

5. ACTIVITY IN THE RITUAL LANDSCAPE: TALES TOLD BY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

Ukko (46) in Inari, August 2007

The island of Ukko in Lake Ukonjärvi in Inari is a sacred place that has at the same time been the scene of people's everyday activities. In the summer of 2007, an intensive survey was carried out on the island with the objective of discovering the extent and location of ritual activities.⁴⁵⁰ Before the survey it was not known whether offering activities were concentrated in certain parts of the large island or whether the entire island was in ritual use. Five days of archaeological research showed that offerings had been brought at least to a stone located on a ridge in the north-western part of the island. Animal bones were found in the vicinity of this stone. In connection with the survey, other signs of human activity were also documented. Marks on trees from the taking of bark, hearths, crossbeams for storing fishing nets, and bird nesting trees show that people have had active contact with the landscape. Together, they form a part of the taskscape.

Many pine trees on the island had their bark broken to pull off the inner bark layer (pettu). Andelin describes how in times gone by, bark would be peeled off the pine tree, after which the layer closest the core would also be peeled off and dried to make pettu. In Inari, pettu was eaten with gruel.⁴⁵¹ In addition to the signs of bark peeling, some trees also had later axe marks that may have come from kindling being struck off the tree. Over time, people have also carved marks in trees to indicate borders or hunting areas. Other observations included holes carved in trees for birds to nest in. These bird nesting trees were used to make it easier to collect bird eggs. Indeed, the eggs of waterfowl formed a significant source of nutrition in the north.⁴⁵²

People also came to Ukko in Lake Ukonjärvi in connection with fishing, as indicated by the crossbeams found on the shores and meant for storing nets. Also hearths and initials carved in trees show that people have visited the island. Pettu trees and bird nesting trees, as well as storage constructions for fishing nets, indicate that the sacred landscape on Ukko was also used for subsistence-related activities. People brought offerings to the island but also took food items like pettu and eggs.

⁴⁵⁰ Harlin & Ojanlatva 2008.

⁴⁵¹ Andelin 1859, 230.

⁴⁵² Näkkäläjärvi 2007, 39.

5.1. Fishing and hunting as part of the ritual landscape

Päivi Magga has observed that the Sámi way of seeing and experiencing the landscape is closely tied to Sámi means of subsistence.⁴⁵³ Hunting, fishing, and reindeer herding rely heavily on nature and therefore require a permanent relationship between nature and humans.⁴⁵⁴ As I stated earlier, means of subsistence are very important not only for experiencing the landscape but also for carrying out ritual activities. In this chapter, I describe how sacredness and subsistence connect within the experience of the landscape. The varying natural environment in different parts of Lapland created different prerequisites for engaging in various means of subsistence. As examples, I compare the landscape of Utsjoki, which is crossed by rivers and fells, and the lacustrine landscape of Inari.

Utsjoki and Inari are environmentally different areas, but fishing was an important means of subsistence for the inhabitants of both. The fell area of Utsjoki is crossed by two large river valleys, those of River Tenjoki and River Utsjoki. In River Tenjoki, the salmon rising from the Arctic Ocean have been a significant food source. The region of Lake Inarijärvi, on the other hand, represents a pine forest type of landscape in which lakes also offered fishing opportunities.⁴⁵⁵

In the River Tenjoki area, fishing has long been a significant means of subsistence, as shown already by late medieval archive sources.⁴⁵⁶ In Utsjoki, reindeer husbandry was significant in the 17th century. In addition, subsistence was provided in the 17th through 19th centuries by hunting and the raising of cattle, goats, and sheep, as well as fishing.⁴⁵⁷ In the 17th century, people in Inari lived a mobile life that revolved around fishing. Hunting was also an important source of food.⁴⁵⁸ In addition to wild reindeer, willow grouses, capercaillies, swans, and fur animals such as beavers were also hunted.⁴⁵⁹

With regard to reindeer husbandry, the areas of Inari and Utsjoki differed from each other in the beginning of the 18th century. By the mid-18th century, reindeer husbandry had a significant role in the life of the inhabitants of Utsjoki; they were primarily reindeer herders and the movements of the reindeer herds structured their lives. It is said that reindeer Sámi who became poor settled down on the banks of the River Tenjoki and started raising sheep. Sheep were important too in the economy of the Utsjoki area. In addition to sheep raising, subsistence was sought from salmon fishing on the River Tenjoki and sea fishing on the Arctic shore. The inhabitants of the riverside also hunted willow grouses and wild reindeer, but the populations of both species had already declined in the 18th century.⁴⁶⁰

In Inari, southeast of the fells and river valleys of Utsjoki, typical landscape elements consist of conifer forests and lakes. In the 18th century, fishing was the primary

⁴⁵³ Magga 2007a, 11.

⁴⁵⁴ Mulk 2003, 127.

⁴⁵⁵ Andelin 1859, 219; Virrankoski 1973, 443; Fjellström 1985, 21; Helander 1985, 105–107.

⁴⁵⁶ Helander 1985, 105; Näkkäläjärvi 2007, 38.

⁴⁵⁷ Itkonen 1948 I, 190; Itkonen 1948 II, 190.

⁴⁵⁸ Itkonen 1948 II, 241–242.

⁴⁵⁹ Virrankoski 1973, 440–441.

⁴⁶⁰ Kylli 2005, 34–35; Korhonen 2008, 24–26.

means of subsistence for the Inari Sámi, who migrated and settled according to the annual rhythm. The winter settlement was in the forest and the summer settlement by the lakeshore. In addition to fishing, they also hunted and raised sheep. When Finnish settlement started to spread to Inari in the 18th century, the role of cattle husbandry and farming intensified. Reindeer husbandry did not have a significant role in the area in the 18th century; reindeer were mainly used as draught and pack animals. The decline of the wild reindeer population in the 19th century was the main stimulus for taking up reindeer husbandry as a major occupation. However, as late as in the 1830s, wild reindeer hunting was very important for the inhabitants of Inari.⁴⁶¹ In the late 19th century, reindeer husbandry was the main means of subsistence, in addition to fishing, in both Inari and Utsjoki.⁴⁶²

As I mentioned earlier, offerings brought to offering places were closely associated with the means of subsistence practised; fishermen brought fish, hunters brought game meat, and reindeer herders brought reindeer. Offering places in particular often belonged to a particular group or groups practising a certain means of subsistence – when it comes to sacred places *not* related to offering activities, only Halti in Enontekiö has been associated with a certain means of subsistence, namely reindeer husbandry.⁴⁶³ The connection between subsistence and offering can be approached through the offerings given. Information on offerings comes from both written sources and bone finds from excavations, which provide a very uniform picture of the significance of different species. Of all sacred places, 87 are sieidis or other offering places. There is no information on the animal species offered for 43 of these places. The diagram below is based on 44 offering places from which information on the offered animals is available either from written sources or excavation finds (Figure 57). Only those written sources have been taken into account in which a particular animal is associated with a particular offering place. General descriptions of offering sheep, for example, have not been included here.

In a comparison of written sources and of excavation finds in terms of the animals offered, it was observed that the most frequently mentioned animals in written sources were reindeer, both wild and domesticated, and fish (Figure 57). Wild and domesticated reindeer cannot be differentiated from each other in the excavation material, but the percentual amount of bones identified as reindeer in general corresponds to the impression given by the written sources. Fish, on the other hand, is underrepresented in the bone material, which is probably mainly due to taphonomic reasons. Fish bones, especially those of fatty salmonoids, are more poorly preserved than mammal bones,⁴⁶⁴ and furthermore, fish offerings may have consisted of fat only. In spite of mentions of fish offerings at five of the sieidis that were studied by means of excavations during the project, only one sieidi yielded fish bones that were not modern. As for other animals, based on the bone material, birds, bears, and sheep were more frequently offered than written sources would lead us to expect. The written sources contain no mentions of sheep offerings at specific sites, although there are mentions of sheep having been offered in general.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶¹ Castrén 1853, 41–45; Itkonen 1948 I, 269, 540; Kylli 2005, 39–40; Korhonen 2008, 26–27.

⁴⁶² Halinen 2004, 38; Kortessalmi 2008, 276.

⁴⁶³ Paulaharju 1932, 38.

⁴⁶⁴ Fortelius 1981, 13; Wheeler & Jones 1989, 61–64.

⁴⁶⁵ For example, Paulaharju 1914, 5.

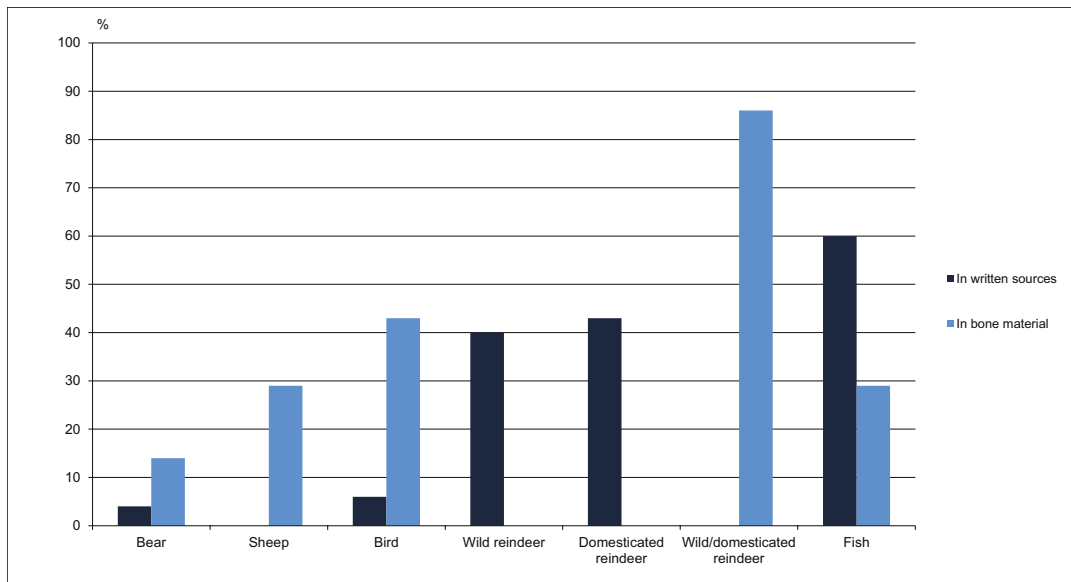


Figure 57. A comparison of the distribution of offered animal species according to written sources and bone material from excavations. The column depicts the sites at which the animal in question has been offered as a percentage of all excavated sites (7) or all sites mentioned in written sources (47).

The same phenomenon can be observed when information from written sources is compared to the sieidis that were excavated. Written sources relate that fish and wild and domesticated reindeer were offered at Taatsi (65) and Näkkälä (9). According to written sources, wild reindeer offerings were brought to Sieiddakeädgi (113), and oral tradition also mentions fish.⁴⁶⁶ Written sources contain no mention of bird offerings at Taatsi or bear bones at Näkkälä. The sieidi at Koskikaltiojoen suu (29) [The mouth of the River Koskikaltiojoki] is also interesting, as both written sources and living oral tradition know it as a fish sieidi,⁴⁶⁷ whereas excavations yielded bones of reindeer and capercaillies. The less frequent mentions of capercaillies, other birds, and bear, as well as sheep, as noted earlier, in descriptions in written sources may be due to the fact that the writers considered the offering of wild or domesticated reindeer or fish as a more important factor determining the nature of the offering place and thus worth mentioning. Sieidis were, after all, specifically fish or reindeer sieidis. Fishing, reindeer husbandry, and wild reindeer hunting have also been considered as central to Sámi means of subsistence and important also for Sámi identity. As for the sieidi at Koskikaltiojoen suu, written sources make no mention of wild or domesticated reindeer offerings. Could this mean that this offering tradition has older roots at this particular sieidi than fish offerings? The datings obtained from the excavations indeed give older dates for the use of the sieidi than written sources (Appendix III).

The bone material from the excavations revealed that animals of different ages have been offered to the sieidis. Judging by reindeer teeth found at Näkkälä, animals of all ages have been accepted as offerings. The more fragmentary and less-easily-analysed tooth material from Sieiddakeädgi indicated that reindeer of all ages were offered. Individual animals of many ages were also observed in the material from Ukonsaari dating from 1968. The material from Koskikaltiojoen suu differed slightly from these sites, because

⁴⁶⁶ E.g. Paulaharju 1932.

⁴⁶⁷ E.g. Paulaharju 1914; Paulaharju 1965 [1927].

there the offered animals seemed to be mainly adults. However, the bones included some jawbones of younger creatures.⁴⁶⁸ The situation differs from the Swedish material described by Ernst Manker, in which the majority of the offered reindeer are adults.⁴⁶⁹

The biggest difference in the offering traditions of Sweden and Finland is probably the small number of metal finds in Finland, which I mentioned earlier.⁴⁷⁰ Furthermore, in Sweden, the majority of the offered animals are reindeer. The amount of birds and fish is substantially smaller, just like in Finland. However, unlike Finland, Sweden has additional evidence of domesticated animals, such as dogs, having been offered. In Finland, the only sheep finds concentrated in Inari and other domesticated animals have not been found at all. Bear offerings are also more common in Sweden.⁴⁷¹

Due to the poor preservation of fish bones, excavation finds are not necessarily sufficient for identifying fish sieidis. A location near water has naturally been considered as an important factor for the selection of fish sieidis. Paulaharju notes that fish sieidis were often located on headlands, on islands, or deep in an inlet, the sieidis of river fishermen in a headland of a river bend or in rapids.⁴⁷² The proximity of water is a typical feature of fish sieidis, although some fish sieidis that are located some distance from water are known (Figure 58). On the other hand, the proximity of water does not always mean that the sieidi would have been used in connection with fishing. Furthermore, reindeer sieidis could be located on the shores of rich fishing waters where people migrated annually and where they also hunted wild reindeer.⁴⁷³

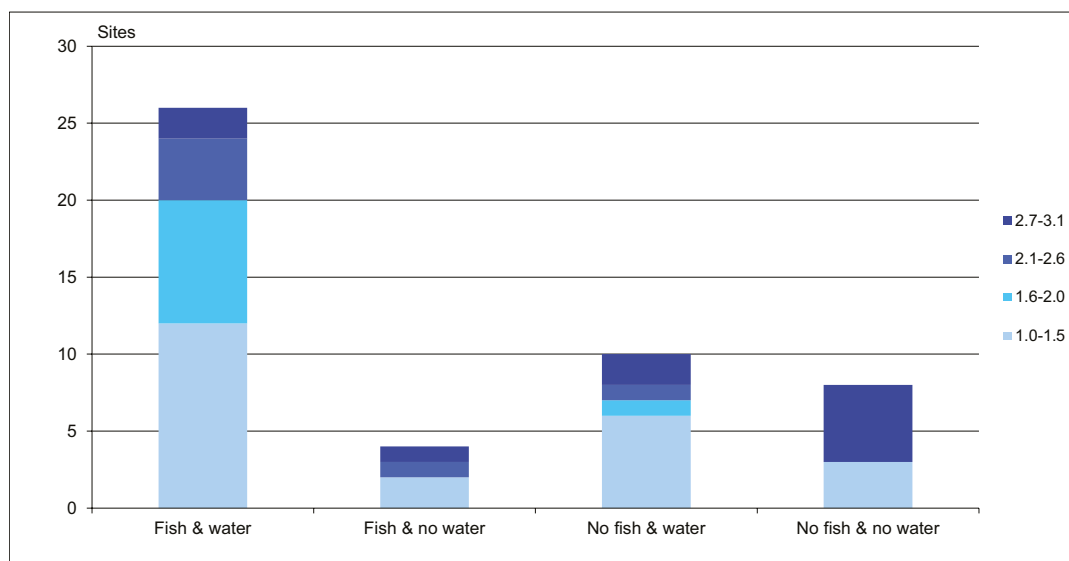


Figure 58. Sieidis divided according to whether or not they are fish sieidis and according to their proximity to water.

⁴⁶⁸ Puputti 2008a; Puputti 2008c; Puputti 2009; Puputti 2010a.

⁴⁶⁹ Manker 1957, 46.

⁴⁷⁰ See Chapter 2.4.

⁴⁷¹ Manker 1957, 52; Fossum 2006, 107–114; Hansen & Olsen 2007, 193–194; Zachrisson 2009.

⁴⁷² Paulaharju 1932, 10–11.

⁴⁷³ Qvigstad 1926, 318.

In spite of the significance of river fishing along the River Tenojoki, only four fish sieidis are known from Utsjoki compared to 11 from Inari (Figure 59). The landscape of Utsjoki, dominated by fells and rivers, is also reflected in the locations of the fish sieidis; two of them are on the riverbank and two near a hill or fell. The Ravdojavri (111) sieidi is located on an island in lake on a fell. In lake-rich Inari, on the other hand, fish sieidis are usually located on lakeshores, headlands, or islands.

Fish have also been offered on fells and hills in both Inari and Utsjoki. In these cases, there are lakes in the fell landscape or people have climbed up to a hillside sieidi from a nearby river. Therefore, the location of the offering place does not directly indicate what has been offered there. Fish offerings have more often been brought to offering places on islands and headlands, and reindeer offerings brought to hillocks, hills, and fells, but with the exception of hillocks and smaller waterways, all landscape types were used by offerers of both meat and fish (Figure 60). In addition, both fish and reindeer have been offered in 14 places.

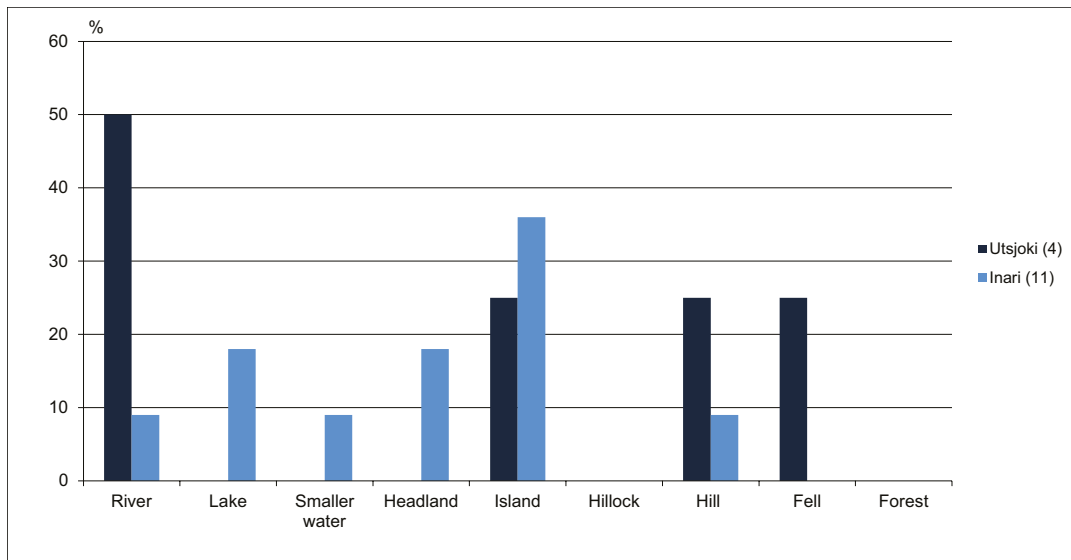


Figure 59. A percentual comparison of the landscape types of known fish offering places in Utsjoki and Inari. One sieidi in Utsjoki belongs to two groups.

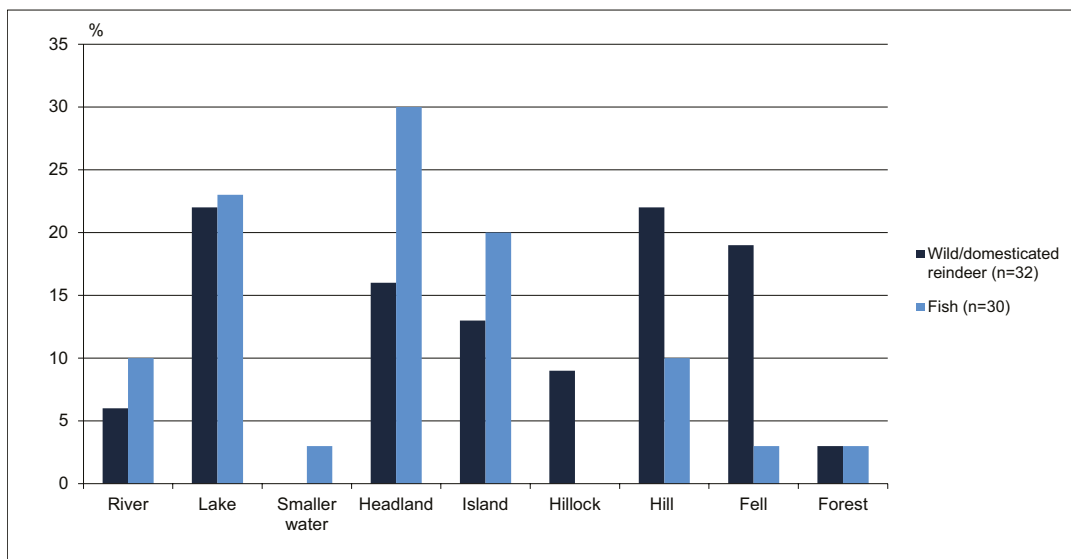


Figure 60. A percentual comparison of the landscape types of known fish and domesticated or wild reindeer offering places. Both fish and domesticated or wild reindeer have been offered at 14 places.

In the sieidis that were excavated, pike, perch, trout, and unidentified fish bones were found. All three species mentioned were brought to the Taatsi sieidi, and pike to Ukko in Lake Ukonjärvi. Sieidis could be associated with not only fishing in general but a certain type of fish. Paulaharju mentions the sieidi at Lake Seitajärvi in Sodankylä as a particular provider of roaches.⁴⁷⁴

5.2. The connection between sacred places and archaeological remains related to hunting

*Nichts ist dauerhafter als ein ordentliches Loch.*⁴⁷⁵

Carl Schuchardt 1904

The archaeological remains related to sacred places provide information on the relationship between means of subsistence and other activities and the ritual landscape. Human activity in the landscape has been a part of experiencing a sacred place. The activity has left behind traces such as archaeological remains. Here, I examine the connection between other archaeological remains and sacred places by comparing the number of sites within the intermediate viewshed zone and a buffer zone of 3000 metres (Table 8). The buffer zone means an area that extends to a certain distance from the site. In this case, the buffer zone is a circle with the sacred place at its centre and a radius of 3000 metres. The sites that do not fall within the chronological limits of this study, such as Stone Age dwelling sites, were not included in the comparison.

In most cases, there are no other ancient sites in the near vicinity of the sacred place. Of 107 sacred places, 79 had no other archaeological remains in the intermediate viewshed zone. At 12 sites, differences in elevation are so great that visibility is strictly limited, but even these sites had no other archaeological remains within a radius of 3000 metres. They are sacred fells with no other sites in the vicinity. In the case of fells, the lack of other sites may be an illusion created by lack of research; it may be more a question of missing surveys than missing sites. The area of the Paistunturi fell, which was surveyed more extensively than usual between 1999 and 2002, stands out in terms of the number of ancient sites.⁴⁷⁶ However, fells do not cover all sacred sites that have no other archaeological remains in the near vicinity.

The most common type of archaeological remains near sacred places are hunting pits. It has generally been presumed that offering places near hunting camps or hunting pits would be related to hunting and offering places near lakeshores to fishing, even to the extent of every hunting or fishing site having its own offering place.⁴⁷⁷ In Norway, Ørnulv Vorren has suggested that there is a connection between circular offering places and hunting pits.⁴⁷⁸ According to Vorren, during the period

⁴⁷⁴ Paulaharju 1941, 8.

⁴⁷⁵ "Nothing is more permanent than a proper hole." The words of German archaeologist Carl Schuchardt to Kaiser Wilhelm II (<http://www.magdeburg.de/schaufenster/tafeln/pdf/tafel2.pdf>).

⁴⁷⁶ Valtonen 1999; Valtonen 2006; Valtonen 2009.

⁴⁷⁷ Fellman 1906 II, 224–225; Mulk 1996, 66.

⁴⁷⁸ Vorren 1958; Vorren 1985, 79.

of hunting culture, sieidis were located close to hunting pits and close to places where wild reindeer crossed rivers.⁴⁷⁹ The location of offering places has therefore been connected to hunting wild reindeer.⁴⁸⁰ Offering places may have been located in places central to wild reindeer hunting.

Table 8. Ancient sites near sacred places. The number denotes how many sacred places are located near the type of ancient site in question. There can be several instances of the same type. Out of the locations with an excessively restricted view, six are not located within 3000 metres of ancient sites. The rectangular fireplace is recorded in the register of the National Board of Antiquities under various names.

Type of ancient site	Within the distant views hed zone	Within 300 metres (not visible)	Within 3000 metres (not visible)
Nothing	67		55
Nothing (view too restricted)	12		
Hunting pit	18	1	34
Homestead	5	1	15
House foundation	1	1	4
Sacred place	8	2	8
Burials	6		5
Rectangular fireplace	5	1	11
Church foundation/church	1		1
Goahti foundation	3	1	11
Purnu (storage pit)	1		4
Cave	1		
Historical dwelling site			4
Hearth			2
Täyssinä border marker			1
Quarry		1	

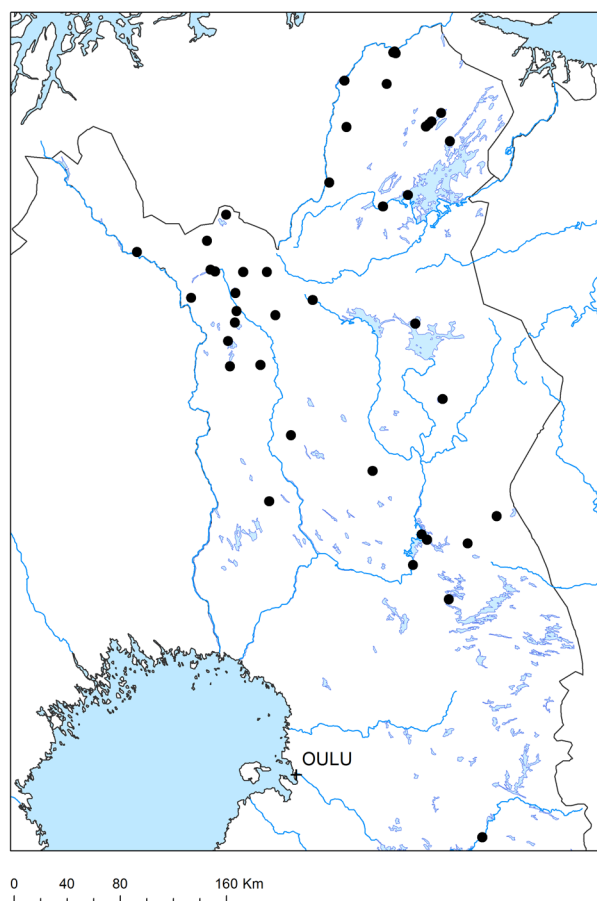
Sacred places are located in the vicinity of hunting pits in the entire research area (Figure 61). At 43 sites, there is a hunting pit near the sacred place either in the distant viewshed area or within the buffer zone of 3000 metres. A total of 65% of the sacred places in question are sieidis. The connection between sacred places, especially sieidis, and hunting pits seems to be a fairly common phenomenon, which is repeated over a geographically extensive area. However, spatial proximity does not necessarily mean cultural proximity.

Based on excavation finds or written sources, ten of the sacred places related to hunting pits are wild reindeer sieidis. For five of these, the hunting pit site (or sites) are within the restricted viewshed zone and for the other five they are not visible within a radius of 3000 metres. One of the latter, Koskikaltiojoen suu (29) in Inari, may be related to domesticated instead of wild reindeer, because meat offerings are indicated only by excavation finds in which wild and domesticated reindeer cannot be differentiated.

⁴⁷⁹ Vorren 1982, 58, 65–66.

⁴⁸⁰ Vorren & Eriksen 1993, 197.

Figure 61.
Map of the sacred places located at most 3000 m from a hunting pit.



In written sources, sieidis related to wild reindeer hunting are described as being located both up in the fells, lower down on the heath (Sieiddakeädgi 113), at the waterline (Seitigädgi 112), and on a headland of a lake (Seitavaara, Inari 39). Judging by written sources, the locations of wild reindeer sieidis thus seem to vary considerably. On the other hand, locations up in the fells have been emphasized.⁴⁸¹ Wild reindeer sieidis associated with hunting pits are located in the areas of Inari, Utsjoki, Enontekiö, Muonio, Kittilä, and Sodankylä. The landscape elements related to them reflect the same phenomenon that can be observed in the connection between all wild reindeer sieidis and landscape elements: they are more equally distributed than fish sieidis among both waterways and places of high elevation (Figures 60 and 62). Furthermore, when all sacred places associated with hunting pits are studied in relation to landscape elements, it can be seen that both waterways and high elevations are present (Figure 62). Thus, landscape elements alone cannot determine whether an offering place is a wild reindeer sieidi.

In some cases, hunting pits and sieidis are located in the same very restricted area. For example, on the headland of Porviniemi (75) in Muonio, a hunting pit is located on a narrow headland only a few metres from the sieidi. In this particular case, the hunting pit has been a part of the experience of visitors to the sieidi regardless of whether they used it or even knew its meaning. In other cases, sieidis may have been located in areas where the surrounding environment provides many topographically suitable places for digging hunting pits. For example, a former sieidi on top of the

⁴⁸¹ E.g. Paulaharju 1932, 11; Itkonen 1948 II, 316.

hill of Jyppyrä (6) in Enontekiö has been surrounded by several networks of hunting pits on the lower slopes of the hill. The landscape may have offered both symbolic meanings for the sieidi location and functional reasons for digging hunting pits, and these activities may not necessarily have been related in any way.

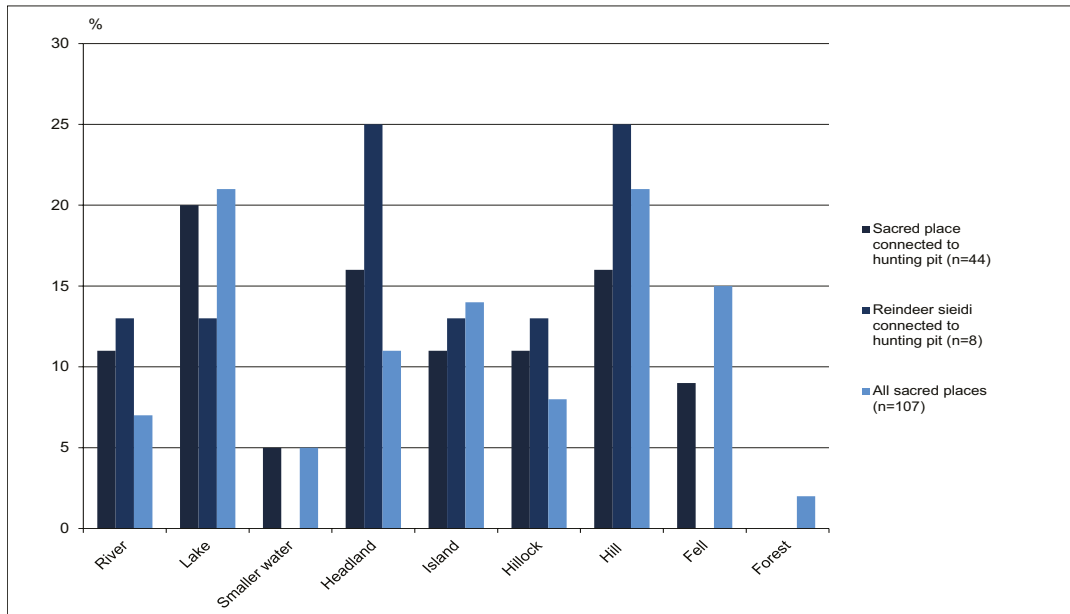


Figure 62. The landscape features related to sacred places and wild reindeer sieidis associated with hunting pits, compared percentually to the landscape features of all sacred places.

The clearest connection between a hunting place and a sacred place is formed when traces of hunting activities are found at the sacred place. In Sweden, animal offerings and arrowheads have been found in offering places near hunting camps.⁴⁸² In Finland, five sieidis located near hunting pits have been excavated: Koskikaltiojoen suu (29) and the island of Ukonsaari (47) in Inari, Taatsi (65) in Kittilä, the headland of Porviniemi in Muonio and Näkkälä (9) in Enontekiö. Except for Porviniemi, all sieidis yielded bones of wild or domesticated reindeer. Hunting-related artefacts were not found at any of the sieidis (with the exception of a shell at the foot of the Näkkälä sieidi stone), but artefact finds at Finnish sieidis are, in general, very rare.

Arrowheads found at Swedish sieidis have been presumed to indicate collective hunting practices and thus also collective sieidis.⁴⁸³ In Finland, nine of the sacred sites related to hunting pits have been used by a larger group, and three of them are reindeer sieidis. Viewed the other way around, six of all 15 communal sacred sites are reindeer sieidis, for five the type of offerings brought is not known, five have also had animals other than reindeer offered, and three have been fish sieidis. Communal sieidis therefore do not seem to be related only to a certain means of subsistence.

In Finland, there seem to be few indications of wild reindeer hunting in sacred places associated with hunting pits. Sacred places associated with hunting pits seem to have been used as fish sieidis as often as they have been used as reindeer sieidis. A location near a hunting pit cannot therefore be considered as a direct link with the offering activities practised.

⁴⁸² Mulk 1996, 66.

⁴⁸³ Mulk 1996, 66.

The connection between hunting pits and sacred places in the taskscape is also complicated by the problems related to the dating of both site types. Hunting pits are considered to have been in use mainly in the Late Stone Age and Early Metal Age.⁴⁸⁴ This would make them older than the oldest dated use of offering places. In some cases, the use of hunting pits has been dated up to historical times. In the Varanger fjord area, datings from dwelling sites and hunting sites in the same context as hunting pits have been thought to indicate that the pits have been used for a long time in the Middle Ages, starting from the 13th century.⁴⁸⁵ On the basis of written sources and archaeological finds, Vorren has concluded that hunting pits in the Varanger area have been used from 1225 to 1650 A.D.⁴⁸⁶

Discovering the chronological connection between hunting pits and offering places is complicated by the fact that, in the area of Finland, there are no sites with datings for the use of both offering places and hunting pits. However, there are dated hunting pit sites in the proximity of four sacred places. Some of these datings from the hill of Jyppyrä are from hunting pit sites within the restricted viewshed zone; in other cases, the sites are not visible but are located within 3000 metres of the sacred place.

The sieidi at Jyppyrä in Enontekiö has been destroyed, and its former precise location is not known. Thus, offering activities cannot be dated. A dating from a hunting pit near Jyppyrä gives the date 1110–830 B.C.⁴⁸⁷ Hunting pit sites near the sacred place of Ullatieva (22) in Enontekiö are partly the same as those near Jyppyrä. The sacred place at Ullatieva also cannot be dated, because it is not known to be associated with any offering activities that could be located precisely. As for the sieidi at Näkkälä in Enontekiö, the age of hunting pits within the buffer zone of 3000 metres varied between 3630–3360 and 1880–1680 B.C.⁴⁸⁸ The datings of the hunting pits were significantly earlier than the datings from the Näkkälä sieidi. At Porviniemi in Muonio, excavations were carried out at both the sieidi and the remains of a hunting pit, both located on the top of a ridge-like headland with the pit about 130 metres to the northwest of the sieidi. Charcoal samples were taken from the hunting pit, providing a *terminus ante quem* of 6010–5900 B.C. for the digging of the pit. The pit was dug into stony ground and it seemed more like a storage pit than a hunting pit.⁴⁸⁹ There were no datable finds from the sieidi on the headland, except for modern fish bones.

The use of hunting pits is also mentioned in historical sources describing the area of Finland. Historical sources and contemporary writings relate that hunting pits were widely used in the 16th and 17th centuries. There are even several mentions from the 19th century, although pit hunting probably became less important already from the mid-17th century.⁴⁹⁰ Petri Halinen considers that historical sources are related to people's tendencies to think of hunting pits in the landscape as belonging to

⁴⁸⁴ Halinen 2005; Halinen 2006b.

⁴⁸⁵ Fossum 2006, 65; Hansen & Olsen 2007, 186–187.

⁴⁸⁶ Vorren 1998.

⁴⁸⁷ Halinen 2005, 154.

⁴⁸⁸ Halinen 2005, 154.

⁴⁸⁹ Äikäs & Núñez 2010a.

⁴⁹⁰ Markku Korteniemi (1990, 44–81, 116–120) has comprehensively studied written descriptions of pit hunting.

themselves or their own past, for example, their grandfathers, even though this might not correspond to the actual dating.⁴⁹¹ In my opinion, extensive folk tradition still does not exclude the possibility that some of the hunting pits may still have been used in historical times.

Altogether, the dated hunting pits are notably older than the offering places. This seems to support the idea that these site types belong to different chronological traditions. Due to the large number of hunting pit sites and the long period of pit hunting, full certainty can only be obtained by studying individual sites.

In spite of the uncertainty of the chronological connection between hunting pits and offering places, they may have had a functional connection. The same areas remained environmentally suitable for hunting for a long time. The significance of certain areas for wild reindeer hunting may also be indicated by rectangular fireplaces, which are considered to be related to a mobile way of life, whether hunting or herding reindeer.⁴⁹² In terms of chronological continuity, especially interesting are sites with hunting pits, offering places, and rectangular fireplaces.

Rectangular fireplaces are hearths that are, as the name implies, shaped like regular rectangles or ovals with blunted ends. The stones in the fireplace have been set directly on the ground. Often a separate border ring can be distinguished, with the middle area filled in with stones. In connection with excavations, the hearths have provided finds of, for example, charcoal, burned bone, pieces of copper and bronze sheet, and fragments of iron and bronze artefacts.⁴⁹³ Most of these sites are located in Inari, Utsjoki, and Enontekiö, but there are also some in the municipalities of Kittilä, Muonio, Kolari, Salla, Savukoski, and Kemijärvi. In addition to Finland, rectangular fireplaces are also known from elsewhere in the Cap of the North, the area from Northern Sweden to Eastern Finnmark. They are mainly located in the forested inland zone.⁴⁹⁴ Based on their distribution and finds, the hearths are associated with the Sámi.⁴⁹⁵

Rectangular fireplaces have been dated to the period starting from the end of the Iron Age to the beginning of historical times. According to datings from the River Luleå, their earliest use seems to date to the beginning of the 7th century A.D. and the most intensive period of use is from the early 9th century to the late 15th century, although some datings extend up to the middle of the 17th century.⁴⁹⁶ Radiocarbon datings from Finland indicate that these sites have been used from the 7th century A.D. to the 17th century, with the most intensive phase in the 11th through 13th/14th centuries.⁴⁹⁷ The location of small groups of rectangular fireplaces in good reindeer country has been thought to link them to wild reindeer hunting.⁴⁹⁸ Arrowheads found at a rectangular fireplace site at Pasvik in Norway were considered to indicate hunting, together with hunting pits found in the near vicinity.⁴⁹⁹ However, the hunting pits have

⁴⁹¹ Halinen 1996, 59.

⁴⁹² Hamari 1996, 53–54.

⁴⁹³ Hamari 1996, 47–49.

⁴⁹⁴ Hamari 1996, 46.

⁴⁹⁵ Hamari 1996, 53; Hedman 2003; Halinen *et al.* 2013.

⁴⁹⁶ Mulk 1994, 147; Hedman 2003.

⁴⁹⁷ Hamari 1996, 51; Halinen *et al.* 2013.

⁴⁹⁸ Halinen 2004, 26.

⁴⁹⁹ Hedman & Olsen 2009, 16.

not been dated, so a direct connection cannot be shown. Altogether, the existence of rectangular fireplaces in the same areas as hunting pits may indicate that these sites have been used for wild reindeer hunting as late as the Middle Ages.

Areas with both hunting pits and rectangular fireplaces include Näkkälä, Karessuvanto, Angeli, and Lake Ounasjärvi. Rectangular fireplaces are related to sacred places in five cases in the restricted viewshed zone and in 11 cases in the buffer zone of 3000 metres. The restricted viewshed zone of sacred places includes both rectangular fireplaces and hunting pits on the island of Annansaari (26) in Inari, Jyppyrä in Enontekiö, and Ukonsaari in Inari. In addition, both rectangular fireplaces and hunting pits are present in the buffer zone of 3000 metres at Näkkälä in Enontekiö (for example, at the southern end of Lake Sammaljärvi) and Siuttavaara (43) in Inari, among others.

5.3. Settlements near sacred places

According to Pirjo Hamari, the structure of rectangular fireplaces and their location in the topography has clear similarities with the Sámi winter villages known from historical times.⁵⁰⁰ The greatest difference between the hearths and the winter villages is in the robustness of the structures; the dwellings of the younger winter villages are fairly sturdy and permanent in nature, whereas at rectangular fireplace sites, the hearth is the only permanent structure.⁵⁰¹ Like rectangular fireplaces, more permanent Sámi settlement is also a part of the lived-in landscape. Dwelling sites are parts of a whole that also includes other signs of human activity in the landscape. For example, at Lake Saarijärvi in Enontekiö, there is a homestead related to a reindeer fence close to Lake Pöyrisjärvi, which is characterized by sacred places.⁵⁰²

Sacred places are also associated with Sámi settlement elsewhere. Homesteads appear to be the third most common group of ancient sites located near sacred places (Table 8). Homesteads are formed of groups of *goahhti* foundations and housed an extended family or several families. The connection between sacred places and settlement is approached in this chapter by determining the distance from the sacred place to the nearest homestead. The areas of Inari and Utsjoki are examined especially closely, because homesteads in these areas are better documented than those in the more southern research area. However, it should be taken into account that some of the homesteads remain unknown to researchers. In 1931, Aarne Äyräpää noted that Inari alone had more than 200 homesteads,⁵⁰³ whereas the research material from the same area only includes 30. The maximum distance to the nearest homestead was defined as 25 kilometres, which included all sacred places in the research area.

As can be seen in Figure 63, in most cases, the distance between a sacred place and the nearest homestead is less than five kilometres. When the situation is compared to the entire research area, homesteads in the near vicinity of sacred sites are

⁵⁰⁰ Winter villages were places where inhabitants of *siidas*, Sámi villages, gathered in the winter. They can be dated approximately to the 17th to 19th centuries.

⁵⁰¹ Hamari 1996, 53–54.

⁵⁰² See Korhonen 2008, 101.

⁵⁰³ Äyräpää 1931, 355.

emphasized (Figure 64). The proximity of offering places to dwelling sites is also known from the areas of Sweden and Norway.⁵⁰⁴ In Gällivare in Sweden, most of the dwelling sites are located 0.5 to 1.5 kilometres from an offering place, and they too have been used simultaneously from 800 to 1350 A.D.⁵⁰⁵ In the area of Inari, the sieidis at Lake Säytsjärvi (44) and the island of Annansaari (26) are located in the near vicinity of a homestead. The sieidi at Lake Säytsjärvi is located on a headland about 250 metres from the homestead (Figure 65). On Annansaari, the homestead and the sieidi are located on the same island. In these places, the sieidis have formed a part of everyday life at the dwelling sites. The homestead of Lake Säytsjärvi is also associated with the island of Seitasaari (38), located 280 metres from the shore and visible from the homestead. The location of the Paatsjoenniska (32) sieidi and the homestead of Virtaniemi are also situated less than two hundred metres from each other. However, the precise location of both is uncertain.

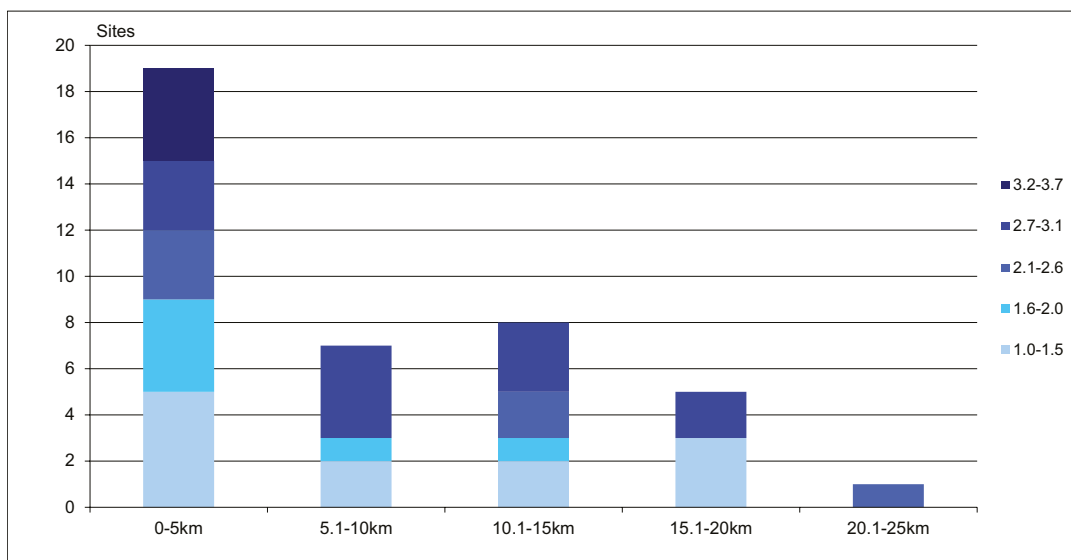


Figure 63. The distance of the homestead closest to a sacred place in Inari and Utsjoki.

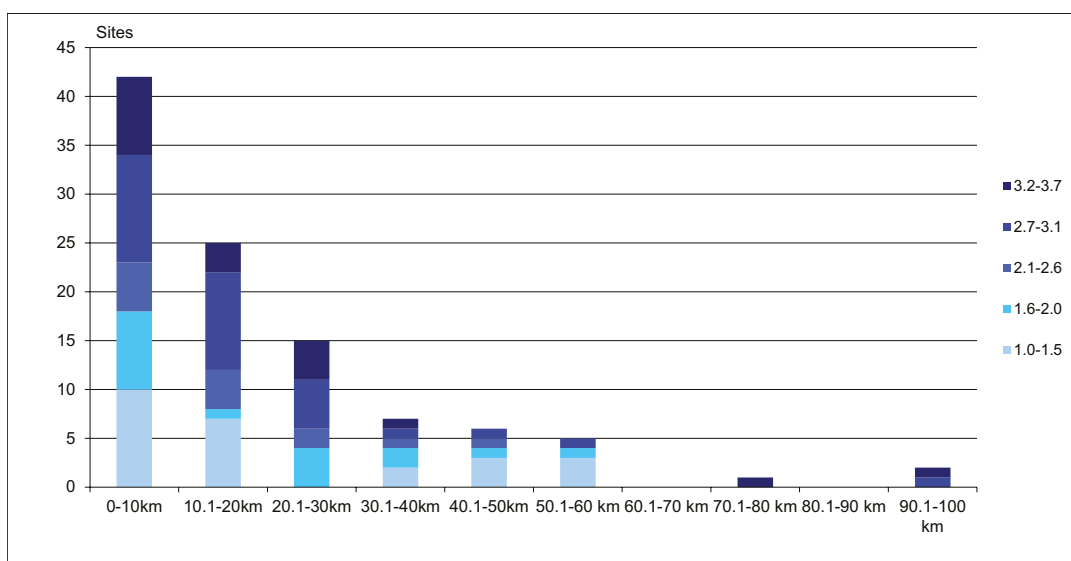


Figure 64. The distance of the homestead closest to a sacred place in the entire research area.

⁵⁰⁴ Fossum 2006, 111.

⁵⁰⁵ Hedman 2003, 47, 60.



Figure 65.
*The Lake Säytsjärvi
sieidi stone and
dwelling site
(in the photograph:
Tiina Kivioja and
Tönno Jonuks).*

In Utsjoki, only the sieidi at Onnela (110) is included in the five sacred places closest to a homestead. However, of the five sacred places located furthest away from a homestead, three are in Utsjoki. With the exception of the sieidi at Lake Aksujärvi (25) in Inari, the five most distant sacred places are extensive areas, such as fells. The fact that settlement is located rather far away from the sacred fells may be due to the respect shown to these places. For example, Knud Leem notes that a goahti may not be erected too close to a basse mountain so that the sound of children crying would not disrupt the sacred peace.⁵⁰⁶

For the Inari Sámi, the selection of dwelling sites has been influenced by environmental conditions suitable for the season. Winter villages are often located in sheltered forest areas along small watercourses. For example, the surroundings of the Lake Pielpajärvi church provide such a place. The church is located along an old passage route, and both a winter village and a marketplace have been located in the same place. Summer settlements, on the other hand, have been located on the shores of Lake Inarijärvi and its tributaries, suitable for fishing.⁵⁰⁷ There have probably been more homesteads on the shores and islands of Lake Inarijärvi than are included in the analyses. For example, the islands of Säisaari and Kenttäsaari, located southeast of the centre of Inari, are related to the sacred landscape of Lake Inarijärvi. The summer settlements on the shores of Lake Inarijärvi support the idea of settlement close to sacred places, because Lake Inarijärvi is also an area containing many sacred places.

In Utsjoki, settlement is concentrated on the shores of the Rivers Tenojoki and Utsjoki, in areas suitable for fishing, hunting, farming, gathering, and reindeer husbandry. The significance of subsistence-related activities to the choice of dwelling site is also emphasized by the location of settlements along old migration routes. For example, the Ollila farm, which was settled already in the 18th century, is located along an old winter route (see Chapter 5.4.). The homestead of Rauduskaidi, which was built in the 19th century, is also located along an old passage route.⁵⁰⁸ In Utsjoki, the connection

⁵⁰⁶ Leem 1956 [1767], 443–444.

⁵⁰⁷ Itkonen 1948 I, 198.

⁵⁰⁸ http://www.rky.fi/read/asp/r_kohde_det.aspx?KOHDE_ID=2169.

between settlement and sacred places is not as clear as in Inari. Many sacred places are located on fells (Figure 29), whereas settlement was concentrated in the river valleys. However, even distant sacred fells could have a landscape connection to the settlement, like the fell of Nuvvus-Ailigas (109), which dominates the landscape of the village of Dalvadas in the River Tenojoki valley.

The ten sacred places closest to a homestead are mainly sieidis. The exceptions are the sacred place of Kirkonkylän Ailigas [Ailigas near the church village] (105) and the offering place on the island of Naarassaari (31). Landscape-wise, they are all connected to waterways, with the exception of Ailigas. The homesteads mainly date from historical times, and some of them have been in use as late as the 19th century. With one exception, it is not known whether the homesteads were in summer or winter use. In the entire research area, the sacred places closest to settlement are usually associated with fishing. Among the ten sacred places closest to homesteads, there are five related to fishing, one to which both fish and reindeer have been brought, two related to wild reindeer hunting, and two for which there is no information. Fishing trips could be made starting from the home shore, in which case the sieidi could also be located nearby, whereas sieidis related to reindeer husbandry could be located in areas related to this activity further away from dwelling sites. The ten sacred places with the greatest distance to the nearest homestead are usually located in fell or hill terrain and are more frequently associated with offerings of wild or domesticated reindeer.

It is thought that offering sites used by the whole community in particular would often have been located near winter villages and other communal camping sites, as well as hunting and fishing sites.⁵⁰⁹ There are 15 sacred places that are known to have been used by a large group of people. Two of them are located near a homestead, and Uhriaihki (21) in Enontekiö at a marketplace. In addition, it is said that there is a sacred place related to the marketplace at Lake Pielpajärvi.⁵¹⁰ Two other sacred places used by large groups of people are located within five kilometres of a homestead, and five others within ten kilometres. Eight sacred places are associated with a hunting pit within the distant viewshed zone.

Individual *goahti* foundations also indicate settlement. Sometimes the difference between a few separate *goahti* foundations and a group of them making up a homestead is not clear. Like homesteads, documented *goahti* foundations are also concentrated in the areas of Inari and Utsjoki. Sacred sites are mainly located near settlement in their case (Figure 66). The greatest distance of the nearest *goahti* foundation to a sacred place is 30 kilometres.

However, all dwelling sites, *goahtis*, and homesteads were not in use at the same time. Thus, the distance to the closest dwelling site in use at any given time may have been greater than the diagrams lead one to understand. Some of the *goahtis* may have been in use already in the Iron Age, but the dwelling type was used late into historical times.⁵¹¹ Some of the homesteads, on the other hand, are still used today.

⁵⁰⁹ Mulk 1996, 65; Mulk 2003, 128. The etymological connection between the words *sieidi* and *siida*, Sámi village, is also considered to have its roots in offerings performed collectively by the village community (Bergsland 1964, 244; Sammallahti 1982, 108–109).

⁵¹⁰ Ahnger s.a. (see Lehtola 2012, 103–104).

⁵¹¹ Hamari & Halinen 2000, 159.

Sometimes the sieidi may already have fallen out of use when the homestead was settled. For example, Paulaharju's description of the fish homestead on the headland of Keimiönniemi (73) makes no mention of the sieidi located on the same headland.⁵¹²

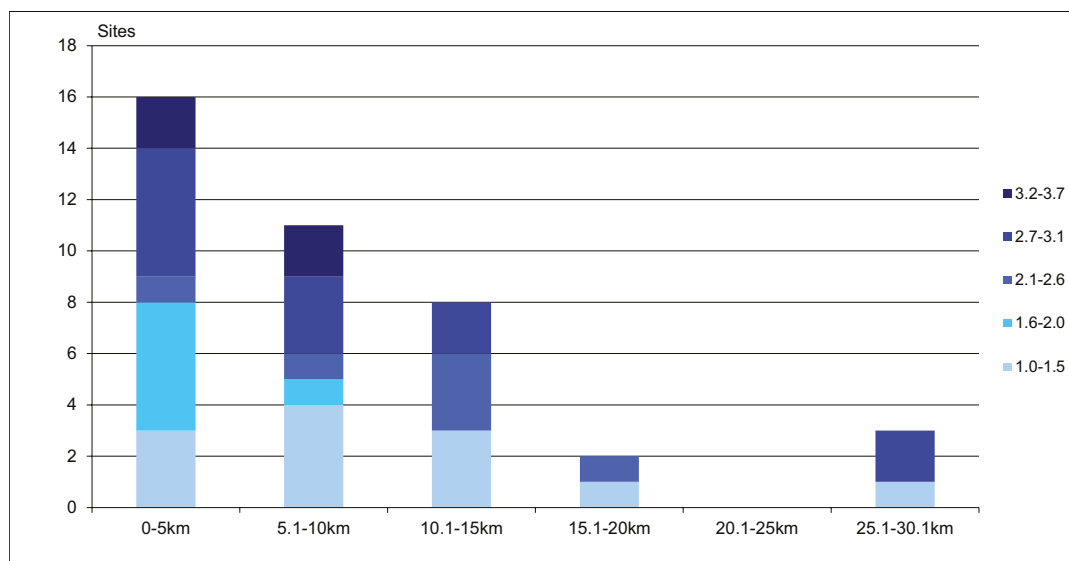


Figure 66. The distance of the nearest goahti foundation remains to a sacred place in Inari and Utsjoki.

Of course, *siidas* or Sámi villages are also part of a settled landscape. *Siidas* are communities formed of several nuclear families, sometimes related, with communal means of subsistence and territories. The borders of *siidas* were carefully defined and often followed watersheds and high topographical features. Several hypotheses have been formulated on the origin of the *siida* system, the oldest of which date the tradition to the Stone Age. The authority of *siidas* and people's knowledge of their borders declined already in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.⁵¹³ It has been suggested that sieidis marked the borders of *siidas*.⁵¹⁴ However, when the locations of sacred places are viewed on a map, it is clear that they are rarely located near winter villages (Figure 67). Mainly they are concentrated in the inner parts of *siidas* that can be considered as more significant than border areas in terms of *usufruct*. Exceptions include Äijihkedgi (49) on the border of the *siida* crossing Lake Inarijärvi, the headland of Seitaniemi (71) in Lake Kaarantjärvi on the southern border of Suovditvárri, and Lake Ketojärvi (7) on the southern border of Bealdojávri. However, all these borders are based on estimates.

Animal bones found at dwelling sites also provide information on the connection between settlement and offering. The bone material from offering places reflects the importance of the same species as the bone finds from dwelling sites, although dwelling sites often have a wider selection of bones. Figure 68 shows all the published bone finds from Sámi dwelling sites in Finland. Wild or domesticated reindeer is the most common find type, which indicates the significance of reindeer hunting and

⁵¹² Paulaharju 1963 [1923], 156–161.

⁵¹³ Näkkäljärvi 2000, 138, 147.

⁵¹⁴ Viinanen 2003; Viinanen 2006; Viinanen 2007.

husbandry in Sámi communities. Sheep and goat bones are also found at dwelling sites and offering places in Inari. Fowling too has been an important means of subsistence. As for species, capercaillie has been found at many offering places but only one dwelling site, Juikenttä, whereas willow grouse has been found at many dwelling sites but no offering places. The remains of cattle, beaver, pine marten, wolverine, hare, elk, wolf, and some birds have been found only at dwelling sites. Finds of fish bones both at dwelling sites and in offering places prove the importance of fishing. Bear remains have been found at the Näkkälä sieidi, but not at any dwelling sites.

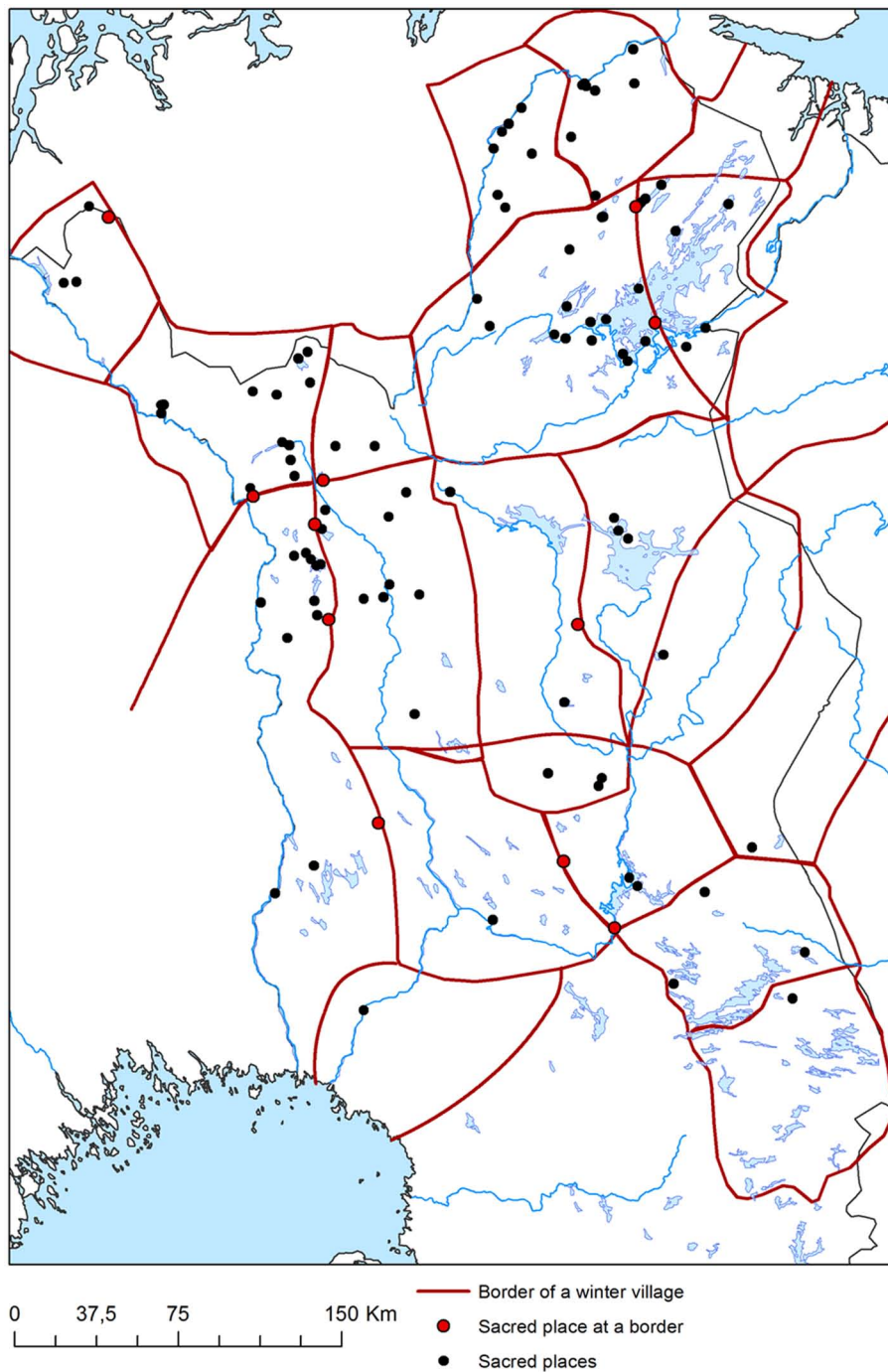


Figure 67. Map of the sacred places located on the borders of winter villages. The borders of the winter villages are based on Näkkäläjärvi 2000.

5. Activity in the ritual landscape: tales told by archaeological sites

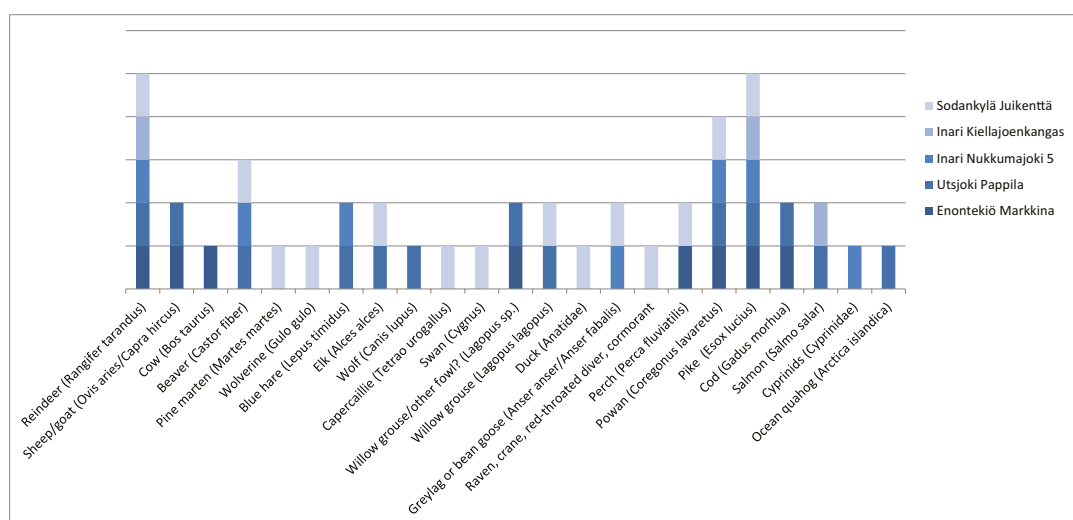


Figure 68. Published bone finds from Sámi dwelling sites in Finland (sources: Carpelan 1987; Lahti 2006; Halinen 2009; Harlin 2007b; Harlin 2009).

With the exception of Kiellajoenkangas and Juikenttä, chronologically the dwelling sites represent the later use of the sieidis (Table 9). Swan and pike bones, which provided the oldest datings from sieidi sites, are also present in the bone material from Juikenttä. Sheep has been found in offering places only in Inari, but at dwelling sites in Utsjoki and Enontekiö, although the bones here are dated earlier than the sheep bones from offering places. Kiellajoenkangas is the only dwelling site consisting of rectangular fireplaces, the others are homesteads or marketplaces.

Table 9. The datings of the dwelling sites containing published bone material.

Site	Municipality	Dating
Markkina	Enontekiö	1604 - 1826
Pappila	Utsjoki	1640 - 1820
Nukkumajoki 5	Inari	16th - c.17th
Kiellajoenkangas	Inari	11th - c.13th
Juikenttä	Sodankylä	1000 B.C. - 1650 A.D.

The dwelling sites studied outside Finland provide a very similar picture. Rectangular fireplaces have been excavated, for example, in Brodtkorbneset in Norway. The site is dated mainly to the 12th through 13th centuries, and the bone finds consist mainly of reindeer and freshwater fish, such as pike and powan. These are also the most common fish species at sites studied in Finland. In addition, bone finds include sheep or goat, Arctic fox, wolf, duck, willow grouse, grayling, and cod.⁵¹⁵ Reindeer, birds, and fish (cod and halibut) are the most common finds also at the site of Gållevarr in the Varanger fjord, dated to the 13th through 15th centuries.⁵¹⁶ In addition, in studies of settlement in the Varanger fjord, dated to the 11th through 18th centuries and partly up to the 20th century, sheep and seal bones have also been found, as well as smaller amounts of whale and cattle.⁵¹⁷ In the bone finds of

⁵¹⁵ Hedman & Olsen 2009, 8–10.

⁵¹⁶ Vorren 1998, 123–131.

⁵¹⁷ Odner 1992; Odner 2001.

dwelling sites, the most common species seem to be those found also in offering places in the area of Finland, such as reindeer, sheep, birds, and fish. Bone finds from dwelling sites may give a clearer picture of the animal's significance for subsistence than finds from offering places. Species found in offering places may have had either economical or cosmological significance, or indeed both combined.

Bone material from dwelling sites may too have symbolic and ritual meanings. Intact artefacts recovered from the animal bone layer at Juikenttä have led to the conclusion that offering activities were practised there.⁵¹⁸ The oldest metal artefacts found in the bone layer date to the 12th century, which corresponds to the early use of sieidis. Bones interpreted as having been offered have also been found at dwelling sites in Norway.⁵¹⁹ According to M. A. Castrén, the alternative name for sieidis, "kentakkiwi" or "homestead stone" refers to the connection between offering and settlement.⁵²⁰

5.4. Reindeer husbandry as part of the ritual landscape

The connection between Sámi sacred places and means of subsistence may be related not only to hunting and fishing but also to reindeer husbandry. Researchers have not reached a unanimous opinion of when reindeer husbandry in the Sámi area started.⁵²¹ The start of reindeer husbandry has been associated with changes in vegetation, the appearance of small grassy clearings in the forest landscape during the first millennium A.D.⁵²² However, the more common view is that reindeer husbandry became a part of Sámi means of subsistence already in the late first millennium A.D. in the form of milked and decoy animals, but did not become specialized and widespread until the 17th through 18th centuries.⁵²³ Reindeer husbandry is considered to have spread to Finland through Enontekiö in the 17th century.⁵²⁴ However, wild reindeer hunting was still very important in the 1750s in, for example, Enontekiö.⁵²⁵ Large-scale reindeer husbandry therefore became established around the late period of use of the sieidis. In the light of excavated sites, it seems that at least these sieidis had been in use before large-scale reindeer husbandry was established. In these cases, the selection of the domesticated reindeer sieidi was more influenced by continuing the tradition in the old offering place than topographical features or ancient sites typical for reindeer husbandry.

Because the studied sites represent only a small part of all sieidis in the area of Finland, it is possible that some of the unstudied sites may have been taken into use specifically for rituals related to reindeer husbandry. Written sources associate offerings of domesticated reindeer with 20 sieidis, and in eight of these cases, written sources relate that domesticated reindeer were offered exclusively. Of these eight sacred places, Dierpmesvárri (3) in Enontekiö has been excavated. A small amount of reindeer bones was found, but these bones were dated as modern.⁵²⁶

⁵¹⁸ Carpelan 1987, 71–73.

⁵¹⁹ Grydeland 2001, 10, 39–40; Hansen & Olsen 2007, 193.

⁵²⁰ Castrén 1853, 60.

⁵²¹ For a summary of the discussion, see Ojala 2009, 164–168.

⁵²² Aronsson 1991.

⁵²³ Linkola 1985, 171; Aronsson 1991; Hedman 2003; Mulk 2003, 121.

⁵²⁴ Korhonen 2008, 21.

⁵²⁵ Smith 1938, 115–116; Kortessalmi 2008, 23.

⁵²⁶ Appendix 3.

In written sources, sacred places related to reindeer husbandry are often mentioned as having been located on fells.⁵²⁷ According to Paulaharju, however, domesticated reindeer sieidis could be located not only on fells, but on pine heaths or lakeshores.⁵²⁸ In my research area, fells are most often sacred places that are not known to have been associated with offerings. In comparing those sacred places in which, according to written sources, only domesticated reindeer has been offered, and offering places to which other animals have also been brought, a difference can be observed in the landscape features related to location (Figure 69). At sites where several species have been offered, the landscape features related to the offering place vary more. Most of the sacred places associated exclusively with reindeer husbandry (with the exception of Halti [5], they are sieidis or offering places) are related to high landscape elements, such as hills, fells, or lakes at high elevations. Only the sieidi of Lake Saarijärvi in Kittilä is located on flat land near a lake. Could the fact that these sites are not associated with a tradition of other animal offerings imply their having been chosen specifically with reindeer husbandry in mind, whereas other sites may have been connected with an earlier tradition? If so, it would confirm the impression that sacred places related to reindeer husbandry are located in a fell landscape or at least at high elevations.

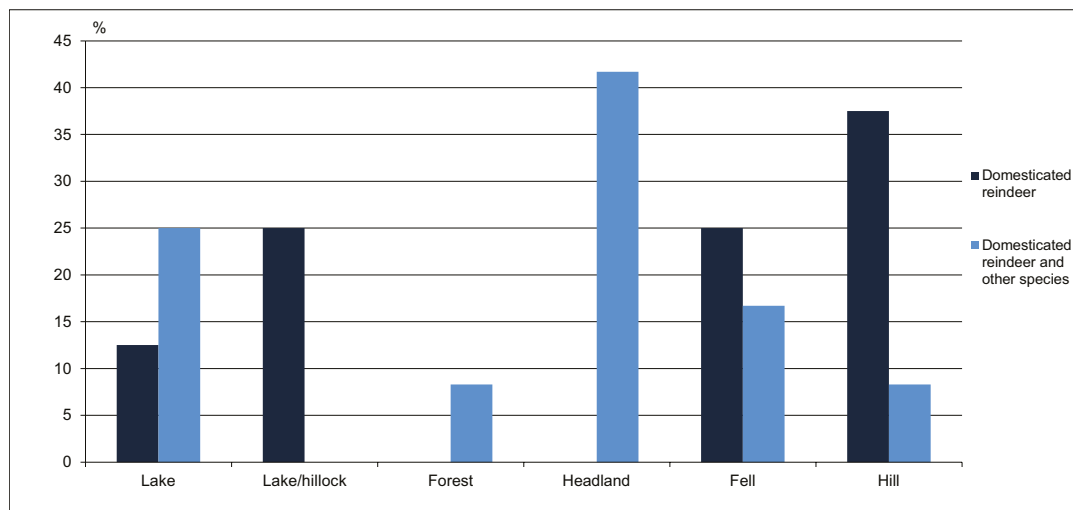


Figure 69. The chart shows how many percent of offering places at which, according to written sources, either only domesticated reindeer or both domesticated reindeer and other animals have been offered, are located in a certain landscape type.

The locations of sacred places related to reindeer husbandry could also be connected to other places important for this means of subsistence, such as migration routes (*geinnodat*), round-up sites, slaughtering sites, grazing lands, rutting grounds, milking headlands, or calving places. It has been suggested that the locations of sacred places could also originate from the days of wild reindeer hunting and thus be related to hunting pits.⁵²⁹ Sacred places related to reindeer husbandry can thus be studied not only through landscape elements but also through places that were significant for reindeer husbandry. Migration routes in particular are considered

⁵²⁷ Paulaharju 1965 [1927], 261; Itkonen 1948 II, 316; cf. Vorren 1987, 95.

⁵²⁸ Paulaharju 1932, 11–12.

⁵²⁹ Hætta 1923 [1860-I], 78; Manker 1957, 85; Sarmela 1994, 44; Mebius 2003, 138.

to have been important for the locations of domesticated reindeer sieidis.⁵³⁰ Offering places could be located in spots along the migration route with dangerous passages.⁵³¹ Migration routes have been in use even before the practice of reindeer husbandry was established. The annual migration was a part of hunting and

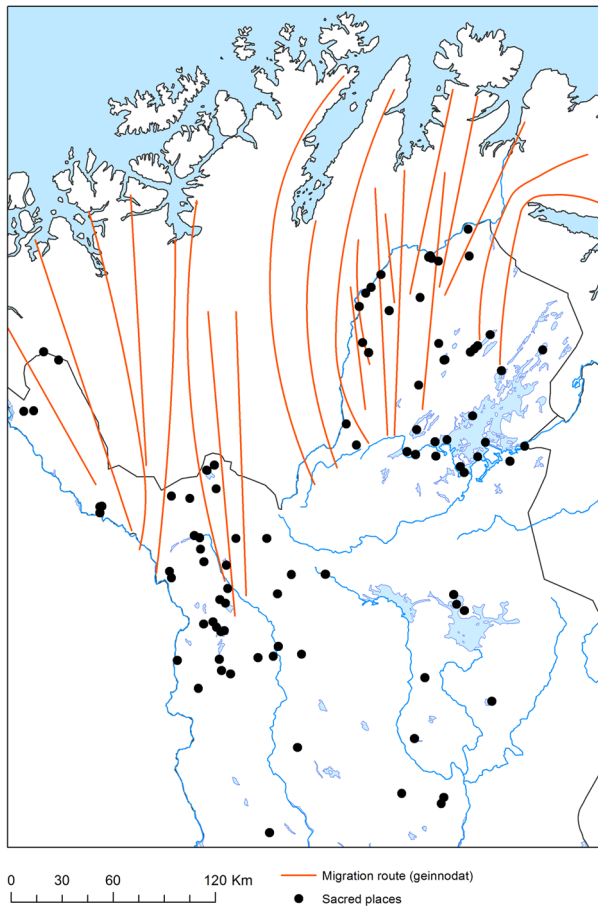


Figure 70. Map of the locations of sacred places in relation to the migration routes (geinnodat). The routes are based on Näkkäläjärvi 2000.

and fishing strategies and continued as the Sámi took up reindeer husbandry.⁵³² The same old routes may have remained (at least partly) in use even when the meaning of the migrations changed. It is generally thought that Sámi migration routes remained unchanging for a long time.⁵³³ Here, I examine the connection between sacred places and the migration routes of the reindeer Sámi between their summer and winter settlements from the Käsivarsi area, Utsjoki, and Inari to the Arctic shores (Figure 70). The annual migration was complicated by the closing of the Finnish borders in the north in 1852 and in the west in 1889.⁵³⁴ This closing of the borders may also have influenced the use of sacred places along the migration routes, although it does not coincide with the most intensive phase of sieidi use.

Sacred places, especially in Inari and Utsjoki, are distributed in the same areas as migration routes, although not exclusively. For domesticated reindeer sieidis, the situation is no different. In the Käsivarsi area, there are no sieidis along the routes, but high landscape elements that were associated with sacredness, such as Halti and Dierpmesvárri, were so noticeable that they may have acquired sacred meanings as parts of the migration landscape. In addition, it has been mentioned that there are unlocated sieidis near the Norwegian border, where the migration route to the Arctic Ocean runs.⁵³⁵ The sieidis near Lake Pöyrisjärvi in Enontekiö and Termisvaara are also on a migration route.⁵³⁶ Termisvaara has not been mentioned in written sources, but based on the toponym (which also refers to the deity Dierpmes) it

⁵³⁰ Hallström 1932, 123; Itkonen 1948 II, 316; Vorren 1958, 36; cf. Jordan 2003, 180.

⁵³¹ Mebius 2003, 140.

⁵³² Mulk 2003, 121; Korhonen 2008, 21.

⁵³³ Reuterskiöld 1912, 9; Outakoski 1991, 24.

⁵³⁴ Nieminen 1993, 18.

⁵³⁵ SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 1959–1961.

⁵³⁶ Näkkäläjärvi 2010, personal communication.

may also have been associated with sacredness. During the 18th century, reindeer husbandry in Enontekiö had developed into large-scale reindeer nomadism with annual migrations. The annual trek to the Arctic shore was undertaken by 60 Sámi and 5000 reindeer.⁵³⁷ After the closed borders impeded migration, the Lake Pöyrisjärvi area functioned as a summer grazing spot until the 1950s.⁵³⁸ Sacred places in the Lake Pöyrisjärvi area are located in a landscape that has long been significant for changing means of subsistence. The area has been important for fishing, hunting, and reindeer husbandry, and is nowadays used for hiking. The Sámi villages of Kalkujärvi and Pöyrisjärvi are also located in the area and are used for part of the year.

In Utsjoki, near the current border, there are several sacred places that have been close to migration routes. The migration route of the reindeer Sámi of Kautokeino-Karasjok ran along the bank of the River Tenojoki in the spring and farther away in the Norwegian fells in the winter.⁵³⁹ Sacred fells in particular have dominated the landscape through which the migration routes have passed. Additionally, there are sieidis along the River Tenojoki that may have been visited along the way. A special point of reference for migration routes has been the area of the Muotka fell, which is said to be significant for reindeer round-up.⁵⁴⁰ However, no sacred places are known from the area in question. In Inari, the sacred places near Lakes Muddusjärvi, Iijärvi, and Nitsijärvi may have been associated with the beginning of the migration routes. Examined on a smaller scale, these areas were also important for the movements of Skolt Sámi between their summer and winter settlements since they moved to the village of Sevettijärvi.⁵⁴¹ However, in Inari, the transition to large-scale reindeer husbandry took place fairly late when compared to the dated offerings from the sieidis.

When the spatial connection between migration routes and sacred places is examined, both spatial and temporal scales appear problematic. The map of the migration routes is based on estimates. If we wanted to study the locations of individual sacred places immediately along the route, we would first have to map the routes more precisely in the field. The migrations of domesticated reindeer were determined by the locations of rutting grounds and calving places, which were always in the same area. Migration routes have been described as regular and narrow in trajectory.⁵⁴² According to Ørnulv Vorren and Ernst Manker, migration routes were static; generation after generation, they passed over the same fells and through the same valleys.⁵⁴³ If this has indeed been the case, the same sacred places may have been located along the routes year after year, even if the routes did not follow exactly the same paths every time. The chronological problem is bound up with to the late dating of mapped routes in relation to the known usage period of offering places. If the offering places were already in use before the routes were formed, were the routes chosen so that they passed the old sacred place? And were new sacred places established along the routes?

⁵³⁷ Kortessalmi 2008, 273, 276.

⁵³⁸ Näkkäläjärvi & Pieski 2004, 28, 39.

⁵³⁹ Vorren 1962, Map 30; Mattila 1974, 80.

⁵⁴⁰ Paulaharju 1965 [1927], 131.

⁵⁴¹ Linkola & Linkola 2000, 165.

⁵⁴² Linkola 1985, 169, 175.

⁵⁴³ Vorren & Manker 1976, 31.

In addition to spatial analyses, the significance of migration routes and sieidis can also be studied through stories related to individual sieidis. Marjatta Kohonen has collected folklore on the sieidis of Enontekiö. For example, she tells of the Orbus stone, at which "old man Orbus" stopped every spring and autumn on his migrations. He lived in a *gohti* near the stone when taking a break from his journey and made offerings to the stone. It is also said that people stopped at the Sieddesaiva (19) sieidi in Enontekiö in connection with migration.⁵⁴⁴ Sieidis could also be markers of migration routes and they could be located, for example, at the junction of two migration routes.⁵⁴⁵ These stories are related specifically to migration routes in the Käsivarsi area. They show that sieidis were a very concrete part of the landscape of migration routes. They were visited regularly and camps were set up next to them. Sieidis were points of reference along the migration route as parts of the lived-in landscape, and their significance was emphasized by annually recurring visits.

In addition to migration routes, the landscape of sacred places could also include reindeer round-up sites. These sites have been documented on web pages maintained by the National Board of Antiquities as examples of nationally significant built heritage.⁵⁴⁶ The oldest known reindeer round-up in fenced enclosures took place in Sodankylä in 1765.⁵⁴⁷ Identifying older sites related to reindeer husbandry in the field may be difficult. If there were any structures, they were made of decomposing materials. The currently known sites are mainly dated to the end of the period of use of the sacred places in my research material. Most of the 14 reindeer round-up sites listed on the web page are dated to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Even though the use of sacred places has continued up to this time, the round-up sites have not affected the locations of older sacred places. Furthermore, the significance of sacred places in that period was probably not so great that it would have affected the locations of round-up sites. Round-up fences were built in places where the reindeer grazed each season.⁵⁴⁸ However, old sacred places have made up a part of the landscape where reindeer round-ups took place, and meanings may have been attributed to them even after offerings were no longer made. One of the round-up sites with the longest use history is the round-up fence of Saarivaara in Savukoski. It was located in its current place in the late 18th century and fell out of use in the 1970s, but was taken back into use in 1992.⁵⁴⁹ The sacred place closest to this round-up fence is Lake Seitajärvi (94), 17 kilometres to the northeast of Saarivaara. However, this sieidi is said to be associated with fishing.⁵⁵⁰

In the following pages, I examine the reindeer round-up fences located near sacred places in Inari and Utsjoki with the help of the built heritage web site and round-up sites marked on basic maps. However, this does not provide a comprehensive picture of round-up fences. According to Teppo Korhonen, in 1985 there were 250 permanent round-up fences in contemporary use in the Finnish reindeer management area, and at least the same amount of fences that were no longer used but were still visible in

⁵⁴⁴ SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 1–107.1959; cf. Manker 1957, 88.

⁵⁴⁵ SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 294.1961, 530.1961.

⁵⁴⁶ http://www.rky.fi/read/asp/r_kohde_det.aspx?KOHDE_ID=2130.

⁵⁴⁷ Itkonen 1948 II, 118.

⁵⁴⁸ Korhonen 2008, 77.

⁵⁴⁹ Strand *et al.* 1994.

⁵⁵⁰ Paulaharju 1941, 8.

the landscape.⁵⁵¹ In Inari, a round-up fence was observed in the proximity of only two of the 25 sacred places (Table 10). Proximity here means within 3000 metres of the sacred place. In Utsjoki, seven of the 15 sacred places were associated with a round-up fence. In two cases, the distance from the top of a sacred fell was longer, but in these cases, the sacred place can be considered as a larger area, not just the felltop. In two cases, the reindeer round-up site was also within the restricted viewshed zone of the sacred place, and in one case, within the intermediate viewshed zone. Also in other cases, there was a visual connection from some part of a fell or hill.

Table 10. Reindeer round-up fences near sacred places in the Inari and Utsjoki regions.

Sacred place	Round-up fence	Distance	View
Pyhävaara, Inari	Rovajärvi	<3000	Distant
Tuulispää, Inari	Tuulispäät	<300	Restricted
Karegasnjarga-Ailigas, Utsjoki	Áilegasáidi	<3700	None
Kirkonkylän Ailigas, Utsjoki	Áilegas	<3000	None
Njallavaara, Utsjoki	Gironskáidi	<3000	None
Njuohkarggu, Utsjoki	Njuohkarggu	<300	Restricted
Onnela, Utsjoki	Áilegas	<3000	None
Seitigädgi, Utsjoki	Áilegas	<3000	None
Suttesája, Utsjoki	Áilegasáidi	<3400	None

Both sieidis and sacred places are located near round-up fences. The sacred places of Tuulispää (45) and Karegasnjarga-Ailigas (104) are also associated with offerings other than domesticated reindeer, but Njuohkarggu (108) is associated only with offerings of domesticated reindeer. For the other sacred places, offerings of domesticated reindeer are not mentioned in written sources, or there is no mention of any kind of offerings. All round-up fences located in the proximity of sacred places are associated with one sacred place on a hill or fell, in addition to which there may be other sieidis in the vicinity. Only the sieidi of Njuohkarggu in Utsjoki is located on a small hillock in a hilly landscape. Often the reindeer round-up fence may be on a small hill near a sacred fell or hill.

According to Mikael A. Manninen and Taarna Valtonen, fells have been important to the Sámi and many activities have been carried out there. Surveys on the fell of Paistunturi showed that most of the sites found were associated with hunting and other means of subsistence.⁵⁵² At the top of the Guivi fell (103), which is considered sacred, hearths of the *bearpmetárran* type⁵⁵³ and storage pits were found. According to Valtonen, Guivi has been a significant area in the use of the Paistunturi area. Its valleys are still important grazing grounds for reindeer, and earlier it may have been used for wild reindeer hunting.⁵⁵⁴ A comparable number of sites is not known from

⁵⁵¹ Korhonen 2008, 12.

⁵⁵² Manninen & Valtonen 2006, 55, 61; Valtonen 2006.

⁵⁵³ This is a type of open hearth with a stone border.

⁵⁵⁴ Valtonen 2009, 136.

other sacred places on fells, but this may be partly due to insufficient surveying. Many other fell areas have probably been equally important, especially for wild reindeer hunting and reindeer husbandry.

The offering tradition related to reindeer husbandry continued for a long time. Bones of wild or domesticated reindeer found at sieidis date from a period longer than other bone material. As other Sámi gave up their ethnic religion, reindeer husbandry in particular was considered as more and more dependent on sieidi offerings.⁵⁵⁵

5.5. Other ritual activities in the landscape

Sacred places are quite often spatially connected. In eight cases studied here, there is another sacred place within the restricted viewshed zone of a sacred place, and in ten more cases, there is another sacred place within the buffer zone of 3000 metres, but not visible.

In addition to visibility, I examined the relations of sacred places to each other by finding out how close sacred places are to each other on average. Figure 71 shows how far away from a sacred place the next closest sacred place is located. Note that a site can be located simultaneously within the proximity of several sacred places without being the closest sacred place to all of them. When the maximum distance allowed here is 80 kilometres, only Seitenoikea (23) in Hyrynsalmi is excluded from the examination. Only 10 sacred places (including Hyrynsalmi) are located over 30 kilometres from the closest sacred place. Because the greatest number of sacred places is located within 1 to 10 kilometres of another sacred place, this group was taken under closer study. For a total of 63 sacred places, the closest other sacred place is located under 10 kilometres away. For most of these, the other sacred place is either very close by, within a distance of one kilometre, or 3000-6000 metres away.

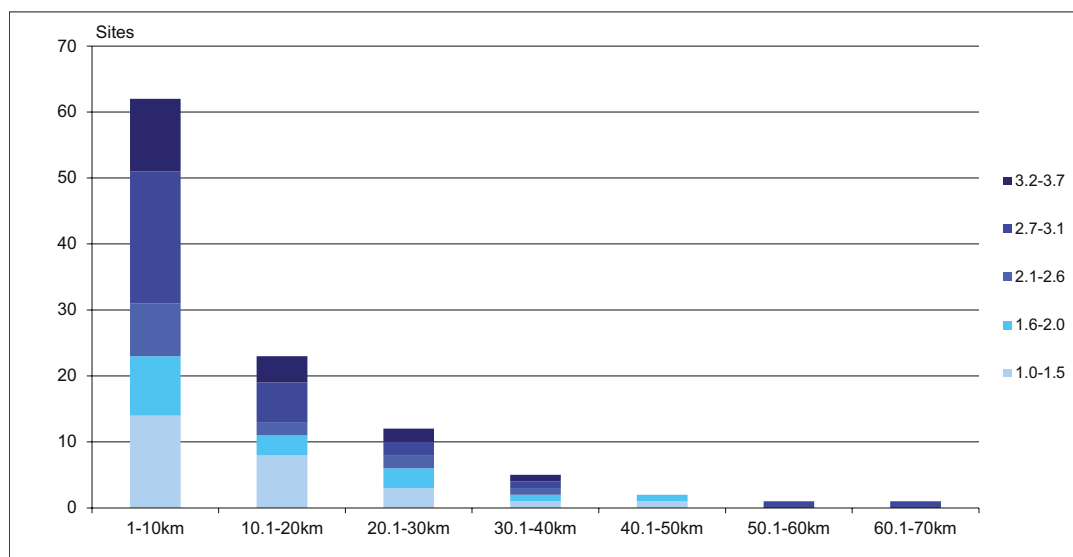


Figure 71. The chart shows how many sacred places are located a certain distance (in metres) from the next sacred place.

⁵⁵⁵ Itkonen 1948 II, 313.

Some of the sacred places form groups where the intermediate viewshed zones of more than two sacred places intersect with each other. Such groups include Kalliorova (72), Keimiöniemi (73), Seitaniemi (78), Isosaari (70), and Haltioletto (55) on the border of Muonio and Kittilä, in the Lake Jerisjärvi area (Figure 72); Sompiojärvi (100), Pyhä-Nattanen (98), and Kussuolinkivaara (96) in Sodankylä; Seitavaara (17), Seitavuopio (18), and Uhriaihki (21) near Markkina in Enontekiö; Vesikivi (48), Annansaari (26), and Sitakallio (42) at Lake Iijärvi in Inari; and Seitigädgi (112), Onnela (110), Kirkonkylän (105) Ailigas, and Annivaara (102) in Utsjoki.

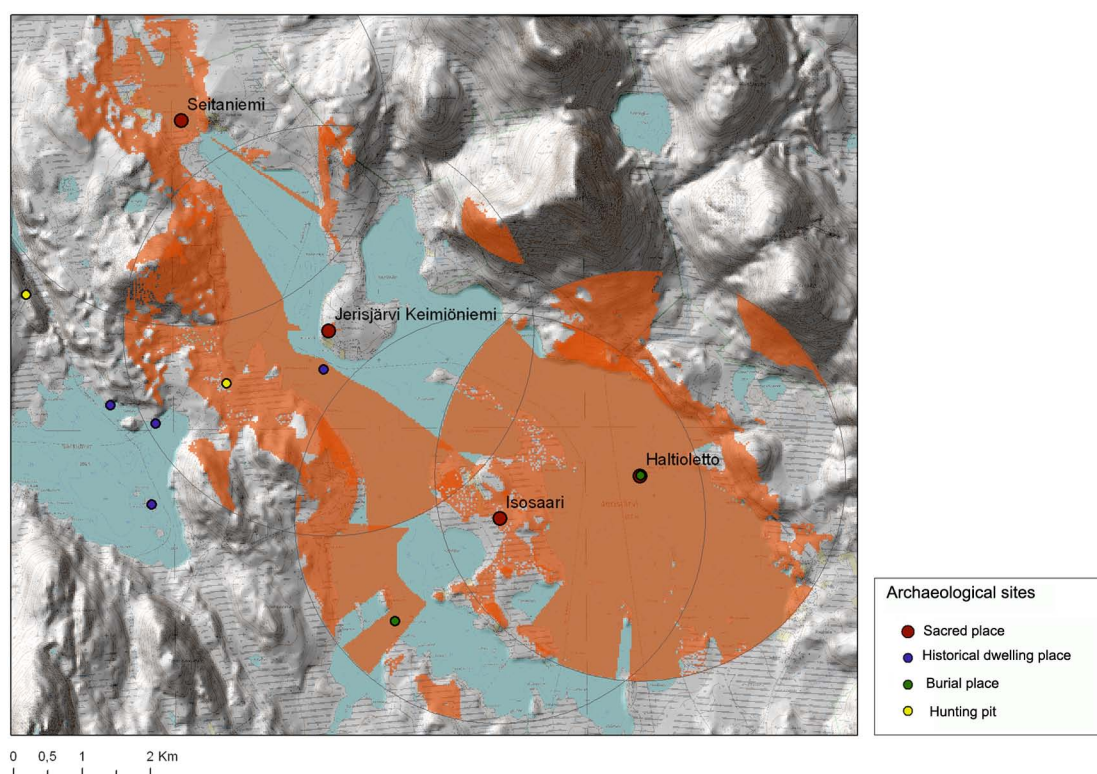


Figure 72. Intermediate viewsheds from the sacred places around Lake Jerisjärvi. Basic map sheet © National Land Survey of Finland, licence no. 051/MML/11.

Areas in which several sacred places are connected to each other have been central settlement areas and taskscapes in other ways, too. At Lake Jerisjärvi, there is a fishing homestead that is still used, other historical dwelling sites, and summer burial grounds. At Lake Sompiojärvi, there are also two homesteads that have been used for a long time, namely Juikenttä and Mutenian kenttä. In the southern part of Lake Iijärvi, there are historical dwelling sites and rectangular fireplaces. All three lakes are also still actively used for fishing today. Markkina in Enontekiö has been an old market and church place. In the church village of Utsjoki, human activity has long been concentrated on the junction of the Rivers Tenojoki and Utsjoki. Ritual activity in the landscape in these regions is therefore not detached from other activity.

In addition to the above, silver hoards can be considered as part of the Sámi ritual landscape, and questions related to their functions have been widely discussed.⁵⁵⁶ Silver hoards are an example of the fact that symbolic and functional motives do not necessarily exclude each other among human activities. The hoarding of silver may

⁵⁵⁶ Zachrisson 1984; Spangen 2009.

have been associated with merchants' activities or offering, or the act of hoarding may also have been associated with ritual aspects even if the main purpose was related to subsistence.

Silver hoards from Northern Finland are dated from the 1050s to the 13th century,⁵⁵⁷ and they are thus contemporary with the early phases of sieidi use. The silver hoard closest to a sacred place is the hoard of Nanguniemi in Inari, which is about 3.3 kilometres from the closest sacred place, the island of Moossinasaari (30) in Lake Inarijärvi. The four silver neck rings found at Nanguniemi have been dated on the basis of birch bark found in connection with them to 1160–1280.⁵⁵⁸ Other silver hoards are located further away from sacred places. For example, Ristikangas in Pyhälahti in Kuusamo is located about 20 kilometres south of Pyhävaara (67). In addition, a hoard of bronze artefacts dated to the Bronze Age, the 8th century B.C., has been found in Lusmasaari (Lusmesuálui) in Inari, located about 10 kilometres from the estimated place of the sieidi in Paatsjoenniska (32).⁵⁵⁹

In addition to offerings, sacredness could also be manifested in the landscape in the form of other cultic places, such as burial sites. Sacred places are associated with burial sites in six cases in the restricted viewshed zone and in five cases in the 3000 metre buffer zone. Burial sites are often related to summer burials carried out on islands.⁵⁶⁰ The identification of burial islands in the research area is based mainly on toponyms, because burial islands have been insufficiently surveyed and studied.⁵⁶¹ Dated burials from Savukoski originate from the late 16th or early 17th century, but burial on islands was probably practised already in the Middle Ages.⁵⁶² The connection between sieidis and rituals related to burials is also indicated by the fact that sometimes people were buried near their offering stones.⁵⁶³ Sometimes the burial was temporary in nature. For example, it is said that Pođđus-Mihkala died during a migration, was buried for the summer in a pulk at the foot of a sieidi stone, and moved in the winter to a Christian burial ground.⁵⁶⁴ However, sometimes the summer graves that were meant to be temporary remained the permanent resting places of the deceased.⁵⁶⁵

Stories of people buried on burial islands near sieidis are told, for example, at Lake Pöyrisjärvi⁵⁶⁶ (Figure 73) and Lake Näkkäläjärvi⁵⁶⁷. In addition, sacred places are associated with burials in the areas of Enontekiö, Inari, Kemijärvi, Kittilä, Muonio, and Sodankylä (Figure 74). All sacred places associated with burials are sieidis or offering places. Mostly the burials are on burial islands that are in the same lake with which the sacred place is associated. In Haltioletto in Lake Jerisjärvi, the burials are on the same island that is thought to have been used for offering activities. In this

⁵⁵⁷ Zachrisson 1984, 102; Ojanlatva 2004, 10; cf. Spangen 2009, 101.

⁵⁵⁸ Ojanlatva 2003; Ojanlatva 2004, 11.

⁵⁵⁹ Äyräpää 1931, 354.

⁵⁶⁰ Hamari & Halinen 2000, 165.

⁵⁶¹ Ruohonen 2002, 33.

⁵⁶² Hamari & Halinen 2000, 165.

⁵⁶³ SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 108–190.1960.

⁵⁶⁴ SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 527.1961.

⁵⁶⁵ Ruohonen 2005, 262–264.

⁵⁶⁶ SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 506.1961.

⁵⁶⁷ SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 510.1961.

case, the offerings may be related to the burials. According to Audhild Schanche, offering places have had various functions, some of which have been connected with burial ceremonies.⁵⁶⁸



Figure 73.
The island of Ruumissaari
in Lake Pöyrisjärvi
(photograph by Anssi Malinen).

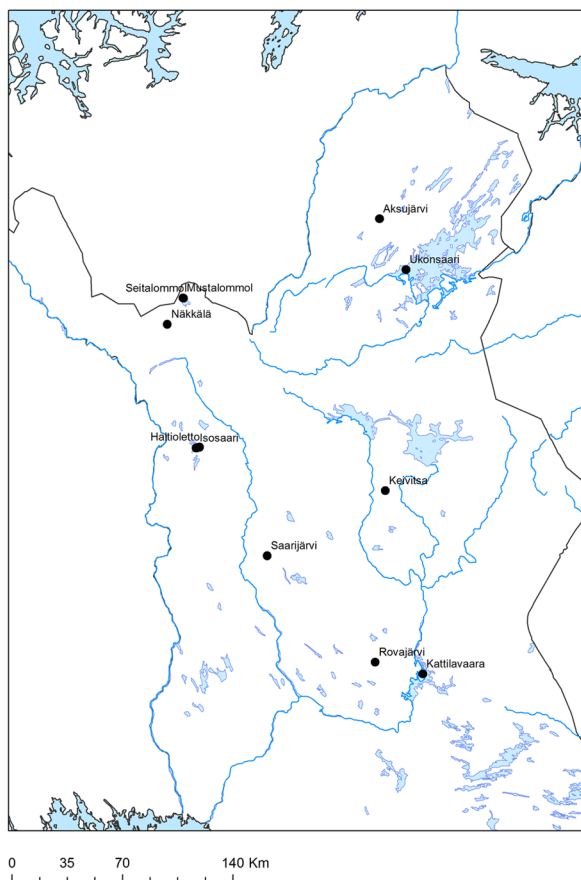


Figure 74. Map of the sacred places located at most 3000 m from a burial site.

In Vesa-Pekka Herva's view, islands are associated with the idea of a liminal space where earth and water connect. The relationship of islands to liminality on the one hand and death on the other gave them a special status.⁵⁶⁹ Furthermore, the assumed temporary nature of island burials can be connected with the idea of liminality. Possible experiences of liminality both on burial islands and at sieidis may have created common meanings in people's minds. On the other hand, burial islands remained in use even after Christianity gained a foothold. In this case, the sacred places of the ethnic religion that were located nearby may have acquired new meanings. The coming of Christianity did not mean the disappearance of the old traditions.

⁵⁶⁸ Schanche 2000, 283.

⁵⁶⁹ Herva 2009.

5.6. Churches on ethnic sacred land

*What shall I do
 I am a simple man
 love peace and happiness
 But if I say
 it is more pleasant to drink
 the wine than to offer it to a stone
 that the sieidi is a better altar
 the noaidi drum's a purer church bell
 what happens then
 And if I know
 that one faith is as good as another
 even though people whose faith is work
 use it differently
 what happens then
 [...] ⁵⁷⁰*

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää 1994: Trekways of the Wind

Through trapping fur animals and selling furs, the Sámi formed contacts that may have provided them with Christian influences at a very early stage. Actual missionary work did not start until later. In the Middle Ages, it was mainly the Orthodox Church that made some attempts at Christianizing the Sámi. In Norway, missionary work among the Fell Sámi did not start in earnest until the 17th and 18th centuries. Even then, the building of churches can be seen more as an attempt to gain political control in the area than a religious phenomenon.⁵⁷¹ The missionary work of the church reached Tornio Lapland and Kemi Lapland by no later than the 16th century, but the groundwork for Lutheran missionary activities had been done earlier here as well. Even though, according to Ritva Kylli, the Sámi have often been thought to have persevered with their own ethnic religion at least until the 17th century, there were deeply devout Christians among the Sámi already at an early phase. At the turn of the 17th century, there were even clerics of Sámi origin.⁵⁷² In Utsjoki and Inari, conversion activities started at the latest in the 17th century, but at first, Christianizing concentrated on external issues. Only in the 18th century did missionaries start to pay more attention to the deeper understanding of Christian doctrine.⁵⁷³ At first, what was more important than personal belief was the ability of the state or crown to control its subjects and make its presence felt.⁵⁷⁴

As earlier in the practices of the ethnic religion, differences between groups practising different means of subsistence were seen also in the adoption of Christianity. The lifestyle of the mobile Fell Sámi did not allow for the adoption of the Finnish language,

⁵⁷⁰ Translated by Ralph Salisbury, Lars Nordstrom, and Harald Gaski.

⁵⁷¹ Bergman 1891, 209–210; Porsanger 2004, 108–118; Hansen & Olsen 2007, 151, 220; cf. Ylimaunu 2013.

⁵⁷² Kylli 2005, 12, 14–16.

⁵⁷³ Kylli 2005, 18.

⁵⁷⁴ Lundmark 1998, 51–53.

which was used to teach Christian doctrine, or of Christian church-going habits to the same extent as the lifestyle of permanently-settled Sámi.⁵⁷⁵

In the 17th and 18th centuries, the sacred places of the ethnic religion were still used in tandem with churches. It is even thought that offerings *increased* as a reaction against churchification.⁵⁷⁶ The offerings dated at sieidi sites studied in Finland are, however, mainly older, but the later use of sieidis is supported by written and oral tradition. The continuation of the offering tradition is also indicated by goahti offerings, for example, the bone hoard found in the excavations of a *goahti* in Markkina in Enontekiö and dated to the first half of the 18th century.⁵⁷⁷ However, the coexistence of the sacred places of two religions was not always unproblematic.

In Northern Sweden, clerics destroyed sieidis and other sacred places.⁵⁷⁸ Offering places were burned and desecrated, for example, by taking women to places that were forbidden to women.⁵⁷⁹ According to Håkan Rydving, the Sámi had only limited possibilities to punish those who desecrated their ethnic religion, and their knowledge of these possibilities was based only on rumours. However, there are a few examples of Sámi threatening clerics who had destroyed offering places, such as Jens Kildal in Piteå Lapland.⁵⁸⁰ There were also stories of the old gods themselves avenging the wrongs they had suffered. In Enontekiö, on the shore of Lake Pöyrisjärvi, there is a stone called Papinkivi, "The Cleric's Stone", which is, according to legend, a cleric who had come to baptize the Sámi and was turned to stone by the gods.⁵⁸¹ However, even the Sámi themselves destroyed sacred places after converting to Christianity.⁵⁸² It should also be kept in mind that destroying sieidis was not unheard of even within the bounds of the ethnic religion.

Clerics in the 18th century had, along with the rationalist ideas of the Enlightenment, adopted a more positive approach towards the old Sámi religion, and by the 19th century, clerics did not seem to especially disapprove of sieidis.⁵⁸³ In the 19th century, the Laestadian movement spread to the north and played a role in the creation of an individual type of northern religiousness.⁵⁸⁴ In the following chapter, I approach the period of conversion work in the 17th and 18th centuries through the locations of the sacred places of Sámi ethnic religion and the locations of churches. In the period in question, encounters between the ethnic religion and Christianity were at their most intensive, and the ethnic religion was in a significant state of change.⁵⁸⁵ My examination covers churches built during the early phase of active missionary work. By the 19th century, clerics' attitudes to ethnic religion had changed, and offerings to sieidis had also decreased. The influences of encounters between the old and new religions on the locations of churches and sacred places were thus most likely the strongest in the 17th and 18th centuries.

⁵⁷⁵ Kylli 2005, 332.

⁵⁷⁶ Hansen & Olsen 2007, 222.

⁵⁷⁷ Halinen 2009, 108.

⁵⁷⁸ Fossum 2006, 185.

⁵⁷⁹ Rydving 1993, 65–66.

⁵⁸⁰ Rydving 1993, 61; cf. Reuterskiöld 1910, 42.

⁵⁸¹ Torvinen 1982, 189.

⁵⁸² Rydving 1993, 66.

⁵⁸³ Kylli 2005, 329.

⁵⁸⁴ Lehtola, T. 1997, 199–202.

⁵⁸⁵ Rydving 2006, 99.

According to Håkan Rydving, in the Luleå Sámi area, there were few Christian sacred places and they were located far away from offering places, so that the sacred places of the two religions could coexist.⁵⁸⁶ Opinions have been divided on the relationship between the locations of sacred places of the ethnic religion and churches. On the one hand, some scholars believe that Christian churches and chapels replaced the old sacred places as happened with colonialism and conversion work in many countries. Pre-Christian sacred places, such as springs and hills, were reinterpreted from a Christian framework.⁵⁸⁷ A church or shrine was built in old sacred places as a mark of the new ownership, or the places were named after Christian saints and martyrs.⁵⁸⁸ Audhild Schanche has noted a similar phenomenon at the Sámi offering places in the Varanger area.⁵⁸⁹ According to Rydving, offering places used by a large community among the Luleå Sámi were first replaced by churches, whereas offering places used by an individual siida lasted longer.⁵⁹⁰ A similar phenomenon has also been observed among other religions, for example, in Semigallia on the border of Latvia and Lithuania, where Christianization saw a movement from large sacred places to places used by families and the community.⁵⁹¹ In Finland, Frans Äimä notes that the practice of giving private offerings was preserved longer than that of giving communal offerings.⁵⁹²

Another viewpoint on the spatial relationship of churches and sacred places is that old sacred places and churches have been located far enough away from each other that both could function in peace. The offering places of the old religion were out in the wilderness, where Christians did not go.⁵⁹³ They were thus far away from churches. On the other hand, churches were preferably built far from Sámi settlement. It was feared that churches would attract Finnish settlers, so many Sámi preferred to travel a long way to church rather than take a church into their immediate surroundings.⁵⁹⁴

In the area of Finland, churches are located both near the sacred places of the ethnic religion and further away from them (Table 11). In the northern part of the research area, in Utsjoki, Inari, and Enontekiö, churches appear to have been built in old sacred places or in places where the landscape is dominated by sacred places. The old church of Utsjoki near Lake Mantojärvi was used from 1700 to 1854, when it burned down and a new church was built. The location of the church is not known to have been an old offering place, but the landscape at the church is dominated by the sacred fells of Kirkonkylän Ailigas (105) and Annivaara (102) (Figure 75). In addition, there are two sieidi sites at a radius of five kilometres of the church. The landscape surrounding the church is thus a meeting place of the old and new religions. A market has also been held there since 1640, so even before the church was built, this location was an important meeting place for the Sámi.⁵⁹⁵ The first church at Utsjoki, which was located in connection with a winter village named

⁵⁸⁶ Rydving 1993, 101–102.

⁵⁸⁷ Park 1994, 278; Lemaire 1997, 13; Corcos 2001; Turner 2004, 126.

⁵⁸⁸ Thomas 1971, 48; Finneran & Tribe 2004, 66; Strang 2004, 88; Byrne 2009, 72.

⁵⁸⁹ Schanche 2000, 341.

⁵⁹⁰ Rydving 1993, 101–102.

⁵⁹¹ Urtāns 2008, 15.

⁵⁹² Äimä 1903, 116.

⁵⁹³ Olsen 1910 [1715], 7.

⁵⁹⁴ Kylli 2005, 17.

⁵⁹⁵ Harlin 2009, 121.

Talvadas (Dálvadas) along the River Tenojoki but was burned down already in the 16th century, according to folk tradition, is also surrounded by a sacred landscape.⁵⁹⁶ The sacred fell of Nuvvus-Ailigas (109) is located nearby, as well as two offering places. According to Paulaharju, there was also an old burial ground at the foot of the Nuvvus, and some deceased were also buried on the slopes of the Nuvvus.⁵⁹⁷ After the village of Talvadas burned down, a new church was built at the mouth of the River Äimäjoki.⁵⁹⁸ *Gohti* foundations discovered about 100 metres northwest of the Kultala farm along the River Äimäjoki are thought to be connected to the church built in the 17th century.⁵⁹⁹ According to Paulaharju, a marketplace and a cemetery were located next to the church.⁶⁰⁰ The landscape of the Äimäjoki church was dominated by the same sacred places that later characterized the landscape of the Mantojärvi church.

Table 11. Sacred places located near churches built in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Name	Municipality	Construction year	Sieidi present	Closest sacred places
Markkina	Enontekiö	1607	Uhriaihki	Seitavuopi 3.6 km; Seitavaara 4 km
Hyrnsalmi	Hyrnsalmi	1783	None	Seitenoikea 10.9 km
Pielpajärvi church	Inari	1646/1760	Pielpajärvi	Kalkuvaara 2.6 km; Ukonsaari 7.1 km
Kemijärvi	Kemijärvi	1647	None	Kattilavaara 8.4 km
Kirkkokuusikko	Kittilä	1607–1611	None	Korteniemi 14.1 km; Jänkkäjärvi 14.2 km
Kittilä sermon room	Kittilä	1777	None	Levi 16.1 km; Pyhätunturi 2 19.0 km; Pyhätunturi 1 28.1 km
Kuusamo	Kuusamo	1689/1694	None	Pyhävaara 19.0 km
Torankijärvi	Kuusamo	1689	None	Pyhävaara 19.1 km
Muonionniska chapel	Muonio	1788	None	Muoniovaara 4.7 km (Sweden, not a sieidi?); Kalliorova 8.6 km
Pello	Pello	1743	None	Pyhäselkä 16.5 km
Korkalo	Rovaniemi	1684	None	Somosen kirkko 19.5 km
Tervola, Lapinniemi	Rovaniemi	1651–1652	Lapinniemi	
Sodankylä	Sodankylä	1689	None	Seitasaari 11.2 km
Äimäjoki	Utsjoki	1600	None	Kirkkonkylän Ailigas 3.5 km; Seitigädgi 2.0 km; Annivaara 7.7 km; Onnela 1.9 km
Old church, Mantojärvi	Utsjoki	1700	None	Kirkkonkylän Ailigas 4.5 km; Seitigädgi 4.5 km; Annivaara 6.7 km; Onnela 5.5 km
Hietaniemi	Övertorneå, Sweden	1617	None	Kylänsaari 2 Niemi 19.1 km
Övertorneå	Övertorneå, Sweden	1615–1617	None	Kylänsaari 2 Niemi 19.4 km
Pajala	Övertorneå, Sweden	1725	None	Rissapurk 15.6 km (Sweden), Kirkkopahta 47.6 km

Sources for churches: Andelin 1859; Leinberg 1906; Paulaharju 1965 [1927]; Erkkeikki 1971; Virrankoski 1973; Elmén-Berg et al. 1991; Slunga 1993; Nahkiaisaja 2003; Register over Ancient Sites.

⁵⁹⁶ Andelin 1859, 281; Kylli 2005, 234.

⁵⁹⁷ Paulaharju 1965 [1927], 244.

⁵⁹⁸ Andelin 1859, 281; Paulaharju 1965 [1927], 244; Itkonen 1948 I, 70.

⁵⁹⁹ Rankama 1988; Karjalainen 2003.

⁶⁰⁰ Paulaharju 1965 [1927], 244.



Figure 75.
Kirkonkylän Ailigas
[Ailigas near the
Church Village]
seen from
Mantojärvi.

It is not known for certain where the first church in Inari was located. Suggested locations include Lake Sikojärvi and the headland of Kirkkoniemi in Lake Pielpajärvi. Teuvo Lehtola considers it natural that the first church would have been located near the current old church at Lake Pielpajärvi.⁶⁰¹ The first known church was built in 1754–1760 on the shore of Lake Pielpajärvi, in the former location of a winter village and an offering place. A report describing Inari states that there was an old offering place near Lake Pielpajärvi where people gathered at midwinter when the market was in progress. The same source also mentions that the first chapel in Kuusamo was located in an old offering place.⁶⁰² The current church at Lake Pielpajärvi was finished in 1760 and was used until the late 19th century.⁶⁰³ Lake Sikojärvi is also located near an old sacred place, about six kilometres to the southeast of Seitavaara (39) near Lake Muttusjärvi. A later encounter with sacredness is represented by the prayer room built on the shore of Lake Kivijärvi in the 1860s (Figure 76).⁶⁰⁴ About 870 metres to the northwest of the prayer room, near the shore of Lake Kivijärvi, there is a stone named Paholaisenkivi, “The Devil’s Stone”, which Ilmari Mattus considers to have functioned as a sieidi.⁶⁰⁵ There is no other information of a sieidi tradition here, but the Sámi name of the stone, *Vuáŋŋážiikedgi* [The water sprite’s stone], hints at old beliefs in this place that was later taken over by Christianity. There is also a homestead associated with the landscape of the stone and the prayer room.

The first church in Enontekiö was built in 1607 in Markkina, “The Marketplace”, at the junction of the Rivers Könkämäeno and Lätäseno.⁶⁰⁶ The Sámi gathered at the marketplace in Enontekiö in winter during the 17th and 18th centuries.⁶⁰⁷ In addition to the church, there is also an offering pine (Uhriaihi) and a cemetery at the top of the hillock. According to local tradition, offerings were brought to the pine even after

⁶⁰¹ Lehtola, T. 1997, 131.

⁶⁰² Ahnger s.a.

⁶⁰³ Leinberg 1906, 154.

⁶⁰⁴ Leinberg 1906, 155; Nahkiaisoja 2003, 202

⁶⁰⁵ Mattus 2007, 73; cf. Viinanen 2003, 40–41.

⁶⁰⁶ Virrankoski 1973, 718; Halinen 2007, 169.

⁶⁰⁷ Itkonen 1948 II, 203; Lahti 2006, 284.

the church was built. Lempi Huuskonen reminisces about her grandmother telling how she saw a Sámi man from Sweden offering to the pine. Even during World War II, there were handfuls of coins in the holes of the offering pine.⁶⁰⁸



Figure 76. The prayer room on the shore of Lake Kivijärvi.

The material does not allow for analysing whether churches replaced specifically those sacred places used by a larger community, as Rydving stated in the case of the Luleå Sámi. In Utsjoki, churches are located in places where the landscape is dominated by sacred fells. Written sources do not reveal how big or small a group used those fells. However, usually fells were specifically communal sacred sites (Figure 30). In Enontekiö, Utsjoki, and Inari, the churches are located in places where people gathered to visit the market. In Northern Sweden, too, during the period of Lutheran missionary work, churches were built in old Sámi meeting places.⁶⁰⁹ At least Lake Pielpajärvi in Inari and Utsjoki were meeting places already before the churches were built. The island of Ukonsaari (47) near Lake Pielpajärvi was also an offering place used by a large group of people. In Inari, Utsjoki, and Enontekiö, Christianity thus seems to have installed itself in sacred places of the ethnic religion that were already meeting places for people before the churches were built.

In the southern parts of the research area, church locations near offering places are known, in addition to the afore-mentioned Kuusamo, from Rovaniemi, where Calamnius notes the island of Seitasaari (88) in Lapinniemi in Tervola, which also had a sieidi stone and was located opposite the parsonage.⁶¹⁰ In the case of the Muonionniska chapel, which was built in 1788, the old religion is related to Christianity as a landscape element; the hill of Muoniovaara about five kilometres away on the

⁶⁰⁸ Mannela 2007, 106.

⁶⁰⁹ Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2007, 106.

⁶¹⁰ Calamnius 1868, 200–201.

Swedish side of the border. However, the relation of the offering place on the hill to the sieidi tradition is disputed.⁶¹¹ Altogether, in the southern areas, the sacred places of the ethnic religion are located further away from churches than in the north. This may indicate that the offering tradition in the south was not as strong as in the north. In the southernmost areas, also information on sacred places is less reliable (Figure 9). On the other hand, the fact that the sacred places of the ethnic religion are located far from churches may also be a sign of the stronger influence of the church and the need to hide the practice of ethnic religion far from churches. As regards churches with no sacred places in their near vicinity, it should be kept in mind that information on all sacred places has not survived up to today. Thus, the sacred place known now was not necessarily the closest one at the time the church was used. On the other hand, some of the nearby sieidis may have fallen out of use already before the period studied here.

The meagre amount of archaeological material from the 17th and 18th centuries at sieidis studied in Finland may be due to the fact that, as Christianity established itself, offering activities shifted from known sieidis to secret places and practice within the family. At the same time, some offering activity moved to churches. On the other hand, some bone finds from the 17th century are specifically from the well-known sieidis of Taatsi (65) and Sieiddakeädgi (113).

Churches continued the traditions of the sacred places of the ethnic religion not only in terms of location but also in terms of offerings. In spite of being baptized, the Sámi secretly practised their old religion. They could visit both churches and offering places. The church alone was not considered sufficient for securing their subsistence, and they feared that angering the old gods would have a harmful effect on their everyday life.⁶¹² People might also give offerings, if they thought that the Christian God had not helped them in spite of their requests.⁶¹³

People did not resort to offering only at the old sacred places, but offerings were also brought to churches. As a vestige of the offerings of the ethnic religion, as late as the middle of the 18th century, the Sámi in Inari and Utsjoki gave presents to the church in connection with, among other things, illness, travelling, hunting trips, or reindeer slaughter.⁶¹⁴ Ritva Kylli writes that "On Midsummer in 1751, Olof Tuitio, Olof Pählsson, and Pehr Rasmusson offered – or donated – money to the church for good hunting luck ('för lyckel. fånge'). In November of the same year, some parishioners gave offerings, some for their children and some for their ownhealth."⁶¹⁵

The objectives were thus very similar to those sought earlier in connection with sieidi offerings, tokens of gratitude on the one hand and requests for luck in hunting and health on the other hand. Donations to the church can therefore be considered as

⁶¹¹ Manker 1957, 111–112.

⁶¹² Kylli 2005, 118, 120.

⁶¹³ Kjellström 1987, 24; Granqvist 1998, 155.

⁶¹⁴ Äimä 1903, 116.

⁶¹⁵ Kylli 2005, 119. Original Finnish text: "Juhannuksena 1751 Olof Tuitio, Olof Pählsson ja Pehr Rasmusson uhrasivat – tai lahjoittivat – kirkonkassaan pyynnin onnistumiseksi ('för lyckel. fånge'). Saman vuoden marraskuussa muutamat seurakuntalaiset uhrasivat osa lastensa ja osa oman terveytensä vuoksi."

a vestige of gifts given to offering places.⁶¹⁶ Offerings to the church were also associated with the idea that, like sieidis earlier, some churches too could be more powerful than others.⁶¹⁷ Offerings to churches were not only typical of the northern areas. The church of Oulunsalo is said to have been an offering place where offerings were made particularly on the second day of Christmas.⁶¹⁸ In particular merchants, sailors, and fishermen offered to the Oulunsalo church when leaving on, and returning from, a journey. Money was the usual offering. When people were leaving for a journey, they promised to offer money if the journey was successful. This habit lived on as late as the end of the 19th century.⁶¹⁹

The offering tradition lived on for a long time in churches. In Jukkasjärvi, memories of the ethnic religion were preserved in the form of cheese offerings brought to the church until the end of the 18th century. Churches were also glad to receive offerings, as long as they were channelled in the right form.⁶²⁰ In Enontekiö, offerings were given as late as the end of the 19th century, in spite of the decades-long influence of the Christian Laestadian movement.⁶²¹ The idea of offerings had not yet disappeared by the 20th century. Johan Turi thinks that people still made offerings to churches for illness.⁶²²

The simultaneous use of churches and offering places is a sign of the fact that ethnic religion did not disappear with the onset of Christianity. The offerings that shifted from sieidis to the Pielpajärvi church in Inari may be considered as one example of how Christianity in Inari was perceived more as a continuation of the old worldview than as a turning point. Christian views were filtered through old beliefs.⁶²³

5.7. Summary

Sámi ethnic religion is strongly tied to means of subsistence. Information on the offered species is available from 44 offering places, either from archaeological research or written sources. The sources emphasize wild and domesticated reindeer and fish, whereas the birds, bear, and sheep encountered in the archaeological material receive less attention. The first-mentioned three species were perhaps considered as more determining of the Sámi identity, at least in descriptions by outsiders. Fish sieidis concentrate near waterways and wild or domesticated reindeer sieidis are found in fell and hill landscapes more often than fish sieidis. However, the locations of sieidis also partly overlap.

Additionally other ancient sites provide information on the connection between means of subsistence and offering. Hunting pits are the most common archaeological site type found near sacred places. However, this does not necessarily mean simultaneous use, because datings from hunting pits near sacred places indicate that their period of use was significantly earlier. The large number of hunting pits near sacred places may be due simply to their large

⁶¹⁶ Kylli 2005, 119.

⁶¹⁷ Læstadius 2000 [1845], 84; Paulaharju 1965 [1927], 246–247.

⁶¹⁸ Ganander 1995 [1789], 115.

⁶¹⁹ Calamnius 1868, 232.

⁶²⁰ Kylli 2005, 119.

⁶²¹ Miettinen 1943, 102.

⁶²² Turi 1979 [1910], 136.

⁶²³ Lehtola V-P 1997, 28; Kylli 2005, 140.

number in the entire research area. Hunting pits and rectangular fireplaces do indicate that the area was important for hunting. The landscape may have preserved this meaning even during the period of use of the sacred places.

In addition to hunting, other activities also took place near sacred places. In the areas of Inari and Utsjoki, the distance between a sacred place and the nearest homestead is in most cases less than five kilometres. Sacred fells are further away from settlement than sieidis. Sacred places near dwelling sites are usually connected to waterways and more often associated with fishing than reindeer husbandry. The species diversity of animal bones found at dwelling sites is different than that of offered animals, which indicates that only some animals had a symbolic function as offerings. Sieidis that marked siida borders seem to have been exceptions.

Based on written sources, sieidis related to offerings of domesticated reindeer are mainly located in fells. Especially those sieidis are concentrated in fells where written sources do not indicate any offered species other than domesticated reindeer. This implies that the location of domesticated reindeer sieidis was associated with its own tradition. Sacred places related to reindeer husbandry were also located along migration routes, and furthermore oral tradition tells of the connection between sieidis and migration routes.

Most sacred places are located 1 to 10 kilometres from the next sacred place. For example, at Lake Iijärvi and in the church village of Utsjoki, sacred places form concentrations. Concentrations of sacred places are often located in areas connected with other human activities, too. This, together with the ancient sites related to sacred places, indicates that sacred places were a part of the taskscape that was connected to everyday life, even though frequently no other ancient sites have been observed within about three kilometres of the sacred places. In some cases, the ritual landscape surrounding sacred places also contained burial islands, and folk tradition also tells of the connection between sieidis and burials. In addition, in the north, churches were often built on sacred places of the ethnic religion or in landscapes dominated by these places. In the southern parts of the research area there was no such tradition. Perhaps the need to take over sacred places was not as great there. Even in the south, offerings brought to churches continued the traditions of the ethnic religion.