gentlemen down in Oslo"]), her use of Saami exclusively obviously limited the appeal of her album to those outside of her immediate milieu.⁵³ Nevertheless, by wrapping her tunes in fairly typical rock'n'roll arrangements, Mari Boine garnered sufficient acclaim with her first recording to be selected for the prestigious Roskilde rock festival in Denmark in 1986, where she played successfully for an audience from all over northern Europe.

Not too surprisingly, however, it was a collaboration with two Scandinavian pop singers which first brought Mari Boine to the attention of a broader listening public. Approached by singer/songwriters Åge Aleksandersen (Norwegian) and Björn Afzelius (Swedish), Mari Boine added her voice (singing in Norwegian, however) to their song "Rosalita", which became an enormous success in Norway in 1988, and received accolades in Sweden as well (cf., Jaklin 1989). As a result of the media attention given this joint effort, Mari Boine's career began a steady climb, culminating in the release of her second album in 1990, *Gula gula (Listen, listen)*--not before she had undertaken a complete restructuring of her music, however.

At some point during the five year interval between Mari Boine's two solo LPs, as part of her self-described cultural reawakening, she began to recognize the importance of including joik in her music, in spite of the problems that this would cause within her own family, many of whom were still strict Læstadians (cf., Hagen 1989). Even without any immediate human resources to engage, Mari Boine still sought the help of her forebears in the guise of archive recordings, which she found in the extensive collection at the Tromsø Museum. Working during the winter months in the late 1980s, Mari Boine listened to

⁵³ In an anonymously written 1989 article in the newspaper *Finnmarken*, the author suggested that Mari Boine's use of Saami actually kept her from winning the Finnmark Grand Prix song contest for several years--she finally succeeded in capturing first place in 1985, without ever changing over to Norwegian (anonymous 1989: 6).

numerous recordings in an effort to develop her own understanding of the genre (Graff 1990, personal communication).

While this approach to learning joiking may not have been the most conventional, neither were her interpretations, which many of her Saami listeners have subsequently described as "Indian" or "Native-American" in character.⁵⁴ Few, however, would argue with the impact that Mari Boine's decision to add joik to her repertoire has had in expanding her effectiveness as a performer and as a spokesperson for Saami culture in myriad new venues.

In addition to heralding the emergence of Mari Boine as a joiker, her 1990 recording, *Gula gula*, completely abandoned the rather mundane rock'n'roll arrangements of her earlier period in favor of a striking combination of acoustic and electric stringed instruments filled out by various wind and percussion instruments. With this new musical direction established, Mari Boine put together a band which drew not only from Saami and Scandinavian sources, but included individuals from far outside this geographical sphere, such as Carlos Quispe, a Peruvian expatriate who played *quena*, *sikuras*, and *charango* with equal expertise. Mari Boine even began abandoning her amplified acoustic guitar in favor of a small conical drum, which she hung around her neck and played while joiking and singing, invoking long forgotten images of the *noaidit* with their drums.

The resulting sound which this group could muster was unlike anything that had been heard from Saami artists, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Ingor Antte Ailu Gaup notwithstanding. Rather than the instrumental/textural layering that these two seminal artists have preferred in their recent productions, the effect which Mari Boine and her band

⁵⁴ Here I acknowledge Harald Gaski for confirming what I sensed the first time I heard Mari Boine 'joik'. It was from Gaski that I first heard the term "*indianer-joik*", a descriptor I was to hear repeated by many Saami when discussing Mari Boine's music (Gaski 1990, personal communication).

achieved was sparse by comparison, with her alternating joiking/singing occasionally being the only element which stood out (Audio Example B:6).

Against this background, Mari Boine's Saami texts (many of which are overtly polemical) had considerably more impact on *Gula gula* than they did in her previous effort. Rather than shouting or proclaiming her indignation with the Scandinavian majority, Mari Boine most often opted for a very quiet approach which was all the more convincing--apparently even for those who could not understand what she was saying, if record sales are any indication. With the response that this recording engendered, the percentage of Mari Boine's non-Saami speaking audience increased significantly, making her one of the most popular new acts of the year in 1990 (cf., O. Andersson 1990), despite the fact that her lyrics had become even more confrontational in the interim.

Such songs as "Vilges suola" ("White thieves") attacked the majority population as before, but also introduced a new twist which opened the discourse to a much broader frame of interpretation: many of Mari Boine's texts on *Gula gula* addressed what she perceived as the inherent clash between indigenous and industrialized populations over environmental issues. This development was completely in line with her increasing interest in the experiences of other indigenous groups around the world, whom, like many politically active Saami, she had come to view as equal participants in a struggle to save the environment from vested Western interests.⁵⁵ In an interview for an Oslo paper, Mari Boine summed up her widening political perspective by citing a Native American whom she had met at a conference for indigenous peoples:

'Dere har gjort oss mye skade, men vi er villige til å dele vår visdom og vår kulturs innsikt med dere--om dere kommer oss imøte'

⁵⁵ This development is perhaps best observed by Saami participation in the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) and the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) (cf., Sámi Instituhtta 1990; IWGIA document 58 1987). Besides these formal associations, in recent years there have been numerous visits to Saamiland by various representatives of indigenous/native groups, from North and South America, Australia, and Africa.

(They have done us great harm, but we are willing to share our wisdom and our cultural insight with them--if they comply with us.)

With the release of *Gula gula*, Mari Boine expressed not only her opinion that the problems facing the Saami deserved consideration within a much broader political context, but backed up this claim with her new 'global' sound. The eclectic instrumentation, featuring everything from *charango* to *santur*, emphasized an all-inclusive, culturally non-specific approach to music making which provided ample room for her to demonstrate the links that she perceived between Saami culture and other Fourth World peoples. Her lyrics were also sufficiently open-ended enough to equally apply to others, but her decision to include joik in her performances on *Gula gula* simultaneously marked the entire undertaking as a unique expression originating within Saami culture.

Not only did *Gula gula* prove popular in Scandinavia (where it was released by Mari Boine's own company, IÐUT, and included Norwegian translations of the lyrics), but eventually found a willing audience in other regions of the world as well, under the auspices of British rock singer/producer, Peter Gabriel. Soon after its release in Norway, Gabriel repackaged the CD version with English translations and new cover art (surprisingly, without a picture of the performer) and marketed it on his own label, Realworld (RW 91631-2). As a result of this exposure, Mari Boine and her band were asked to participate in the 1991 WOMAD festivals in Britain and Canada, where they were met with positive response by crowds that had little foreknowledge of Saami culture--apparently Mari Boine's attempts to develop a more universally comprehensible message with her music had some merit in these diverse venues.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ In October, 1991, Mari Boine was inexplicably included in the annual jazz festival in Umeå, Sweden, along with performers like American singer Betty Carter. Despite this rather strange presentation as a jazz artist, Mari Boine's performance was the first (and only) show to sell out during the festival. In July of the same year Mari Boine was one of the best received acts at Sweden's largest folk festival in Falun, eventually meriting two national radio broadcasts of her lengthy performance.

7.6.1 "I want to help lift up my people..."

In spite of the international success which Mari Boine achieved with *Gula gula*, however, her stated goals remain closer to home. Like Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, Mari Boine received formal training as a teacher, a role which she has effectively transferred to her musical career in recent years. In the mid 1980s, she accepted an educational stipend to study Saami formally, with the stipulation that she use this education to teach in the public schools in Porsanger, the community where she lived. By the time she had concluded the course, however, she had already made the decision not to return to a classroom, but to teach instead from the stage as a singer/songwriter--the government, however, was not pleased with this development. When asked to repay the stipend in 1988, Mari Boine wrote an open letter to the Norwegian Minister of Education in which she defended her actions:

Minister! Jeg kan ikke vende tilbake som lærere i den norske skole. Men du har mitt ord på at jeg skal bruke mitt studieår til beste for samiske barn [...] Etter å ha levd i nesten 30 år, fikk jeg studere mitt eget folks språk og historie. Kunnskapen kan jeg best bruke til å lage sanger som kan nå mange barn og ungdommer.

(Minister! I cannot turn back and be a teacher in the Norwegian school. But you have my word that I shall use my year of study for the benefit of Saami children [...] After having lived for nearly 30 years, I was allowed to study my own people's language and history. I can best use this knowledge to write songs which can reach many children and young people.)

Persen (1988), cited in Tonstad 1990 (my translation)

This commitment to children and interest in education in a broader scope had already manifested itself in 1986 in Mari Boine's second commercial recording, *Min máilmmis* (*Our world*) (IÐUT IMC861), which was a collaborative effort with Saami artists Anders Porsanger and Ánte Mikkel Gaup. Presented entirely in North Saami, the performances include stories, songs, and joiks, all aimed specifically at Saami children.

In 1989 Mari Boine took more direct action by participating in a 'Saami culture week' held in Øksfjordbotn (Norway), where she led a course in song writing and joiking for children between 6 and 14 years old. Her goal in this particular undertaking was to encourage the students to use their voices to express personal experiences as members of a minority group, either by writing and singing songs, or by joiking as countless Saami had before them. In order to initiate this process, Mari Boine simply told the youngsters of her own upbringing and the feelings of self doubt that she had experienced as a teenager (cf., Enoksen 1989b.).

Her roles as an educator and facilitator have not been limited to working with children, however. For the last several years, she has periodically accepted invitations from local Saami organizations (largely in Norway) to participate in day-long seminars or cultural celebrations, bringing her 'lectures' even to the South Saami communities in Sweden and Norway which historically suffered the most from assimilation policies. In 1990, for example, Mari Boine was the featured performer at a South Saami celebration in Røros, Norway which attracted over 300 participants, the largest such gathering of South Saami in recent history--while speeches and handicraft exhibitions held people's attention at various times during the day's festivities, according to the organizers, it was Mari Boine's concert which brought the crowds out:

Ingen trodde på idén. Men nog är det till stor del Mari Boine Persens förtjänst att det kom så mycket folk. Vi själva hade väl inte så stora förhoppningar om att kunna engagera henne men det visade sig att Mari blev närmast glad över att få en inbjudan. Nu blev hela arrangemanget en succé.

(Nobody believed in the idea. But undoubtedly it is largely to Mari Boine Persen's credit that so many people came. We didn't have such great hopes that we could engage her, but as it developed, she was immediately delighted to be invited. Now the entire arrangement has been a success.)

Nils Brandsfjell, cited in Andersson 1990: 53-54 (my translation)

By 1991, when I arrived in Sweden to begin my fieldwork, Mari Boine's name had become synonymous with modern Saami music, if my experiences of talking to numerous people (both Saami and non-Saami) during the first months were any indication. Thus, it came as little surprise that she was included in a day-long celebration of Saami culture in Scandinavia staged in Stockholm at the national theater (*Dramaten*) on March 8, 1992. The event was jointly organized by the Swedish government, educational institutions, and local and national Saami organizations, and included workshops, lectures/demonstrations, and a staged debate between Saami representatives from Norway and Sweden and individuals from each of the political parties in Sweden. Other musical performances included unaccompanied joik from Mattis Hætta, Lars Pirak, and Inga Juuso, and a long set featuring both Ingor Antte Ailu Gaup and Inga Juuso with Krister Bothén and Bolon X (see above). The culmination of the nearly ten hours of steady entertainment, however, was Mari Boine's performance.

Flanked only by long time associates, guitarist Roger Ludvigsen and multi-instrumentalist Carlos Quispe, Mari Boine joiked a great deal and sang material largely derived from *Gula gula*, accompanying herself on guitar, conical drum, and a large frame drum much more reminiscent of the instrument once used by the noaidit. Each piece was prefaced by an explanation of the Saami text in Norwegian, for the benefit of those in the largely Saami audience who could not understand her preferred language.⁵⁷ The understated performance was riveting: unlike the rest of the day, I saw nobody talking or moving about while Mari Boine held the stage and everyone's attention. In the course of a fifty minute set she more than adequately demonstrated the connective potential of her

⁵⁷ The performer occasionally added commentary as well, at one point sarcastically quoting the Italian travel writer, Acerbi, who had once declared the Saami a people with absolutely no musical skills (see Chapter 2 for the citation). The irony of this statement was obviously not wasted on this audience, who had just witnessed an entire day of diverse performances of Saami music.

'lectures', framed largely for this particular crowd by the persuasive quality of her joiking.

7.7 Summary

Among my concerns for this chapter has been to further demonstrate the variety of musical settings in which one can now find Saami joik (both in live and mediated performance contexts), thus elaborating the material presented in Chapter 6 chronicling the emergence of a discrete music industry for Saami listeners. The other, and perhaps more important issue, however, has been to elucidate some of the underlying non-market-determined reasons that this expansion has taken place, and to present what I consider to be a cross-section of the 'players' involved, from widely popular to lesser known Saami musicians.

The choice of these particular five individuals--Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, Ingor Antte Ailu Gaup, Lars-Jonas Johansson, Frode Fjellheim, and Mari Boine Persen--to serve as the focus of this element of my research, was dictated on the one hand by the recommendations and reactions of various people who along with others like themselves collectively form the rather anonymous audience for Saami music: for my purposes this primarily included my Saami friends and acquaintances, but I took into account the responses of a few non-Saami as well. Another important factor in making my selection was a desire to represent the breadth of musical activity among contemporary Saami performers, as I perceived it, with the delimiting proviso that joik was in some manner an integral part of the individuals' repertoires. It has been my contention from the beginning that the inclusion of this exclusively Saami genre, either as an element controlling the form/shape of a given piece, or serving as a convenient but decidedly 'Saami' musical appendage, marks the performance for Saami (and non-Saami) audiences and clarifies the boundaries which separate ethnic populations in Scandinavia.⁵⁸ What I only later

⁵⁸ For this reason, I have not included information here on other contemporary Saami performers/groups whose music more freely blurs ethnic boundaries, i.e., religious

began to understand, however, is how dependent this phenomenon is on the discursive relationship which these musicians have all developed and maintained with their respective perceived Saami communities (whether specifically defined or 'imagined'), and the degree to which these communities continue to influence the musical decisions these individuals make.

For an artist like Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, the direction of this dialogue might seem rather one-sided, particularly given his predilection for ground-breaking performances which occasionally offer more challenge to Saami audiences than cultural confirmation. And yet even Valkeapää is ultimately and voluntarily constrained by his 'Saaminess', devoting his artistic energies to celebrating the sense of connection experienced within his broad-based Saami community whenever someone joiks, or whenever a familiar story is retold, a recognizable figure redrawn.

While Valkeapää's work is permeated with a sense of the past, his focus (by his own admission) remains squarely on the present, while events and attitudes of the past continually exert a mitigating influence. Yet this simplistic description is potentially misleading, to the extent that it suggests a linear conception of time, rather than the circular conception which pervades so much of Valkeapää's work. While he professes no interest in his past accomplishments, he is really protesting the objectification of his culture which books and recordings represent. The joiks on his first album, for example, had their origins within a Saami milieu, and that is where they continue to exist--not on vinyl. Furthermore, their appearance in a static form, each having an obvious start and finish, was (as he stated in the recording's introductory notes) not meant to redefine the joik's structure, but rather an attempt to free the genre from some of its negative connotations (Valkeapää 1969: 3).

singers (Christian) and more mainstream pop or rock acts who often mix languages as well as genres.

The imposition of structure which this approach required was ultimately dissatisfying to Valkeapää, however, leading him to continue exploring and experimenting until he reached his current use of joik as a unifying element in his multi-media performances. This development is itself encapsulated by Valkeapää's steadfast opposition to discuss joik as an 'art', for in his understanding of the genre, art grows out of joik, which is itself inextricably embedded in Saami culture; or, in his own words, "it joiks in my blood" (cited in Berner 1991:1). In his current approach to performance, joik informs the content of his poetry and the images of his paintings, while its frequent iteration by both Valkeapää and his partner, Johan Anders Baer, serves as a sonic beacon, reminding his community of listeners of the connections they have with each other (this includes Valkeapää and Baer) and with their past--it is a means of completing the circle.

While Valkeapää's role may often appear to be that of a trend setter, particularly given his overwhelming influence on other Saami musicians, he is more reminiscent of the pathfinder of Saami stories, seemingly collaborating with outside forces while carefully acting to save his *siida*, his community, from sure disaster should these same outside forces succeed in their goal of domination. Even while embracing musical concepts and instrumentation which arguably stood far outside the 'traditional' parameters of Saami music, Valkeapää sparked a resurgence of interest in joik and demonstrated its cogency for contemporary self-definitions of Saami culture, at a time when the Saami were enmeshed in a critical examination of their relationship to the Scandinavians and to each other--in a very real sense, Valkeapää's joiking was, and remains, the voice of an emergent pan-Saami community.

For Ingor Ántte Áilu Gaup, the community which serves as his referent and his audience is much more constrained in its scope. By his own reckoning, he relies on the response of those from whom he learned to joik--if he can compose a joik which meets their aesthetic criteria, regardless of the musical 'packaging', he has succeeded. Therefore it

was not particularly surprising to hear that when his home community of Kautokeino, Norway sponsored the first "Sámi Grand Prix" in 1990, a song contest patterned after the Eurovision competition, Ailu entered the traditional joik category rather than the 'pop' music section, eventually making it to the finals along with his older brother, Ánte Mikkel.⁵⁹

Within this same milieu paradoxically there has been opposition to the performance of joik in some public circumstances, a fact which has had strong bearing on Áilu's career and his community participation. The local school board has long been dominated by Læstadian members, who until very recently have seen to it that Saami music instruction consisted entirely of singing songs in Saami language--joiking was forbidden on the school grounds, let alone in the classrooms. One of the more vocal opponents of these policies was Áilu, who not only spoke out publicly against such constraints (including giving an interview to a national labor newspaper, *Klassekampen*), but obviously joiked his opposition at every opportunity as well. In fact, he lists this same school board ruling as one of the primary reasons why he began joiking in the first place in the mid 1970s; hence his belief that to joik is an inherently political act in and of itself, requiring no elaboration vis-à-vis confrontational lyrics (Á. Gaup 1992 personal communication). As of 1992, these restrictive policies were on the verge of being overturned, thanks in part to Ailu's interest and participation.⁶⁰

While Áilu's involvement with other musicians, particularly with Krister Bothén, has taken him far outside the geographical and cultural boundaries of his community, it is to this area that he returns and where he is raising his own family. In many respects, this is

⁵⁹ Although he did not win, he was a finalist again the following year in the same category. In 1992, he was a finalist in the pop music section, but told me that he hoped to actually bridge the two classifications at some point in the near future--he was more interested in performing pop music *with* joik than without it (A. Gaup 1992: personal communication).

⁶⁰ In noting this prohibition as early as 1968, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää pointed out that such attempted proscriptions often produced inverse results, as apparently happened with Ailu (Valkeapää 1969: 3).

reflected in his experiments to fuse joik with diverse musical genres: in each instance that I have heard, live and recorded, his joiking is not modified in the least (to do so would be to deny the unity of the traditional form), even to the point that the desired melding occasionally does not occur, becoming instead an exercise in disparate voices/sounds. When it does work, notably (to my ears) in the recordings he made with Jan Garbarek in 1990 (*I Took Up the Runes*, see above), the results are quite striking: Áilu fits in without compromising the community aesthetic which informs all of his efforts (Audio Example B:7).

Clearly the concept of 'community' for both Lars-Jonas Johansson and Frode Fjellheim is much more of the 'imagined' variety than a discrete place on the map. While each was raised in a distinctive Saami region, their involvement with their respective local communities was mitigated by circumstances beyond their control. Lars-Jonas grew up among reindeer herders and continues to work occasionally as a field hand, but he is legally excluded from participating fully in this most 'Saami' of livelihoods.⁶¹ The product of a Saami father and Swedish mother, he never heard Saami spoken in his home, learning only a few words from his paternal grandparents. Frode Fjellheim was displaced from his South Saami home region as a child, and subsequently grew up on the cultural margin of a North Saami community, unable to participate fully by virtue of his inability to speak the local dialect. Like Lars-Jonas, he too had a non-Saami mother (Norwegian), which further delimited his inclusion to some degree. For these two individuals, the Saami community they address with their music exists largely as a rather nebulous construct, based on their own experiences.

⁶¹ The herder/non-herder bifurcation is particularly oppressive in the southern region of Saamiland, where assimilation efforts were much more successful due to the proximity of a majority Scandinavian population. The viability of the local Saami organizations in this area is largely predicated on the participation of the herding families, making the differentiation much more evident.

In Lars-Jonas' case, both language and joik, two important criteria for any Saami definition of a collective identity, became part of his personal repertoire only through concerted self-tutoring efforts, which in turn dictated his reliance on sources from outside his own immediate South Saami milieu. Whether Lars-Jonas sings in Saami or joiks, each is a conscious act devised to demonstrate his inclusion in the "imagined community" (cf., B. Anderson 1983), within which his forebears were ostensibly active, and which represents an ideal for its contemporary members.

According to Lars-Jonas' perception, this community building process is one which requires increasing participation by young people. His music is therefore designed to appeal to this disenfranchised population, caught (as he was) between cultures, hence the reliance on such familiar vehicles as 'hard rock' with which to drive home the overarching message of self-initiated cultural revival.

That his efforts have produced a modicum of success, particularly among South Saami youth, is proof to the young singer/joiker that this idealized community is within grasp. Moreover, positive reactions to his South Saami songs and his arguably generic joiking reinforce his conviction that these two elements represent the most important criteria for inclusion. This is borne out each time he performs and manages to entice members of the audience to joik along via call-and-response patterns. While such procedures may be unorthodox in 'traditional' terms, these performances are nevertheless a constructive enactment of (South) Saami culture, drawing members into the community which Lars-Jonas envisions.

For Frode Fjellheim, the concept of a Saami community is much less clearly defined, but operable nevertheless in at least one aspect of his current musical career. Unlike Lars-Jonas, Fjellheim's experiences as a child did not engender a particular desire to be included in an elusive collective, serving instead to convince him that he would always remain on the perimeter. Since travel figured heavily in his own cultural displacement,

removing him first from his home in southern Saamiland, and later leading to his transplantation in a decidedly Norwegian milieu, it is not surprising that he addresses the rediscovery of his South Saami heritage in metaphorical terms of "returning" and "coming back" (Fjellheim 1992: personal communication). For Fjellheim this process began tentatively with the interest he developed in joik as a music student, led him to the published works of Karl Tirén, and eventually resulted in his recording, *Sangen vi glemte*, a personal testament of his 'trip'.

Fjellheim's cultural journey was not limited to these cognitive efforts, however, having a physical manifestation as well. Before completing his recording project, he trekked through his father's home district, microphone in hand like a latter day Karl Tirén, seeking not joiks, but the sounds which often inspire them: animal noises, the howling wind, feet crunching through snow, and different forms of running water--all of these were later incorporated into his instrumental arrangements of joik. Although this pilgrimage had a very practical purpose, it also served to resituate Fjellheim culturally in an unexpected fashion: while collecting this material he responded to the scenery and the sound of a body of water (Riasten) by composing his own 'joik', an instrumental piece ("Vid Riasten"/ "Riasten bealesne" ["Along Riasten"]) with which he concluded his album.

For Fjellheim, the 'return' is far from complete, but the response of Saami audiences to his music, in both live and recorded performances, has been sufficient to encourage him to continue the musical trip back to his father's culture, and to proudly acknowledge the Saami community which supported his efforts to resurrect its forgotten songs.

The last musician discussed in this chapter, Mari Boine Persen, actively turned away from the culture and community of her youth, simultaneously succumbing to the stigma impressed upon her by the Scandinavian majority, and abandoning the rigidity of her Læstadian background. Like Frode Fjellheim, she found her way back through music,

using the singing skills learned in church and her talents as a writer to attack those whom she considered her oppressors. In some ways Mari Boine's return to Saami culture as a young adult was also similar to the self-reconstruction process that Lars-Jonas Johansson initiated, particularly in her decision to add joik to her repertoire, recognizing the potential that this genre had for both delineating a Saami listening community and reinforcing the contents of her often confrontational lyrics.

With the release of her second album, *Gula gula*, Mari Boine had clearly arrived as a powerful spokesperson, her support community having expanded exponentially beyond the confines of her previous predominantly North Saami audience, as Saami all over Scandinavia responded to her music and to the example she established through her work with youngsters. In Mari Boine's case, however, the boundaries of this 'imagined community' were flexible enough to encourage linking up with similar groups around the globe, leading to her own incorporation of a number of equally cogent and symbolic musical ideas (from vocal techniques to instruments), to underscore her increasingly universal 'indigenous' message.

Yet for all of the potential cultural dilution that such an 'ethno-pop' approach might induce, Mari Boine's music remains fundamentally aimed at a Saami audience, addressing the issues which continue to confront this broadly defined community. By providing excellent Norwegian translations of her texts she has attempted to overcome some of the exclusivity of others who, like herself, take advantage of the inherent multiplicity of meanings in the Saami language to compose lyrics which speak on several different levels. Such a concern for comprehension is indicative of her desire to develop a more inclusive format, encouraging others to participate, without surrendering those aspects of her music which are decidedly Saami. By framing many of her compositions and performances with joik, the achievement of this goal is essentially assured.

Each of the five musicians discussed in this chapter has experienced first hand the difficulty of maintaining a Saami identity in Scandinavia, and has turned to music in order to explicate and elaborate this phenomenon for themselves and their surrounding community, as is here represented by a critical listening audience of Saami. The exact musical means by which they have accomplished this have varied considerably, from hard rock to jazz to a more elusive 'global' style, but each has used joik in one fashion or another to mark his/her performance as a celebration of the continuity of Saami culture. For these individuals and their myriad Saami listeners, to continue joiking in the face of cultural adversity is to ensure that none of them will forget who he or she is.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

We have lived in Samiland since the dawn of time, and we live and dwell here still...

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää 1983: 28

Only the Sámi joik. They're part of the Sámi soul--we all carry them, I don't know of any other people with a tradition like this. That's why joik is irreplaceable to the Sámi people...

Mathis M. Gaup 1992

My goal in this dissertation has been to present the contemporary uses of Saami joik, and to simultaneously explore the extent to which these diverse musical efforts conflate around the issue of ethnicity. As the examples cited here demonstrate, joik is more than a common musical thread uniting otherwise disparate performances, for its embeddedness in Saami culture, evidenced by the tenacious will of individuals to continue joiking through time despite a host of objections, suggests that joik is also a fundamental element in the construction and maintenance of a distinct Saami identity. Through its performance and interpretation, joik assumes the role of a unique, audible marker, capable of separating Saami performers and audiences from their Scandinavian counterparts. While it was admittedly the unique sound of joiking which first kindled my interest in the genre, it was this putative symbolic function which actually dictated the focus of my research and informed the structure of the ensuing analysis.

Yet rather than concentrate on performances which essentially recreate joik in its archetypal form--solo voice, unaccompanied--I have instead chosen examples which paradoxically would appear to offer the greatest challenge to an audience accustomed to hearing the genre in its 'traditional' context. Many of those whom I interviewed and spoke with were individuals, who in the course of their careers have frequently pushed joik into 'modern' musical territory by adding all manner of accompaniment to the genre, rather

than adhering exclusively to traditional stereotypes of performance. It has been my contention, however, that the effects wrought by this coterie of Saami musicians, in the course of generating new means of conveying this essential genre--whether combining it with other existing music styles, or creating new music around joik--cannot simply be dismissed as yet another 'tradition' suffering under the purported hegemony of Western popular music. These activities should instead be considered as indicative of a complex of purposeful decisions to liberate the genre from the negative connotations of its past, in effect restoring it to a position of acknowledged importance in Saami culture. This transformation has primarily been accomplished by an elaboration of one of the genre's perceived primordial functions, that of drawing performer and listener together in a community in large part structured by joik performance. In short, while most 'modern' joik performances may exhibit all of the external characteristics of other typical Euro-American pop genres, their interpretation in Saami culture is reliant on features which are grounded in joik's most 'traditional' contexts.

This specific explication of contemporary joik performance obviously did not immediately suggest itself, but resulted from several interrelated approaches which are evident in my analysis. The first of these was to elucidate what several Saami musicians expressed to me as the underlying relationship between 'modern' (i.e., accompanied) and 'traditional' (i.e., acapella, solo) joiking. In this regard, my objective was to determine to what extent modern performances are actually dependent on traditional conceptions of the genre, where and how these conceptions are retained musically, and how effectively they transfer to completely different performance contexts. To do so, however, required an examination of the forms and functions of Saami joik in its most traditional contexts, hence the emphasis on historical material in the first chapters.¹

¹ This same perspective was helpful in looking for evidence of musical change, or the degree of divergence between 'modern' and 'traditional' conceptions of joik performance. According to Blacking, one cannot analyze culture change merely in terms of observable permutations in form, but must also look for change at the cognitive level, necessitating a

My second approach to this issue was to look at the state of Saami-Scandinavian relations immediately preceding and following what seemed to be the rather sudden appearance of the 'modern' joik format in the late 1960s, in this case seeking some correlation with what I saw as the radicalization of Saami culture.² While this admittedly functionalist perspective has its limitations, my concern was not simply to demonstrate cause and effect, but to locate these specific joik performances within an appropriate contextual frame for interpretation. Without an understanding of the social and political issues facing the Saami populations in the 1960s and 1970s, the importance of these commercial joik recordings to a Saami audience remains difficult to properly assess.

A third analytical tack which the data suggested was an extrapolation from the specificity of the modern joik phenomenon to explore the larger issues of cultural symbols and symbolic performance in the construction of ethnic identity. Here my interest lay in balancing the importance given to subjective symbols in building and retaining ethnic boundaries (cf., Barth 1969), with the nature of these symbols themselves, i.e., how a cultural symbol becomes imbued with significance and how/if it is affected by changes in its form or its function (cf., Cohen 1969). I felt that the analysis of these particular joik performances provided an effective means of exploring the symbolic potential of a musical expression to convey identity, in this instance by stressing the importance of continuity of form, while demonstrating the flexible relationship between form and function.

thorough understanding of the underlying parameters and constraints of the culture system (cf., Blacking 1986; 1977).

² As Svensson aptly demonstrates this has not been a unitary movement, but rather a series of regional and national movements which often function in conjunction or in parallel with one another. The prime forces behind this mobilization have been the various Saami organizations (cf., Svensson 1984; 1976).

8.1 The 'traditional'/'modern' continuum

It was my sense from the outset that many of the recent examples of joik performance (in both live and mediated contexts), while often differing considerably from a more traditional understanding of the genre in their use of instrumental accompaniment and the adoption of Western forms, were nevertheless rooted in a shared set of cultural assumptions about joik which connect the 'traditional' and the 'modern' along a conceptual continuum, rather than lining them up as conceptually opposed to one another. These assumptions include the basic sound organization of the genre, the concept of a unified structure of meaning, and the perceived relationship between performer, subject, and audience which is made explicit in performance.

One of the most distinctive features about joik has been (and remains) its unique sound, which in spite of regional variations, can be characterized by such general audible features as a 'throaty' and/or nasal vocal timbre, the use of vocables ('no'/'na', 'la'/'lo', etc.), or the unusual phrasing comprising abrupt stops and starts. While not every joik performance exhibits each of these characteristics, they are present to some degree (and in varying combinations) in enough joiks to constitute important auditory markers of the genre for both Saami and non-Saami listeners.

The degree to which auditory reception triggers comprehension along ethnic lines, however, is entirely dependent on familiarity with the phenomenon. The earliest accounts mentioning joik, quite often in conjunction with descriptions of the ritual activities of the *noaidit*, invariably drew attention to the unusual musical character of joiking by contrasting it with Western vocal practices. While these comparisons were seldom positive toward the Saami performances, this general response was not unpredictable, nor is it dissimilar to the reactions of many hearing joik for the first time today. For most non-Saami, this experience simply registers as 'different' or 'unusual' (i.e., encouraging analogizing), without necessarily having a specific ethnic tag attached to it--

if anything the recent mediation of the genre, typically removing any visual cues, makes this process of identification potentially more difficult. Eventually, however, usually through repeated exposure (today via the broadcast media), most Scandinavians have gained greater familiarity with joik, at least to the extent that it is readily identifiable as a 'Saami' sound phenomenon.³

Among Saami audiences (at least for those individuals who acknowledge their ethnicity),⁴ the issue is quite different. Whenever I interviewed or simply talked with Saami people, from reindeer herders to thoroughly urbanized individuals, my questions about joiking provoked a nearly unified response: while few conceded having the ability to joik themselves, all of those with whom I spoke had heard joik, either within their families or home communities, and more recently through stage performances and the media; moreover, many of those queried stressed that they could identify particular joikers and/or joiks when they heard them. These results suggest at the very least, that knowledge about joik, even if derived entirely from a passive audience role (or entwined with negative connotations on religious grounds), is nevertheless a component of being and/or being identified as Saami. Joiking is stitched into the fabric of Saami experience, even in those regions of Saamiland where the practice has met the harshest criticism from both outside and inside forces. One has only to look to the contemporary Læstadian preachers, who continue their pronouncements against joik as a pernicious problem within their

³ Evidence of this can be found not only in the "Låla" phenomenon described in Chapters 6 and 7, but in similar iconic reductions, such as Norwegian arranger Kjell Karlsen's use of a joik melody in the early 1970s to represent 'the Lapps' in his piece, "Lapplandsminner" ("Lapland memories") (cf., Gaski 1991).

⁴ I feel that self-ascription is an important criterion for Saami ethnic identity, particularly since a precedent of ethnic/racial definitions imposed from outside exists, accompanied by systematic enforced discrimination (Jernsletten 1970: 137-138). That this self-identification is an ongoing process of negotiation, may also mean that some individuals are perceived as more 'ethnic' or 'Saami' at a given time than at others (cf., Eidheim 1987). The recent inauguration of Saami Parliaments in Norway and Sweden has actually encouraged a surprising number of individuals to come out of the ethnic closet in these countries, actively choosing to be identified as Saami in order to vote in the elections to choose delegates to these new bodies.

congregations, to find ample evidence that the genre remains conspicuous even in its supposed absence.⁵

Therefore, it is particularly incumbent upon those who have introduced musical changes in the performance of joik, that the basic approach to the organization of sound which constitutes a core aesthetic for joik composition, not be disrupted to any degree, unless it is the artist's specific intention to dislodge his/her musical expression from the conventional interpretation of joik as a marker of 'Saaminess'. Among the five contemporary artists examined in detail in Chapter 7, all but one has taken pains to address this issue. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, for example, stated categorically that the joiks included in his first recording had changed sufficiently with the addition of accompaniment to no longer be considered 'traditional', but that even in their 'modern' guise they were ultimately recognizable as joiks--stripped of their accompaniment, they would be indistinguishable from their 'traditional' counterparts. Ingor Antte Ailu Gaup echoed this when he expressed the concern that his compositions always meet the joik aesthetic of his own community, even if it required paring away the 'non-Saami' elements in order to encourage evaluation among some of his more tradition-bound peers. Furthermore, if the reactions to the Almetjh Tjöönghkeme/Lars-Jonas Johansson concerts I witnessed are any indication, even when joik is packaged in a hard-rock format, replete with a raucous presentation owing more to the performance aesthetic typified by European and American bands, it apparently still fulfills this crucial criterion--the joiking cuts right through. Mari Boine's determination to add joik to her repertoire, while evincing clear influence from other 'indigenous' vocal genres in its realization, was nevertheless predicated on the presumed force that this specifically Saami element would bring to her

⁵ On two occasions I spoke with a Læstadian preacher who did not deny the existence of joik within his community, despite his efforts to dissuade its practice (Urheim 1992: personal communication). Even for those individuals who adhere to such religious proscriptions, joiking remains an element of Saami identity, albeit one which they apparently seek to avoid.

music--it was a decision which completely changed the course of her career.⁶ Only Frode Fjellheim stands outside this frame, due to his conscious decision to significantly alter the sound of the joiks he selected by formatting them for instrumental interpretation, thus violating one of the crucial parameters of joiking. Nevertheless, I found it interesting that even an outspoken Saami critic positively characterized Fjellheim's arrangements as a duplication of "the soft sounds of South Saami joiking" (Doj 1992), as if the lack of vocalizing did not entirely remove the performances from consideration as joik.

8.1.1 Joik as a unified structure

The connections between traditional and modern approaches to joik are not restricted to a continuity measurable only in terms of the organization of sound, however. The meaning of a joik is dependent on its structure as a whole, with melody, rhythm, words (if present), and even gesture all constituting meaning-bearing elements which cannot be arranged hierarchically from a Saami perspective.⁷ This conception of a unified structure of meaning has transferred with little difficulty to modern joik composition, even though there is a notable tendency to stress the use of vocables over words in many contemporary performances.

One obvious reason for this development is the issue of language. While all of the Saami joikers I spoke with emphasized that speaking Saami is a prerequisite for learning

⁶ It should be reiterated that Mari Boine was already a Saami performer before teaching herself to joik, but the element which marked her efforts as 'Saami' was language. Musically her recordings were indistinguishable from other pop music being produced in Saami, making their impact on those who could not understand her lyrics (a sizeable percentage of the Saami listeners) minimal. The addition of joiking to her later recordings heralded a much greater reception, largely because they indisputably *sounded* Saami.

⁷ On this point there may be some disagreement, with Edström stating that the melody and rhythm are more important than text in conveying meaning (cf., Edström 1978). In interviews with two active joikers, however, I was dissuaded from this position--both felt that when text was present, it was an equally vital element in the structure, but that it could drop out in favor of vocables without affecting meaning. More to the point, neither felt comfortable with the idea that a joik could be divided up in this manner, even for analysis or discussion (A. Gaup 1992, personal communication; Johansson 1992, personal communication).

to joik, from a more pragmatic standpoint, performances which favor vocables over words are potentially more engaging for a greater number of Saami listeners, given the relatively small percentage of Saami overall who actually understand the language well enough to follow the complexities of joik lyrics. In this instance the lyrics potentially get in the way, inhibiting the creation of a broad based interpretive community, by proving divisive within this same audience. The efficacy of this approach was demonstrated to a large degree by many of the recordings of Dædnugádde Nuorat, who in the 1970s adopted a modified verse-refrain format for many of their joiks, highlighting the recurring section by ignoring text in favor of vocables.⁸

The Dædnugádde Nuorat examples, however, do not challenge the basic presumption that joik is not divisible into components of differing importance. In virtually all performance contexts, from 'traditional' to 'modern', joiking is a vehicle for improvisation and personal interpretation, which includes dropping words and/or emphasizing vocables.⁹ This does not, however, imply that any string of vocables set to music constitutes joik--the resulting expression must *function* like joik, i.e., it must also adhere to the culturally determined parameters about melodic contour, pitch, and rhythm which all contribute to a unified structure capable of conveying meaning. By the same token, a melody derived from joik cannot stand alone as an effective example of the genre, even if it is profoundly reminiscent of joiking--it too requires the other components to some degree to be fully functional, engaging the interpretive community, no matter how loosely it is constructed.¹⁰

⁸ Note that this emphasis on vocables in a refrain also served to more clearly define the piece as a 'joik' (as opposed to a 'song') at a time when there was considerable experimentation going on among Saami musicians, much of it (including the 'songs') based on joiking.

⁹ The one exception to this presumably being some joiks used in shamanic ritual which were to be repeated without any modification to ensure their efficacy (cf., Edström 1978).

¹⁰ Frode Fjellheim's instrumental interpretations of the genre are not really ever confused with joik for this reason. Among those Saami with whom I spoke about this issue, however, the popularity of Fjellheim's work was understood to be dependent on the implicit relationship between his arrangements and actual joiks (which he makes manifest in

8.1.2 Joik in the 'imagined community'

In 1978, Saami linguist Nils Jernsletten coined the phrase 'joik milieu' to describe the idealized traditional environment within which joik was nurtured, prior to its emergence in 'modern' contexts which appeared to disrupt this understanding of the genre.

Specifically, Jernsletten used this concept to address the intimate relationship between the performer and her/his subject, which joiking expressed; moreover, within a consistent Saami population (i.e., a *siida* or an extended family or small community), this relationship expanded to include those who constituted an 'interpretive community', all of those whose experiences within the culture and within the immediate group were sufficiently similar, so that a joik performance within this context produced a remarkably unified interpretation. The evaluative skills which such a community exhibited grew out of daily interaction with one's companions/family, frequent exposure to joiking in a variety of 'natural' settings, and an inherent understanding of the importance of creating and maintaining a collective identity in what was often perceived as a hostile environment (cf., Jernsletten 1978).

Not only did one often joik alone and spontaneously in this milieu, responding to the surrounding sights and sounds, but one also joiked one's peers as a form of greeting, as a gift, or in recognition of a special occasion. To be joiked by another was a significant statement of inclusion within this community (even when the joik portrayed what might be construed as a negative image), for a person's individuality required validation from the others in one's particular interpretive group; to cease to be joiked after having been the recipient of such activity from others was the ultimate form of castigation. While a personal joik functioned in this manner to draw one closer to one's friends and families, a person would typically refrain from joiking him/herself, for it required the participation

print and in person), and Fjellheim's Saami heritage. Pål Doj's response (see Chapter 7) to a Fjellheim concert suggests that the latter's instrumental joik arrangements engaged him personally by bringing back memories of past joik performances.

of another to activate this implied relationship. One could nevertheless duplicate this sense of inclusion when alone, by joiking a friend, a family member, or other entity.

This model was severely challenged, however by the exponential growth of the prospective audience for a given joiker/joik through the issuance of recordings and staged performances of the genre. According to Gaski, once individuals began to joik in large venues, or in the disembodied manner encouraged by recordings and broadcasting, this concept of community was no longer appropriate: a joiker could not expect this newly formed audience to function the same as an idealized interpretive collective, representing generations of shared experiences (cf., Gaski 1991). Even the very idea of a 'musician' or 'artist' was disruptive to this conception of the 'joik milieu', for it suggested a tacit division of the population into performer and audience roles which ran counter to maintaining the corporate status of the group.¹¹

While I agree with Jernsletten's and Gaski's initial assessments concerning this inclusive function of joik as an inherent component of a 'joik milieu', I am not quite so willing to declare this same function (or an elaboration of this function) an impossibility in more recent manifestations of joik performance. Through interviews with Saami musicians and audience members, more casual conversation with Saami friends, and the knowledge gained by witnessing several different types of performances where joik was an integral component, it has been impressed upon me that the experience of performing and hearing joik in these more 'modern' contexts is not significantly removed from that encountered within the idealized traditional environment in one important aspect: there is a sensation of inclusion and group awareness which apparently only joiking promotes.

Rather than trying to explain this phenomenon strictly in Durkheimian terms of the *conscience collective*, however, I would posit instead that this reported experience is better

¹¹ This is not to imply that some individuals were not recognized for superior skills in this and other cultural expressions, but that the bifurcation into clearly defined active and passive roles was entirely without precedent.

examined within the same frame which Jernsletten (and ostensibly his own Saami community) provides, for therein lies a more reasonable emic-derived precedent. Both Jernsletten's and Gaski's critiques of the changes in performance contexts which were necessitated by more 'public' uses of joik, hinge on a perceived radical shift in the status of the interpretive community from a stabilizing force to an ineffective entity. The conceptual difficulty with this argument, I feel, lies in a restricted definition of 'community', bound essentially by the traditional *siida* structure which is no longer viable in Saami culture. I would argue that if this limiting factor is momentarily set aside, even the performance of joik in staged and mediated contexts can be seen to fall squarely within the parameters of a new, expanded interpretive community. In this instance, however, the audience for joik has no comparable boundaries, being instead writ large for current public contexts by implementing the concept of community that Anderson describes as "imagined," wherein the personal relationships which emerge as a matter of course from small communal structures are projected onto larger polities in order that these newly emerging structures appear less chaotic and uncontrollable by their members. Thus, one 'imagines' a sense of unity of purpose with one's fellow participants/citizens, as though one knew them personally and could predict their attitudes and responses--which would presumably align with one's own to a large degree (cf., Anderson 1983).

Among the Saami, this phenomenon has already been noted in regards to the attempts to organize into politically and socially integrated groups, beginning in earnest in the early years of this century. One of the greatest impediments to this development, was the conceptual incompatibility between the remnants of the Saami *siida* structure and any organization which perforce had a broader scope of interest. It was initially very difficult to garner support for these groups for they spoke in favor of goals predicated on the existence of a large cooperative Saami population which had no precursor in Saami culture.

Although the early Saami organizations eventually atrophied in the 1920s, one extremely important legacy of this ill-fated movement remained: the Saami press. By continuing to publish newspapers and journals aimed specifically at Saami readers, printed in both Scandinavian and Saami languages, this newly established and widely supported Saami institution contributed a great deal to the growth of an imagined community of Saami, increasingly unified in their desire for self-determination which the papers promoted.

The success of *Samefolkets Egen Tidning (SET)*, exemplifies the manner in which these independent publications attracted and retained an audience, with its broad array of articles addressing everything from vital statistics (further contributing to a sense of a very large but shared community) to cogent political issues which were presented as if they affected all of the Saami equally, thus momentarily defusing the segregationist trend of legislation aimed at the small herding population. Through the medium of *SET*, Torkel Tomasson used his editorial prerogative to continue promulgating the agenda of the failed Saami organizations, and in so doing, laid the groundwork for the success of new organizational efforts, culminating in the late 1940s with the establishment of several national Saami groups in Sweden and Norway.

The successful establishment of these Saami organizations representing the diversity of interests in Saamiland, in many respects also heralded the birth of the pan-Saami movement, which in turn pushed the conception of an imagined Saami community beyond the confines of national borders to include all of the Saami populations in Scandinavia (and now, Russia). While the emergence of a pan-Saami identity is usually credited to the founding of the Nordic Saami Council in 1953, one should not discount the efforts of individuals whose work reached out to the same Saami audience nurtured by the press: writers, artists, and musicians who used their talents to provide tangible evidence of the existence of a unified Saami identity to which all Saami could aspire.

Within this gradually expanding version of the joik milieu, the recordings and performances of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and those who followed in his prodigious wake were particularly effective, for they essentially built upon the same relationship between performer, subject, and audience which Jernsletten described, yet each element in this relationship was enlarged as befitted the requirements of a greatly augmented interpretive community that scarcely recognized its boundaries any longer. The intimacy which was inherent to the traditional joik milieu was admittedly lost, but this was compensated for in the modern context by a larger collective experience which continued to corroborate the importance of a corporate identity (albeit an imagined one), which was actualized in the moment of performance.

8.2 Joik and the radicalization of Saami culture

One means of analyzing the appearance of joik in popular music contexts, is to see such performances merely as extensions of contemporaneous popular styles found in the dominant culture, the Saami musicians in question either consciously or unconsciously mimicking the music heard on the radio, while mixing in a little joik (and perhaps singing in Saami) to put a 'Saami' imprimatur on the production. To some extent such a perspective rings true, if a bit short-sighted, for there is ample evidence from the musicians themselves that this phenomenon has indeed happened. Lars-Jonas Johansson, for example, was very forthcoming in acknowledging his fascination with American singer/songwriter, Bruce Springsteen, laughingly suggesting at one point that he (Johansson) be referred to as "the Saami Springsteen" (Johansson 1992, personal communication).

Based on similar information I received in interviews, conversations, and from reading materials, I explored this angle in Chapter 6, drawing comparisons between the products of some Saami artists and various fads and stylistic trends found in the broader realm of European and American popular music. In doing so, however, it was not my

intention to treat this material simply as derivative of other musics (or other musicians), but to explicate the process by which some Saami musicians actively manipulated these genres to produce a recording or performance which was perceived by the performer (and perhaps the audience) to be more appropriate for a given situation than unadulterated solo joiking.

One of the most cogent reasons for such an undertaking was provided by the progenitor of modern joik, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, who both in print and in interviews has commented that it was necessary to move joik out of its traditional frame of reference in order to free it from centuries of negative connotations (cf., Valkeapää 1983; 1969;1992 [personal communication]). Yet such a radical change could hardly be expected to succeed if the Saami audience (the only intended audience for Valkeapää's work) was not already moving or preparing to move in a similar direction.

As I have discussed here in several chapters, the combined effects of religious proscription (which in large part became self-inflicted after the successful implantation of Læstadianism), and a more generalized state of cultural derision continually promoted through contact with the neighboring Scandinavian populations, had an extremely deleterious effect on joik. What had once been a predictable component of the Saami soundscape and an acceptable means of self and group expression, was shunted into the background in most of the regions of Saamiland, where it was only practiced by the most recalcitrant individuals, and then usually in private--public performances were all too often the result of intoxication, adding fuel to the prevailing arguments against such 'primitive' behavior from both outside and inside sources.

While much of this gradual degeneration of Saami joik passed completely without notice for generations of Scandinavians, these developments sent shock waves through the small but devoted community of 'lappologists', the European folklorists/ethnologists whose *raison d'être* was the preservation of Saami culture, albeit by typically removing it to an

academic environment. The perceived disappearance of joik by these scholars was yet another indicator that time was running out, and fieldwork in Saamiland intensified in response.

What became evident in these studies, however, was not so much an imminently 'dying' tradition, but one which had instead become cloaked to such an extent that significant prodding was required before performers surfaced who were willing to divulge their repertoires and life experiences for 'posterity' (i.e., academic institutions). Despite the rather remarkable amount of data these collections represented, the results nevertheless confirmed a discernible decline in the amount of joik activity in Saamiland. Without exposure to the genre on a regular basis, younger generations were denied the opportunity to learn to joik in the same manner as their forebears, many of whom died without the opportunity to be openly heard in their own communities in their lifetimes.

In light of these discouraging developments, then, the sudden reappearance of joik in the 1960s, both as an element of staged performances and as a marketable commodity, was all the more remarkable. Yet, as I have argued, one must resituate these incidents in a different analytical frame in order to fully appreciate their significance, no longer simply viewing them in light of the moribund traditional joik practices of the period, but taking into account the relationship between these musical developments and other phenomena having a profound impact on Saami populations in post-World War II Scandinavia.

In an era marked by the increased visibility of Saami organizations, whose activities had become considerably more focused and successful than those of their predecessors, the 'modern' joik emerged as a particularly effective and audible symbol for a wide-ranging array of self-implemented Saami efforts to affect positive change. From this perspective, then, the action of an artist like Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, whose first recording, *Joikuja / Jojk från finska Lappland* literally broke the silence surrounding the practice of joiking, was not only important for its role in liberating the genre from a negatively

conceived performance context. Valkeapää's efforts and those of his followers also marked or in some cases precipitated comparable endeavors occurring throughout Saamiland: for example, those to reestablish Saami language, or the legal struggles for rights to land and water.

Whether acting through organizations or as individuals, the overarching goal of this multi-faceted process (the so-called 'ethnic mobilization') was the negotiation of a new Saami identity which was less reliant on the artifice of the 'reindeer herding Lapp'. The latter was a convenient image, largely the construct of Scandinavian officialdom, which by the 1960s had stood iconically for Saami culture for nearly a century. Yet less than 10% of the Saami were actively engaged in this livelihood, meaning that this particular image was perceived as divisive by a sizable percentage of those 'inside' the ethnic boundary--it was an example of a cogent symbol of identity in the sphere of public ethnicity, but one that was essentially imposed by the majority culture. In order to better represent the Saami population as a whole, particularly as an imagined unified community in which intracultural differences were not an impediment to solidarity, a more inclusive symbol (or complex of symbols) was necessary, one which continued to delineate the Saami as a discrete group (i.e., defined ethnic boundaries), but which was broadly enough conceived to expand these boundaries and allow for the incorporation of those individuals who had become disenfranchised from Saami culture through policies of assimilation and segregation. As an expression inextricably embedded in Saami life, regardless of regional differences, joik was well positioned to function as such a symbol, for even the act of joiking was a challenge to the status quo, and a call to redraw the boundaries.

Thus, as radical as Valkeapää's recordings of joik with guitar accompaniment appeared at the time of their release in some Saami circles, they were actually an integral component of a more comprehensive cathartic process to expunge the vestiges of preconceptions about the Saami which continued to dominate both inter- and intracultural

discourse. The "flowering of joik" which resulted from the efforts of Valkeapää and his immediate followers, was evidence that the level of dissatisfaction and frustration within Saami culture had reached sufficient mass to warrant an explosive assault on the walls of prejudice and segregation, touched off in this instance by the most emotive of Saami expressions, joik.

The net effect of all of these actions was the creation of a new field for negotiating identity, one on which joik was to play an increasingly important role for a much larger percentage of the overall Saami population than ever before. By bringing joik out into the open in this fashion, making it an object which could be manipulated and reproduced in unprecedentedly large venues via the media, those who joiked on recordings and from stages expanded the audience for the genre, while encouraging others to imitate their examples. In the course of barely a decade, a veritable 'joik renaissance' was underway, during which time joik was not only heard once again within Saamiland, but was increasingly audible to the outside world as well.

8.3 Joik and the symbolic performance of culture

The history of joik, as a genre rife with misunderstanding, condemnation, discrimination, and ultimately pride and determination, is a metaphor for the Saami experience in Scandinavia. Consequently, to joik today is not only to give voice to personal memories or to reify intimate connections with others, functions which the genre has long fulfilled in Saami culture; it is also an act of defiance, one which returns attention to the boundary separating Saami and Scandinavian populations, where performance of joik largely has a symbolic function. This same phenomenon has been cited by Edwards in reference to language, which as another tool of communication can also function as a symbol or an "emblem of groupness" (Edwards 1985: 17).¹²

¹² The example Edwards provides which is most comparable to the Saami and the joik, is the remarkable support that the Irish language enjoys in the Republic of Ireland, where only 3% actually speak Gaelic. Nevertheless, for a majority of the population the language

Furthermore, this symbolic function is not at all dependent on joik (or language) continuing in its essentially communicative role; as a symbol it has the potential to incorporate those who stand outside the localized interpretive community by appealing to their desire to be included. Functioning in this expanded manner to draw in even those Saami who do not belong in the narrower joik milieu, but are instead actively imagining their own broader community, joik takes on the role of a summarizing symbol, in which all intracultural differences conflate in a single conception of 'Saami' (cf., Ortner 1973).

But such public symbols are also imbued with meaning by those who reside outside the boundary which the symbols define. Among the Scandinavians, joik has long stood as an identifier for the Saami population. The unusual sound quality of joik, noted by virtually all who encounter it, solidifies this function, albeit often from a negative perspective: joik was strongly associated in the minds of outsiders with heathen activities, and its continuance in Saami communities simply reinforced the feeling that this indigenous population was hopelessly 'primitive'. Even in its modern guise, however, where joik and European/American popular genres frequently mix and match with impunity, it is the joiking which clearly draws the line between Saami and non-Saami audiences--for the latter group it remains exotic (or perhaps even 'primitive'), while for the former it frequently represents the more familiar sound.¹³

As I have endeavored to demonstrate, the modern joik derives both its popularity and its symbolic position in contemporary Saami culture through its grounding in traditional aesthetics of performance (evident in an ideal sound and structure) and traditional conceptions of its cultural functions (manifest primarily in an understanding of its communicative or incorporative role). Even the most radical performances (e.g., 'hard

has come to stand for Irish unity and Irish culture, and they support its continuance wholeheartedly with their taxes (Edwards 1985:18).

¹³ In effect, this is an example of the collapsing of what Weaver describes as the 'private' and 'public' spheres of ethnicity, in this case due to the cogency of a single encompassing symbol (Weaver 1984: 184-185).

rock' joiking such as is purveyed by Almetjh Tjöönghkeme) are evaluated at this meta-level of interpretation, where the quality of joiking is judged before the particular vehicle with which it is conveyed. Thus, as a symbol, joik has an idealized form which cannot be recast without severely limiting its effectiveness in this role.

Yet, even as a symbol of identity, joik is not necessarily unitary in its function, i.e., it need not always simply delineate Saami from non-Saami. Within any given symbol system by which a group in part distinguishes itself from others, there is a division between perceived form and function, such that any single symbolic form may fulfill a variety of functions without undergoing any change.¹⁴ Moreover, the most efficacious symbols are those which engage interpretants on several levels simultaneously through different functions (Cohen 1969: 218-219). As a symbol requiring human involvement to activate its potential (i.e., it must be actually joiked or heard, as opposed to being seen or thought about), yet one which also retains an essential form, the actual function(s) that a joik achieves is entirely dependent on its performance context. Thus, during any given performance, joik can be expected to function not only as a binary device (inclusive/exclusive; Saami/non-Saami), but also as a symbol which is used to actively construct varying degrees of 'Saaminess'.

Joiking is now often used, for example, to frame public events, serving to audibly demarcate not only the soundscape, but physical space as well. When Lars Pirak joiks the opening and closing of the annual Jokkmokksmarknad (winter market) he is defining both the experience and the town as 'Saami' for the duration of the celebration; such is also the case when the Saami Parliaments are joiked as part of the opening ceremonies. In this same spirit, the 'Alta' protesters in Oslo, and those members of Sáminuorra who disrupted the Riksdag in Stockholm during a crucial vote in 1992, used joik to mark their presence

¹⁴ By extension of this argument, the opposite is also true, *viz.*, a symbolic function may be achieved by a variety of different forms.

and symbolically redefine the surroundings for a moment, adding dramatic emphasis to their actions which few failed to notice (cf., Paine 1984).

Of particular importance, is the extent to which individual performers (or groups of performers), recognizing the symbolic potential of joik, actively manipulate the genre for their own purposes, or for those whom they feel they represent, be it their local community or the Saami as a whole, however this is conceived. Among the musicians I have focused on, one finds joik being used in a variety of musical styles without affecting the idealized symbolic form of the genre--to do so is to jeopardize the outcome being recognizable as joik.¹⁵ Yet these individuals are not necessarily in agreement as to how joik should be used in his/her particular music, what function(s) it should fulfill, or what audience they are trying to address; nor is there any sense that joik's function remains the same within one person's repertoire.

Mari Boine, for example, has demonstrated how joik, functioning as a summarizing symbol (metaphorically interpreted as 'Saami'), becomes a device by which perceived alignments or conflicts with other groups/identities can be elaborated musically. In many of her compositions, the joik is one of several musical symbols active at the same time, each of which may be interpreted very specifically through conscious juxtaposition (i.e., 'Saami' versus 'white'), or more commonly they are melded into an even larger incorporative complex of symbols, representing 'the indigenous'. In either case, however, Mari Boine's joiking still functions to demarcate a Saami identity for herself and, by extension, for her Saami listeners.

As another example of this multi-functionality from a stable symbolic form, when Lars-Jonas Johansson joiks before an audience, he too is using the genre in a very general way to incorporate those Saami present in a collective identity, accounting a great deal for his popularity among Saami youth. Yet his joiking is also a means of actively

¹⁵ The exception, again, being Frode Fjellheim's instrumental arrangements of joik.

constructing a South Saami identity, clearly distinguished *within* this collective; this position is reinforced by his use of South Saami language and the *gákti* he wears from his home district. To a non-Saami, however, all of these symbols, with the exception of the joik, remain virtually indecipherable. Consequently, on any given night, it is perfectly possible for Lars-Jonas to use his joiking skills to simultaneously differentiate between Saami/non-Saami and South/North Saami, without changing his performance in the slightest.

It is this capacity to fulfill a variety of cogent functions, often at the same time, which ensures that joik, now reintroduced into Saami culture via modern performance contexts, not only remains a symbol capable of defining the boundaries between Saami and non-Saami populations, but also one which helps push the boundaries to encompass the enlarging Saami community without diminishing the importance of intracultural differences. In this regard it has proven much more effective, not to mention egalitarian, than language, dress, or the ubiquitous reindeer herder as symbols for contemporary Saami culture and the emerging pan-Saami identity. More to the point, joik has been firmly reseeded in the Saami soundscape where it is once again audible in public performance. I suspect that whenever the inspiration arises, whether relaxing among friends and family or staking out a position in the global village, the sound of joiking will continue to be heard emanating over the landscape--it remains, after all, the unique means by which the Saami remember who they are.

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DAUM

From "Karl Tiréns samling" (Karl Tirén's collection)

#3670

"Orgeljojk": publicity letter from Roland Forsberg 2/76 (one sheet)

Letter to *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* 5/27/39 from K. Tirén (three sheets)

#3761

Copy of program to "Lapplandsafton" 3/4/28 (two sheets)

Joik transcriptions from Karl Tirén's field notebooks

Notebook III:

#355 "Till Sigfrid Larsson"

#358 "Till Gustaf Petrus Johansson, Ranbyn"

#451 "Till Rivovardo"

#453 "Sin mans vallarlåt"

#486 "Båhtso vuelli"

#489 "Fordomtima"

#492 "Friar sång"

Notebook V

#498 "Avbrott i resan"

#506 "Kvinnornas unisona välkomst hälsning till björnjägarna"

#507 "Dödssång"

#510 "Till renar"

#515 "Till Vindens Gud"

Nordiska Museet: Lappska Arkivet

#LA 699 Tirén, Karl: "Redogörelse för hans forskningar rörande lapparnes musik" (1932).

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Appendices

Appendix A: Glossary

arbetarklassens kamp: literally, 'the working class's struggle'; used rather indiscriminately to refer to the various efforts to unionize labor throughout Scandinavia from the mid 19th century on; effects spread to rural areas as well, when laborers returned from urban industrial centers; considered to represent the foundations of the modern social welfare states of Scandinavia.

Birkarl (plural: *Birkarlar*): individual merchants who purchased exclusive rights from the Swedish Crown to trade with the Saami within a proscribed region known as a *lappmark*; collected taxes for the Crown in exchange; system initiated the 13th century in and phased out in the mid 16th century.

dajahuset: in North Saami dialect, this refers to the words in a joik (when/if present); compare with SSa: *tsåbme*.

folkrörelse: literally, 'folk movement'; used to refer to various self-determination/self-empowering movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, particularly in Sweden.

frikyrkorörelse: 'free-church movement' which swept through Scandinavia in the 19th century; led to establishment of a number of independent churches which challenged the state Lutheran churches' authority; typically pietistic and/or evangelical in approach to Christianity.

gákti: an inclusive term describing the traditional clothing worn by Saami men and women.

gievrie: the South Saami word for the ritual drum; in South Saamiland this usually takes the form of an ovoid-shaped frame drum with a single membrane; symbols are often painted on the membrane, arranged concentrically around a central (rhomboid) sun figure.

gobdas/goavddis: the North Saami word for the ritual drum; among the North Saami this is usually a basin drum with two oblong holes piercing the back surface; it has a single

membrane, often decorated with figures which can be ranged around a central figure, or divided in a tripartite scheme.

joik: from the Saami verb *joigut*, which describes actual performance, but has come to mean the genre itself. In very general terms, an unaccompanied solo vocal genre unique to the Saami.

Læstadianism: an evangelical sect of Lutheranism very popular among the Saami; named for founder, Lars Levi Læstadius, who was an active and charismatic preacher from the mid 1830s until his death in 1861; noted for its emphasis on ecstatic behavior in worship and its blanket condemnation of all joking activity as sinful.

lappby (plural: *lappbyar*): a reindeer herding district, implying both the territory allotted the members of the lappby, and the collective membership. A construct of Swedish legislation, not a Saami concept.

lappmark: proscribed trading regions in Swedish Saamiland controlled by the *Birkarlar*; contributed to construction of the *lappby* system.

luohti: (plural *luođit*). The North Saami word for the genre more commonly called joik-- technically one *joiks* a *luohti*.

noaidi: (plural *noaidit*). In the Saami world view, the ritual specialist or shaman.

NRL: *Norske Reindriftssamers Landsforbund*; the national organization for Norwegian Saami reindeer herders.

NSR: *Norgga Samiid Riikkasearvi*; the Norwegian National Saami Organization; membership open to all Norwegian Saami.

nybyggare: homesteaders (literally: new builder) in Sweden.

nykterhetsrörelse: literally, 'sobriety movement' (temperance union); another of the 'folk movements' which emerged in Scandinavia in the mid 19th century; the temperance groups often worked with religious groups and workers' organizations.

RSÄ: *Riksförbund Same Ätnam*; the national organization for Swedish Saami; agenda emphasizes language and handcraft issues; membership open to all Swedish Saami individuals and organizations.

Riksdag: Swedish Parliament.

sájva: in traditional Saami cosmology, a helping spirit for the *noaidi*, or shaman; often takes the form of a bird (*sájva leddie*), a fish (*sájva guelie*), or a reindeer bull (*sájva sarká*).

sameby: essentially the same as a *lappby*; the name officially changed in Sweden in 1971.

Sáminuorra: the Swedish Saami youth organization; originally an adjunct to *SSR*, but now an independent group.

Sámi Instituhtta: The Nordic Saami Institute; research institute in Kautokeino, Norway, founded in 1973; funded by the Nordic Council and Nordic Saami Council.

SANS: *Sámi Albmoga Nuoraid Searvi*; the Nordic Saami Youth Organization; founded in the 1980s to encourage pan-Nordic Saami youth exchanges through travel and workshops; headquartered in Norway.

Sápmi: the term the Saami use to describe the region of northern Scandinavia and the Kola Peninsula where many of the live, Saamiland--previously known as 'Lapland'; in Saami conceptualizing, Saamiland has no national borders, but is divisible according by the different dialects of Saami.

seite: a designated place for making ritual offerings; can take many forms, but is usually part of the environment, i.e., a stone formation, a particular piece of wood, etc.

siida: the traditional social structure in Saami culture, encompassing concepts about land use, extended family/community, and animals (when applied to reindeer); a flexible structure which predictably coalesced to share resources and responsibilities during the winter months, and dispersed when the weather was milder.

SSR: *Sveriges Samernas Riksförbund*; the national association for Swedish Saami reindeer herders.

Storting: Norwegian Parliament

tsábme: in South Saami dialect, this refers to the words in a joik (when/if present); compare with NSa: *dajahuset*.

vuolle: (plural *vuolleh*). The South Saami word for the genre more commonly called joik--technically' one *joiks* a *vuolle*

Appendix B: Lyrics for Selected Songs in Chapter 6

Vid foten av fjället/At the foot of the mountain performed by Sven Gösta Jonsson (1959)

Jag är lapp och jag har mina renar,
Jag har trolltrummans rytm i mitt blod.
Jag kan jojka åt hedniska stenar;
Ser jag ännu där engång de stod.

I'm a Lapp and I have my reindeer,
I have the magic drum's rhythm in my blood
I can joik toward the heathen stones;
I still know where they are.

Här vid foten av snökläda fjället,
Finns en plats dit jag drar varje vår.
Det är inte något märkligt med stället,
Det är likadant år i från år.

Here at the foot of the snowclad mountain,
Is a place I return to every spring.
There isn't anything notable about the place,
It's the same from year to year.

Men var gång när som norrskenet
flammar,
I en kväll med aning av vår,
Och jag går här vid fjäll björkens
stammar,
Kan jag känner precis som igår.

But every time the northern lights
flare up.
On an evening with the feeling of spring.
And I walk along here among the mountain
birch,
I feel exactly as if it were yesterday.

Det var här som vi mötte varandra,
Hon var lappflicka, tacka för det.
Hon var vackrare än alla andra,
Ja, det vackraste man kunde se.

It was here that we met each other,
She was a Lapp girl, thank goodness.
She was more beautiful than all the other,
Yes, the most beautiful one could see.

Men det kvällen fanns det rovdjur i
trakten;
Det var järv, det var varg, det var lo.
Och med bössan jag började jakten,
Rädde renen från rövarens klor.

But that evening there were predators in
the area.
There were wolverines, wolves, and lynx.
And with my rifle I began to hunt,
To save the reindeer from their clutches.

Men när jag kom tillbaka till stället,
Fanns av lappflickan inte ett spår.
Men till foten av snökladd fjället,
Kommer jag minst engång varje vår.

But when I came back to that place,
Not a trace of the Lapp girl was found.
Yet to the foot of the snowclad mountain,
I return at least once every spring.

Guoktelogiovcci/Twenty-nine
performed by Dædnugadde Nuorát (1973)

Guoktelogiovcci ožžut leat dat dáža
nieiddat
Ovdal go dat vástidit ovttá ge
sámenieidda

It takes 29 Scandinavian
girls
To add up to a single
Saami girl

Luonddo čáppisvuođa siste leai son bájas
šaddan
Eatnistis gal árben leai dan luonddo
čábba moji

She has grown up in the beautiful
outdoors
From her mother she has received her
beautiful smile

Haerva/Ornament
performed by Máze Nieidat (1978)

Čahppes readdju badjelis,
čahppes lávka gieđa vuol.
Doama iežat kántuvrii.
Gažaldagaid vástidit.

Clothed in a black jacket,
black portfolio under your arm.
Hurry to your office
to answer questions.

Dušše hearva sidjiide
lea go ávvki midjiide
suohpalaste láhtise
Norgga láhti čorgese

For them we're only pretty ornaments.
What good is the beauty of our clothing?
Take out the broom and dustpan
And clean up in front of Norway's door!

Olgo--riikaid hejoša,
unnit loguid bealušta.
Nu goit doppe muitala,
eara riikkaid dájuha.

Criticize other countries,
take a stand for minorities.
So they say, in any case,
lying to other countries.

Dusse hearva sidjiide...

For them we're only pretty ornaments...

Lea go Norga siivvumus?
Ceahpimus ja jirbmamus?
Nu go ieža vikkahit:
Sámin duođas beroštit?

Is Norway really the nicest?
The most clever and understanding?
And they actually declare:
We really support the Saami?

Dušše hearva sidjiide...

For them we're only pretty ornaments...

Stivreaddji olbmažat,
Stuoradikke báfanat,
váldet dalle suopaliid
Norgga láhti čorgejet!

You who are leaders,
the big talkers in parliament
take out the broom and dustpan
and clean up in front of Norway's door!

Dušše hearva sidjiide...

For them we're only pretty ornaments...

Samiid Ædnan/Saamiland
performed by Sverre Kjeldsberg and Mattis Hætta (1979)

Enkla toner--två små ord,
Samiid Ædnan--samisk jord.
Kom som vindpust ifrån norr,
ifrån norr...
Samiid Ædnan.

Simple sounds--two small words,
Samiid Ædnan--the Saami world.
Came like a puff of wind from the north,
from the north...
Samiid Ædnan.

Kan ett krav få mjukare form?
Samiid Ædnan--Sameland.
Växte från bris till storm,
bris till storm...
Samiid Ædnan.

Can a demand assume a softer form?
Samiid Ædnan--Saamiland.
Grew from a breeze to a storm,
breeze to storm...
Samiid Ædnan.

Framför tinget där de satt,
Samiid Ædnan--Samiid Ædnan.
Hördes jojken dag och natt,
Samiid Ædnan.

There they sat in front of Parliament,
Samiid Ædnan--Samiid Ædnan.
Joik was heard day and night,
Samiid Ædnan.

Joik har större kraft än krut,
Samiid Ædnan--Samiid Ædnan,
för en joik tar aldrig slut,
Samiid Ædnan.

Joik is more powerful than weapons
Samiid Ædnan--Samiid Ædnan
because a joik never comes to an end...
Samiid Ædnan.

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