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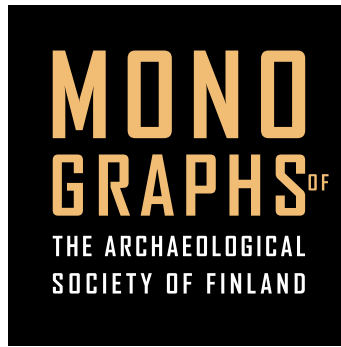


Tiina Äikäs

## *From Boulders to Fells*

*Sacred Places in the Sámi  
Ritual Landscape*





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**TIINA ÄIKÄS**

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## **Monographs of the Archaeological Society of Finland 5**

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## **Prologue**

Writing my thesis has been a long journey, in a very literal sense on the road, in the field, and even up in the air, as well as in a more abstract sense, into new ideas and experiences. The literal journey can be measured in kilometres, of which I have amassed about 14,000 during four years in Lapland. Measuring in the abstract is more difficult, but my journey here consists of various phases during which I have acquired information on sometimes even surprising issues. On occasion, I have not only learned that which I set out to look for. Some people have travelled with me all the way, others for a longer or shorter while. I want to thank them all.

My journey was financially supported by the Culture and Interaction Graduate School of the University of Oulu, the Finnish Concordia Fund, the Oulu University Scholarship Foundation, the multidisciplinary environmental graduate net school EnviroNet, and the *Human-Animal Relationships among the Finnish Sámi 1000–1800 AD. DNA and stable isotope analyses of bones found at worship sites* project funded by the Academy of Finland. This project was shared between Archaeology and Biology at the University of Oulu initially aimed to study the origins of domesticated reindeer and sheep and their significance for early Sámi communities and as a means of subsistence in the light of bone material found at offering places. However, we can never determine the results of archaeological excavations in advance. We found no sheep bones, but instead, interesting questions arose during the project related to the diversity of human activities in sacred places and to ritual activities that leave no archaeologically discernible traces. Furthermore, the chronological limit indicated in the project's name had to be extended closer to modern times; Sámi sacred places did not by any means fall out of use after the 19th century. I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Milton Núñez not only for including me in the study of offering places, but also for allowing me to follow the paths that opened up before me as the project progressed and for not curbing my enthusiasm even when confronted with questions quite foreign to traditional archaeology.

I am grateful to my supervisor, university lecturer Jari Okkonen, who also worked in the project, for letting me know about the research project at hand even while I was travelling on the other side of the world. I could call him from the field even on Sunday if the equipment was malfunctioning, and the conversations in his office covered everything from my thesis to the state of archaeology today. My other supervisor, Dr Petri Halinen, joined my journey slightly later, when I needed someone with a fresh viewpoint to read my work. Thank you, Petri, for the many times you read and commented on the text.

Cooperation with biologists taught me plenty about doing multidisciplinary research, but I learned other things as well: success at work is worth celebrating and eating well is possible even out in the field! Thanks for these lessons are due to Dr Jouni Aspi, Dr Minna Ruokonen, doctoral student Matti Heino, and research technician Jari Ylönen. I would also like to thank Klemetti Näkkäljärvi, the chair of the Finnish Sámi Parliament, for conversations and support related to the project's fieldwork. Cooperation with Metsähallitus has also been a valuable addition to my research. Dr Pirjo Rautiainen from Lapland Natural Heritage Services has provided great assistance by arranging both vehicles and accommodation for my travels and by discussing questions related to sieidis by e-mail. The staff of the Giellagas Institute of the University of Oulu helped me to obtain a more diverse view of Sámi culture. I participated in their lectures as both student and lecturer, and I also helped to organize a multidisciplinary conference of Sámi studies,

*Máttut - máddagat – The Roots of Saami ethnicities, societies and spaces / places.* For new viewpoints and stimuli, I would especially like to thank Professor Veli-Pekka Lehtola, but also the entire staff of the Giellagas Institute and the students participating in discussions at my lectures.

I am also grateful to everybody who read and commented on my thesis. I would especially like to mention the examiners of my work, Professor Håkan Rydving and Dr Antti Lahelma, as well as Dr Irmeli Pääkkönen and everybody who commented on my work at seminar sessions. You have all helped me to further develop my work.

The furthest point of my journey was the Archaeological Computing Laboratory of the University of Sydney, where I travelled to hone my skills in the use of GIS, but where I also gained new ideas about the cooperation of indigenous peoples and archaeologists, as well as about the archaeology of modernity. In Sydney, I would like to thank the entire staff of the ACL, especially Director Ian Johnson, who welcomed me to his workplace and home, Andrew Wilson, who guided me tirelessly, Martin King, who took care of all practical arrangements, and Till Sonnemann, who provided excellent company both at work and at leisure.

My work was stimulated also by the many discussions carried out at international conferences and seminars as well as in the university cafeteria. There is unfortunately no room in this preface to thank everybody involved in these conference and seminar discussions, but I would especially like to thank Tim Insoll, John Schofield, Carl-Gösta Ojala, and Tönno Jonuks. Of all my colleagues at the University of Oulu, I am particularly grateful to Anna-Kaisa Salmi, who has been an excellent field osteologist and a good friend. Additionally, many other doctoral students and researchers have provided me with not only rewarding conversations but also their friendship as the work progressed. Without you, writing my thesis would not have been as much fun. Particularly with the members of the archaeological theory group I have shared ideas, received insights, and discussed many things other than theory.

My work could not have been done without the people I was allowed to interview and the students who joined me in fieldwork through both snowstorms and – more rarely – heat waves. I thank everybody who participated in the fieldwork and especially those who joined me time after time.



Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family for all their support. My parents have encouraged me to follow the line of work for which I feel a calling, and to trust in myself. My husband Anssi Malinen has been my staunchest supporter and critic according to my needs, and has also agreed to plan our canoeing and hiking trips to include possible sieidi sites. Thank you for all the kilometres we have travelled together and for all those that are still waiting for us.

For Sámi words, my thesis uses Northern Sámi orthography, unless otherwise stated. In direct quotes, however, the words are spelled in the format used by the original writer. Sacred places are referred to by the name in the register over ancient sites. Appendix I also includes Sámi names when they are known. The number indicated after sacred places in the text corresponds to the running number in Appendix I. Datings in the text are presented in calibrated format to make them easier to compare with historical sources and events. Uncalibrated datings can be found in Appendix III. All translations of citations, if not otherwise mentioned, are by Sarianna Silvonen.

*Oulu, May 2011 (Originally)*

# 1. INTRODUCTION

Archaeologists often approach sites as dots or areas on maps. Defining the coordinates and borders of sites may be considered important. Ancient sites are grouped into units, each of which usually has its own type, subtype, and dating. However, the past can also be approached through the landscape. In this context, landscape means the physical, social, and mental space that both shapes and is shaped by human experience. The landscape binds individual sites together.

The landscape can also be described as layered: it is a convergence of different chronological layers. In this case, the landscape is seen as a palimpsest where earlier events leave signs and memories on later events. The landscape is like a parchment from which the old text is wiped off and new text written in its stead, but with traces of the old text always remaining underneath. Places in the landscape are meaningful in relation to each other, and layers of different ages interact with each other. The old leaves its marks and future events are anticipated. In addition, the landscape is where physical and mental elements meet. We do not see the world around us only in terms of shapes, colours, light, and shadow, but our earlier experiences, beliefs, and values affect what we see.

My research starts with the dots on the map that represent Sámi sacred places and offering places, such as *sieidis*. Instead of individual sites, however, I examine the sacred places as parts of a greater whole. The sites have never existed in a vacuum, but they have always been a part of a human environment. My research focuses on the location of sacred places in relation to ancient sites and other elements of the landscape. The age, meaning, and life cycle of the place, as well as its relations to means of subsistence and ritual are key viewpoints for discussion and comparison. Other sacred places, settlement sites, and remains related to hunting and other means of subsistence are parts of the landscape surrounding sacred places. Additional archaeological sites can also provide information on the mindscapes related to sacred places. Have sacred places been considered as parts of the landscape related to hunting and everyday life? Are they distant places for silent meditation? Landscape elements of varying ages position sacred places within a long chronological continuum, during which people's perceptions of the landscape and beliefs related to sacred places may have changed. Thus, sacred places have their own life cycles, during which people's attitudes towards them have changed. All these elements together form the landscape, of which sacred places should be seen as a part.

In the first chapter of this book, I provide background information on the study of sacred places with a brief description of the significance of sacred places as a part of Sámi religious beliefs. I also present an overview of earlier research and my own position in the field. In the second chapter, I concentrate on sacred places as research material. The essential questions here are: what in fact is a sacred place or a *sieidi* and how reliable is the information that we can acquire related to these places? In the third chapter, I present the theoretical framework of my doctoral thesis and the key methods used.

In the subsequent chapters of my thesis, I approach the Sámi ritual landscape first through topographic features and then through ancient sites. The location of sacred places can be linked to various elements of the landscape, such as waterways and fells,

and the sacred place itself can be central element of the landscape. The relationship between sacred places and landscape elements has often been considered as a central feature determining sacredness<sup>1</sup>, but the connection between these factors has not been examined systematically. In my research, I answer the following questions:

- What kinds of landscape elements are typical of sacred places and can variation be observed between different types of sacred places? In particular, sieidis have often been described as being located on the shores of waterways or on fells.<sup>2</sup> In this study, I look into whether sieidis could also be found in other types of places. I also approach the possibility of heterogeneous locations through various types of sacred places. I pose the question of what influence, for example, the constitution of the users of the sacred place or the deity associated with the place may have had on its location (Chapter 4).
- What are sieidis like as elements of the landscape? Sacred places themselves are also elements of the landscape, and they can take very different forms from a small stone to a large fell. However, individual groups of sacred places, such as stone sieidis, have been considered as homogenous even to the extent that a scholar may identify a sieidi merely on the basis of its external characteristics.<sup>3</sup> In Chapter 4.1, I discuss which characteristics have usually been associated with sieidis and how common these characteristics are.
- Can sacred places be described as liminal places? In particular, a location in a high place or near water has been connected with liminality. Indeed, liminality has been considered as a key characteristic of sieidis.<sup>4</sup> In Chapter 4.2.2, I examine the extent to which the location of sacred places reflects their liminality and how liminality as a concept is associated with the Sámi worldview.
- What makes places sacred? On the basis of everything discussed above, I consider the essence of sacredness in landscape elements. Which factors have affected people's perceptions of a particular place as sacred, and how similar or different are sacred places? Should the idea of sacred places as a homogenous group be dismantled?

Following this, I approach sacred places in relation to other ancient sites. The main focus is on the relationship between sacred places and means of subsistence. My hypothesis is that spatial proximity indicates a relationship between sacred places and subsistence-related sites in terms of experiencing the landscape. The study of sacred places has often focused on the examination of ritual activities.<sup>5</sup> By studying sacred places and subsistence-related sites together, we can obtain a broader view of activities in sacred places, as well as of the ways in which people have understood sacredness. This part of the book deals with the following questions:

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. Mulk 1996; Mulk 2003, 125.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Paulaharju 1932.

<sup>3</sup> Pentikäinen & Miettinen 2003.

<sup>4</sup> Lahelma 2008; Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2006; Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2007.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Rydving 1993; Fossum 2006.

- Can sacred places related to different means of subsistence be differentiated in the landscape? In Chapters 5.1 and 5.2, I return to the questions of sacred places as elements of the landscape and to the locations of sacred places by comparing sites related to various means of subsistence. The division of sacred places based on means of subsistence is common, but the degree to which these places differ from each other has not previously been studied.
- What is the connection between means of subsistence and ritual activities? And what other activities are associated with sacred places? The connection between sacred places and means of subsistence has been discussed mainly in relation to the locations of offering places near hunting pits.<sup>6</sup> In Chapters 5.2–5.6, I examine whether ancient sites related to Sámi means of subsistence can be found near sacred places and what information they can provide on the relationship between means of subsistence and ritual activities. In addition, I study other ancient sites as a part of the landscape related to sacred places. In Chapter 6, I also discuss later activities in sacred places.
- What kinds of actors and bodily experiences are related to sacred places? In Chapter 7, I approach the question of sacred places as theatres of human activity in the light of written sources and material revealed by excavations.
- To what extent are sacred places a part of a profane landscape? The thread running throughout this book is the idea of sacred places being connected not only with ritual but also with profane activities. The study of sacred places has usually concentrated on the ritual aspects, but in order to conceive the Sámi worldview in its entirety, we must also pay attention to the profane activities related to sacred places. For example, subsistence-related sites are a part of the landscape of sacred places.
- What is the life cycle of sacred places? All the themes in this book are connected by the idea of the life cycle of sacred places. From the choice or origin of sacred places to their abandonment, the meanings attached to sacred places have changed. This is reflected in the various external characteristics of the sacred places, their relationships with means of subsistence, and activities carried out at these places. Throughout my book, I describe the life cycle of sacred places through the meanings, beliefs, and activities related to them. Whereas earlier research has emphasized the use of sacred places in prehistoric and historical times, the chronological limit of my study extends to the present day.

I approach both the relationship between sacred places and landscape elements and the relationship between sacred places and other ancient sites through spatial analyses and the theoretical framework of landscape archaeology. Experiencing the landscape and the meanings of the landscape in the past have been studied mainly in the context of farmer culture;<sup>7</sup> the ways in which mobile communities and hunter-gatherers experience the landscape has been studied less from an archaeological perspective.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> E.g. Vorren 1985.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Tilley 1994; Bradley 2000; Bradley 2005.

<sup>8</sup> Jordan 2003.

The theme of sacred places that are not static and unchanging, but have a life cycle of their own, runs throughout my work. Simplified, the stages of this life cycle are adoption, use, abandonment, and reuse. The long timescale covered by the research enables the observation of this life cycle. My study starts from the cusp of the Iron Age and the Early Middle Ages around the 11th century, to which the first archaeological finds from sieidis are dated, and extends from this time up to the present day. Sieidis are still visited, objects are left there, and they are constantly imbued with meanings. Modern use is also a part of the life cycle of an archaeological site.

In my research, I use the term *Sámi sacred place*, except when referring directly to older sources, which use the term *Lapp*. At the end of the Iron Age, the starting point of my research, the Sámi were considered an ethnically identified group.<sup>9</sup> However, this does not mean that the cultural identity of the people who lived then would correspond to the modern Sámi people's view of themselves. Cultural identity is in a constant state of flux, as people define themselves in relation to other cultural groups.

In this book, sacred places are approached on two spatial levels. On one hand, the objects of research are all known sacred places that are connected with Sámi people and located in the area of modern Finland and that have been defined on the basis of literature or archaeology. On the other hand, the sacred places in Utsjoki and Inari are subjected to closer inspection. The Utsjoki area is characterized by river valleys, whereas Inari is a region of extensive lakes. These areas provide a comprehensive set of material, as they contain multiple sacred places at known locations. The more southern municipalities of the research area, Hyrynsalmi, Kuusamo, Pelkosenniemi, Pello, Posio, Rovaniemi, Salla, and Savukoski, are represented by one to three sacred places each. There is also reliable information available on the sacred places in the Inari and Utsjoki regions (see Chapter 1.3).

### 1.1. Sacred places as a part of Sámi beliefs

*Dyrene, træerne, stenene og de andre livløse ting har mistet talens brug,  
men hørelsen og forstaaelsen har de endnu[.]*<sup>10</sup>

*Johan Turi 1911: En bog om lappernes liv, p. 136*

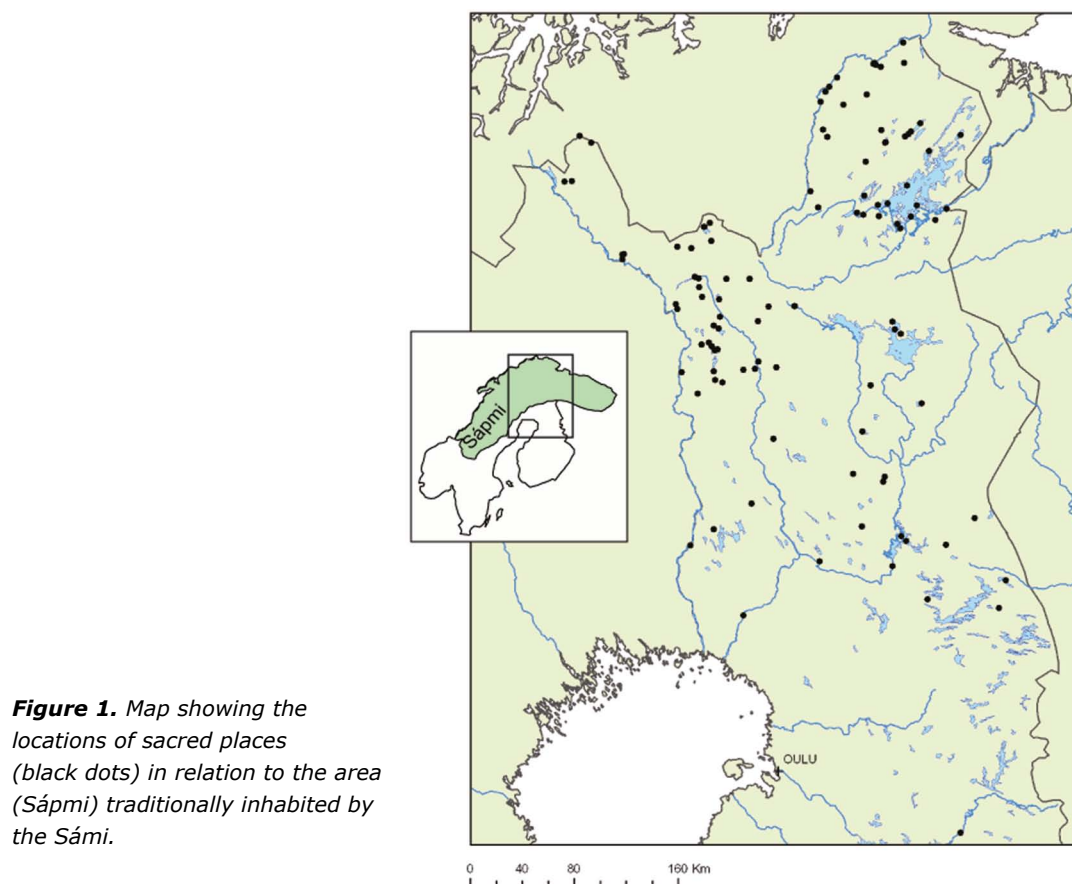
In the following chapter, I provide some background to human activities at offering places and conceptions related to offering. My focus is on the description of those basic elements of Sámi beliefs for which similarities can be observed in different Sámi cultures. However, the entirety of Sámi beliefs cannot be viewed as a static phenomenon. The traditional region inhabited by the Sámi, Sápmi, currently extends over Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia (Figure 1). In earlier times, the area inhabited by people speaking Sámi parent languages was even greater.<sup>11</sup> Just as Sámi languages are different in different parts of this greater region, there are also

<sup>9</sup> Hansen & Olsen 2007, 33–40; see also Hamari 1996, 53; Hamari & Halinen 2000, 156.

<sup>10</sup> "Animals, trees, stones, and other inanimate things have lost the ability to speak, but they still have the ability to hear and understand."

<sup>11</sup> Aikio 2003; Aikio & Aikio 2004, 118–124; Aikio 2007; Lehtola V-P 2008.

differences in other cultural aspects. Furthermore, religions and religious practices have varied in different parts of the Sámi region.<sup>12</sup> Religious differences related to means of subsistence are probably the most obvious; fishermen have offered fish, while reindeer hunters and herders have offered antlers. Chronological changes and differences between individuals and social groups have received less attention. Regional differences can be seen, for example, in different names for the same phenomenon.<sup>13</sup>



**Figure 1.** Map showing the locations of sacred places (black dots) in relation to the area (Sápmi) traditionally inhabited by the Sámi.

According to Louise Bäckman and Åke Hultkrantz, however, it is likely that the religion contains uniform characteristics throughout the Sámi area.<sup>14</sup> Offering, especially, has been seen as a largely homogenous activity that was very similar in different parts of the Sámi region.<sup>15</sup> However, there have also been variations related to offering activities, as shown by my research. In addition to regional differences, changes also took place through time. Hultkrantz has suggested that changes took place

<sup>12</sup> Rydving 1993.

<sup>13</sup> The term *sieidi* is completely absent in South Sámi, but instead the term *storjunkare* is used (Graan 1899 [1672], 62; Rydving 1993, 20–21). Circular offering places (*ringformade offerplatser*) are examples of a phenomenon that is considered to have taken place only in a restricted area, the internal part of Norrland and Northern Norway (Vorren & Eriksen 1993). However, in recent years, similar structures have also been preliminarily identified in Russia, Northern Sweden, and the South Sámi area (Broadbent 2006; Wennstedt Edvinger & Broadbent 2006). Written sources are known only from the north (e.g. Friis 1977 [1871], 140). In Finland, a structure interpreted as a circular offering place is most commonly considered as a *purnu*, a storage pit in a boulder field (Karjalainen 2007).

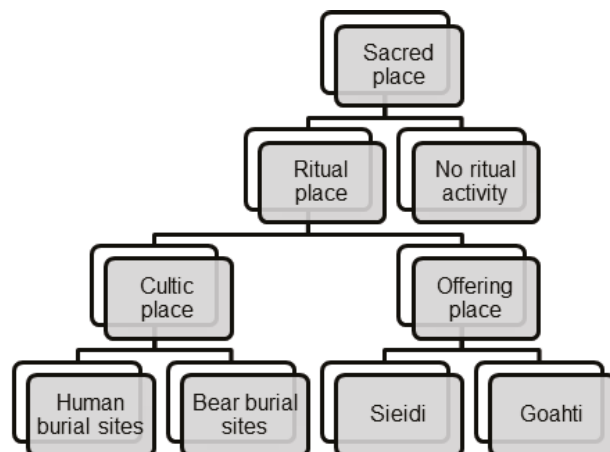
<sup>14</sup> Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1985, 9.

<sup>15</sup> Mebius 2003, 133.

especially when reindeer nomadism was adopted. These changes were very slight, as Christianity followed soon after and branded those practising the old religion as outlaws.<sup>16</sup> I return to the changes brought on by Christianity in Chapter 5.6, in which I discuss the sacred places of the ethnic religion<sup>17</sup> in relation to churches. My hypothesis is that the criminalization of the ethnic religion led to changes in offering activities. People moved away from known sieidis to give private offerings in isolated places and within the *goahti*.<sup>18</sup> In the following, I compare the traditions related to sacred places in different regions and at different times in order to find any predominant differences or similarities.

The Sámi worldview was based on the idea of a tripartite world.<sup>19</sup> The Proto-Uralic worldview reconstructed by V.V. Napolskikh is considered to share common elements with the Sámi worldview.<sup>20</sup> According to Napolskikh, the world was divided into the world above, the world below, and the world in the middle connecting these two.<sup>21</sup> The idea of a tripartite world was also important for offering activities, because offerings could be used to contact spirits inhabiting the other worlds. Offering places can also reflect other worlds, for example, a tree sieidi made of a tree turned with its roots up could symbolize the world below, which was sometimes seen as a reflection of this world.<sup>22</sup>

The sacred geography of the Sámi can be seen as consisting of places with various meanings and associated with various ritual activities. A sacred place (Figure 2) can be considered as a kind of top-level concept. Here, a sacred place means a place associated with religious significance. In a sacred place, people could approach spirits and gods.<sup>23</sup> Various prohibitions



**Figure 2.** Chart of the categorization of sacred places.

<sup>16</sup> Hultkrantz 1985.

<sup>17</sup> In addition to ethnic religion, other terms have been suggested. Of these, the terms primitive religion or the religion of primitive people make value judgements, and pre-Christian religion does not fully describe the situation, as early Christian influences may have made an impact already in the Middle Ages and Sámi religion coexisted for a long time side by side with Christianity. Indigenous religion is another term, in addition to ethnic religion, that does not include the idea of a static religion that would have been preserved devoid of contacts with the outside world (Mebius 2003, 12–13). In order to avoid these connotations of changelessness and permanence, I use the term ethnic religion, which also does not exclude the idea of something else predating this religion. Furthermore, the term religion in itself is a theoretical concept applied by outside researchers and does not necessarily describe the early Sámi worldview. Aslak P. Niittyvuopio states that “it is not reasonable to speak of Sámi religion, because sieidis and sacred places were a way of life” (Lounema 2003, 173).

<sup>18</sup> Rydving 1993, 101–102.

<sup>19</sup> However, some sources mention the division of the world into as many as five parts (Leem 1956 [1767], 409).

<sup>20</sup> Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2006, 97.

<sup>21</sup> Napolskikh 1992.

<sup>22</sup> Bradley 2000, 12.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Rydving 1993, 97.

and beliefs could be related to a sacred place, but it was not necessarily the theatre of ritual activities. Examples of this are sacred fells, which are not necessarily traditionally associated with ritual activities.

Sacred places with ritual activities can be divided into cultic places and offering places, and they can be collectively termed ritual places. Offering places were used to make offerings, as the name indicates. Sieidis can be considered as a subtype of offering places. In sources describing the area of Finland, stone and wood objects are mentioned as sieidis, sometimes only stones (Table 1). Other offering places included, for example, *goahtis*, in which daily offerings were made in connection with eating. Cultic places, on the other hand, were connected with ritual activities not related to offering.<sup>24</sup> Examples of cultic places could be human burial sites and bear burial sites, where bears, who had gained a special place among all animals in Sámi beliefs, were ritually buried.

**Table 1.** The definition of a *sieidi* in the sources depicting the region of Finland.

A sieidi is	Source	Region
A non-representative stone or wood sieidi	Tornæus 1672	Tornio and Kemi Lapland
A stone and wooden god	Schefferus 1673	Tornio and Kemi Lapland
A stone	Ervasti 1737	Kemi Lapland
Made of stone and wood	Castrén 1853	Inari
A stone	Andelin 1859	Utsjoki & Inari
Usually a stone or a place more widely regarded as sacred	Äimä 1903	Inari
A stone or wooden god	Fellman 1906	Utsjoki
An idol made of stone and wood	Andersson 1912	Kemijärvi
A stone, cliff, pillar, fell	Paulaharju 1932	Northern Finland
An unusual stone or cliff, maybe also a tree stump or wooden pole	Itkonen 1946/1948	Northern Finland

Offering places can also be categorized on the basis of the means of subsistence practised by the people visiting them. Means of subsistence and the natural environment are considered as having been very significant for Sámi beliefs.<sup>25</sup> Inga-Maria Mulk emphasizes the connection between offerings given to sieidis and the economy of Sámi hunter communities. The functioning of the community was based on general reciprocity and economic cooperation.<sup>26</sup> For instance, redistribution of food in the community was based on reciprocity, starting from the idea of a gift exchange in which the return gift was not expected to be given immediately. According to Mulk, the members of the community had a right to lands and resources, and food was also guaranteed for those who could not take part in providing it. Economic cooperation, on the other hand, refers to the necessary collaboration most especially for extensive hunting trips. The cooperation and reciprocity practised in a *siida*<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Rydving 2009, personal communication.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. Vorren 1985, 79; Rydving 1993, 85; Sergejeva 2000a; Mebius 2003, 11–12.

<sup>26</sup> Mulk 1996, 47.

<sup>27</sup> The Sámi word *siida* means a Lapp village, a Sámi community functioning as an independent social and economic unit.



are also connected with acts of offering.<sup>28</sup> The giving of gifts to gods at sieidis corresponded to the exchange of gifts related to the everyday division of resources.<sup>29</sup> According to Audhild Schanche, offerings taken to sieidis should not be seen as sacrifices to supernatural powers, but as return gifts or requests to take something from nature.<sup>30</sup> Paulaharju describes the relationship between the sacred lake and the sacrificers as a host-guest-relationship, a kind of reciprocal hospitality.<sup>31</sup> Sieidis were thus connected to the Sámi worldview on both a cosmological level, explaining the meaning of the universe, and a very concrete level guaranteeing everyday subsistence. These levels cannot be separated, because they were interconnected in the Sámi worldview.

Based on the mode of subsistence practised, sieidis are divided into those belonging to the domains of hunting, fishing, and reindeer herding. However, the division was not strict, but a sieidi could be used by several groups or its meaning could change.<sup>32</sup> Written sources emphasize the desire for hunting success as the main function of offerings.<sup>33</sup> Other motives for offering could be related to rites of passage, crises, or the calendar.<sup>34</sup> Especially offerings made in connection with annual migration can be considered as related to rites of passage (see Chapter 5.4.). Motives for crisis-related rites included pleas for the alleviation or curing of diseases, as well as help during pregnancy, or indeed for getting pregnant. Motives were also often related to a crisis situation such as an epidemic or catastrophically bad hunting misfortune.<sup>35</sup> Calendar-related offerings were made, for example, in the autumn connected with reindeer slaughter and in midsummer to honour the sun god. Sieidis were thus tied not only to subsistence but also to the annual cycle. Sometimes sieidis were approached for luck for travelling, or a spouse, general good fortune in life, or oracular pronouncements related to making important decisions.<sup>36</sup>

The offerings given were, by nature, diverse. Animal remains were the most common offering type.<sup>37</sup> Written sources also mention offerings of cheese, tobacco, alcohol, and household items, among other things.<sup>38</sup> After animals, drinks were the most important offering type, but the offering of alcohol was a fairly late phenomenon.<sup>39</sup> Based on written sources, Peter Sköld suggests that spirits were offered especially to female deities, *áhkkus*.<sup>40</sup> Offerings were often connected with Sámi means of subsistence. Fish was offered in order to catch more fish and wild reindeer to boost reindeer hunting.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Bergsland 1964, 244–245.

<sup>29</sup> Mulk 1996, 63–65.

<sup>30</sup> Schanche 2004, 5.

<sup>31</sup> Paulaharju 1979 [1939], 152.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. Paulaharju 1932.

<sup>33</sup> Äimä 1903; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1948 I.

<sup>34</sup> Rydving 1993; Mebius 2003, 141; cf. Honko 1975. In the study of religions, a rite is described as a small part of a ritual (Spiro 1971, 199).

<sup>35</sup> Acerbi 1802, vol. II, 131; Mebius 1968, 42–45; Rydving 1993, 104–106; Mebius 2003, 141.

<sup>36</sup> Itkonen 1948 I, 312–318; SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 1–107.1959.

<sup>37</sup> Manker 1957, 40–52.

<sup>38</sup> Lundius 1905 [1674], 29; Leem 1956 [1767], 428; Manker 1957, 88; Äimä 1903, 115; Itkonen 1948 II, 312.

<sup>39</sup> Sköld 1999, 66.

<sup>40</sup> Sköld 1999, 70; see also Solander 1910 [1726], 27; Kildal 1910 [1730], 96; Andelin 1859, 244; Mebius 1968, 74.

<sup>41</sup> Collinder 1953, 173.

Written sources indicate that the offering methods varied. Sometimes a living animal was left at the sieidi, sometimes only the antlers or head or only the bones. The sieidi could also be brushed with the blood or fat of fish or game animals. Itkonen notes that the best meat and fat were left as offerings.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, Graan states that only antlers and bones were offered to sieidis once the meat was eaten.<sup>43</sup> Offerings could also be made in the form of a meal eaten at the sieidi. It was believed that the gods also became nourished when people ate at the offering place.<sup>44</sup> There were certain rules related to the handling of offered animals. Written sources emphasize that the bones of offered animals should not be broken.<sup>45</sup> This prohibition was based on the idea that the gods were believed to create a new animal from the bones left at the offering place.<sup>46</sup> Leem describes a meal at an offering place and the belief in the creation of a new animal as follows:

*Som oftaste slagtede man Dyret, kogte og add det, undtagen Benene, hvilke man lod blive paa Stedet til Afgudens Tieneste, værende i den fulde Tanke, at han kunde skabe Kjød paa dem igien. Man og med Offerets Blod besmurte og imod Offer-Stedet opreyste lange Kieppe, hvilke bleve kaldede: Liet-Morak.*<sup>47</sup>

Both at sieidis and elsewhere, offerings were given to the natural elements, which were especially important to the Sámi, such as thunder, wind, water, and sun, and to the gods, who were considered to have influence on various areas of life. Offerings were also given to so-called invisible powers. They could be related to spirits from the world below or masters of animals and the nature, or they could be code names for old deities.<sup>48</sup>

Sieidis were thus used to make contact with various spirits and deities. However, the sources do not provide an unambiguous picture of how these spirits were manifested at the sieidi. In some written sources, the sieidis themselves are described as godlike.<sup>49</sup> Inga-Maria Mulk approaches the idea of sieidis as gods when she states that they are: "both the images and incarnations of the local divine masters who protected land and animals within a defined area."<sup>50</sup> As I have noted earlier, sieidis were, however, not related to one single deity. There were many deities, as there were many sieidis. Sometimes a sieidi was dedicated to a particular deity, like Ukko in Lake Ukonjärvi. However, one sieidi could represent different deities in different situations.<sup>51</sup>

Additionally the connection between sieidis and deities was heterogeneous. Paulaharju depicts sieidis as actually being gods on the one hand, dwelling sites of *háldis* on

<sup>42</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 311; see also Schefferus 1963 [1673], 177–178; Paulaharju 1932.

<sup>43</sup> Graan 1899 [1672], 63.

<sup>44</sup> Äimä 1903, 115; Itkonen 1948 II, 312.

<sup>45</sup> Zachrisson 1985, 87–88; see e.g. Högström 1980 [1746/1747], 191.

<sup>46</sup> Acerbi 1802, vol. II, 302; Ravila 1934, 50; Mebius 2003, 143.

<sup>47</sup> Leem 1956 [1767], 428–429. "Animals were often slaughtered, cooked, and eaten, except for the bones, which were left at the offering place to wait for the god, in the belief that he could create meat on them once again. The stone was also smeared with offering blood and long sticks were raised up against it and called Liet-Morak."

<sup>48</sup> Mebius 2003, 89–91, 147.

<sup>49</sup> For example, Rheen 1897 [1671], 39; Schefferus 1963 [1673], 152–153.

<sup>50</sup> Mulk 1996, 52.

<sup>51</sup> Friis 1977 [1871], 138.

the other hand.<sup>52</sup> As for Itkonen, he makes a distinction between a stone or rock in which a deity or *háldi* was believed to live and a tree stump or wooden pole that were dedicated to deities.<sup>53</sup> The stone itself was thus not a god or its personification, but a kind of godly dwelling site. Mebius suggests that considering a sieidi as a deity is one interpretation, but there were other variations. I agree with his view that different individuals could have different conceptions of what a sieidi actually was.<sup>54</sup> The problem has also been approached with a loose definition according to which sieidis were central to Sámi beliefs and could be described as something manifesting deities and spirits.<sup>55</sup> Just as the views of individuals on the nature of a sieidi may have differed, conceptions have most probably also changed with the times. The tradition is still alive today. For instance, as I was walking in Muonio with a student, the sieidi guide told us, "I hope you girls know that offerings were not made to the sieidis themselves, but *through them* to request help from above." This view probably reflects the modern idea that deities are rarely concretely in this world and among us, but instead we only have devices to help us establish a connection with them.

Sieidis were not the only places for making offerings. Håkan Rydving has divided ritual space among the Sámi of Luleå into three levels. The first level was formed by those few offering places in which the entire community and also members of other communities gathered. The mid-level places, according to him, are those in which families belonging to the same working community (*siida*) gathered. The third level consisted of the places near the *goahti* where daily rituals were carried out.<sup>56</sup> Offering places were located in the immediate vicinity of the *goahti*, and offerings were given in the *goahti* itself. For example, daily mealtime offerings to *Sáráhkka* made up a part of women's duties.<sup>57</sup> This division can also be applied to sacred places in Finland: some of them were visited from an extensive area, whereas others were used by smaller groups of people. In my research material, the third level can be considered to consist of those sieidis or other offering places that are said to have been used by a single person only.<sup>58</sup> Not all offerings were related to particular places. Rites of passage could be carried out in many places and crisis rites anywhere. Some places were visited regularly in connection with the annual migration. In this way, the environment formed an irregular network of ritual places.<sup>59</sup>

Sieidis were only one way to make a connection with spirits that were held to be present everywhere in nature. Schanche considers sieidis to be the power centres of personified nature.<sup>60</sup> According also to Mulk, the landscape has a soul in Sámi beliefs.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, Mebius denies the idea of a personified landscape and notes that literary sources contain no indications of this. Instead, there is folklore related to spirits being

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<sup>52</sup> Paulaharju 1932, esp. p. 26; cf. Qvigstad 1926, 319.

<sup>53</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 311; cf. Friis 1977 [1871], 137.

<sup>54</sup> Mebius 2003, 52.

<sup>55</sup> Hultkrantz 1962, 291.

<sup>56</sup> Rydving 1993, 97–98; cf. Tornæus 1900 [1672], 26.

<sup>57</sup> Mebius 2003, 136, 138.

<sup>58</sup> For example, Paulaharju 1932.

<sup>59</sup> Helskog 2004, 269–270.

<sup>60</sup> Schanche 1995, 43.

<sup>61</sup> Mulk 2000, 26.

associated with different places.<sup>62</sup> In more recent research, the connection between humans and natural elements has been described through the old concept of animism. Animism means providing plants, animals, and “lifeless” things, such as rocks, with interactive characteristics as a form of social interaction. For example, not all rocks were considered as alive, only those that reacted in a certain way.<sup>63</sup> Sieidis were examples of reacting rocks; they became lighter or moved to answer questions.<sup>64</sup> Such living creatures that interacted with humans could be endowed with characteristics such as sentience, a soul, mortality, the ability to grow, social behaviour, and morals. The difference between humans and what we would consider nonhumans was not fixed.<sup>65</sup>

Elina Helander-Renvall describes the animism that is a part of the Sámi worldview as an equal relationship between humans, animals, and spirits. There was a social relationship between humans and nonhumans that changed the space between nature and community into a social space. Humans were thus not separate from nature. According to Helander-Renvall, the Sámi do not consider themselves as separate from nature but as actually a part of it. Humans and other living creatures are connected with each other through their shared existence in the world. In the Sámi worldview, animals and all living creatures are seen as subjects, persons, and companions. Therefore the border between human and nonhuman could be very thin.<sup>66</sup>

Animism is related to a broader worldview in which spirits are everywhere, influence all parts of life, and allow people to communicate with them.<sup>67</sup> In more recent interpretations, animism is no longer seen as superstition that considers nonliving things as living, but as a way of interaction between humans and their environment.<sup>68</sup>

A worldview in which the relationship between humans, animals, and natural elements is seen as interactive has been called relational.<sup>69</sup> Where Inga-Maria Mulk states: “Allt levde och allt levande vördades,”<sup>70</sup> the relational worldview is better described by the idea that certain things that are considered nonliving according to the current view had characteristics that made them a part of the network of social interactions. Spirits, animals, and natural elements were defined as living according to how they reacted and were reacted to. The Sámi lived in a world in which the actors were not only humans, but also spirits, animals, and perhaps also special stones or other natural elements. A connection to nature was maintained not only with offerings, but also with general rules, for example, not boasting while out in nature. Just like conceptions of sieidis as gods or devices for communicating with gods had changed over the times, also the role of a sieidi as an actor or the dwelling site of a *háldi* could also be experienced in different ways across different times and regions.

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<sup>62</sup> Mebius 2003, 25.

<sup>63</sup> Scarre 2008, 210.

<sup>64</sup> Ervasti 1956 [1737], 36; Äimä 1903, 115; Itkonen 1948 II, 311.

<sup>65</sup> Descola 1996, 82.

<sup>66</sup> De Castro 2004, 481; Helander-Renvall 2008, 315–317, 330.

<sup>67</sup> Jordan 2008, 233, 236.

<sup>68</sup> Bird-David 1999.

<sup>69</sup> Viveiros de Castro 1998; Bird-David 1999; see also Ingold 2005, 43–52; Harvey 2006; Herva 2006; Ingold 2006; Puputti 2010b.

<sup>70</sup> Mulk 2000, 26. “Everything was alive and all living things were honoured.”

## 1.2. Research history: from reminiscence to DNA analysis

*In Lapland, the philosopher has an opportunity of studying among wandering tribes the first elements of social life; of society in its most ancient and primitive form.*

*Acerbi 1802: Travels through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland to the North Cape in the years 1798 and 1799, vol. II, p. 131*

Attitudes toward ethnic Sámi religion have not always been similar to those described earlier. The ideologies and prevailing scientific paradigms of the times have affected researchers' views of the Sámi worldview.

Even though information on the Sámi, their culture, and religion has been actively collected since the 17th century, the earliest extensive sources in particular are impaired by a source-critical problem related to the circumstances of their collection. At the time, Sámi beliefs and culture were recorded by clerics who also carried out missionary work and conversions. The primary task of the clerics documenting ethnic Sámi religion was to convert the Sámi to Christianity, not to research the old religion. The information is coloured by the collector's own attitudes towards the Sámi and their religion. The missionary worker's own prejudices, cultural values, misjudgements, and misunderstandings have had an effect on the contents of the information.<sup>71</sup>

The accuracy of the information has depended not only on the reliability of the recipient but also of the provider of the information. Especially in matters related to religion, the informant might purposely provide clerics with wrong and misleading information; after all, they had come to eradicate the old religion. For example, a story about Gabriel Tuderus recounts that he "has been especially industrious and productive here in Kemi Lapland; not only has he completely removed and destroyed many Lappish (noaidi) drums, but he has also thoroughly eradicated several offering places in which the Lapps earlier prayed to their heathen gods and made offerings to their sieidis."<sup>72</sup> This kind of criminalization of the old faith certainly did not lay the most optimal groundwork for collecting information.

Another problem in the use of written sources is that in some cases, the writers had not even visited Lapland in person. Their descriptions were based on hearsay and the quoting of earlier sources, often with no reference to the original text. Even clerics who worked in Lapland often had only sporadic contact with the Sámi.<sup>73</sup>

References to a people interpreted as Sámi can be found already in sources dating from antiquity and the Iron Age and Early Middle Ages. Among others, peoples such as "fenni",<sup>74</sup> "phinnoi",<sup>75</sup> "skrithiphinnoi"<sup>76</sup> and "screrefennae"<sup>77</sup> have been connected

<sup>71</sup> Comp. Rydving 1995.

<sup>72</sup> Andersson 1912, 104. Original Finnish text: "erityisellä wakawuudella, uutteruudella ja näppäryydellä on täällä Kemin Lapissa häwittänyt ja kokonaan poistanut ei ainoastaan monta Lapin (noita-)rumpua vaan myöskin perin pohjin häwittänyt muutamia uhripaikkoja, joissa lappalaiset ennen palvelivat epäjumaliaan ja harjoittivat seitojensa palvelusta."

<sup>73</sup> On the formation of written sources, see Rydving 1993; Rydving 1995.

<sup>74</sup> Tacitus 46.3.

<sup>75</sup> Ptolemaios II.11.19.

<sup>76</sup> Procopius vi.xv.16–25.

<sup>77</sup> Jordanes III.21–22.

with the ancestors of the Sámi.<sup>78</sup> However, the search for connections between ethnonyms and modern ethnic groups has been criticized.<sup>79</sup> It may be misleading to describe past ethnic groups in modern terms. In the case of the Sámi ancestors and sources from Classical antiquity, there is also a great geographical distance between the description and the people being described. In addition, the descriptions in these earliest possible sources are fragmentary and do not concentrate on religious traditions.

The central sources for my research, those in which the Sámi and their ethnic religion is described more extensively, were not created until the 17th century when information was more actively collected. At that time, clerics and missionary workers were obliged to collect information on Lapland. The aim was to debunk the rumours floating around during the Thirty Years' War, according to which the Swedes had won their battles with the help of "Lappish" witchcraft.<sup>80</sup> Therefore the writings did not want to place any special emphasis on ethnic Sámi religion and rituals. As a result of this collecting activity, Schefferus published his book *Lapponia* (1673), in which he combined the clerics' stories with sources from antiquity and the 16th century without ever personally visiting Lapland.<sup>81</sup> Contrary to its aim, the book bolstered the general opinion of the Sámi as witches, because the section on ethnic religion aroused the most interest abroad. In addition, this book, which described mainly the Western Sámi in Sweden, was seen as describing Sámi culture in its entirety.<sup>82</sup>

In the 18th century, the Sámi religion was the subject of writings by clerics who were influenced by the rationalist ideas of the Enlightenment, and they were not as hostile towards early religion as earlier writers. Pehr Fjellström, Pehr Högström, and Knud Leem showed greater understanding towards the Sámi religion and even learned the Sámi language.<sup>83</sup> The writings of clerics from the 17th and 18th centuries are the most important written sources about ethnic Sámi religion. However, they must be read in full consciousness of the attitudes and motives of the writers. The written sources are also subject to geographical and chronological restrictions. I mentioned above how *Lapponia*, which described the Western Sámi, was taken as a description of the entire Sámi culture. Already by the early 20th century, the idea was circulating that a written source describing one area cannot be generalized to cover other areas. Even so, the geographical origin of sources is often neglected in many studies.<sup>84</sup> Descriptions of ethnic Sámi religion were not collected from all areas (Figure 3). As the map shows, the sources concentrate on the regions of Inari, Kittilä, and Sodankylä in Finnish Lapland. Studying the map by municipality does not, however, tell the whole story. For example, no sacred places are known from the area of Saariselkä in Inari, which is probably due to the fact that this area is very scantily described in written sources, although there are descriptions from Lake Inarijärvi, north of this area, and Lake Sompiojärvi, south of it. From an archaeological viewpoint, it is also significant

<sup>78</sup> E.g. Sergejeva 2000b, 156.

<sup>79</sup> Wallerström 2006; Hansen & Olsen 2007, 45–51; Ojala 2009, 83.

<sup>80</sup> Itkonen 1963b, 6–7.

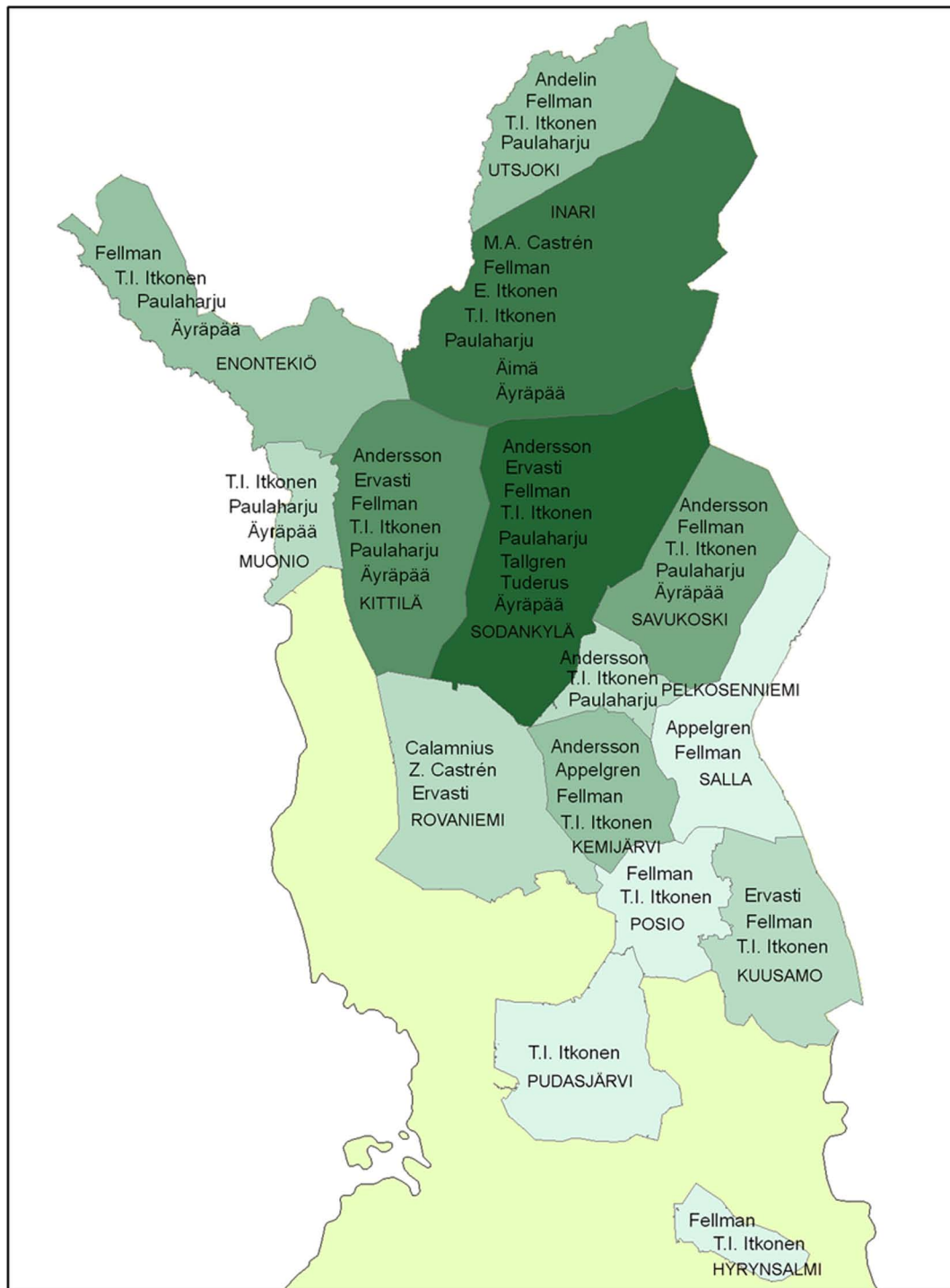
<sup>81</sup> Rydving 1995, 19.

<sup>82</sup> Pulkkinen 2005, 192.

<sup>83</sup> Fossum 2006, 12–14.

<sup>84</sup> Rydving 2000, 29.

that the written sources describe a fairly late period in Sámi history. The culture and habits of the 17th and 18th centuries cannot be directly applied to the study of the Iron Age or Early Middle Ages.



**Figure 3.** Map of the sources describing sacred places in Finland by municipality. A darker colour represents a larger number of sources.

In addition to clerics, 18th-century European travellers, such as Giuseppe Acerbi, have written about Lapland.<sup>85</sup> In travel stories, Lapland was often seen as an exotic and distant land. However, travelogues included few descriptions of ethnic religion.

The best-known writer describing 19th-century Lapland must be Lars Levi Læstadius. He was a churchman who worked as a cleric and parson mainly in Swedish Lapland. His book on Sámi mythology, *Fragmenter i lappska mythologien* (1845), has been considered as more critical than earlier research in the interpretation of ancient sources.<sup>86</sup> Læstadius' study on Sámi beliefs was completed already in 1845, but only published over a century later. Læstadius himself had a Sámi background, which can be considered to have advanced his understanding of Sámi culture. He also added elements of Sámi beliefs, such as ideas of gnomes, to his sermons.

Sources of special importance for this book are works that describe Lapland in the area of modern Finland. The earliest writings on Sámi research and description concentrated mainly on the Western Sámi and their religious tradition. The earliest writers describing Finland were Johannes Tornæus (early 17th century to 1681) and Gabriel Tuderus (1638–1705). Tornæus spoke Sámi and had lived in Lapland for 32 years before his work on the Sámi was completed. He can therefore be considered to be very well versed in Sámi culture. By the standards of his own times, Tornæus can be considered as a liberal and tolerant observer.<sup>87</sup> Tuderus, on the other hand, was a contradictory figure. Sometimes, like in the quote cited above, he is described as an oppressor of the Sámi and an ardent eradicator of the old religion, but in other sources, he is viewed as a true friend of at least those Sámi who converted to Christianity.<sup>88</sup> Other descriptions of the Sámi in the area of Finland were not written until the 19th and 20th centuries. Jacob Fellman's *Anteckningar under min vistelse i Lappmarken I–IV* (1906) is based on the writer's own observations during his years working as a cleric in Inari and Utsjoki from 1820 to 1831. Fellman documented plenty of material on Sámi religious tradition, beliefs, sacred places, stories, and yoiks.

Later sources on sacred places in the Finnish Sámi area include the works of schoolteacher Samuli Paulaharju, which are based on extensive fieldwork and interviews. Paulaharju writes about sacred places in many of his books, but concentrates more closely on the sieidi and its essence in the book *Seitoja ja seidan palvontaa [On sieidis and their worship]* (1932). Samuli Paulaharju had an enormous influence on Finnish sieidi studies. Of all the sieidis known in Finnish Lapland, 67% were described by Paulaharju, and 24% of the sieidis are mentioned only in Paulaharju's writings and have not been referred to in any other sources. Paulaharju's writings make it clear that even during his time, the traditions related to all sieidis were not certain. In addition, he describes a geographically limited area mainly in Northern Lapland. There are no sacred places known by Paulaharju in Kemijärvi, Kuusamo, Rovaniemi, and Salla.

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<sup>85</sup> Acerbi 1802.

<sup>86</sup> Pentikäinen 1995, 42–45.

<sup>87</sup> Pulkkinen 2005, 416.

<sup>88</sup> Pulkkinen 2005, 418.



T. I. Itkonen wrote about Sámi beliefs and religious tradition, as well as sacred places, offering places, and sieidis, especially in his doctoral thesis *Heidnische Religion und späterer Aberglaube bei den Finnischen Lappen* (1946) and his work *Suomen lappalaiset II [The Finnish Lapps II]* (1948). Itkonen, who carried out extensive fieldwork, also relies on older sources, such as Fellman, in connection with the sacred places covered in his thesis.

Like sources describing sacred places, research literature too has always been a product of its times. The research of the first half of the 20th century is characterized by evolutionist influences. Edgar Reuterskiöld's work *De nordiska lapparnas religion* (1912) employs the evolutionist terminology of the times. According to Reuterskiöld, a sieidi was a concentration of the life force of a particular place, a location in which the animatistic power of nature was manifested. The later, animistic phase of the religion would then be characterized by associating a sieidi with personified, god-like features. Uno Harva (1915) and Rafael Karsten (1952) were also influenced by evolutionism. Harva associated the sieidi cult with ancestor worship. Karsten, on the other hand, considered the sieidi cult as a manifestation of animism and fetishism.<sup>89</sup>

Ernst Manker's great work on sacred places, *Lapparnas heliga ställen* (1957), is one of the first studies of Sámi religious tradition in which sources, enquiries, interviews, and personal fieldwork are analysed systematically. This book concentrates especially on sacred places in the area of Sweden, and deals only cursorily with places in areas of Norway, Finland, and Russia. The fact that Manker did not personally visit many places but rather relied on informants forms a source-critical problem. As a result, he was even given information on places that did not actually exist.<sup>90</sup>

In the later part of the 20th century, attention was paid to regional and chronological changes in ethnic Sámi religion. In his book *The End of Drum-Time – Religious Change among the Lule Saami, 1670s–1740s* (1993), Håkan Rydving wrote about chronological change in ethnic Sámi religion, especially among the Lule Sámi. Rydving has emphasized that sources describing one area cannot be directly applied to other areas, rather there have been differences in beliefs in different parts of the Sámi region. At the same time, researchers still felt a need to create lists of Sámi sacred places. Attempts were made to bring the fragmented information in written sources between one set of covers per area. Offering places in the Varanger area have been studied by Ørnulv Vorren and Hans Kr. Eriksen in *Samiske offerplasser i Varanger* (1993). Vorren (1985) has also discussed the connections between offering places and ancient sites related to means of subsistence. Scandinavian research dating from the late 20th century saw Sámi offering places as a part of a broader cultural landscape that not only included ancient sites, but also stories, place names, and other traces of memory. Inga-Maria Mulk has connected offering places with the broader cultural landscape, and also paid attention to the significance of offering in relation to social change. With the help of offering finds, she has discussed questions relating to, for example, the fur trade or the social stability of a community.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1985, 8; Pulkkinen 2005, 391–392.

<sup>90</sup> Fossum 2006, 126.

<sup>91</sup> Mulk 1996; Mulk 1997.

The themes of temporal scope, offerings, and means of subsistence have also repeated themselves in the research of the 21st century.<sup>92</sup> At the same time, an attempt has been made to introduce more concepts into the research in order to better understand ritual activity. Especially liminality and the relational worldview have been connected with Sámi beliefs.<sup>93</sup>

In the second half of the 20th century, the study of Sámi ritual places in Finland has been made more from the viewpoint of comparative religion than that of ethnology. Two master's theses have been produced on the sieidis of the Inari and Utsjoki areas, Maarit Mattila's *Seidoista ja seitojen funktioista* [*On sieidis and their functions*] in 1974 and Matti Aho's *Pyhä paikka saamelaisessa uskontoperinteessä* [*The sacred place in Sámi religious tradition*] in 1997. In addition, Juha Pentikäinen has studied Sámi mythology extensively. He has published, for example, the books *Saamelaiset pohjoisen kansan mytologia* [*The Sámi - The mythology of a Northern people*] (1995) and, together with Timo Miettinen, *Pyhän merkkejä kivessä* [*Signs of the sacred in stone*] (2003).

Research carried out in Finland on Sámi sacred places has been fragmentary, and the role of archaeology, in particular, has been minor. The themes of the research have included, among others, the significance of sieidis as border markers, the identification of sieidis with phosphate analysis, and the possibility of sieidis located in the south.<sup>94</sup> In the area of the Paistunturi fell, one research subject has been the stratification of the Sámi cultural landscape, one level of which is formed by sacred places. That particular study represents a holistic view of the Sámi cultural landscape and its chronological layers.<sup>95</sup> In relation to the project mentioned above, Taarna Valtonen has also used spatial analysis for studying ancient Sámi sites.<sup>96</sup> However, no sacred places were included in that project. In recent years, methods from the natural sciences have also come into use in the study of sieidis: phosphate surveys of the soil and DNA analyses of the offered bones have been carried out.<sup>97</sup> However, Finnish scholarship has lacked a single work that would provide an overview of the archaeology of sacred places in Lapland. Written sources have mainly described an individual area (e.g. Paulaharju 1941: Sodankylä) or the ethnic Sámi religion in its entirety (e.g. Itkonen 1948 II). Sacred places have not been studied as part of a more extensive landscape context, which would be well enabled by spatial analysis. Approaching the primary sources of ethnic Sámi religion, that is, the sacred places themselves, from an archaeological viewpoint allows us to broaden the scope of research beyond the geographical and chronological restrictions set by written sources.

<sup>92</sup> Schanche 2000; Hedman 2003; Mulk 2005; Fossum 2006; Mulk 2009; Zachrisson 2009.

<sup>93</sup> Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2006; Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2007; Lahelma 2008; Zachrisson 2009; Halinen 2010.

<sup>94</sup> Pentikäinen & Miettinen 2003; Viinanen 2003; Viinanen 2006; Viinanen 2007; Halinen 2006a; Koivisto 2008; Halinen 2010; Tolonen 2013.

<sup>95</sup> Manninen & Valtonen 2006.

<sup>96</sup> Valtonen 2006.

<sup>97</sup> Halinen 2006a; Heino 2010; Tolonen 2013.

### 1.3. Positioning or who is allowed to tell stories of the past

*Der er én måde at forstå en anden kultur på. At leve den.  
At flytte ind i den, at bede om at blive tålt som gæst, at lære sig sproget.  
På et eller andet tidspunkt kommer så måske forståelsen.<sup>98</sup>*

*Peter Høeg 1992 [2010]: Frøken Smillas fornemmelse for sne, p. 192*

*Er jeg videnskabsmanden, iagttageren?  
Er jeg den, som har fået chancen til at se livet delvis udefra?  
Fra et udsigtspunkt af lige dele ensomhed og overblik?<sup>99</sup>*

*Peter Høeg 1992 [2010]: Frøken Smillas fornemmelse for sne, p. 233*

As I started my research in the field of Sámi archaeology, I often came across the question, posed by various parties, of who is entitled to deal with these matters. Sámi research has long been carried out from outsiders' perspectives. Research originating from outside (*etic*) the culture studied has been considered as enabling new, fresh viewpoints, because it is not bound by intracultural traditions of interpretation. As late as the 1980s, the *unfamiliarity* of the research subject to the researcher was self-evidently a good thing.<sup>100</sup> At that time, *etic* research was seen as being more objective. Here, objectivity may be taken to mean *remaining uncommitted to the community's values, norms, and intentions*. On the other hand, the scientific community can also be conservative or even politically involved, and the researcher's being an outsider cannot automatically be associated with objectivity. Research originating from outside the culture studied has, however, long been considered as methodologically more reliable and the status of an outsider has been seen as furthering the understanding of cultural processes.<sup>101</sup>

The role of the researcher is emphasized in the research of indigenous peoples. The question of just whose voice is heard in the research has often been posed. The term *appropriation* has been used to signify a situation in which one person is speaking for another and using another's ideas and experiences for his or her own purposes.<sup>102</sup> Whether researchers come from inside or outside the culture being studied, they should always make sure whose mouth they are speaking with and which factors affect their interpretations. Self-reflection, where a researcher clarifies his or her relationship with the subject of research, is an important part of research, whether it takes place on paper or in the researcher's head. An objective researcher, such as I referred to above, is an illusion. The mere selection of the research subject is influenced by factors depending on the researcher's personality. The selection of a subject in itself implies assigning a value judgement.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>98</sup> "There is one way to understand another culture. Living it. Move into it, ask to be tolerated as a guest, learn the language. At some point understanding may come." Peter Høeg 2005: Miss Smilla's Feeling for Snow, p. 169. Translated by F. David.

<sup>99</sup> "Am I the scientist, the observer? Am I the one who has been given the chance to get a glimpse of life from the outside? From a point of view made up of equal parts of loneliness and objectivity?" Peter Høeg 2005: Miss Smilla's Feeling for Snow, p. 205. Translated by F. David.

<sup>100</sup> Ruotsala 2002, 47; on the objectivity of *etic* research, see e.g. Siiriäinen 1996.

<sup>101</sup> Ruotsala 1998, 90.

<sup>102</sup> Ruotsala 1998, 94–95.

<sup>103</sup> Pekkala 2003, 93.

In the 1970s, voices were heard demanding research originating from within the community.<sup>104</sup> Intracultural (*emic*) research has been considered as benefiting from a better understanding of the subject matter. A member of the culture may have access to information that is not disclosed to outsiders. In my own research, this can be seen, for example, in connection with secret information on the locations of sieidis, which is not disclosed to people outside the community. In addition, a member of the culture understands cultural codes, which makes interpretation easier. Living within the culture also provides background information and the ability to understand intracommunity dynamics. In contrast with *emic* research, *etic* research has even been described as misrepresenting reality, because the researchers lack the skills to understand nuances. For example, the Sámi have not always recognized themselves in descriptions written by researchers who belong to the majority people.<sup>105</sup> Taken to extremes, this approach maintains that a culture can be understood only by someone who is born to it and has been enculturated in it.<sup>106</sup>

On the other hand, the problems of *emic* research have also been noted; a researcher who has grown up within the culture may not be able to view his or her position and relationship to the research clearly, because his or her mode of thinking originates from within the culture in question. Restricting interpretations to within a certain community may also decrease the diversity of viewpoints and create a biased picture of the subject of research.<sup>107</sup>

Since then, it has been pointed out that neither mode of research alone, whether *etic* or *emic*, can answer all questions. The right to carry out research cannot be granted to only one group of people. Dividing history into “our history” and “your history” robs research of the opportunity to present multiple interpretations. As Robert Kelly has put it, “You can’t dig that pueblo because you’re not Hopi; this is *my* history, that is *your* history. Such an approach will lead us nowhere, and destroys the value of diversity.”<sup>108</sup> Both *emic* and *etic* viewpoints are needed. If research is tied to the researcher’s ancestry, science is no longer free. Ethnicity would be monopolized if only those belonging to a certain ethnic group could carry out research.<sup>109</sup> *Etic* and *emic* interpretations both have their benefits and flaws. A diversity of knowledge could also be considered a useful approach.

Relating to my own research subject, I have heard it said that landscape studies are certainly interesting, but the Sámi and the Finns have different conceptions of landscape. My position as an outsider to the subject has thus been seen as a factor impeding my research. However, it should be kept in mind that an archaeologist always deals with a foreign culture. The thoughts and habits of modern people can never be projected directly into the past, whether those modern people be Finns or Sámi. Modern Sámi conceptions of the landscape are certainly different than those of

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<sup>104</sup> Ruotsala 1998, 96. A similar trend can be observed, for example, in Australia, in the research of Aborigines (Colley 2002, 61). In the 1970s, anthropology was divided into two major directions: intracultural and intercultural research (Sarmela 1984, 38).

<sup>105</sup> Suojanen 1997, 150–151; Ruotsala 1998; Ruotsala 2002, 47; Heikkilä 2006, 73–75.

<sup>106</sup> Sarmela 1984, 37–38.

<sup>107</sup> Ruotsala 1998, 99; Heikkilä 2006, 80.

<sup>108</sup> Kelly 2003, vii.

<sup>109</sup> Thuen 1995, xi–xii.

the people who lived in the area in prehistoric times, or even a century ago. We could even go so far as to say that every individual's conception of landscape is unique. In the study of sacred places, the long temporal continuum of their use plays its own part in the change of conceptions and ideas. It would be most fruitful to be able to compare chronological changes and differences.

Even though archaeologists are always on foreign ground when studying cultures, there *are* similarities between modern and past cultures. A past culture may not be directly connected to a certain people. However, it may be thought that certain peoples and individuals have closer cultural ties to the past of a certain area than others. Even though archaeologists usually study past cultures, they nonetheless work within a living community. The people whose ancestors are studied by archaeologists may still be alive.<sup>110</sup> On the other hand, archaeologists may study peoples with a cultural affiliation<sup>111</sup> that reaches deep into the past. These people have a right of ownership to their past. They have their own interpretations of the past that are not subject to archaeological approval. R. F. Langford has criticized archaeological interpretations because they, like other scientific interpretations, are culturally biased and represent only a white, Western way of dealing with information. Elevating the scientific mode of thinking above other modes is, according to Langford, one form of control.<sup>112</sup>

Due to the academic weight of archaeological interpretation, it is often authoritarian and often accepted as correct. But is archaeological information the only kind of correct information? History can be viewed through different lenses, with different eyes, which opens up different interpretations. History can be defined from various viewpoints: individuals, families, and groups can all have different experiences of what really happened. Additionally, the remains of the past can have a different kind of mental and emotional significance to different people.<sup>113</sup> Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley have recommended research that recognizes the fact that various ethnic, cultural, social, and political viewpoints actively create not only one but *multiple* pasts. This requires of archaeologists the ability and willingness to accept that there is not only one way of knowing about the past.<sup>114</sup> Archaeological research carries the baggage of a Eurocentric, scientific worldview imbued with the notion that by choosing the "best" of several competing ideas, we can always come closer to a more accurate interpretation of the past.<sup>115</sup> I would describe archaeological information as a data-based, well justified story. By *story* I do not mean something fictional or untrue, but mean to emphasize the fact that in addition to presenting data, archaeologists must attempt to say something about the life and culture of past people, to make the data seem alive. However, a more accurate interpretation of the past might

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<sup>110</sup> Meskell 2003, 167.

<sup>111</sup> Cultural affiliation means a common group identity that can justifiably be traced from the current group to an identified historical or prehistoric group ([http://www.nps.gov/history/nagpra/TRAINING/Cultural\\_Affiliation.pdf](http://www.nps.gov/history/nagpra/TRAINING/Cultural_Affiliation.pdf)). I would also see a need for a broader definition, the descendant community. This means a non-uniform, self-identifying group, whose members, no matter what their backgrounds, identify with a certain place or past through common traditions, proximity, or collective memories (Nicholas & Hollowell 2007, 1).

<sup>112</sup> Langford 1983, 2.

<sup>113</sup> McDavid 2003, 50–62.

<sup>114</sup> Shanks & Tilley 1994 [1987], 11, 245; Wylie 2000, viii; Zimmerman 2001; Meskell 2009.

<sup>115</sup> Nicholas & Hollowell 2007, 5.

not necessarily be reached through one single archaeological interpretation that is considered correct, but rather by multiple interpretations by different researchers and other information about the past together can show various aspects of the past. Different viewpoints onto the past can be equally true.

The post-processualists have stressed that one must take an individual's own worldview into account as a factor that influences interpretations. The concept of cultural relativism includes the idea that we always view things through certain mental models, our own personal ones and those formed within our own culture.<sup>116</sup> Everything from the selection of research subject to the interpretations we present is viewed from within our own cultural context. Our interpretations are influenced by the conceptual framework and ethical, moral, and ideological values of our own community, as well as the researcher's own life experience and even physical attributes.<sup>117</sup> In archaeological research, this means that the past is formed by the present. Archaeology is not generated in a vacuum, and we researchers are inevitably influenced by the social and political circumstances that surround us.<sup>118</sup> In Sámi archaeology, this has been observed, for example, in the question of who should administer the ancient sites in the Sámi area and how old a site has to be in order to be "Sámi". In my own research, the questions of ownership of ancient sites are less important than my views – which are partly personal and partly based on a theoretical background – of the nature of religious activity and the role of the sacred in people's lives. Cornelius Holtorf emphasizes the links between academic interpretations and the present, "academic knowledge is constructed in the present and not directly related to past realities, but follows fashions and changes according to larger political, ideological and academic trends."<sup>119</sup> We tell stories of the past from the viewpoint of the present.

Instead of one correct past, researchers also create multiple pasts<sup>120</sup> depending on their theoretical approach, cultural background, and personal history. I agree with Holtorf in that not all interpretations are equally justified and valid.<sup>121</sup> In the realm of science, the interpretations supported by the best arguments naturally carry the most weight. As descriptions of the past, however, they are not necessarily the only correct interpretations and perhaps not even the ones closest to the truth.<sup>122</sup> If we accept only one correct interpretation, we lose all other possible ways of understanding past times.<sup>123</sup> Multivocal research accepts different ways of interpreting the past. Alternative worldviews and histories are seen as valid ways of providing meaning.<sup>124</sup> Archaeology adds a new thread to the tapestry of history. We tell a story<sup>125</sup> that may not be the only correct one but is still a worthwhile viewpoint onto the past.

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<sup>116</sup> Shanks & Tilley 1994 [1987].

<sup>117</sup> Ruotsala 2002, 56.

<sup>118</sup> Johnson 1999, 175.

<sup>119</sup> Holtorf 2005a, 546.

<sup>120</sup> For example, Holtorf 2005a; Ransley 2007.

<sup>121</sup> Holtorf 2005a, 549; also Nicholas & Hollowell 2007, 15 on the validity of knowledge.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Okkonen 2009, 277.

<sup>123</sup> Ransley 2007, 234.

<sup>124</sup> Nicholas & Hollowell 2007, 4–5.

<sup>125</sup> E.g. Denison 1997; Barker 2006, 80.

In addition to archaeological knowledge, meaning can be provided also by local knowledge, values, and beliefs.<sup>126</sup>

As an example of alternative ways of knowing, let us take the oral tradition of Native Americans. It and archaeology represent two separate but partly overlapping ways of knowing the past. Native American oral tradition contains unquestionably real history, which is the same history studied by archaeologists. Both folklore and archaeology represent history as palimpsest. Oral tradition contains the cultural knowledge of many generations that has acquired several levels of meaning. Likewise, the stratigraphy of artefacts and units at archaeological sites functions as a complex archive of ancient human activity. Both require interpreting the structures in the source material. Oral tradition and scientific knowledge are both valid in their own cultural contexts. Scientific knowledge is not automatically the only correct interpretation of the past. It is only another way to know the past.<sup>127</sup>

#### 1.4. Is there an area forbidden to researchers?

Researchers make choices not only in relation to their own roles as researchers, but also through their research subjects. As I mentioned earlier, the mere act of choosing a subject is a value judgement. Researchers often approach their work with the attitude that nothing human should be alien to the scientist. Researchers should be able to address any subject.<sup>128</sup> However, there are subjects and places that are associated with values independent of science. In carrying out my own research, I have thought about the nature of a sacred place as a research subject.

A sacred place is defined as something diverging from the profane.<sup>129</sup> Its use may be regulated by various prohibitions and restrictions. For example, the Australian Aborigines have places that must not be approached because they are considered sacred, powerful, and dangerous. In such a case, archaeologists may insult Aborigines merely by walking in the area. Excavations, in which the ground is dug up and covered objects revealed, are especially difficult.<sup>130</sup>

Finds from excavations certainly present their own set of problems. Finds from sacred places are strongly related to their contexts.<sup>131</sup> For this reason, bones from sieidi sites excavated in Finland (from 2006 to 2010) have been returned to the sieidi after they have been analysed by an osteologist and the necessary datings and DNA analyses have been carried out.<sup>132</sup> On the other hand, researchers also have a responsibility towards other researchers. By documenting the bones, we can ensure that the validity of the analysis can be checked afterwards, even though the material itself is no longer accessible to future researchers.

<sup>126</sup> Ferguson *et al.* 1995.

<sup>127</sup> Anyon *et al.* 2000, 62–64. The idea of using oral tradition together with archaeology to represent the past and the concept of multiple ways of knowing has also been criticized, see e.g. Mason 2000.

<sup>128</sup> Pietarinen 1991, 72.

<sup>129</sup> On the definition of sacredness, see Chapter 3.2.

<sup>130</sup> Colley 2002, 75.

<sup>131</sup> For example, the Zuni, a Pueblo people, demand the return of their sacred objects, the *Ahayu:ta*, from museums to their sacred places, because they believe that disturbances in the world are due to the *Ahayu:ta* being removed from their rightful place (Ladd 2001).

<sup>132</sup> Äikäs & Núñez 2012.

Building a relationship of trust between local people and researchers is also important for obtaining information. A large amount of information related to sieidis can be assumed to have been lost because it was collected by clerics who were seen as eradicators of the old faith. Furthermore, esoteric knowledge is not necessarily revealed to an outside researcher. In Australia, a team studying the history of the *waanyi* women made an agreement with the locals not to publish information related to sacred places even if it was acquired during the research.<sup>133</sup> Similarly, during the cultural environment survey in Lapland, previously unknown sieidis were not mapped, because their locations were considered as secret knowledge.<sup>134</sup> In my work, I aim to respect the secret knowledge related to sacred places by using source material consisting only of public places mentioned in written sources or archaeological reports. In addition to sacred places, secret knowledge may deal with, for example, medicinal plants,<sup>135</sup> folklore related to places, or archaeological sites. Methods of cartography and spatial analysis can be used to fudge the accurate location data or make it subject to permission.<sup>136</sup> The researcher's responsibility is not only to disseminate information, but also to act respectfully towards the providers of the information.

In the worst case, archaeologists are seen by local people only as takers of knowledge. Along with postcolonialist critique, demands have focused on the "ownership" of the research results, that is, the production of useful information that benefits the research subjects and returning the research results to the local community. Reciprocity in research includes producing data in a format that is familiar also to the locals and benefits them. Scientific colonialism means not returning information produced by researchers to the local people and allowing them to benefit from it.<sup>137</sup> Archaeologists are responsible for producing data on the research also for local parties. In connection with this research, the returning of information was carried out by informing primarily the local media of the excavations. Also the results of the project will be presented to local parties at public seminars.

## 1.5. Summary

The sacred landscape of the Sámi includes many phenomena from sacred fells to offerings given at dwelling sites and special wooden or stone offering places, sieidis. Offering at sieidis was reciprocal communication with the hereafter. Ethnic Sámi religion has been described from the 17th century particularly from the viewpoint of clerics. The early descriptions were often coloured by a negative attitude towards traditions considered as heathen. In the 20th century, Sámi beliefs have been described, among others, from the viewpoints of ethnography, comparative religion, and archaeology. In recent decades, emphasis has shifted from the research of religion as a singular phenomenon to the understanding of connections between religion, means of subsistence, and social change, and the conception of the stratigraphy of the cultural landscape. In addition, in the research of indigenous peoples, more commonly raised questions now include how a researcher's background guides the research and whether it is permissible to study everything.

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<sup>133</sup> Smith *et al.* 2003.

<sup>134</sup> Magga 2007b, 21.

<sup>135</sup> Rambaldi *et al.* 2007, 120.

<sup>136</sup> Harmsworth 1998.

<sup>137</sup> Kupiainen 1997; Nicholas & Hollowell 2007.



## 2. THE RESEARCH MATERIAL FROM UNDER ROCKS AND ATOP FELLS

*Lake Nitsijärvi in Inari (29), July 2009*

*A sign directs motorists from the Sevettijärvi road to a narrow sandy track. On the bank of the River Koskikaltiojoki there is a wider space for parking cars, but there are no other signposts. Paulaharju has described the sieidi on the shore of Lake Nitsijärvi as a very ugly cracked rock “on the shore of Nitshijäyri at the mouth of the Kuoshkuljoki River.”<sup>138</sup> An old survey report states that the sieidi is formed by two adjacent rocks, about 1.5 m high, between which there is a crack.<sup>139</sup> We disperse on the banks of the river to look for the sieidi. There are plenty of larger and smaller rocks. Many of them have holes that could have been used for depositing offerings. (As evidence of this, we later find a geocache in a hole in one of the rocks.) None of the rocks seems to stand out from the others. Finally, however, our peering into holes in stones is rewarded. Right on the bank of the river there is a large stone that has split in several places into rectangular blocks with crevices between them. In one of the crevices, we can see the white gleam of the lower jawbone of a reindeer. The stone in question is, however, clearly in one piece, although cracked, not two stones leaning on each other. In addition, it is directly on the riverbank and not 20 metres away, as stated in the survey report. We then spread out to check the terrain farther from the riverbank, and right next to the road we find the pair of stones described in the report, with several bones in the hollow between the stones. We start to measure test pits near the stones to find out which, if not both, of the stones has been used as a sieidi, the cracked stone on the riverbank or the pair of stones next to the road. Only archaeological excavations together with samples and analyses can shed more light on the question of the offering activities that have taken place here.*

<sup>138</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 35. Original Finnish text: “Nitshijäyryn rannalla Kuoshkuljoen suussa.”

<sup>139</sup> Torvinen 1983.

## 2.1. Outlining the material

In the study of Sámi sacred places, the source material naturally consists of written sources describing Sámi beliefs, as well as the sacred places themselves. According to Håkan Rydving, the existing primary sources of Sámi religion are not only in oral form. They include, for example, drums and sacred places. He considers manuscripts by missionaries and other written sources from the mission period as secondary sources.<sup>140</sup> My own primary material consists of sieidis and other known Sámi sacred places within the area of modern Finland. Even though national borders are an artificial and fairly recent phenomenon in the context of Sámi culture, they also delineate the area from which material is freely available. Most especially in connection with the elevation model required for spatial analyses, the material available for my research is restricted to the area of Finland. This broad area guarantees enough material for landscape analyses. The extensive temporal and spatial scale enables comparisons both at the regional level and at the level of studying changes that took place in the use of offering places.

In the coming chapters, I discuss the sacred landscape of the Sámi and concentrate especially on the category of offering places. Cultic places lie outside the scope of this study, but the material includes sacred places that are not necessarily associated with ritual activities. Spatial analyses take into account only offering places that are permanent features of the landscape, even though it is known that offerings also took place at dwelling sites and portable sieidis.<sup>141</sup> In the Sámi worldview, however, offerings taking place in the *goahti* played an especially significant role. The *goahti* was the centre of the world that moved with the annual migration. The rest of the world was left outside the dynamic centre point.<sup>142</sup> My own work concentrates on the sacred geography of this more permanent world. As a meeting point between these two worlds, in Chapter 5.3 of my book I discuss the connection between ritual places and settlement sites. *Keripää* (knobbed pole) places, also known as fish sieidis, are also left outside the scope of this study, because they are considered to be connected with the peasant tradition and thus exist in a different cultural context.<sup>143</sup>

My material is formed of a database covering the sacred places, created on the basis of literature, fieldwork, and the Register over Ancient Sites kept by the National Board of Antiquities. The database contains 107 objects for which the location and feature data listed in Table 2 have been collected. However, not all feature data could be collected for every place, because the data was either not recorded in the sources or could not be measured in the field due to the destruction of the offering place. In addition to the information in the database, more detailed place descriptions of the sacred places have been recorded (Appendix I).

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<sup>140</sup> Rydving 2000, fig. 1.

<sup>141</sup> E.g. Paulaharju 1962 [1922], 144.

<sup>142</sup> Rydving 1993, 100; Rydving 2009, personal communication.

<sup>143</sup> Kotivuori 2003, 26.

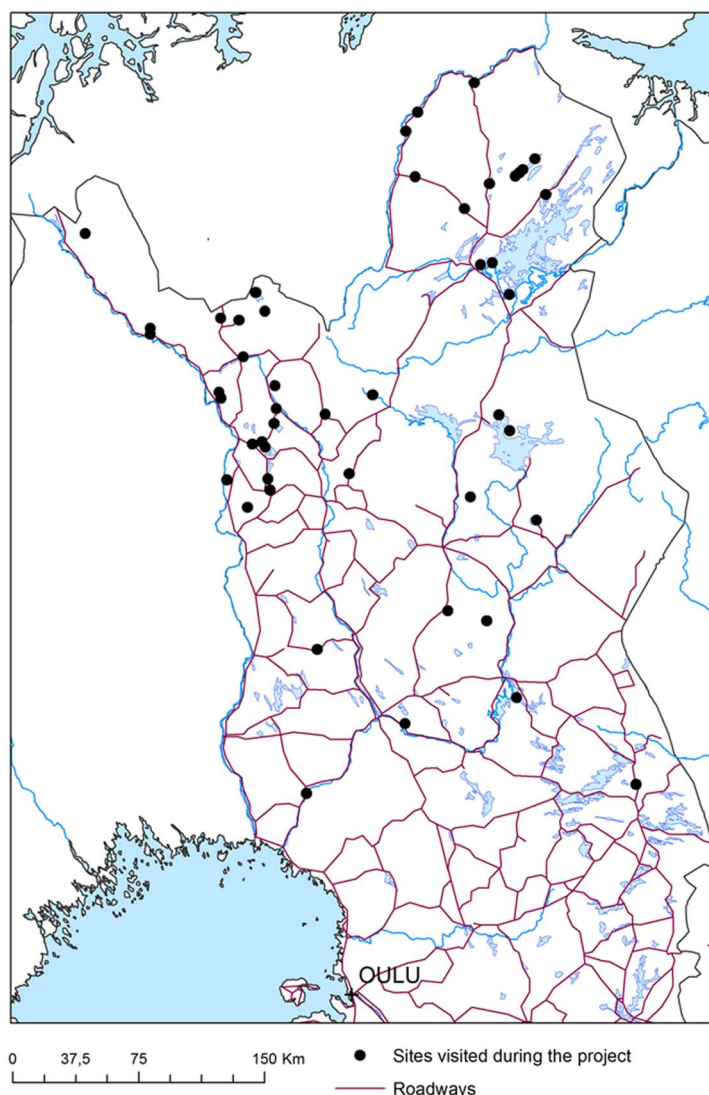
**Table 2.** *The structure of the database.*

Column identifier	Contents
ID	Running number
PAIKKA	The name of the place, e.g. Seitalompolo, Näkkälä
KUNTA	The municipality: Enontekiö, Hyrynsalmi, Inari, Kemijärvi, Kittilä, Kuusamo, Muonio, Pelkosenniemi, Pello, Posio, Rovaniemi, Salla, Savukoski, Sodankylä, Utsjoki
LUONNE	The character of the place: sacred place, sieidi, offering place
TYYPPI	The place type: ridge, lake, hole in the rock, rock formation, cairn, boulder, large flat stone, pond, spring, headland, brook, tree, raised stone, island, fell, hill, carved wood
LUOTETTAVUUS	Reliability: 1.0–3.7
X	KKJ, uniform coordinates
Y	KKJ, uniform coordinates
Z	m asl
VESISTÖ	Relation to waterways: none, lake, river, pond, spring, brook
ETÄISYYS (arvio)	Estimated distance in metres from water
MAISEMA	Landscape type: river, lake, hillock, forest, headland, smaller waterway, island, fell, hill
SÄILYNEISYYS	State of preservation: complete, disappeared, extensive, broken, unsurveyed, destroyed
KOKO (m)	Height
TOPOGRAFIA	Topography: on a hilltop, on a hilltop with visibility to one direction, on a hilltop with panoramic visibility, on a shore, at the foot of a hill, on a slope, on flat land
ÄÄNET	Soundscape: silence, rapids, water
TURISMI	Tourism: no, yes, other specific definition
ANTROPOMORFIA	Anthropomorphism: no, yes
POIKKEAVA MUOTO	Atypical shape: no, yes
POIKKEAVA VÄRI	Atypical colour: no, yes
LÄHISTÖLLÄ KIVIÄ	Rocks nearby: no, yes
KOLIKOITA	Coins: no, yes
MITÄ UHRATTU (kirj. lähteet)	Offerings (from written sources): fish, fowl, wild reindeer, domesticated reindeer
LUULÖYDÖT	Bone finds: fish, bear, sheep, fowl, reindeer
KÄYTTÄJÄT	Users: public, community, private
NAISJUMALUUS	Female deity: no, yes
NAISILLE	Use by women: no information, forbidden, allowed
TARKASTETTU	Inspected: no, yes
VARHAISIN INVENTOINTI	First surveyed: year
KAIVAUUS VUONNA	Excavated: year

While writing my thesis, I personally surveyed 49 sacred places included in the database (Figure 4) either in connection with excavations or inspection visits. In addition, I visited three places that were left outside the source material because they did not fulfil the criteria for a sacred place<sup>144</sup> and four places that were added to the material after analyses. The places chosen for inspection were those where offering activities could be mapped at an accuracy of even one square kilometre.

<sup>144</sup> See Chapter 2.3 and Appendix I.

**Figure 4.** Map showing the location of surveyed sacred places.

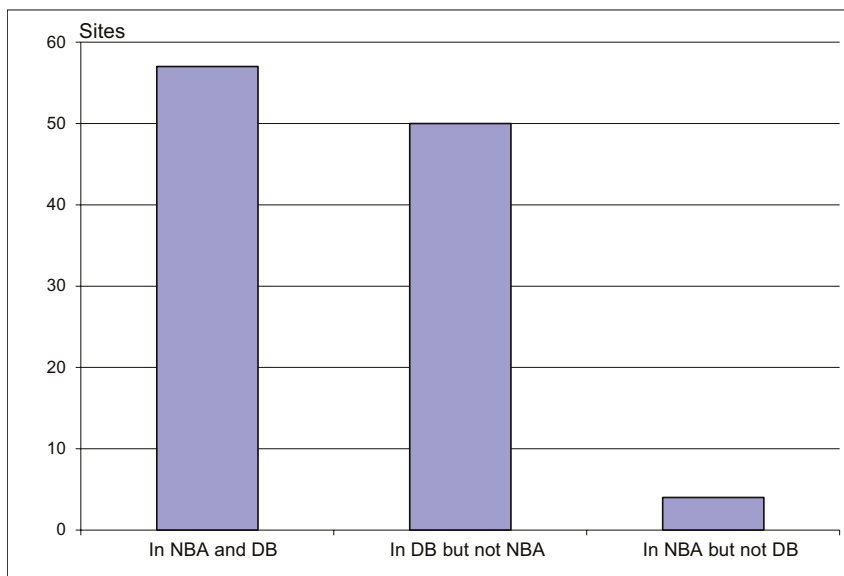


The places that were left outside the survey were either those located so far away from roads that there was no time to visit them during the fieldwork period or a part of those located on islands that could not be visited because a boat was not available. The surveyed places concentrated slightly in the Muonio area, where sacred places are located within easy reach of transport. This causes an overrepresentation in the amount of sacred places interpreted as reliable in the Muonio area (see Chapter 2.3). As the work progressed, I aimed to visit places that were as different as possible and were located in different parts of the research area. In connection with inspection visits, I could consistently collect the kind of data on sacred places that had not been recorded in earlier reports. In addition, I visited 13 places that have not been previously surveyed by an archaeologist. The precise location of offering activities could not be defined at all these places, but observations on the landscape could be carried out on site. Visits to sacred places helped me to form a picture of the diverse nature of offering places and to combine experiential data with spatial data.

However, the data collected in the database by means of fieldwork and written sources cannot be considered as fully comprehensive, because in the case of some sacred places, information is absolutely lost to researchers. As I mentioned earlier, the period when information on sacred places was collected was fairly late in relation

to the long period of their use, which has continued at least from the Iron Age, if not earlier, all the way to the 20th century and even up to today. During this long period, the places considered as sacred may have changed. Some of them fell out of use and others were destroyed, while new sacred places were created. The places were also different in character; they were used by different groups, some by larger groups of people and others perhaps by only one person. There has also been a significant number of sieidis. Written sources mention that each household had its own sieidi, and some people have visited several sieidis.<sup>145</sup>

All of these places have certainly not been simultaneously in use at the time the information was collected. Because of this, the collected material represents only the situation at a given moment, and it is certain that not even all the places in use at that time were recorded. In addition, places have been selected for reports and the register over ancient sites by varying criteria. Some surveyors have reported as sieidis places that are known only on the basis of one informant's statement and which show external signs of being recent. Some, on the other hand, have surveyed only places mentioned in written sources. In Figure 5, I present the proportion of sacred places in the register over ancient sites in relation to the sacred places that make up my research material. Some of the places mentioned in the written sources have been included in my material but not in the register over ancient sites because either the offering place there has been destroyed or the sacred place is very extensive. In such cases, the place cannot be defined as an ancient site, but it may provide enough information for spatial analysis.



**Figure 5.**  
The sacred places in the register of the National Board of Antiquities (NBA) and the database (DB). The places in the database are associated with written or oral traditions.

The analyses in to my thesis date to August 2009. Since that date, some updates have been made to the appendix of sacred places found at the end of this book. These updates are, however, minor, and they in fact support the interpretations made on the basis of the rest of the material.

<sup>145</sup> Tornæus 1900 [1672], 26; Collinder 1953, 172.

The southern border of the research area is drawn on the basis of sacred places mentioned in written sources, the southernmost of which is located in Hyrynsalmi.<sup>146</sup> Even though Sámi people have lived even further south in Finland,<sup>147</sup> there is no clear information on ritual ancient sites that could be unquestionably associated with them.<sup>148</sup> Furthermore, stones found in southern Finland have sometimes been considered as sieidis, mainly due to their anthropomorphic shape.<sup>149</sup> A particular shape cannot, however, be considered as sufficient evidence for the sacredness of a stone. Later in this book, I return to the question of identifying a sacred place.

## 2.2. The classification of sacred places

*The stones weren't shaped. They weren't even positioned in any particularly significant way. There wasn't any of that stuff about the sun striking the right stone at dawn on the right day. Someone had just dragged eight red rocks into a rough circle.*

*Terry Pratchett 1993: Lords and Ladies, p. 38*

As source material, sacred places are very diverse. Many different classifications have been proposed for sacred places, especially for offering places. The classifications have been based, for example, on the means of subsistence associated with the offering places, the size of the group using them, and the nature of the offering place. On the basis of means of subsistence, sieidis in particular have been classified into those related to fish, domesticated reindeer, and wild reindeer. It is more difficult to glean information from written sources on the sizes of the groups using offering places, but some places were used by individuals, whereas others were used by the whole community over a more extensive area.<sup>150</sup>

Ørnulv Vorren and Hans Kr. Eriksen, among others, have categorized sacred places based on their physical characteristics. They divide offering places into six distinct groups: sacred fell, rock formation, stone, cave, crevice, and circular offering place.<sup>151</sup> Christian Carpelan, on the other hand, has divided sacred places into three groups based on their external characteristics: landscape features, natural objects, and structures. The first group is represented by, for example, mountains, rock formations, headlands, islands, and lakes, the second by boulders, clearly outlined smallish rock outcrops, and springs, and the third by carved tree stumps, wooden poles, erected stones, and stones set on top of each other.<sup>152</sup> I would also add hills and ridges to the group of landscape features. Natural objects also include sacred trees, such as the offering pine still standing at Markkina in Enontekiö. Paulaharju also mentions a sieidi spruce located at Kitisenjoki.<sup>153</sup> Sometimes a human figure would be carved in the wood.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Itkonen 1946, 36; cf. Ervasti 1956 [1737], 51.

<sup>147</sup> Aikio 2004, 28.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. Lehtola V-P 2008, 13–14.

<sup>149</sup> Pentikäinen & Miettinen 2003, 56–59; cf. Koivisto 2008.

<sup>150</sup> Rydving 1993, 97–98.

<sup>151</sup> Vorren & Eriksen 1993, 29.

<sup>152</sup> Carpelan 2003, 77–78.

<sup>153</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 51.

<sup>154</sup> Bergman *et al.* 2008, 16.

For the Sámi, sacredness can thus be associated with the natural environment either as it is or when modified by humans. Some sacred places consist of structures, but apart from them, typical sacred places are unworked in any way. Examples of structures worked by humans could include stones set on top of each other forming a human figure at Keivitsa in Sodankylä and on an unidentified island in Lake Inarijärvi.<sup>155</sup> Sometimes stones have also been erected. An anthropomorphic shape has been considered as typical of landscape features and natural objects, such as rock formations and boulders. However, they were left in their original state and no attempts were made to modify them. To paraphrase Manker, the Sámi let their gods choose their own shapes.<sup>156</sup>

Figure 6 shows how the research material is divided into various types of sacred places. Sieidi stones are the dominant group. The total number of sacred fells and hills is less than half of the number of sieidi stones.<sup>157</sup> The other groups are more or less evenly divided. Some types are represented by only one place. These include brooks (Pasmárova, Enontekiö) and ponds (Seitalampi, Inari). However, the division of offering places into groups is not entirely unproblematic.<sup>158</sup> Sometimes it is difficult to make a distinction between whether the object considered as sacred is an individual stone or the broader area in which the stone is located. This problem is heightened especially when sieidi stones are located on islands, headlands, fells, or hills, whose names refer to sacredness. For example, there is an island named Ukko in Lake Ukonjärvi in Inari. The island's name refers to a deity, and thus the entire island could be considered as sacred in some way. On the other hand, in an intensive survey in the summer of 2007, bone finds enabled the surveyors to localize offering activities to a stone situated in the lower part of the island.<sup>159</sup> Sometimes a sacred place could, however, function as a more extensive offering area, such as the island of Ukonsaari in Lake Inarijärvi.<sup>160</sup> In this case, the distribution of finds over different parts of the island indicates that the entire island was considered as sacred.<sup>161</sup>

What, then, was the relationship between sacred place and offering place? In toponyms, sacred (*bassi/basse-*) often refers to a larger area, such as a fell, but a sieidi could also have given its name to a broader landscape feature. According to Paulaharju, an entire fell could become sacred if it contained a place where offerings were made.<sup>162</sup> Itkonen also states that the place where a sieidi was located, such as a fell or hill, was called sacred.<sup>163</sup> In this case, the name of the natural element in question may refer to a sieidi, such as the names Seitasaari [Sieidi Island] and Seitajärvi [Sieidi Lake]. The name probably indicated that a sieidi was located there, not that the entire island or lake was a sieidi.<sup>164</sup> The etymological dictionary of Finnish

<sup>155</sup> Castrén 1853, 60; Tallgren 1910, 36; cf. Äimä 1903, 114.

<sup>156</sup> Manker 1957, 306; Mulk 1996, 52; Bradley 2000, 6.

<sup>157</sup> Fells and hills, as well as lakes, are defined as unreliable, which is mainly due to the lack of sufficient precision in associating sacredness with a very large area (see Chapter 2.3.).

<sup>158</sup> On the problems of classification, see Äikäs 2011.

<sup>159</sup> Harlin & Ojanlatva 2008.

<sup>160</sup> Äimä 1903, 114.

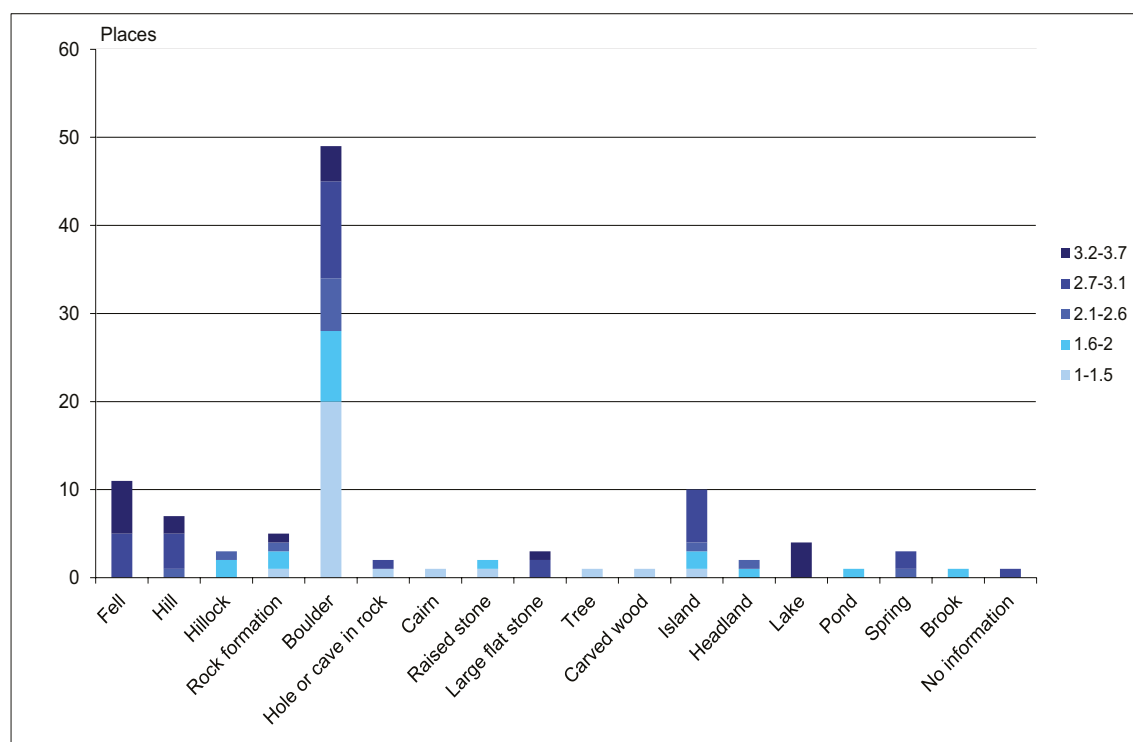
<sup>161</sup> Okkonen 2007b.

<sup>162</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 8.

<sup>163</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 310; cf. Holmberg 1915, 31.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Kivikoski 1934, 61.

defines a sieidi (*seita*) as “a stone, cliff, island, hill, or fell (more rarely, a wooden statue or image) of unusual shape, venerated and worshipped by the Lapps.”<sup>165</sup> Personally, I would rather consider a stone or wooden object and a rock formation as a sieidi, and the island, hill, or fell on which the sieidi is located as a sacred place. M. A. Castrén reports that the location of a sieidi was considered as sacred even when the sieidi itself was destroyed.<sup>166</sup> On the other hand, not all sacred fells contained a specific offering place. The fell itself may have been venerated.<sup>167</sup> However, making a distinction between a sacred place and a sieidi is not always unproblematic, as in the case of Ukonsaari mentioned above.



**Figure 6.** The distribution of sacred places according to type in a semantic order. Each place may belong only to a single type in the chart. (On the principles used to determine reliability values, which are presented by means of colour, see Chapter 2.3.)

Not all sacred places, then, were offering places.<sup>168</sup> A place could be sacred even though no ritual or other religious activities were associated with it. Nonetheless, through taboos and values, a sacred place was still a part of the religious worldview. I use the term *offering place* to describe activities that took place at sieidis. Descriptions in written sources and archaeological material are considered as evidence of offering activities. The term *offering place*, which is also commonly used in Sweden and Norway (*offerplats*, *offerplass*), is in my opinion more suitable for describing this aspect of ethnic Sámi religion than *sacrificial place*. As I mentioned earlier, offering has taken many forms, including killing animals and “giving” animal parts to sieidis, as well as the various offerings of objects and foodstuffs that could have been left

<sup>165</sup> “...poikkeuksellisen muotoinen kivi, kallioseinä, saari, vaara t. tunturi (harv. puupatsas t. -kuva), jota lappalaiset ovat kunnioittaneet ja palvoneet.” Itkonen & Joki 1979, 991.

<sup>166</sup> Castrén 1853, 123; cf. Manker 1957, 83.

<sup>167</sup> Vorren 1987, 95–96.

<sup>168</sup> Rydving & Kristoffersson 1993, 197; Myrvoll 2008, 10.



there whole. The term *sacrifice* has usually been considered to refer to activities that include destroying or killing (e.g. Insoll 2011), whereas offering means giving. In ethnic Sámi religion, both forms of ritual activities are present; in the case of destructive ritual activity, I use the term *sacrificial offering*. Other terms have also been used, including *place of worship*, *cultic place*, and *ritual place*. The term *place of worship* (in Finnish *palvospaikka*, *palvontapaikka*, *palveluspaikka*) is often used in older sources.<sup>169</sup> However, it contains nuances of worshipping an object in itself, whereas offering can also be a question of communication or of reciprocal gift exchange, as I mentioned earlier. Furthermore, the term *cultic place* contains unwanted nuances through the term *cult*. Like Timothy Insoll, I too consider the term *cult* to be negatively loaded, because it carries connotations of marginal and slightly dubious activities that do not entirely fulfil the criteria of a religion.<sup>170</sup> The concepts of cultic place and ritual place are both also associated with the problem of how to define activities. Offerings as well as other religious activities can take place at a cultic or ritual place, whereas ritual offerings are central for an offering place.<sup>171</sup> I use the term *cultic place* without its negative connotation to make a distinction between offering places and those places where other ritual activities occurred.

Sacred Sámi places also include so-called *sáiva* lakes. The meaning of *sáiva* lakes has varied in different Sámi areas. In the west, *sáiva* lakes were associated with fells or mountains, but especially in the traditions of Finnish and Swedish areas, a *sáiva* lake referred to a lake with a double bottom. The double-bottomed lake is associated with the idea of a stratified world; the lake offered access to the world below. The *sáiva* lake was inhabited by spirits in the shape of humans and animals that could function as protectors or help people to hunt or fish. *Sáiva* lakes were considered as sacred and offerings were brought to their shores.<sup>172</sup> *Sáiva* lakes are an example of offering places that were not necessarily associated with sieidis. On the other hand, sieidis in the form of stones and rock formations are known to exist at the shores of *sáiva* lakes, for example, at Enontekiö near the Proksi *sáiva*. *Sáiva* lakes are included in my research only to the extent that they are related to sieidis. They form a special group of sacred places that would require its own research.<sup>173</sup>

Wooden sieidis as mentioned in written sources have left few traces in the archaeological record.<sup>174</sup> Hans Mebius has divided sacred wooden objects into different categories, including, among others, an offering pole made of an upside-down tree stump with the roots in the air, an offering pillar related to the concept of *axis mundi*, and an offering stick to the branches of which the meat of the offered animal was fastened.<sup>175</sup> M. A. Castrén, on the other hand, states that wooden sieidis were anthropomorphic.<sup>176</sup> Only a few objects interpreted as wooden sieidis are known from

<sup>169</sup> Andersson 1912; Paulaharju 1962 [1922]; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1948 II, 313.

<sup>170</sup> Insoll 2004, 5.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Rydving & Kristoffersson 1993, 197.

<sup>172</sup> Von Westen 1773 [1723], 64; Læstadius 2000 [1845]; Pentikäinen 1995, 146–147; Sergejeva 2000a, 221; Pulkkinen 2005, 374–375.

<sup>173</sup> Two master's theses have been written on the *sáiva* lakes in the area of Finland (Tikkanen 2006; Pelttari 2011).

<sup>174</sup> Niurenus 1905 [c. 1640], 20; Tornæus 1900 [1672], 27.

<sup>175</sup> Mebius 1968, 61–65.

<sup>176</sup> Castrén 1853, 59.



**Figure 7.** A carved wooden pole on top of Kussuolinkivaara (in the photograph: Kati Sarajärvi).



**Figure 8.** A *keripää*, or a knobbed pole made to commemorate a successful fishing trip, at Sorsaniemi in Lake Kemijärvi.

Finland, one on top of the Kussuolinkivaara hill in Sodankylä and two on the island of Hietasaari<sup>177</sup> in Lake Inarijärvi. However, the carved wooden pole differs from G. A. Andersson's description, which mentions a boat-shaped sieidi (Figure 7).<sup>178</sup>

The wooden sieidi at Kussuolinkivaara may well have been brought there later. However, on the basis of old photographs, it has stood on top of the hill at least since the early 20th century.<sup>179</sup> Ingela Bergman *et al.* also associate *keripää* structures with the same tradition as wooden sieidis.<sup>180</sup> *Keripää* structures, also known as fish sieidis, are wooden poles about 1 to 1.5 m high with a carved knob at the end (Figure 8). They are found especially in the area of Lake Kemijärvi where they are often located on the shores of waterways. They have been interpreted as part of an old tradition related to commemorating successful fishing trips or, in some cases, fowling or hunting trips. Hannu Kotivuori believes that the habit was based on old beliefs for guaranteeing hunting or fishing success, but associates the statues themselves with a tradition more recent than sieidis.<sup>181</sup> The geographical distribution of *keripää* structures in a more southern area than sieidis may indicate a peasant tradition and be an example of influences passing between cultures. G. A. Andersson associates *keripää* structures with clam fishing carried out by Russians and Finns. He cites Hjalmar Appelgren in stating that at Suuköngäs in the River Jumiskojo, there are more than ten wooden statues with dates from the 1760s to the 1860s with both Finnish and Russian initials. He does not consider the Sámi to have practised clam fishing.<sup>182</sup>

<sup>177</sup> Svestad 2011.

<sup>178</sup> Andersson 1914, 44.

<sup>179</sup> Paulaharju 1979 [1939], 200.

<sup>180</sup> Bergman *et al.* 2008, 9.

<sup>181</sup> Kotivuori 2003, 26; cf. Appelgren 1881, 50; Paulaharju 1932, 9.

<sup>182</sup> Andersson 1912, 20–22; cf. Appelgren 1881, 50–52.

## 2.3. Criteria for determining the reliability of the material

*Herrojen höpötystä koko jumala-touhu noissa pötkelöissä. Ei vanhatkaan niitä ennen minään jumalina pitäneet. Aikoinaan kai niitä on veistetty jonkinlaisten apajapaikkojen merkeiksi rannoille. /--/ Paljon olen minäkin niitä veistellyt, usein aina silloin kun järvillä olen liikkunut, ja kun ei ole ollut muutakaan tekemistä. Mutta en minä ole osannut kuvitella, että tässä nyt jumalia tehdään kun pahanpäiväisiä puupötkelöitä naperrellaan. Vasta herrat näistä pötkelöistä rupesivat jumalia tekemään. Ja nyt ne kortot ovat minunkin veistämän pötkelön vieneet jumalan malliksi Helsingin museoon. /--/ Eläs nyt jumala, joutessa nakerreltu kanto.<sup>183</sup>*

*Veli-Pekka Lehtola 1994: Wallenius, p. 329*

The interpretation of sacred places is always subject to uncertainty. Partly this uncertainty is the same as for all archaeological research: not all material is available; the material is partly wrong; it is unequally distributed, partly hypothetical, or undated. Archaeologists cannot rectify all of these problems. In the case of sacred places, however, the problem of hypothetical information needs to be emphasized. For example, in the study of offering places, some of the material may be irrelevant, because the informants may have deliberately lied. From the viewpoint of analysis, it is significant whether the interpretation of a place as sacred is based only on an individual mention in a written source or on the researcher's impression, or whether the interpretation is supported by multiple criteria.

Different methods have been proposed for identifying sacred places. Ørnulv Vorren and Hans Kr. Eriksen emphasize the significance of written sources in identifying sacred places.<sup>184</sup> On the other hand, Håkan Rydving and Rolf Kristofferson use three criteria to define an offering place: information in older sources, a "cult-related" place name, and bone finds. According to them, antlers and unbroken bones in particular signify an offering place, because written sources mention that it was forbidden to break the bones of offered animals.<sup>185</sup> Rydving differentiates between bone caches, which consisted of leftover bones buried after a meal, and offerings, which were unbroken.<sup>186</sup> Britta Wennstedt Edvinger and Noel Broadbent also add historical land use and cultural context to the factors influencing the identification of offering places.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>183</sup> Farmer Alpi from Nampajärvi commenting on K. M. Wallenius' book *Vanhat kalajumalat* [The Old Fish Gods]. "All this talk of gods in these tree stumps is a load of rubbish. The old people didn't think they were gods either. Back in the day they were probably carved on lakeshores to mark good fishing places. /--/ I've also carved many, often when I've been spending time on the lake and had nothing else to do. But I could never imagine making a god, of all things, just fiddling around with a lowly tree stump. It's those city men who started making gods out of these stumps. And now they've even taken a stump that I carved to the museum in Helsinki to serve as a model god. /--/ Some god, if you ask me, just a stump I worked on in my spare time."

<sup>184</sup> Vorren & Eriksen 1993, 203; see also Myrvoll 2008, 13.

<sup>185</sup> Rydving & Kristoffersson 1993, 197–198.

<sup>186</sup> Rydving 2009, personal communication.

<sup>187</sup> Wennstedt Edvinger & Broadbent 2006, 46.

In my own research, I have considered the following factors to be related to offering places: information in written sources or other local tradition, place names, offering finds (also those mentioned in written sources), elevated levels of soil phosphates, or, in addition to the above, cultural context, that is, a connection with other places used by the Sámi. As I stated earlier, there are problems with written sources due to their spatial and chronological restrictions. The sources do not describe all areas in equal detail; Western Lapland, for example, has received less attention (Figure 3). In addition, some of the information was lost already at the time of writing. For example, Samuli Paulaharju sometimes describes places with some uncertainty. Some of the places that he documented were covered by only a brief mention: "Offerings probably used to be made here too".<sup>188</sup> A part of the tradition related to sieidis has been collected as late as the early 20th century. Because of this, it is worth asking just how old a tradition has to be in order to justify identifying a sacred place. What should we think about a still living oral tradition when there is no other information related to a sieidi? As some offering places were still in use in the 20th century, the possibility of a living oral tradition cannot be excluded. This study also includes sacred places associated with oral tradition documented by an archaeologist. In the study of the life cycle of sacred places, it is also taken into account that even new places may be imbued with meanings that make them a part of the living tradition of sacred places.

Place names can also act as markers of the sacredness or ritual character of a place. In some cases, the name contains the word sieidi (*seita*), such as the island of Seitasaari in Inari. Other names contain words alluding to sacredness, such as *bassi* (Northern Sámi) or *áilegas* (Northern Sámi e.g. Karegasnjarga-Ailigas in Utsjoki). Sometimes a place name can refer to the name of a god or goddess. It can be the female Áhkku (Northern Sámi e.g. Golle-ahkku in Inari) or the male Äijih (Inari Sámi)<sup>189</sup> or the thunder god *Dierpmis* (Northern Sámi [Tiermes<sup>190</sup>] e.g. Tiermasvaara in Kuusamo). However, not all sacred places are associated with a special name, and sometimes the offering place may have disappeared from a headland or hill with a sieidi-related name.

Bones are typically found at offering places, so the presence of bone finds can be considered as one criterion for defining an offering place. However, not all bones indicate offering activities. In Sámi culture, it was considered important to treat all bones with respect.<sup>191</sup> Therefore bones were buried or placed under rocks even out of an offering context, for example, in connection with mealtimes. Bones placed in the ground are thus not always a sign of the sacredness of a place. Differentiating between these and offered bones may be difficult. Personally, I do not concur with the previously-stated view that offered bones should be unbroken. Even though there seem to have been taboos related to breaking bones, sources from as early as the 18th century relate how the marrow was taken from offered animal bones for eating. Split bones have been found in Sweden in material from the 17th and 18th

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<sup>188</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 44.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. Korpela 2009.

<sup>190</sup> Ganander 1995 [1789], 109.

<sup>191</sup> Lundius 1905 [1674], 29; Zachrisson 1985, 84; cf. Leem 1956 [1767], 428–429; Graan 1899 [1672], 66.

centuries.<sup>192</sup> At Sieiddakeädgi in Utsjoki (113) and Ukonsaari in Inari (47), bones with marks of working were also found.<sup>193</sup> One of the broken bones from Sieiddakeädgi was dated to 1490–1660 AD and a broken bone from Ukonsaari was dated to 1520–1665 AD. They are thus chronologically slightly older than the bones from Sweden as well as geographically far away. The breaking of bones is also mentioned in a source describing the area of Finland. Paulaharju relates how, in the early 20th century, the metapodial bones<sup>194</sup> taken to the Näkkäljärvi sieidi were broken.<sup>195</sup> The treatment of bones seems to be associated with different traditions at different times and in different places. In addition, the way in which bones were dealt with in practice did not necessarily comply with the regulations.<sup>196</sup> People did not always act in ways that beliefs required. Thus, I would not consider the breaking of bones to invalidate the interpretation of a place as sacred.

Bone caches are distinguished from offered bones mainly on the basis of topography and the distribution of species within the bone material. Rolf Kjellström has noted that bone caches are located near dwelling sites, whereas offering places are located further away and at special locations. In addition, a greater amount of different bones are found at offering places.<sup>197</sup> On the other hand, offerings have been carried out also at dwelling sites and bone caches have been found in the fells.<sup>198</sup> It is sometimes difficult to draw a line between offering places and caches. Bone caches that are connected to sacred places by topography, place name, or context, may have had more ritual functions than bone caches with no such connections.<sup>199</sup>

Additionally other types of offerings can be found in sacred places. It is not always easy to define which artefacts are meant as offerings and which have been left in connection with other types of activities, such as tourism. For example, coins could have been offered or left as part of a tradition related to tourism. Just like the more recent coins, older artefacts may also have been associated with different meanings. Furthermore, not all offerings leave visible traces. For example, fish fat or blood may have been spread on the stone. Offerings of fat and blood have not been identified on sieidi stones. Positive results have been obtained from the identification of old blood residues on buried stone tools.<sup>200</sup> Similar analyses have been carried out on three sieidi stones, but to date, they have not yielded results.<sup>201</sup> Offering activities also leave traces in the soil as elevated phosphate levels. Phosphate analyses carried out around sieidis have indeed resulted in elevated readings.<sup>202</sup>

<sup>192</sup> Iregren 1985, 105; Zachrisson 1985, 87–88; cf. e.g. Högström 1980 [1746/1747], 191.

<sup>193</sup> Harlin 2007a, 3; Puputti 2008a; Äikäs *et al.* 2009, 118.

<sup>194</sup> Foot bones with little meat; anatomically, the Finnish term *konttiluut* means the bones of the instep, but in sources the word is also used to mean leg bones.

<sup>195</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 17.

<sup>196</sup> Zachrisson 1985, 94.

<sup>197</sup> Lundius 1905 [1674], 29; Kjellström 1985, 116–118; see also Schanche 2000, 271–272.

<sup>198</sup> Valtonen 1999; Grydeland 2001, 10, 39–40; Fossum 2006, 123–124; Hansen & Olsen 2007, 193; Halinen 2009, 107.

<sup>199</sup> Schanche 2000, 273.

<sup>200</sup> Downs 1995; Fiedel 1996; Field & Privat 2008.

<sup>201</sup> Äikäs *et al.* 2012

<sup>202</sup> Cf. Halinen 2006a; Wennstedt Edvinger & Broadbent 2006, 38; Tolonen 2013.

In some cases, the cultural context can also be a sign of a sacred place. The closeness of a Sámi dwelling site or a place important for Sámi means of subsistence may indicate a sacred place. In my study, in addition to identifying sacred places, I have paid attention to the reliability at which the location of the sacred place is known. For this purpose, I divided the sacred places into four categories on the basis of three criteria: certainty, preservation, and accuracy. *Certainty* refers to the criteria mentioned above that form the basis of what we know about the nature of the sacred place. The most certain group of sacred places, which receives a value of one, includes places for which several factors indicate sacredness. In the case of a sacred place that is not related to offering activities, the criteria can consist of written sources, oral tradition, place names, and cultural context. When the place is also associated with offering activities, the criteria also include offering finds and elevated phosphate levels. If two of these factors are present, the sacred place is defined as belonging in Group 1. Sacred places in Group 2 are associated with, for example, information about worshippers or other more detailed information, but the criteria of two factors are not fulfilled. Group 3 contains places associated with uncertain oral tradition. A place that “might have been a sieidi” belongs to this group. The classification of places in Group 4 as sacred places is based only on a place name preserved in written sources or the mention of one informant. Places that are connected to a place name referring to a sieidi or sacredness but that are not mentioned in sources or from which no archaeological material is known and at which no soil analyses have been made, are left outside of this study.<sup>203</sup>

Another criterion is the *preservation* of sacred places. Group 1 includes unbroken offering places and broken places of which parts still remain. For offering places of Group 2, an estimated location is known, but they have either been destroyed or the location has not been verified by an archaeologist. Places that are referred to as a broader area, such as a fell or a lake, belong in Group 3. This group also includes most sacred places that are not associated with offering activities. Group 4 is formed of lost offering places whose location cannot be estimated on the map, in contrast to that of places in Group 2. The coordinate information for this group is only approximate.

The third criterion is related to the *accuracy* at which the location of the sacred place has been identified. For places in Group 1, the GPS coordinates have been measured or the locations of these places have otherwise been accurately defined in connection with an archaeological survey. The locations of places in Group 2 are based on map estimates. Group 3 is formed of places for which the precise location is not known, but which can be connected with a certain smaller area, such as an island or a headland. For offering places in Group 4, the location is defined in terms of the top of a named fell or hill or the midpoint of a lake.

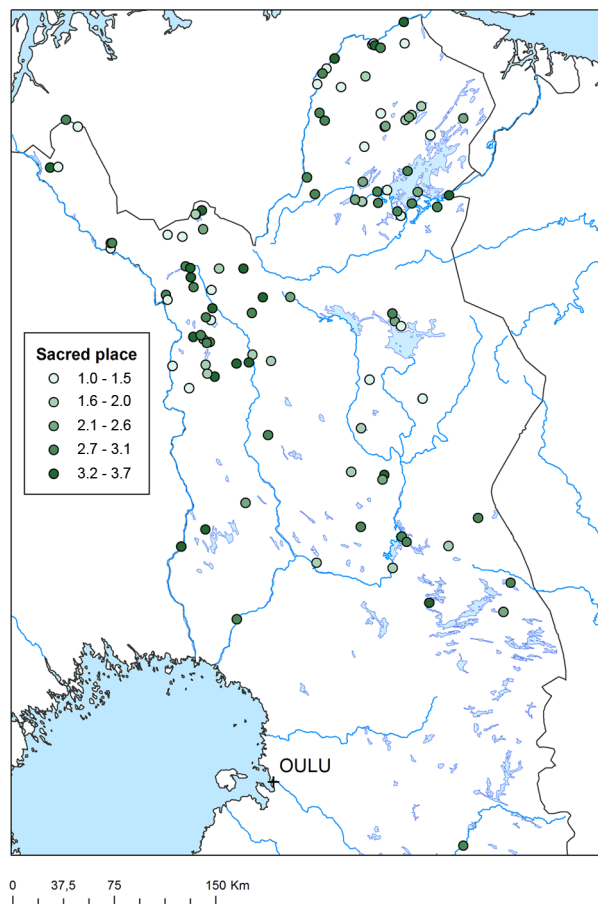
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<sup>203</sup> Cf. Aikio 2007, 178. In the MapSite service of the National Land Survey of Finland (<http://kansalaisen.karttapaikka.fi/kartanhaku/osoitehaku.html?lang=>), a search in the name field produced 51 place name starting with the word *seita*. Two of these are in municipalities from which no sieidis are known (Vaala and Kuhmo). A search for the Northern Sámi word *sieidi* resulted in six place names, two of which are included in the database. The number of names starting with *Pyhä* (=sacred in Finnish) is much higher. There are 21 lakes named *Pyhäjärvi* alone in the research area. However, this search can only be suggestive, as not all place names are included in the MapSite database and a more detailed analysis of the names requires linguistic expertise.

Each sacred place is issued points according to the groups to which it belongs on the basis of each criterion. The number of the group equals the number of points issued. The average of these three values then indicates the total reliability of the identification of a sacred place. Thus, a place associated with a strong oral tradition and finds mentioned in sources does not receive the best total score if its location is uncertain. The reliability of information related to offering places is taken into account in the analyses. Of the areas represented by more than ten sacred places, Muonio (2.0), Utsjoki (2.0), and Inari (2.3) had the best (that is, lowest) medians for reliability points (Table 3). The distribution of reliability values on the map is reasonably even (Figure 9). Western Lapland has a concentration of slightly less reliable material. This supports the selection of Inari and Utsjoki for closer examination in the study of ritual landscapes, not only on the level of all of Northern Finland, but also for a closer comparison between two areas. These two municipalities are better suited for comparison than Muonio, because the Sámi lifestyle has remained robust in both of them during the entire period covered by this study. In Muonio, colonization has also had a stronger effect on the Sámi culture than in the northern areas.

**Table 3.** The distribution of the number of sacred places and reliability points per municipality.

Municipality	Number	Average	Median
Inari	25	2.2	2.3
Enontekiö	21	2.3	2.7
Utsjoki	15	2.1	2.0
Kittilä	11	2.7	2.7
Muonio	11	2.1	2.0
Sodankylä	6	1.9	2.0/2.0
Kemijärvi	4	2.7	2.7/3.0
Pello	3	3.1	3.3
Kuusamo	2	2.5	2.3/2.7
Pelkosenniemi	2	3.0	2.3/3.7
Rovaniemi	2	2.2	1.7/2.7
Salla	2	2.5	2.0/3.0
Hyrnsalmi	1	2.7	2.7
Posio	1	3.7	3.7
Savukoski	1	1.0	1.0



**Figure 9.** Map showing the reliability values of sacred places.

## 2.4. Archaeological research in sacred places: chronology and finds

The use of offering places has a long chronological range. Traces of the prehistoric roots of ethnic Sámi religion have been sought in the similarity of subjects in rock art and noaidi drums and the consistency of sieidi and rock art locations.<sup>204</sup> Antti Lahelma has also studied the shared features of sieidis and rock art. The rock art tradition began during the Early Comb Ceramic period (5100–4100 B.C.) and seems to end at the beginning of – or at the latest sometime during – the Bronze Age (1500–500 B.C.). According to Lahelma, this could signify a change in ritual behaviour, a transition from paintings to offerings.<sup>205</sup> However, the great chronological difference between the use periods of rock art and noaidi drums makes comparison difficult.<sup>206</sup> Rock art imagery could even have been borrowed later for noaidi drums.

Finds made in connection with sieidis indicate a later period of use than for rock art.<sup>207</sup> Datings from Sweden show that metal artefacts have been offered starting from 700 A.D.,<sup>208</sup> but mainly from 900 to 1300 A.D.<sup>209</sup> An earlier dating is suggested by Kjelmøy were found in Jokkmokk, Seitaure, the use of which in the Sámi area ended around 200/300 A.D.<sup>210</sup> Metal finds end in the beginning of the 14th century, but bones and antlers have been offered as late as the 1450s–1650s.<sup>211</sup>

Ernst Manker's book *Lapparnas heliga ställen [The Sacred Places of the Lapps]* provides a picture of the material found at known offering places in Sweden. Manker has listed the places known at the time of writing, the 1950s. According to him, domesticated reindeer bones and antlers were the most common bone finds. Places at which other domesticated animals had been offered numbered only a quarter of the number of places containing domesticated reindeer bones, and bear bones were even rarer. There was also direct evidence of bird and fish offerings. Offering places in Sweden have also yielded finds of domesticated animals, such as cattle, sheep or goat, and fowl.<sup>212</sup> In addition to bone, numerous other materials have been offered, including quartz, flint, glass, and metal artefacts.<sup>213</sup> In offering places in Sweden, metal artefacts are a typical find group, including weights, coins, spearheads, utilitarian items, and jewellery.<sup>214</sup> Inga-Maria Mulk has divided the material found in offering places into categories of animal remains, items for everyday use, coins, and jewellery.<sup>215</sup>

<sup>204</sup> Luho 1970, 9–10; Luho 1971; Núñez 1995; cf. Nordman 1922, 9.

<sup>205</sup> Lahelma 2008, esp. 41.

<sup>206</sup> Cf. Günther 2009; on the other hand e.g. Shumkin (2000, 225) has associated the younger rock art tradition with the same tradition as sieidis.

<sup>207</sup> On the other hand e.g. Åke Hultkrantz (1962) views the sieidi tradition as the local variant of a circumpolar phenomenon with roots in the Stone Age.

<sup>208</sup> Mulk 1996, 73.

<sup>209</sup> Serning 1956; Hedman 2003, 161–189; Fossum 2006, 108.

<sup>210</sup> Serning 1956, 135; Fossum 2006, 108.

<sup>211</sup> Serning 1956; Mulk 2005; Fossum 2006, 108; Mulk 2009.

<sup>212</sup> Zachrisson 1976, 86.

<sup>213</sup> Manker 1957, 40–52.

<sup>214</sup> See e.g. Hallström 1932; Serning 1956; Hedman 2003, 161–189.

<sup>215</sup> Mulk 1996, 53.



The most intensively studied offering place in Finland is the island of Ukonsaari in Lake Inarijärvi (47). Arthur Evans, known for his study of Knossos in Crete, visited Ukonsaari in 1873 and found a piece of silver jewellery.<sup>216</sup> Before him, Jacob Fellman visited Ukonsaari in 1825 and 1826.<sup>217</sup> Additionally, the Itkonen brothers visited the place later during their ethnological fieldwork in Inari from 1910 to 1912, and a small research team consisting of Erkki Itkonen, Jouko Hautala, and Matti Hako visited the place in 1953.<sup>218</sup> The first actual archaeological excavations on Ukonsaari took place in 1968, when Anja Sarvas and her team studied the south-western slope of the island for three days. They found a large amount of fragmentary animal bones, antlers, and teeth. The research continued in 2006, when the entire area of the island was studied in closer detail. In connection with the excavations, bones dating from the 14th century to the early 17th century were found on the island, as well as a Russian coin from the 17th century.<sup>219</sup>

With the exception of Ukonsaari, early research by excavation has been rather infrequent. Also, we only have fragmentary data of the earliest excavations due to insufficient documentation. In 1937, Lauri Ilmari Itkonen, lawyer and finder of Stone Age *goahti* sites in Juusuansuu, organized test excavations at Lake Sieddesaiva (Somasjärvi) (19) in Enontekiö. A surviving photograph of the excavations shows six men digging with pickaxes and shovels at the foot of a sieidi stone (Figure 10). No finds from the excavation are documented, nor is a report available.<sup>220</sup> Earlier, in 1873, a “hammer-like offering artefact made of reindeer antler” from the sieidi at Sieddesaiva was deposited in the collections of the National Museum (Figure 11). The T-shaped piece of antler has marks of working at the end of each prong.<sup>221</sup> In connection with the antler artefact, pieces of reindeer antlers and birds’ nests have also been reported from the sieidi. Paulaharju notes too that money and reindeer antlers were found at the sieidi as late as in the 20th century.<sup>222</sup>

The next time that a sieidi was studied in the area of Finland was in 1957, when Aarni Erä-Esko organized a three-day test excavation on the headland of Seitaniemi (Seitasaari) (99) in Lake Orajärvi in Sodankylä. A tubular axe made of iron had earlier been found at the site. Several photographs and hand-drawn maps still remain of the excavation’s documentation material. On the basis of these, it seems that a test trench was opened at Seitaniemi in the southern half of a round knoll with a diameter of 20 metres. The test trench was oriented from north to south, and it was 1.5 m wide in the northern end, 1 m wide in the southern end, and 6 m long. The test trench was excavated down to the stony layer revealed under the sand, a depth of about 0.25 to 0.50 m. In addition, five test pits were dug. There were apparently no finds or atypical layers (Figure 12).

<sup>216</sup> Nordman 1922, 1.

<sup>217</sup> Fellman 1906, I, 251, 411.

<sup>218</sup> Itkonen 1962; Okkonen 2007b, 31.

<sup>219</sup> Okkonen 2007b.

<sup>220</sup> The report has been sought at the Department of Archaeology at the National Board of Antiquities and the manuscript archive of the ethnological collections.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. Hallström 1932, fig. 3. Similarly decorated artefacts have been interpreted as hammers for noaidi drums. An artefact found in Rendalen, Hedmark, has been dated to 1160–1260 A.D. (Hansen & Olsen 2007, 107). In Finland, similar finds have been dated to the 16th to 17th centuries (Carpelan 2003, 79).

<sup>222</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 39. Money and coins have been found at sieidis even in the 21st century (Halinen 2010, personal communication).



**Figure 10.** Test excavations at Sieiddesaiva in Enontekiö in 1937 (SUK 434:22).



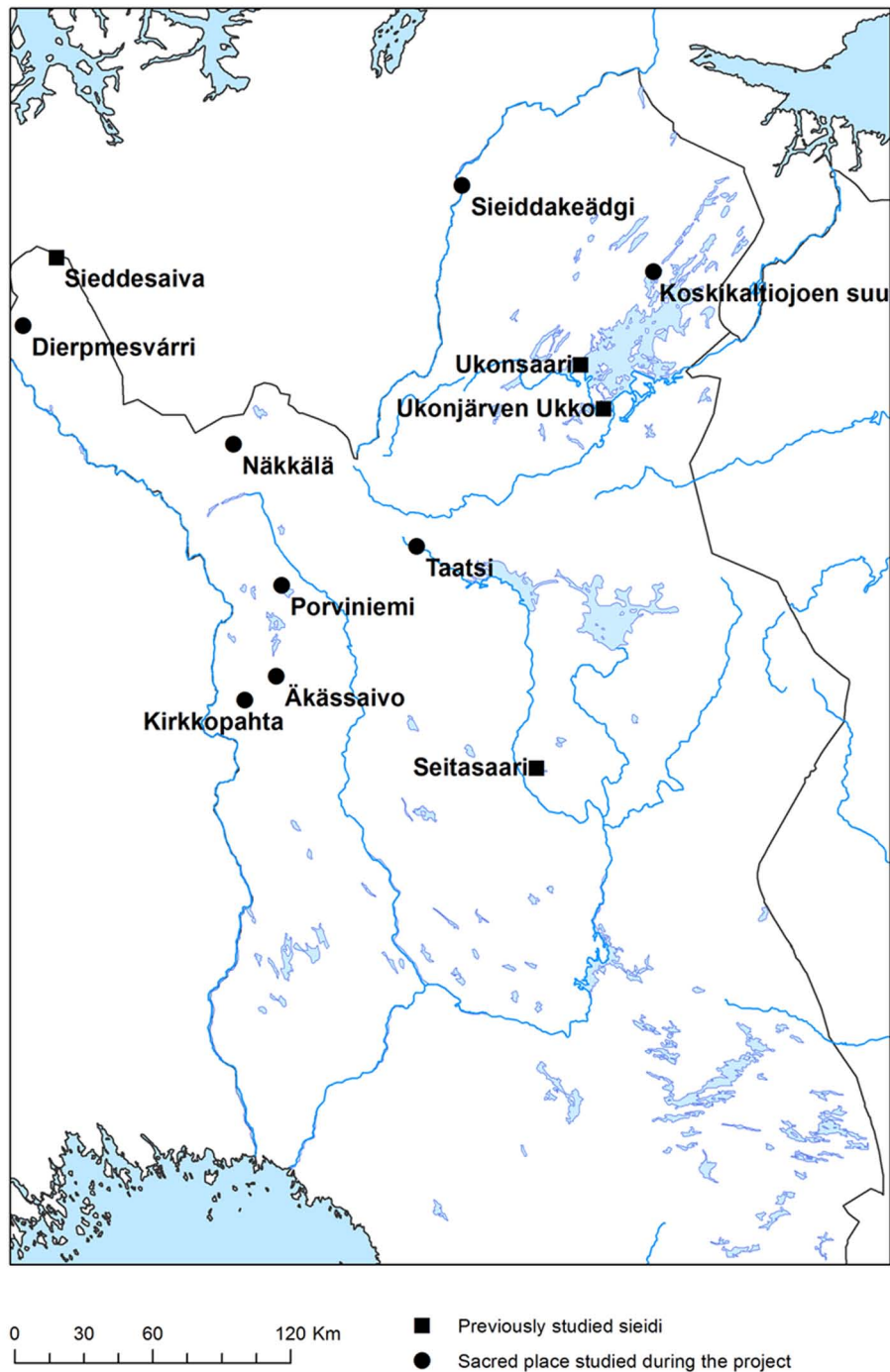
**Figure 12.** Test excavations at Seitaniemi in Lake Orajärvi, Sodankylä, in 1957 (National Board of Antiquities / The Archive of the Department of Archaeology, Picture Collections).



**Figure 11.** A reindeer antler artefact (length 13.1 cm) from Sieiddesaiva (SU 1346, photograph by Risto Hakomäki).

The Ukonsaari excavations of 2006 were followed by a group of other studies at sieidi sites. In the following year, an archaeological survey and a small-scale excavation were carried out at Ukko (46) in Lake Ukonjärvi, Inari, which was followed by the *Human-Animal Relationships among the Finnish Sámi 1000–1800 AD. DNA and stable isotope analyses of bones found at worship sites* project, funded by the Academy of Finland. Eight sieidis were studied in connection with this project (Figure 13). I led the fieldwork in the excavations carried out during the project, and I was also responsible for choosing the sites studied. In the summer of 2008, we excavated at Taatsi (65) in Kittilä, Näkkälä (9) in Enontekiö, and Sieiddakeädgi (Seitala) (113) in Utsjoki, in the summer of 2009 at Koskikaltiojoen suu [The mouth of the River Koskikaltiojoki] (Lake Nitsijärvi) (29) in Inari, as well as at Porviniemi (75) and Kirkkopahta (74) in Muonio, and in the summer of 2010 at Dierpmesvárri (3) in Enontekiö and Äkässaivo (80) in Muonio (Tables 4 and 5 and Appendices II and III). The sieidis studied within the framework of the project were chosen in order to acquire a sample as geographically representative as possible. In this way, we could obtain more information on the differences in offering activities than by, for example, selecting

sites only in Inari and Utsjoki, the comparison areas of my study. Therefore, we could study areas from which sieidis had not been excavated earlier. In addition, we wanted to focus our studies on places in which it seemed probable that bone material could be preserved. Thus, places left unexcavated included places with no certain known location or places that were not mentioned in written sources. In addition, the accessibility of the sieidis had an influence on the selection of research object. Excavation and documentation material had to be carried as far as 12 kilometres from the road.



**Figure 13.** Map of the sieidis studied by means of excavation before and during the project.

**Table 4.** The amount of area covered by excavation and the number of bone fragments at the studied sieidis.

Site	Excavated area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Bone fragments (pieces)
Taatsi	c. 4	258*
Näkkälä	c. 16.45	50
Sieiddakeädgi	10.74	116
Koskikaltiojen suu	c. 8	430
Porviniemi	11.96	1
Kirkkopahta	9.33	0
Dierpmesvärri	5.25	4

\* 225 of these probably originated from one perch.

**Table 5.** Animals identified in the excavations.

Site	Reindeer ( <i>rangifer tarandus</i> )	Sheep/goat ( <i>Ovis aries/Capra hircus</i> )	Bear ( <i>Ursus arctos</i> )	Mole ( <i>Arvicolinae</i> )	Capercaillie ( <i>Tetrao urogallus</i> )	Whooper swan ( <i>Cygnus cygnus</i> )	Scaup ( <i>Mergus sp.</i> )	Osprey ( <i>Pandion haliaetus</i> )	Pike ( <i>Esox lucius</i> )	Perch ( <i>Perca fluviatilis</i> )	Trout ( <i>Salmo trutta</i> )	Fish ( <i>Pisces</i> )	Burned bone
Ukonsaari	x	x			x								x
Ukko in Lake Ukonjärvi	x	x		x	x	x		x	x				x
Taatsi	x				x		x		x	x	x		
Näkkälä	x		x									x	
Sieiddakeädgi	x												
Koskikaltiojen suu	x				x								x
Dierpmesvärri	x												

Sources: Harlin 2007a; Okkonen 2007b; Harlin 2008; Puputti 2008a; Puputti 2008b; Puputti 2008c; Puputti 2009; Puputti 2010a; Salmi 2010.

The sites were very different in nature.<sup>223</sup> Of all the sieidis studied during the project, Taatsi had the widest range of species in animal bones. Identified bones found at the sieidi come from wild or domesticated reindeer,<sup>224</sup> capercaillie, and scaup, as well as the fish species pike, perch, and trout. The large amount of fish bones corresponds with Paulaharju's mention that Taatsi has been not only a reindeer sieidi but also

<sup>223</sup> The descriptions of the excavations are based on the following reports: Puputti 2008a; Puputti 2008b; Puputti 2008c; Äikäs & Núñez 2009a; Äikäs & Núñez 2009b; Äikäs & Núñez 2009c; Puputti 2010a; Salmi 2010; Äikäs & Núñez 2010a; Äikäs & Núñez 2010b; Äikäs & Núñez 2010c; Äikäs & Núñez 2011a; Äikäs & Núñez 2011b, and for Ukonsaari Harlin 2007a, Puputti 2009, Okkonen 2007b, and for Ukko Harlin 2008; Harlin & Ojanlatva 2008.

<sup>224</sup> Wild and domesticated reindeer cannot be identified to a species by means of osteological analysis in the field. In the following, I use the term reindeer to indicate a bone that could be from either wild or domesticated reindeer. Furthermore, the term sheep is used to indicate a bone that could be from sheep or goat according to osteological analysis.

a fish sieidi.<sup>225</sup> Some of the fish bones seemed very recent, but a dating of 1040–1220 A.D. from pike bones confirmed that at least some of the fish bones belonged to an earlier period of activity at the sieidi. Out of other sieidis studied in Finland, more than three animal species have been identified only at Ukko in Lake Ukonjärvi. A total of seven species have been identified there, although the mole is probably not associated with offering activities.<sup>226</sup> In other cases, the number of identified species has varied from one to three. In addition to the fish finds from Taatsi, pike has also been found at Ukko and further unidentified fish bones at Näkkälä. However, the fish bones from both sites are undated.

In addition to Taatsi in Kittilä, capercaillie bones have been found at Ukonsaari, Ukko, and Koskikaltiojoen suu. With the exception of Taatsi, all sieidis at which capercaillie has been found are within the area of Inari. Capercaillie has been a common bird in this area, and it has been hunted by snare. However, the capercaillie also has a mythological significance. It has been mentioned as an offered animal and the Skolt Sámi considered it a shamanistic bird.<sup>227</sup>

Sheep or goat is another typically offered animal species in the Inari area. Bones have been found only at Ukonsaari and Ukko. In the excavations carried out during the project, sheep bones were not found at any of the sites.

As in Sweden, reindeer is also the most commonly offered animal in Finland. Reindeer bones were found at all studied sieidis. At Sieiddakeäldgi and Dierpmesvárri, all identified bones were reindeer bones, in the other cases, reindeer was found together with bones of other animals. At all studied sieidis, reindeer bones dominated the bone material.

The Näkkälä sieidi is the only sieidi in Finland at which bear bones have been found. Altogether 43 bear burials are known from Sweden and Norway, and many of them are located near offering places and sieidis.<sup>228</sup> The bear has been significant both as a mythical animal and as prey. Bear bones near a sieidi can be related to ritual activities like bear burials or they can have been brought to the sieidi as a hunting offering. These two options are also not mutually exclusive.

Burned bone was also found at the sieidis. Further unidentified pieces of burned bone were found at Ukonsaari, Ukko, and Koskikaltiojoen suu. The presence of burned bone at sieidis is a third factor shared by sites in Inari, in addition to the sheep bones found at two sites and the capercaillie bones found at all sites.

Sieidis studied in Inari have also yielded metal finds in addition to bones. A piece of silver jewellery dating to the 13th century, a piece of copper sheet, and a Russian coin from the 17th century have been found at Ukonsaari.<sup>229</sup> Copper sheet pieces and a wire coin dated to 1606–1610 have been found at Ukko.<sup>230</sup> Of the other sieidis studied in Finland, only artefacts later than the late 19th century have been found, mainly coins. Samuli Paulaharju also mentions that coins, the oldest of which dates

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<sup>225</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 50.

<sup>226</sup> Harlin 2008.

<sup>227</sup> Äimä 1903, 115; Paulaharju 2009 [1921], 174; Harlin 2008, 10–11.

<sup>228</sup> Fossum 2006, 101.

<sup>229</sup> Okkonen 2007b.

<sup>230</sup> Harlin & Ojanlatva 2008.

from 1747, and “a couple of iron arrowheads” were found at the Dierpmesvárri sieidi.<sup>231</sup> The situation is different in Sweden, where great quantities of metal were offered until to the 14th century. Additionally, the number of other artefacts found in Finland is small compared to Sweden. Besides metal, other finds at the studied sieidis included a bone ring from Taatsi, a bone button from Näkkälä (Figure 14), and bottle glass from the late 19th century from Sieiddakeäddgi.



**Figure 14.** A bone ring (KM 37853:1) from Taatsi in Kittilä and an antler button (KM 37851:3) from Näkkälä in Enontekiö (photograph by Eeva Miettinen).

Based on the sites studied, offering activities in Finland seem to start later than in the area of Sweden. The earliest offerings are of different species. The oldest dating is from the pike found at Taatsi, mentioned above. In addition, swan and bear bones have been dated to the 11th through to 13th centuries. The dated sheep bones are from the 14th through to 15th centuries,<sup>232</sup> whereas the capercaillie bones are from the 15th century.<sup>233</sup> An exception is formed by the extensive material from Koskikaltiojoen suu, which includes both earlier and later material. The capercaillie bones found at Taatsi have not been dated, because at the time they were not considered to be related to the central research questions of the project. Reindeer is the most commonly offered animal both geographically and chronologically. Reindeer bones have been dated from the 12th century to the second half of the 17th century. In addition, one dating from Taatsi might be even younger. The dated bones probably reflect the beginning of the offering tradition and not the preservation of the bones. This is supported by the fact that there was no notable difference in the condition of older and newer bones. Thus, it does not seem likely that old bones would be in poor shape and even older ones perhaps disintegrated. In addition, the old datings were obtained from different parts of the animals and not only from the best preserved parts, such as teeth. If the tradition were older than the datings from bones, the oldest datings would probably be obtained from bone types with the best rate of preservation.

The dating results showed that the bones from Dierpmesvárri are modern. Of the other sieidis, the datings from Näkkälä indicate the shortest period of use. All datings fall between 1165 and 1290 A.D. According to the bone finds, the use of other sieidis seems to have started in the 11th through to the 14th centuries. In the area of Finland, there seems to be no geographical difference in the beginning of offering activities. Bone finds from sieidis stop in the second half of the 17th century, just like in Sweden. However, written sources and the oral tradition make note of people

<sup>231</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 40.

<sup>232</sup> Okkonen 2007a; Harlin & Ojanlatva 2008.

<sup>233</sup> Okkonen 2007a, 9.

making offerings to sieidis as late as the turn of the 20th century.<sup>234</sup> Even members of the current generation personally remember people who they know to have visited sieidis. Known, dated finds thus seem to represent only one period in the long use of sieidis.<sup>235</sup>

In addition to the sites presented above, two sieidis from which no bones were found during the excavations may also be related to the later use of sieidis. These two are the southernmost inspected sites, Kirkkopahta and Porviniemi in Muonio. I return to these sites later, in Chapters 6.1–6.2. and Chapter 7.

Altogether, the research material covers an extensive area and enables the making of regional comparisons. From different parts of the research area, there are also sites studied by means of excavation. Only the southernmost sites were not excavated. The sites with the worst reliability values are also concentrated in the southern parts of the area. The sacred places in the area of Muonio have received good reliability values, but no bone material related to offering was found there in connection with excavation. It seems therefore that the best potential research area, based on excavation results and reliability values, is the Sámi area, in which the municipalities chosen for closer study are also located. The heterogeneity of the research material from fells to stones, and from reliable to less reliable, can be a feature that makes the research more difficult or more rewarding.

## 2.5. Summary

The source material of the study consists of 107 sacred places, some of which are known to have been used for offering activities. Cultic places, such as burial sites or bear burials, are not included. Sacred places – and especially sieidis – have been categorized according to, for example, the means of subsistence related to them, their user group, and their external characteristics. When my research material is divided into types based on natural formations, sieidi stones emerge as the largest group. However, the division between sacred places and sieidis is not always unproblematic. Furthermore, the available information on sacred places is not always equally reliable. I have based the identification of a place as a sacred place on six criteria: information in written sources, other folklore, place name related to sacredness, offering finds, soil phosphate levels indicating offering activities, and cultural context. In addition, the state of preservation of the sacred place and the accuracy of the location data also influence the determination of a place's reliability.

Detailed information is available from eight sieidis studied by means of excavation during the writing of this thesis and two places studied earlier. The studied sieidis are dated from the 11th century to the late 17th century, but according to local knowledge, they have been used as late as in the 20th century. Wild or domesticated reindeer is the most commonly offered animal. The number of offered species at a place varies from one to six, and some of the sieidis yielded no bone material at all. Indications of a regional variant of the offering tradition are found in the area of Lake Inarijärvi, from which more capercaillie bones than usual were found, as well as sheep bones, missing from elsewhere, and burned bones. Additionally, metal finds are known from Inari. There are none from the other places in Finland, although they are common in Sweden.

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<sup>234</sup> Paulaharju 1932; Kjellström 1987.

<sup>235</sup> Bradley 2000, 5.



### 3. THE SACRED IN THE LANDSCAPE

*Lake Inarijärvi, June 2007*

*While I was surveying offering places in the area of Lake Inarijärvi, my attention was drawn to the intricate tapestry of sacred places in the landscape. The most famous example of a sacred place in Lapland is probably the island of Ukonsaari (47) in Lake Inarijärvi. Existing impressions of the silver find by Arthur Evans, advertising aimed at travellers, and visiting the place together with numerous tourists affect our experience. What we know in advance guides us when we observe the environment. My Estonian colleague recognized the shape of Ukonsaari from afar, as it was so familiar from many images.*

*I visited Ukonsaari as a tourist among other tourists, although I was furnished with different background information. On the other hand, my encounter with the feminine sacred place of Lake Inarijärvi, Akku (28) in Kalkuvaara, took place without a specific atmosphere created for tourists or background information based on excavations. On top of the hill of Kalkuvaara, there were no visible traces of enculturation of the landscape. It is said that there used to be a stone at the site at one time, but nowadays the location of offering activities can no longer be pinpointed. The magnificent view, however, made an impression, as I stood in the pine forest and looked down on Lake Inarijärvi.*

*The sacred places of Lake Inarijärvi are a part of the landscape of memory. Oral and written tradition has recounted collective memories associated with them, and at the same time, these sites can be the objects of powerful personal memories. On the burial islands located near Ukonsaari, memory is symbolized by crosses. The sacred geography of Lake Inarijärvi is also characterized by a long chronological continuity. People moved from the offering places of the old religion to the church near Lake Pielpajärvi. However, the old sacred places did not immediately fall out of use, but could be used simultaneously and receive new meanings. Samuli Paulaharju writes about the meanings assigned to the sacred places of two religions:*

*“Pielpajärven vanha pyhä temppeli [...] oli erinomaisena apuna maallisessakin vaelluksessa. Se oli koko seutukunnan paljon mainottu palvoskirkko, ainakin yhtä hyvä kuin monet metsä- ja tunturijumalat, joita myös palvottiin. Jo vanhalle kirkolle lappalaiset kantoivat uhrejaan. [...] Eikä ollut kaukana kuulu Ukkokaan, vanhan järvikansan merkillinen seitasaari, joka varsin monelle kalanpyytäjälle oli antanut apuansa maallisessa toimeen tulossa.”<sup>236</sup>*

<sup>236</sup> Paulaharju 1965 [1927], 240. “The sacred old temple of Pielpajärvi [...] was of great help even in the journey on earth. It was the famous church of worship of the whole region, at least as good as many forest and fell gods who were also worshipped. The Lapps carried their offerings already to the old church. [...] And not far away was the well-known Ukko, the strange sieidi island of the old lake people, which had helped many a fisherman earn his daily living.”



### 3.1. The landscape as experienced and lived-in

*Maisema on kulttuuri- ja luonnonhistoriallisesti monikerroksinen tarina, jota voi lukea monin tavoin. Miten sitä lukee riippuu monesta tekijästä, kokemuksesta, tiedosta, aistillisesta valppaudesta. Ja tietenkin koko luonnonkokemisen kulttuurisesta taustasta. Ympäristön henkinen merkitys on sen tarinassa.*<sup>237</sup>

*Jussi Kivi 2004: Kaunotaiteellinen eräretkeilyopas, p. 25*

In my work, I approach Sámi sacred places through the concept of landscape. A landscape is something different from the environment. A landscape is that which is experienced and lived in. It is laden with meanings. How a particular landscape is experienced depends, on one hand, on factors related to the individual, and on the other hand, the cultural background created by the community. The mental models of an individual are important in experiencing the landscape. They can be created by memories of real events as well as secondary, unexpected observations or conveyed impressions.<sup>238</sup> The experience of landscape can also be approached through the concept of place.<sup>239</sup> The true aspect of a place is in the images related to it. The contents and meanings of images vary among the people who experience them. People interpret the symbols embedded in a place on the basis of their own cultural background, emotions, experiences, and knowledge.<sup>240</sup> Meanings are attributed to a landscape according to how and why we are familiar with it.<sup>241</sup> For example, the same forest can for one person be an everyday workplace, while for another it can evoke a romantic memory such as getting engaged.

We experience the landscape through the interaction of all our senses. We see, hear, smell, taste, feel; all our senses combine to convey an impression of the outside world. However, our senses are not innocent, but guided by our earlier experiences and knowledge. We do not simply hear, see, or smell, but assign *significance* to that which we hear, see, and smell. When the modern terms of *place* and *landscape* are used, what they refer to is precisely this subjective impression based on sensory perceptions.<sup>242</sup> The way in which the landscape is experienced is affected not only by that which is seen and sensed, but also that which is experienced emotionally or imagined through knowledge or memory.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> "The landscape is a multilayered story in cultural and natural history that can be read in many ways. How it is read depends on many factors, experience, knowledge, sensory alertness. And, of course, the whole cultural background related to experiencing nature. The spiritual meaning of the environment is in its story."

<sup>238</sup> See e.g. Darvill 1999, 106–107.

<sup>239</sup> The concepts of landscape and place are closely connected. Places receive their meanings in their context in the landscape. Space is often seen as a vacuum where human activity takes place. Space is the same everywhere and at all times. Places, on the other hand, are culturally meaningful locales that make up part of the human experience as instruments of human activity. Different meanings are attributed to them at different times, and they are shaped by personal and social activity. Changes in places do not happen so much in the material environment as in experience, significance, thought, and action. Places, people, and meanings thus interact with each other. (Lock 2003, 173, 175; Kymäläinen 2006, 203–207.)

<sup>240</sup> Raivo 2002, 157; Kymäläinen 2006, 203–207.

<sup>241</sup> See e.g. Relph 1986, 56–58, 123.

<sup>242</sup> Hernando Gonzalo 1999, 258; Karjalainen 2006, 86–87.

<sup>243</sup> Fairclough 2006, 179.

The experience of the landscape combines the landscape itself and images related to it. Landscape and mindscape merge into each other. Just like a work of art is ultimately created out of the viewer's interpretation, a landscape is also created out of an individual's experience. The images raised by landscapes are personal, and the same natural place can arouse different kinds of emotions in different people. However, mindscape is not only an individual phenomenon, but also a cultural one.<sup>244</sup> Our cultural background affects the images we possess and therefore our experiences. Landscape and culture have a dialectical relationship; people's impressions shape their ways of seeing the environment, and the environment, for its part, shapes the predominant cultural impressions of the landscape.<sup>245</sup> The cultural component of the mindscape gives a social aspect to the experience of landscape; humans do not experience the landscape only as individuals, but also as members of a community. To summarize, it could be stated that the landscape is created out of experience – either imagined or real, individual or communal.

### 3.1.1. The *taskscape*

Experiencing the landscape is not a static phenomenon; instead, meanings and feelings change not only among individuals but also through activity that takes place in the landscape. The meanings attributed to a landscape change together with its changing function. The park that was a peaceful picnic site yesterday may today host a lively rock concert. According to Tim Ingold, we dwell in the landscape. Places are not encountered objectively – or as objects – but they are lived in and through.<sup>246</sup> The idea of the landscape as a lived-in space is already present in Martin Heidegger's writing. The landscape is created out of the meeting of humans with the world, and in this meeting, activity defines the landscape.<sup>247</sup> In the context of archaeology, Christopher Tilley has emphasized the connection between landscape and experience. He sees the landscape as a space for activity to which meaning is provided by events, actions, and the person experiencing them.<sup>248</sup>

The Sámi experience of the landscape, in particular, has been approached through activity.<sup>249</sup> Ingold has used the term *taskscape* to describe the landscape as the theatre of human life and activity.<sup>250</sup> The landscape is created out of people's everyday activities in the world. An activity or task that a person carries out in the environment is an essential part of living in the landscape. Every activity is related to other tasks carried out by other people or other types of actors, and together they all form the *taskscape*. An actor may equally well be a human, an animal, a tree, or even a stone that interacts with activities carried out by others. Thus, the *taskscape* is a socially constructed sphere formed of the activities of humans and other beings.<sup>251</sup> In addition

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<sup>244</sup> Karjalainen 1997, 16; Keskitalo-Foley 2006, 131.

<sup>245</sup> Knapp & Ashmore 1999, 4.

<sup>246</sup> Ingold 2005, 172–188; cf. Karjalainen 1998, 4.

<sup>247</sup> Heidegger 2000 [1927]; Heidegger 1994 [1951].

<sup>248</sup> Tilley 1994.

<sup>249</sup> Magga 2007a.

<sup>250</sup> Ingold 1993, 158.

<sup>251</sup> Ingold 1993, 158; Ingold 1997, 29–30; Mazzullo & Ingold 2008, 35. In the 1990s, Ingold emphasized humans as actors, but in the 2000s, he has added also other actors to the *taskscape*.

to humans, also other beings can function as actors, and thus the landscape is not a passive *tabula rasa* before human influence.<sup>252</sup>

The landscape is thus experienced through motion, activity, and participation. Different activities produce different ways of experiencing and structuring the world. Audhild Schanche has noted that the Northern Sámi word *meahcci*, forest, is associated with the relationship between humans and nature. The meaning of the word *meahcci* changes according to the natural resources that are to be exploited. *Meahcci* can be *guollemeahcci* 'fish forest', *muorrimeahcci* 'wood forest', or *luomemeahcci* 'cloudberry forest' depending on what activities are carried out in it.<sup>253</sup> Inga-Maria Mulk also emphasizes experiencing the landscape through activity. According to her, means of subsistence and changes of season were central factors in the Sámi experience of the landscape. The landscape is very different from the viewpoints of Sea Sámi, reindeer herders, or hunters, for example.<sup>254</sup> The landscape is organized from the viewpoint of the group's annual activities and the periodic movements of game animals.<sup>255</sup> Activity in the landscape can vary in nature, essential characteristics, location, temporal details, or distribution.<sup>256</sup> The cloudberry forest of late summer may in the winter assume the role of hunting forest.

### 3.1.2. The landscape of story and memory

Memories, stories, and myths related to the landscape have also been considered as typical of the Sámi conception of the landscape.<sup>257</sup> The landscape is encultured not only through activity, but also through collective memories, stories, yoiks, local tradition related to how places have been used, and place names. Inga-Maria Mulk speaks of a "cognitive landscape". By this term, she means a layered landscape consisting of many parts, both material and immaterial, that assumes meaning through activity.<sup>258</sup>

Landscape studies have long focused on monuments. However, the ways in which non-farming peoples modify the landscape is often much less conspicuous than monuments. As a result, they have been thought to live in unmodified nature without leaving physical traces on the landscape, in contrast to farmers and monument-builders. The enculturation of the landscape can, however, also take place in ways that leave fewer or smaller traces.<sup>259</sup>

The Sámi are an example of a group that has not created long-term monumental modifications in the landscape. This, however, does not rule out the construction of a landscape with cultural meanings. For many hunter-gatherers, the landscape consists of places associated with mythical and historical events.<sup>260</sup> Monument-building has allowed people to change the physical features of the landscape. However, even less

<sup>252</sup> Wallis 2009.

<sup>253</sup> Schanche 2002, 163; cf. Mazzullo & Ingold 2008, 31.

<sup>254</sup> Mulk 1997, 12–13.

<sup>255</sup> Lemaire 1997, 12.

<sup>256</sup> Llobera 1996, 614.

<sup>257</sup> Magga 2007a, 15; also Huuskonen 1995; Näkkäläjärvi 2007, 36–37.

<sup>258</sup> Mulk 1997, 12–13.

<sup>259</sup> Jordan 2003, 275; cf. Insoll 2007.

<sup>260</sup> Boaz & Uleberg 2000, 101–104.

conspicuous structures can modify the meaning of the landscape without influencing the topography in a radical way.<sup>261</sup> Mobile groups often create meaningful landscapes by associating thoughts and emotions with the landscape as they find it – paths, views, campsites, and other special places.<sup>262</sup>

Audhild Schanche notes that the traditional Sámi worldview is based on horizontal relationships that incorporated symmetry, balance, reciprocity, and equality, in contrast to vertical relationships incorporating asymmetry, hierarchy, unequal power relationships, dominance, and overlordship.<sup>263</sup> According to Schanche, historical sources and oral tradition provide evidence that the border between nature and non-nature was more flexible and situational in earlier times. Nature and its resources were not set above or below humans; nature was separate from humans, but on the same level. The worldview is reflected in stories and legends, as well as in pre-Christian religious practices. On the levels of practice and myth, the relationship between humans and nature was based on symmetry and reciprocity.<sup>264</sup>

The balanced and equal relationship with the landscape and nature, as presented by Schanche, is based on the long-standing idea of the harmonic relationship of aboriginal peoples with nature. As stated earlier, the modification of the landscape by aboriginal peoples seldom left behind monumental structures. However, the enculturation of the landscape provides a framework for studying the ways in which even the most “nature-friendly” peoples might cause significant physical changes in the landscape.<sup>265</sup> For example, the hunter-gatherers of the Nunak people in the Amazon have unwittingly changed the ecology through their annual cycle and its related gathering. Fruit is gathered from groves in a natural state and consumed locally, and the seeds are deposited in the near vicinity. Later the seeds grow and produce resources to which humans return.<sup>266</sup> Modification also extends to sacred landscapes: members of the Tallensi people in Northern Ghana have affected the vegetation of their sacred places, which have been considered natural.<sup>267</sup> As for the Hantisi of Western Siberia, they enculturate the landscape by visiting sacred natural places that are changed physically and symbolically through the production, use, and leaving in place of cultural artefacts.<sup>268</sup>

Place names, stories, and mythologies are not only a way to enculturate the landscape, but also a part of the landscape of memory. Memories of past places could live on in stories or place names.<sup>269</sup> Memories can also be related to places that were earlier in use and in which traces of use are visible and recognizable. Ilkka Luoto notes that all memories are place-related.<sup>270</sup> Even though there are also abstract memories, independent of time and place, most of our memories return to

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<sup>261</sup> Bradley 1993, 23–24.

<sup>262</sup> Ingold 1986, 153; Knapp & Ashmore 1999, 10.

<sup>263</sup> Schanche 2004, 1–2.

<sup>264</sup> Schanche 2004, 4.

<sup>265</sup> Jordan 2003, 18.

<sup>266</sup> Politis 1996, 504–505.

<sup>267</sup> Insoll 2007.

<sup>268</sup> Jordan 2003, 18.

<sup>269</sup> Bradley 2000, 157.

<sup>270</sup> Luoto 2008, 109.

a certain place. We may remember the asphalt schoolyard on our first day of school or the railway station in which we last saw an old friend. Thus, the landscape is filled with images of remembering. The landscape has also been laden with memories for people of the past. People understood that they were living among the memories of the past, and so those places had meaning for them. They could be reused and imbued with new meanings and values. Elements of landscape were influenced by the relationship between past and present.<sup>271</sup> On the other hand, remembering is not always tied to physical objects. In Sámi culture, it is believed that people are remembered as long as yoiks are sung about them, and also dwelling sites can be remembered for a long time after they have been abandoned. Susanne Küchner differentiates between the landscape of memory and landscape as memory. The former confirms and records personal and social memories in the form of place names, for example. The latter, on the other hand, is a part of the process of remembering, the past manifesting itself in the present and modifying the present.<sup>272</sup> Sámi sacred places can be approached from both viewpoints. Firstly, they record memories of the ethnic religion of past generations in their place names, and secondly, they are still a part of the process of remembering, in which old places have assumed new meanings and have thus influenced later activities in the landscape.

There is no universal way to define the places that have during particular periods been important for remembrance. The collective memory of a community or the individual memories of its members can cover, for example, mythical and cosmological concepts, memories of burial grounds, meeting places, valleys, or mountains that are associated with a specific chronological or historical context.<sup>273</sup>

Tim Ingold describes the connection between acting in the landscape and experiencing the landscape through memory in a poetic way: "to perceive the landscape is therefore to carry out an act of remembrance, and remembering is not so much a matter of calling up an internal image, stored in the mind, as of engaging perceptually with an environment that is itself pregnant with the past."<sup>274</sup> Memories related to the landscape guide our actions and experiences; even if an old sieidi is already destroyed, we can still sense the sacredness of the place and act according to the respect it demands.

On the other hand, the view that emphasizes remembering and the significance of memories is tied to a Western linear concept of time. However, we do not have straightforward information on how time and space were understood in Sámi communities before Christian and Scandinavian influences.<sup>275</sup> There is no universal, abstract time in the world. We have an intuitive understanding of time, but what is it really? It goes without saying that not all cultures share the Western linear concept of time, which is formed of the past, present, and future. The dreamtime of Australian aborigines combines past, present, and future into a continuum.<sup>276</sup> Time can also be experienced as cyclical, and the same things are repeated again and again. On the

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<sup>271</sup> Bradley 2002; also Bender 1993b; Gosden & Lock 1998, 2–6.

<sup>272</sup> Küchner 1993, 86.

<sup>273</sup> Knapp & Ashmore 1999, 13–14; Taçon 1999.

<sup>274</sup> Ingold 1993, 152–153.

<sup>275</sup> Rydving 1993, 96.

<sup>276</sup> Clarke 2003, 16.

other hand, the past can be seen as being in front, visible and known, or past times can be considered as experienced here and now, as a series of concentric circles.<sup>277</sup> As for archaeological time, it is formed of two parts: the time constructed in chronology and the time actually experienced by people in the past. Therefore, in the experience of past people, the oldest elements in the landscape were not necessarily attributed with meanings related to the past.

To summarize, it could be said that the landscape is not a universal phenomenon. Encounters with the landscape, and the landscape itself, have varied in time and place. There are individual variations that are related to the experiences of a single person and that can therefore change as the person gathers more experience. What can we then hope to reach of all these levels of meaning of the landscape? Even though an individual's experiences of the landscape are probably out of the reach of an archaeologist, human activity leaves traces on the distribution of archaeological remains. By studying these spatial distributions and relationships, we can understand human activity in the landscape and thus also the meanings attributed to the landscape. By bringing forward various ways of acting at a sacred places and various meanings attributed to places we can approach the differences between individual experiences.

In the following, I aim to sketch the meanings that Sámi ritual landscapes have been associated with over the times. The landscape is seen as a palimpsest in which earlier and later activities are combined in a continuum. Memory manifests itself in the continuity of the landscape through reuse, reinterpretation, restoration, or reconstruction.<sup>278</sup> The sacred characteristics associated with the ritual landscape are a part of the changing meanings related to experience.

### 3.2. Viewpoints into sacredness

There are two words denoting sacredness in the Sámi language. The word *áilegas* is younger and has Germanic roots, whereas *bassi* is a Finno-Ugric word with the same etymological roots as the Finnish word *pyhä* [sacred].<sup>279</sup> According to Veikko Anttonen, *bassi* refers to a topographically anomalous feature and the boundary of a land area.<sup>280</sup> The semantic meaning of the word sacred, in both Indo-European and Finno-Ugric languages, refers to 'segregated', 'demarcated', or 'separated from the rest'.<sup>281</sup> A sacred place is thus separated from mundane, profane space.<sup>282</sup>

The concept of the sacred has often been approached through negation. The sacred has been seen as something other than the profane. Mircea Eliade describes a sacred place as characteristically something other than a profane place.<sup>283</sup> The most important element of sacredness is thus that which it is *not*. The sacred and the profane are strictly dualistically separated, and sacred space is likewise strictly separated from

<sup>277</sup> Cf. Bradley 1991, 209.

<sup>278</sup> Knapp & Ashmore 1999, 14.

<sup>279</sup> Pulkkinen 2005, 9, 32.

<sup>280</sup> Anttonen 1994, 27; Anttonen 2004, 503.

<sup>281</sup> Anttonen 1994, 29; Anttonen 1996, 96.

<sup>282</sup> Anttonen 1994, 27.

<sup>283</sup> Eliade 2003 [1957], 33.

the surrounding profane space.<sup>284</sup> Ilkka Pyysiäinen describes sacredness as a kind of demarcation. Sacredness manifests itself when a certain important boundary is crossed. The boundary can be equally well geographical, corporeal, social, or metaphysical.<sup>285</sup> However, boundaries are formed in people's minds. They are cultural constructions that can be conceived only through the values of the culture in question. There are no boundaries in nature; all boundaries are manmade and cultural.<sup>286</sup>

The segregation of the sacred and the profane also segregates ritual activity from profane activity.<sup>287</sup> In archaeology, too, the sacred and the profane have long been viewed as separate areas of life.<sup>288</sup> In more recent times, this dichotomous approach has, however, been questioned.<sup>289</sup> According to Joanna Brück, the division of behaviour into ritual and rational is based on a post-Enlightenment Western way of thinking and should not be reflected onto the past. Ethnographical examples show that in many communities, the ritual and the profane are not separated from each other.<sup>290</sup> The boundaries between the sacred and the profane, as well as the ritual and the commonplace, are, like other boundaries, culturally determined and created by humans.

Timothy Insoll emphasizes that religion cannot be seen as separate from other areas of life; instead, it provides a kind of lens through which, for example, means of subsistence, social organization, technology, and even death can be viewed and perceived as parts of the totality of life.<sup>291</sup> However, this does not mean that all of life is ritualized or that people constantly behave in a particularly spiritual manner.<sup>292</sup> Instead, beliefs and worldviews give meaning to the surrounding world and human activity in it. The symbolic and functional aspects of this activity do not have to be mutually exclusive. Richard Bradley describes Spanish grain storehouses that had simultaneously both a symbolic and a practical role. The cross on the storehouse roof combines religion with the practice of a means of subsistence.<sup>293</sup> In a similar vein, the Sámi gathered in their winter villages not only to take part in the church services, but also to trade and strengthen their social relationships.

Ethnographic material also offers examples of peoples among whom the sacred is not strictly demarcated. For example, the sacred places of the Hanti had no clear boundaries, even though the edge of a swamp, the shore of a lake, or the bank of a river could give some indications of a boundary. The sacred site was more a place than a delineated area.<sup>294</sup> Even though there are spaces demarcated as sacred, they do not strictly limit sacral activity. For example, a church can be used for profane purposes separate from church services, and on the other hand, people's spiritual

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<sup>284</sup> Jackson & Henrie 1983, 94.

<sup>285</sup> Pyysiäinen 2002, 144.

<sup>286</sup> Ingold 1993, 156.

<sup>287</sup> Durkheim 1976 [1912], 308; Brück 1999, 317. On the other hand, everyday tasks have also been described as rituals.

<sup>288</sup> Brück 1999.

<sup>289</sup> E.g. Brück 1999; Jordan 2003; Insoll 2004.

<sup>290</sup> Brück 1999.

<sup>291</sup> Insoll 2004, esp. Fig. 2.

<sup>292</sup> Cf. Brück 1999, 325.

<sup>293</sup> Bradley 2005, 3–10.

<sup>294</sup> Jordan 2003, 146, 222.

activities, such as praying, are not confined to within the walls of the church. Material things have boundaries, but human thought and action are not tied to a certain place. Ritual activities can take place anywhere, but they concentrate in certain locations, certain sacral nodes.

Neil Price notes that this kind of holistic view does not really deal with religion in the sense in which religion is generally considered nowadays. Human belief was not formalized and regulated. Rather, it was a belief system, a part of life connected to the other parts. A holistic belief system was related to a worldview in which the boundaries between this world and the next and between human and animal were not strict. For people it was not a question of belief but knowledge of how things worked.<sup>295</sup>

In the case of rituals, drawing a line between the sacred and the profane is further complicated by the broad definition of the concept of ritual. The term *ritual* has become too general and wide-ranging.<sup>296</sup> It has also been used for profane activities that are recurrent and regular, such as one's evening chores.<sup>297</sup> Therefore not all ritual activity is religious and conversely, not all religious activity is ritual in nature. That said, the term *ritual* may be limited only to activity in which humans are in touch with the supernatural.<sup>298</sup> The central element in the sacral definition of ritual is that a ritual opens up everyday life to contact with the supernatural.<sup>299</sup> Personally, I agree with Insoll in that a ritual is part of a larger context that covers religion and worldview.<sup>300</sup> A ritual may be related to profane activities, but it still carries symbolic meaning that ties it to beliefs and the supernatural. Thus, a ritual is a *form of recurrent activity that brings the supernatural close to the everyday*. In a ritual, an individual's spiritual state or the meaning of the event to the community are more important than regulation coming from the outside. In this sense, my view conforms to the holistic worldview. Therefore, I use the term *ritual* in this sense, excluding purely profane rituals.

In the following, I discuss how the sacred stands out in the Sámi landscape. The terms *áilegas* and *bassi*, related to place names, describe how the sacred is demarcated in landscape elements, but just how precisely the sacred was separated from the profane and how sacredness was experienced as a part of the taskscape demands closer study.

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<sup>295</sup> Price 2008, 145–146.

<sup>296</sup> Bradley 2005, 32.

<sup>297</sup> Humphrey & Laidlaw 1994, 65–67; Rappaport 1999, 24.

<sup>298</sup> Zuesse 1987, 405. On the definition of a ritual as secular or profane, see also Bell 1992; Kyriakidis 2007.

<sup>299</sup> Alexander 1997, 139.

<sup>300</sup> Insoll 2004, 12.



### 3.3. GIS as a way of describing of the landscape

*'That's another thing we've learned from your Nation,' said Mein Herr, 'map-making. But we've carried it much further than you. What do you consider the largest map that would be really useful?'*

*'About six inches to the mile.'*

*'Only six inches!' exclaimed Mein Herr. 'We very soon got to six yards to the mile. Then we tried a hundred yards to the mile. And then came the grandest idea of all! We actually made a map of the country, on the scale of a mile to the mile!'*

*'Have you used it much?' I enquired.*

*'It has never been spread out, yet,' said Mein Herr: 'the farmers objected: they said it would cover the whole country, and shut out the sunlight! So we now use the country itself, as its own map, and I assure you it does nearly as well.'*

*Lewis Carroll 1965 [1893]: Sylvie and Bruno Concluded, pp. 608–609*

In the following chapter, I examine the sacred landscape of the Sámi and especially the offering places by approaching them through spatial data and GIS (*Geographic Information Systems*) analyses. There are many factors influencing how people choose the theatres of their actions. The places may have been chosen because they are located close to practical or symbolic resources or existing places. The selection may also have been influenced by less systematic reasons, such as experiences, values, and beliefs associated with the place.<sup>301</sup> GIS provides an opportunity to combine various types of material to examine the reasons behind human actions.<sup>302</sup>

The results of the analyses carried out naturally depend on the material available for use. Due to the better availability of environmental data, GIS often contains information on the soil, topography, and waterways, whereas cultural information is more difficult to include in GIS. There has thus been cause for concern that the larger amount of environmental data may lead to environmental determinism.<sup>303</sup>

However, Marcos Llobera, among others, denies any direct connection between environment and determinism. According to him, archaeological research that exploits environmental factors is not necessarily doomed to environmental determinism. Determinism comes from the interpretations and ways of dealing with the information, not from the information itself.<sup>304</sup> I agree with Llobera's view on this issue. The presentation of cultural information in GIS could be seen as one of the challenges of spatial analysis.

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<sup>301</sup> Wheatley & Gillings 2002, 202.

<sup>302</sup> Kvamme 1992, 77.

<sup>303</sup> Gaffney & van Leusen 1995; Lock & Harris 2000, xvii. The environmental and technical determinism related to GIS in Finland has been discussed by e.g. Kirkinen 1996.

<sup>304</sup> Llobera 1996, 612.

There have indeed been attempts to also use GIS for studying cultural and social phenomena.<sup>305</sup> However, this also has its risks. According to Gary Lock, existing software programmes aim to model social and cultural information onto a landscape, even though this information actually resides within people. A certain place as such has no meaning; instead, it acquires meaning in the minds of the person or group who visits, acts in, speaks about, or thinks about the place. The same place can have different meanings for different individuals and at different times. In addition to a person's own background and emotions, many other factors influence how a place is experienced. Historical depth and a connection to past people and events is crucial for constructing meanings.<sup>306</sup>

Among other things, viewshed has been analysed when the objective has been to study the social and cognitive aspects of a landscape instead of the physical and economical aspects.<sup>307</sup> Viewshed analyses that calculate the visibility between two points have often been seen as the gateway to studying the experience of a landscape. The viewshed area is thought to explain how ancient peoples experienced a landscape. Viewing and observing are, however, very different from experiencing.<sup>308</sup> GIS studies can approach the human experience more closely than just at the level of vision by also including in the analyses other senses, as well as the stratification of the landscape and the resulting memories and history. Additionally, historical sources and ethnographical analogies can offer clues to the cognitive landscape.<sup>309</sup> The best result is achieved by combining different sources and analyses.

Understanding the landscape through spatial analysis is based on the fact that human activity in the landscape is distributed unequally. Both present and past landscapes are organized through the unequal distribution of resources, both social and natural resources. Spatial analyses can help to sketch the spatial structures caused by the unequal distribution of resources.<sup>310</sup> However, it should be kept in mind that analyses never reflect the real world as it was in the past. They may find regularities and deviations that we can use to approach the past mindscape, but GIS can never drill down into the thoughts and ideas of a person in the past. Instead, GIS provides the prerequisites for studying theoretical models and hypotheses by quantitative means. It can take the landscape archaeologist from a world of personal experience into a testable and verifiable environment. The aim is not to get inside the heads of past people – this is impossible due to differences between how individuals experience the world – but to find a tool that enables organizing the elements of the landscape in order to understand them better.

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<sup>305</sup> Boaz & Uleberg 2000. The study is restricted to the change in the landscape and the analysis of the possibly related experiences. See also e.g. Vaneekhout 2009.

<sup>306</sup> Lock 2000, 62; Lock 2003, 176.

<sup>307</sup> Christopherson & Guertin 1996; Wansleebe & Verhart 1997, 59–60; van Leusen 2002, 1.6.; Soetens 2006, 395.

<sup>308</sup> Lock 2003, 180; cf. Rodaway 1994, 10.

<sup>309</sup> Van Leusen 2002, 5.12.

<sup>310</sup> Van Leusen 1999, 215; van Leusen 2002, 1.3.

### **3.4. Summary**

My work combines the theory of landscape archaeology with GIS-aided analyses, such as viewshed analyses and various proximity analyses. GIS can provide landscape archaeological studies with the analytical precision that has been demanded of this field. On the other hand, the viewpoints of landscape archaeology and phenomenology, with a focus on human experience and its corporeality, bring the location information analyses closer to the realm of subjective human experience. A combination of these viewpoints provides a fruitful starting point for the study of Sámi sacred places. Through the concept of landscape, new viewpoints are also provided into how the sacred has been experienced in the landscape as separate from or intertwined with the profane, or both.

## 4. SACRED PLACES IN RELATION TO THE LANDSCAPE

*Taatsi (65) in Kittilä, June 2008*

*Nowadays most people approach the Taatsi sieidi from the direction of the forest road from Pokka. A footpath to the shore leads down from the road. A traveller approaching from the forest can walk almost all the way to the edge of the shore cliff before noticing anything unusual. Only a glimpse of the Taatsi sieidi can be seen behind the steep bank. However, the situation may have been different before the top stones of the sieidi were knocked down. In spite of this, the impression has been quite different for visitors approaching from the lake. From the water, the large boulder rising on the shore is visible for a long way.*

*The direction of approach is therefore very significant for the visibility of a sieidi. This significance is emphasized when the shape of the sieidi is studied more closely. Its unusual features may be observable only from one direction. Before the top of the Taatsi sieidi was destroyed, a viewer from the west, from either lake or land, could discern a human face in the rock wall. The viewshed analyses of GIS systems provided hints of the significance of the direction of approach, but they cannot perceive anthropomorphism or other meanings created by the human mind. This is why it is important to use other sources of information in addition to spatial data.*

*In addition to vision, also the other senses and, through the body, the entire surrounding landscape are connected to experiencing Taatsi. Standing in front of the boulder, I hear the water lapping against the shoreline rocks, shiver with cold in the June sleet, and feel respect for the ancient sacred place. Campfire remains testify of experiences including the smell of smoke and the heat of fire. The realm of experience is within humans themselves, their memories and the meanings they attach to the place. However, reflections of these can be reached through methods of spatial analysis.*

## 4.1. Sacred places as elements of the landscape

*geasseijás  
fiervvá geđggiid  
humahalan*

*ja dat vástidit  
muhto in máhte sin giela<sup>311</sup>*

*Nils-Aslak Valkeapää 1988: Beaivi, áhčážan*

As I mentioned earlier, Sámi sacred places are only rarely associated with manmade structures. The sacred places are found in nature. Through the sacred places and myths related to topography, ethnic Sámi religion was closely tied to place and landscape.<sup>312</sup> Elements of the landscape are considered to have been very significant in the selection of Sámi offering places. The idea of outstanding topographic features has been connected to offering places.<sup>313</sup> In the following chapter, I take a closer look at the location of Sámi sacred places in relation to the topographic features of the landscape and at what kind of landscape elements the sacred places themselves were.

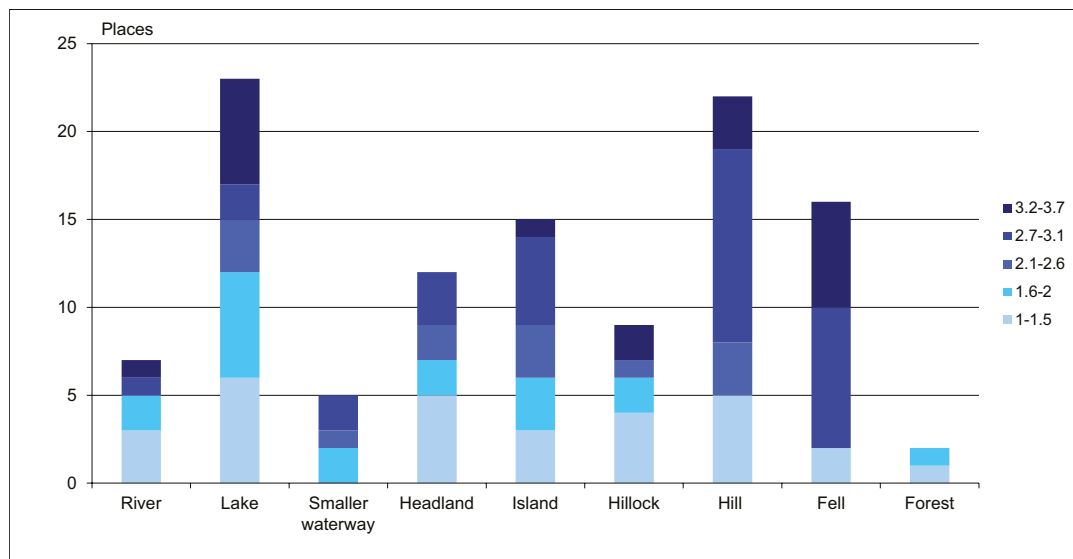
The locations of the sacred places in my research material in relation to the topographic features of the landscape are shown in Figure 15. Here, the definition of landscape features is based on a map estimate or observations made in the field. In later chapters, I provide more detailed definitions for terms such as *proximity to water*. The feature describing the topography means the environment in which the sacred place is located. The features are defined as river, lake, smaller waterway, headland, island, hillock, hill, fell, and forest. Of course, hills and lakeshores can also be forested, but in this categorization forest means an area with none of the other topographical features listed here. Topographical features can be combined, if a hill is located next to a lake or a waterway in a fell area. Features related to water or high places are dominant elements, but two offering places are located on even, forested ground with no connection to water. A connection to water is formed if the sacred place is located either on a headland or an island or near a lake or river. Fells, hills, and lakes are the most commonly represented topographical features. The proportion of lakes increases if islands and headlands are also included in this category, as they are usually associated with lacustrine landscapes, with the exception of one headland and one island located in a river. Rivers and smaller waterways, such as brooks and ponds, are also represented by five or more places. On the other hand, a location on even, forested ground, far away from waterways, seems to be atypical of sacred places.

Places within a certain group exhibit some variation. **Rivers** are the most homogenous of the topographic features. A sieidi or sacred place near a river is always right next to the water, with the exception of Ladjokeädgi (106), which is located 20

<sup>311</sup> *during the summer night / I talk to / the stones at the water's edge / and they answer / but I don't know their language* (Translated by Ralph Salisbury, Lars Nordström, and Harald Gaski.)

<sup>312</sup> Lahelma 2008, 121–142.

<sup>313</sup> Mulk 1996, 52; Mulk 2003, 125.



**Figure 15.** Features representing the topography of a sacred place. In four cases, the place belongs to two groups.



**Figure 16.** Ladjokeädgi by the River Tenojoki.

metres away from the River Tenojoki (Figure 16). Sometimes the stone is right in the shallows (Figure 17). Largish rivers with sacred places nearby have been selected as topographical elements. They are the Rivers Emäjoki in Hyrynsalmi, Koskikaltiojoki and Paatsjoki in Inari, Kemijoki in Kemijärvi, and Utsjoki in Utsjoki.

**Lakes** as topographic elements are more heterogeneous than rivers. Lakes associated with sacred places are very different in size. The largest of them is Lake Inarijärvi. The smallest is Lake Pyhäjärvi in Kittilä, which has a diameter

of about one kilometre from east to west. Even smaller are the *sáiva* lakes, which belong to the lake category. The smallest of them is the Proksi *sáiva* lake (12) in Enontekiö. Its diameter from northeast to southwest is about 270 metres. In the case of four lakes, only the name of the lake has been mentioned in the sources. The lakes classified as sacred places are Lake Seitalompolo (16) in Enontekiö, Lake Pyhäjärvi (59) in Kittilä, Lake Pyhäjärvi (81) in Pelkosenniemi, and Lake Ajakkajärvi (86) in Posio. The other lakes have or have had a *sieidi* or other offering place in the vicinity. The offering place may be located on the lakeshore or in the shallows (Figure 18). The farthest *sieidis* with which a lake has been associated as a topographic feature are a lost *sieidi* stone that has been located about 30 metres from the shore of Lake Saarijärvi (62), with the precise location unknown, and the *sieidi* of Lake Äkäsjärvi (79), which is located on top of the shore cliff about 50 metres from the shore. At the Äkäsjärvi *sieidi*, the lake is the dominant element of the landscape, even though it is located rather far away from the *sieidi* stone (Figure 19).





**Figure 17.**  
*Seitigädgi in  
the shallows  
of the River  
Utsjoki.*



**Figure 18.**  
*The Lake  
Ketojärvi  
sieidi stone in  
Enontekiö is  
located in the  
shallow water  
close to the  
lakeshore.*



**Figure 19.**  
*The Lake  
Äkäsjärvi sieidi  
stands on  
a high bank.  
The lake,  
located slightly  
further away,  
dominates the  
landscape.*



At two places, lake and hillock features together dominate the landscape equally. At Sieiddesáiva, the sieidi stone (19) is located on a hillock 50 metres away from the sáiva lake. The Njuohkarggu sieidi stone (108), on the other hand, is located between Lake Njuohkarjávri and a smaller lake to the northeast of it on a mound-like isthmus. **Hillocks** as topographical elements are elevated features that have not been designated as hills (in Finnish, *vaara*) on the map. However, there is not necessarily any difference in elevation between a hill and a hillock. The median height of hillocks is 340 metres. Offering places can be located either on top of or along the slope of a hillock. Uhriharju (82) in Pelkosenniemi and Pyhäkumpu (97) in Sodankylä are examples of mound-like sacred places where the precise location of the offering place is not defined (Figure 20). At Uhriaihki (21) in Enontekiö, on the other hand, the River Muonionjoki is located 260 metres away, but the mound on which the offering tree stands is a more dominant landscape element, as the river is out of view behind the trees. There are only two cases where the topographical element of a sacred place is a **forest**. At Kirkkopahta (74), the closest other element is a brook 300 metres from the sieidi and at Somosen kirkko [The church of Somonen] (89), it is Lake Jyrhämäjärvi, located 270 metres away. Neither waterway is visible from the offering place (Figure 21).



**Figure 20.**

*Uhriharju in Pelkosenniemi; an example of a sacred place characterized by a mound-like landscape feature.*

**Figure 21.**

*Kirkkopahta in Muonio is located in a forest landscape (in the photograph: Anna-Kaisa Salmi and Rosa Vilkkama).*







**Figure 22.** Rytiniemi in Lake Särkijärvi, Kittilä, is an example of a small headland on which a sieidi once stood (in the photograph: Rosa Vilkkama).

All sacred places associated with **headlands** are sieidis. The headland is the dominant topographic element when a sieidi is located or is known to have been located on the headland. In two cases, however, Seitaniemi (71) in Lake Kaarantjärvi and Seitavuopio (18), the sieidi is in the curve of the headland and not out on the headland itself. The location of the sieidi on the headland may vary: it may be located near the shore, in

the water, or in the middle of the headland, farther from the shore. The sieidi at Näkkälä (9) is located 10 metres from the shore, and at Keimiöniemi (73), the assumed location of the sieidi is 90 metres from the shore. Headlands are usually in lakes, but the size of the lake can vary. There is only one case, Lapinniemi (88) in Rovaniemi, where the headland is in a river. Like lakes, headlands also vary in size (Figures 22 and 23).



**Figure 23.** Porviniemi, a 370-metre-long headland with a sieidi in its south-eastern part, is located in Lake Pallasjärvi, Muonio.

**Smaller waterways** as topographical features refer to brooks, creeks, ponds, or springs that are in most cases not named. The precise locations of sacred places associated with smaller waterways are not known. They can be destroyed, lost, or spread over a wide area. As for **islands**, a more closely demarcated boulder or rock is known in five cases, but in other cases, the topographic feature refers to the sacredness of the whole island or an undefined part of it. Of the five known rocks, the sieidi at Ukko (46) in Lake Ukonjärvi is located in the middle of the island. On Annansaari (26), on the other hand, the sieidi is next to the island in the water. The other places are uninspected or the sieidis located on them have been destroyed. The islands are different and vary in size (Figures 24 and 25); the smallest are treeless islets, and the largest is Ukko in Lake Ukonjärvi, which is about 2.5 kilometres long from NNE to SSW. The lakes in which the islands are located also vary in size. The smallest is Lake Jänkkäjärvi (56), 730 metres long from east to west. One of the islands, Kylänsaari (84) in Pello, is located in a river.



**Figure 24.**

*Sitakallio in Lake Iijärvi, Inari, is an example of an offering place on a treeless islet (photograph by Anssi Malinen).*



**Figure 25.**

*Moossinasaari in Lake Inarijärvi is an example of a large island that has been used for offering activities, but the location of the offering place is not precisely known (photograph by Anssi Malinen).*

In two cases, the island or lake is associated with a fell. Ravdojavri (111) is located on a small island in Stuurra Rávdojávri in a fell landscape. Lake Pyhäjärvi (14) in Enontekiö is located on the fell of Pyhäkero. **Fell** means an extensive sacred area, with the exception of three sieidis and three offering places located in a fell landscape. The elevations of fells or offering places located on them vary from about 200 metres to 1300 metres, with a median of 530 metres. The precise location of the sieidis is not known, and thus their relation to the fell landscape is also unknown. As for the offering places, a precise location is known for only one of them; an offering hollow on top of the Guivi (103) fell. The other offering places may have been located either on top of or along the slope of the fell, or the entire fell could have been considered as sacred. Of the landscape elements marked as **hills**, four are sacred places formed of the entire hill, the others are sieidis or offering places located on hills. However, the precise location is unknown for most of them. Three sieidis for which the location is known are placed in various ways in the hill landscape: the Dierpmesvárri (3) sieidi is on the slope (Figure 26), as well as Sieiddakeädggi (113), whereas the remains of the Keivitsa (95) sieidi and the Saitavaara (77) sieidi are located on top of the hill (Figure 27). Hill elevation varies between 170 and 950 metres with a median of 315/325 metres.





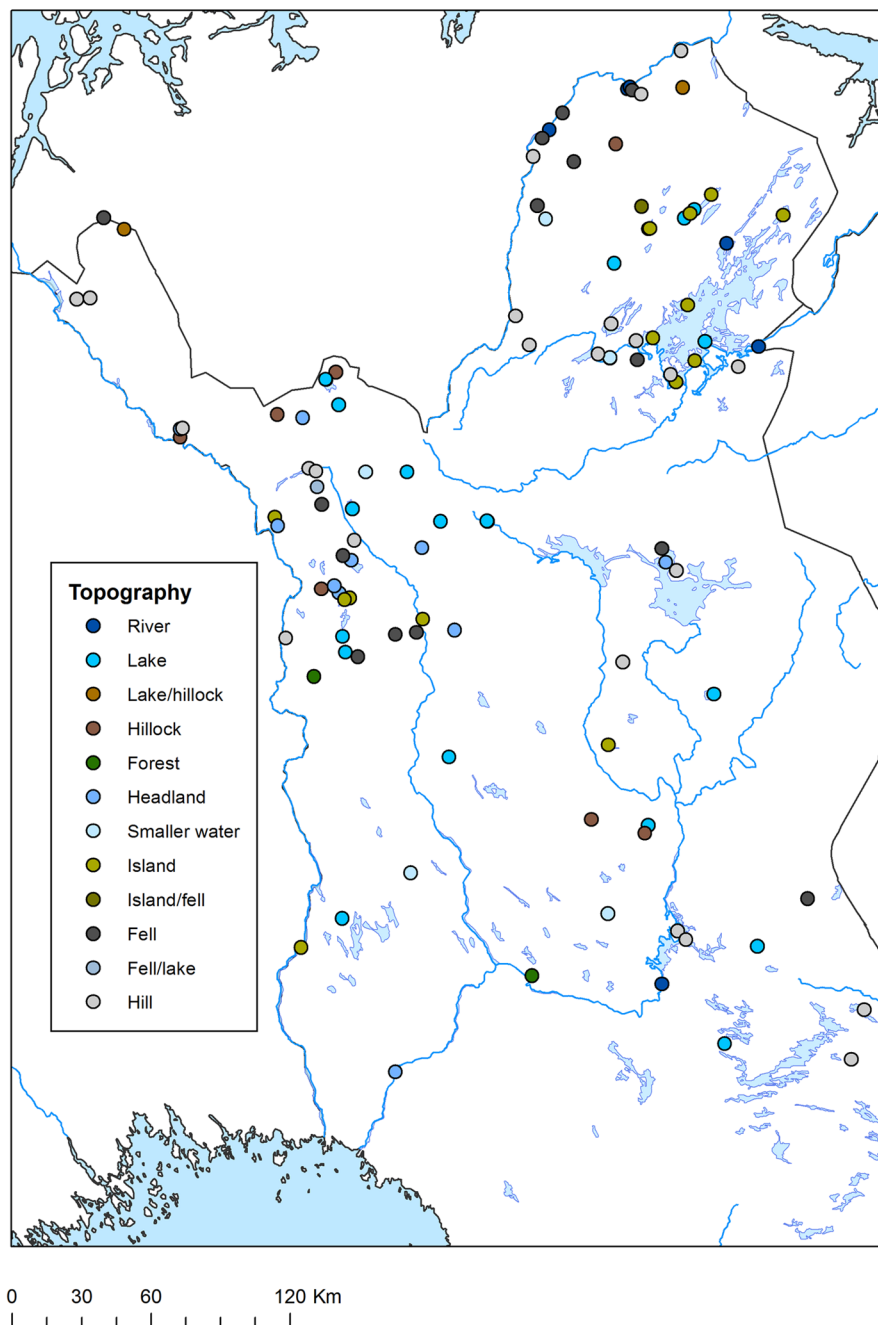
**Figure 26.** A sieidi stone on the slope of Dierpmesvárri (photograph by Anna-Kaisa Salmi).



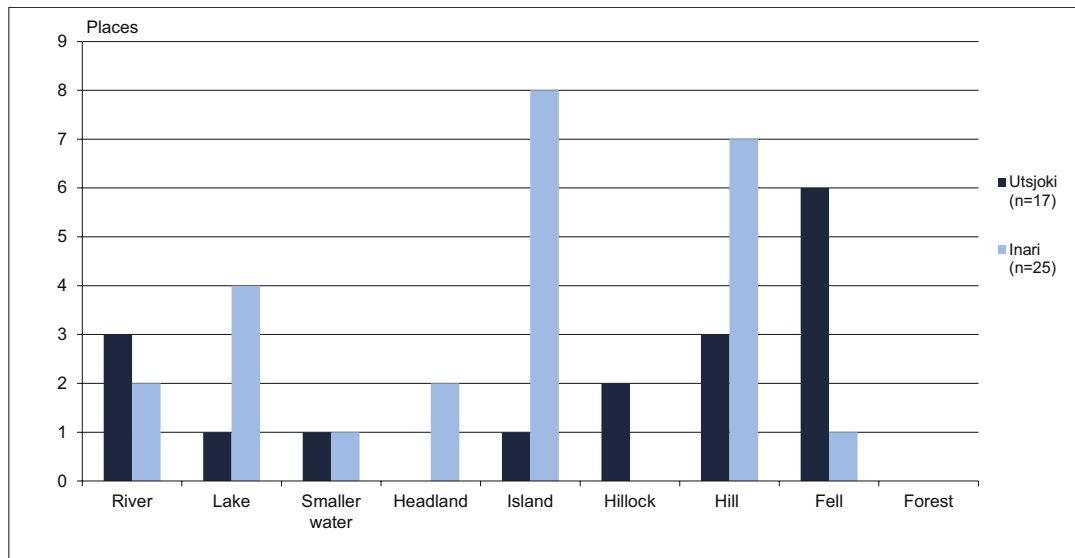
**Figure 27.** The Saitavaara sieidi on top of the hill.

Even though waterways and high places are emphasized in the topography of the locations of sacred places, a closer study of the topography reveals plenty of variation in location. Sacredness could be associated with large landscape elements such as fells and large lakes and rivers, but also with less conspicuous features, such as islets, ponds, and creeks. As for sieidi stones, there is also variation in their location on the slope or top of a high place, such as a hill or fell, or on the shores of waterways, in the water, or slightly farther away from the shore. The selection of a sacred place therefore does not seem to have strict, established forms.

Even though the locations of sacred places have certain unifying characteristics, the landscape elements associated with them also reflect the typical topographical features of each area. On the map, sacred places related to waterways, including islands and headlands, are especially numerous in the areas of Inari and Western Lapland. Sacred places related to fells and hills, on the other hand, are especially typical of Northern Lapland (Figure 28). In the study of the locations of sacred places in Inari and Utsjoki, topographical differences are accentuated (Figure 29). Sacred places located on even, forested ground are completely missing. In the municipality of Inari, dominated by Lake Inarijärvi and numerous smaller waterways, water-related landscape features are the most common locations for sacred places. In the Utsjoki fell area, which is crossed by rivers, sacred places are more often located near rivers and fells than in similar places in Inari.

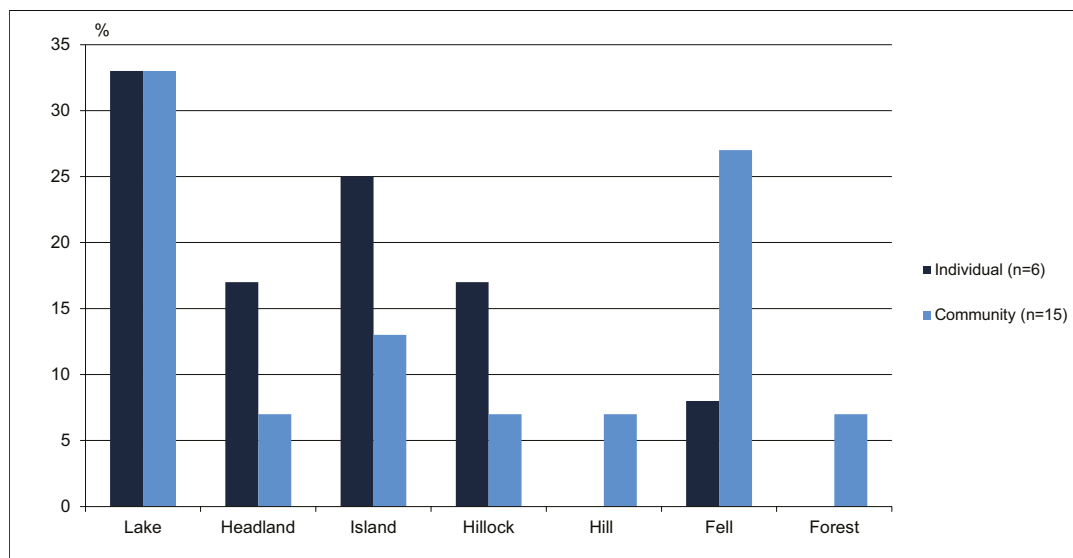


**Figure 28.**  
A distribution  
map of the  
landscape  
features related  
to sacred  
places.



**Figure 29.** A comparison of the features representing the topography of sacred places between Utsjoki and Inari. In four cases, the place belongs to two groups.

Obviously, there are regional differences in the locations of sacred places. Some differences can also be observed when groups of sacred places defined by users or deities associated with sacredness are studied. Sacred places of different user groups can be identified through written sources. For some places, mention is made of whether it was visited by an individual person or a larger group, such as the whole village or people from an even larger area. Figure 30 presents a comparison of sacred places used by either a larger group or an individual. Only those sacred places for which written sources provide information on user groups are included in the comparison (21 places in total). However, the small sample size is a problem, because this information is not available for the majority of the places.



**Figure 30.** The landscape features of sacred places used by individuals and communities as percentages of the total amount of features. In the private category, one sieidi belongs to two groups.

Those landscape features that were generally the most representative were also dominant at places used by both groups and individuals. However, the sieidi in the forest, used by a community, forms an exception to the rule. Large landscape elements such as fells and lakes are represented at places used by the community. Even though the fairly high number of fells at places used by communities reflects the general distribution, it is interesting in the context of a remark made by Tornæus. He notes that sacred places used by communities were located in high places so that everybody could see them.<sup>314</sup> Also other large landscape elements, such as lakes, were highly visible. Places used by individuals are distributed equally between different groups. Only islands and lakes are represented by more than one sacred place. Of these, Seita-laassa (36) was associated with fishing and the others with fishing and reindeer herding. No direct connection can therefore be made between these offering places and a means of subsistence practised only within the family. In some cases, it is said that the sacred place itself chose an individual person to offer to it. For example, regarding the Proksi säiva (12), Paulaharju reports that "it was so powerful that it didn't give fish to just anybody. There was only one man who could reap its fruit."<sup>315</sup> On the other hand, it should be kept in mind that many private sacred places have disappeared for that very reason. Information about them has not been passed on to the larger community.

The topographic location of a sacred place has been considered to be associated not only with the meaning of the offering but also the deity to whom the offering was directed.<sup>316</sup> I return to the connection between topography and the means of subsistence related to offering in Chapters 5.1., 5.2., and 5.4. As for the question of the connection between topography and deity, I approach it through the place names of sacred places. My study includes those places with a name related to femininity (such as Akka [Old woman] or Naarassaari [Female Island]) or a male deity (Ukko, Tiermes/Dierpmis). Again my results are in line with the general observations. Hills as feminine places and islands and hills as masculine places are more significant than for the locations of all sacred places together (Figure 31). This is partly due to the area of Lake Inarijärvi and Lake Ukonjärvi, which contains two islands named for the male deity Ukko, both of which are paired with a hill named for the female deity Akku. These two have had a connection related to the realm of stories. A story tells of how Ukko and Akka were conversing at Lake Ukonjärvi.<sup>317</sup> The emphasis on masculine hills, on the other hand, is due to two hills that have been named for the thunder god Dierpmis. These hills are located geographically far from each other in Kuusamo (68) and Enontekiö (3).

When landscape elements related to sacred places are studied with the help of various restrictions, the features making up the largest general groups are emphasized. These are thus the features associated with the largest number of stories and local tradition. However, topographic features related to sacred places can generally be

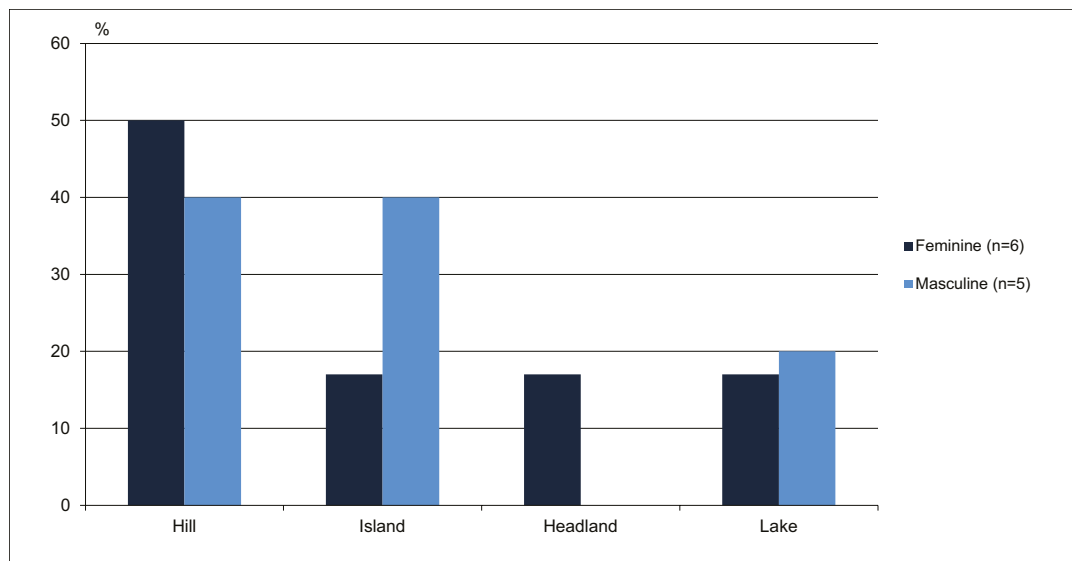
<sup>314</sup> Tornæus 1900 [1672], 26; cf. Bergman *et al.* 2008, 4.

<sup>315</sup> Paulaharju 1962 [1922], 170. Original Finnish text: "*oli niin haltiakas, ettei se antanut kaloja kenelle tahansa. Oli vain yksi mies, joka siitä osasi viljan ottaa.*"

<sup>316</sup> Mulk 1996, 64.

<sup>317</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 308. However, Itkonen's account confuses the island of Ukonsaari in Lake Inarijärvi and Ukko in Lake Ukonjärvi. There is a hill related to Akku close to both lakes, but the hill between Lakes Inarijärvi and Ukonjärvi is probably associated specifically with Ukko in Ukonjärvi.

considered as rather heterogeneous in nature. Water and elevation as landscape elements are common factors for sacred places, but water features, for example, exhibit variation in the type of waterway and its proximity to the sacred place.



**Figure 31.** Landscape features according to the feminine and masculine deities associated with sacred places.

Sacred places are not only located in relation to topographical elements; they may in themselves form significant elements of the landscape. According to Samuli Paulaharju, the conspicuous character of a natural element was often a reason for it being chosen as an offering place. He describes how “only unusual stones that were larger or in some way different from others [...] caught his [the offerer’s] attention.”<sup>318</sup> M. A. Castrén also emphasizes that offering places are exceptional in size or appearance.<sup>319</sup> Both Castrén and Paulaharju mention the size of the offering place as a noteworthy feature. Paulaharju even leads the reader to believe that the offering place was chosen specifically on the basis of external criteria instead of symbolic criteria or the experience of a particular place as sacred in spite of human intervention. Later, some researchers have also supported the idea of the selection of offering places on the basis of external criteria.<sup>320</sup> Such special criteria related to the appearance of the potential offering place included, according to the literature<sup>321</sup>, the following:

- anthropomorphic or otherwise unusual stone shape
- standing out from the landscape, visibility
- unusual stone surface (for example, grooves or cracks)
- stone colour
- stone size
- stone height

<sup>318</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 5. Original Finnish text: “Vain erikoiset, muita isommat taikka muita merkillisemmät pahdat [...] herättivät hänen [uhraajan] huomiotaan.”

<sup>319</sup> Castrén 1853, 60.

<sup>320</sup> Vorren & Eriksen 1993, 187–188.

<sup>321</sup> E.g. Acerbi 1802, vol. II, 303; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1948 II.

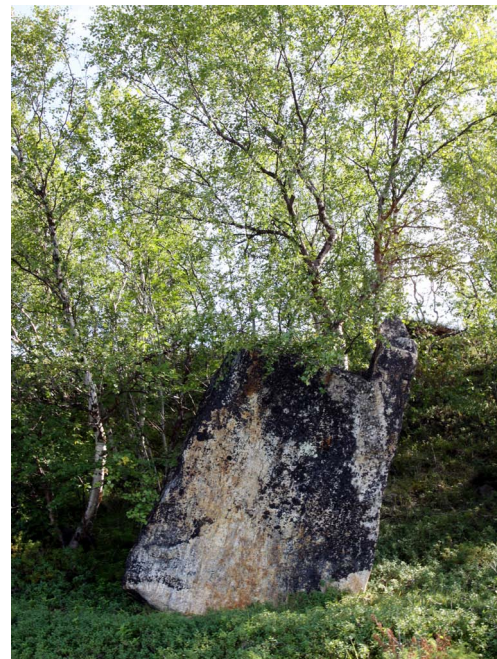


These features were documented from places inspected in connection with the fieldwork that I carried out. The sieidi stone could still be found at 23 of the inspected places. Usually the criteria mentioned above related to the selection of offering place were associated specifically with sieidi stones. Table 6 indicates how many of the inspected sieidis displayed these features. Further on, I will return to the problems related to interpreting anthropomorphic shapes and the meanings associated with anthropomorphism. Stones of atypical shape here refer to sieidi stones whose shape makes them stand out from the surrounding stones. Such an interpretation is naturally based to some degree on intuition. In written sources, some sieidis are said to resemble, for example, a salt cellar, a sitting "Lapp geezer", a *goahti*, or a chair.<sup>322</sup> Paulaharju in particular has described sieidis in colourful terms. For example, there is Ladjokeädgi (106) in Utsjoki, which has been described as shaped like a flat-backed, wall-hanging salt cellar or the seat of Staallo (Figure 32).<sup>323</sup> The visibility of a sieidi in the landscape is discussed separately. Unusual surface refers to geological factors that make the sieidi stone stand out from the surrounding stones. The sieidi stone at Koskikaltiojoen suu (29) is a so-called *rauk*<sup>324</sup> (Figure 33). In the south-eastern corner of Sieiddakeädgi (113), on the other hand, there is a cavernous hollow into which water has eroded cups (Figure 34). A third example of an unusual surface is Seitigädgi (112), with belt-like bulges along the side (Figure 35). The atypical colour of the stone has been documented when it is mentioned in the sources or when the colour of the sieidi is clearly different from that of the surrounding stones. As an example of atypical colour, the stone on the shore of Lake Seitalommol (15) in the northern part of Lake Pöyrisjärvi has been interpreted as a sieidi in archaeological survey, but its identification on the basis of written sources is uncertain. Due to its eye-catching white colour, the possible sieidi stone stands out from its environment (Figure 36).

**Table 6.**

*The number of features representing the offering places at the inspected sites (n=23).*

Element	Amount
Atypical shape	14
Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic	8
Unusual surface	5
Atypical colour	4
Atypical size	20



**Figure 32.** Viewed from the shore, Ladjokeädgi resembles a chair or a salt cellar.

<sup>322</sup> E.g. Paulaharju 1932, 30, 39, 41; Paulaharju 1965 [1927], 262; SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 526.1961.

<sup>323</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 30.

<sup>324</sup> The term *rauk* means a limestone rock, especially common in Gotland, from which the waves of the sea have eroded the weaker stone material. The term can also be used for other stone pillars formed through erosion.





**Figure 33.** The sieidi at Koskikaltiojoen suu [The mouth of the River Koskikaltiojoki] is a so-called rauk (in the photograph: Eeva Miettinen).



**Figure 34.** Cups formed in the cavernous hollow in Sieiddakeädgi (photograph by Anna-Kaisa Salmi).



**Figure 35.** Belt-like bulges on Seitigädgi in Utsjoki.



**Figure 36.** A white stone on the shore of Lake Seitalommol, interpreted as a sieidi, stands out because of its colour.

The height of the stone is naturally a factor influencing the visibility of the sieidi. However, a sieidi can be large without being especially tall. An example of such a sieidi is Sieiddakeädgi (113), which is about 1.5 m tall but 6 m wide. At the inspected places, the height of the sieidi varies from 0.2 m to 10 m. Sieidis less than 0.5 m high are located in water, and the height refers to the part of the stone that is visible above the surface. For this reason, the height can vary according to whether the water is high or low. The smallest sieidi on dry land is the Säytsjärvi (44) stone, which is 0.7 m high. The tallest sieidi is the rock formation at Taatsi (65). The majority of the inspected places have a height of between 1.5 and 2.5 m.

The manifestation of sacredness in the landscape was related to the combined impact of the two factors mentioned above, location and appearance. There may be several stones in a particular place, one of which has an unusual appearance or is located apart from the others, or a lone stone may be less conspicuous in appearance. I return to the question of sieidi visibility in Chapter 4.2.1.

The influence of external factors on the selection of sacred places has been discussed above. According to Anders Huggert, unusual landscape elements have been considered to be associated with the presence of a deity.<sup>325</sup> The deep emotions evoked by certain types of landscape have indeed been considered as common to all humans. Such landscapes are, for example, mountains, places where the vegetation changes, and places with a panoramic view.<sup>326</sup>

On the other hand, topographic phenomena have not always been experienced in the same way. For example, the idea of mountainous regions as attractive and calming is considered to have entered Western thought only by way of Rousseau.<sup>327</sup> Landscape elements or stone forms that seem exceptional in a researcher's eyes may not have caught the local people's attention. The place may have been made significant by its location in relation to the daily chores or by stories related to it. Such a place does not always seem in any way special for an outside observer. Itkonen relates that the Skolt Sámi had sacred places that did not particularly stand out from their environment.<sup>328</sup> Sacred places can be very extraordinary in their landscape or completely ordinary. A place can also be temporarily treated as a sacred place during the performing of a ritual and then return to being a natural place. A sacred place can be characterized equally well by the visible and tangible as by the invisible and intangible.<sup>329</sup> Such immaterial, symbolic factors influencing the choice of sacred places may be, for example, stories or memories. Examples are stories of sieidis whose shape results from a human having turned into stone.<sup>330</sup>

Sacredness can therefore be associated with a wide variety of landscape elements. Sacred places may have been very unusual in shape or they could have blended in with their surroundings. A place may have been considered sacred due to external, visible factors or due to symbolic, invisible values associated with it. In the following

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<sup>325</sup> Huggert 2000, 63.

<sup>326</sup> Taçon 1999, 37.

<sup>327</sup> Relph 1986, 124.

<sup>328</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 320.

<sup>329</sup> Arsenault 2004, 78.

<sup>330</sup> Andelin 1859, 274; Itkonen 1962, 128; Manyuhin 1996, 72.

chapter, I take a closer look at two characteristics considered typical of sacred places, especially sieidis: anthropomorphism and visibility. The characteristics selected for closer study are often repeated in research and have even been used for identifying sieidis in the absence of written sources.<sup>331</sup> Later, however, I point out why using only external criteria for identifying sieidis is problematic.

#### 4.1.1. *Anthropomorphism and zoomorphism as characteristics of sieidis*

Anthropomorphism means attributing human traits to animals or inanimate objects. Likewise, zoomorphism means seeing animal traits in inanimate objects. Humans often have an unconscious tendency to see human forms around them.<sup>332</sup> For this reason, anthropomorphic features may be observable in many stones from a certain viewing direction. However, in this chapter, I deal only with those sacred places that have been described as anthropomorphic or zoomorphic in written sources or reports. This does not mean that individual people could not have experienced also other stones as having a human or animal shape.

Anthropomorphism has often been mentioned as a typical feature of sieidis, especially, out of all offering places.<sup>333</sup> Of the 107 sacred places in my research material, 64 are stone sieidis. Eight stones or bedrock formations have or are said to have had anthropomorphic or zoomorphic features. In addition, one sacred fell is said to contain stones that resemble humans. However, it must be kept in mind that the figures presented above do not contain the whole truth about sieidis. Some sieidis are known only from written sources and have not been documented by an archaeologist. Some stones, on the other hand, have been destroyed, and only written descriptions or photographs remain as evidence of their shape. One example of such a place is the Taatsi (65) sieidi, in which a human face could be seen before its top stones were pushed down (Figure 37). However, the number of preserved anthropomorphic stones seems to indicate that anthropomorphism was not a random feature. On the other hand, there are not so many anthropomorphic stones that a humanlike shape could be considered as a determining factor in the identification of sieidis. Itkonen notes that anthropomorphic stones were more sacred than other stones.<sup>334</sup> On the basis of this, anthropomorphism can be considered as an important feature of sieidis, but not a general one.

The significance of anthropomorphic features in Sámi ethnic religion is also supported by the fact that in some areas, stones with a human or animal shape have been separated from other offering stones. For example, the *storjunkare* mentioned by Rheen is considered to refer to a stone object of human or animal form that controls the animal world and on which hunting luck depends.<sup>335</sup> According to Tornæus, the *storjunkare* was known only in Luleå Lapland. Non-figurative stone or wood objects, on the other hand, Tornæus calls by the name *säite*.<sup>336</sup> In the area of Finland, however, both figurative and non-figurative offering stones have been called sieidis (Table 1).

<sup>331</sup> For example, Pentikäinen & Miettinen 2003.

<sup>332</sup> See, for example, Guthrie 1995, 3.

<sup>333</sup> Manker 1957, 34; Mulk 1996, 52; Pentikäinen & Miettinen 2003, 56–59.

<sup>334</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 310.

<sup>335</sup> Rheen 1897 [1671], 39; Mebius 2003, 50.

<sup>336</sup> Tornæus 1900 [1672], 27–28; cf. Högström 1980 [1746/1747], 182; Rydving 1993, 99.



**Figure 37.**

*In this photograph taken by Samuli Paulaharju in 1920, the human figure in the Taatsi sieidi is easy to distinguish. Later, the stone was partly destroyed (National Board of Antiquities/3490:2567).*

The known anthropomorphic sieidi stones are located in the northern parts of Finland. Based on the descriptions, the southernmost anthropomorphic sieidi has been located in Keivitsa (95) in Sodankylä. However, anthropomorphism seems to be a feature that is associated with sieidis widely, not only in one area. A typical characteristic of anthropomorphic stones was that they were not shaped but were left in their natural form. Paulaharju does mention an exception in Kittilä, where the stone was worked to a human shape.<sup>337</sup> On the other hand, Ernst Manker mentions that there were a few cases among the zoomorphic stones in which human hands had helped the forces of nature.<sup>338</sup>

The majority of the anthropomorphic stones resemble a human profile. In some cases, a standing human is also mentioned. Written sources describe, for example, the Keivitsa sieidi as a stone god resembling a kneeling man whose hand pointed towards the north.<sup>339</sup> Sitting figures are known from Sweden.<sup>340</sup> Most zoomorphic stones, then, according to Manker, resemble birds.<sup>341</sup> Zoomorphic sieidis are rare in Finland. The sieidi stone at Lake Säytsjärvi (44) in Inari, which is said to resemble

<sup>337</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 7.

<sup>338</sup> Manker 1957, 34.

<sup>339</sup> Paulaharju 1941, 10; cf. Tallgren 1910.

<sup>340</sup> Manker 1957, for example, survey numbers 57, 168, and 243.

<sup>341</sup> Manker 1957, 34; cf. Schefferus 1963 [1673], 170.



the nose of a fish, is an exception (Figure 38). In this case, too, the interpretation of zoomorphism seems to be based only on the description of an informant documented by Paulaharju. On the other hand, anthropomorphism and zoomorphism are always intuitive interpretations made either by people who once used the places or by people who now observe them. The fish-nosed sieidi at Lake Säytsjärvi is a good example of the fact that what one person sees in a stone is not always so clear to everybody. Schefferus already states that, in his observation, the stones were “described as having more likeness than others could see”, because the people wanted to see the form of *Storjunkare* in the stone.<sup>342</sup> The meanings assigned to a stone are not necessarily visible through the eyes of an outsider. Thus, anthropomorphism may have been more common than the figures presented above lead to understand.



**Figure 38.** The Lake Säytsjärvi sieidi, said to resemble the nose of a fish.

Sieidis not only resembled people, they were also believed to have acted on occasion like living creatures. Sometimes the spirit was seen as separate from the stone. Itkonen relates how the known destroyer of sieidis, Päiviö Vuolab, once saw the spirit of a stone sieidi crawling around in the form of a naked child.<sup>343</sup> The sieidi stone itself also sometimes acted like something alive. It could move, eat offerings, smoke tobacco, laugh, and sing.<sup>344</sup> It could feel human emotions, such as pride, anger, and vengefulness.<sup>345</sup> People could communicate with sieidis in various ways. The Taatsi sieidi answered offerers with a sound like jingling bells coming out of the stone.<sup>346</sup> The sieidi was also asked for advice by placing a hand on the side of the stone, in which case the hand was stuck to the stone and would not come free until the asker correctly guessed what would happen. Sometimes the sieidi appeared in dreams to give advice. The sieidi could also be punished by chopping pieces off of it or by

<sup>342</sup> Schefferus 1963 [1673], 170.

<sup>343</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 308.

<sup>344</sup> Qvigstad 1926, 321; Paulaharju 1932, 22, 27; Itkonen 1948 II, 318.

<sup>345</sup> Paulaharju 1932; Manker 1957, 34.

<sup>346</sup> Paulaharju 1962 [1922], 138.

destroying it completely.<sup>347</sup> It was thus believed that sieidis had many ways of acting in the world and communicating with people. Sieidis that reacted to human actions can be added to the relational worldview that I mentioned earlier.<sup>348</sup> They were a part of the world inhabited by different living creatures where contacts were not restricted only between humans.

## 4.2. Visibility in the landscape

*Et problem med folk er at med en gang de fylder et rom, er det folkene man ser og ikke rommet. Store, øde landskaper slutter å være store, øde landskaper hvis de har ett eller flere mennesker i seg. Mennesket definerer hvor blikket skal ligge. Og menneskets blikk er nesten alltid rettet mot andre mennesker.*<sup>349</sup>

*Erlend Loe 2004: Doppler, pp. 139–140*

In this chapter, I discuss sacred places as landscape elements defined by both their visibility and what is visible from them. By visibility I mean cognitive activity that is not only associated with observing the environment in order to structure space, but also with mental models and cultural frameworks that both guide the observation process and have their roots in it. The space structured through looking and seeing may be influenced, for example, by the manmade environment contemporary to or older than the moment of viewing, natural formations, or astronomical phenomena.<sup>350</sup>

I approach the concept of visibility through viewshed analyses performed by GIS software. The analyses are based on a raster-based elevation model<sup>351</sup> and computational lines of visibility from a certain point to the areas where viewshed is not blocked. A line of visibility between two cells is formed if the land surface does not rise up to block visibility. Cells are assigned either the value 0, if they are not visible, or 1, if they are visible. The viewshed area is formed of the cells with the value 1. The viewshed is influenced, for example, by the viewing height, which is usually defined as 1.7 metres,<sup>352</sup> and the curvature of the earth.<sup>353</sup> I use a viewing height of 1.5 m, which is a better match for the average eye level of ancient people.<sup>354</sup> However, this is an estimate; in reality, a human observer's height has varied depending, for example, on whether he has sat in a boat or skied on thick snow.

<sup>347</sup> Holmberg 1915, 31, 35–36.

<sup>348</sup> Cf. Lahelma 2008, 121–142; see also Äikäs 2012.

<sup>349</sup> "One problem with people is that as soon as they fill a space it's them you see and not the space. Large, desolate landscapes stop being large, desolate landscapes once they have people in them. They define what the eye sees. And the human eye is almost always directed at other humans." Erlend Loe 2012: Doppler, p. 146. Translated by Don Bartlett and Don Shaw.

<sup>350</sup> Cf. Wheatley & Gillings 2000, 3.

<sup>351</sup> In my work, the square size of the elevation model is 25x25 metres.

<sup>352</sup> Wheatley & Gillings 2002, 205.

<sup>353</sup> Norvasuo 1989, 32.

<sup>354</sup> Niskanen 2006; cf. Granö 1929: 118.

#### 4.2.1. The three zones of the viewshed

My study of visibility from sacred places divides the viewshed into three parts. The idea of these so-called zones in viewshed analysis is based on a layered concept of landscape. The layers can be thought to be located in three levels of the landscape. The first level is formed of the geographical area in which the archaeological remains are located. The second level is formed of the area from which the remains can be seen or experienced physically and on the landscape development of which the remains have had a great impact. A much larger area is formed of the third level, the area in which the remains are present, but less directly, for example, visible at a distance.<sup>355</sup> This theoretical idea presented by Graham Fairclough has also been applied in practice in viewshed analyses. In what follows, I present some archaeological applications of this tripartite division.

Peter Fisher, among others, has suggested this kind of zoned visibility as a solution for the problem of object-background clarity associated with viewshed analyses. One of the problems of viewshed analysis is the decrease in acuity in more distant objects.<sup>356</sup> The landscape in the foreground is seen more clearly than the landscape far on the horizon. There have been attempts to simulate the weaker visibility of an object located further away by using a so-called fuzzy viewshed, in which acuity decreases as distance increases.<sup>357</sup> Fuzzy viewshed can be implemented, for example, by dividing the surface into groups.<sup>358</sup> The most commonly established practice in research uses a division into three classes. In his study of the island of Orkney, based on fieldwork and maps, David Fraser separated three viewshed classes estimated on the basis of local conditions. He divides viewshed into restricted viewshed, or the area that is viewed at a distance closer than 500 metres, intermediate viewshed at 500 m to 5 km, and distant viewshed at distances over 5 km.<sup>359</sup>

Tadahiko Higuchi has also divided the landscape into three meaningful zones in the context of experience. He uses the terms *short-distance views*, *middle-distance views*, and *long-distance views*. Higuchi considers trees as a basic element of the landscape in Japan, and uses the height of trees as the basis for his division. In the short-distance view, trees can be seen as individuals and their details, such as leaves and trunks, can be distinguished. At this distance, the importance of other senses in observation is emphasized. Higuchi has used the example of the wind rustling through the trees. A short-distance view becomes a middle-distance view at a distance that

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<sup>355</sup> Fairclough 1999, 132.

<sup>356</sup> Object-background clarity is one of the practical problems of viewshed analysis. A theoretical possibility of seeing is completely different from actually recognizing what one is looking at. The recognition of an object at a long distance often requires some kind of advance knowledge of what one is looking at, if the object has not been marked with a highly visible sign (Fraser 1983, 380; Wheatley & Gillings 2000, 6). In a familiar environment, people often have such advance knowledge. On the other hand, if there is advance knowledge of the location of the object, merely seeing the location may be significant in itself even if the actual object cannot be seen. The human ability to distinguish phenomena is also not the same for objects located close by and far away. At a distance, the landscape becomes misty, which in landscape painting is known as atmospheric perspective. Particles and water vapour in the atmosphere lower visibility (Norvasuo 1989, 33).

<sup>357</sup> Fisher 1992; Wheatley & Gillings 2002, 210.

<sup>358</sup> Baldwin *et al.* 1996.

<sup>359</sup> Fraser 1983, 299.

is sixty times the height of the tree. This distance varies depending on the height of the tree species typical of the area. In the middle-distance view, the observer can make out the outer edges of the treetops, but not individual trees. Thus the forest is seen, but not the trees. At this distance, the significance of topography in the view is emphasized. A middle-distance view becomes a long-distance view at a distance that is 1100 times the height of the trees. In the long-distance view, the trees form an undefinable structure in which the outlines of the treetops cannot be distinguished. Large topographical features and the horizon are important.<sup>360</sup>

David Wheatley and Mark Gillings have used Higuchi's division in archaeology in their study of a prehistoric travel route in Southern England. They estimated tree height at 6 metres and the longest distance visible as 18 km.<sup>361</sup> Different models have also been proposed, for example, based on the visibility of the activity taking place at the sites.<sup>362</sup> In Finland, Sirkka-Liisa Seppälä has noted in her studies of the Rapola site that the close distance is emphasized in the visible area at a radius of about five kilometres. The longest possible viewing distance may vary greatly depending on the topography of the area, as well as the nature and especially elevation of the sites under study. In Finnish conditions, the greatest observable distance has been estimated as 30–40 kilometres at most.<sup>363</sup>

In the study of sacred places in northern Finland, viewshed zones cannot be delineated on the basis of trees, because the vegetation in this broad geographical area varies greatly, and there have also been changes within the long chronological period under study.<sup>364</sup> In my research, I use the terms *restricted viewshed*, *intermediate viewshed*, and *distant viewshed*. Restricted viewshed is less than 300 metres and intermediate viewshed is between 300 metres and 3 kilometres. Distant viewshed covers areas even further away. Various possibilities were tested in order to determine the viewsheds. The chosen areas are broad enough to include possible archaeological remains and landscape elements, but not so broad that they would make results uniform, especially in the case of sacred places located close to each other. The zone of restricted visibility has to be narrow enough to reflect an area that a human can observe with several senses.<sup>365</sup> Further away, in the intermediate viewshed zone, the

<sup>360</sup> Higuchi 1983, 11–17.

<sup>361</sup> Wheatley & Gillings 2000, 16–19.

<sup>362</sup> Baldwin *et al.* 1996; Llobera 2007, 58.

<sup>363</sup> Norvasuo 1989, 31–39; Seppälä 2003, 20.

<sup>364</sup> Viewshed analyses have been criticized for being based on modern topography and not taking into account palaeovegetation (e.g. Chapman & Gearey 2000). Taking into account past vegetation has been considered difficult or even impossible, because it would require carrying out pollen analyses and constructing models based on them (e.g. Fisher *et al.* 1997, 587). However, some attempts to reconstruct the palaeoenvironment have been made. In Finland, Tapani Tuovinen has discussed shoreline displacement and its effect on the proportion of water and dry land (Tuovinen 2002, for example 204). Vegetation reconstructions have also been made based on pollen analyses and known vegetation types (Fraser 1983, 289–291; Tschan *et al.* 2000). In the case of vegetation reconstructions, it should be taken into account that in addition to tree height, forest characteristics are also determined by thickness. Trees do not completely block visibility, unlike land surface (Tschan *et al.* 2000, 40; Seppälä 2004, 22). The landscape may have been very different in the past, and the effect of trees and vegetation on visibility may have been dramatic. However, one benefit of spatial analysis is that it strips the environment of modern vegetation and enables observation where it would not otherwise be possible.

<sup>365</sup> Cf. J. G. Granö's (1929: 16–21, 116–119) concept of "near vicinity" (*Nähe*).



significance of vision is emphasized. The intermediate viewshed reflects the space that people may have associated with activities at the sacred place. I do not consider the area of intimate activities related to rituals to be as extensive as, for example, the area in which people roamed daily in search of food. The area associated with a sacred place can be approached, for example, from the basis of Johan Ervasti's description. According to him, an offering place is surrounded by an area of 2.5 to 3 km that was sacred and associated with special rules.<sup>366</sup>

The banded viewshed calculated from sacred places can be used to examine the visibility of other archaeological remains and various landscape elements from the sites and the experienced proximity of the sites to each other. The zone of restricted viewshed is associated with the study of sensory observations. Other archaeological remains that do not have an immediate significance for the experience of the sacred place but are a part of the cultural landscape related to it are located in the intermediate viewshed zone. The distant viewshed of more than three kilometres is relevant only in restricted cases.

In the study of these zones, however, it should be kept in mind that they are only tools for research and do not represent actual interfaces with the landscape. Interpretations must differentiate between the real world and the picture obtained by GIS viewshed analyses. Even in a reconstruction of the prehistoric world based on palaeovegetation, individual lines of visibility cannot be fully equivalent to actual lines of visibility in prehistory. They cannot be used to construct assumptions of individual observations, but instead maps depicting lines of visibility describe possible lines of visibility and viewshed models.<sup>367</sup> Sirkka-Liisa Seppälä states: "Visibility zones can be considered as formal models that *do not directly reflect the reality*, but may be realistic. They can be used, for example, to study what maximum area could have been visible from a given point, a kind of *theoretical maximum*, so to speak."<sup>368</sup>

#### 4.2.2. Vision compared to other senses

Viewshed analysis has been considered as an important part of landscape studies. It has been judged a good method for approaching people's mental landscapes and for describing not only the environment, but also the cognitive and social landscapes of past people.<sup>369</sup> However, if viewshed analysis is to be used for grasping human experiences and mindscapes, two things must be kept in mind. The experience of seeing is always subjective in nature, and the landscape is not experienced solely through vision, but through multiple senses.

Seeing is always dependent on the seer. No two people can look at a physical landscape and see the same thing. What we see is influenced by our experiences, knowledge, sense of self, and personal history. The landscape is in the beholder's eye. John Berger notes that our place in the world around us is constructed through seeing. What we see

<sup>366</sup> Ervasti 1956 [1737], 39.

<sup>367</sup> Wheatley & Gillings 2000, 5–6.

<sup>368</sup> Seppälä 2004, 46 (my italics). Original Finnish text: "Näkyvyysalueita voidaan luonnehtia formaalisiksi malleiksi, jotka *eivät suoraan kuvasta todellisuutta*, mutta voivat olla realistisia. Niiden avulla voidaan esimerkiksi tutkia mikä alue olisi annetusta pisteestä voinut laajimmillaan näkyä, kyseessä on siis eräänlainen *teoreettinen maksimi*."

<sup>369</sup> E.g. van Leusen 2002, 5.12; Llobera 2007, 51.

and what we know can never be fully paralleled; what we know and believe influences how we see things.<sup>370</sup> There are numerous different ways in which people in different circumstances of life can comprehend their environment. Lifestyle, age, and gender all affect how an individual's impression of his or her environment is formed.<sup>371</sup> A biologist can look at a meadow and see a biodiversity of species, whereas a farmer may see potential arable land, and an archaeologist may see an ancient cultural landscape. The same signs are interpreted through each individual's own sphere of experience.

Seeing is not only individually but also culturally structured. The Western, scientific way of seeing has been criticized for intellectually and physically separating subject and object by classifying, listing, analyzing, and differentiating.<sup>372</sup> How, then, can a researcher be free of the burden of the Western gaze? How can we look without seeing through our own culture? Gabriel Cooney's answer is: "We cannot hope to think like a prehistoric person did about their landscape but we can reconstruct an overview of what the elements of that landscape may have been and then try to understand what they meant for the people who were carrying this landscape around in their heads."<sup>373</sup> Views are historically and socially constructed impressions of the world, and therefore the views of an archaeologist and a person belonging to the culture under study are significantly different from each other.<sup>374</sup>

The emphasis on vision at the cost of other senses, associated with viewshed analysis, has been considered as a modern, Western phenomenon. Seeing as a form of sensing has been raised above the other senses. However, different cultures emphasize the significance of different senses.<sup>375</sup> The distinction we make between seeing and other senses, such as touching or hearing, may have been less significant in premodern communities.<sup>376</sup> In addition, many researchers have quite correctly pointed out that a spatial experience is multi-sensorial and also has components based on kinaesthesia, touch, and action.<sup>377</sup>

Instead of studying only what can be viewed, archaeologists should aim to understand the significance of the different senses in human experience: how they are related to each other but also interfere with each other. The critique aimed at the dominance of vision has also brought the other senses within the domain of archaeological research. The sensory world of the past has been approached through, among others, sound, feeling, texture, colour, and smell, as well as brightness and shadow.<sup>378</sup> In the following chapters, I examine some of the different meanings that humans may have ascribed to what they see. I also approach Sámi sacred places not only through the seen but also the *heard* landscape. In this way, through the seen landscape, my research approaches the more fully-experienced landscape.

<sup>370</sup> Berger 1972, 7–8.

<sup>371</sup> Bender 1993a, 2.

<sup>372</sup> Thomas 1993, 22–25; also Foucault 2001 [1975], 202–203, 266–285; Bender 1999, 31.

<sup>373</sup> Cooney 1999, 47.

<sup>374</sup> Owac 2006, 3.

<sup>375</sup> Thomas 1993; Gell 1995; Thomas 2004, 198–199; Frieman & Gillings 2007; cf. Tilley 2004, 15–16.

<sup>376</sup> Ingold 2005, 269; also Giles 2007, 107.

<sup>377</sup> For example, Ingold 2005; Frieman & Gillings 2007, 5. On the importance of vision, however, see Llobera 2007, 52.

<sup>378</sup> Houston & Taube 2000; Trevarthen 2000; Cummings 2002; Frieman & Gillings 2007, 6–7.

### 4.2.3. Sacred places as visible elements

In this context, sacred places as visible landscape elements refer mainly to sieidis for which the precise location and size of the sieidi stone is known. In addition, sacred places consisting of an island or some other clearly delineated area are included. Other sacred places, such as fells and waterways, are more dominant as visible elements. Of the 49 sacred places inspected in the context of this research, the ones selected for closer study are those 29 at which the location of the sacred place could be found with sufficient accuracy to define a viewshed. The definition of a sieidi viewshed is based on information from GIS analysis and field observations. I used GIS viewshed analysis as a point of comparison for field observations when I considered the direction from which the sieidi would be best visible. A sufficient accuracy for this purpose can be achieved by assuming line-of-sight reciprocity<sup>379</sup> based on the view from the sieidi.

In studying a sieidi viewshed, it is worth keeping in mind that in some places, the location of the sieidi may be visible from afar, but the sieidi itself cannot be seen. For example, the narrow headland of Porviniemi (75) in Lake Pallasjärvi can be seen from Palkaskero at a distance of about 2.5 kilometres, but the sieidi stone itself peeks through a stand of birches only at a close distance (Figures 39 and 40). GIS viewshed analysis takes only the topography into account, not the sieidi as a visible element. Therefore it can be used to figure out the visibility of the location of the sieidi but not of the sieidi itself. Sometimes seeing just the location may be important for constructing a mindscape. For example, a person looking out at Porviniemi from Palkaskero might be conscious of the existence of the sieidi on the headland, which imbued the landscape with a sense of sacredness.

The visibility of the sieidi stone itself was affected by other factors in addition to topography. In this study, sieidi visibility is analysed by taking into account the size and location of the sieidi and any other stones located nearby. In the analysis of sieidi location, I pay attention to topographic features that a rough elevation model does not include, such as small mounds or depressions. I also take into account the modern vegetation around the sieidi. In addition to vegetation, other stones also affect the way in which a sieidi can be distinguished in the landscape. In stone-free terrain, even a smallish stone stands out, but in a rocky area, only a stone of unusual size is noticed. The question of surrounding stones is related specifically to distinguishing the sieidi, not just seeing it. A person may passively see several stones without being able to pick out the sieidi among them.

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<sup>379</sup> Viewshed analyses usually assume total reciprocity between the point of viewing and the object viewed, that is, the point of viewing is assumed to be equally visible from all points of the viewshed area. However, viewshed is affected by the height of the viewer and the object of viewing, as well as their relationship to the topography (Fraser 1983, 380; Fisher 1996, 1298, especially Figure 2), and thus the projective view from a place and the reflexive view to a place may be different. The distinction between seeing and being seen may be essential (Tilley 1993, 69). In spite of this justified critique, the difference between projective and reflexive view diminishes as the view distance in relation to the viewer's height increases. When the viewer's height is short in relation to the view distance, reciprocity may be assumed (Wheatley & Gillings 2000, 7–8).



**Figure 39.** *Porviniemi seen from Palkaskero.*



**Figure 40.** *The Porviniemi sieidi behind the birch trees on the shore (in the photograph: Siiri Tolonen, Sarianna Kivimäki, Anna-Kaisa Salmi, Rosa Vilkama, and Lasse Märsy).*

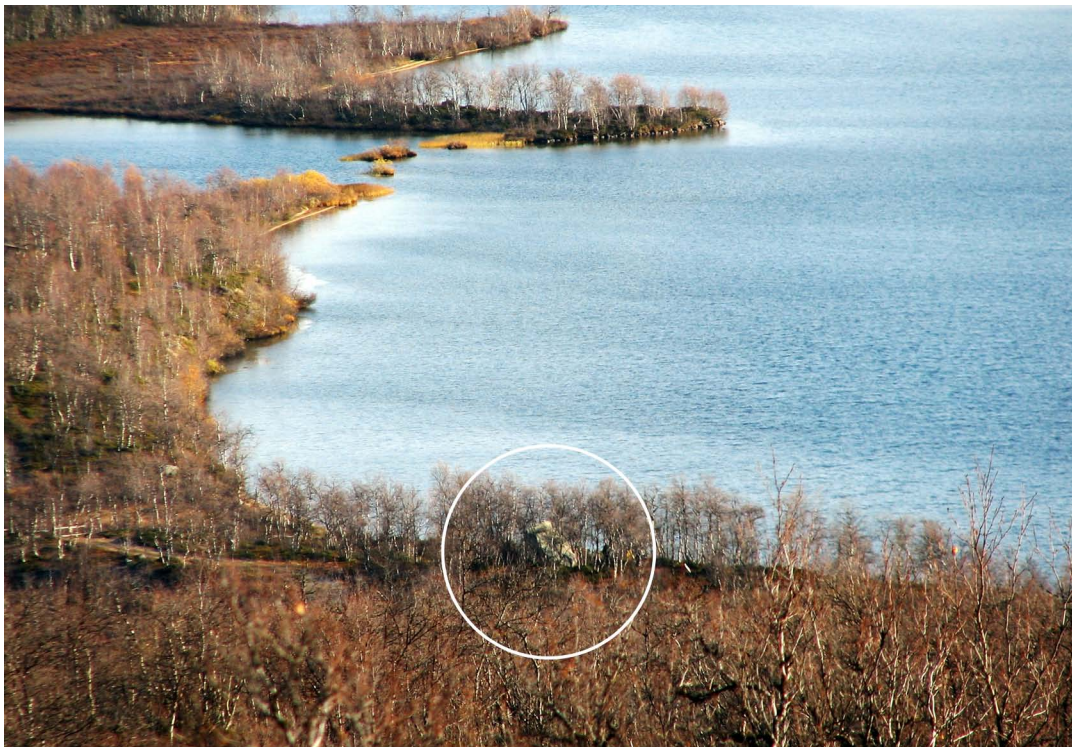


The change of seasons naturally influenced sieidi visibility. Here, I examine sieidi visibility mainly in the summer, which, in an environment characterized by broad-leaved trees, can be considered as the worst possible time for observation. If a sieidi was visible during the season of lush vegetation, it was usually also visible during other seasons. For example, in midsummer when the trees are in full leaf, the Näkkälä (9) sieidi is hardly visible at a distance of a few metres, but when the leaves have fallen, it can be distinguished from a distance of kilometres (Figures 41 and 42).



**Figure 41.**

*The Näkkälä sieidi in August, when foliage still partly reduces visibility (photograph by Anssi Malinen).*



**Figure 42.** *The same sieidi in September, after the leaves have fallen (photograph by Jari Ylönen).*



The seasons affect visibility not only in relation to vegetation, but also through snow cover, for example. People read a snow-covered landscape in a way different to a snowless landscape; different features are emphasized and gain significance. People's conceptions of the landscape and their activities within it change. The snow also changes the surrounding sounds; the environment becomes quieter, and individual sounds are emphasized. In addition, snow may cover the smallest sieidi stones (Figure 43). The season also influences visibility in a very concrete way through light. In Lapland, the polar night in the winter creates visibility conditions different to the bright summertime. In addition to the season, also the time of day, climate, and weather may either improve or impair visibility.<sup>380</sup>



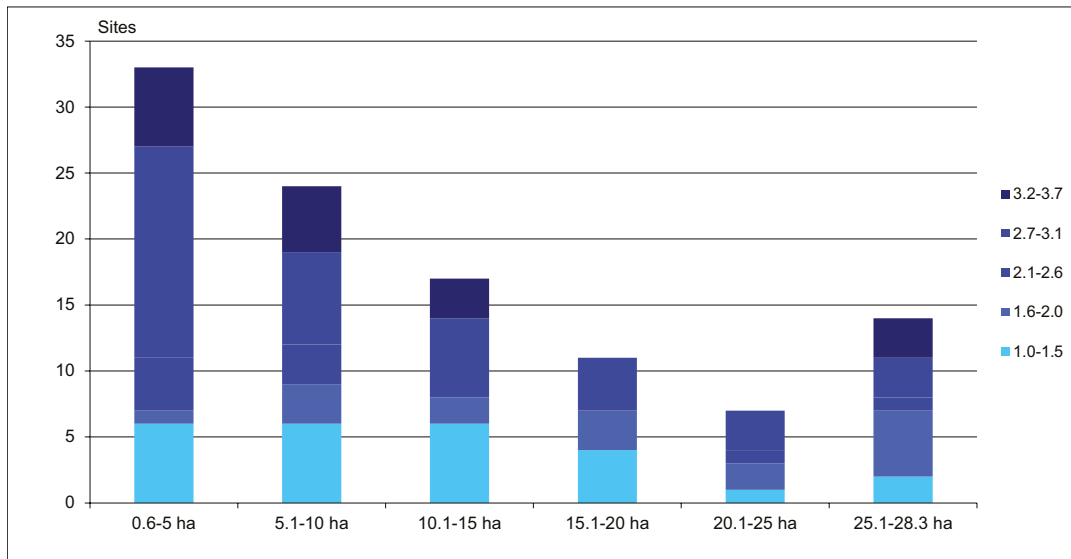
**Figure 43.** The Lake Äkäsjärvi sieidi stone covered by snow (photograph by Anssi Malinen).

Based on a three-step evaluation in the field, the visibility is bad in 17% of the 29 places, average in 45%, and good in 38%. The most common element affecting visibility was the amount of trees. Trees could either surround the sieidi (45%) or constrain visibility from one direction (28%). The thickness of the tree cover and the species of trees naturally affected visibility. The trunks of the sparse pine forest surrounding Kirkkopahta (74) did not impair visibility as efficiently as the dense thicket of downy birch in full leaf at the Erkuna sieidi (4). In 34% of the places, the microtopography of the area influenced visibility.

How is the visibility estimated in the field then reflected in the results of viewshed analyses? Field observations are based on estimated restricted viewshed. In GIS analysis, good visibility could correspond with as large a viewshed zone as possible. Figure 44 shows that visibility is weighted towards small viewsheds of less than 10 ha. However, the majority of sacred places in these places have a weak reliability value. When visibility for the two most reliable classes is examined, the situation changes slightly. Now areas of up to 20 ha are relatively equally represented. Places with the best and worst visibility are distributed evenly throughout the research area, and they consist of sieidis, offering places, and sacred places alike. The places with

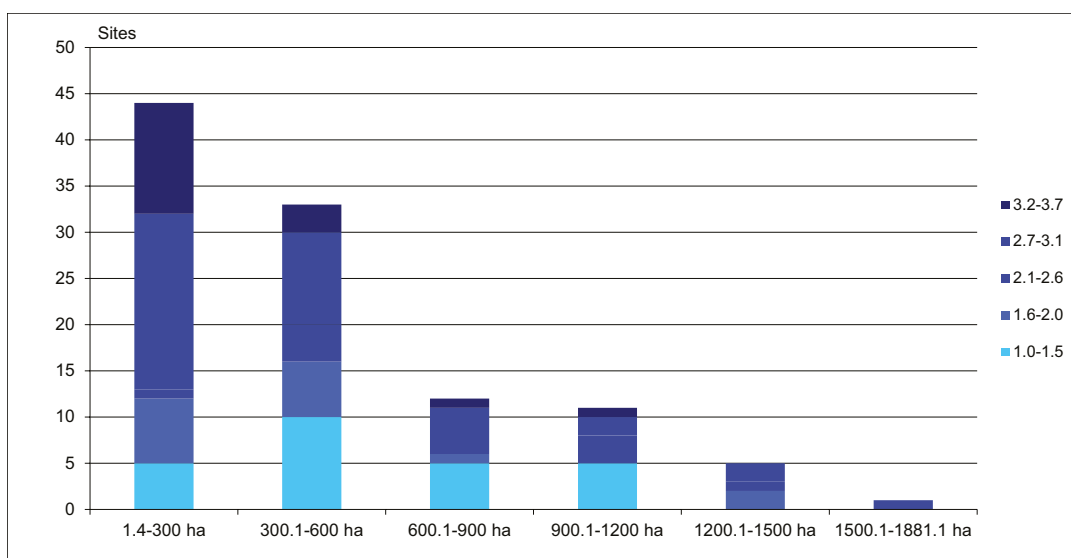
<sup>380</sup> Wheatley & Gillings 2000, 7.

the best visibility are often located in the vicinity of water, whereas those with the worst visibility are farther away from water. This is not surprising, because water offers an unimpeded view.



**Figure 44.** The size of the restricted viewshed zone of sacred places in hectares. A viewshed where all cells are visible would be 28.3 ha.

When the intermediate viewshed zone is examined (Figure 45), medium-sized groups are emphasized. At a distance of three kilometres, there will naturally be so many topographic obstacles that a full viewshed cannot be obtained. Additionally, for the intermediate viewshed zone, places with either good or bad visibility are distributed over the entire research area. Only in the Enontekiö area are there slightly more places with good than bad visibility. The connection with water is not as significant for good visibility in the intermediate viewshed zone as it was in the restricted viewshed zone.



**Figure 45.** The size of the intermediate viewshed zone of sacred places in hectares. A viewshed where all cells are visible would be 2827.4 ha.

Sometimes the restricted viewshed zone may be a full-coverage panoramic view, but in the intermediate viewshed zone, topographic features impair visibility. At the sacred place of Lake Ajakkajärvi (86) in Posio, shown in Figure 46, the view extends out to the lake along the water, but the intermediate viewshed zone is restricted by the hills surrounding the lake in the north and south.

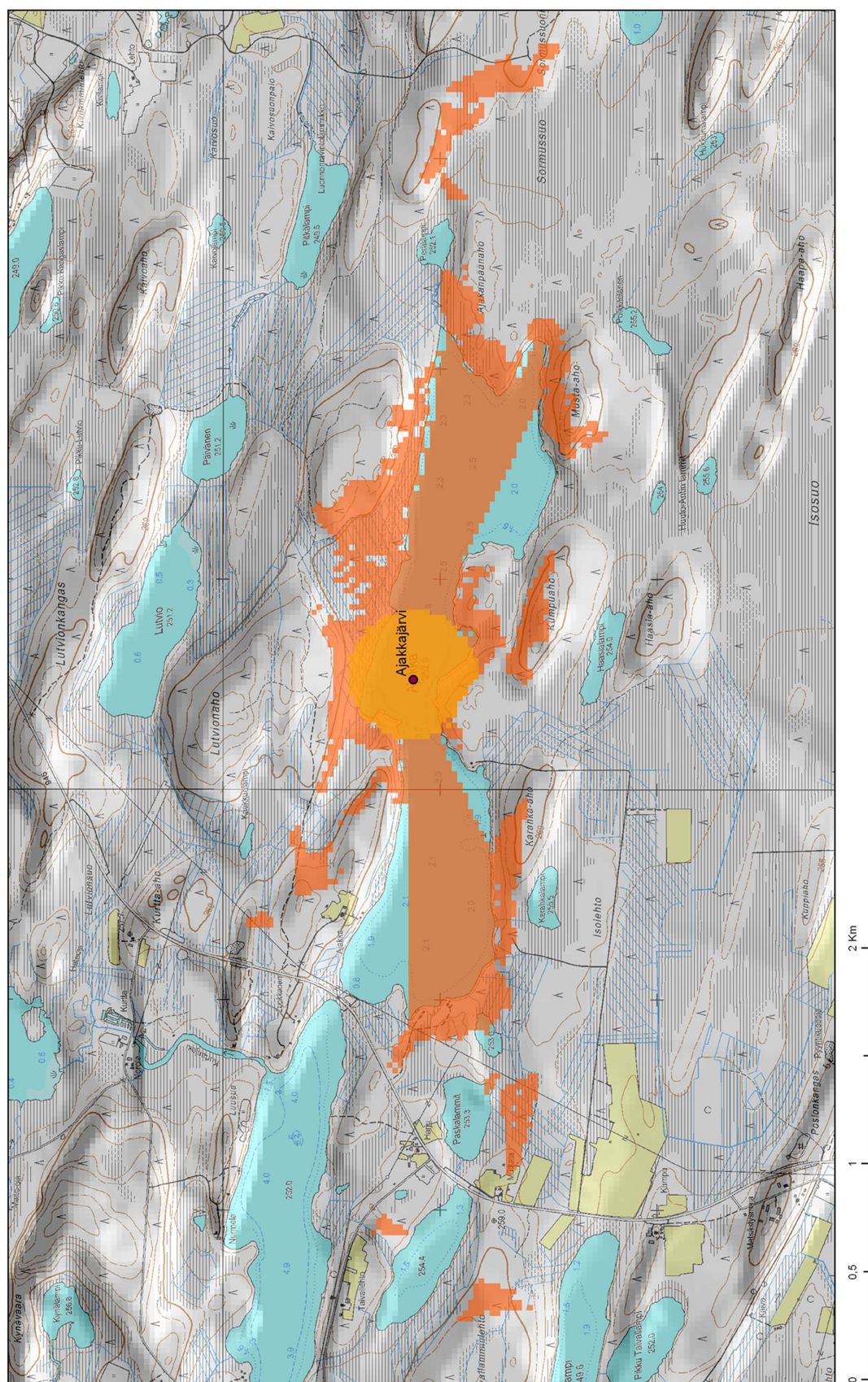
Seeing and distinguishing stones are not always the same thing. If the surroundings are rocky, foreknowledge is required in order to distinguish a sieidi from the other stones, whereas in stone-free terrain a sieidi stone catches the eye. Even in a rocky environment, however, a sieidi may stand out due to its unusually large size or remarkable colour or shape. Of all the inspected places, sieidis in rocky areas were usually larger than sieidis with no other stones in the near vicinity. Sieidi stones in water form an exception. They did not rise higher than a half metre above the water surface, but could be distinguished from other stones due to their separate location.

According to field observations, the direction from which a sacred place is visible does not seem to be significant. The visibility of sacred places is distributed evenly in all compass directions. In three places, the direction of visibility could not be estimated in the field because the sacred place could not be approached from all directions. With the exception of four cases, the results of GIS viewshed analysis matched field estimates for the direction of visibility. The exceptions are due to microtopography that cannot be distinguished in the 25-metre cells. For example, at Porviniemi (75), the sieidi stone is hidden behind a slope rising eastward when viewed from the east, and at Sieiddakeäddgi (113), due to the dune-like slope, the sieidi can be seen only in the direction of the contour lines. However, the viewshed analysis does not take into account these bumps, which are too small for the elevation model with a cell size of 25 metres, and this skews the visibility (Figure 47).

On the basis of field observations, instead, it does seem to be significant whether a sacred place is viewed from the land or from the water. Of all the inspected places, in 11 cases (39%), the sacred place is better visible from the land and in 17 cases (61%) from the water. Ladjokeäddgi (106) in Utsjoki is an example of a sieidi with visibility strongly tied to waterways (Figure 48). At Lake Äkäsjärvi (79) in Muonio, the location of the sieidi, a high bank, is better visible from the lake, but the sieidi itself, which is formed of three raised stones under a metre in height, is hidden behind the bank when viewed from the lake and is better visible from the land. Lake Äkäsjärvi is yet another example of the differences in visibility between the sieidi itself and its location.

The difference is slightly smaller in viewshed analyses, but is still in favour of visibility from the water. Of all sacred places, 46 places (43%) do not have water in the restricted viewshed zone, whereas 61 places (57%) do. When there is water in the vicinity of a sacred place, it often covers either a very small or a significant area of the restricted viewshed zone (Figure 49). Especially in the Inari area, water often covers 76–100% of the restricted viewshed zone.

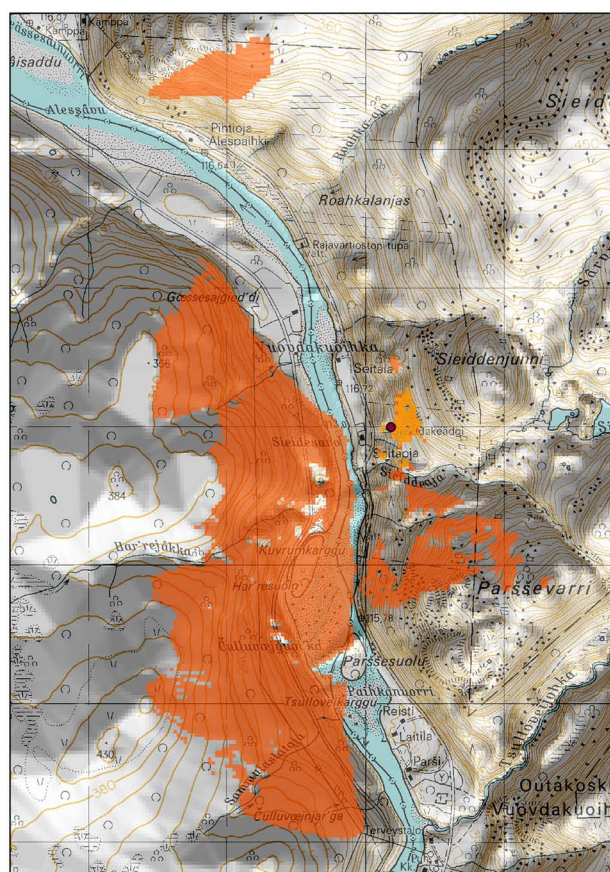




**Figure 46.** The zones of restricted viewshed (light orange) and intermediate viewshed (dark orange) for the sacred place in Ajakkajärvi, Posio. Basic map sheet © National Land Survey of Finland, licence no. 051/MML/11.

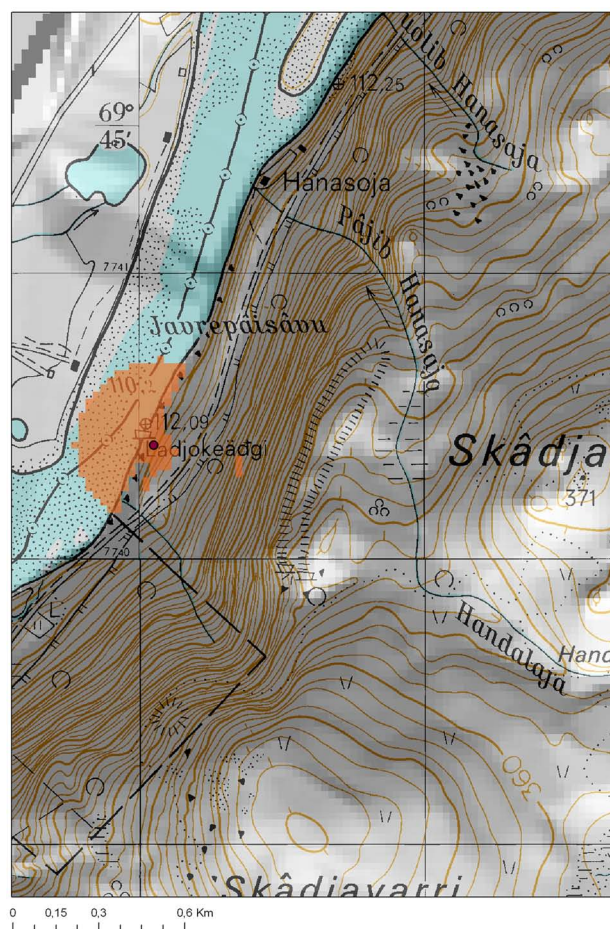


#### 4. Sacred places in relation to the landscape



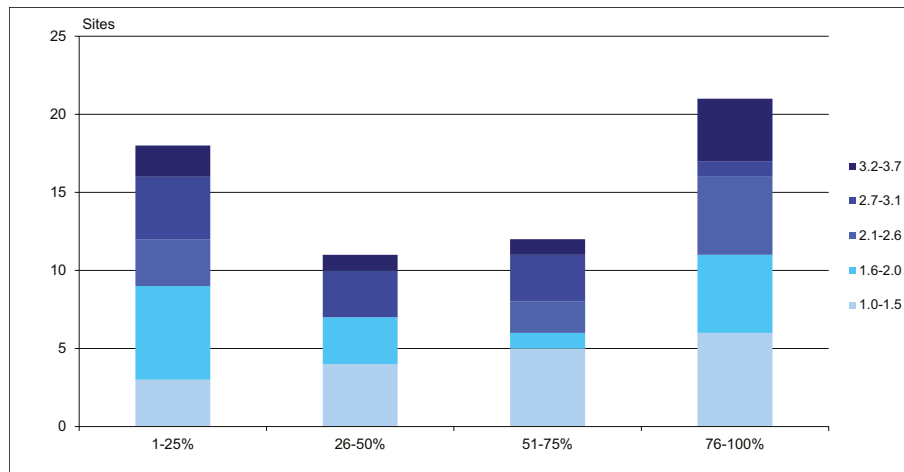
**Figure 47.** The result of the viewshed analysis for Sieiddakeäldgi diverges from field observations, in which the visibility of the sieidi from the north was accentuated. The figure shows the restricted viewshed zone in light orange and the intermediate viewshed zone in dark orange. Basic map sheet © National Land Survey of Finland, licence no. 051/MML/11.

0 0,5 1 2 Km



**Figure 48.** The restricted viewshed zone of the Ladjokeäldgi sieidi consists mainly of water areas. Basic map sheet © National Land Survey of Finland, licence no. 051/MML/11.

0 0,15 0,3 0,6 Km



**Figure 49.**  
The proportion of water in the restricted viewshed zone of a sacred place.

For a sacred place and especially a sieidi stone, standing out in the landscape has been considered as a central feature for selection.<sup>381</sup> For example, Rolf Kjellström defines a cultic place as a place that has been selected because it is isolated and in a particular location.<sup>382</sup> However, the sieidi stone is not always the only stone present. In some cases, an offering place may be formed of several stones, such as Mustalommol (8) in Enontekiö.<sup>383</sup> In some cases, a sieidi may be located in stony terrain with many other stones around it. Often the sieidi stone still stands out even in these cases due to its unusual shape or size. There are also exceptions, such as the sieidi stone at Seitavuopio (18) in Enontekiö, which cannot be distinguished from the surrounding stones without local knowledge of the sieidi location.

Sieidis that stand out from the landscape have been described as dominating their environment.<sup>384</sup> Written sources, too, have paid attention to the visibility and isolated location of sieidis. For example, the sieidi at Dierpmesvárri (3) has been described thus: “visible for kilometres, a solitary [...] stone statue [...] Such a huge, lonesome block of bedrock has no rival on the entire fell.”<sup>385</sup> The following is said of Kirkkopahta (74) in Muonio: “This stone sticks out from the pine woods like a hut, and there are no other stones in the whole forest.”<sup>386</sup> Places that dominate their environment have been considered as important for forming traditions.<sup>387</sup> They are elements that stand out from the landscape and guide human action. J. Qvigstad notes that sieidis were visible elements to which people passing by paid attention even when visibility in the dark polar night was very poor.<sup>388</sup>

The significance of places that dominate their environment to the experiencing of a landscape has also been questioned. Rather than landscape locations visible at a distance, important places could have been those associated with memories or with everyday life. They are not necessarily visually monumental. People know their surroundings through settling and living there.<sup>389</sup> Focusing the attention on

<sup>381</sup> Mebius 2003, 24.

<sup>382</sup> Kjellström 1985, 118.

<sup>383</sup> Cf. Collinder 1953, 171.

<sup>384</sup> Pentikäinen & Miettinen 2003, 46.

<sup>385</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 39–40.

<sup>386</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 49.

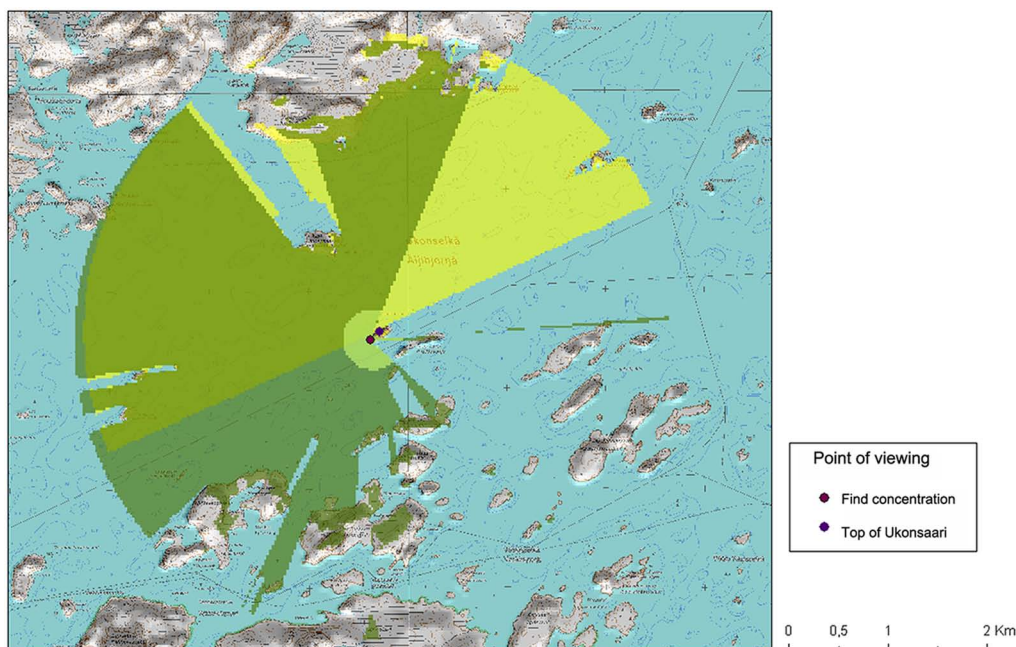
<sup>387</sup> Eskeröd 1947, 82–83.

<sup>388</sup> Qvigstad 1926, 318.

<sup>389</sup> Fitzjohn 2007, 42–43, 47; cf. Ingold 2005.

topographically outstanding features is, according to Benjamin Smith and Geoffrey Blundell, a late phenomenon with its origins in Renaissance landscape painting. For example, the !Kung San of the Kalahari are more interested in smaller and, to the Western eye, less impressive features in the landscape.<sup>390</sup> For sieidis, visibility has not always been a central criterion for making places sacred either. Some sieidis are very modest in size, and even a large stone does not necessarily stand out in heavily wooded terrain.

The visibility of a place has also been considered as having an effect on how the place has been approached. In the study of monumental places, it has often been thought that the place has been observed and approached primarily from the direction from which it is best visible.<sup>391</sup> However, for some places, an important aspect of the experience of the place may well have been the surprising appearance of the sieidi in the landscape. The visitor's experience of the Taatsi (65) sieidi is very different depending on whether the sieidi is approached from the water, in which case the sieidi on the shore cliff can be seen from far away, or from the forest, in which case the sieidi can be seen behind the cliff only at a distance of a few metres. Earlier, however, before the top stones were pushed down, the sieidi could have been observed from farther away. The direction from which a sacred place is approached may also have been influenced by a recognizable shape visible from a certain direction. The island of Ukonsaari (47) in Lake Inarijärvi is an example of an offering place with a steep profile that is especially eye-catching when viewed from the west (Figures 45 and 46). Furthermore, the view from the middle of the find concentration focuses on the west (Figure 50), whereas the view from the top of the island focuses on the north. This could well mean that offerings were left in a place that was visible from the same direction from which the island was most impressive.



**Figure 50.** Ukonsaari in Inari is an example of a sacred place considered as dominating the landscape. The figure shows a view both from the top of Ukonsaari, Inari (yellow), and from the site of the find concentration (restricted viewshed zone in light green, intermediate viewshed zone in dark green). Basic map sheet © National Land Survey of Finland, licence no. 051/MML/11.

<sup>390</sup> Smith & Blundell 2004.

<sup>391</sup> Jerpåsen 2009, 125.





**Figure 51.**  
The well-known  
profile of the island  
of Ukonsaari in Lake  
Inarijärvi seen from  
the west-southwest.



**Figure 52.**  
Seen from the  
north, the shape of  
Ukonsaari is not as  
conspicuous.

Anthropomorphic sieidis are another example of places at which the viewing direction is significant. Three inspected places at which the directions of anthropomorphism and visibility can be compared do not, however, provide any occasion for generalization. In these places, with one exception, the directions of best visibility and anthropomorphism were different from each other. One of these aspects of viewing or neither of them may have been significant for approaching the place. Elin Rose Myrvoll has stated that some Sámi sacred places are important, visible elements in the landscape over large areas, whereas for others, the significance of visibility depends on the viewing direction, for example, due to anthropomorphism.<sup>392</sup> Places visible over a large area include, for example, hills and fells. The Ukonsaari island can also be seen from afar, in which case it may have gained significance either due to broad visibility or direction-dependent visibility. The division used by Myrvoll therefore cannot always be made.

<sup>392</sup> Myrvoll 2008, 38.

The visibility of a sacred place can thus have been significant as a feature dominating the landscape or a factor influencing the direction of approach of the place. On the other hand, there are also cases in which the sacred place appears suddenly in the landscape and cannot be seen over large areas. This may also have been a part of the experience of sacredness. The visibility of a sacred place was not always necessarily significant for the selection of the place, but instead, the experience of sacredness was influenced by other factors. I return to the issue of visibility later, examining, among other things, the visibility of other ancient monuments from sacred places.

### 4.3. The connection of sacred places to water

*Can you hear the sound of life  
in the roaring of the creek  
in the blowing of the wind*<sup>393</sup>

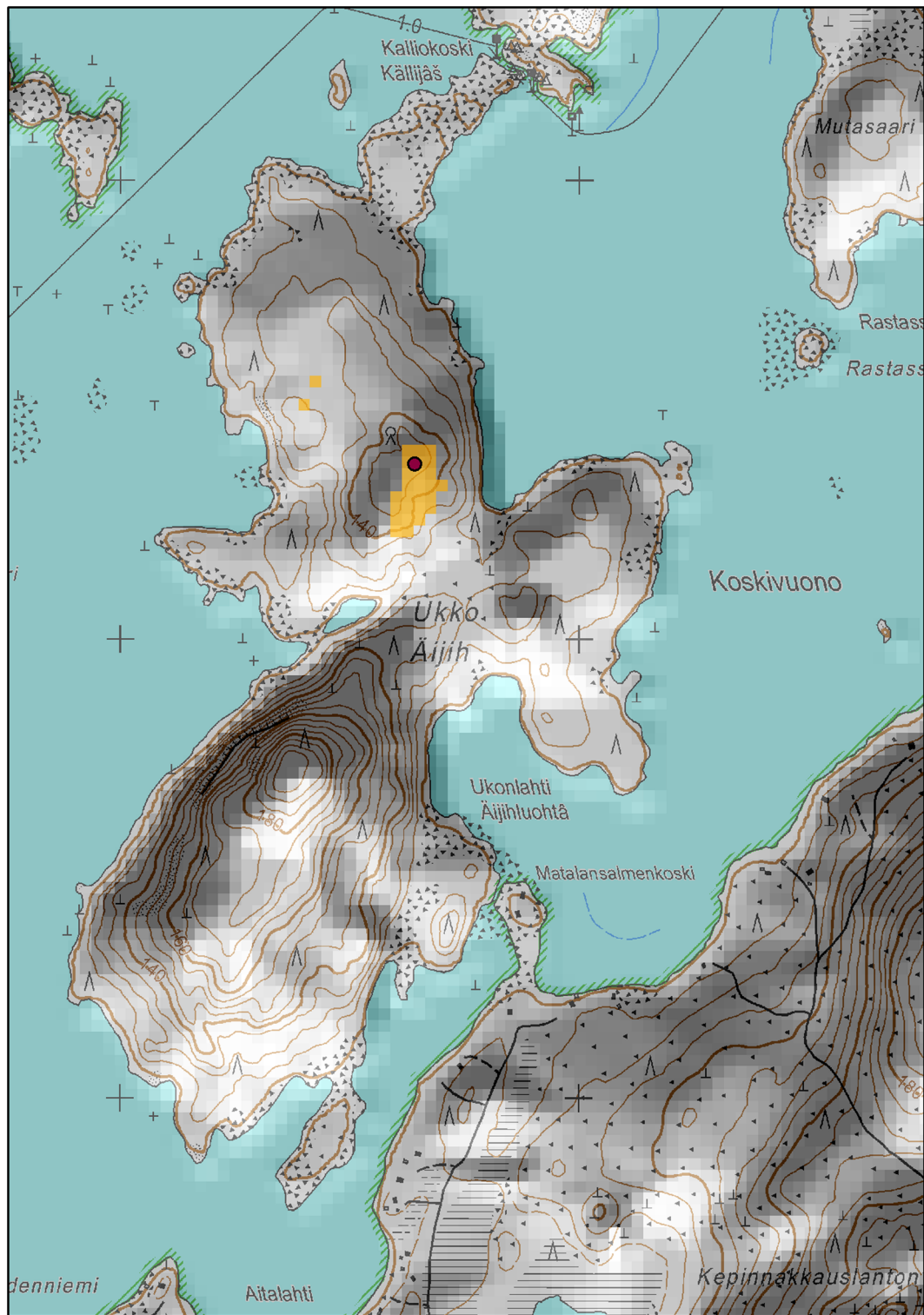
*Nils-Aslak Valkeapää 1994: Trekways of the Wind*

Above I have demonstrated that the viewshed of sacred places often contains water. It follows that the connection with water may have been one of the factors affecting the selection of a sacred place. Itkonen has noted that sieidis are often located on lakeshores, islands, or headlands.<sup>394</sup> In addition, my own observations of the dominant topographic elements of sacred places confirm this impression (Figure 15). In the following chapters, I take a closer look at the locations of sacred places near waterways with the help of viewshed analysis. Sacred places are considered to be located near waterways if there is water within the restricted viewshed zone (< 300 m). In addition, sacred places located on islands or headlands are also included, even if no water happens to be directly visible in viewshed analyses due, for example, to the size of the island. If the precise location of the sacred place is not known, the coordinates are set to the centre point of the island or headland, although the ritual activities may have taken place closer to the shore. In the case of large islands, the surrounding water has been a dominant element even if the offering place was not located near the shore. This has most likely been the case on the island of Ukko (46) in Lake Ukonjärvi (Figure 53). In addition to Ukko, other large islands included in the study are Moossinasaari (30) in Inari, Seitasaari (99) in Sodankylä, and Isosaari (70) in Muonio. The headlands of Keimiöniemi (73) in Lake Jerisjärvi and Lapinniemi (88) in Rovaniemi are also included. Water is also associated with the ridge of Uhriharju and the pond of Pyhänkasteenlampi (82) in Pelkosenniemi, even though the pond cannot be seen from the viewing point as defined on the Uhriharju ridge. Thus, water is associated with 68 sacred places out of 107. The waterway is usually a type of standing water, either a lake or a smaller pond (Figure 54). It is more rarely a watercourse, either a river with rapids or a smaller creek. In some cases, both elements are present. The study of sieidi location has shown that sieidis are located close to water more often than other sacred places. Only 25% of sieidis are *not* close to water. All sacred places located close to rapids are sieidis.

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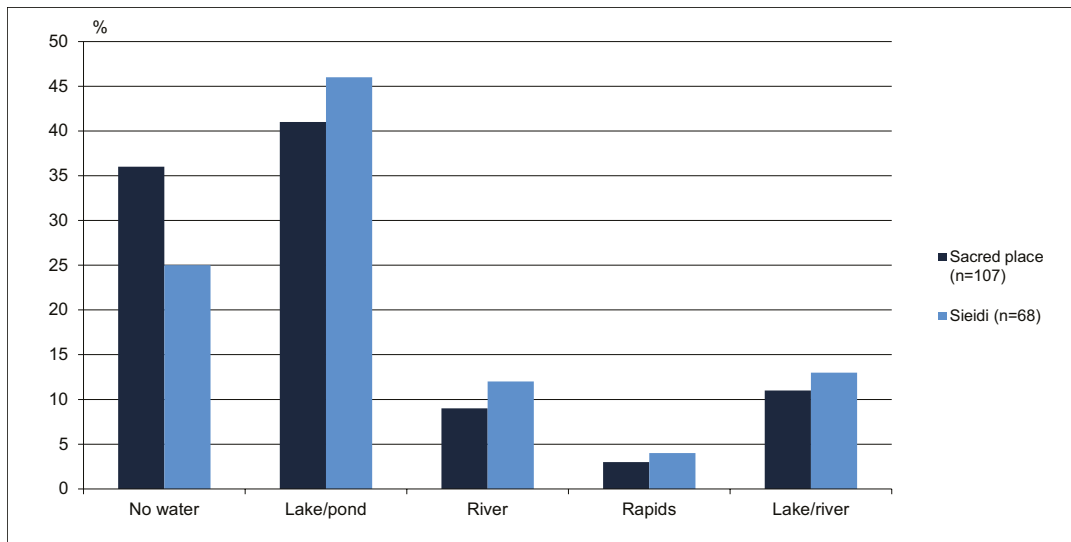
<sup>393</sup> Translated by Ralph Salisbury, Lars Nordstrom, and Harald Gaski.

<sup>394</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 316.



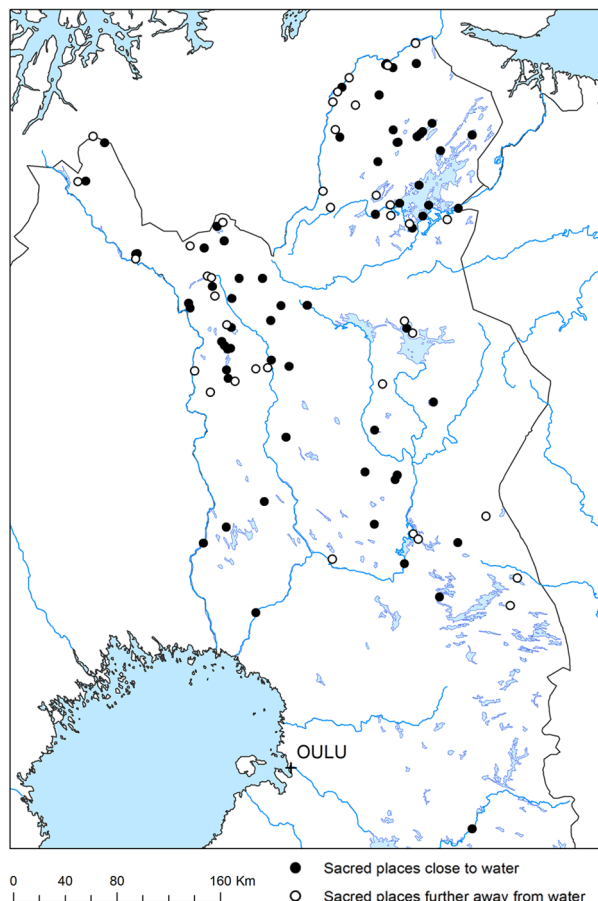
**Figure 53.** The restricted viewshed zone (orange) of the Ukko sieidi stone in Ukonjärvi does not reach outside the island. Basic map sheet © National Land Survey of Finland, licence no. 051/MML/11.

#### 4. Sacred places in relation to the landscape



**Figure 54.** The locations of sacred places (including sieidis) and sieidis in relation to water as percentages of all places.

In Inari, with its thousands of lakes, 68% of sacred places are located close to water and 60% on lakeshores, whereas in the fell area of Utsjoki, the corresponding figures are 53% and 27% respectively. In Utsjoki, rivers are a more dominant element than lakes. The natural environment thus has an effect on how sacred places are located in relation to waterways. The greatest numbers of water-related sacred places can be found in the lake areas of Inari and Western Lapland, whereas sacred sites located further away from lakes are situated in the hill and fell areas (Figure 55).



**Figure 55.** Map of the geographical distribution of sacred places located close to and further away from water.



A connection to water is, however, a common feature in the location of sacred places. The relationship between sacred places and waterways may have several reasons from functional to symbolic. Here, I examine these reasons starting from the more symbolic and moving towards the functional, although without making value judgments about the significance of various types of reasons. Both symbolic and functional issues may have influenced the selection of locations at the same time.

#### 4.3.1. *Liminality as a determining factor for sieidis*

A connection with water is one of the landscape features described as liminal. The term *liminality* has its origin in the Latin word *limen*, which means threshold. Liminality refers to a time or place in which the normal forms of social behaviour do not apply. Liminality is a state of being between two levels of existence. It can be experienced in time, state of consciousness, being, or place.

In his book *Les rites de passage* (1909), Arnold van Gennep developed the model of a rite of passage consisting of three stages: separation, transition – called the liminal stage – and finally reincorporation. According to van Gennep, the division into sacred and profane was essential to liminality. The difference between these two spheres was so great that moving from one to the other could not be done without a liminal stage.<sup>395</sup> Later, Victor Turner examined the definition of a liminal stage in more detail. He viewed liminality as a transitional stage related to social interaction.<sup>396</sup> Turner separated liminality from the experience of the sacred, whereas van Gennep had combined the two. Thus, not all liminality is ritual. A transition from one social status to another can be experienced as liminal without any ritual. An experience of liminality can also be associated with everyday activities, such as hunting.<sup>397</sup>

In archaeology, however, liminality has mainly been associated with ritual life. Contacts with the supernatural and contacts between humans and spirits have been considered as typical.<sup>398</sup> In such a definition of liminality, a sacred place is viewed as a meeting place. According to Eliade, it is the *axis mundi*, the axis of the world, where cosmic dimensions meet and moving between these dimensions becomes possible. A sacred place is a link between the natural and the supernatural, a kind of contact interface between deities and humans.<sup>399</sup>

Sámi sacred places – and especially sieidis – have also been described in research literature as meeting points between worlds. Topographical features have been considered as especially important for their location. The topographical location reflects the location of sieidis on the edges of the world.<sup>400</sup> Meeting points between different worlds have been described as liminal. According to Antti Lahelma, liminal places are located on the border of three elements, earth, water, and sky, between the human and spirit worlds.<sup>401</sup> In the case of sieidis, water and high elevation in

<sup>395</sup> Van Gennep 1960 [1909].

<sup>396</sup> Turner 2007 [1969], 122.

<sup>397</sup> Willerslev 2001, 47.

<sup>398</sup> Backe-Forsberg 2005; Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2006; Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2007; Lahelma 2008.

<sup>399</sup> Eliade 2003 [1957], 58–59; Raivo 2002, 159.

<sup>400</sup> Bradley 2000, 13; Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2006, 102; Halinen 2010.

<sup>401</sup> Lahelma 2008, 60; cf. van Gennep 1960 [1909], 22; Helskog 1999, 73; Westerdahl 2005; Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2006, 101.

particular have been considered as liminal features. Sieidis are found on lakeshores and islands, where earth meets water, as well as on cliffs and fells, where earth meets sky (Figure 15). Here, I focus especially on the connection with water as a liminal factor, while allowing that a location at a high elevation, at the junction of earth and sky, can also be seen as liminal.

The idea of sieidis as relaying elements at the edge of different worlds is based on the concept of the tripartite world. The tripartite Sámi cosmology has been viewed as an example of worlds meeting in liminal places. Based on their archaeological research in the Sámi areas of Sweden, Inga-Maria Mulk and Tim Bayliss-Smith have deepened the picture of the three worlds. According to them, the upper world is characterized by the south, warmth, life, and the colour white, whereas the north, coldness, death, and the colour black belong to the lower world. The lower world was populated by the spirits of the deceased who could be contacted through dreams and with the help of witches. The souls of the deceased had to cross a river on their way to the lower world, whereas new souls returned to the middle world through the sacred springs.<sup>402</sup> The elements of the tripartite worldview are related to the afore-mentioned liminal elements: the earth can be viewed as corresponding to the middle world and the sky to the upper world, whereas water is a mediating element between the middle and lower worlds.<sup>403</sup> However, it must be kept in mind that the idea of a tripartite world, as well as other cultural features, varied in different parts of the Sámi area. Mulk and Bayliss-Smith emphasize that the “map” of sacred Sámi geography presented above cannot be considered as a mental model shared by all individuals, but only an abstract representation. According to them, it still reflects ideas of which landscape elements were considered as normal and which were defined as special or sacred.<sup>404</sup>

How typical, then, were liminal landscape features of sacred places? As I mentioned above, 64% of sacred places are located close to water (Figure 54). Mulk and Bayliss-Smith have mentioned both rivers and sacred springs as connecting elements between the middle and lower worlds. Elsewhere, they stress the meaning of rapids as gates between the worlds.<sup>405</sup> This might indicate that rivers and springs had a special status as liminal waters. In 24 cases reviewed in the material, the sacred place was located near a river, and in three cases, near a spring. In three cases, the sacred place, which was in all three cases a sieidi, was also located near rapids. As water elements related to sacred places, the springs are less reliable than the rapids. In the case of two of the springs, the Sámi background of the offering tradition is not certain, and in the third case, Suttésája (114), the tradition may be quite recent. It is not mentioned in written sources. The rapids, on the other hand, are related to known sieidi sites: Onnela (110), Koskikaltiojoen suu (29), and Lake Sompiojärvi (100).

Waterways important in Sámi mythology also include the double-bottomed *sáiva* lakes mentioned earlier. In six cases, a sieidi is also located near the *sáiva*. In three cases, the sieidi is located on the shore of a large *sáiva* lake. They are They are

<sup>402</sup> Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2006, 96.

<sup>403</sup> Cf. Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2006, Figure 8:5.

<sup>404</sup> Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2006, 97.

<sup>405</sup> Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2006, 26.

Lake Näkkäljärvi (one sieidi) and Lake Pöyrisjärvi (two sieidis).<sup>406</sup> Other *sáiva* lakes related to sieidis are smaller in size. *Sáiva* lakes are an especially liminal type of waterway; due to their double-bottomed nature, they offered access to the lower world. The rich mythology related to these waters seems to indicate the spiritual significance of this element.

The 39 sacred sites with no water in the restricted viewshed zone are, with the exception of two cases, characterized by another liminal element, namely a location at a high elevation. They are located at the top or a slope of a fell or a smaller hill. A location at a high elevation has been thought to connect the earth and the sky. Sometimes there is also a connection to water, when the view from the hilltop or slope shows not only the horizon but also a river or lake. In six cases, there is a lake or river at the foot of the hill. The sacred places that are not associated with any liminal element are Somosen kirkko (89) in Rovaniemi and Kirkkopahta (74) in Muonio. The first of these cannot with any certainty be associated with the Sámi. In the case of 11 sacred places (10%), both liminal elements can be found.

Liminal features are thus typical of sieidi location. Sieidis could then be viewed as places where humans could contact other worlds or places between this world and others, as well as between humans and spirits. In addition to topographical features, liminality could also be indicated by various prohibitions and restrictions. In some cases, women were not allowed to approach the sieidis. Samuli Paulaharju relates that women had to leave the boat when it passed the Kalkkiniemi sieidi.<sup>407</sup> In some cases, women could approach the sieidi only dressed in men's clothing.<sup>408</sup> In this way, the sieidi was a place that changed social behaviour. Women approaching the sieidi took on a social role that deviated from the ordinary. T. I. Itkonen also describes a change in social status by noting that during offering rituals, unlike at other times, everyone was equal: men and women, masters and servants.<sup>409</sup> This fits with Turner's view of liminality as a state of equal status. According to Turner, people in a liminal stage have no status and no personal attributes. This is why the stage is characterized by equality and a sense of solidarity.<sup>410</sup>

However, liminality was not the only reason for sacred places being located close to water. Earlier, I already referred to the connection between offering places and means of subsistence. I return to this theme in more detail in later chapters. A location at the shoreline was natural for sieidis related to fishing. On the other hand, not all sieidis close to water were used exclusively in connection with fishing. There are also known reindeer sieidis close to the shoreline, for example, at Seitigädgi (112). A location at a high elevation may also have been related to subsistence. According to Åke Hultkrantz, many sieidis were located on ridges along which wild reindeer travelled.<sup>411</sup>

Contacts with other worlds, too, did not have to concentrate on certain places or people. In the Sámi community, a witch (*noaidi*) was a member of the community

<sup>406</sup> Therman 1940, 255.

<sup>407</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 24.

<sup>408</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 312.

<sup>409</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 315.

<sup>410</sup> Turner 2007 [1969], 107–108.

<sup>411</sup> Hultkrantz 1985, 25.

who could function as an intermediary between the worlds. Witches were specialized in travelling in liminal states. When a witch fell into a trance, he could leave his body and travel to different worlds. Spirit helpers guided the witch on his travels, and he could, for example, search for a cure for diseases.<sup>412</sup> Even though witches were the experts in contacts between the worlds, also other people could contact other worlds through dreams or by making offerings, for example. The presence of a witch was not required for offering.<sup>413</sup> The bulk of ritual activity was carried out by individuals, not witches. Witches were mainly responsible for tasks that required special knowledge: travelling between the worlds and taking care of the community's common rituals. Individuals and groups also had an active role in taking care of their own well-being.<sup>414</sup> The uneven distribution of ritual abilities between individuals, which is related to shamanism, has been considered as a transitional phenomenon brought on by Christianity. Earlier, contacting, communicating, and exchanging gifts with nature, both ritual and practical, were direct and open to all.<sup>415</sup> On the level of the family, adult men and women made offerings, and everyday offerings to the female deity *Máttaráhkkhá* were often made near dwellings.<sup>416</sup>

Overall, the idea of three worlds and moving between them was important in Sámi ethnic religion. It is reflected in many beliefs and represented, for example, in the decoration of noaidi drums and the organization of the *goahti*.<sup>417</sup> This may have led to the research emphasis on the liminal nature of sieidis. Birgitta Fossum, among others, considers borders and borderlands as central to the understanding of Sámi ritual landscapes.<sup>418</sup> In her view, borders are naturally constructed onto the landscape, and they can be formed by different topographical environments, such as land and water or fell and plain. Transitional zones and borderlands in the landscape are often endowed with special functions because they cannot be categorized: they are neither one nor the other, and are in that way related to liminal places.<sup>419</sup> However, a dualistic way of dividing topographic features has not been the only way to understand the world. As Vesa-Pekka Herva has noted, in relation to the landscape, qualitative differences and meanings in topography cannot be conceived of by means of the simple opposition of sacred and profane or other similar contrasts.<sup>420</sup> Atypical landscape features may have been associated with numerous meanings other than liminality. The water can simultaneously have been a gateway to another world, a fishing resource guaranteeing subsistence, a passage route, and the source of a sound associated with sacredness. The ruggedness of a fell may also have aroused feelings of sacredness in ways other than as a liminal element.

Landscape elements have had numerous meanings, and at the same time, the border of meaningfulness has been shifting. According to the liminal view, sacred space is on the other side of the border and is defined in the world as being of anomalous

<sup>412</sup> Mebius 2003, 170–176.

<sup>413</sup> Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1948 II; Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2007, 94; cf. Kuropjatnik 1997, 44; Sergejeva 1997, 30.

<sup>414</sup> Jordan 2001, 102.

<sup>415</sup> Schanche 2004, 5.

<sup>416</sup> Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2007, 96.

<sup>417</sup> Yates 1989; Mulk 1996, 52.

<sup>418</sup> Fossum 2006, 35.

<sup>419</sup> Østmo 2004, 186.

<sup>420</sup> Herva 2009, 252.

elements.<sup>421</sup> However, sacredness is not static in nature. Just like the meanings associated with landscape elements may change, the border between sacred and profane also changes. In my opinion, liminality should not be approached as a strict borderline between sacred and profane. Liminality in the world of experience and as a border observed in the landscape is shifting and situational. In later chapters (5.1., 5.2., 5.3., and 5.4.), I deal with the meeting between sacred and profane. After this, I return again to the question of the nature of liminality.

#### 4.4. Water as part of the soundscape

*Normalt hører vi aldrig verden, som den er. Vi hører en redigeret produktion. De lyde, vi kan lide, dem trækker vi frem. Ringlen ved billetlugen, når de gør kassen op. Den fanfare, der annoncerer den lille cirkusprinsesse, vi er forelsket i. Den kogende lyd af otte hundrede mennesker i et fuldt telt. Mens de lyde, vi ikke kan lide, dem skubber vi væk. Lyden af læderforstærkninger på kanvassen, som er mørnet. Lyden af hestene, der er angste. Lyden af toiletterne. Af de vindstød i august måned, der fortæller, at sommaren er ved at være forbi. Og resten af lydene er ligegyldige, dem toner vi ned, trafikken, byen, almindeligheden. Sådan lytter vi.<sup>422</sup>*

*Peter Høeg 2006: Den stille pige, p. 235*

Water has meaning not only on a symbolic and subsistence-related level, but also as a part of the soundscape of a given place. The splash of waves on shoreline pebbles, the roar of the rapids, and the sound of voices from the opposite shore become a part of the experience of place. Water is a more permanent sound element than the sounds made by vegetation or animals.

Auditory archaeology or archaeoacoustics is a field of research that recognizes the meaning and influence of sound in everyday life in the past. Through sound, people constructed and expressed their social relationships. Sound was an important element that provided people in the past with information about the environment and the activities of other people and animals.<sup>423</sup> Even though past sounds have long since fallen silent, the study of present sounds helps us to better understand the meaning of sound in our world of perception. The past was not silent. Through the study of sound, we can expand our vision-based impression of how the landscape was experienced. One sense cannot be raised above the rest. In addition to vision and sound, touch, smell, and taste have also been important.

An essential feature of sounds is their transience. The sounds of the past are no longer here for researchers to listen to. This raises the question of how these long-gone

<sup>421</sup> Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2006, 102.

<sup>422</sup> "Usually we never hear the world as it is. We hear an edited production. The sounds we like, we draw forward. The ringing in the ticket booth when they balance the cash. The fanfare that announces the little circus princess we're in love with. The bubbling sound of eight hundred people in a full tent. Whereas the sounds we don't like, we push away. The sound of leather reinforcements on deteriorated canvas. The sound of frightened horses. The sound of the toilets. Of the gusty wind in August that tells us summer is soon over. And the rest of the sounds are irrelevant - we tone them down - the traffic, the city, the mundane. That's how we listen." Peter Høeg 2008: *The Quiet Girl*, p. 231. Translated by Nadia Christensen.

<sup>423</sup> Mills 2004; Mills 2005.

sounds can be studied. I approach the issue of past sounds in Sámi sacred places in three ways: firstly, by listening to and documenting the present soundscape; secondly, by creating a soundshed zone with the help of GIS, and finally by examining the descriptions of sounds in sacred places found in written sources. In this way I approach the sounds that could and can be heard in sacred places from the present and, by means of the less time-restricted GIS analysis, move towards the time when the oral tradition of Sámi ethnic religion still existed. These different ways of describing the soundscape bring out different meanings of sounds and hearing. They also move between the concrete and the abstract, the analytical and the personal, as well as the general and place-specific soundscape.

The documentation and mapping of present sounds has been used as one way of studying soundscapes.<sup>424</sup> Even though the modern world contains many sounds that did not exist in the past, and a part of the sounds of the past have fallen silent, the documentation of present sounds stimulates us to realize the significance of sounds. An auditory scene analysis consists of all the sounds that can be heard in a certain place at a certain time.<sup>425</sup>

An auditory scene analysis was carried out at two sieidi sites in the summer of 2009 and one site in the summer of 2010. All three sieidis were located close to water. The first one was in Inari, on the shore of Lake Nitsijärvi (29) in the place where the River Koskikaltiojoki runs into the lake as small rapids. However, in July 2009, the rapids were very small indeed due to the scarcity of water. The second sieidi was located on the very top of the ridge-like headland of Porviniemi (75), which sticks out into Lake Pallasjärvi. Excavations were in progress at both sites at the time of the auditory scene analysis, but the analysis site was selected at some distance from the excavation site. In the summer of 2010, in connection with a kayaking survey, we visited the sieidi at Sitakallio (42), which is an islet in Lake Iijärvi and thus completely surrounded by water. The boxes below contain notes on the sounds observed.

<b>7 July 2009, 9.45–10.00, Lake Nitsijärvi, Inari</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Water gurgling</li> <li>– Mosquitoes buzzing</li> <li>– Human voices</li> <li>– Birdsong</li> <li>– A passing car</li> </ul>	<b>3 August 2009, 14.35–14.50, Lake Pallasjärvi, Muonio</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– A bird</li> <li>– Waves hitting rocks (a bubbling sound from the shoreline rocks)</li> <li>– The wind blowing</li> <li>– Strengthening sound of waves</li> <li>– Shouting</li> <li>– A shovel thumping</li> <li>– A bird from afar</li> </ul>	<b>27 July 2010, 12.10–12.25, Sitakallio, Inari</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Birds chirping and squalling</li> <li>– The wind blowing</li> <li>– Waves gently lapping</li> <li>– My husband talking</li> <li>– Paddles splashing</li> <li>– Kayaks clattering against each other</li> <li>– The far-off sound of a motor</li> </ul>
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<sup>424</sup> I use the term *soundscape*, coined by R. Murray Schafer (1980), to describe the sounds that surround people and are not merely sensory perceptions but imbued with interpretation, significance, and imagery. People experience and interpret soundscapes while living within them (Feld 2006, 226). A sound and its interpretation cannot be separated; we do not hear just a loud, shrill beeping, but a fire alarm. Cultural models affect how we interpret what we hear. This is why different social groups, for example, can have different soundscapes (Smith 2006, 145). The term soundscape specifically means individuals' and a community's understanding of their auditory environment. It is connected with the phenomenological idea of an active body that not only receives sensory impressions but also experiences and understands them as a part of the lived-in world.

<sup>425</sup> Bregman 1990; Mills 2004; Uimonen 2005, 43.

Sounds can be divided into human-generated and natural sounds. Human-generated sounds are clearly time-bound. The sound of a passing car has been a part of the soundscape at Lake Nitsijärvi only since the road to Näätämö was built. The thumping of a shovel at Lake Pallasjärvi is related to the excavation work and is therefore tied to the time of the excavation. On the other hand, human voices have most likely been a part of the soundscapes of sieidis even at the time of their earliest use. Human voices also describe the different social nature of visits to sacred places; my own experience included my husband at Sitakallio and the excavation crew at the other sites. Furthermore, when making offerings to sieidis, people may have visited them alone, with their family, or with a larger group. At Sitakallio, the soundscape of the site also included the kayaks that we used to approach the site. The clatter of kayaks and the splashing of paddles may earlier have been replaced by the squeaking of rowlocks, for example. Since this sieidi is located in the middle of an expanse of water, visiting it must always have included the sound of some form of transportation. However, the natural sounds probably better describe the situation even at the time the sieidis were used, at least in the summer. The water has gurgled and birds have sung as well in the 11th and 18th centuries as today.

In addition to the separation of sounds, the sound samples I documented indicate two other things. Firstly, the observations at Lake Pallasjärvi and Lake Iijärvi are more detailed than those at Lake Nitsijärvi, written earlier. This confirms the view that by consistently paying attention to the soundscape, the number of observations increases. An auditory scene analysis arouses the researcher to notice the richness of the soundscape. The second issue has to do with the relationship between the listener and the sounds heard; our backgrounds and experiences affect how we interpret what we hear. An ornithologist would certainly have heard much more than merely birdsong; she might have been able to identify the bird species and whether it is typical of the area. Also for people in the past, different sounds in the environment would have become more significant. An auditory scene analysis describes a subjective and time-bound experience of a soundscape, but it stirs the researcher into noticing that the landscape is not devoid of sound.

After this subjective observation of sounds in the field, I move now to the more abstract description of sounds based on spatial data. I approach the sounds of water, which already made an appearance in the auditory scene analysis, with the help of GIS analyses. The viewshed analysis of GIS programs has also been used to study sounds. This is based on the idea that the same topographical landscape features that restrict view also restrict sound. Viewshed analyses are used to create a sound map of the potential distribution of sound in the past. I use viewshed analysis to examine the effect of the sound of water in sacred places. The way sound travels in the landscape is influenced by many factors, including atmospheric features, wind, temperature, and humidity, as well as ground features, such as topography, obstacles, and texture. These features are especially important if the sound travels farther than several hundred metres. This is why reconstructing the soundscape at a given moment is impossible. In the study of soundscapes through the meanings of sounds that have had a long-time influence on it, only permanent and long-standing features, such as topography, are significant. Features subject to change, such as weather conditions, can be ignored, because they do not affect the long-time structure of the sound-

scape.<sup>426</sup> For this reason, viewshed analysis, which is based on topography, can also be used as a model for creating a soundscape.

Viewshed zones created with GIS function as soundshed zones in the analysis of sound. The soundshed zone is restricted within the area of the restricted viewshed zone, approximately 300 m from the sacred place (Figure 56). This has been considered as the distance at which the soundscape surrounding a person includes many natural sounds, such as birdsong and the rustling of leaves, that can no longer be heard from farther off.<sup>427</sup> The restricted viewshed zone defines the area in which senses other than vision can also provide information. At a short distance, the topography-independent features related to the travelling of sound do not rise in significance.

As I noted earlier, the soundshed zone of a sacred place includes water at 64% of the places. For the soundscape, however, the proximity of water is not as significant as the *type* of waterway in question. Standing waters and watercourses form different soundscapes. Standing waters are more common in the material. At the shores of such waters, such as lakes or ponds, the sound of water can be heard mainly in windy weather as the waves beat on the shore. Standing waters are also important as carriers of sound; in tranquil weather, sound can be carried along the water for long distances. The sound of watercourses, such as rivers or creeks, is constantly present and carries for longer distances. Sound-making waterways have been considered to form a part of the bodily experience of a ritual landscape and the manifestation of the landscape as an actor.<sup>428</sup> The sound of rapids is especially loud. That said, rapids are rare in connection with sacred places.

The sound of water associated with sacred places mostly consists of the sound of waves, less frequently of the sound of running water. In some cases, the way in which standing water carries sound may also have been significant. Sounds are carried on the water to the sacred place, and the sounds of rituals carried out in the sacred place are carried elsewhere. Standing water as a soundscape has more tendency than watercourses to change according to the weather. Waves require wind, whereas other sounds carry better in still weather. The seasons, too, affect what we hear; lakes freeze and rapids run faster or slower. This changing soundscape may have formed a part of the experience of sacred places. Changes in the sound of water may also have accompanied the ritual annual cycle; some of the sieidis were visited in the spring in connection with migration (*geinnodat*), at a time when flowing water may also have been at its peak.

Water can be described as part of the soundscape with the help of various terms used in sound studies. *Keynote sounds* are those created by the geography and climate of the landscape, such as the sounds of the wind, forest, birds, and animals. They are background sounds to which we do not actively pay attention. The sound of water can also be a keynote sound. On the other hand, water can be experienced as a *soundmark*, which, like a landmark, anchors the listener to the area and is significant to the community.<sup>429</sup> In particular, the roar of fast-flowing rivers or rapids can be

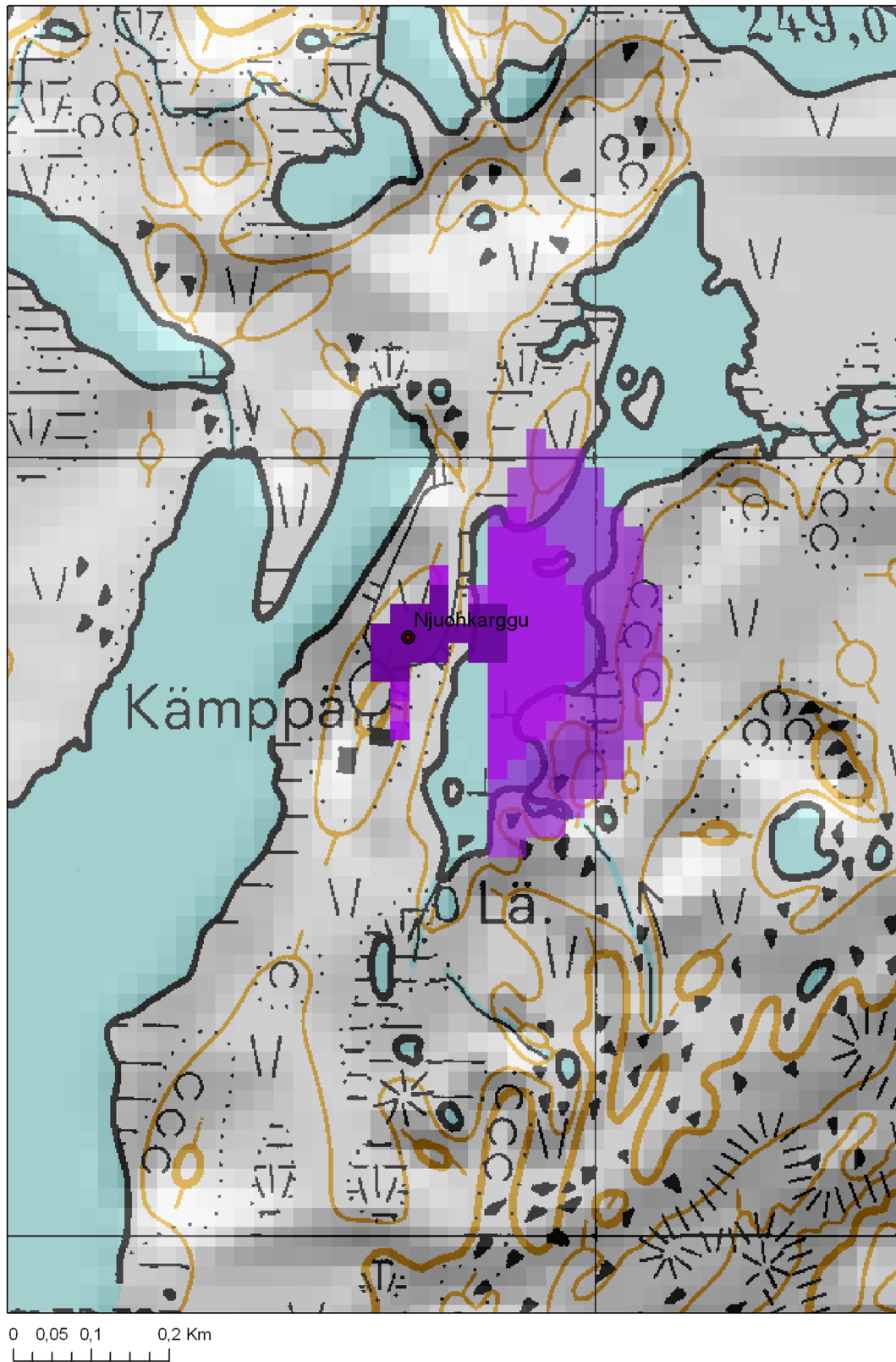
<sup>426</sup> Mlekuz 2004.

<sup>427</sup> Ohlson 1976, 35.

<sup>428</sup> Goldhahn 2002.

<sup>429</sup> Schafer 1980, 9–10.





**Figure 56.** The restricted soundshed zone of Njuohkarggu presented as a fuzzy viewshed. A fuzzy sound horizon indicates to what extent the phenomenon exists, not whether or not it exists. The map describes the variance from audible to inaudible. Basic map sheet © National Land Survey of Finland, licence no. 051/MML/11.

experienced as a soundmark. *Community sounds* are also socially significant because they connect and organize people. Such sounds can include, for example, church bells and prayer calls from minarets.<sup>430</sup> According to Alain Corbin, church bells created a territorial, sacral space within the area where they could be heard.<sup>431</sup> Sounds related to sacred places may also have had such a socially connecting function. The sound of water, which can also be heard elsewhere in nature, may have acquired new meanings when it was connected with offering activities.

Not all sounds have thus been equally significant. The significance of a sound cannot be taken for granted, but it depends on the relationship between the actor and the landscape.<sup>432</sup> What sounds then have had meaning? What sounds were experienced as worth listening to? What were the dominant sounds in the landscape? All spaces, both built and natural, have acoustic properties. Even if sounds are present, not all places have been selected as theatres of action on the basis of them. The sounds may have been secondary from the viewpoint of the activity or they have not influenced the selection of the place, but may have been considered as otherwise significant. It is difficult to estimate which acoustic properties are planned and consciously chosen and which are coincidental. On the other hand, sound may have been important at a place where no signs of acoustic properties remain. *Recurrent patterning* and *closeness of fit* do indicate that places were deliberately chosen. Closeness of fit is evidenced by buildings that can be explained only by deliberate planning.<sup>433</sup> This cannot be used in the case of soundscapes at natural sacred sites. In estimating deliberateness, only recurrent patterning can be applied to natural places. The proximity of water in sacred places forms a recurrent pattern, but it can also be explained by symbolic and functional features other than the generated soundscape. The location of sacred places has most likely not been selected on the basis of the sound of water, but it has still been a conscious or unconscious part of the experience of the sacred place.

Water has been experienced as an element connected to the sacred in many cultures.<sup>434</sup> Water is a part of the Sámi worldview because it is related to the lower world. Water was used to travel from this world to the lower world. The sound of water could thus also have ritual meanings. People often endow natural sounds, such as thunder, with symbolic meanings.<sup>435</sup> The sound of water too may have been a significant symbolic element. According to Knut Helskog, the sounds of waves may have had an influence on the selection of shores for petroglyphs. Shores are meeting places for the soundscapes of land and water.<sup>436</sup>

Meanings given to sounds can also be found in written sources. Written sources and their descriptions of the sounds of the environment are the third element in the study of past sounds. In my study of sounds, I use written sources from the 19th and early 20th centuries containing descriptions of sieidi soundscapes (Table 7). The main emphasis is on sources describing Finnish Lapland. The time described by the sources can be considered as a rather late phase in the use of sieidis, but they nevertheless

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<sup>430</sup> Mills 2004.

<sup>431</sup> Corbin 2006.

<sup>432</sup> Mlekuz 2004.

<sup>433</sup> Scarre 2006.

<sup>434</sup> Strang 2004, 83–102.

<sup>435</sup> Guthrie 1995.

<sup>436</sup> Helskog 1999, 78–79.

take us closer to the meanings associated with sieidi soundscapes. Even though sounds were not a particular research subject when the sources were written, the writings still contain mentions of various sound-related beliefs.

**Table 7.** *Sounds and silence mentioned in written sources.*

Source	Sound	Sound source	Acceptance
Friis 1871	Everyday sounds	Human	Forbidden
Holmberg 1915	Crying children and other noise	Human	Forbidden
Paulaharju 1922	Tinkling bells	Sieidi	Accepted
Paulaharju 1922	Song	Human	Accepted
Paulaharju 1922	Yoik	Human/Sieidi	Accepted
Paulaharju 1927	Speech	Human	Forbidden
Paulaharju 1932	Echo	Sieidi	Accepted
Paulaharju 1932	Cursing and making noise	Human	Forbidden
Paulaharju 1932	Tinkling bells	Human (Reindeer)	Forbidden
Paulaharju 1932	Song and music	Sieidi	Accepted
Ravila 1934	Yoik	Human	Accepted
Ravila 1934	Speechlessness	Human	Accepted
T.I. Itkonen 1948 II	Song	Human	Accepted
T.I. Itkonen 1948 II	Noise	Human	Forbidden
T.I. Itkonen 1948 II	Squeaking rowlocks	Human	Forbidden

Echoes are one special form of sound related to the sieidis that are mentioned in the sources. Antti Lahelma considers the echo generated by vertical cliffs at the waterline as one factor influencing the selection of rock faces for rock paintings.<sup>437</sup> The vertical cliffs rising up from the water in connection with sieidis may also have been considered as sacred due to the special soundscape caused by echoes.<sup>438</sup> Samuli Paulaharju describes an echo associated with Taatsinkirkko (66) as follows: "The water runs there and falls and takes an echo as if someone were preaching there [...] The Lapps have sung their sieidi prayers under Taatsinkirkko. It rumbled, and that is why they sung there."<sup>439</sup> The echo thus livened up the sounds of both water and people. In some communities, echoes have been considered as made by spirits.<sup>440</sup> An echo may have been interpreted as an intermediary between the worlds of the living and the dead or as the participation of ancestors in the ritual.<sup>441</sup>

Another sound mentioned in written sources to have been heard at sieidis is the yoik, which was closely connected with offering activities.<sup>442</sup> On the other hand, for some sieidis, absolute silence is mentioned to have been important in order to show respect for the sieidi. Everyday sounds could anger the sieidi or disrupt the peace of

<sup>437</sup> Lahelma 2008, 60.

<sup>438</sup> Lahelma 2008, 121–142.

<sup>439</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 50. Original Finnish text: "Vesi juoksee siellä ja tippuu ja ottaa kajun niinkuin saarnattaisiin siellä. [...] Taatsinkirkon alla ovat lappalaiset laulanhiet seitarukouksiansa. Se kun kumisi, siksi siellä lauloivat."

<sup>440</sup> Waller 2006.

<sup>441</sup> Nordström 1999, 134.

<sup>442</sup> Qvigstad 1903, 38; Mebius 2003, 137.

the sacred place. For example, concerning Golleahkku (27), Paulaharju relates the following: "When we rode past the rocky Golleahkku of Gonjalvuono, we had to put hay or snow in the reindeer bells. If the bells were allowed to clamour, Golleahkku would become angry and cause our journey to go badly."<sup>443</sup> Knud Leem has also noted that a *goahti* should not be built close to a *basse* mountain so that the crying of children would not cause a disturbance.<sup>444</sup>

In the auditory scene analysis, I paid attention to human voices as a part of my experience of sieidis. In written sources, human voices are also considered as being more important than natural sounds. In some cases, everyday sounds and noise are forbidden, but often various ritual-related sounds, such as yoiks, are mentioned as suitable sounds. In addition, sounds related to approaching the sieidi site, such as the squeaking of rowlocks that I mentioned in the auditory scene analysis, may have to have been silenced.

According to the relational worldview, the sieidi itself could also be a source of sound. In addition to humans, the sieidi too could sing yoiks.<sup>445</sup> The Taatsi sieidi answered offerers with a sound like tinkling bells coming out of the statue.<sup>446</sup> Sounds produced by the sieidi were a part of the ritual interaction.

Altogether, offering places were associated with both silence and loud sounds. According to Riitta Rainio, folk religions had an acoustic dimension; humans controlled the space around them by making noise and staying silent and negotiated with parties central to subsistence, such as the spirit world. Noise-making aimed at scaring the otherworldly forces and silence ensured that the spirits were not disturbed, frightened, or insulted.<sup>447</sup>

Written sources also emphasize human voices as either controlled or accepted. In my soundshed and GIS analyses, I have for my part brought to light the significance of natural sounds. The sound of water, in particular, was present in many sacred places, and water has been associated with sacred properties in many religions. Even a quiet water sound may be pronounced if other sounds are controlled.

Taken together, the different ways of approaching sounds related to sacred places create a comprehensive view of the soundscape. At the sieidis, keynote natural sounds could still be observed: the sounds of animals, wind, and water. Some of these were background sounds that did not actively draw the attention, but some could acquire new meanings due to recurrent patterning, which could also be seen in the GIS analysis. For example, the sounds of water may have become community sounds due to the symbolic meanings associated with water. On the other hand, sacred places could also be associated with sounds that are currently available only through written sources. These include sounds related to ritual activity and the sounds made by the sieidi. In addition to all these sounds, written sources also give us information on the silence related to sieidis.

<sup>443</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 25; cf. Itkonen 1948 II, 320; Viinanen 2003, 15. Original Finnish text: "Gonjalvuonon kallioisen Golleahkkun ohitse ajettaessa piti panna porontiukuun heiniä tai lunta. Jos tiuvut saivat täysin äänin mouhuta, niin Golleahkku suuttui ja antoi huonon matkan."

<sup>444</sup> Leem 1956 [1767], 443–444.

<sup>445</sup> Paulaharju 1962 [1922], 143.

<sup>446</sup> Paulaharju 1962 [1922], 138.

<sup>447</sup> Rainio 2005.

Whatever the sounds or the lack of sound, they were not completely without meaning. Ingold and Kurttila have emphasized hearing as a part of the Sámi world of observation. The crunching of snow, the barking of dogs, and the jangling of reindeer bells were not background sounds, but a part of the lived-in world. We experience the environment in a multisensory way, with the entire body, in order to coordinate our actions in the landscape.<sup>448</sup> The cooperation of multiple senses is also significant in experiencing rituals. In some communities, the smells and fragrances associated with rituals have a special meaning, whereas in others, sounds are considered more important. Rituals cover all senses and emotions.<sup>449</sup> People did not listen to the roar of the rapids with their eyes covered, but lived in a landscape where water pounded the shore pebbles, a smell of offered fish lingered in the air, and a sieidi watched from the profile of a stone.

## 4.5. Summary

The topographic features of sacred places are dominated by water and high elevations. However, a certain kind of location has not been an unconditional rule for the selection of a sacred place, but the natural environment of the area affected the selection of places. For example, the proximity of lakes was pronounced in Inari and that of fells and rivers in Utsjoki. Closer study also shows that the relationship between sacred places and topographical features was not homogenous; there were differences in the sizes of the waterways and high places, as well as in the location of the sieidi in relation to the topographical element.

Atypical shape and size are dominant features in sieidi stones that are examined as landscape elements. However, a special surface or colour is more rarely encountered. An atypical shape may indicate anthropomorphism or zoomorphism. These features occur so often that they are most likely not coincidental, but they are also not the sole factor determining the selection of a sieidi stone. Anthropomorphism may have increased the significance of the sieidi. Atypical size makes the sieidi stone stand out from surrounding stones. The majority of the inspected sieidis were 1.5 to 2.5 metres high. In addition to microtopography, vegetation, and other stones, the size of the sieidi was one factor affecting the visibility of the sieidi. The majority of the inspected sites had average or good visibility. Trees were the usual obstructing factor. The direction of visibility did not seem to be significant. The direction from which the sieidi was visible may have been related to the direction from which the sieidi was approached. However, good visibility was not necessary for the experience of sacredness, but some of the sieidis may have been quite unobtrusive.

Proximity to water has also been a typical feature of sacred places. In the restricted viewshed zone, there is water in 64% of all 107 places. Water can be considered as a liminal feature that connects worlds. It may also have had meaning as a transport route, provider of subsistence, or sound related to sacredness. The auditory scene analysis emphasized the sound of water, but also other natural sounds and human sounds as a part of the soundscape. Of the waterways related to sacred places, standing waters are more common than watercourses and also create a different soundscape. Written sources provided information on both silence and loud sounds in sacred places, as well as on sounds imbued with a special meaning, such as echoes or jingling bells.

<sup>448</sup> Ingold & Kurttila 2000, 189.

<sup>449</sup> Park 1994, 206; Watson 2001, 178–179; Insoll 2004, 106, 111. On the study of emotions in archaeology, see Tarlow 2000.

## 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.<sup>450</sup> 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.<sup>451</sup> 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.<sup>452</sup>*

*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.*

<sup>450</sup> Harlin & Ojanlatva 2008.

<sup>451</sup> Andelin 1859, 230.

<sup>452</sup> 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.<sup>453</sup> Hunting, fishing, and reindeer herding rely heavily on nature and therefore require a permanent relationship between nature and humans.<sup>454</sup> 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 Tenojoki and River Utsjoki. In River Tenojoki, 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.<sup>455</sup>

In the River Tenojoki area, fishing has long been a significant means of subsistence, as shown already by late medieval archive sources.<sup>456</sup> 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.<sup>457</sup> In the 17th century, people in Inari lived a mobile life that revolved around fishing. Hunting was also an important source of food.<sup>458</sup> In addition to wild reindeer, willow grouses, capercaillies, swans, and fur animals such as beavers were also hunted.<sup>459</sup>

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 Tenojoki 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 Tenojoki 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.<sup>460</sup>

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

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<sup>453</sup> Magga 2007a, 11.

<sup>454</sup> Mulk 2003, 127.

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

<sup>456</sup> Helander 1985, 105; Näkkäläjärvi 2007, 38.

<sup>457</sup> Itkonen 1948 I, 190; Itkonen 1948 II, 190.

<sup>458</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 241–242.

<sup>459</sup> Virrankoski 1973, 440–441.

<sup>460</sup> 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.<sup>461</sup> In the late 19th century, reindeer husbandry was the main means of subsistence, in addition to fishing, in both Inari and Utsjoki.<sup>462</sup>

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.<sup>463</sup> 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,<sup>464</sup> 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.<sup>465</sup>

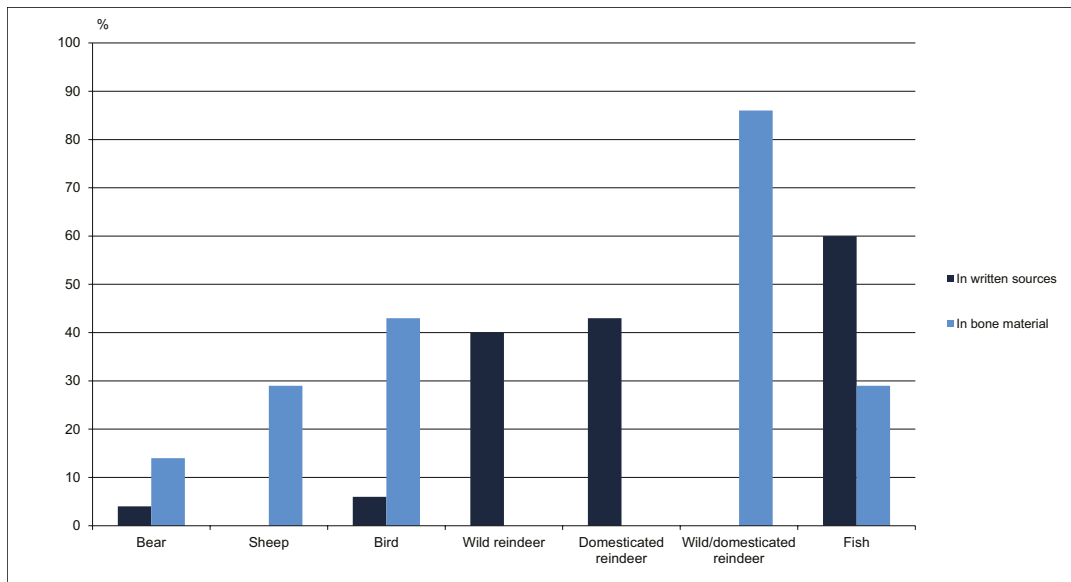
<sup>461</sup> Castrén 1853, 41–45; Itkonen 1948 I, 269, 540; Kylli 2005, 39–40; Korhonen 2008, 26–27.

<sup>462</sup> Halinen 2004, 38; Kortessalmi 2008, 276.

<sup>463</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 38.

<sup>464</sup> Fortelius 1981, 13; Wheeler & Jones 1989, 61–64.

<sup>465</sup> 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.<sup>466</sup> 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,<sup>467</sup> 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

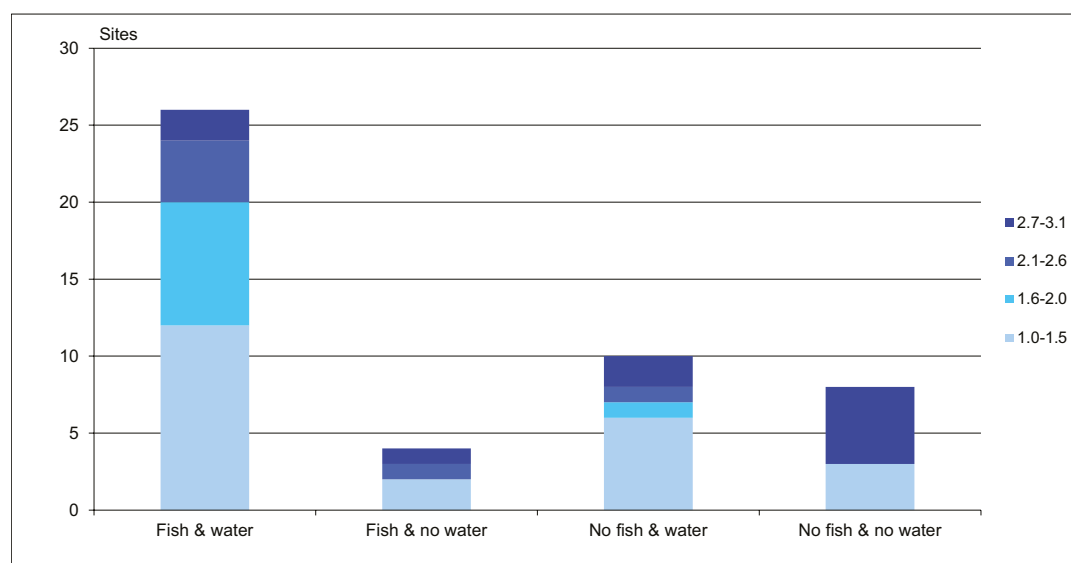
<sup>466</sup> E.g. Paulaharju 1932.

<sup>467</sup> 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.<sup>468</sup> The situation differs from the Swedish material described by Ernst Manker, in which the majority of the offered reindeer are adults.<sup>469</sup>

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.<sup>470</sup> 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.<sup>471</sup>

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.<sup>472</sup> 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.<sup>473</sup>



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

<sup>468</sup> Puputti 2008a; Puputti 2008c; Puputti 2009; Puputti 2010a.

<sup>469</sup> Manker 1957, 46.

<sup>470</sup> See Chapter 2.4.

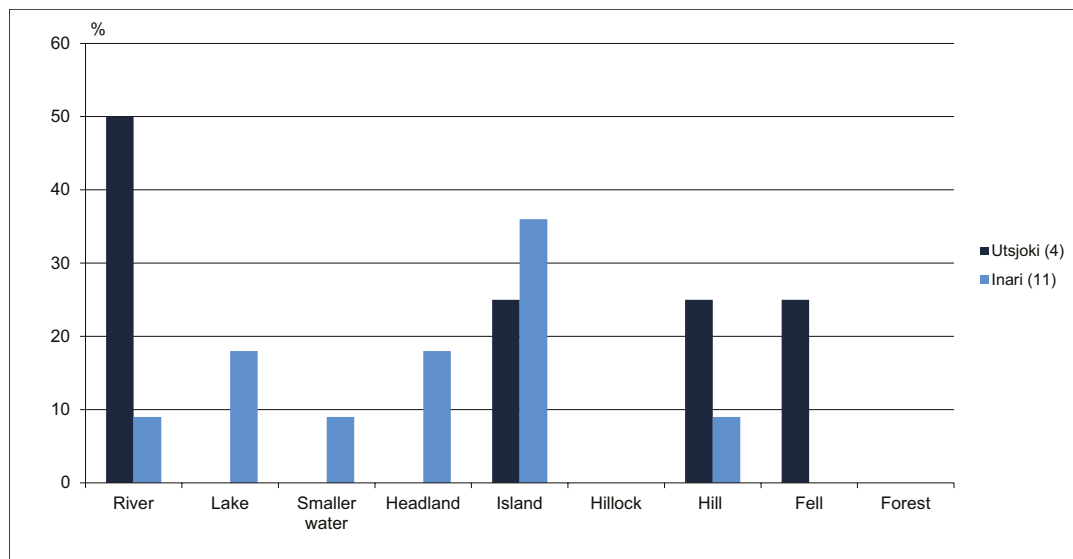
<sup>471</sup> Manker 1957, 52; Fossum 2006, 107–114; Hansen & Olsen 2007, 193–194; Zachrisson 2009.

<sup>472</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 10–11.

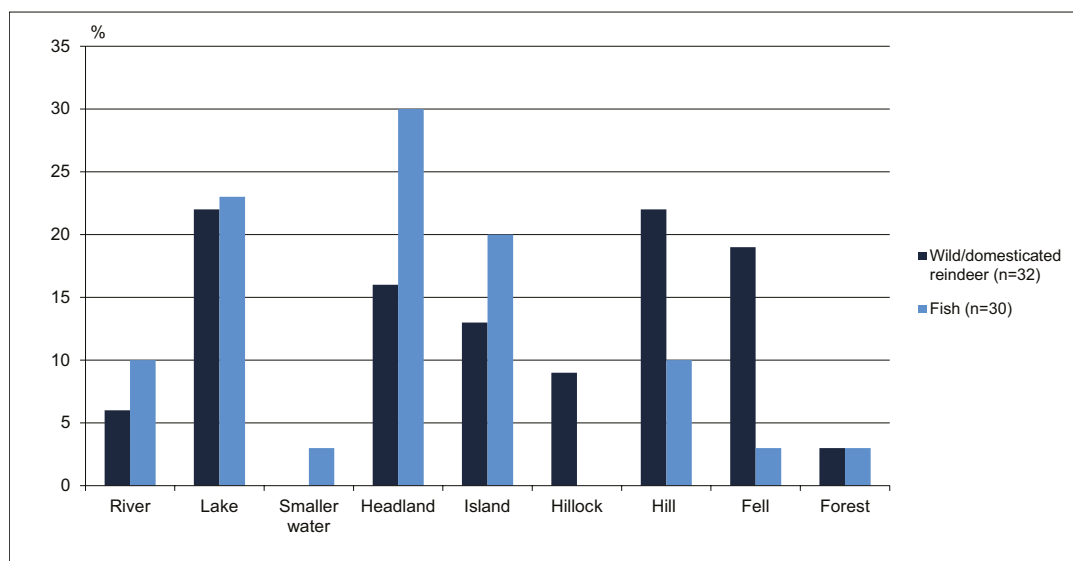
<sup>473</sup> Qvigstad 1926, 318.

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.<sup>474</sup>

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

*Nichts ist dauerhafter als ein ordentliches Loch.*<sup>475</sup>

*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.<sup>476</sup> 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.<sup>477</sup> In Norway, Ørnulv Vorren has suggested that there is a connection between circular offering places and hunting pits.<sup>478</sup> According to Vorren, during the period

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<sup>474</sup> Paulaharju 1941, 8.

<sup>475</sup> "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>).

<sup>476</sup> Valtonen 1999; Valtonen 2006; Valtonen 2009.

<sup>477</sup> Fellman 1906 II, 224–225; Mulk 1996, 66.

<sup>478</sup> Vorren 1958; Vorren 1985, 79.

of hunting culture, sieidis were located close to hunting pits and close to places where wild reindeer crossed rivers.<sup>479</sup> The location of offering places has therefore been connected to hunting wild reindeer.<sup>480</sup> 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.

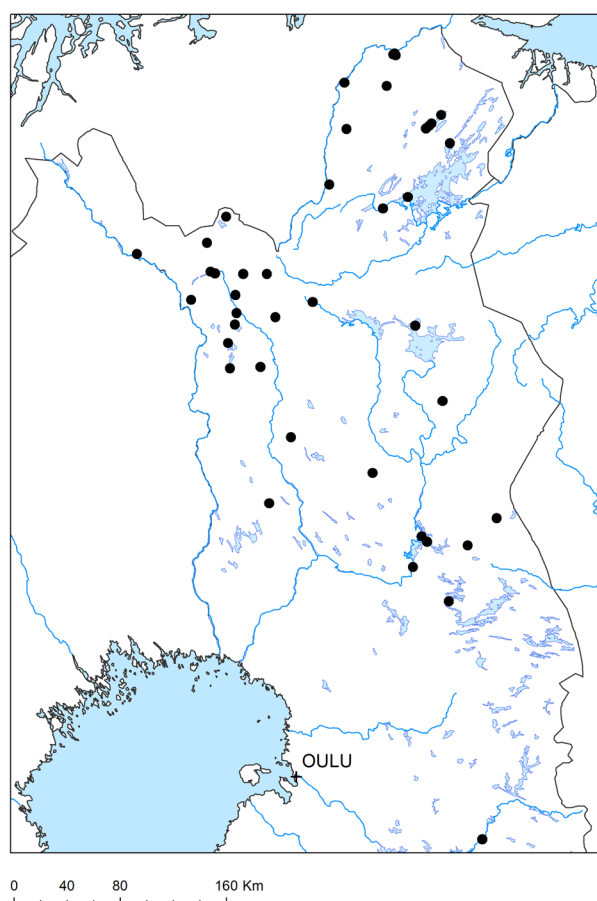
Based on excavation finds or written sources, ten of the sacred places related to hunting pits are wild reindeer sieidis. For five of these, the hunting pit site (or sites) are within the restricted viewshed zone and for the other five they are not visible within a radius of 3000 metres. One of the latter, 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.

<sup>479</sup> Vorren 1982, 58, 65–66.

<sup>480</sup> Vorren & Eriksen 1993, 197.

**Figure 61.**

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



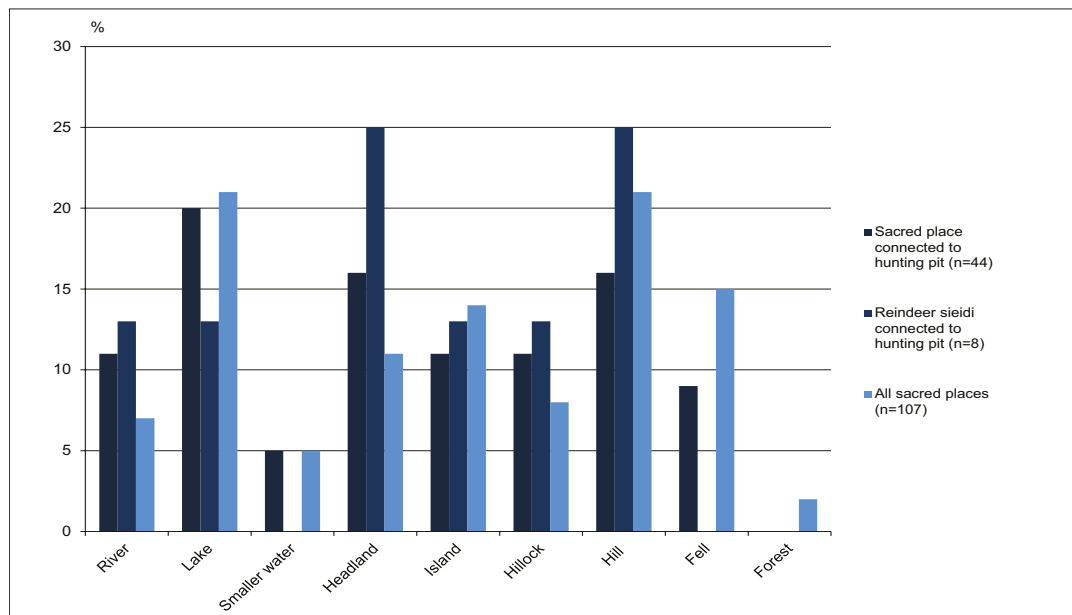
In written sources, sieidis related to wild reindeer hunting are described as being located both up in the fells, lower down on the heath (Sieiddakeädggi 113), at the waterline (Seitigädggi 112), and on a headland of a lake (Seitavaara, Inari 39). Judging by written sources, the locations of wild reindeer sieidis thus seem to vary considerably. On the other hand, locations up in the fells have been emphasized.<sup>481</sup> 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

<sup>481</sup> 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.<sup>482</sup> 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.<sup>483</sup> 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.

<sup>482</sup> Mulk 1996, 66.

<sup>483</sup> 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.<sup>484</sup> 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.<sup>485</sup> 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.<sup>486</sup>

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.<sup>487</sup> 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.<sup>488</sup> 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.<sup>489</sup> 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.<sup>490</sup> Petri Halinen considers that historical sources are related to people's tendencies to think of hunting pits in the landscape as belonging to

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<sup>484</sup> Halinen 2005; Halinen 2006b.

<sup>485</sup> Fossum 2006, 65; Hansen & Olsen 2007, 186–187.

<sup>486</sup> Vorren 1998.

<sup>487</sup> Halinen 2005, 154.

<sup>488</sup> Halinen 2005, 154.

<sup>489</sup> Äikäs & Núñez 2010a.

<sup>490</sup> 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.<sup>491</sup> 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.<sup>492</sup> 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.<sup>493</sup> 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.<sup>494</sup> Based on their distribution and finds, the hearths are associated with the Sámi.<sup>495</sup>

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.<sup>496</sup> 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.<sup>497</sup> The location of small groups of rectangular fireplaces in good reindeer country has been thought to link them to wild reindeer hunting.<sup>498</sup> 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.<sup>499</sup> However, the hunting pits have

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<sup>491</sup> Halinen 1996, 59.

<sup>492</sup> Hamari 1996, 53–54.

<sup>493</sup> Hamari 1996, 47–49.

<sup>494</sup> Hamari 1996, 46.

<sup>495</sup> Hamari 1996, 53; Hedman 2003; Halinen *et al.* 2013.

<sup>496</sup> Mulk 1994, 147; Hedman 2003.

<sup>497</sup> Hamari 1996, 51; Halinen *et al.* 2013.

<sup>498</sup> Halinen 2004, 26.

<sup>499</sup> 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.<sup>500</sup> 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.<sup>501</sup> 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.<sup>502</sup>

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 *goahti* 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,<sup>503</sup> 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

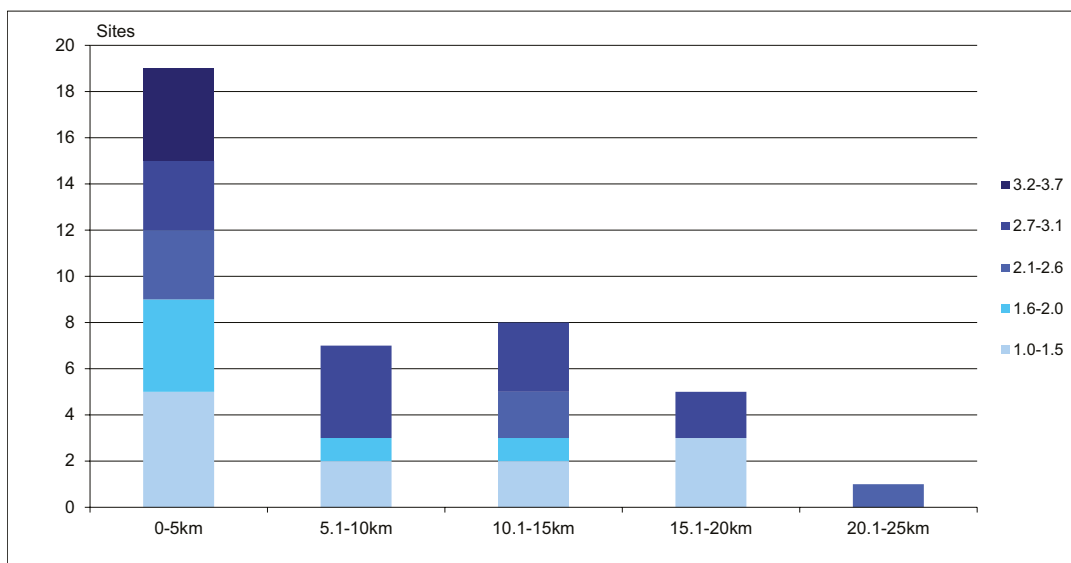
<sup>500</sup> Winter villages were places where inhabitants of *siidas*, Sámi villages, gathered in the winter. They can be dated approximately to the 17th to 19th centuries.

<sup>501</sup> Hamari 1996, 53–54.

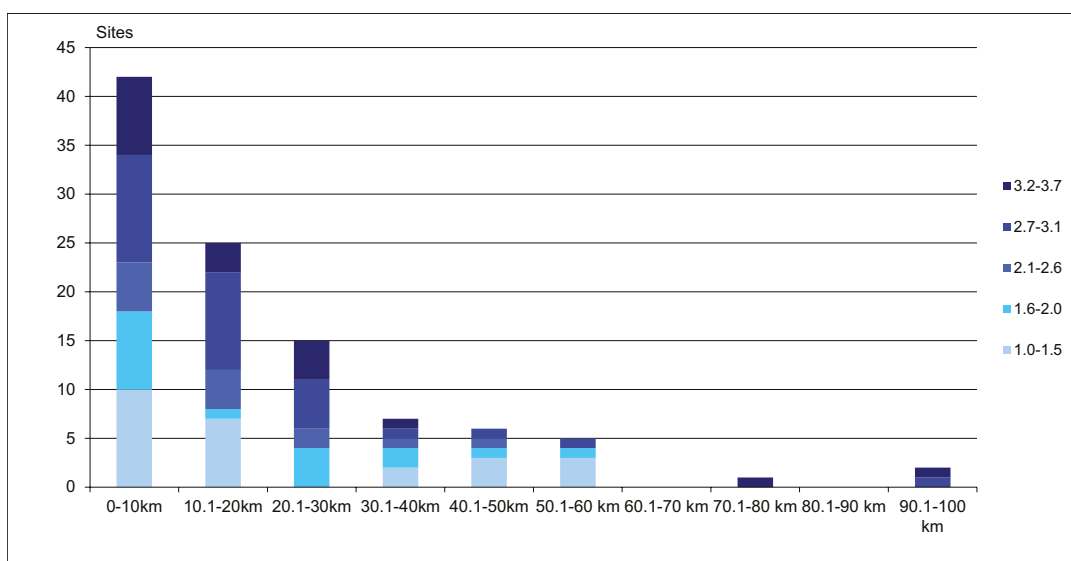
<sup>502</sup> See Korhonen 2008, 101.

<sup>503</sup> Äyräpää 1931, 355.

emphasized (Figure 64). The proximity of offering places to dwelling sites is also known from the areas of Sweden and Norway.<sup>504</sup> 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.<sup>505</sup> 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.

<sup>504</sup> Fossum 2006, 111.

<sup>505</sup> 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.<sup>506</sup>

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.<sup>507</sup> 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.<sup>508</sup> In Utsjoki, the connection

<sup>506</sup> Leem 1956 [1767], 443–444.

<sup>507</sup> Itkonen 1948 I, 198.

<sup>508</sup> [http://www.rky.fi/read/asp/r\\_kohde\\_det.aspx?KOHDE\\_ID=2169](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.<sup>509</sup> 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.<sup>510</sup> 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.<sup>511</sup> Some of the homesteads, on the other hand, are still used today.

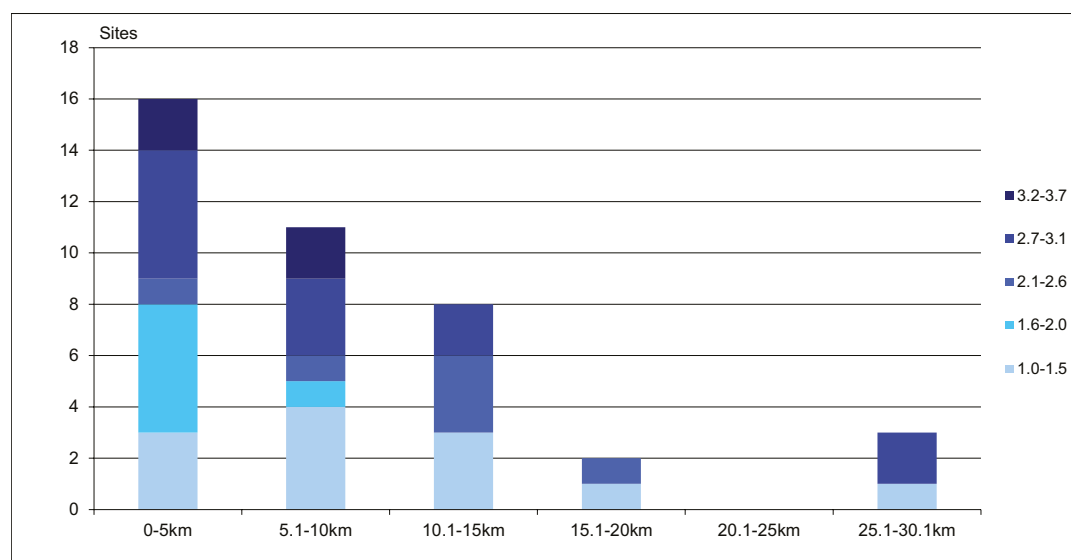
<sup>509</sup> Mulk 1996, 65; Mulk 2003, 128. The etymological connection between the words *sieidi* and *siida*, Sámi village, is also considered to have its roots in offerings performed collectively by the village community (Bergsland 1964, 244; Sammallahki 1982, 108–109).

<sup>510</sup> Ahnger s.a. (see Lehtola 2012, 103–104).

<sup>511</sup> 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.<sup>512</sup>



**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.<sup>513</sup> It has been suggested that sieidis marked the borders of *siidas*.<sup>514</sup> 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 Kaarantojärvi on the southern border of Suovdittvárri, and Lake Ketojärvi (7) on the southern border of Bealdojávri. However, all these borders are based on estimates.

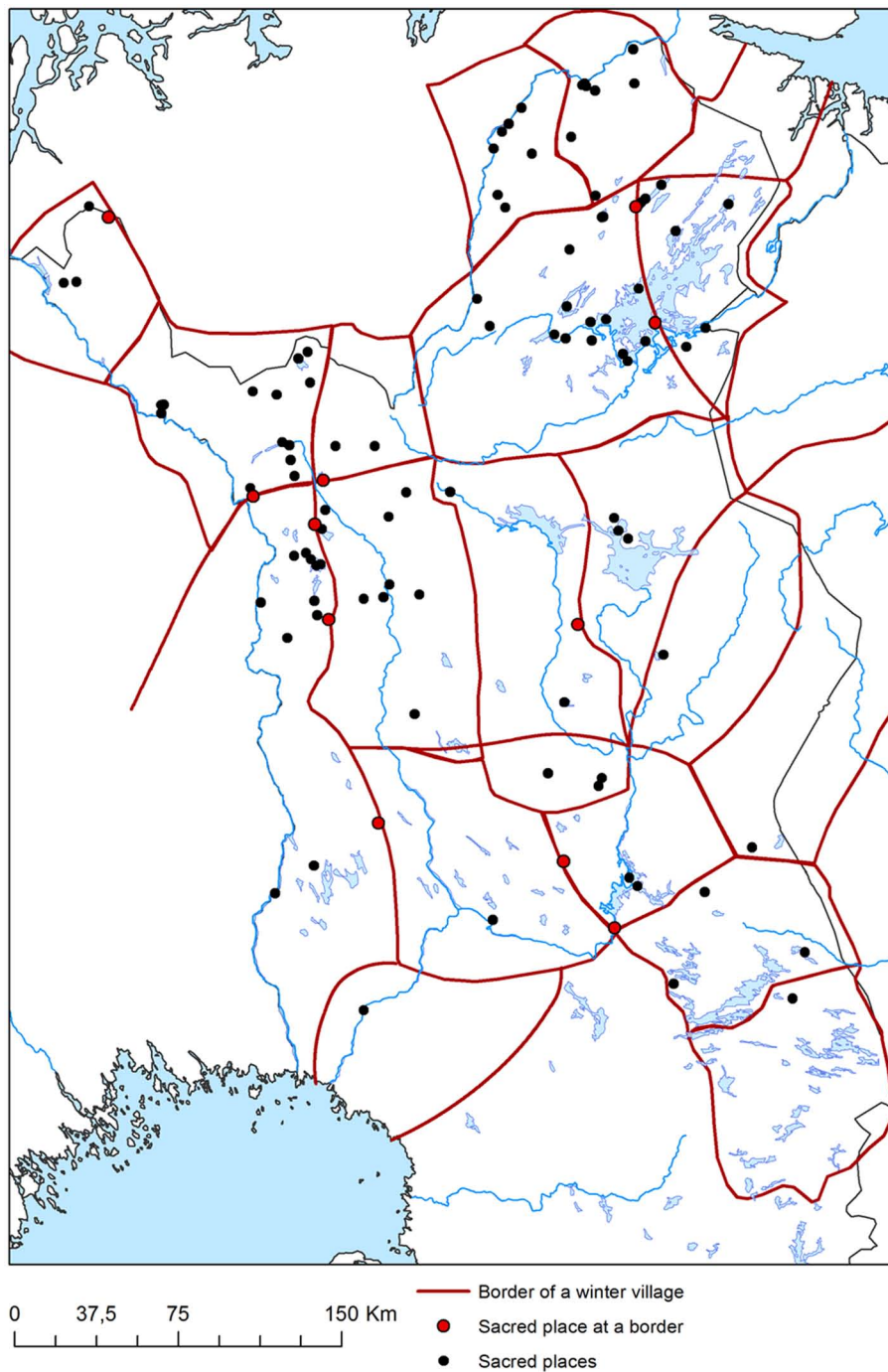
Animal bones found at dwelling sites also provide information on the connection between settlement and offering. The bone material from offering places reflects the importance of the same species as the bone finds from dwelling sites, although dwelling sites often have a wider selection of bones. Figure 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

<sup>512</sup> Paulaharju 1963 [1923], 156–161.

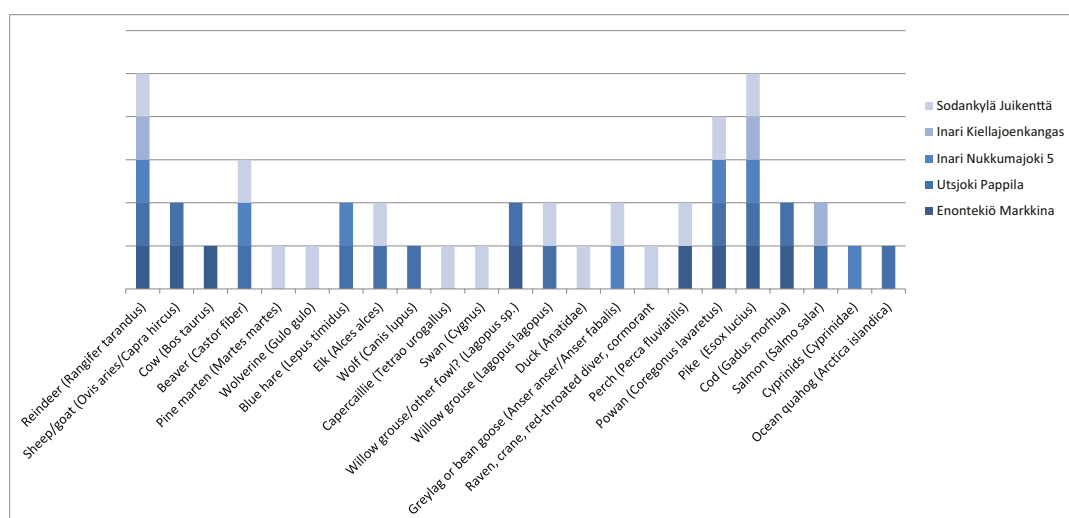
<sup>513</sup> Näkkäläjärvä 2000, 138, 147.

<sup>514</sup> 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.



**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.<sup>515</sup> 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.<sup>516</sup> 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.<sup>517</sup> In the bone finds of

<sup>515</sup> Hedman & Olsen 2009, 8–10.

<sup>516</sup> Vorren 1998, 123–131.

<sup>517</sup> 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.<sup>518</sup> 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.<sup>519</sup> According to M. A. Castrén, the alternative name for sieidis, "kenttäkiwi" or "homestead stone" refers to the connection between offering and settlement.<sup>520</sup>

#### 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.<sup>521</sup> 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.<sup>522</sup> 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.<sup>523</sup> Reindeer husbandry is considered to have spread to Finland through Enontekiö in the 17th century.<sup>524</sup> However, wild reindeer hunting was still very important in the 1750s in, for example, Enontekiö.<sup>525</sup> 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.<sup>526</sup>

<sup>518</sup> Carpelan 1987, 71–73.

<sup>519</sup> Grydeland 2001, 10, 39–40; Hansen & Olsen 2007, 193.

<sup>520</sup> Castrén 1853, 60.

<sup>521</sup> For a summary of the discussion, see Ojala 2009, 164–168.

<sup>522</sup> Aronsson 1991.

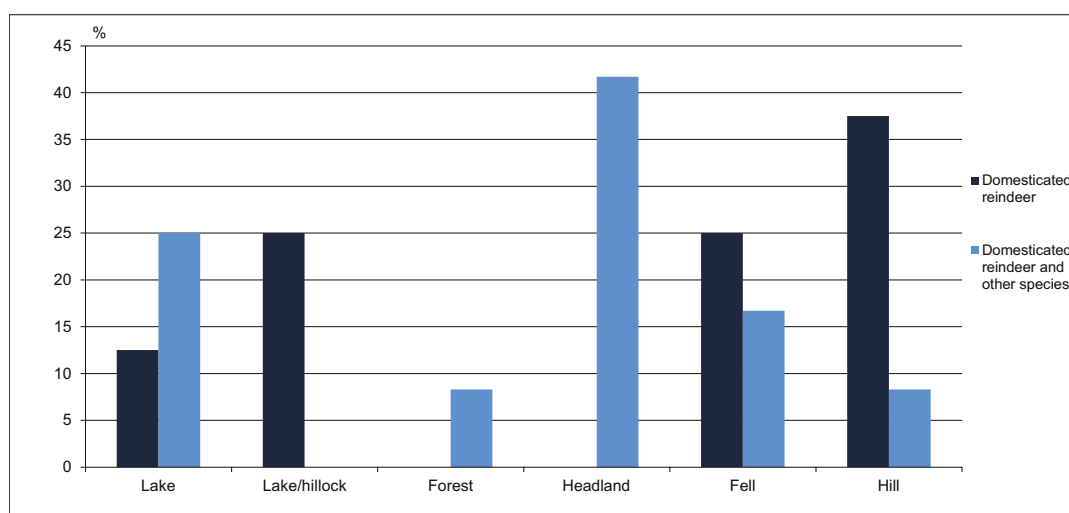
<sup>523</sup> Linkola 1985, 171; Aronsson 1991; Hedman 2003; Mulk 2003, 121.

<sup>524</sup> Korhonen 2008, 21.

<sup>525</sup> Smith 1938, 115–116; Kortessalmi 2008, 23.

<sup>526</sup> Appendix 3.

In written sources, sacred places related to reindeer husbandry are often mentioned as having been located on fells.<sup>527</sup> According to Paulaharju, however, domesticated reindeer sieidis could be located not only on fells, but on pine heaths or lakeshores.<sup>528</sup> 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.<sup>529</sup> 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

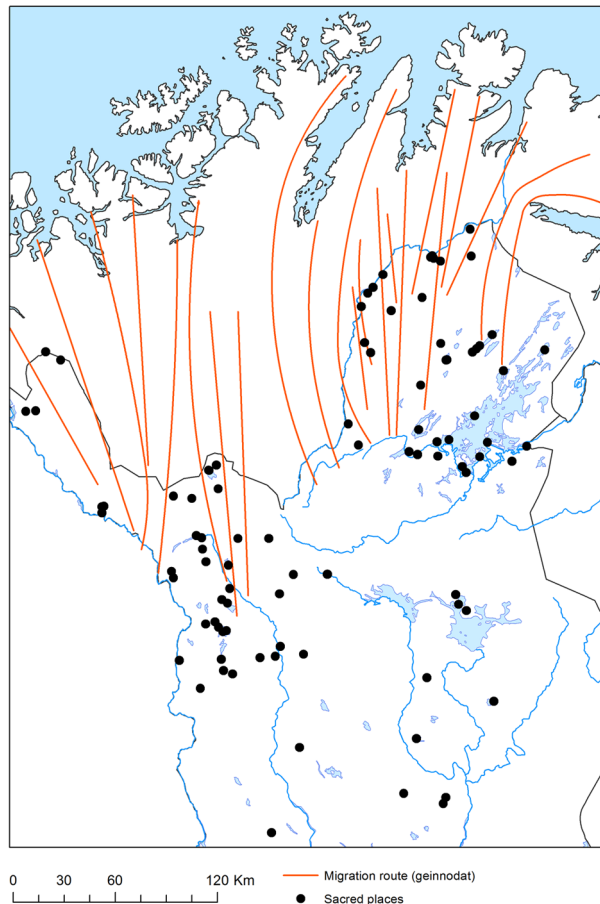
<sup>527</sup> Paulaharju 1965 [1927], 261; Itkonen 1948 II, 316; cf. Vorren 1987, 95.

<sup>528</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 11–12.

<sup>529</sup> 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.<sup>530</sup> Offering places could be located in spots along the migration route with dangerous passages.<sup>531</sup> Migration routes have been in use even before the practice of reindeer husbandry was established. The annual migration was a part of hunting and

fishing strategies and continued as the Sámi took up reindeer husbandry.<sup>532</sup> 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.<sup>533</sup> 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.<sup>534</sup> 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.



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

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.<sup>535</sup> The sieidis near Lake Pöyrisjärvi in Enontekiö and Termisvaara are also on a migration route.<sup>536</sup> Termisvaara has not been mentioned in written sources, but based on the toponym (which also refers to the deity Dierpmes) it

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

<sup>531</sup> Mebius 2003, 140.

<sup>532</sup> Mulk 2003, 121; Korhonen 2008, 21.

<sup>533</sup> Reuterskiöld 1912, 9; Outakoski 1991, 24.

<sup>534</sup> Nieminen 1993, 18.

<sup>535</sup> SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 1959–1961.

<sup>536</sup> 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.<sup>537</sup> After the closed borders impeded migration, the Lake Pöyrisjärvi area functioned as a summer grazing spot until the 1950s.<sup>538</sup> 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.<sup>539</sup> 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.<sup>540</sup> 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.<sup>541</sup> 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.<sup>542</sup> 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.<sup>543</sup> 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 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?

<sup>537</sup> Kortessalmi 2008, 273, 276.

<sup>538</sup> Näkkäläjärvi & Pieski 2004, 28, 39.

<sup>539</sup> Vorren 1962, Map 30; Mattila 1974, 80.

<sup>540</sup> Paulaharju 1965 [1927], 131.

<sup>541</sup> Linkola & Linkola 2000, 165.

<sup>542</sup> Linkola 1985, 169, 175.

<sup>543</sup> 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 *goahti* 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.<sup>544</sup> Sieidis could also be markers of migration routes and they could be located, for example, at the junction of two migration routes.<sup>545</sup> 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.<sup>546</sup> The oldest known reindeer round-up in fenced enclosures took place in Sodankylä in 1765.<sup>547</sup> 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.<sup>548</sup> 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.<sup>549</sup> 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.<sup>550</sup>

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

<sup>544</sup> SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 1–107.1959; cf. Manker 1957, 88.

<sup>545</sup> SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 294.1961, 530.1961.

<sup>546</sup> [http://www.rky.fi/read/asp/r\\_kohde\\_det.aspx?KOHDE\\_ID=2130](http://www.rky.fi/read/asp/r_kohde_det.aspx?KOHDE_ID=2130).

<sup>547</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 118.

<sup>548</sup> Korhonen 2008, 77.

<sup>549</sup> Strand *et al.* 1994.

<sup>550</sup> Paulaharju 1941, 8.

the landscape.<sup>551</sup> 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
Suttésája, 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.<sup>552</sup> At the top of the Guivi fell (103), which is considered sacred, hearths of the *bearpmetárran* type<sup>553</sup> 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.<sup>554</sup> A comparable number of sites is not known from

<sup>551</sup> Korhonen 2008, 12.

<sup>552</sup> Manninen & Valtonen 2006, 55, 61; Valtonen 2006.

<sup>553</sup> This is a type of open hearth with a stone border.

<sup>554</sup> Valtonen 2009, 136.

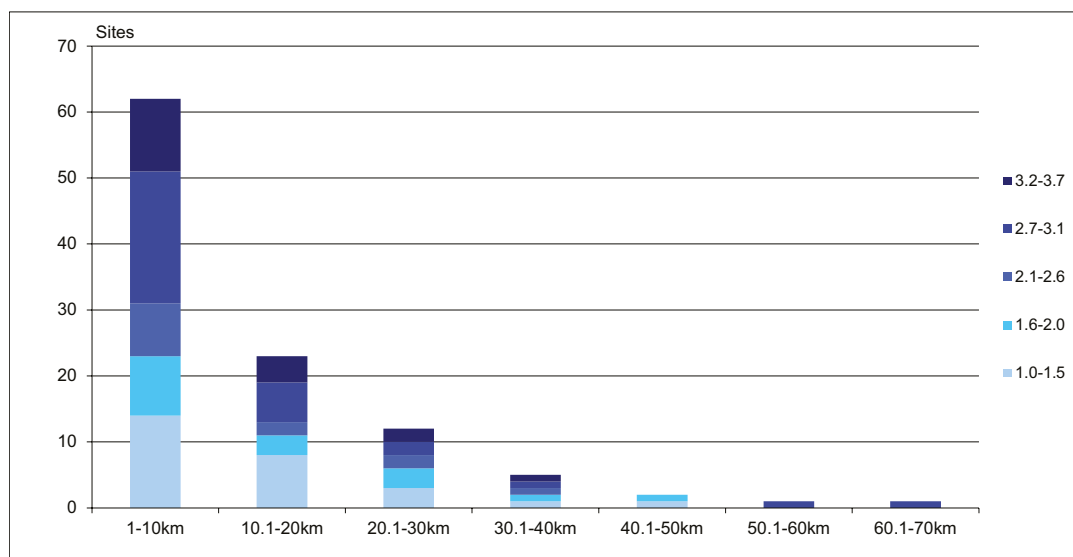
other sacred places on fells, but this may be partly due to insufficient surveying. Many other fell areas have probably been equally important, especially for wild reindeer hunting and reindeer husbandry.

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.<sup>555</sup>

## 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.

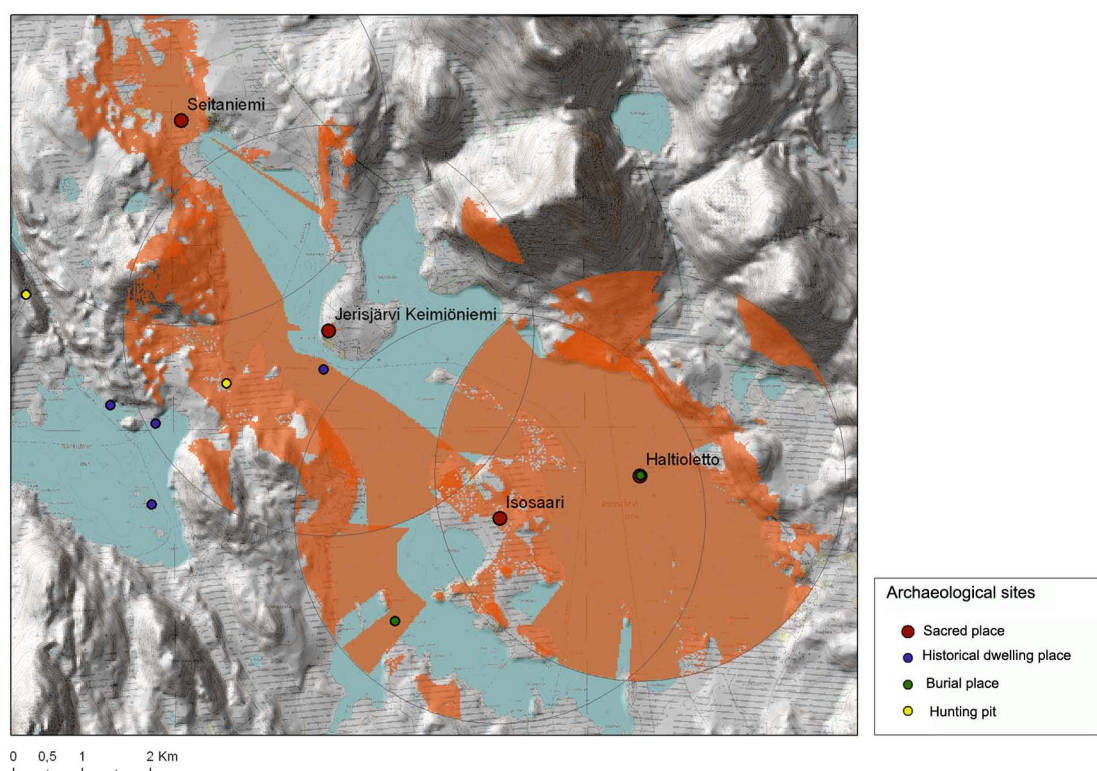
In addition to visibility, I examined the relations of sacred places to each other by finding out how close sacred places are to each other on average. Figure 71 shows how far away from a sacred place the next closest sacred place is located. Note that a site can be located simultaneously within the 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.

<sup>555</sup> 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.<sup>556</sup> 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

<sup>556</sup> 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,<sup>557</sup> 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.<sup>558</sup> 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).<sup>559</sup>

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.<sup>560</sup> The identification of burial islands in the research area is based mainly on toponyms, because burial islands have been insufficiently surveyed and studied.<sup>561</sup> 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.<sup>562</sup> The connection between sieidis and rituals related to burials is also indicated by the fact that sometimes people were buried near their offering stones.<sup>563</sup> 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.<sup>564</sup> However, sometimes the summer graves that were meant to be temporary remained the permanent resting places of the deceased.<sup>565</sup>

Stories of people buried on burial islands near sieidis are told, for example, at Lake Pöyrisjärvi<sup>566</sup> (Figure 73) and Lake Näkkäljärvi<sup>567</sup>. 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

<sup>557</sup> Zachrisson 1984, 102; Ojanlatva 2004, 10; cf. Spangen 2009, 101.

<sup>558</sup> Ojanlatva 2003; Ojanlatva 2004, 11.

<sup>559</sup> Äyräpää 1931, 354.

<sup>560</sup> Hamari & Halinen 2000, 165.

<sup>561</sup> Ruohonen 2002, 33.

<sup>562</sup> Hamari & Halinen 2000, 165.

<sup>563</sup> SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 108–190.1960.

<sup>564</sup> SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 527.1961.

<sup>565</sup> Ruohonen 2005, 262–264.

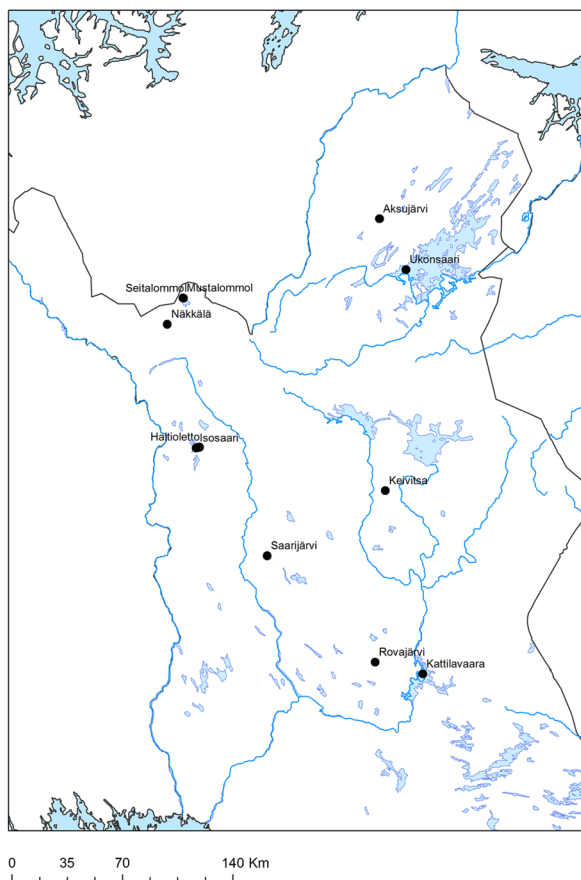
<sup>566</sup> SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 506.1961.

<sup>567</sup> 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.<sup>568</sup>



**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.<sup>569</sup> 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.

<sup>568</sup> Schanche 2000, 283.

<sup>569</sup> 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  
[...]<sup>570</sup>*

*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.<sup>571</sup> 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.<sup>572</sup> 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.<sup>573</sup> 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.<sup>574</sup>

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,

<sup>570</sup> Translated by Ralph Salisbury, Lars Nordstrom, and Harald Gaski.

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

<sup>572</sup> Kylli 2005, 12, 14–16.

<sup>573</sup> Kylli 2005, 18.

<sup>574</sup> 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.<sup>575</sup>

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.<sup>576</sup> 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.<sup>577</sup> However, the coexistence of the sacred places of two religions was not always unproblematic.

In Northern Sweden, clerics destroyed sieidis and other sacred places.<sup>578</sup> Offering places were burned and desecrated, for example, by taking women to places that were forbidden to women.<sup>579</sup> 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.<sup>580</sup> 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.<sup>581</sup> However, even the Sámi themselves destroyed sacred places after converting to Christianity.<sup>582</sup> 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.<sup>583</sup> 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.<sup>584</sup> 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.<sup>585</sup> 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.

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<sup>575</sup> Kylli 2005, 332.

<sup>576</sup> Hansen & Olsen 2007, 222.

<sup>577</sup> Halinen 2009, 108.

<sup>578</sup> Fossum 2006, 185.

<sup>579</sup> Rydving 1993, 65–66.

<sup>580</sup> Rydving 1993, 61; cf. Reuterskiöld 1910, 42.

<sup>581</sup> Torvinen 1982, 189.

<sup>582</sup> Rydving 1993, 66.

<sup>583</sup> Kylli 2005, 329.

<sup>584</sup> Lehtola, T. 1997, 199–202.

<sup>585</sup> 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.<sup>586</sup> 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.<sup>587</sup> 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.<sup>588</sup> Audhild Schanche has noted a similar phenomenon at the Sámi offering places in the Varanger area.<sup>589</sup> 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.<sup>590</sup> 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.<sup>591</sup> In Finland, Frans Äimä notes that the practice of giving private offerings was preserved longer than that of giving communal offerings.<sup>592</sup>

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.<sup>593</sup> 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.<sup>594</sup>

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.<sup>595</sup> The first church at Utsjoki, which was located in connection with a winter village named

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<sup>586</sup> Rydving 1993, 101–102.

<sup>587</sup> Park 1994, 278; Lemaire 1997, 13; Corcos 2001; Turner 2004, 126.

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

<sup>589</sup> Schanche 2000, 341.

<sup>590</sup> Rydving 1993, 101–102.

<sup>591</sup> Urtāns 2008, 15.

<sup>592</sup> Äimä 1903, 116.

<sup>593</sup> Olsen 1910 [1715], 7.

<sup>594</sup> Kylli 2005, 17.

<sup>595</sup> 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.<sup>596</sup> 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.<sup>597</sup> After the village of Talvadas burned down, a new church was built at the mouth of the River Äimäjoki.<sup>598</sup> *Goahti* 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.<sup>599</sup> According to Paulaharju, a marketplace and a cemetery were located next to the church.<sup>600</sup> 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; Jänkkäjärvä 14.2 km
Kittilä sermon room	Kittilä	1777	None	Levi 16.1 km; Pyhäntunturi 2 19.0 km; Pyhäntunturi 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), Kirkkopähta 47.6 km

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

<sup>596</sup> Andelin 1859, 281; Kylli 2005, 234.

<sup>597</sup> Paulaharju 1965 [1927], 244.

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

<sup>599</sup> Rankama 1988; Karjalainen 2003.

<sup>600</sup> Paulaharju 1965 [1927], 244.



**Figure 75.**  
Kirkkonkylän 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 Kirkkonieniemi in Lake Pielpajärvi. Teuvo Lehtola considers it natural that the first church would have been located near the current old church at Lake Pielpajärvi.<sup>601</sup> 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.<sup>602</sup> The current church at Lake Pielpajärvi was finished in 1760 and was used until the late 19th century.<sup>603</sup> 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).<sup>604</sup> 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.<sup>605</sup> 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.<sup>606</sup> The Sámi gathered at the marketplace in Enontekiö in winter during the 17th and 18th centuries.<sup>607</sup> In addition to the church, there is also an offering pine (Uhríahki) and a cemetery at the top of the hillock. According to local tradition, offerings were brought to the pine even after

<sup>601</sup> Lehtola, T. 1997, 131.

<sup>602</sup> Ahnger s.a.

<sup>603</sup> Leinberg 1906, 154.

<sup>604</sup> Leinberg 1906, 155; Nahkiaisaja 2003, 202

<sup>605</sup> Mattus 2007, 73; cf. Viinanen 2003, 40–41.

<sup>606</sup> Virrankoski 1973, 718; Halinen 2007, 169.

<sup>607</sup> 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.<sup>608</sup>



**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.<sup>609</sup> 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.<sup>610</sup> 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

<sup>608</sup> Mannela 2007, 106.

<sup>609</sup> Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2007, 106.

<sup>610</sup> 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.<sup>611</sup> 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.<sup>612</sup> People might also give offerings, if they thought that the Christian God had not helped them in spite of their requests.<sup>613</sup>

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.<sup>614</sup> Ritva Kylli writes that "On Midsummer in 1751, Olof Tuitio, Olof Pålsson, 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 own health."<sup>615</sup>

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

<sup>611</sup> Manker 1957, 111–112.

<sup>612</sup> Kylli 2005, 118, 120.

<sup>613</sup> Kjellström 1987, 24; Granqvist 1998, 155.

<sup>614</sup> Äimä 1903, 116.

<sup>615</sup> Kylli 2005, 119. Original Finnish text: "Juhannuksena 1751 Olof Tuitio, Olof Pålsson 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.<sup>616</sup> Offerings to the church were also associated with the idea that, like sieidis earlier, some churches too could be more powerful than others.<sup>617</sup> 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.<sup>618</sup> 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.<sup>619</sup>

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.<sup>620</sup> 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.<sup>621</sup> The idea of offerings had not yet disappeared by the 20th century. Johan Turi thinks that people still made offerings to churches for illness.<sup>622</sup>

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.<sup>623</sup>

## 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

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<sup>616</sup> Kylli 2005, 119.

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

<sup>618</sup> Ganander 1995 [1789], 115.

<sup>619</sup> Calamnius 1868, 232.

<sup>620</sup> Kylli 2005, 119.

<sup>621</sup> Miettinen 1943, 102.

<sup>622</sup> Turi 1979 [1910], 136.

<sup>623</sup> 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.

## 6. SACRED PLACES TODAY

*Kirkkopahta (74) in Muonio, August 2009*

*As we arrived at the Kirkkopahta sieidi for fieldwork, we were met by a surprise – two elk skulls stared at us with empty eyes from the top of the stone. One still had some hair left, and flies were buzzing around them. Someone had clearly brought offerings to the sieidi not too long ago. As the excavations progressed, it turned out that these were the only bone finds we were going to get. This did not mean, however, that people had not been interested in the site. Instead of old bones, we found other signs of human activity. Someone had placed chunks of quartzite on top of the stone. There was a group of sprigs tied together with string on the ground next to the stone. The strangest find we encountered was a film can pushed deep under the stone. Inside the film can was a small plastic bag and inside the bag, a tinfoil-wrapped piece of sheet-like material that was, at the time, interpreted as building material. However, later studies of photographs gave reason to consider the find as hashish. Objects left at Kirkkopahta are signs of people's visits to the place and perhaps also of the different meanings given to the sieidi. We also had visitors during the fieldwork. An occasional tourist bus would pass us by on its way to Lake Pakasaivo, which was provided with better signposts and opportunities to enjoy coffee. Tourists also stopped at Kirkkopahta. Even on a rainy day, there were six visitors. As well as Finnish, we heard people speaking in Swedish and French. In addition to tourists, a local woman showed the sieidi to her friends. One rainy week in August 2009, Kirkkopahta was an object of interest not only to researchers, but also to tourists and locals, and slightly earlier to those who had brought the offerings.*

## 6.1. Signs of the modern use of sacred places

*Suuret pyhät tunturit kyllä pysyvät pystyssä niin kauan kuin maailma on raiteillaan, eivätkä vankat kalliojumalatkaan horjahtele, eivät kalamiesten siunatut paadetkaan katoa. Kirkonkävijä kansa ei niitä enää kumarra, mutta tietää kyllä, mikä virka niillä on ollut ja mihin ne ovat kyenneet.*<sup>624</sup>

*Samuli Paulaharju 1965 [1927]: Taka-Lappia, p. 264*

Even though the church had been present in the lives of the Sámi since the Middle Ages and, in the period of orthodoxy, attempted to root out all signs of ethnic religion, the old traditions were resilient. One indication of this is the afore-mentioned offerings given to churches. Offerings were also brought to sieidis for a long time in addition to churches. A story written down in 1910 tells the following of offerings on the island of Ukonsaari (47): "An old Lapp man said that several decades ago, Saara-Vuolli (Vuolli-Saijets) had offered eggs there [on Ukonsaari] to Ukko."<sup>625</sup> Written sources too mention that offerings were given, even as late as the turn of the 20th century.<sup>626</sup>

Archaeological excavations have also revealed signs of 20th-century activity at sieidis. Signs of modern human activity were documented in connection with archaeological excavations at the sieidis that were studied during the summers of 2008 to 2010. After documentation, the artefacts were left in place. The find material up to the middle of the 17th century consisted only of bones. Usage in the 19th century is evidenced by four coins dated to the late 19th century from Näkkälä (9) and Sieiddakeädggi (113), as well as fragments of green 19th-century bottle glass from Sieiddakeädggi.<sup>627</sup> We also found two personal objects that could not be dated, namely a bone ring from Taatsi (65) and an antler button from Näkkälä (Figure 14). In addition to bone finds, the largest find group consisted of modern artefacts from the 20th and 21st centuries. These included coins, personal objects, burned tealight candles, and bunches of sprigs.

Coins are the largest group of modern finds. Coins were found at all studied sieidis with the exception of Äkässaivo (80) as follows (19th-century coins are not included here): 119 coins (1960–2005) at Taatsi, 329 coins (1921–2007) at Näkkälä, 190 coins (1960–2005) at Sieiddakeädggi, 5 coins (2000–2001) at Koskikaltiojoen suu (29), 24 coins (1963–2006) at Porviniemi (75), 20 coins (1963–2002) at Kirkkopahta, and 100 coins (1930–2006) at Dierpmesvárri (3) (Table 12). The coins were mainly from the Nordic countries, but individual coins from Estonia, Germany, and Switzerland were also observed. In the case of euro coins, the country of origin of the coin bringer could not be ascertained, because foreign euros also circulate in Finland. Norwegian

<sup>624</sup> "The great sacred fells will surely stand as long as the world goes on, the sturdy bedrock gods will not falter, and even the blessed stones of the fishermen will not disappear. Churchgoing folk will no longer bow to them, but will surely know what they were used for and what they were capable of."

<sup>625</sup> Itkonen 1910. Original Finnish text: "Muuan vanha lappalainen kertoi, että vielä muutamia vuosikymmeniä sitten oli eräs Saara-Vuolli (Vuolli-Saijets) siellä [Ukonsaarella] Ukolle munia uhrannut."

<sup>626</sup> Paulaharju 1932; Kjellström 1987, 24–33.

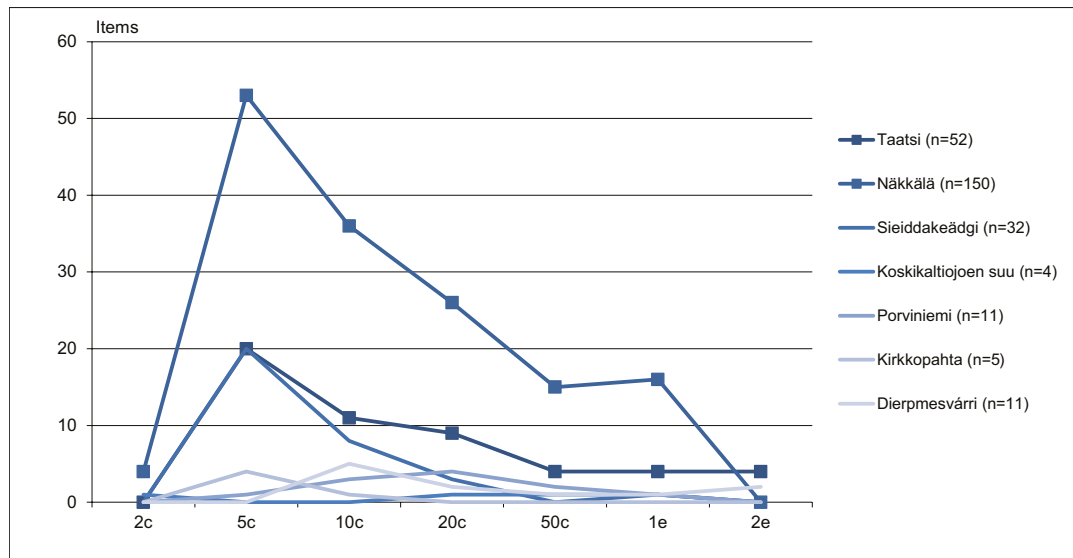
<sup>627</sup> The dating of the bottle glass (Koivunen 2008, personal communication); cf. Aalto 1995, 99, 132.

coins were more common at Sieiddakeäldgi and Dierpmesvárri than at other sites due to the location of these sieidis close to the Norwegian border. The small number of foreign coins at Kirkkopahta, for example, was surprising, because foreign tourists visited the sieidi often even during the excavations.

**Table 12.** Modern coins found at the studied sieidis.

	Unidentified	Euro	Sweden	Norway	Finland	Switzerland	Germany	Estonia	Total
<b>Taatsi</b>									
Number of coins	16	52	4	10	36	1	0	0	119
Years		1999– 2005	2000– 2004	1960– 2005	1963– 2000	1981			
<b>Näkkälä</b>									
Number of coins	10	151	11	10	146	0	1	0	329
Years		1999– 2007	1939– 2003	1944– 2002	1921– 2000		1969		
<b>Sieiddakeäldgi</b>									
Number of coins		32	3	41	109	0	0	2	187
Years		1999– 2005	1980– 1992	1960– 2002	1963– 2002			1992– 1996	
<b>Koskikaltiojoen suu</b>									
Number of coins	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Years		2000– 2001							
<b>Porviniemi</b>									
Number of coins	2	13	0	0	11	0	0	0	24
Years		1999– 2006			1963– 1997				
<b>Kirkkopahta</b>									
Number of coins	0	5	1	0	14	0	0	0	20
Years		1999– 2002	1973		1963– 1995				
<b>Dierpmesvárri</b>									
Number of coins	1	11	6	25	57	0	0	0	100
Years		1999– 2003	1930– 1977	1958– 2006	1960– 1998				
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>373</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>793</b>

For the euro coins, we can also calculate the value of the coins left at the sieidis without any significant effect by inflation. Small 5 and 10 cent coins were the most common find group (Figure 77). The number of coins of bigger denominations is fairly even. Of course, people could have left several coins at the same time, so the diagramme does not reveal the amount of money left per visit. Regarding coin offerings, however, it has been said that the act of making an offering was the important thing, not the monetary value of the offering.<sup>628</sup>



**Figure 77.** The number of euro coins of various denominations offered at various sieidis. The denomination could not be identified on all coins.

Coins were often placed into holes in the sieidis where they were not visible. In some cases, it seemed important that the coin leaver had to go to some trouble to place the coin in the desired place. The coins have been placed on top of tall stones or into deep crevices. At Taatsi, the largest concentration of coins was found on the top plateau of the sieidi, which the excavator dared to climb to only when secured by a harness. At Sieiddakeädggi, with the exception of three coins found in front of the sieidi, all other coins were found in a cave-like niche in the south-eastern part of the stone. People had crawled inside the niche and then placed coins into small holes carved by water (Figure 34). This could not be done without getting one's clothes dirty. A total of 42 coins were found in holes in the niche ceiling, 62 coins on the niche floor, and 82 coins on the plateau inside the niche. At some sieidis, the coins had been pushed so tightly into crevices in the rock that they could not be removed (Figure 78). Some coins formed decorative patterns on the surface of the stone (Figure 79). It appears that there are two traditions in the leaving of coins: on the one hand, it is important to hide the coins or to ensure that other people cannot take them, and on the other, coins are used as decorative elements. However, coins were found on the ground around the sieidis at all sites. At Näkkälä, as many as 241 coins out of 330 were found in excavations at the foot of the sieidi and in its surroundings. Some of them may have fallen down from the top of the stone, but some may have been deliberately left on the ground.

<sup>628</sup> SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 1–107.1959.



**Figure 78.** A coin in a crack of the Porviniemi sieidi stone.

↑

**Figure 79.** Coins placed on the side of the Näkkälä sieidi.

The greatest number of coins was mainly found at sieidis that are associated with a strong tradition of offerings and that also yielded the most comprehensive bone material. Exceptions are the sieidi at Koskikaltiojoen suu, at which a large amount of bone material but few coins were found, and the sieidi of Dierpmesvárri, at which bone finds were surprisingly meagre in the light of the tradition associated with the sieidi, but coin finds were generous. The Dierpmesvárri sieidi, which is located about 12 kilometres from the nearest road, shows that coins have also been brought to sieidis located far away from settlements and roads. Thus, it seems that the leaving of coins is associated more with a strong continuity of Sámi tradition than with tourism.

Coins have been offered already in earlier times. In Norrland, coins from offering places are dated from the late 10th century to the 13th century. All coins have a hole, so it has been thought that their primary function was as pendants and not as means of payment.<sup>629</sup> Thus, as offerings, they would represent personal objects. However, written sources also tell of monetary offerings. Paulaharju believes that money was usually offered for some reason other than success in hunting wild reindeer. He tells that money had been offered, among others, at Outakoski (113) and Seitigädgi (112).<sup>630</sup> The Dierpmesvárri sieidi is said to give what is asked of it when one places a coin in a hole in the stone. The size of the sum did not matter. There are also other examples of the taking of coins to sieidis by the Sámi.<sup>631</sup> In the early 20th century, Ilmari Itkonen wrote down this story of offering coins: "He told me that, some years back, a certain forester offered a markka on Ukonsaari (in jest, of course), even though someone had warned him that no good would come of it. 'But then the forester took ill,' continued the storyteller in earnest. Let this be a warning to tourists!" According to Itkonen, even in his time, people sometimes threw a small coin in the water at Ukonselkä for good

<sup>629</sup> Zachrisson 1984, 122; Wallerström 2000, 18; Hedman 2003, 164–165.

<sup>630</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 17.

<sup>631</sup> SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 1–107.1959, 108–190.1960.

winds.<sup>632</sup> The moral of this story is that offerings should be taken seriously and not be thought of as a touristic act.

However, the leaving of coins at sieidis may in some cases have become a part of the touristic performance.<sup>633</sup> Coins may be left at sieidis in the same way as at many other sites around the world. The touristic custom of throwing coins into fountains, for example, is widespread. Sometimes the custom is associated with various beliefs, such as that of returning to the same place, like at the *Fontana di Trevi* in Rome. Sometimes a coin is used to leave a trace of oneself, in the manner of carving a name into a temple pillar. Of course, some of the coins may have had other meanings.

Some coins may be related to offering associated with fishing. According to Vuokko Hirvonen, fishing tourists have offered coins and lures to the sieidi at the Utsjoki health centre (Seitigädgi 112).<sup>634</sup> Also a fly found at Porviniemi in Muonio has probably been left there by a fisherman. Even in older tradition, coins are mentioned as fishermen's offerings. Uno Holmberg recounts how fishermen made offerings to the *tšasolmai*, the water man, by placing a glass of liquor, a piece of bread, or a few coins on the shore.<sup>635</sup>

More recent fishing tradition seems to be associated with offerings of alcohol. On the Internet forum of Erä, a Finnish hunting magazine, a forum member pursues good fishing fortune as follows: "Tomorrow, I will make a sieidi and find the cognac bottles hidden by my wife. Not to drink, but to douse the sieidi."<sup>636</sup> The interesting thing about this citation is that the person is *making his own sieidi*. At the Taatsi sieidi, we found a small bottle of *Underberg* liquor that had been left on top of the sieidi unopened and may also be associated with the same tradition. On the other hand, alcohol and fishing are connected also in Sámi tradition.<sup>637</sup> According to Peter Sköld, liquids were the second most important offerings after animals. However, he considers the offering of spirits to be a fairly late phenomenon, not starting until the 17th century.<sup>638</sup> Offerings of alcohol may have been associated with various situations. Frans Äimä tells that the Skolt Sámi made an offering or took a drink every time they passed a sacred place.<sup>639</sup> Drinking together might thus be a part of the offering ritual. Offerings of alcohol are one example of a custom that has its roots in Sámi tradition but lives on among tourists.

As for other stimulants brought to sieidis, it is worth mentioning tobacco, which was found at Porviniemi. In addition, snuff was found at Äkässaivo. Like alcohol, tobacco had also been an offering in the ethnic religion.<sup>640</sup> The Sámi are said to have

<sup>632</sup> Itkonen 1910. Original Finnish text: "Niinikään jutteli hän jonkun 'hosmestarin' tässä takavuosina uhranneen Ukonsaareen (tietysti piloillaan) markan, vaikka joku oli varoittanut, ettei siitä hyvää seuraa. 'Mutta hosmestari tulikin sitte kivuloiseksi', jatkoi kertoja tosissaan. Olkoon tämä turisteille varoituksena!"

<sup>633</sup> Myrvoll 2008, 45.

<sup>634</sup> Hirvonen 2007, 85.

<sup>635</sup> Holmberg 1915, 88–89.

<sup>636</sup> <http://www.eralhti.fi/keskustelu/t4986>. Original Finnish text: "Huomenna teen seidan ja etsin vaimon piilottamat konjakkipullot. Ei juontitarkoitukseen, vaan seidan valeluun."

<sup>637</sup> Sammallahhti 1975, 114–115.

<sup>638</sup> Sköld, 1999; cf. Itkonen 1948 I, 296.

<sup>639</sup> Äimä 1903, 116.

<sup>640</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 14.



used tobacco avidly as early as in the 17th century.<sup>641</sup> Indeed, the hashish found at Kirkkopahta can be considered to continue the same tradition of stimulant offerings. On the other hand, the hashish may have been just hidden away with no intent of offering, as indicated by the careful packing of the drug and its placement in a hole in the stone.

In addition to coins, personal objects have also been left at several sieidis. These include the ring found at Taatsi with the carving 1953, a silver earring from Näkkälä, as well as a yoyo and an eyeglass lens from Sieiddakeädgi. Some kind of personal significance may also be attached to the group of sprigs tied together that was found at Kirkkopahta. In addition to excavation finds, in connection with a survey in the summer of 2007, a sort of membership card of a pub was found at the foot of a sieidi stone at Lake Äkäsjärvi (79) in Muonio. These kinds of objects seem to imply a deeper contact with the sieidi than bringing a coin. Whereas coins are intended as instruments of exchange, the idea behind other small objects found at sieidis seems to be giving something of one's own. However, such small objects did not always entail actually renouncing something of one's own. At a slightly different offering place, a sacred spring at Sigulda in Latvia, visitors could buy rings and other "personal" items from a stall and then throw them into the spring.<sup>642</sup> Even though such organized trade is not known at sieidis, the true personal value of small objects is difficult to estimate. Some objects may also have been lost by visitors to the sieidi without having been intentionally offered. However, the fact that personal items are found at nearly all studied sites and their context in connection with other offerings seems to indicate intentionality.



**Figure 80.** Tealight candles placed on a flat spot on the Taatsi sieidi.

Individual sites may also have offering traditions that are specific only to them. At Taatsi, such a tradition consisted of leaving tealight candles at the sieidi. In addition to Taatsi, only one tealight has been found at Porviniemi and one at Kirkkopahta. At Taatsi, there were 29 tealights altogether. Like coins, they were found both around the sieidi and on plateaus on the rock, which could hold groups of several tealights (Figure 80). The tealights appear to have been burned on the spot, which is also indicated by matchboxes found on site. However, no candles other than tealights were found.

<sup>641</sup> Itkonen 1948 I, 295.

<sup>642</sup> Laime 2009, personal communication.

There was also another curious find group at Taatsi: quartzite chunks. Like tealights, quartzite chunks were placed on flat spots on the stone. Similarly placed quartzite was also found at Kirkkopahta. Quartzite is in neither case found in the environment, and it is clearly brought there by humans. At Taatsi, the quartzite had been placed in a spot that cannot be reached directly from the ground, so placing it there had to involve some effort. In his survey of Sodankylä, Mika Sarkkinen has observed a similar phenomenon at the Keivitsa (95) sieidi. In this case, there was a boulder near the sieidi with large, split chunks of quartz placed on top of it.<sup>643</sup> Also at Kussuolinkivaara in Sodankylä, a quartzite chunk was observed at the foot of a wooden sieidi in connection with an inspection visit. No distinction appears to have been made between quartz and quartzite.

## 6.2. Neo-paganism as a part of the activity at the sieidis

The large quantity and variety of finds dating to the 20th and 21st centuries show that sieidis have been important to people even in the recent past and continue to be important today. People have visited them and attributed meanings to them. But who visits sieidis and for what purposes? Above I mentioned that sieidis are tourist attractions where visitors leave objects. There can be many reasons for tourism, for example, fishing or seeing nature.

However, especially the finds from Taatsi (65) and Kirkkopahta (74) containing quartzite, tealight candles, and a tied bunch of sprigs, seem to indicate that sieidis hold some ritual meaning even today. Mika Sarkkinen considers that the quartz found at Keivitsa (95) may be related to a neo-shamanistic belief in energy-giving rock crystals and quartzes that can be reloaded in a secluded place at a high elevation.<sup>644</sup> Neo-shamanism is a form of neo-paganism. Neo-paganism consists of religious activity that emphasizes the sacredness of nature and the connection between humans and nature. It combines the traditions and rituals of old European natural religions with the customs of today's primitive people. Neo-paganism has its roots in druid societies founded in Britain in the 18th century.<sup>645</sup> Some neo-pagans consider their movement to be the direct descendant of pre-Christian traditions. According to them, information has been transmitted as oral tradition up to today. On the other hand, the neo-pagan movement also acknowledges change: paganism as it is practised today is considered to be associated with deliberate reconstructions and actual inventions by one person or a small group, and no full-scale pagan belief system is thought to have survived the Christianization of Europe unscathed. In neo-shamanist groups, too, some people consider that they are conserving the original shamanism, whereas others add new, invented rituals and beliefs, like crystal healing.<sup>646</sup>

Neo-paganism thus consists of different groups, some of which are small and local. However, these different groups have some common features, namely a mystical attitude towards nature, magic, goddess consciousness, and an emphasis on individual experience in religious practice. A mystical connection to nature is considered to lie behind that which is called sacred in different religions and

<sup>643</sup> Sarkkinen 1993.

<sup>644</sup> Sarkkinen 1993; cf. Harner 2004, 150.

<sup>645</sup> Aarnio 2001, 197; Sjöblom 2006, 203, 208.

<sup>646</sup> Townsend 2004, 53.

cultures.<sup>647</sup> In Finland, Lehtori and Pakanaverkko ry act as forums that aggregate the various neo-pagan movements.

Neo-paganism is also associated with offering activities. In Britain, neo-pagans have left offerings at megaliths, for example. The offerings consist of flowers, tobacco, food, drink, and more durable items such as crystals, coins, feathers, special stones, and personal ritual items. Even pine cones are known to have been offered in Britain.<sup>648</sup> Likewise, in Finland, pine cones have been placed at the foot of the Lake Äkäsjärvi (79) sieidi and pushed into cracks of the wooden sieidi at Kussuolinkivaara (96) (Figure 81). However, some of the pine cones may be placed by squirrels. Other finds corresponding to neo-pagan offerings are a feather placed into a hole in the bedrock at Äkässaivo (80) and the aforementioned tied bunch of sprigs from Kirkkopahta. Particularly the quartz and quartzite pieces found at several sieidis may be related to a modern offering tradition. In the neo-pagan tradition, quartzes are considered especially important in the Wiccan and neo-witchcraft movements.<sup>649</sup> They may be considered as symbols of the goddess or objects related to the neo-shamanist initiation.<sup>650</sup> On the other hand, quartz may also be related to Sámi tradition. Quartz has been found at offering places, and some offering places are formed of quartz.<sup>651</sup> In addition, finds from sieidis include coins, tobacco, and drink bottles, which may be related to neo-paganism but are also a part of Sámi tradition. Within the sphere of neo-paganism, offerings are given for various reasons. Some of the offerers hope that the spirits will benefit from them, others want someone else to take into use a ritual item that the offerer no longer needs, or believe that giving offerings also encourage others to do likewise.<sup>652</sup> The connection of the aforementioned offerings found at sieidis to the neo-pagan offering tradition is indicated by the fact that the finds correspond to neo-pagan offerings documented elsewhere. Neo-pagans are also known to visit the places in question.<sup>653</sup>



**Figure 81.** Pine cones placed in front of the Äkäsjärvi sieidi.

<sup>647</sup> Harvey 1997; Sjöblom 2006, 208–209, 211.

<sup>648</sup> Wallis 2003, 171; Blain & Wallis 2007, 10, 56; cf. Harner 2004, 146.

<sup>649</sup> Informant, female, 28 years old, 2009, personal communication.

<sup>650</sup> Harner 2004, 146–151.

<sup>651</sup> Manker 1957, 211, 224; Vorren & Eriksen 1993, 181; Wennstedt Edvinger & Broadbent 2006, 29.

<sup>652</sup> Wallis 2003, 170; Blain & Wallis 2007, 10.

<sup>653</sup> Informant, female, 28 years old, 2009, personal communication.

In Finland, neo-paganism has mainly been associated with cup-marked stones in the south of the country.<sup>654</sup> Sieidi stones are respected by neo-pagans but rarely function as stages for rituals due to their distant location from large population centres. However, they are sometimes visited, and offerings are left during these visits. The offerings mainly consist of food, which is left near the sieidi to be consumed by animals. In this way, the offerings return to the circle of nature.<sup>655</sup>

The selection of Taatsi, Kirkkopahta, and possibly also Äkässaivo as modern ritual sites may be due to factors that these three places have in common. All are known sites that can be easily accessed. Taatsi and Kirkkopahta are accessible by car, and there is a signposted hiking route to Äkässaivo. At Taatsi, the quartzite and tealight candles seem to form a ritual context. The lack of types of candles other than tealights seems to indicate either that all tealights were brought at the same time or that people have known what kind of candle to bring.

### 6.3. Tourism focusing on sacred sites

Sometimes there are attempts to enliven the traditions of the ethnic religion in the context of tourism. The tealight candles at the Taatsi (65) sieidi may thus also be related to a local shamanistic entrepreneur who takes visitors to the sieidi.<sup>656</sup> The heritage industry is a phenomenon associated with the historical interpretation of a certain place, landscape, or region and its utilization for tourism.<sup>657</sup> In the tourism industry, Sáminess is marketed as a part of the mythology of the north, and sieidis have thus also become tourist attractions. Tourists can participate in "Lappish baptisms" performed as shamanistic rituals and make offerings to both new and old sieidis.

At the sites inspected in connection with fieldwork, observations were also made on the utilization of sacred places for tourism. The best-known Sámi sacred site among tourists is probably the island of Ukonsaari (47) in Lake Inarijärvi. It can be accessed by a boat that leaves from the vicinity of the Siida Sámi Museum. On the island itself, there is a guide board with information on the site and step constructions to enable easier walking and to prevent erosion. The site can be experienced in an easy and controlled manner.

Sometimes a sacred place may also be introduced to tourists as part of a bigger whole. For example, the site of Uhriaihi (21) at Markkina in Enontekiö is located near an old church place and burial sites. This site is not necessarily visited specifically in order to see the offering pine, but it is one part of a bigger picture. Guide boards provide information on the multi-layered history of the place.

Metsähallitus, the Finnish state enterprise for forest administration, has actively posted guide boards at sites located on state-owned lands. Parking spaces, duckboard-covered paths to sieidis, and guide boards have been constructed near

<sup>654</sup> Website of Lehto ry; Informant, female, 28 years old, 2009, personal communication.

<sup>655</sup> Informant, female, 28 years old, 2009, personal communication.

<sup>656</sup> See e.g. <http://www.shamaaninmaa.fi/>. On the other hand, shamanistic activities related to tourism do not necessarily leave any material traces. Veikko Siitonen says that he tidies everything away after the event (Siitonen 2011, personal communication).

<sup>657</sup> Raivo 1996, 204.



many sieidis. The signposted places are often well-known sites, such as Taatsi in Kittilä, or located near hiking routes, such as Uhriharju and Pyhänkasteenlampi (82) in Pelkosenniemi. In some cases, the precise location of the sieidi is no longer known, but the guide boards nevertheless mention the sacredness of the landscape. For example, at Jyppyrä (6) in Enontekiö, the sieidi stone is gone, but it is still mentioned as a part of the meaning of the landscape. Some of the sites are referred to in connection with other sites. At Kirkkopahta (74), the guide boards and the lean-to serving coffee are located at the nearby Lake Pakasaivo, and many tourists drive right by the Kirkkopahta sieidi to visit only the *sáiva* lake.

Local tourism entrepreneurs may also utilize sieidis in their business. A Lappish shaman working at Taatsi, Veikko Siitonen, says that the people participating in the events that he organizes are attracted by “closeness to nature [and] original belief”. There are from 40 to 60 participants each year, they are aged from 10 to 70, and come from around the world.<sup>658</sup> At Kalliorova (72) in Muonio, the precise location of the sieidi is no longer known. However, during a field visit to the site, a local tourism entrepreneur told me of choosing a presentable stone that tourists are taken to see (Figure 82). At the stone, a “shaman” emerges to meet the tourists and perform a “Lappish baptism”.



**Figure 82.** A stone used as a *sieidi* for touristic purposes.

During the archaeological research, signs of more recent visits were noticed at some sieidis, even though there were no guide boards for tourists. Such sites are the well-known sieidis at Näkkälä (9) and Dierpmesvárri (3) in Enontekiö and Sieiddakeädgi (113) in Utsjoki. However, in the case of items such as coins left at the sieidis, we cannot be certain whether they indicate tourism or local habits.

Sacred places may also be utilized by tourism for reasons other than ethnic religion. On the headland of Keimiöniemi (73) in Lake Jerisjärvi in Muonio, guide boards usher tourists to a fishing homestead located on the headland. However, no mention is made of the sieidi known to be located on the headland, although the fishing homesteads

<sup>658</sup> Siitonen 2011, personal communication.

lie only a few metres from the assumed, though uncertain, location of the sieidi. At Koskikaltiojoen suu (29) in Inari, the sieidi is advertised by a guide board erected by local people. However, the strips of paper indicating a path from the parking lot to the sieidi stone have been detached. During the five days of excavations at the sieidi, there were no tourists at all. Some cars drove up to the embankment, but it remained unclear whether they were looking for the sieidi or a geocache located nearby.<sup>659</sup> There were no reports of visits to the site during the duration of the excavations; perhaps the excavation team scared visitors away. At other times, the geocache seems to have attracted tourists, travellers, and perhaps even locals. During the summer of 2009, a visit to the geocache at Koskikaltiojoen suu was reported by eight Finns, one Austrian, one German, and one Czech, in addition to four excavation team members.<sup>660</sup> However, the reports do not indicate whether these people also visited the sieidi. In addition, several other people had also visited the site but left no messages.

In other cases too, sacred places may be a part of a broader cultural context or landscape experienced as beautiful, in which case these places may be visited without being conscious of their meanings related to sacredness. There are sacred places also in areas that are visited by many tourists, such as near hiking routes. However, these places are not always known to hikers. For example, at Pöyrisjärvi, Pyhäkero (76), and Levi (58), tourism is not necessarily related to the sacred places there.

That said, there are sacred places related to tourism in the whole research area. Most of them are generally known and mentioned in written sources, but guide boards have also been erected at some places regarding which the interpretation as a sacred place is less certain, such as Suttasája (114) and the Lake Äkäsjärvi (79) sieidi. In addition to sieidi stones, also a lost sieidi or a sacred fell visible at a distance may be mentioned on the guide boards. Reasonable accessibility seems to be the major uniting feature for sacred places utilized by tourism.

Signposts and guide boards emphasize the nature of a sacred place as a tourist attraction. On the one hand, they indicate the value of the place, and on the other, they potentially subject it to vandalism. This raises the ethical question of whether it is acceptable to guide tourists to Sámi sacred places. The problems caused by tourism to sacred places that are still in use has been discussed in other countries.<sup>661</sup> In Sweden, the location of northern offering places is protected information that is not available in the public register over ancient sites.<sup>662</sup> In Finland, the register over ancient sites has been available on the Internet since September 2008. When the sites in the register were put online, there was no discussion on keeping location information for individual sites secret, except for underwater sites. The publication of sites attempted to follow the principle that public data should be publicly available.<sup>663</sup> Neither are there any unifying ethical guidelines for all archaeologists regarding guide

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<sup>659</sup> A geocache is a box that hobbyists find and hide with the help of GPS locators and hints or coordinates published on the Internet. When they find the cache, they can report their visit on the community website.

<sup>660</sup> <http://www.geocaching.com/>.

<sup>661</sup> Price 2003; Reeves 2003.

<sup>662</sup> <http://www.fmis.raa.se/cocoon/fornsok/search.html>.

<sup>663</sup> Haimila 2010, personal communication.

boards. Metsähallitus has no uniform policy on whether sieidi locations are marked. The guide boards have been set up at different times, and decisions on placing them have always been made in the nature reserve in question. The current opinion is that only those sieidis, which are commonly known and not in private use by a certain lineage or family, are marked.<sup>664</sup> Of the Finnish sites, an especially large degree of publicity has been bestowed upon Ukonsaari in Inari, where the number of visiting tourists is higher than anywhere else. Attempts have also been made to get Ukonsaari added to the UNESCO list of world heritage sites. At the same time, some locals are opposed to tourists visiting the site and would like to forbid them from coming ashore on the island.

Tourists are not only taken to old sacred places, but also to sites that have been created especially for them. Kalliorova in Muonio is an example of a place where the touristic experience does not depend on seeing a genuine sieidi stone. Meanings are born out of actions and stories, not necessarily out of the history of the place. Such a landscape created for tourists has been described as inauthentic, associated with commercialization, entertainment, and conventionality.<sup>665</sup> On the other hand, the concept of inauthenticity has also been criticized.<sup>666</sup> The seeing of a "real" site is not necessarily meaningful for tourists. Richard Prentice has noted that there are many forms of authenticity that overlap with each other. An authentic experience can be generated, for example, by an original artefact or location; a natural environment; a place where something significant has happened or is believed to have happened; a connection with one's own national heritage or that of others; learned authenticity, which is based on guidance by experts, or constructed authenticity in a place that imitates history.<sup>667</sup> All of these can also be associated with Sámi sacred places. Authenticity can be experienced, for example, through the location of a sieidi stone, an impressive natural environment, ritual activity or a connection with one's ancestors related to the place, or through a story created by guide boards and tourism entrepreneurs. For people participating in shamanic activities, authenticity was created by a closeness to nature and a connection with a belief experienced as indigenous.<sup>668</sup> Authenticity is therefore not built into an artefact but is created through the relationships between people, places, and objects. Authenticity is culturally constructed and varies in each experience according to person and situation.<sup>669</sup>

Therefore, the seemingly inauthentic may also acquire meanings of authenticity. Even though authenticity may be a presupposition for the tourists who visit these places, inauthenticity is not experienced as a disappointment. An emotional experience is possible without authenticity. For example, meanings of sacredness associated with a place change the way in which the place is experienced. Even though the assumed birthplace of Jesus cannot be observed in Bethlehem, the meaning of the place has been transmitted to the Church of the Nativity. It has acquired the meaning of the birthplace and is thus not seen as an inauthentic fake.<sup>670</sup> Likewise, in Rovaniemi in

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<sup>664</sup> Rautiainen 2010, personal communication.

<sup>665</sup> Relph 1986; Keskitalo-Foley 2006, 132.

<sup>666</sup> Holtorf 2005b; Edensor 2006, 3; Lovata 2007.

<sup>667</sup> Prentice 2001, 15–22.

<sup>668</sup> Siitonen 2011, personal communication.

<sup>669</sup> Jones 2010, 181–182.

<sup>670</sup> Meskell 2004, 192, 216; Melotti 2007, 118–130.



Finland, the productization and signposting aimed at tourists have moved the authentic experience of the Arctic Circle away from its geographical location. At Kalliorova, the meaning of the sieidi for tourists may have been transmitted to the stone to which they are brought. The recreation of an original place is thus not necessary for reasons of authenticity. Instead, authenticity is constructed by recreating the atmosphere of the original place and conveying the emotions and experiences related to it. Authenticity can be achieved through the reconstruction of either an artefact or an experience.<sup>671</sup> Thus, Lappish baptisms may also have meaning for tourists, even though they have no direct connection with any traditions of the ethnic religion. In this case, Lappish baptisms and shamanistic rituals at sieidis should not necessarily be seen as the disneyfication<sup>672</sup> of ethnic religion and the past, but instead as the reconstruction of history and the attributing of meanings through action.



↑

**Figure 83.**  
A sieidi in the  
name of  
a holiday centre  
in Muonio.

←←

**Figure 84.**  
A sieidi as  
a climbing wall.

←

**Figure 85.**  
A sieidi in a  
jewellery store  
in Hetta.

<sup>671</sup> Melotti 2007, 125; Melotti 2008, 19, 20–21.

<sup>672</sup> Relph 1986, 101.

In addition to being sacred sites to be visited, sieidis may also interest visitors when taken out of context. Examples of the productization of sieidis vary from hotel and bar names and jewellery shops to climbing walls (Figures 83, 84 and 85). The productization of sieidis can be seen as moving the original place away from the context of sacredness. The sacred experience is replaced by a commercial and entertaining experience. However, Lynn Meskell has suggested that productization does not always disconnect its object from the context of the sacred. Productization may decrease spirituality, but also democratize it and make its objects easier to reach. The object may also acquire new meanings that may or may not be related to the old spiritual meanings.<sup>673</sup>

#### 6.4. Sacred places in local stories

Above, I described visitors to Sámi sacred places in the light of observations made during fieldwork. However, sacred places are not always visited from afar. They are also meaningful to local people, both Sámi and others. Sacred places are used to build one's identity and to gain a cultural connection with one's ancestors. The tradition associated with ethnic religion is still alive. According to Inga-Maria Mulk, many Sámi experience a strong social and historical connection to the sacred places of their ancestors.<sup>674</sup>

Some of the artefacts found at sieidis have probably been left by locals. As I mentioned above, items such as coins, alcohol, and quartz are associated with many traditions. Customs related to offering may have remained strong even long after the turn of the 20th century. Even nowadays there is talk of people who have brought offerings to sieidis. People still visit the Porviniemi (75) sieidi in Muonio in connection with fishing.<sup>675</sup> Likewise, Veikko Sarre told us that, as late as in the 1950s, whenever his mother Saara Inka Sarre went fishing, she took a part of the catch to the sieidi at Lake Nitsijärvi in Inari (Koskikaltiojoen suu, 29). Thanks to this, Sarre says, his mother had "good fishing luck".<sup>676</sup>

Sieidis are also still considered as possessing power. Veikko Sarre also told us that when he visited the sieidi at Lake Nitsijärvi with his relatives, one of them took a piece of stone from the sieidi and put it in the pocket of his trousers. However, his trousers would no longer stay on. When they left the sieidi, the trousers kept sliding down until the man had to turn around and bring the stone back to the sieidi. Also three people who had touched the stone all hurt their hands.<sup>677</sup>

Sieidis may also belong a landscape of story, in which the story related to the sieidi does not necessarily have to have any connection with offering. In November 2008, Unto Autto, then 71 years old, reminisced about a story related to the sieidi at Saivovaaranpalo (63) in Muonio. The story was about a rich old woman in Raattama, who had locked her riches and jewellery in the attic of the granary and stated that she would not die so quickly that she would not have time to hide the key from

<sup>673</sup> Meskell 2004, 177–219; cf. Byrne 2009, 75.

<sup>674</sup> Mulk 2003, 130.

<sup>675</sup> Autto 2008, interview.

<sup>676</sup> Sarre 2009, personal communication.

<sup>677</sup> Sarre 2009, personal communication.

others. However, she met her end when taking a break from her journey and sitting on the sieidi at Saivovaaranpalo, where a bear came and attacked her. She only had time to throw the keys into the forest but not to hide them before the bear killed her. The keys were later found in the forest.<sup>678</sup>

Sieidis thus form in many ways a living tradition also among locals. The material found in archaeological studies that was brought to sieidis in the recent past is one indicator of this still-living tradition. However, the beliefs and values associated with sieidis nowadays require a dedicated, extensive study of oral tradition. Within the framework of this study, we must be satisfied with modern excavation finds and stories inspired by archaeological research as reflections of modern meanings.

## 6.5. Summary

Stories told by locals in connection with or after archaeological research show that sieidis are still attributed with meanings and used up to recent times. Furthermore, finds dating to the last few decades indicate the recent use of sieidis. Finds from the late 20th and early 21st century consist mainly of coins and some personal items. Some of the modern offerings, such as coins and alcohol, continue old traditions, but some of the artefacts left also reflect new practices. These new practices may be associated with many kinds of activity. The bunches of sprigs, tobacco, pine cones, and quartzite encountered in connection with the excavation have been associated with neo-pagan activity, which is indicated by similar offerings in Britain, for example, and oral information acquired in an interview. On the other hand, especially neo-shamanistic activities can be intermixed with tourism, as indicated by the tealight candles found at Taatsi. Travel to sieidis can take many forms and break the norms of authenticity that dominate the discussion on cultural heritage. Altogether, even today, sieidis are still surrounded by the activities of many groups and by changing meanings.

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<sup>678</sup> Autto 2008, interview.

## 7. ACTORS AND THE BODILY EXPERIENCE IN SACRED PLACES

*Dierpmesvárri (3) in Enontekiö, July 2010*

*The Dierpmesvárri sieidi is located on a westward-slanting hillslope in the middle of the fell landscape of the Käsivarsi area. Ancient offerers would have had to climb up the fell slope to reach the offering stone. In the elevated fell landscape, weather conditions also provided some part of the bodily experience of offering. Our excavation team took a shortcut to the sieidi through the air in a helicopter, but we were equally at the mercy of the weather. The wind blew hard enough to pull down one of our tents, and the fog was sometimes so thick that we could not even see the sieidi stone. The fire that we lit further away from the sieidi may have resembled ancient fires associated with offering, and even the fact that we took our meals at the site was no different from ancient activities related to offering. Based on modern finds, the sieidi stone had also been a resting site for hikers, but we found no signs of ancient offerings. Perhaps the forces of nature, erosion by the wind and meltwater flowing down from the fell in the spring, have moved the ancient offerings. Or maybe there was another reason for the lack of offerings, something related to human activities. However, a memory of the significance of the place has remained and is evidenced by coins that people have left at the sieidi.*

## 7.1. Action as a part of ritual

People visiting sacred places for various reasons experienced the places in different ways and also do different things in these places. Activities related to offering and sacred places have also varied through time. In the following chapter, I approach action in sacred places – and especially at sieidis – from a phenomenological viewpoint that emphasizes the corporeality of action. Action and movement are a significant part of ritual.<sup>679</sup> Corporeality is important both in performing ritual activities and in experiencing them through the senses.<sup>680</sup> Maurice Merleau-Ponty has emphasized the corporeality of action and living through the body. Bodily experiences in sacred places are related to how people approach the place and how they move there, how they see the place and experience it with all their senses. Rituals are experienced through the body, as well as all other action in the world.<sup>681</sup> Action determines our relationship with a place. In places associated with ritual, action determines the symbolic object and provides it with new meanings. At the same time, the meanings associated with a place affect the activities that are carried out there.<sup>682</sup>

Our impression of the earliest activities related to offering has been constructed mainly by written sources. The best-known example of activity taking place at sieidis is probably the picture of a Sámi person kneeling in front of a sieidi in *Lapponia* by Schefferus.<sup>683</sup> Written sources mention that people approached sieidis on their knees, and as late as the 1920s, there are descriptions of people falling down on their knees. In addition, it is said that people dressed in their best clothes when visiting sieidis.<sup>684</sup> Offering activities could also be associated with yoiking, butchering animals, and taking meals at the sieidi.<sup>685</sup> Activities related to offering have clearly been varying in nature. The descriptions in written sources of how a sacred place should be approached may also have been influenced by Christianity, which already at the time had long-standing contacts even in the north.

Action creates ritual meanings. According to Åsa Berggren and Liv Nilsson Stutz, the meaning of a ritual does not exist divorced from action, but the meaning is recreated every time the ritual is enacted and experienced. Therefore, meanings can be different at different times and for different people. The verbally expressed meaning of a ritual is subject to bodily knowledge of how the ritual is performed correctly.<sup>686</sup> Meanings are created through a functioning body, seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and touching, as well as through places and things.<sup>687</sup>

The bodily experience of ritual activity was strongly connected with a social aspect when the sacred place was visited by more than one person. Eating, yoiking, or making sacrificial offerings at offering places was attributed with meanings related

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<sup>679</sup> Bell 1992; Tilley 1994.

<sup>680</sup> Berggren & Nilsson Stutz 2010, 176.

<sup>681</sup> Tilley 2004; Tilley 2008; cf. Merleau-Ponty 1999 [1962].

<sup>682</sup> Edensor 2006, 62.

<sup>683</sup> Schefferus, 1963 [1673], 172.

<sup>684</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 18; Ravila 1934, 85; Itkonen 1948 II, 311; Collinder 1953, 171; Manker 1957, 88; SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 1–107.1959.

<sup>685</sup> Äimä 1903; Paulaharju 1962 [1922]; Ravila 1934, 62.

<sup>686</sup> Berggren & Nilsson Stutz 2010, 176.

<sup>687</sup> Berggren & Nilsson Stutz 2010, 187.

not only to the ritual but to social relationships. The social aspect could be experienced within either the family or a group of people. Later, I will return to the people visiting sacred places.

In addition to offering activities, other non-ritual activities could also be associated with offering places. The island of Ukko in Lake Ukonjärvi is an example of a sacred place that was used also for fishing and collecting eggs, in addition to actual offering activities related to the sieidi. Otherwise, there are few signs of activities not related to offering. The landscape surrounding sacred sites has been the stage of many kinds of activities, but no signs of human activity other than offerings have been found in the immediate vicinity of sieidis studied in Finland. However, not all offering-related activities were necessarily ritualized, and activities that seem profane may have acquired ritual meanings. According to Åsa Berggren and Liv Nilsson Stutz, rituality is not determined by a certain way of acting but by the strategy or reason why people act the way they do.<sup>688</sup>

Modern activities in sacred places may also be associated with both spiritual and other aspects. Archaeological finds provide information not only on modern offerings, but also on camping and hiking, related to which we have found pieces of a thermos bottle and an energy drink bag at the sites. On the other hand, during a hiking trip, a person's relationship with nature may be experienced as spiritual. Activities organized for visitors to sieidis may include eating, praying, meditating, conversation, and healing.<sup>689</sup> Thus, offering places were, and are, the stages of a wide variety of activities charged with various meanings that are not fully covered by written sources.

## 7.2. Different actors in the sphere of ethnic religion

The term *actor* means a person or community that acts. The concept of agency has been associated with the ability to make decisions that affect the surrounding world.<sup>690</sup> According to the relational worldview, actors at sieidis could be individuals or groups of people, spirits, deities, or even the sieidi itself. Animals too were not only objects of action but actors in sacred places. Types of action could vary from carefully controlled rituals to personal encounters with the sacred. Individual persons could have their own ways of making offerings and meeting the sieidi. Sometimes offerings were spontaneous and unplanned, such as a coin tossed to a sieidi when passing by. Sometimes the ritual could be preceded by careful planning, such as choosing an animal of the right colour and waiting for the right time.<sup>691</sup>

Some sacred places were associated with traditions related to their user groups. Some places were visited from an extensive area, whereas other sieidis were used by only one person.<sup>692</sup> When several people met in a sacred place, their experience was associated with communal meanings. Offering places were not only used for contacting spirits and deities, but they could also have other communal meanings.<sup>693</sup>

<sup>688</sup> Berggren & Nilsson Stutz 2010, 184.

<sup>689</sup> Siitonen 2011, personal communication.

<sup>690</sup> Dornan 2002.

<sup>691</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 313–314; Manker 1957, 47.

<sup>692</sup> Paulaharju 1962 [1922], 170; Paulaharju 1932.

<sup>693</sup> Salmi *et al.* 2011.

During rituals, people met other members of the community and could eat, talk, and yoik together. The communal use of offering places is also thought to have been related to communal hunting.<sup>694</sup> Other sacred places could be associated with experiences of communion within the family or a personal, private moment with the spirits or deities. The groups of people visiting sieidis nowadays might share a common cultural identity or worldview, or they might be gathered together randomly through tourism, for example. However, even today, sieidis can be places of personal meditation.

Gender also determined activities at sieidis. Written sources describe mainly men's rituals, because the information was gathered by men from men.<sup>695</sup> Both historical sources and the research literature present varying views on whether offering activities at sieidis were open to women.<sup>696</sup> Women's participation in activities at sieidis might have followed different customs in different areas. Generally it has been suggested that both men and women could participate in some kind of offering activities.<sup>697</sup> The division between the genders can also be seen in the fact that some offering places were meant only for men and some could be used by women, too. According to Rydving, men's rituals were related to economy, wind, and weather, whereas women's rituals were associated with the home and family.<sup>698</sup> However, the borders were not categorical, as indicated by the facts that the female deity *Juoksáhká* belonged to the male sphere and that women could participate in ceremonies related to bear hunting, for example.<sup>699</sup> According to Hans Mebius, sacred places in nature were forbidden to women, whereas offerings within the sphere of the *goahti* were open to both genders.<sup>700</sup> However, Itkonen mentions a sacred natural location, Naarassaari [Female Island], where women could also participate in offerings.<sup>701</sup> In addition, offering activities within the *goahti* were also gendered.<sup>702</sup>

However, the division into men's and women's sacred places did not apply to all sites. In Norway, thirteen of the 492 known sacred places are believed to have had rules that restricted women's activities there. The places forbidden to women were usually lakes or fells. For example, women could not cross a sacred lake in a boat, keep their faces uncovered, or walk on the ice of a sacred lake. There are four places in connection with which offerings brought by women are mentioned separately, and they are all offering stones.<sup>703</sup>

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<sup>694</sup> Mulk 1996.

<sup>695</sup> Rydving 2006, 103.

<sup>696</sup> Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1948 II, 315; Mebius 2003, 111, 126; Rydving 2006, 104.

<sup>697</sup> However, Schefferus (1963 [1673], 173) notes that women were not allowed to make offerings or approach a place consecrated to a god.

<sup>698</sup> Rydving 2006, 104.

<sup>699</sup> Rydving 1993, 145–149; Rydving 2006, 104.

<sup>700</sup> Mebius 2003, 111, 126; On the other hand, it is also mentioned that all kinds of offering activities were forbidden to women (von Düben 1977 [1873], 233).

<sup>701</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 312.

<sup>702</sup> Within the *goahti*, there was a clear division into men's and women's parts in ritual activity. Offerings made in different parts were carefully controlled, and, for example, the sacred part of the *goahti*, the *posio*, was forbidden to women. However, the gendered division within the *goahti* space is thought to have applied only for the duration of the ritual, as indicated by archaeological finds (Inkiläinen 1999; Fossum 2006, 176–177; Rydving 2009, personal communication).

<sup>703</sup> Myrvoll 2008, 25–29.



In the area of Finland, offering places are only rarely associated with information about gender-specific restrictions. In Lake Sompiojärvi in Sodankylä, the sites of Akankivi (100) and Pyhäkivi, and in Inari, Seitasaari (38) and Ukonsaari (47) were forbidden to women, whereas Annansaari (26), Naarassaari (31), and Vesikivi (48) in Inari have been mentioned as offering places allowed for women.<sup>704</sup> The greatest amount of information on gender-specific restrictions thus seems to be related to the area of Inari. The stone named Akankivi in Lake Sompiojärvi was forbidden to women, but still it is said to have protected women. A story relates how Sámi women escaped their enemies in a boat and landed on the stone, where they were safe. When the enemy men sought shelter on the same stone, after the Sámi had already left in their boat, the stone tipped and drowned the men.<sup>705</sup>

Both forbidden and allowed sites were either islands or stones in the water. Of the offering places forbidden to women, both Lake Sompiojärvi and the island of Ukonsaari are used by a community or a larger group of people, and several offered animals have been brought to all of them. Of the sites allowed for women, the island of Annansaari and the stone of Vesikivi are private fish sieidis, but no similar information is available for the island of Naarassaari. In the sources describing the area of Finland, the prohibitions related to women do not define in more detail what women were not allowed to do. It is only stated that they could not come there. One exception is the stone of Pyhäkivi in River Muteniajoki, related to which it is said that when passing the stone, women had to leave the boat and walk on land, and they had to be wearing trousers.<sup>706</sup>

However, the prohibitions were not always absolute; instead, they might only affect how women acted in the offering place. In some cases, women could approach the place dressed in men's clothing or within total silence.<sup>707</sup> Women's bodily experiences in sacred places were then characterized by atypical rules of behaviour and dress. In some cases, visiting sieidis might also be forbidden to children, because sieidis were seen as frightening.<sup>708</sup> Even today, some women follow the injunctions against approaching sacred places.

The number, gender, and age distribution of people acting in a sacred place, as well as their familiarity with each other, were all factors affecting the experience. Experiencing the sacred could be characterized by the presence or absence of other people, the sound of multiple voices or silence, a feeling of solidarity or alienation. Either communality or individual action could thus be emphasized as the actor of the rituals.

### 7.3. Animals as objects of action and actors

In addition to different kinds of people, animals too made up part of the environment of activity in sacred places. Animals were both objects of action and actors in offering places. Naturally, action directed at animals was usually related to offering. The

<sup>704</sup> E.g. Andersson 1914, 44; Paulaharju 1932, 34.

<sup>705</sup> Andersson 1914, 42; Paulaharju 1979 [1939], 145.

<sup>706</sup> Andersson 1914, 44.

<sup>707</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 312.

<sup>708</sup> Fellman 1906 I, 306–307; Manker 1957, 88.

offering of animals could take many forms and be associated with various restrictions and rules. Different parts of the animal could be treated in different ways. Niurenius relates that the head of a reindeer was hung on a branch, whereas the rest of the meat was cooked and eaten.<sup>709</sup> Sometimes the meat was placed on wooden offering platforms.<sup>710</sup> However, there are no traces of these platforms in the archaeological material. In general, the archaeological material contains very few examples of the deliberate placing of bones. In the bone material from the sieidis studied during the project, there are only two examples of bones that seem to have been placed in their positions deliberately: pieces of a bear skull from Näkkälä (9) and two capercaillie coracoid bones, still articulated in their anatomically correct place, from the sieidi at Koskikaltiojoen suu (29) (Figure 86). Judging by the positions of the bones, the bear skull seems to have been placed on the ground upside down and the capercaillie lying on its back with its head towards the sieidi stone.<sup>711</sup> The placement of bones also appears to be significant when reindeer antlers have been placed on top of a sieidi stone, even in cases where the stone is so high that putting the antlers there must have demanded some effort (Figure 87). The bones found under the flat stones at the sieidi at Koskikaltiojoen suu may also have been placed there on purpose.



**Figure 86.**  
*Coracoideum from  
the sieidi at  
Koskikaltiojoen suu  
[The mouth of the  
River Koskikaltiojoki].*

Archaeological material found at sieidis in the area of Finland shows that particularly the heads and antlers of reindeer have been offered. The top vertebrae of the spine have also been found, indicating that entire heads were brought to the site, not only antlers and bones.<sup>712</sup> Written sources also describe especially the significance of antlers. According to Friis, all antlers of slaughtered wild reindeer were offered by placing them in a circle around the sieidi (Čoarvvegarde, Horngjærde).<sup>713</sup> The offering of antlers was associated with various rules. According to Inger Zachrisson, among the South Sámi, it was important that the offered antlers came from living animals or

<sup>709</sup> Niurenius 1905 [c. 1640], 21.

<sup>710</sup> Mebius 2003, 143; also Itkonen 1948 II, 310.

<sup>711</sup> Salmi *et al.* 2011.

<sup>712</sup> Salmi *et al.* 2011.

<sup>713</sup> Friis 1977 [1871], 141; on antler offerings, see also SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 191–773.1961.

at least were still attached to the skull.<sup>714</sup> However, finds from Sieiddakeäddgi (113), among others, indicate that fallen antlers had also been offered.<sup>715</sup> Naturally fallen antlers have also been found at the top of the Guivi fell (103).<sup>716</sup> Itkonen too relates that both fallen antlers and whole heads with the antlers still attached were offered to sieidis.<sup>717</sup> Other sources mention entire heads as offerings.<sup>718</sup> The head of a reindeer was a valued part of the animal, because, for example, the Skolt Sámi considered reindeer brains a valuable type of food.<sup>719</sup> Beliefs related to heads are further reflected in the fact that, according to Itkonen, among the Skolt Sámi, women of reproductive age were forbidden to eat reindeer heads.<sup>720</sup> Rules related to the treatment of antlers may reflect regional and chronological differences or may be examples of variations between the abstract rules and the actual activities carried out by people.



**Figure 87.** Antlers on top of the Taatsi sieidi.

In connection with the issue of identifying sieidis, I have also referred to how ideas about breaking bones might have varied. Breaking bones in order to obtain the bone marrow may have been associated with taking meals at the offering places. For example, bones found on the island of Ukonsaari have marks indicating that the head was removed while the soft tissues were still in place. The marks are consistent with butchery, but based on the bone material, it cannot be ascertained whether this took

<sup>714</sup> Zachrisson 2009, 141.

<sup>715</sup> Puputti 2008a.

<sup>716</sup> Valtonen 1999, 60.

<sup>717</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 318.

<sup>718</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 313; SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 1–107.1959, 108–190.1960.

<sup>719</sup> Paulaharju 2009 [1921], 119.

<sup>720</sup> Itkonen 1948 I, 263.



place at the sieidi or earlier elsewhere. Also in Sweden, the place where butchery for offerings was performed was linked with various traditions – it could be done either at the sieidi or further away. Whereas mainly the antlers and skulls of reindeer were offered, bones have been preserved of all body parts of sheep or goats. This indicates that, unlike reindeer, the sheep or goats were brought to the offering place either alive or dead and that all parts of them were offered.<sup>721</sup> However, this does not mean that people could not have used some parts of the offered sheep also in other ways.

The burned bones found at the Koskikaltiojoen suu and on Ukonsaari island indicate that fires have been made at sieidis.<sup>722</sup> Burned bones have also been found at Ukko in Lake Ukonjärvi.<sup>723</sup> There are no datings for the burned bones, so they cannot be used to determine the age of the tradition related to fire-keeping. As for the soil, excavations did not reveal any signs of fire there. Paulaharju mentions that offering activities were sometimes associated with keeping a fire at the sieidi or burning offerings.<sup>724</sup> According to Itkonen, burning offerings was a local habit typical to the Inari area.<sup>725</sup> This is also indicated by the fact that burned bones were found specifically in the municipality of Inari. On the other hand, Paulaharju also mentions signs of fire-keeping and hearths at Sieiddakeädgi in Utsjoki.<sup>726</sup> No mention is made of any connection between the fires and offerings. An interview conducted in 1967 also mentions hearths at Sieiddakeädgi.<sup>727</sup> However, excavations at the site revealed no signs of fire-keeping.

Fire-keeping is also mentioned by Lars Jakobsen Hætta as follows: "Every spring, when he took his herd of reindeer out to pasture, he secretly went to the stone, made a fire, and boiled butter and liquor together in an iron pot. With this concoction he smeared the stone, spoke nicely to it, and asked the stone's inhabitants or the spirits from the land below to look after his reindeer so they would become beautiful, fat, and big."<sup>728</sup> In Hætta's description, fire-making is related to fat boiled for anointing the sieidi. Burned bones may also be connected with meals taken at sieidis. Meals related to offering activities provided one way of communicating with the gods. It was believed that when people ate at offering places, it was the gods who were fed. The eaters themselves were left hungry, because the food went to the gods.<sup>729</sup> The connection between eaters and gods is one example of how it was believed that there were also actors other than people in offering places. Earlier, in connection with the anthropomorphism of sieidis and the soundscapes of sacred places, I have referred to the ways in which sieidis themselves were also experienced as actors.<sup>730</sup>

<sup>721</sup> Puputti 2009; Salmi *et al.* 2011.; cf. Manker 1957, 92.

<sup>722</sup> Salmi *et al.* 2011.

<sup>723</sup> Harlin 2008, 9.

<sup>724</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 15, 21.

<sup>725</sup> Itkonen 1948II, 313.

<sup>726</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 31.

<sup>727</sup> Mattila 1974, 90 referring to TKU 67/59N:11.

<sup>728</sup> Hætta 1923 [1860s], 79. Original text: "Hver vaar, naar han kom frem til græslien med sin renhjerd, gik han hemmelig hen til stenen, gjorde ild op og kokte i en jernøse smør og brændevin sammen. Med denne smurning smurte han stenen, talte vakkert til den og bad stenens iboere eller uldaerne (de underjordiske) om at se godt efter hans rener, saa de kunde bli vakre, fete og store."

<sup>729</sup> Äimä 1903, 115; Paulaharju 1914, 5.

<sup>730</sup> See Chapters 4.1. and 4.2.3.

Animals were not only the objects of offering activities, but also active actors at sieidis. Sometimes the offered animal was left alive at the sieidi.<sup>731</sup> Sieidis were also associated with beliefs regarding the spirit of the sieidi itself, who attracted the animals to be offered to approach the sieidi.<sup>732</sup> Other animals also visited the place. The smell of the offered meat and blood probably attracted predators. Also dogs could become interested in the offered bones. It is said that if a dog took bones from a sieidi, a bone of the dog in question should be buried at the sieidi instead of the offering taken.<sup>733</sup> The surroundings of the sieidis formed a rule-bound environment that affected the lives and deaths of animals in other ways, too. According to Jacob Fellman, hunting near a sieidi was allowed only to people from the village that owned the sieidi, and any animal in the immediate vicinity of the sieidi was to be left untouched.<sup>734</sup> Johan Bartholdi Ervasti also tells of an area surrounding the offering place at a radius of about 2.5 to 3 kilometres that protected animals so that "if, during a hunt, any animal, hurt or unhurt, enters this sacred area, thus escaping from the hunter, it was to be left in peace, as it had come under the god's protection; the same rule applied to fishing."<sup>735</sup> On the other hand, Fellman related that in some cases, fences had been built around sieidis, and if a hunter killed an animal within the enclosure, the feet and head, or wings in the case of birds, should be given to the sieidi.<sup>736</sup> It was thus not absolutely forbidden to kill an animal near a sieidi.

#### 7.4. The use of space as a part of offering activities

The description of a protected sphere for animals around a sacred place shows that the use of space during offerings could be associated with special meanings. Activities at sieidis were not distributed equally; all areas around a sieidi were not used in the same way. The corporeality of action is also associated with experiencing space. Areas located nearer and farther may acquire different meanings.<sup>737</sup> The near vicinity of a sieidi up to a certain distance could be forbidden to women or reserved as a sanctuary for animals. Also the concentration of offering activities in certain areas around the sieidi reflects the ways in which space was experienced.

At sieidis studied within the area of Finland, offering activities seem to have concentrated in the immediate vicinity of the sieidi. An enquiry conducted in Sweden in the 1940s also indicates that offerings are predominantly located close to the sieidi stone or under it.<sup>738</sup> The remaining bones from the offering activities are usually found close to the sieidi. This was the case, for example, at Taatsi (65), Näkkälä, and Koskikaltiojoen suu. At Näkkälä, the bones are concentrated at a radius of at most 2.5 metres from the sieidi stone (Figure 88), and at Koskikaltiojoen suu they are right next to the stone, under its protruding parts (Figure 89). At Taatsi,

<sup>731</sup> E.g. Tuderus 1773 [1670s ?], 50.

<sup>732</sup> Mattila 1974, 136 referring to TKU 67/81:8, 67/84a:6.

<sup>733</sup> Manker 1957, 44, 76, 93.

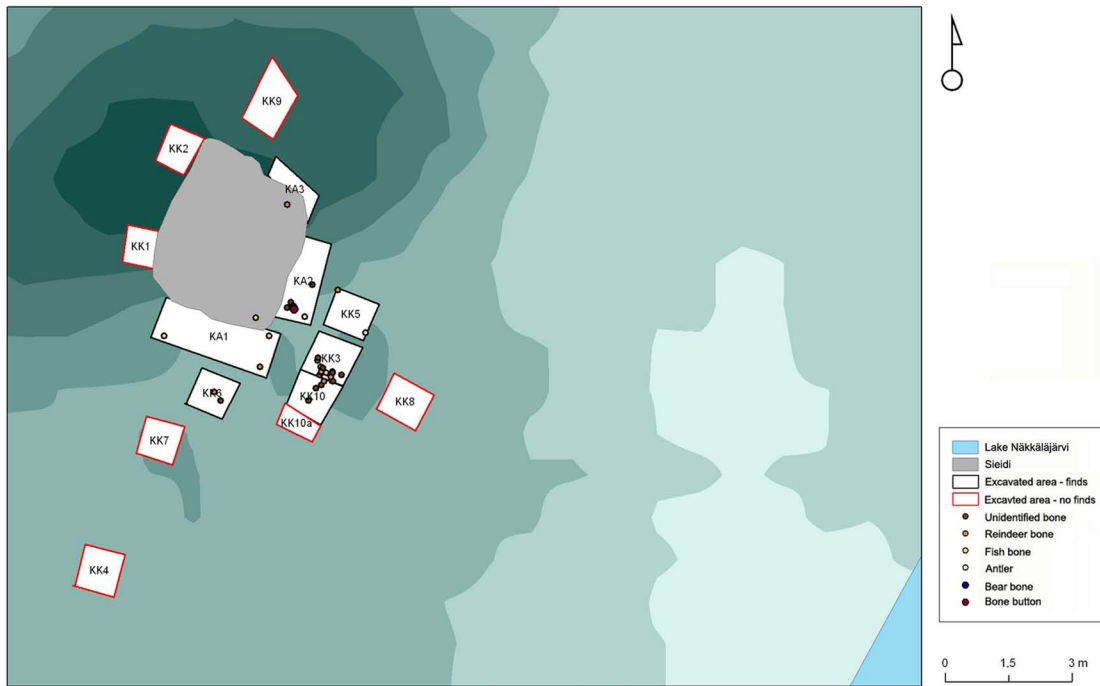
<sup>734</sup> Fellman 1906 II, 223–224.

<sup>735</sup> Ervasti 1956 [1737], 39. Original Finnish text: "[j]os siis metsästettäessä joku eläin, haavoitettuna tai haavoittumattomana, oli joutunut tälle pyhälle alueelle, päästen pyytäjän käsistä, tuli se jättää rauhaan jumalan suojelukseen joutuneena; samoin oli laita kalastettaessa."

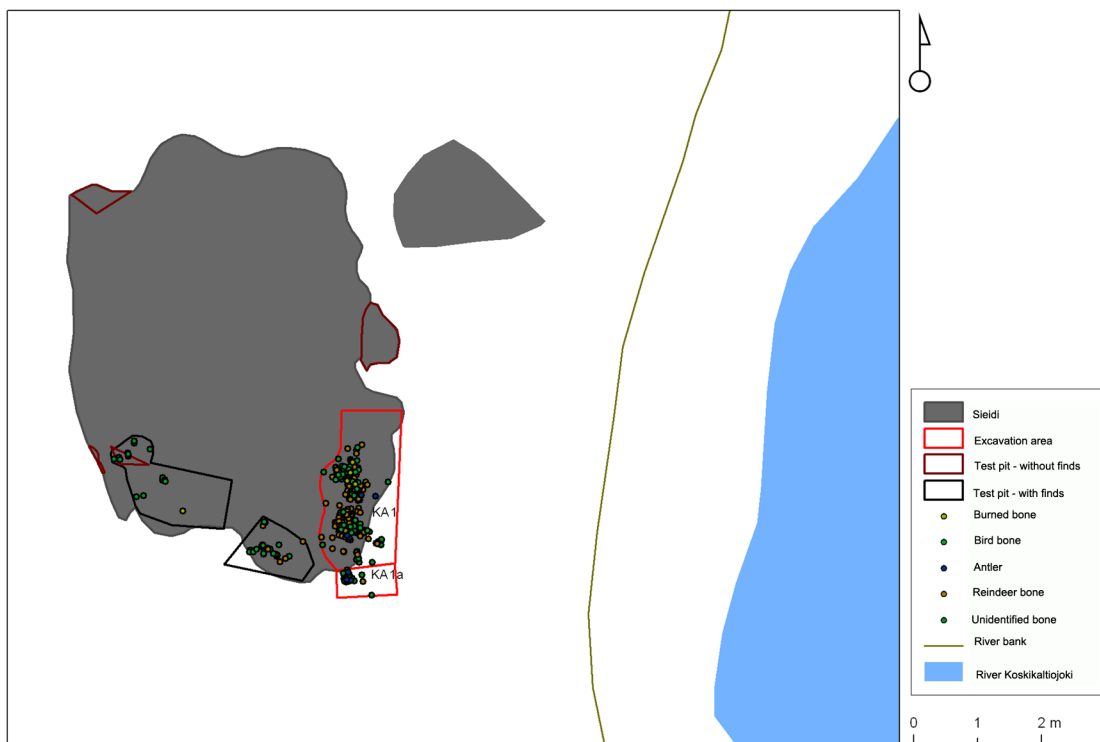
<sup>736</sup> Fellman 1906 II, 18.

<sup>737</sup> Cf. Tilley 2004, 11.

<sup>738</sup> Manker 1957, 92.



**Figure 88.** Map of the distribution of finds at the Näkkälä sieidi.



**Figure 89.** Map of the distribution of finds at the sieidi at Koskikaltiojoen suu [The mouth of the River Koskikaltiojoki].

finds were distributed up to a distance of approximately 10 metres from the sieidi. The finds were to the west of the sieidi, in an area dominated by a view to the nearby sacred place of Taatsinkirkko (66). At Näkkälä and Koskikaltiojoen suu, the finds were on the side of the sieidi with a view to the water, either a river or a lake (Figures 90 and 91). In this context, the connection between the finds and water may be due not only to visibility but also to the best direction for accessing the sieidi or to ritual meanings attributed to water. On the other hand, it might be a question of an illusion related to the choice of excavation areas and the preservability of bones, as phosphate analyses carried out at Näkkälä indicate that offering activities were performed on all sides of the stone (Figure 92).<sup>739</sup> At Näkkälä, excavation areas were opened on all sides of the stone, but at Koskikaltiojoen suu, only the southern side of the stone provided suitable space for a more extensive excavation area. At Taatsi, signs of recent activity, such as a thermos bottle broken by a hiker, were also found farther away from the sieidi, whereas in other cases these finds were restricted to the immediate vicinity of the sieidi.

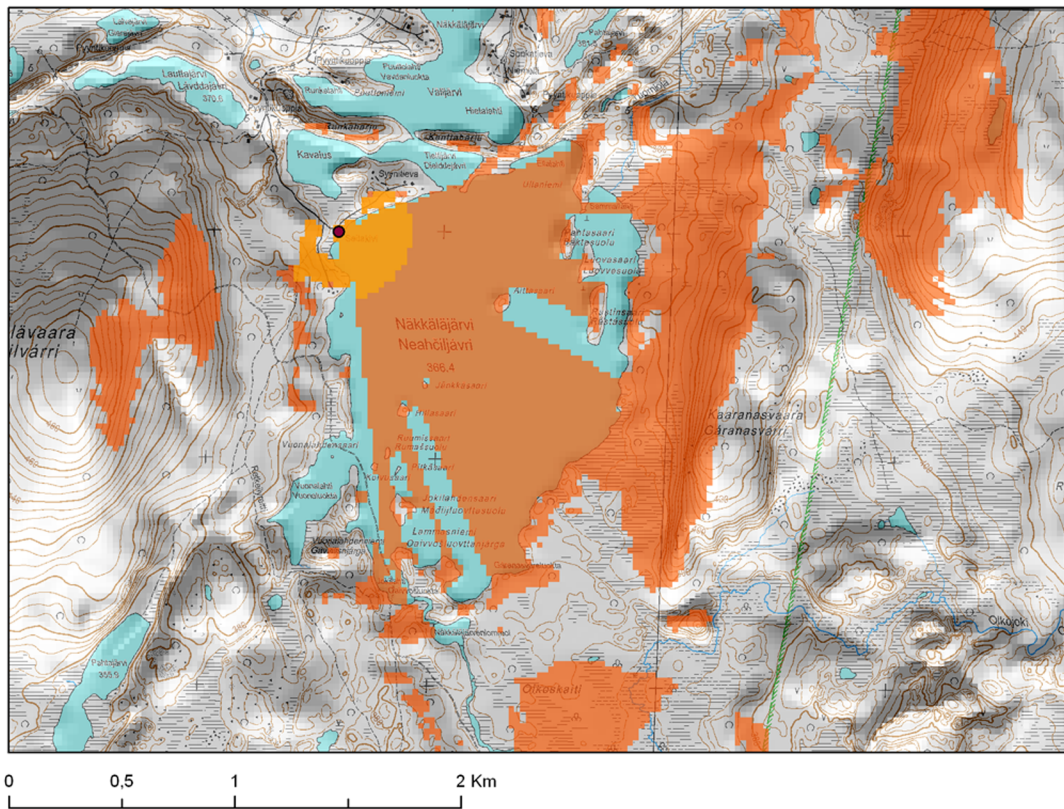
Samuli Paulaharju writes of the location of the offering place at a certain side of the stone. He relates that Niilas-Niila Saara placed offerings at different sides of a sieidi stone depending on the direction from which he approached the stone. When he migrated to the Arctic shore, he left the offerings on the northern side of the sieidi, and when he returned to the south, he left them on the southern side.<sup>740</sup> The selection of offering place could thus also be related to the direction from which offerers approached the sieidi.

Approaching the offering place formed a part of the bodily experience of the ritual; when people arrived at the offering place, they acted physically and in contact with the environment. They could arrive on foot, in a boat, or pulled by reindeer. The amount of physical effort required to arrive at the offering place depended on its location. Of the 49 sites inspected, the majority (69%) was easiest to reach by water. This naturally required using a boat or waiting until the water was frozen. Four offering places were located on flat land, but five required climbing up a hill. The sieidi of Erkuna (4) is located in fairly easily accessible fell terrain, but Sieiddakeädgi and Keivitsa (95) require climbing up a steeper slope. At Taatsi and Taatsinkirkko, the offering places could be approached either by water or along a steep bank, if the aim was to give the offerings on the shore, which is where the majority of the bone finds came from. Some of the activities may also have taken place at the top of the bank, which could be accessed through a flat forested area. A smaller amount of bones was also found on the plateau at the top of the sieidi. At Lake Äkäsjärvi (79), the sieidi could be approached either from the lake side, by climbing up a steep shore bank, or from the east, with a gentler slope. The physical effort required could not be controlled in all cases. For sieidis located on the slopes and tops of hills and fells, there was only one access route – up the slope. The location of the offering place could restrict visits by physically impaired people. On the other hand, in some cases people could choose the locations of their own sieidis in places that suited them.

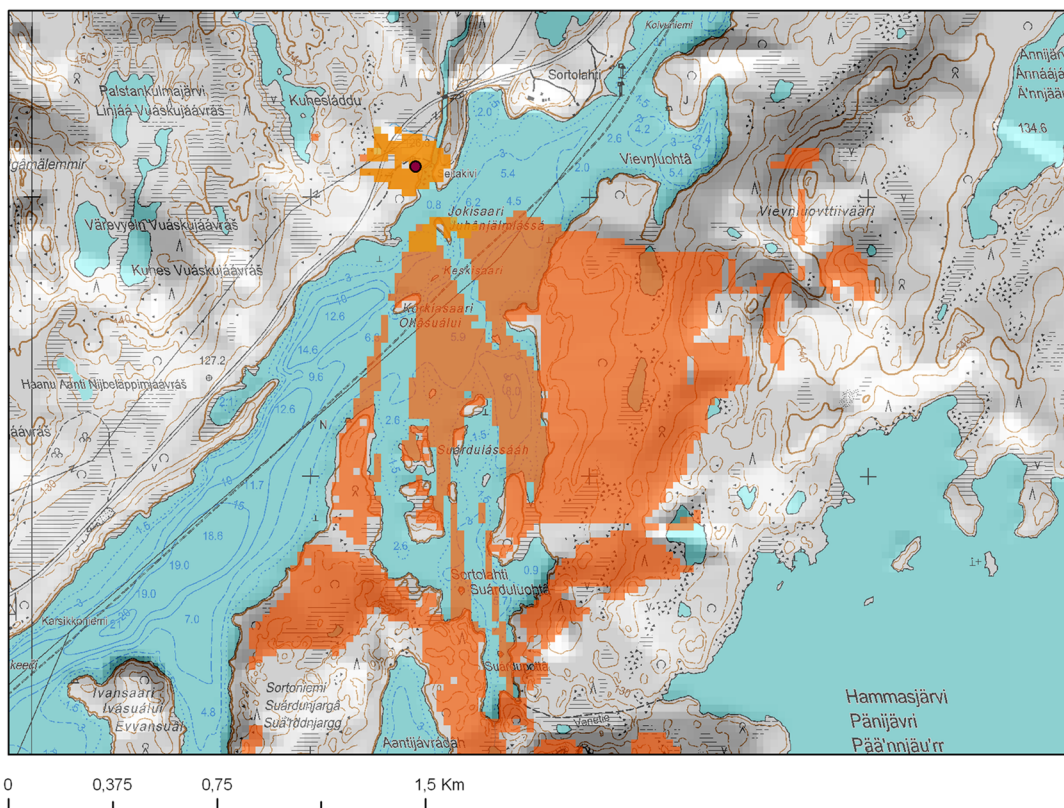
<sup>739</sup> Tolonen 2013.

<sup>740</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 17–18.



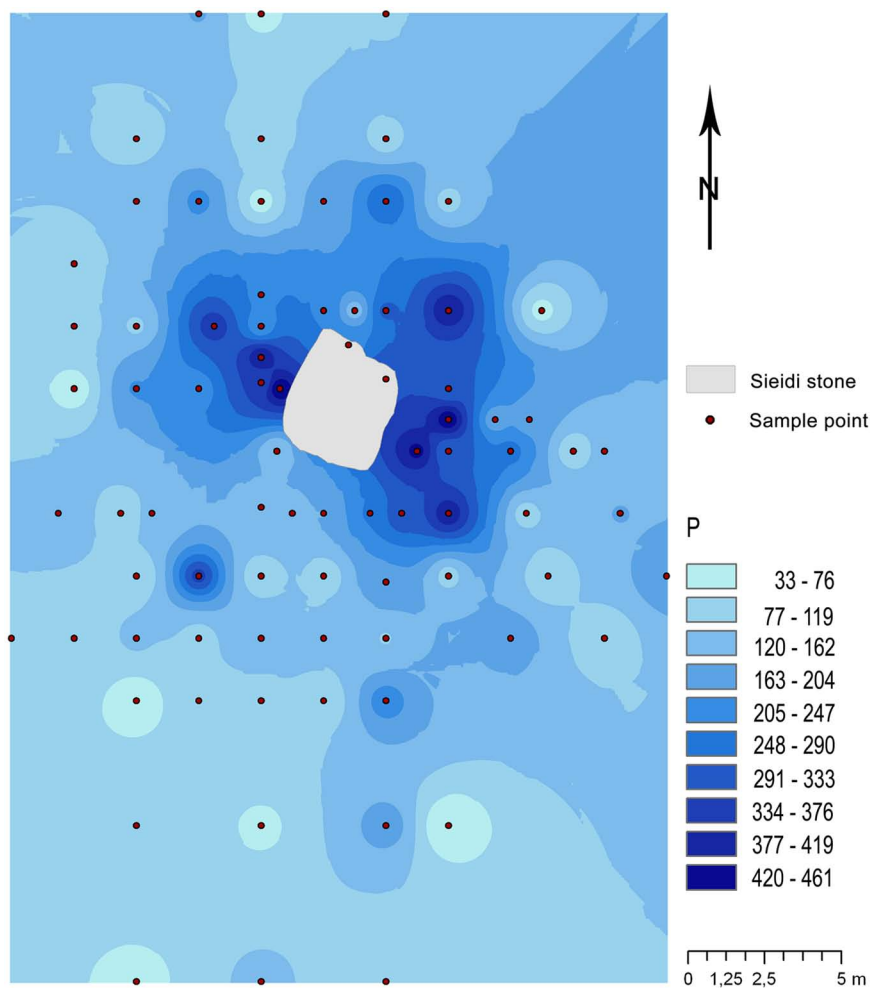


**Figure 90.** From the Näkkälä sieidi, the view is mainly towards Näkkäläjärvi.  
Basic map sheet © National Land Survey of Finland, licence no. 051/MML/11.



**Figure 91.** From Koskikaltiojoen suu, the view is towards the river.  
Basic map sheet © National Land Survey of Finland, licence no. 051/MML/11.

People's activities in sacred places were also influenced by how they could use the surrounding space. In addition to ritual-specific rules, the use of space was restricted by topographical features. Most (76%) of the inspected sites featured open spaces where topographical features such as a shoreline or a cliff did not restrict human activity in more than one direction. On islands, such as Ukonsaari or Seita-laassa (36), the water confined activities to the island. Also narrow headlands, such as Porviniemi (75), were topographically restricted. However, some other sites, such as Kirkkopahta (74) and Dierpmesvárri (3), placed no topographic restrictions on human activities, but a wide area around the sieidi could be used. It should still be kept in mind that even in these cases, restrictions are created by humans. Water did not necessarily confine activities, but rather could function as one stage of action. People might have participated in rituals from boats or, in the winter, from the ice. In some cases, people may not have landed on an island at all but made the offerings from upon the water. On Ukonsaari, however, archaeological finds indicate that people also performed activities on the island itself. In other cases, area that seems to be free for activity might have been restricted by symbolic meanings. Whether borders were symbolic or naturally created, they affected people's experiences of ritual activities.



**Figure 92.** The results of the phosphate analyses carried out at the Näkkälä sieidi (map by Siiri Tolonen).



## 7.5. Offering activities as a part of the landscape of memory

Even though offerings seem to be concentrated near sieidis, people could use a broader area around the offering place for ritual activities. In all cases, the greatest concentration of finds was not found in the immediate vicinity of the sieidi. At Sieddakeädgi in Utsjoki, a relatively small amount of bones was found around the sieidi stone. However, Kaarina Vuolab-Lohi from the house of Seitälä told us that some years ago, bones could be seen on the slope running northwest and down from the sieidi. Test pitting revealed a bone concentration about 10 metres from the sieidi, in addition to which bones were found here and there on the slope, all the way up to the natural embankments restricting the valley-like area (Figures 93 and 94). The results of the phosphate analyses also indicated activities in the same area (Figure 95).<sup>741</sup> The stratigraphy of the bones in the test pit showed that the bones had not collected there through the years. Older bones lay on top of younger ones and bones of different ages were mixed together, indicating that the bones were moved onto the slope from their original locations. The cleaning up of Sieiddakeädgi is also implied by the fact that, as late as in 1967, Ola S. Rasmus reminisces that as a child, he found “penny coins from the Tsarist period” at the sieidi, but



the excavations revealed only younger coins.<sup>742</sup> The example of Sieiddakeädgi also shows that offered bones were not always allowed to rest in peace. Gustaf Hallström also tells of offerings being spread around at Unna Saiva in Sweden.<sup>743</sup> In addition, the artefacts of the metal hoard at Gråträsk in Sweden are considered to have been brought there from destroyed offering places in the area.<sup>744</sup>

**Figure 93.**

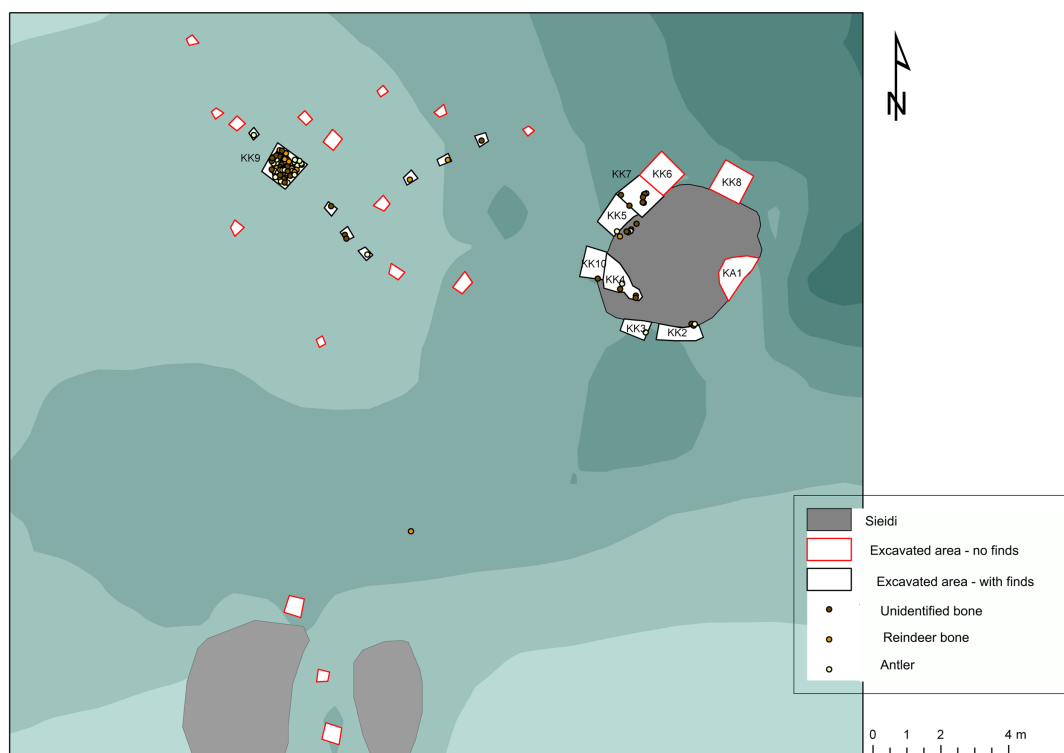
*A bone concentration at Sieiddakeädgi (in the photograph: Ville Hakamäki).*

<sup>741</sup> Tolonen 2013.

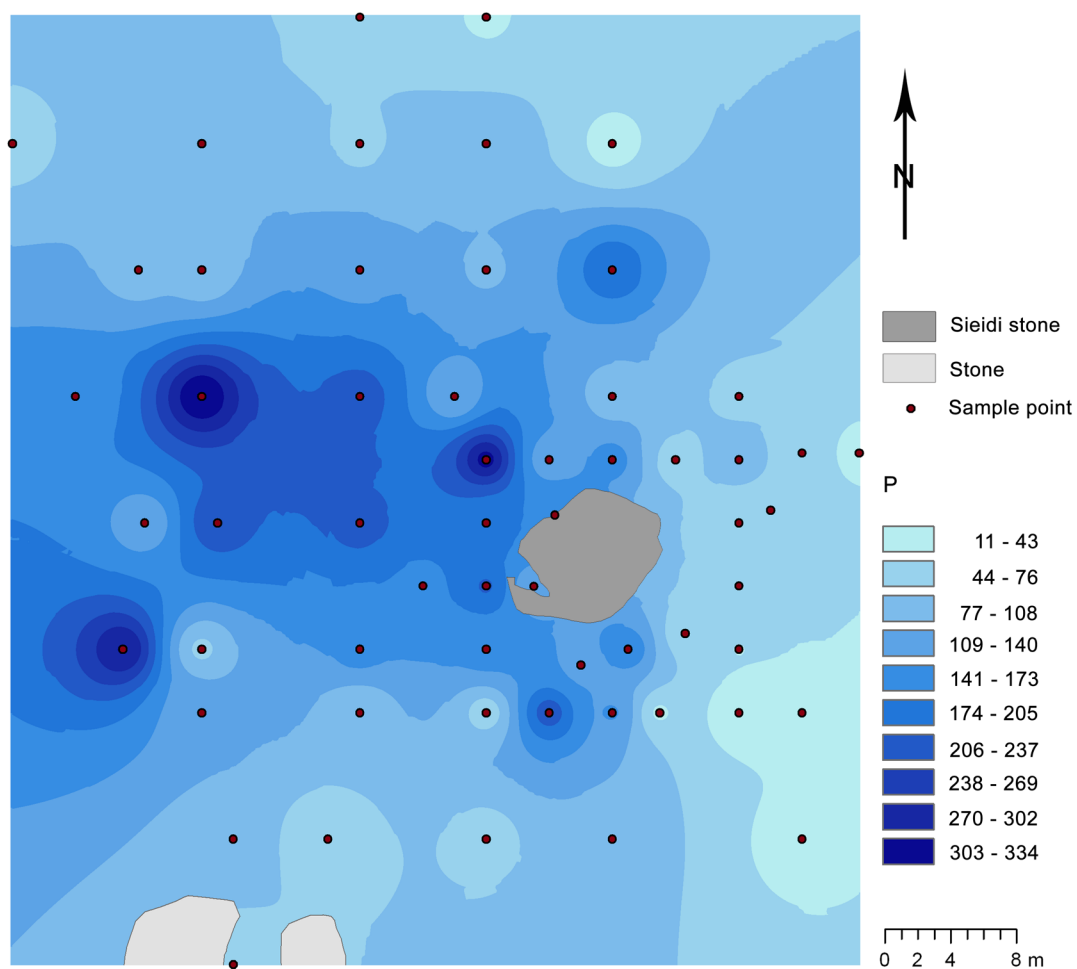
<sup>742</sup> Mattila 1974, 90 referring to TKU 67/59N:11.

<sup>743</sup> Hallström 1932, 123.

<sup>744</sup> Zachrisson 1984, 64–68; Aronsson 1991, 67.



**Figure 93.** Map of the distribution of finds at the Sieiddakeädgi sieidi.



**Figure 95.** The results of the phosphate analyses carried out at the Sieiddakeädgi sieidi (map by Siiri Tolonen).

The moving or cleaning of offered bones seems a curious thing to do, because according to ethnographic examples, the handling of bones is a ritual activity in Sámi communities. Offered bones were not to be touched, and the handling of bones was controlled by various rules.<sup>745</sup> On the other hand, it must be kept in mind that the rules regarding the handling of offered bones may have shown regional and chronological variation. I have already earlier provided examples of such variation regarding the breaking of bones and the offering of antlers. In addition, people did not necessarily always act according to the rules, and individual sieidis could also have their own rules. Samuli Paulaharju mentions examples of both cases where it was forbidden to move offerings and cases where it was allowed. He describes a fish sieidi with a hole in the stone. The best offering success was achieved by placing a fish in this hole. However, there was room for only one fish. It was permissible to move the earlier offering aside one day after it had been offered.<sup>746</sup> In other cases, it was absolutely forbidden to move offerings brought by others. Paulaharju mentions a man who went blind after making spoons out of offered antlers. Sometimes offerings taken from sieidis also made their way back to the sieidis.<sup>747</sup> The permissibility of moving offerings was sometimes dependent on the need of the person doing the moving. However, not all offerings left material traces.<sup>748</sup>

The Sieiddakeäddgi sieidi is not the only sieidi stone from which offerings have been moved. The Dierpmesvárri sieidi is associated with a strong tradition, and it is said that offerings were seen at the sieidi as late as the early 20th century.<sup>749</sup> In connection with the excavations, however, only four pieces of bone were found at the sieidi. In anatomical terms, the fragments of reindeer antler and bones corresponded to offerings found at other sieidis, but the two dated bones turned out to be modern. This raises the question of where the offerings have gone. The sieidi is located on a hillslope in a place where meltwater forms fast-flowing streams, which may have caused the bones to move downhill with the water. On the other hand, humans could also have moved the bones, as was done at Sieiddakeäddgi. Test pits were dug at a radius of about 20 metres around the Dierpmesvárri sieidi, but the place where the bones might have been moved was not found.

The sieidis at Porviniemi and Kirkkopahta in Muonio and the offering place at Lake Äkässaivo (80) form a sort of a continuum of the lack of archaeological material associated with the use of sieidis, as no bone material at all was found at these sites in the excavations. The written tradition related to the Porviniemi sieidi relies only on a rather vague mention by Paulaharju, "it was probably worshipped by the Lapps in the past",<sup>750</sup> but the place is associated with still-living oral tradition regarding its use in connection with fishing. Kirkkopahta, on the other hand, is said to have been a communal sieidi where the Sámi who lived on the shore of the nearby Lake Pakasaivo in the summer gathered and which was visited all the way from Sweden.<sup>751</sup>

<sup>745</sup> E.g. Graan 1899 [1672], 66; Högström 1980 [1746/1747], 191; Leem 1956 [1767], 428–429; Acerbi 1802, vol. II, 304; Hallström 1932, 123.

<sup>746</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 15.

<sup>747</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 25.

<sup>748</sup> Cf. Insoll 2010.

<sup>749</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 40.

<sup>750</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 49. Original Finnish text: "sitä ennen vanhaan lappalaiset luultavasti ovat palvelleet".

<sup>751</sup> Paulaharju 1962 [1922], 141; Paulaharju 1932, 47–49.

In the light of the traditions related to these places, it would seem likely that they have been used as sieidis. At Porviniemi, the lack of archaeological material may be due to the use of the stone as a fish sieidi. The fish bones may have decomposed or perhaps only fat was offered. At Lake Äkäsaivo, offering activities may have concentrated in a broad area on the shore of the *sáiva* lake, so that offering activities were perhaps not located correctly in connection with the research. The lack of finds at these sites may, however, also be due to the cleaning of the sieidis in the same way as at Sieiddakeädggi.

On the other hand, it should be kept in mind that not all activity at sieidis necessarily left any material traces. Ritual activity did not always have to involve offering, but the acts of yoiking or eating could also have a ritual nature. In terms of ritual, activities that leave no traces in the material culture may be important as well, such as moving around the offering place and the emotions evoked by the place.<sup>752</sup>

When sieidis were cleaned, there might be several reasons for doing so, such as keeping the place neat, Christian influence, or the desire to hide a tradition seen as pagan or threatened. People could also have a relational attitude towards the offering of bones, in which case the significance of the bones could change from offering to trash or usable material during and after the act of offering.<sup>753</sup>

Because sieidis have been in use for a long time – Taatsi and Näkkälä as long as from the 11th century to today – the amount of offerings could sometimes become so great that cleaning was necessary. Even at sites with a narrower range of radiocarbon dates, such as Sieiddakeädggi and the Koskikaltiojoen suu, the period of use could be several centuries. In this time, such a great amount of offerings could collect at the site that the oldest had to be moved away even though a part of them had already decomposed. On the other hand, old offerings were probably for some time a part of the experience of the sieidi for people visiting the place. Activity at the sieidi involved old bones, decomposing animal carcasses, the smell of rot, and flies. As shown by Friis' description earlier, old offerings could be prominently displayed and affect how people experienced the place.

Ritual activity was thus associated with elements of continuity and remembrance. The prominence of old offerings could link today's rituals with those performed by the ancestors.<sup>754</sup> As time went by, visual reminders of past activity could disappear, but people visiting the place still felt a connection to the customs and traditions of their ancestors. Knowledge of rituals taking place at the sieidi is transmitted as oral tradition when visual reminders are long since buried. At the same time, new forms of action are created that reinforce continuity through changed meanings. A visitor today may see coins or candles that indicate others too have visited the sieidi.

Bodily action in offering places was associated with not only a social dimension and the related elements of memory, but also experiencing the place through all the senses. Earlier, I gave a broad description of soundscapes in sacred places. In addition to sounds, sacred places and especially offering activities were also associated with other sensations and emotions. The smell of blood and rotting meat hung around

<sup>752</sup> Insoll 2009.

<sup>753</sup> For more information, see Salmi *et al.* 2011.

<sup>754</sup> Cf. Lucas & McGovern 2007, 24–25.

offering places. These places also evoked feelings of fear and respect.<sup>755</sup> According to Friis, respect shown to sacred places could be seen in the fact that people did not like to settle down near them.<sup>756</sup> Additionally prohibitions against moving offerings could be related to the respect felt towards these places.

Activities related to offering were multisensory, social, and continuous, but not static. The act of offering was at the same time associated with strong traditions and continuously found new forms.

## 7.6. Summary

Different kinds of activities and actors have been associated with sieidis. Gender is often mentioned as a limiting factor for participating in offering activities at sieidis, but restrictions concerning gender are mentioned in written sources for only a few places. Animals could have been both actors, in consuming offered bones and enjoying the sieidi's protection, and acted upon in the form of offerings. Also the ways of offering animals varied. There are only a few examples of the deliberate placing of animal bones. Heads and antlers had special significance as offering material, and they are also found in great quantities in the archaeological material. The offering of fallen antlers and broken bones is sometimes said to be forbidden, but due to either regional differences or the contradiction between rules and human action, they are found among the offered bones. Fire-keeping at sieidis and burned bones associated with it seem also to be a regional feature typical to Inari.

Based on archaeological finds, the sphere of action seems to be limited close to the sieidi. The finds are often in the immediate vicinity of the sieidi or only a couple of metres away. In addition, phosphate analyses indicate that activities were concentrated near the sieidi. Offerings could also be located on a certain side of the sieidi depending on factors such as visibility and the direction of approach. Most sieidis are best approached by water. Most are also surrounded by open space that does not restrict the sphere of action. Instead, restrictions could be placed by cultural factors and rules. Beliefs related to offerings were not static, but the meanings attributed to offerings could change. At Sieiddakeädgi, offered bones have been moved, and the same might also have been done at sites from which no bone material has been found. Findless sieidis could also be examples of ritual activity that leaves no material traces.

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<sup>755</sup> Leem 1956 [1767], 443–444; Acerbi 1802, vol. II, 303; Paulaharju 1932, 24; Mebius 2003, 22.

<sup>756</sup> Friis 1977 [1871], 136.



## 8. THE SIEIDI LIFE CYCLE FROM PAST TO PRESENT

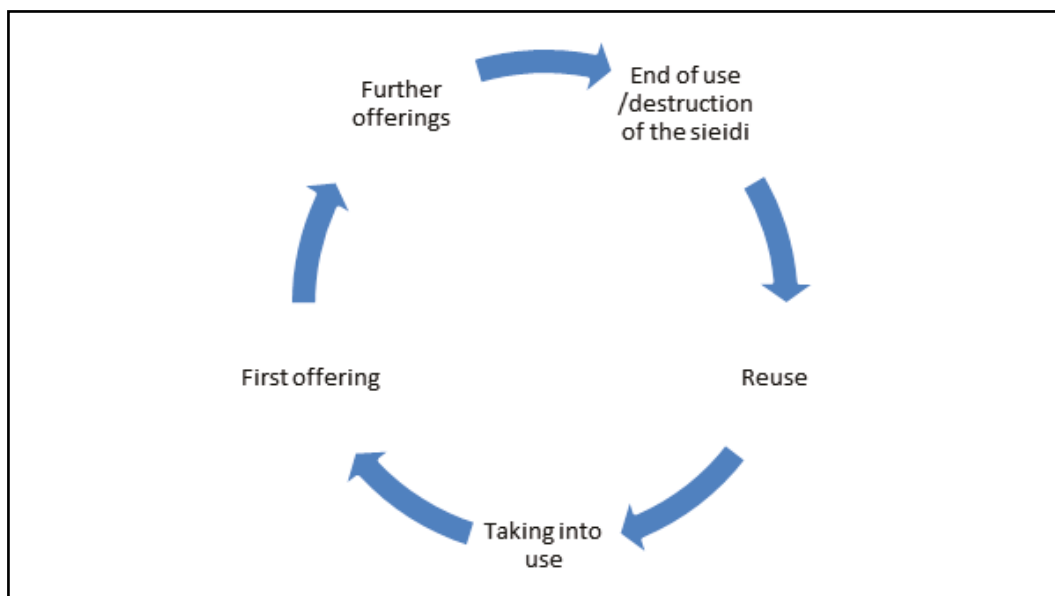
*Lake Äkässaivo (80), Muonio, September 2010*

*Lake Äkässaivo in Muonio is a sáiva lake and thus a sacred lake for the Sámi. Also, Samuli Paulaharju writes that the steep rocky shores of the lake were considered significant.<sup>757</sup> Since then, meanings associated with sacredness have also been attributed to the large bedrock formation standing about 10 metres from the shore and named Seitapahta in the guide boards erected at the site. However, written sources make no mention of offerings being connected specifically with this place, and excavations did not reveal animal bones remaining from offering activities at the foot of the stone. However, the impressive appearance of the rock formation has caused people to connect it to sieidis, and this impression is reinforced by guide boards that provide information on sieidis as a part of Sámi beliefs. In connection with archaeological studies, we noticed that people visiting the site left some signs of their visits. At the foot of the rock formation, a feather, some snuff, a slice of reindeer meat, and a religious tract were placed in a hollow in the rock. These objects indicate that the meanings formerly attributed to ancient sacred places have been transferred to a place that has been taken into use fairly recently. The snuff and reindeer meat continue an old tradition of offerings, the feather might be related to neo-pagan traditions, and the tract implies attempts to Christianize the place, thought to be a sieidi of the ethnic religion. This place with a fairly recent origin has thus acquired old meanings.*

<sup>757</sup> Paulaharju 1962 [1922], 169.

## 8.1. The birth of a sacred place: what turns a stone into a sieidi

In the foregone, I have presented some features of the use of Sámi sacred places and especially sieidis since the early 11th century and up to recent times. The life cycles of sacred places are characterized especially by the long period of their use, the extensive geographical area in which they are found, the presence of both material and symbolic aspects, and the variety of people visiting the place. The term *life cycle* describes the changes that take place in a person, object, or place with the passage of time. These changes are related to each other and create meanings. Through social interaction, the meanings of objects and places change during their life cycles.<sup>758</sup> The phases of the life cycle of sacred place are, in a simplified form, origin, use, end of use, and reuse. Here, I concentrate especially on the life cycle of sieidis, which were typically used for making offerings (Figure 96). The use can, however, have several phases, and reuse can either precede the end of use or activate a sacred place back into use even after a long unused period. Not all phases in the life cycle of a sacred place leave signs in the material culture.



**Figure 96.** The life cycle of a sieidi.

Of all sacred places, especially the origin or introduction of sieidis is closely connected to the beginning of offering activities. However, we cannot always speak of the “first fish or piece of meat” taken to the sieidi. Instead, the sieidi has acquired its meaning during a longer period of time. There are many stories associated with the birth of a sacred place. Others emphasize the creation of the sacred place regardless of humans, whereas according to others, it was specifically action by humans that made the place sacred. According to Johannes Schefferus, the *storjunkare* himself shows his preference for a certain place by haunting it, which makes the place sacred.<sup>759</sup> The commonest story related to the birth of sieidis tells of a person turned

<sup>758</sup> Gosden & Marshall 1999: 160–170.

<sup>759</sup> Schefferus 1963 [1673], 164.

into a stone. A. Andelin tells of a sieidi stone on the bank of the River Utsjoki that was born when a witch's helper, in spite of being forbidden, spoke during the casting of a spell and turned into stone.<sup>760</sup> Sometimes also the enemy could turn to stone.<sup>761</sup> In these cases, the mythical origin of the stone influenced people's experiences of the stone as a sieidi. On the other hand, stories of a mythical origin could be associated with certain stones only after they had already been used as sieidis. In these cases, experiencing the stone as a sieidi caused the mythical origin and not vice versa.<sup>762</sup>

Sometimes people started to respect a stone as a sieidi after it had shown its power. J. A. Friis writes that the Sámi considered sacred a place where they had had success hunting or fishing.<sup>763</sup> Sometimes a sieidi could turn into a sieidi only after proving its efficacy, for example, by giving wild reindeer.<sup>764</sup> T. I. Itkonen writes that the true nature of a sieidi could be discovered by sleeping next to the stone.<sup>765</sup>

Other stories emphasize the fact that people chose their own sieidis. The stone as such was not sacred or special, but was considered as an offering stone only after the first offerings were made. According to Fellman, a stone was not considered suitable for worshipping until it had been brushed with reindeer blood or animal fat.<sup>766</sup> When people came to a new hunting place, they chose a sieidi stone there. Itkonen states that when the Sámi came "to the shore of a lake where they had not yet fished, they chose as a fish sieidi a large stone in an island or in the water near the shore."<sup>767</sup>

Itkonen's description indicates that, in spite of the fact that people chose their own sieidis, the choice was influenced by presumptions of what kind of stone made a sieidi. In Chapter 4, I explained what kinds of landscape elements are typical for the topography of sacred places and what landscape elements sacred places themselves represent. Typical features for the locations of sacred places are high places, such as fells and hills, as well as waterways, such as lakes and rivers with their related headlands and islands. However, a location that seems uniform in relation to landscape elements does differ between individual sites. A sacred place may be located on the top or slope of a fell or hill, and the elevation may vary from ridges of a few metres' height up to the fell of Halti with an elevation of 1,365 metres. Likewise, waterways vary greatly in size, and a sacred place may be located either in the water or farther away from the shore.

There are no great regional differences in what kinds of landscape elements are associated with sacred places in different regions of Finnish Lapland. However, headlands are somewhat emphasized as landscape elements in Western Lapland. The topography of the landscape naturally determines what kinds of places are even available for sacred places to be located in. For example, sacred fells are located mainly in the areas of Utsjoki and Enontekiö. The comparison between the areas of

<sup>760</sup> Andelin 1859, 274.

<sup>761</sup> Itkonen 1962, 128; Manyuhin 1996, 72.

<sup>762</sup> Cf. Itkonen 1962, 128–129.

<sup>763</sup> Friis 1977 [1871], 134.

<sup>764</sup> SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 1–107.1959.

<sup>765</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 310.

<sup>766</sup> Fellman 1906 II, 18.

<sup>767</sup> Itkonen 1948 II, 313. Original Finnish text: "pyytämättömän järven rannalle, valittiin kalaseidaksi iso, saarella tai lähellä rantaa vedessä oleva kivi."

Utsjoki and Inari showed that people had found sacredness in landscape features typical of the area in question: rivers and fells in Utsjoki, the surroundings of lakes in Inari. The attempt to compare sacred places related to various deities or used by different groups is made problematic by the limited research material. However, the most common landscape elements would seem to be the same ones that also dominate the overall picture.

Atypical shape and visibility or an unusual surface, colour, or size have been considered as characteristic features for sacred places and especially sieidis as landscape elements. For the inspected sites, the most common features were unusual shape and size. Such definitions based on external characteristics are, of course, highly subjective; a stone that one person sees as a "Lapp hut" may in another person's eyes stand out only slightly from the surrounding terrain. On the other hand, unusually shaped stones can acquire meanings in the long term. For example, interviewees in the 1960s and 1970s paid attention to the same characteristic features of the sieidi at Sieiddakeäldgi (113) as Paulaharju did: the hollow in the side of the stone and the round holes inside the stone.<sup>768</sup> Some of them may, of course, have been familiar with Paulaharju's description. Atypical shape is also connected to anthropomorphic features, which cannot be considered as a determining factor for a sieidi, but which have nevertheless been associated with special meanings.

The visibility of a sieidi is affected by the topography of the location, the size of the sieidi, the vegetation, and any other nearby stones, among other factors. The sieidi is highly visible in the landscape at less than half of the inspected sites. However, the season of the year plays a large role in visibility; the leaves of trees may obscure the view even at a close distance. In addition, in some cases, the location of the sieidi, such as a headland jutting out into the lake, may be visible from afar even if the stone itself is not. In these cases, people's preliminary knowledge may affect the meanings of sacredness attributed to what they see. There are no unifying features for the direction from which the sieidi is visible. However, visibility or the direction from which the sieidi's shape is seen as atypical may have had an effect on how the sieidi was approached.

The sacred can thus manifest itself in the landscape in many ways. Even though waterways and high places are typical landscape elements associated with sacredness, there are differences in the sizes of these landscape elements and in the location of the sacred place in relation to the shoreline or slope. Additionally, the sieidi stones themselves may have varied greatly from large bedrock formations to small stones that hardly stand out from the surrounding stones. The stone was not necessarily always special, but instead sacredness may have been associated with incidental phenomena. The sacred may have acquired many multisensory meanings in the landscape. It may have been associated with the sound of water or a fell that dominates the view over a large area. The sacred may also have been associated with the sense of touch, as people touched the stone's grooved surface. A sacred place may have been chosen for symbolic and experience-related reasons, but it could equally well be chosen for functional, subsistence-related reasons.

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<sup>768</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 31; Mattila 1974, 64–65 referring to TKU 67/59 N:11, 67/76 a:2, 67/266:39, 70/7:24, 70/43:28.

## 8.2. The use of a sacred place: rituals and subsistence

Fishing, hunting, and reindeer husbandry are considered to have been closely connected to ritual activity in sacred places. In written sources, especially in descriptions of offerings brought to sieidis, the species thought to be central to the Sámi means of subsistence stand out: fish plus wild and domesticated reindeer. Archaeological studies, however, provide a slightly different picture. The number of fish offerings remains scanty, probably partly due to excavation technique and taphonomic reasons. The bone material contains species that are rarely mentioned in written sources, such as bear and sheep, as well as capercaillie, swan, and other birds. When ethnographic material was collected, the so-called typical Sámi means of subsistence may have been generalized in the descriptions of sieidi offerings.

Written sources also pay attention to the differences between sieidis for wild and domesticated reindeer and for fish, even though some sieidis are also mentioned as having been good for everything. Of the excavated sieidis, only Sieddakeädggi in Utsjoki seems to have been specialized in terms of offerings. Only reindeer bones were identified there. At all the other inspected sieidis that provided old datings, at least two species were found.

In terms of related landscape elements, sieidis associated with different means of subsistence cannot be grouped neatly. Fish sieidis are often, but not always, located close to water. The waterway was usually a river in Utsjoki and a lake in Inari, corresponding to the topography of the area. For other means of subsistence, the link between them and the location in the landscape is less clear. Wild reindeer sieidis can be associated with *any* landscape element. For domesticated reindeer sieidis, the situation is twofold: sieidis to which only domesticated reindeer are said to have been offered are mostly located on fells or in other high places, whereas sieidis to which several species have been offered are distributed more evenly among different landscape types. This indicates that the former have been chosen specifically with a connection to reindeer husbandry, whereas the latter represent sieidis whose meaning has changed over the times.

Sacred places have been a part of the taskscape that has also contained meanings other than ritual activities. Even though hunting pits near sacred places do not unquestionably prove the connection between hunting and offering activities, they are an example of a landscape that has been the stage of many activities. Hunting pits and rectangular fireplaces testify to a landscape that has been used for hunting trips over a long time. Hunting-related sieidis may have given new meanings to a landscape that has been associated with hunting for generations. The landscapes of reindeer husbandry have also been linked with experiences of the sacred. Sacred places were located along migration routes and thus became a part of the annual cycle. They gave a sense of continuity and connection to different parts of the migration routes as people stopped at the same places year after year. It is also said that people camped near sieidis during migrations.

Additionally, more permanent settlement took place in the vicinity of sacred places. Many sacred places were associated with rules that forbade everyday activities near the sacred place. Like other rules, this prohibition cannot be considered as applicable over the whole Sámi area or at all times. Camping at sieidis along migration routes

provides one example of the connection between settlement and sacred places. There were also homesteads and *goahtis* near sacred places. Fish sieidis in particular were located close to settlement, and offerings were also given at settlement sites. The Sámi lived in a landscape that they associated with many varying meanings.

The bone material found at settlement sites also testifies to the connection between means of subsistence and offerings. The animals that were most frequently offered to sieidis are also found in the bone material from settlement sites. The bear found at the Näkkälä sieidi has not been found at settlement sites, and other species that are not known from offering places have been found in connection with settlement, such as cattle, beaver, hare, and wolf. This seems to indicate that some animals had more symbolic significance than others.

The spatial connection between sacred places and signs of human activity indicates that the sacredness of the landscape did not rule out activities related to means of subsistence and making a living from the landscape. Sacredness did not mean that other activities were prohibited. Various means of subsistence were practised near sacred places, for example, meat was stored in storage pits in boulder fields (*purnu*) near Tihkkesohkka in Enontekiö,<sup>769</sup> and there were bird nesting trees and signs of fishing on the island of Ukko in Lake Ukonjärvi, as well as hunting or storage pits on the headland of Porviniemi in Muonio. Sometimes an animal shot near the sieidi was considered as a gift from the sieidi, and hunting near the sieidi was thus not disapproved of.<sup>770</sup> Sacred places may have been usage areas in which means of subsistence were practised much like elsewhere but that may have been associated with more controlled behaviour and restrictions. Sometimes, however, the near vicinity of the sacred place has been viewed as protected from everyday activities. For example, it is said that one should not eat blueberries growing near the Näkkälä sieidi.<sup>771</sup>

The effect of sacredness cannot thus be restricted to a certain way of acting. Sacredness was not always a restricting factor for action, and at the same time, sacredness was not restricted to offering places and sieidis. Activities other than offering could also be perceived as ritual and associated with contacting the spirits. For example, hunting in itself has been viewed as a ritual activity. Hunters were in contact not only with animals but also with the spirit world, and the difference between these two could be wavering. There were also rituals and rules related to the handling of the catch.<sup>772</sup> For example, handling meat could be forbidden to women in some cases.<sup>773</sup> Beliefs were associated with hunting and fishing, but also with, for example, haymaking.<sup>774</sup> It is mentioned that in Ullatti in Sweden, there was an offering stone related to cattle husbandry on which one had to pour a drop of milk every time a cow was milked.<sup>775</sup>

<sup>769</sup> SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 509.1961.

<sup>770</sup> Lounema 2003, 158 quoting Nils-Piera Labba.

<sup>771</sup> SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 1–107.1959.

<sup>772</sup> Schanche 2000, 237–238; Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2006, 56.

<sup>773</sup> Ervasti 1956 [1737], 13–14.

<sup>774</sup> Paulaharju 1914, 24.

<sup>775</sup> Paulaharju 1961 [1937], 181.

The taskscape can be viewed as being full of religious meaning. Subsistence, ritual, and social contact interacted with each other. Making a living was not divorced from myths, religion, and cosmology. Rituals were linked to subsistence through rules and beliefs related to hunting, for example, and through interaction with spirits that affected animals. Sieidis and spirits, not just other people, belonged within the sphere of other social interaction.

Sacredness can be seen as manifesting itself especially in sacred nodes of the landscape, sacred places in which contacts between the worlds were set in place in advance. The boundary between sacred and profane places or activities was not rigid, however. The sacred could manifest itself in connection with certain places or rituals, but it could also be a part of life in a more comprehensive sense.<sup>776</sup> Many activities considered as profane from a Western viewpoint, such as hunting and fishing, had ritual implications. Thus, the sacred and the profane were linked in human life, and people did not necessarily experience a transition from profane to ritual during their daily tasks. The significance of liminality as a part of experiencing the sacred should therefore also be re-examined. Sieidis are examples of liminal places that were at the same time located between the worlds yet not apart from this world. A connection to other worlds could be experienced everywhere and as a part of activities considered as profane, even though some places in the landscape were marked with sieidis due to their liminal nature. People lived in the sacred landscape, and their connection to the hereafter was interactive and manifested itself in many forms that were not restricted to the liminal places in the landscape.

### **8.3. The reuse of sacred places: changing meanings**

Datings from sites studied in the area of Finland indicate that the use of sieidis, or at least the making of offerings that left traces, started in the 11th and 12th centuries, or later than in Sweden, where metal artefacts were offered as early as the 8th century and especially in the 10th through 14th centuries. This period at the turn of the first millennium has also been significant in terms of other ritual activity. Known hoards of precious metals from Sweden are dated to 1000–1350 A.D.<sup>777</sup> and from Finland to 1050–1200 A.D. Especially in Northern Norway, at the Varanger fjord, the number of slate graves constructed since the early years A.D. increases and their area of distribution expands in the 11th through 14th centuries.<sup>778</sup> Quite a bit of jewellery of eastern origin has been found in the slate graves dated to the 10th/11th through 13th/14th centuries.<sup>779</sup> Most of the bear graves are also dated to the 10th through 14th centuries.<sup>780</sup> No bear graves are known in Finland, but the bear bones found at the Näkkälä sieidi are dated to the 12th through 13th centuries, the peak period of bear graves in Sweden. Ritual activity at the turn of the millennium seems to have taken new forms that manifest themselves as the peak period of bear burials, an increase in the number of slate graves, and the introduction of precious

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<sup>776</sup> Sherratt 1991, 61.

<sup>777</sup> Hedman 2003, 25.

<sup>778</sup> Hansen & Olsen 2007, 83, 117, 122.

<sup>779</sup> Hansen & Olsen 2007, 118.

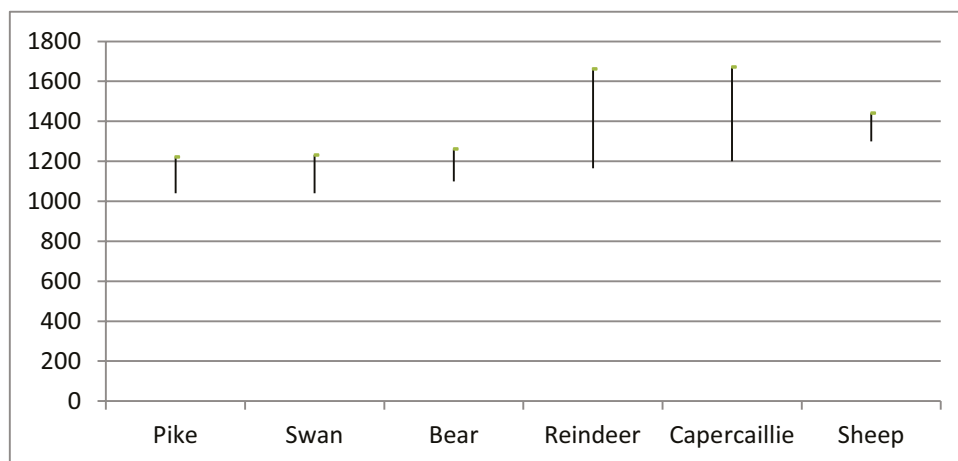
<sup>780</sup> Hansen & Olsen 2007, 130.



metal hoards and sieidi offerings. However, in the area of Finland, there are few signs of ritual activity with the exception of sieidis.

The same period at the turn of the Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages is also associated with other changes in the Sámi area. According to Halinen *et al.*, these changes are related to the warm period dated from 865 to 1260 A.D. This is also the peak period for rectangular fireplaces.<sup>781</sup> Changes also took place in the material culture, as eastern forms of artefacts increases in the 10th and 11th centuries.<sup>782</sup> This is thought to be related to increased trade.<sup>783</sup> An increase in fur trade is also seen as having affected ritual life, as it emphasized hunting rituals and men's roles and led to the exclusion of women from these rituals.<sup>784</sup>

A variety of offered species seems typical for the early phases of sieidi use (Figure 97). At the sites studied within this project, the oldest dating was for a fish bone from Taatsi dated to the 11th through 12th centuries. Also swan and bear bones are dated to the 11th through 13th centuries, and sheep offerings start in the 14th through 15th centuries. It thus seems that offering activities took many forms already in their earliest stages and were *not* tied to a certain means of subsistence.



**Figure 97.** Chart showing the datings of animal bone material from sieidis studied in Finland.

Dating offerings related to wild reindeer hunting and reindeer husbandry is complicated by the fact that the bones of wild and domesticated reindeer cannot be distinguished from each other by means of osteological analysis. Bones of both types have been offered during the longest time span, from the 12th through the 17th centuries. During this period, offering traditions may have changed and wild reindeer offerings related to hunting may have been replaced by offerings related to reindeer husbandry. With the exception of capercaillie, signs of other animal offerings disappear from the bone material during the 15th century. This may indicate the increased significance of wild or domesticated reindeer either in subsistence or beliefs or both. However, the lack of sheep and game birds, for example, in the offered species does not necessarily mean that they were no longer utilized for food.

<sup>781</sup> Halinen *et al.* 2013.

<sup>782</sup> Hansen & Olsen 2007, 75; Halinen *et al.* 2013.

<sup>783</sup> Hansen & Olsen 2007, 138.

<sup>784</sup> Schanche 2000, 324–325; Hansen & Olsen 2007, 126.

The meanings of animals related to subsistence and beliefs did not always go hand in hand. A change in subsistence did not always mean a dramatic change in offering activities. The offered species might change, but the offering places remained the same. Many sieidis are said to have been used for many kinds of offerings and claimed to have been good for everything.<sup>785</sup> No great differences can be observed in the locations of offering places between different means of subsistence. Offering places related to fishing are often located near water, but there are exceptions. In the study of offering places connected in written sources with reindeer husbandry, it could be seen that sites at which only domesticated reindeer was offered were more often located at high elevations, whereas sites used for offering many different species were located in more varying landscapes. These latter sites may represent the continued use of old sacred places. In fell terrain or other high places, on the other hand, people chose locations intended especially for use in connection with reindeer husbandry.

On the other hand, reindeer husbandry is considered to have become large-scale only in the 17th and 18th centuries, when the amount of bone material at sieidis decreases. Bones are found up to the middle of the 17th century, but there is no material dated to the 18th century. This corresponds to the situation in Sweden. Bear burials, too, which are not known in the area of Finland, end at the same time in Sweden. The 18th century thus saw a change in offering activities. Christian missionary work was at its most intensive in the 17th and 18th centuries. In the northernmost parts of Finland, Christian churches came to the sacred places of the Sámi ethnic religion. Offering activities related to the ethnic religion could, however, continue in secrecy and take new forms. Perhaps people moved away from known places to give private offerings within *goahtis* or in hidden locations.<sup>786</sup> Some of the offering tradition also moved to churches. The cohabiting of the ethnic religion and Christianity is also reflected in old blessings and prayers that address the deities of both religions.<sup>787</sup>

In more southern Lapland, Christianization took other forms. The locations of churches did not have a clear connection with the sacred places of the ethnic religion. This may indicate that the sacred places were no longer at least visibly in use and there was thus no need to Christianize them. This is also supported by the fact that no signs of offerings were found in the sacred places inspected in the area of Muonio. However, a lack of finds does not completely exclude the possibility of offerings. Offering activities may have taken other forms that are not visible in the material culture. Many sacred places in Muonio are also related to waterways (Figure 28), which may indicate that they were used as fish sieidis. In this case, offerings did not necessarily leave any archaeologically discernible traces. In more southern areas too, all the way down to Oulu, the habit of bringing offerings to church is known.

The 18th century did not mean an end to the use of sacred places of the ethnic religion. Starting from the 19th century, objects with connections to the old offering tradition have been brought to the same places. This is indicated by bottle glass dating to the mid-19th century and coins dating to the 19th through 21st centuries.

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<sup>785</sup> E.g. Paulaharju 1932.

<sup>786</sup> Halinen 2010, 54.

<sup>787</sup> Paulaharju 1963 [1923], 261.

Both alcohol and coins were also related to the offering tradition of the ethnic religion. However, offerings took on new forms. In the 20th century, neo-pagans also made offerings and tourist activities at sieidis resembled offering activities. Along with the times, sieidis have thus acquired new users who were not necessarily Sámi. There are examples of this already from earlier times. For example, G. A. Andersson writes that settlers used sieidis by bringing copper objects to Pyhänkivi.<sup>788</sup> Old offerings and new traditions could have cohabited at sieidis. At the rock formation at Lake Äkässaivo, reindeer heads have given way to packaged ham slices and tobacco has been replaced by a bundle of snuff.

The activity of the church at sieidis has also taken new forms. During the shared history of the church and ethnic religion, sieidis have been destroyed and the ethnic religion has been demonized, but churches have been built in old sacred places, offerings brought to churches, and clergymen have been interested in the ethnic religion and Sámi culture. Nowadays, the church has once again returned to the old sacred places. In Sweden, an hour of prayer was organized at a sieidi that was returned to its place<sup>789</sup>, and in Rovaniemi, local people have taken an old sacred place, Somosen kirkko [The church of Somonen], into use by the congregation and built a bell tower, altar, and benches there (Figure 98). This kind of activity can be seen as an attempt by the church to show respect towards the old sacred places<sup>790</sup> or as a new Christianization of the sacred places of the ethnic religion.



**Figure 98.** A Christian milieu at the sacred place of Somosen kirkko [The church of Somonen].

<sup>788</sup> Andersson 1914, 45.

<sup>789</sup> Bientie 2001.

<sup>790</sup> Bientie 2001.

The long chronological dimension and the change in meanings from the 11th century to today make it difficult to define a Sámi sacred place or sieidi. Already in early times, there have been both sacred places used by the whole community and those visited only by one family or one person. Some sieidis and sacred places have been used for centuries, others perhaps only for a person's lifetime. Thus, a stone can be a sieidi that has been used by only one person fairly recently. This is why my research includes sacred places whose location is based on information from only one informant. However, I have associated sieidis specifically with Sámi belief traditions. Of course, offering stones or otherwise significant stones may also exist elsewhere.

#### **8.4. The end of use: are they alive after all?**

Throughout the times, some Sámi sacred places have also seen their end. The most attention has probably been paid to sacred places destroyed by clerics and Christianized Sámi, but also among the ethnic religion, sieidis could be abandoned or even destroyed. The use of a sieidi was sometimes tied to a certain situation. For example, sieidis near a settlement site could be abandoned as people moved from one village to another. Sometimes a sieidi stone is used by a certain person, and as the offerer died, offerings also came to an end.<sup>791</sup> As offering activities ended, sieidis could also lose their powers.<sup>792</sup>

Destroying sieidis was not always easy. According to Fellman, they were destroyed by fire.<sup>793</sup> Paulaharju, too, writes that twigs were first burned under the sieidi and then water was poured over the hot stone to make it split into pieces. Sometimes sieidi stones were also rolled into a lake.<sup>794</sup>

Sieidis have thus been destroyed at different times and for different reasons. The destruction may have been related, for example, to the sieidi's failing to give what it had promised or to the influence of Christianity. Sometimes sieidis just fell out of use with no dramatic destruction process. Not all sieidis were destroyed, and sometimes even a destroyed sieidi may have acquired new meanings, like the god statue at Keivitsa. It was razed down to the ground, but even in recent years, new offerings have been brought to its location.

A place could retain the meaning of sacredness even if the sieidi that once stood there was destroyed or disappeared. Sacredness is born out of meanings that are attributed to a place by the community and individuals using it. The identity of a place is not permanent, but is redefined over and over again through the activities that take place there.<sup>795</sup> Meanings are created, born, and reborn in a continuous process, and the experience of sacredness is thus also not static.

Even today, sieidis and other Sámi sacred places are associated with many meanings and they are the theatres of many kinds of activities. For the Sámi, sacred places can

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<sup>791</sup> SKS KRA. Kohonen, Marjatta 1–107.1959.

<sup>792</sup> Högström 1980 [1746/1747], 183.

<sup>793</sup> Fellman 1906 II, 19–20.

<sup>794</sup> Paulaharju 1932, 24, 43–44.

<sup>795</sup> Edensor 2006, 200.

mean, for example, a cultural connection to their ancestors. Schefferus already noted that the custom of offering to sieidis has been preserved because people wanted to show respect by considering sacred that which their fathers had considered sacred.<sup>796</sup> Even this tradition may take new forms. Instead of borrowing old traditions, people can build new traditions on top of the old ones. The meaning attributed to a sacred place does not always have to be tied to offering. Even if offerings are no longer actively made to sieidis, they can still be respected and viewed as essential for constructing one's identity.

As two examples of the meanings that can be attributed to sacred places outside the Sámi community, I have presented the activities brought on by neo-paganism and tourism at sieidis. The reuse of sacred places may arouse strong emotions. The views of different parties on the meanings of these places and their appropriate use may be in conflict. In Britain, the activities of neo-pagans at megalithic sites has provoked discussion, because the general public sees offerings left at megaliths as garbage.<sup>797</sup> In Finland, signs of offerings by neo-pagans in various sacred places have not yet attracted a great deal of attention, and no discussion has been generated by them. What some people call ritual trash is to others a sign of sacred activities. According to Kathryn Rountree, rituals are to the neo-pagans not only religious activities but also a way of constructing their identities as pagans.<sup>798</sup> On the other hand, neo-paganism can be seen as a form of neocolonialism that is associated with stealing the traditions of aboriginal peoples.<sup>799</sup> The history of aboriginal peoples is invalidated by creating a picture of noble savages who are thought to be incapable of cherishing their own traditions.<sup>800</sup>

Also tourism as a part of the use of sacred places has been seen as problematic. According to Helena Ruotsala, the use of the Sámi culture in tourism is a sign of ethnographic exploitation.<sup>801</sup> In the words of Päivi Magga: "The Sámi would also like to have more tourism, but in the form of Sámi ecotourism that cooperates with reindeer herders and protects Sámi sacred places."<sup>802</sup> Tourism can be seen as secularizing and wearing out the sacred place, but it may also create new meanings and become a part of the life cycle of the sacred place.

The use of sacred places evokes strong feelings, leading to a desire to evaluate meanings associated with these places and deny the value of some meanings. A meaning considered as right may be seen as connected with the authenticity of the place. According to Siân Jones, authenticity is created as a result of action and encounters. Because some forms of action are considered as better or more right, and others are lost or discriminated against, the process of defining authenticity often causes disagreements.<sup>803</sup> By denying the value of the current meanings, sites may be protected not only from "outsiders" but also from local people and their

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<sup>796</sup> Schefferus 1963 [1673], 147.

<sup>797</sup> Wallis 2003, 170.

<sup>798</sup> Rountree 2006, 100, 104.

<sup>799</sup> Wallis 2003, xiii.

<sup>800</sup> Wallis 2003, 17.

<sup>801</sup> Ruotsala 1998, 95.

<sup>802</sup> Magga 2007a, 14.

<sup>803</sup> Jones 2010, 199.

activities.<sup>804</sup> In the protection of sacred places, it has been viewed as important that locals have a right to use the sacred place. For example, in the Kakadu National Park in Australia, the traditional owners of the rock paintings are granted the right to rework these paintings.<sup>805</sup> When the varying meanings of sacred places are taken into consideration, it might be worth discussing also the right of people other than traditional owners to use the sacred places.

Sámi sacred places have had a long life cycle. At the latest from the 11th century up to today, people have had an impact on sacred places, but also sacred places have had an impact on people. Through human action, sacred places have been bestowed with various meanings that have left behind different material traces. All these traces from fish and reindeer bones to coins and quartzite chunks are tied together as parts of the life cycle of a sacred place.

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<sup>804</sup> Cf. Byrne 2009, 68. On critique against the preservation ethos, see also e.g. Melotti 2007.

<sup>805</sup> Mercer 1995, 136.

## 9. SUMMARY

*Sillä monta ajatusta on vielä kesken, ja toisia ei ole vielä kunnolla aloitettukaan...*<sup>806</sup>

*Veikko Huovinen 1959:  
Havukka-ahon ajattelija, p. 211*

At the beginning of this book, I posed questions with the common idea of sacred places in the context of a landscape, as a part of which these places were associated with changing meanings and different activities during their long life cycles. Here I summarize the main directions of my research by answering these questions:

***What kinds of landscape elements are typical of sacred places and can variation be observed between different types of sacred places?***

As written sources have also stated, water and high places stand out in the topographical features of sacred places. However, the location of a sacred place is affected by the landscape elements typical of each region. In addition, the relationship between a sacred place and a topographical feature is not homogenous, but there are differences in the sizes of waterways and elevated places, as well as in the location of the sacred place in relation to the topographic element. Those landscape features that are most representative in general also dominate in places used by both communities and individuals. They also stand out in the examination of sacred places associated with masculinity and femininity. Places used by communities are represented by fells and lakes, or large landscape elements. Places used by individuals are distributed more evenly between different groups. Only islands and lakes are represented in the material by more than one place. Hills seem to be more significant for feminine places and islands and hills for masculine places than for all sacred places in general.

***What are sieidis like as elements of the landscape?***

Sieidi stones as landscape elements are characterized by their atypical shape and size. Atypical shape is sometimes connected with anthropomorphism or zoomorphism. These features occur in sieidis so often that they are most likely not incidental, but also not the single definitive factor for the selection of a sieidi stone. The majority of the inspected sieidis were 1.5 to 2.5 metres high. Thus, the size of the sieidis was not necessarily impressive in itself, but enough to make them stand out from the surrounding stones. This is one reason why most of the inspected sites are reasonably or very visible. The direction of visibility, on the other hand, did not seem to be important. Sieidi stones are thus often atypical for their environment, but the atypical features are so varied that they alone cannot be used to define a sieidi that is not associated with oral tradition or archaeological finds. Some sieidis stand out only because of their location in fairly stoneless terrain; in another environment, they might be quite unobtrusive.

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<sup>806</sup> "Because many thoughts are still unfinished, and others have not yet been properly started..."



### ***Can sacred places be described as liminal places?***

Features considered as liminal, namely a connection to water or a high place, are associated with the locations of many sacred places. In addition, liminality may be seen as being closely connected with Sámi beliefs, which incorporated the idea of a tripartite world, travel between the worlds, and sieidis as places from which one could contact another world. On the other hand, water and high places could also acquire meanings unconnected to liminality, such as meanings connected to their use as migration routes or passageways or parts of a soundscape or a subsistence-related landscape. Sacredness and contacts with the hereafter were also not tied to certain people or places. Sacredness is not static in nature, but instead the boundary between sacred and profane can change. Liminality as a boundary in the world of experience and landscape is mobile and situational. Sieidis are examples of liminal places that are at the same time *between worlds but not divorced from this world*. Sacredness and contacts with the hereafter manifested themselves in the landscape in many forms related to both everyday and ritual activities and were not restricted to liminal places in the landscape.

### ***What makes places sacred?***

In the foregoing, I have suggested that sacredness could manifest itself in the landscape in many forms. There was a wide variety of sacred places, from individual lakeshore boulders to great fells. Places could be associated with meanings of sacredness due to oral tradition and stories, anthropomorphism, liminal features, the soundscape created by the water, or some reason inconceivable to a modern researcher. Few places were associated with all of the above-mentioned sacred features, and some sacred places may seem very mundane to modern eyes. Often encountered characteristics of sacred places are a shape or size that stands out from the environment and a connection with a high elevation or a waterway, which could be associated with different meanings from liminality to a subsistence-related landscape. However, these characteristics cannot be used to construct a watertight model of what a sacred place should look like or where it should be located.

### ***Can sacred places related to different means of subsistence be differentiated in the landscape?***

Of all sacred sites, in particular sieidis for which the offerings are known are related to subsistence. This information is available for 44 sites either from written sources or the archaeological material. The material shows that fish sieidis are concentrated near water and that sieidis dedicated to wild or domesticated reindeer are found in fell and hill terrain more often than fish sieidis. However, the locations of sieidis also overlap, because some wild reindeer sieidis are known near waterways and fish has also been offered farther away from fishing sites. Domesticated reindeer sieidis are more closely connected to a certain type of landscape, namely fells, than fish or wild reindeer sieidis. Sieidis for which no mention is made of other offered species than domesticated reindeer are located especially in fells. This indicates that a specific tradition was related to the locations of domesticated reindeer sieidis.

***What is the connection between means of subsistence and ritual activities? And what other activities are associated with sacred places?***

Hunting pits are the most common archaeological site type found in the vicinity of sacred places. This does not necessarily mean that they were contemporary, because datings from hunting pits near sacred sites indicate much older use. However, the taskscape related to hunting may have been passed down from the use of hunting pits to sieidi offerings. In addition to hunting, other activities taking place near sacred places include settlement, reindeer pasturing, and fishing. In the areas of Inari and Utsjoki, the distance between a sacred site and the nearest homestead is in most cases less than five kilometres. Camping near sieidis in particular has been related to migration journeys. Sometimes sacred places also form clusters. Usually a sacred place is located 1 to 10 kilometres away from the next sacred place. Concentrations of sacred places are often located in places associated with other human activities. Sacred places formed a part of the taskscape, even though no other archaeological sites have often been observed within a radius of about three kilometres from sacred places. Sacred places were a part of the landscape in which the mundane and the ritual were bound together. In addition to activities related to subsistence and settlement, there were burial islands near sacred sites, and oral tradition also tells of burials near sieidis. In the north, it can also be observed that churches were often built in the sacred places of the ethnic religion or in landscapes dominated by these places. There was no similar tradition in the southern parts of the research area. In later times, sacred places have acquired new meanings through tourism. The reasons for visiting sacred places may vary from neo-paganism to tourism or respecting the traditions of one's ancestors.

***What kinds of actors and bodily experiences are related to sacred places?***

In discussions of actors related to sieidis, gender-specific restrictions are often mentioned, but only a few individual sacred places are associated with restrictions that would limit their user groups based on gender. The number of people visiting sacred places may have varied from individuals to entire villages. Also animals, especially at sieidis, may have been both actors who consume offered bones and enjoy the sieidi's protection and objects of action in the form of offerings. Heads and antlers were especially significant parts of the offered animal, and they are frequently found in the archaeological material. As for the deliberate placing of animal bones, there are only a few examples. In addition, the archaeological material indicates that bones were broken and burned, perhaps in connection with offering activities. The field of activity related to ritual remained close to the sieidi, as indicated by both archaeological finds and phosphate analyses. The field of activity may have been restricted to a certain side of the sieidi due to the visibility of the sieidi, the direction of approach, the approachability by water, or the open or restricted space around the sieidi formed by microtopography. Beliefs related to offering were not static, but the meaning of offerings could change. This is indicated by the moving of offered bones observed at Sieiddakeädggi, for example. At sieidis where no archaeological material has been found, offerings may have been moved or ritual activities that leave no material traces may have taken place.

### ***To what extent are sacred places a part of a profane landscape?***

Many activities classified as profane from a modern viewpoint have taken place in the vicinity of sacred places, from hunting and fishing to settlement. On the other hand, even everyday activities may have incorporated elements of the sacred, for example, in the form of beliefs associated with hunting. There has thus been no clear division between sacred and profane. Everyday activities have been carried out near sacred places, but at the same time, sacredness has formed a part of everyday life. In the landscape, the sacred and the profane are intermingled.

### ***What is the life cycle of sacred places?***

Sacred places have acquired a multitude of meanings since their introduction up to their abandonment or reuse. In the selection of sacred places, the clearest chronological difference seems to be related to the location of domesticated reindeer sieidis in fell terrain. Otherwise there do not seem to be chronological differences between different types of sacred places. The beginning of the use of sacred places is associated with a period characterized by changes in ritual activity. This could be seen, for example, in the increasing number of slate graves and the use of bear graves, although there are no examples of either grave type within the area of Finland. Based on the inspected sites, the species distribution of offerings was greater in the early phases of the offering tradition, whereas typical offerings in the 16th through 18th centuries consisted only of wild or domesticated reindeer. Capercaillies have also been found from one site during that period. In the more southern area, there are no bone finds at all. This may indicate a different offering tradition or an earlier end to offerings. Until the late 19th century, artefact finds are very rare in the area of Finland as compared to Sweden. Artefact finds classified as modern consist mainly of coins and small personal items. Some of the modern finds, such as alcohol and tobacco, continue old traditions, whereas others, such as a bunch of sprigs and tealight candles, create new traditions. The modern finds indicate that the use of sieidis has been transmitted from the sphere of subsistence to the sphere of tourism and neo-paganism.

Sieidi sites at which no archaeological bone finds were made provoke a need for additional research. In the future, it would be interesting to develop methods for also studying those sites at which no bones have been preserved or at which they were never even offered. In addition, it would also be interesting to include within the field of study those sacred places that do not necessarily fulfil the rule of two identifying criteria set in my work. Sacredness could be approached, for example, through toponyms in cooperation with linguists. This would allow us to also study places that are not associated with a strong oral tradition. In this case, attention should be paid to research-ethical questions of information dissemination. New sites could provide additional information on the question of the life cycle of sacred places and the nature of ritual activity.

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MV:KTKKA National Board of Antiquities, Ethnological Manuscript Archive

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## SACRED PLACES IN FINNISH LAPLAND

This appendix lists the sacred places associated with the Sámi within the municipalities of Enontekiö, Hyrynsalmi, Inari, Kemijärvi, Kittilä, Kuusamo, Muonio, Pelkosenniemi, Pello, Posio, Rovaniemi, Salla, Savukoski, Sodankylä, and Utsjoki. The information is based on the Register over Ancient Sites of Finland's National Board of Antiquities, a series of publications on the archaeological sites in the area<sup>807</sup>, information collected from archives and written sources, and my own field observations.

The list, which is organized by municipality, also includes sacred places that are mentioned in written sources but that could not be located on the map during the course of this research. A site is classified as unlocalized if the location is known only at the level of a lake, but as localized if the location is known at the level of a headland or an island. An exception is formed by sites that do not consist of a sieidi stone on the shore of a lake, but where the entire lake itself has been considered to be sacred. In such cases, the centre of the lake has been sufficient to localize the site. A name indicating sacredness has been sufficient to include sites that are mentioned in sources or that have been inspected by archaeologists. There are also other sites with names indicating potential sacredness, but they would require a separate study. The sacred place type of *sáiva* lakes has been left outside this study, unless a sieidi was associated with the lake.

For sites registered by the National Board of Antiquities, information has been obtained by different methods. In the following, *checked by* refers to a site that has been visited by an archaeologist after a previous survey or after a communiqué from a local informant. *Excavated by* refers to the year and name of archaeologist conducting excavations at the site. *Reported site visit* means that the site has been visited by an archaeologist during an archaeological survey, documented, and in some cases mapped and photographed. *Inspected in* refers to the year in which the author inspected the site personally.

### Enontekiö:

1.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Ailakkavaara (Áillahasvárri)**

Other names: Ailakahvaara (Paulaharju), Áillahasvárri

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 3.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 1841 02 AILAKKAVAARA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7667 403, Easting = 3263 149, z = 950 m ASL (top)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7661006, y = 262994

The hill is located southeast of Kilpisjärvi and west of Dierpmesvárri. It is said that at the north end of Lake Ailakkajärvi, where the tip of the hill slopes down into the lake, there is a "stripe" with money hidden in it.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932; Kohonen 1959

<sup>807</sup> Kotivuori & Torvinen 1992; 1993a; 1993b; Sarkkinen & Torvinen 2003.

2.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Angelinjänkkä (Päiviön seita)**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.3

Preservation: intact

Register number: 1000014938

Basic map sheet: 2831 02 VUONTISJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7592 758,

Easting = 3383 910, z = 302.5 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7589588, y = 383784



Note: Added after analyses.

To the northwest of the village of Peltovuoma, about 1.5 kilometres as the crow flies northwest of the Nunnanen junction, is the stone named Päiviön seita [Päiviö's sieidi]. The stone may be related to the sieidi of Lake Seitajärvi, mentioned by Äyräpää and Itkonen. According to Äyräpää (1931, 269), this stone was located "on the shore of Lake Seitajärvi, along the River Peltojoki". Itkonen's description is similar to Äyräpää's. The River Peltojoki connects Lake Peltojärvi and Lake Angelijärvi to the north of Peltovuoma. However, there is no Lake Seitajärvi nearby, unless the pond named Ainuvarppanen has previously been called by this name. In earlier years, the shore of the pond may have been closer to the sieidi.

The stone is about 2.5 m long, slightly more than one metre in width, and slightly less than one metre in height. It is a flattish, large boulder, partly located on top of smaller stones. There are about five wedge holes in the stone, at least one of which holds an iron bolt. The eastern part of the stone has split. The stone is still used by the Päiviö family for offering purposes, and the remains of an offering of reindeer from a few years ago were still on top of it. In connection with the inspection, antlers still attached to skull bones were observed on top of the stone. The stone is on a south-slanting slope, at the foot of which starts the northern, boggy shore of the Ainuvarppanen pond. The open water of the pond starts about 300 m to the south. The old dwelling site of Angelinvainio is located directly across the bog, about 400 metres to the west.

Written sources: Äyräpää 1931; Itkonen 1946

Checked by: 2009 Katiskoski

Inspected in 2010

3.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Dierpmesvárri**

Other names: Terbmisvaara, Seitapahta (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.0

Preservation: intact

Register number: 1000016716

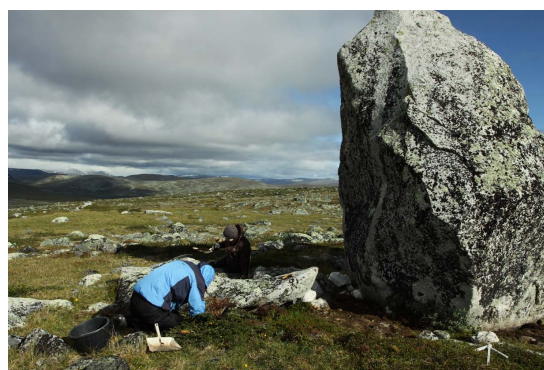
Basic map sheet: 2814 08 KAAMUSJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7667 864,

Easting = 3268 944, z = 861 m ASL

(defined after analyses)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7664664, y = 268864



The site of Dierpmesvárri is located to the southeast of Kilpisjärvi, south of Dierpmesjärvi. On the south-western slope of the hill, there is a sieidi stone between two small streams. The stone is four metres high with a white, tapering top.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1922; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946; Kohonen 1959

Excavated by: Äikäs &amp; Núñez 2010





***Erkunan seita, Enontekiö***



4.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Erkunan seita**

Other names: Palojärven/Palelojärven seita

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.0

Preservation: intact

Register number: 1000009484

Basic map sheet: 2814 04 SUONTAJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7617 581, Easting = 3349 793, z = 380 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7614401, y = 349681

The site is located northwest of the village of Palojärvi, about 1.3 kilometres west of the main road. In the rocky fell terrain with downy birches, there are two large boulders. One of them is about 5 metres high and the other is lying down on its side so that a space is formed between the stones. Reindeer antlers and coins have been brought to the site. Itkonen mentions the sieidi as being located at Palelojärvi, 5 km northeast of the village of Ivalo (Itkonen 1946, 33). Fellman calls the place by the name Palojärvi and states that it contains a sieidi formed of two stones (Fellman 1906 II, 157). There are three places named Palojärvi in Inari, none of which is located in the place mentioned by Itkonen. The Palojärvi sieidi thus probably means the Erkuna sieidi. There is a homestead island in the northern part of Lake Palojärvi.

Written sources: Fellman 1906; I. Itkonen 1910; T. I. Itkonen 1946; Kohonen 1961

Checked by: 2005 Sarkkinen

Inspected in 2010

5.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Halti (Háldi)**

Other names: Haldde, Haldiiladni (?)

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 2.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 1842 02, 03, 05, 06 URTASVAARA, HALTI

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7702 530, Easting = 3274 716, z = n. 1300 m ASL (top area)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7699317, y = 274634

Halti is a fell in the northern part of the Käsivarsi area, near the Norwegian border. According to Paulaharju, the "Käsivarsi Lapps" gathered near Halti in midsummer, during the worst of the mosquito season. Kohonen mentions Halti by the name "Paulus-Niila's sieidi".

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932; Kohonen 1959

6.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Jyppyrä**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.7

Preservation: destroyed

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2813 08 JYPPYRÄ

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7594 401, Easting = 3363 262, z = app. 410 m ASL (top)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7591230, y = 363144



To the north of Hetta, on the ridge rather than the very top of Jyppyrä hill, there has been a sieidi stone. The sieidi was a low boulder supported on four smaller stones. The sieidi was later destroyed to enable the building of the Hetta church, after which it is said that catches of fish from Lake Ounasjärvi deteriorated. In addition to the sieidi, there are mentions of another stone, Jyppyrän lepokivi [The resting stone of Jyppyrä] behind Jyppyrä hill. It is said that reindeer antlers, as well as belt decorations and buckles, were found there.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1922; Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1932

Inspected in 2008

7.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Ketojärvi**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.3

Preservation: intact

Register number: 1000013317

Basic map sheet: 2742 03 KETOMELLA

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7576 996, Easting = 3382 072, z = 295 m ASL (shore, south of the stone)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7573832, y = 381947

On the south-eastern shore of Lake Ketojärvi, near the Makkolahti inlet, there is a sieidi stone in the water, about 10 metres from the shore (Figure 18). The stone is about 1.3 metres high and steep on the shoreward and eastern sides, but more gently sloping on other sides. The appearance of the stone corresponds to Paulaharju's description, but it is located in the water, whereas Paulaharju mentions a stone located on the sandy shore. However, the shores of the Makkolahti inlet are partly swampy and rocky, and a sandy shore could have been visible only when the water was low. In addition, it is said that there was a wooden sieidi, which has later decayed, in the north-western corner of Lake Ketojärvi, in the Seitalahti inlet.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1922; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946

Inspected in 2008

8.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Mustalommol (Čáhppesluoppal)**

Other names: Mustalompolo (Paulaharju 1932)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.0

Preservation: location uncertain/lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2814 11 PÖYRISJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7632 790,

Easting = 3370 543, z = 420 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7629604, y = 370423



The sieidis on the shores of a headland in the northern part of Lake Pöyrisjärvi have been mentioned in several sources. Nowadays, however, their location is uncertain. On modern maps, there is an inlet named Mustalommol in the northern part of Lake Pöyrisjärvi, as well as a *sáiva* lake named Mustalompolonsaivo, which is connected to the inlet by a narrow stream. According to Samuli Paulaharju, the sieidis are located on the eastern shore of Mustalompolo. However, his description leaves unclear whether he means the inlet or the *sáiva* lake. Paulaharju describes the sieidis as three stones, the largest of which is one and a half metres high and 2.5 to 3 metres in diameter. However, other sources mention a group of four stones on the south-eastern shore of Mustalompolo. It is said that the largest stone is entirely on dry land, whereas the smaller stones are in the water during the summer. The eastern shores of both the inlet and the *sáiva* lake were inspected, but there were no stones of any kind on either shore. The banks were formed of fine sand and the water at the



shoreline was shallow, so that any stones would certainly have been noticeable. Instead, there were a few stones on the north-western shore of the Mustalommol headland, but none of them formed a group corresponding to the description. In the basic map, there is a sieidi stone marked in the northern part of Lake Pöyrisjärvi, in the place where the Mustalommol inlet begins, close to the western shore. The stone in question is shaped like a chair, and there are several smaller stones in the near vicinity (in the photograph). However, the location of the stone does not correspond to Paulaharju's description. The stones are located about 7 metres from the shore. In addition, the smaller stones are closer to the shore, and it is difficult to imagine how only the largest stone could ever have been the only one on the shore. The markings on the map are based on information given by one informant to the local surveying office. There are also other groups of stones on the western shore of Lake Mustalompolonsaivo, but none of them correspond to the descriptions in the written sources.

*See also Seitalommol*

Written sources: Paulaharju 1922; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946; Vähäkangas 1965

Reported site visit: 1979 Torvinen

Inspected in 2009

9.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Näkkälä (Neahčiljávri)**

Other names: Näkkäläjärven palvoskivi (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.0

Preservation: intact

Register number: 47010001

Basic map sheet: 2814 06 NÄKKÄLÄ

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7616 186, Easting = 3360 662, z = 370 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7613007, y = 360545

The sieidi stone is located on the north-western shore of Lake Näkkäläjärvi, at the base of the Vittikkoniemi headland (Figure 41). The sieidi is located on top of a small hillock between the cottage road and the lake, about 15 metres from the water. The sieidi stone is about 2.5 metres high and has a tapering top. The sieidi was used by fishermen, as well as reindeer herders and hunters, and according to Paulaharju, it was "worshipped by all" (Paulaharju 1932, 12).

Written sources: Paulaharju 1922; Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1932; Kohonen 1959

Checked by: 1981, 1992 Torvinen

Excavated by: 2008 Äikäs & Núñez

10.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Ounastunturi (Ovnnesduottar)**

Other names: Ounistunturi (?) (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 3.0

Preservation: destroyed

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2724 12 OUNASTUNTURI

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7578 932, Easting = 3368 932, z = 540–700 m ASL (the slope of the fell)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7575767, y = 368812

The Ounastunturi fell is located between Enontekiö and the Pallastunturi fells. The precise location of the sieidi is not known, and the sieidi was later destroyed. The sieidi was a large stone supported by three smaller stones.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946

11.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Pasmarova länsi 2**

Other names: Kirkkopori (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 1.7

Preservation: intact

Register number: 1000011704

Basic map sheet: 2831 01 PELTOVUOMA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7592 698, Easting = 3387 752, z = 307 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7589528, y = 38762

The site is located about 22 kilometres east of the Enontekiö church, to the west of Pasmarova, which is located east of Peltovuoma. To the north of the road to Nunnanen, there is a small brook called Santsinkaltio. Its water was believed to have healing powers. The location of the site was apparently uncertain before the archaeological survey in 2004.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932

Checked by: 2004 Sarkkinen

12.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Proksin saivo**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.3

Preservation: lost

Register number: 1000014937

Basic map sheet: 2814 10 VUOMAJÄRVET

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7621 774, Easting = 3376 116,

z = 412.5 m ASL (sáiva lake)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7618592, y = 375993



It is said that a sieidi stone once stood in the upper reaches of the River Pöyrisjoki, near the Proksi *sáiva* lake. The lake is located 5.6 km south of the junction of the Rivers Pöyrisjoki and Suomajoki. In an archaeological survey, a stone of about 1.5 m in height and 1 m in width, to which fishermen and reindeer herders have brought offerings, was documented on the western shore of the northern end of the Proksi *sáiva* lake (Torvinen & Halinen 1999). The shores of the *sáiva* lake are rocky, with the exception of the southern shore, which is boggy. No 1.5-m-high stones were found during the inspection. Instead, there are several lower, largish stones. One stone located on the northern shore of the *sáiva* lake, near the tip of the headland and right on the shoreline, is visible to the opposite shore, and its location corresponds to that of the known sieidis. The written sources do not provide a more detailed description of the sieidi, so the grounds for identifying the sieidi in earlier archaeological surveys remain unclear. Locating the sieidi will require additional research.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946

Inspected in 2009

13.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Pyhäjärvi ja Seitasaari**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 3.0

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: 1000013316

Basic map sheet: 2724 05 SONKAMUOTKA

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7573 304, Easting = 3348 697, z = app. 275 m ASL (island)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7570142, y = 348585

Lake Pyhäjärvi is located between Sonkavaara and Pyhärova. Paulaharju locates the lake in Muonio, but mentions it as being behind Sonkavaara. The island of Seitasaari is located on the western side of Lake Pyhäjärvi, near the shore. The island could not be visited during the inspection trip. The small island is uninhabited and signs of offering activities may well still be preserved.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1922; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946

Inspected in 2008

14.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Pyhäkero ja Pyhäjärvi**

Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place

Reliability: 3.3

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: 47010047

Basic map sheet: 2813 10 PYHÄKERO

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7586 308, Easting = 3366 968, z = 650 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7583141, y = 366849

Pyhäkero is one of the peaks of the top area of the Ounastunturi fell. The top area contains Lake Pyhäjärvi between the three peaks. According to Paulaharju, there is a Sámi offering place there. No sieidi stone of any kind was observed on Pyhäkero. The most likely place, in addition to the shores of Lake Pyhäjärvi, is a small bedrock outcrop rising behind a ridge to the north of the lake. Nowadays, there is only a small standing stone about 40 cm in height and surrounded by a pile of small cobbles in this location. The precise location of the offering place cannot be identified without further studies.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932

Reported site visit: 2007 Köngäs et al.

15.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Seitalommol**

Other names: Palosaivo, Hiljainen saivo; Hiljainensaivo

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 3.0

Preservation: location uncertain/lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2814 11 PÖYRISJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7632 662, Easting = 3370 831, z = 420 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7629476, y = 370710

According to Paulaharju, there should be a sieidi stone to the north of Lake Pöyrisjärvi not only on the shore of the Mustalompola inlet, but also on the shore of the Palosaivo *sáiva* lake. He describes the stone as large and white and mentions that it is the main sieidi in the area of Lake Pöyrisjärvi. According to later inspections (Torvinen & Halinen 1999), Palosaivo is also said to be known by the name Hiljainensaivo, and according to map markings, modern maps identify it by the name Seitalommol. In different sources, the sieidi has been mentioned as being located on either the south-eastern or northern shore of the *sáiva* lake. Torvinen and Halinen state that there is a white stone about 100 metres to the northeast of the mouth of the *sáiva* lake and about 50 metres southeast of the shore. There is indeed a stone with white sides at this location (Figure 36). However, the eastern shore of Lake Seitalommol is very rocky, so without further studies, it is difficult to say whether the stone identified by Torvinen and Halinen is a sieidi.

In the index of the Names Archive, the inlet that is marked as Mustalompolo on modern maps is apparently known by the name Seitalompol. (This naming convention is also followed by the map base of the Magellan eXplorer GPS device.) Vähäkangas describes it as an oblong lake with a river running through it. This description seems to fit Mustalompolo better than Seitalompol. According to Vähäkangas, there has been a sieidi site of the "Lapps" on the shore of the lake. In addition, a headland named Seitaniemi is mentioned on the northern shore of Seitalompol. Folk tradition recounts that there has been a sieidi site on the headland. The description leaves unclear whether there are one or two sieidis. In any case, it seems that the sieidi(s) had been lost already by the time when the descriptions were written. If Seitalompol were indeed the same as the Mustalompolo described by Paulaharju, the group of three sieidi stones should stand on the shore of the lake in question. However, in spite of the rockiness of the shores of Lake Seitalompol, a group of stones corresponding to the descriptions cannot be found there.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932; Vähäkangas 1965

Reported site visit: 1979 Torvinen

Inspected in 2009

16.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Seitalompola (Seitaluoppa)**

Other names: Seitalompola (Itkonen)

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 3.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2831 08 NUNNANEN

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7592 729, Easting = 3405 772, z = app. 320 m ASL (the centre of the lake)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7589559, y = 405637

Lake Seitalompola is located to the north of the hill of Rupivaara. Paulaharju considers it as a sacred lake on the basis of its name.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946

17.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Seitavaara (Sieiddevárri)**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sacred place/sieidi

Reliability: 3.0

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 1833 06 MARKKINA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7611 685, Easting = 3308 935, z = 372.5 m ASL (top)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7608508, y = 308839

The Seitavaara hill is located to the northeast of Lake Seitavuopio.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932

18.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name:

**Seitavuopio (Sieiddevuohppi)**

Other names: Seitavuopio (Fellman)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.5

Preservation: intact

Register number: 47010039

Basic map sheet: 1833 06 MARKKINA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7611 392, Easting = 3307 808, z = 332

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7608508, y = 308839

Lake Seitavuopio is located to the east of River Lätäseno and to the north of Markkina in Enontekiö. The sieidi stone is located on the shore, to the northeast of the Seitaniemi headland on the northern part of Lake Seitavuopio. The north-eastern part of Lake Seitavuopio is boggy and the shores are covered by thick stands of dwarf birch. There are several largish stones right at the water's edge. The sieidi stone can be identified only with the help of an informant. The sieidi at Lake Seitavuopio might also be the stone known as Pirri-Äijä's sieidi, located further away from the shore of the lake, on boggy ground (Lounema 2003, 164).

Written sources: Fellman 1906; Paulaharju 1922; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946

Checked by: 1990 Halinen

Inspected in 2008

19.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Sieddesaiva (Sieiddesáiva)**

Other names: Somasjäyri (Paulaharju), Somasjärvi (Itkonen)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.0

Preservation: intact

Register number: 47010006

Basic map sheet: 1842 08 SEITTIKIELAS

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7697 558, Easting = 3283 584, z = 740 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7694347, y = 283498

The sieidi stone is located to the southwest of Lake Somasjärvi, on the western bank of Lake Sieiddesáiva. There is a grassy homestead in Luusua at the River Somasjoki (near the fjord-like mouth of the river) with a huge steep boulder at its edge. In Paulaharju's time, reindeer antlers and money was brought there.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1948; Kohonen 1959

Test pits by: 1937 Itkonen

20.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Tihkkesohkka (Dihkkečohkka)**

Other names: Dihkkečohkka, Tihkitšohka

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 3.3

Preservation: lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2814 12 JAURISTUNTURIT

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7635 865, Easting = 3374 963, z = 520–535 m ASL (top)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7632678, y = 374841

At the foot of the north-western slope of Tihkkesohkka, located between the River Maaterijoki and the hill of Sahpanoivi, there is a sieidi stone. In 1978, Juhani Magga had told Torvinen that there had been a sieidi stone on the northern side of the top of Tihkkesohkka, about 200 metres from the very top. The eastern side of this stone had a hole into which coins were put to increase success in reindeer herding. About ten years before the time this was related, Marjetta Palismaa had gone there and split the stone. Later, the local surveying office tried to find the stone again, but it could not be identified on the stony slope.

Written sources: Kohonen 1959; Huusko (ed.) 1984

Reported site visit: 1979 Torvinen





***Uhriaihki, Enontekiö***

21.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Uhriaihki**

Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place

Reliability: 1.3

Preservation: intact

Register number: 47010010

Basic map sheet: 1833 06 MARKKINA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7607 759, Easting = 3307 813, z = app. 340 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7604583, y = 307717

In the old cemetery of Markkina in Enontekiö, there is an offering pine with a hollow at its base. According to Paulaharju, coin offerings were placed in this hollow. At the same place, there is also a churchyard and the old church location. The grave pits of the cemetery remain, but there are no visible signs of the church.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932

Inspected in 2008

22.

Municipality: Enontekiö

Site name: **Ullatievat**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 3.3

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2813 07 + 10 JYPPYRÄ, PYHÄKERO

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7593 136, Easting = 3366 464, z = 320–340 m ASL (top)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7589966, y = 366345

The Ullatieva hills are located to the east of Lake Ounasjärvi.

Written sources: Itkonen 1946

### Unlocalized sites in Enontekiö:

**Seiteoaive**, Enontekiö. The sieidi stone is located to the southeast of Somasjäyri, between Vartoaivi and Čerti (Paulaharju 1932). Some idea of the coordinates can be gleaned from Vårddoaivi and a stone marked on its slope in the map:

Northing = 7690 656/x = 7687447, Easting = 3290 869/y = 290780

and Jorba-Čerti: Northing = 7681 906/x = 7678701, Easting = 3295 395/ y = 295304.

**Sieid(d)ęčærro**, Enontekiö. In 1978, Juhani Magga told Torvinen that according to folk memory, in Sieidečærro near the Norwegian border, there was a “large cairn” that was worshipped as a sieidi. The sieidi is located about 1200 m east of the narrow part of a lake (Lake Haukijärvi) in the western part of Sieidečærro (Torvinen & Halinen 1999). Another placed considered as sacred, **Sieiddeávži** (Seit’autsi) on the Norwegian border, was an ugly and steep-walled fell ravine between Palovaara and Sieidečærro. The sieidi of Čalkku-Niila was thought to have been located there (PK 2832 10). Near Seit’autsi on the Peltotunturi fell is a lake named **Seitajärvi**, which Paulaharju also considers as sacred based on its name (Paulaharju 1932; see also Torvinen & Halinen 1999).

**Tupakka-apaja**, Enontekiö is located near the River Könkämäeno, close to Kilpisjärvi (Paulaharju 1932).

**Uskottomanjärvi**, Enontekiö. On the way from Hetta to Muonio, there has been a sieidi stone, which has later been destroyed, a little way from the lake to the fell, but not at the very top (Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946).



**Virdniötunturi**, Enontekiö. There is a sieidi stone south of the hill of Termisvaara, behind Suppivuoma on the fell of Virdniötunturi (Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946).

**Ruossatšeärru**, Enontekiö (Itkonen 1946).

**Sissankivaara**, Enontekiö (Itkonen 1946).

**Könkämäeno**, Enontekiö (Paulaharju 1932).

**Peltotunturi** (Bealdoduottar) in Enon-tekiö (Northing = 7607 666/x = 7604490, Easting = 3412 963/y = 412826) has been a sacred fell, but the name Peltotunturi can also have meant a northern fell named Peltotunturi (Peltoaivi/*Peäldoajvi*) in the Muotkatunturi fell area.

**Sidduskokpi** (/Sidduskohpi), Enontekiö. A sieidi stone photographed by Lauri Ilmari Itkonen in 1937 (s-u. 434:21).

**Näkkäläjoki**, Enontekiö. According to Äyräpää (1931), there is a sieidi stone located along the River Näkkäläjoki.

## Hyrnsalmi

23.

Municipality: Hyrnsalmi

Site name: **Seitenoikea**

Other names: Seitänoikianniska

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.7

Preservation: lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3443 07 JOKIKYLÄ

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7166 826, Easting = 3567 894, z = app. 140 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7163826, y = 567694

Seitenoikea is located to the southwest of Lake Seitenjärvi, at the source of the River Roukavirta. According to Itkonen, a sieidi stone stood here.

Written sources: Fellman 1906; Itkonen 1946

## Inari

24.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **(Ukonjärven) Akku (Ákku)**

Other names: Ahkku (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Offering place

Reliability: 2.7

Preservation: lost

Register number: 148010488

Basic map sheet: 3832 06 RAHAJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7634 900,

Easting = 3519 400, z = 326 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7631712, y = 519220



There is a hill named Akku between Lakes Inarijärvi and Ukonjärvi, on the northern shore of Lake Ukonjärvi. According to Fellman (1906), signs of an altar to Akka (Akkus) can be seen there. The precise location of this "altar" is currently not known.

Written sources: Fellman 1906; Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932

Reported site visit: 2008 Ojanlatva

25.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Aksujärvi (Ákšojávri)**

Other names: Sieidikedgi (Sieidikedgi)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.3

Preservation: intact

Register number: 1000016971

Basic map sheet: 3824 11 AKSUJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7682 844,

Easting = 349 5056, z = app. 200 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7679637, y = 494886



Lake Aksujärvi is located between the Rivers Kaamasjoki and Peltojoki. The sieidi stone is located on the west shore of Lake Aksujärvi, near the shoreline in a place where

Sijdâjuuvâš connects Lakes Siitajärvi and Aksujärvi. There is a stone here rising about 0.2 metres above the water surface. The part above the water is about 1 metre in diameter. The stone in question is the only one that rises above the water surface in the river mouth, about 20 metres from the river, in a small bight bordered by two small headlands. Further into the lake there are two other named stones, and there are many large stones on the shoreline. The stone peeking out of the water corresponds to other sieidis associated with lakes. The sieidi stone was worshipped by wild reindeer hunters. There are also burial islands in the northern part of Lake Aksujärvi.

Written sources: Itkonen 1963 (informant: Matti Mattus 1945)

Inspected in 2010

26.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Annansaari (Ánnáásuálui)**

Other names: Ison-Antin Annan jatakivi

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.3

Preservation: intact

Register number: 148010557

Basic map sheet: 3931 07 VAIJOENJÄNKÄ

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7704 570, Easting = 3527 756, z = 195 m ASL (from the shore by the stone, corrected after analyses)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7701354, y = 527573

The Annansaari island is located in the south-western part of Lake Iijärvi, in the open water between the straits of Härkäsalmi and Rovasalmi, west of Rovaniemi. There is a group of four hunting pits on the eastern end of the island. About 300 m north-northwest of these pits, there is a stone in the water near the northern tip of the island. The stone is located about 10 metres from the shore, and it rises 0.5 metres above the water surface. This stone is mentioned by Paulaharju (1932, 34) as "Ison-Antin Annan jatakivi", the *\*jata\** stone of a woman named Anna of Iso-Antti. A *\*jata\** is a row of fishing nets attached to each other. However, Paulaharju's description leaves unclear whether offerings were brought to the stone in question. There are also other smaller stones in the same place, but this stone with a tapering top is the northernmost of them and also the one visible from the longest distance. There is a small pit in the side of the stone. The homestead of Annin-saari is mentioned as being located in the south-western part of the island, on the southern shore. In a newspaper article dating from 1980, Heikki Aikio mentioned that it had been uninhabited for more than a century. The homestead could not be located during the inspection visit.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932; E. Itkonen 1933

Mapped by: 1958 Näkkäljärvi

Inspected in 2010



***Annansaari (Ánnáásuálu), Inari***



***Kalkuvaaran Akku (Kálguvääri), Inari***

27.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Golle-ahkku (Kolleákku)**

Other names: Kolle-Ákku, Kulta-Akka, Kolleakku (Itkonen)

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 2.3

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 4911 10 TUULIPÄÄ

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7703 586, Easting = 3567 949, z = app. 130 m ASL (the centre of the island)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7700370, y = 567750

Golle-ahkku is an island at the northern end of Lake Suolisjärvi. The lake is located northeast of the fjord of Suolisvuono. Paulaharju describes Golle-ahkku as an island in the fjord of Gonjalvuono on the way from Inari to Čuolisvuono. This is probably the same place. According to a Sámi song (*leudd*), the fell of Áâlgazjäu'rrpähtt in the area of Suonikylä in Russia, Kulta-Akka in Inari, and a sacred mountain near Lake Imandra used to be sisters. Their mother became angry at them and turned them to stone.

Written sources: Äimä 1903; Paulaharju 1914; Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1948

28.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Kalkuvaaran Akku (Kálguvääri)**

Other names: Galguvaaran ahkku (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Offering place/sieidi

Reliability: 3.0

Preservation: lost

Register number: 148010489

Basic map sheet: 3841 01 INARI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7649 500, Easting = 3504 600, z = 200 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7646306, y = 504426

The Kalkuvaara hill is located to the north of the fjord of Juutuanvuono in Lake Inarijärvi, between the Sarviniemi headland and Lake Pikku Pielpajärvi. According to Paulaharju (1932), "there was a hillock, but no longer a stone. Offerings used to be made here". The precise location of the site is not known.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932

Inspected in 2007

29.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Koskikaltiojoen suu (länsi) (Njižžjävri)**

Other names: Nitsijäyri (Paulaharju), Nitsijärvi, Kuoskuljoki (Itkonen), Sarren suvun seita [The sieidi of the Sarre family]

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.0

Preservation: intact

Register number: 148010327

Basic map sheet: 3844 03 SUOJANPERÄ

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7691 304, Easting = 3543 579, z = app. 120 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7688093, y = 543390

The sieidi is located on the River Koskikaltiojoki, about 30 metres downstream of the road between Kaamanen and Sevettijärvi, on the top of the western bank of the river. The sieidi consists of a cracked and split stone with offerings placed under its outcrops (Figure 33). The sieidi marked in the register over ancient sites consists of a pair of stones located farther from the river. These two stones lean against each other, forming a hollow between them. However, only naturally occurring bones were found in the hollow.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1914; Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946

Reported site visit: 1983 Torvinen

Inspected in 2007

Excavated by: 2009 Äikäs & Núñez

30.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Moossinasaari (Mooššinsuálu)**

Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place/sieidi

Reliability: 2.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3841 07 JÄKÄLÄSELKÄ

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7640 753, Easting = 3529 855, z = 165 m ASL (the centre of the eastern side of the island)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7637563, y = 529671

The island of Moossinasaari is located on the southern part of Lake Inarijärvi, at the tip of the Nanguniemi headland. Folk tradition tells of an old offering place there (Figure 25). According to Itkonen, there is a place on the bedrock at the end of the island where a part of the bedrock forms a sieidi.

Written sources: I. Itkonen 1910; Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1932; T. I. Itkonen 1946

Reported site visit: 1988 Kankaanpää

31.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Naarassaari (Niǵálâssuálu)**

Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place

Reliability: 2.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: 1000011430

Basic map sheet: 3841 09 VÄYLÄ

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7664 701, Easting = 3526 726, z = app. 130 m ASL (the centre of the island)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7661501, y = 526543

The island of Naarassaari is located in the north-western part of Lake Inarijärvi, southeast of the Paloniemi headland. According to Itkonen, offerings were made on the island.

Written sources: Äimä 1903; Itkonen 1948

32.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Paatsjoenniska (Paččjokk)**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 3.3

Preservation: lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3841 09 VÄYLÄ

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7646 778, Easting = 3557 333, z = 125 m ASL (estimate)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7643585, y = 557138

It is said that there was a sacred place with a sieidi in Paatsjoenniska, near the customs house at the border.

Written sources: M. A. Castrén 1853

33.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Passisielgi (Bassečielgi)**

Other names: Pyhäselkä

Monument class: Sieidi (?)

Reliability: 2.7

Preservation: lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3821 10 PYHÄJÄRVENKAITA

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7647 592, Easting = 3458 485, z = 305 m ASL (the top of the hill)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7644399, y = 458330

Passisielgi (Pyhäselkä) is located on the northern shore of Lake Passijäyri (Pyhäjärvi), in the middle part of the River Vaskajoki, east of Angeli. The information is based on the toponym. According to a list by Christian Carpelan, there is also a sieidi stone in the area.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932

34.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Pyhävaara (Paseváarááš)**

Other names: Ailesvarre, Ailesvaara (Itkonen), Ailivaara, Ailašváarááš

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.3

Preservation: location uncertain

Register number: 1000002878

Basic map sheet: 3823 07 PAATARI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7643 700, Easting = 3488 160, z = 230 m ASL (top)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7640509, y = 487993

The Pyhävaara hill is located along the River Kettusjoki, which runs into Lake Muddusjärvi, near Lakes Paatarijärvi and Solojärvi. Pyhävaara is a high, steep-sloped, pine-covered hill that clearly stands out on the boggy riverside and can be seen at a distance. According to Fellman, the sieidi stone that was still located on the hill around 1830 was later destroyed. Its precise location is not known. According to one informant, there is still a group of four stones, partly underground, on top of Pyhävaara, and offerings given to Pyhävaara were brought to these stones.

Written sources: Fellman 1906; I. Itkonen 1910; T. I. Itkonen 1946

35.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Sarmijärvi (Čaarmâjävri)**

Other names: Čarmijärvi (Itkonen)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 3.0

Preservation: unlocalized

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3834 03 SARMIJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7638 178, Easting = 3548 612, z = 255 m ASL (top)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7634989, y = 548420

According to Itkonen, there is a large stone, under which reindeer antlers used to be placed, on top of the Kaitavaara hill about 31 km from the Ivalo church to the east-northeast. However, Itkonen's description does not make it clear whether this was an offering place or a bone cache.

Written sources: I. Itkonen 1910





**Seita-laassa (Sieidiláássáš), Inari** (Photograph by: Anssi Malinen)



**Seitasaari (Sieiddásuolu), Inari**



36.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Seita-laassa (Sieidiláássáš)**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.0

Preservation: intact

Register number: 148010815

Basic map sheet: 3931 11 IJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7711 903, Easting = 3535 998, z = app. 195 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7708684, y = 535812

In written sources, the island of Seitasaari in Lake Iijärvi is described as a small island close to the shore. The index of the Names Archive contains Erkki Itkonen's description of Seitasaari in Lake Iijärvi: a small, stony island, about 3 metres long and wide, located about 300 metres from the Moisanieniemi headland. According to Itkonen, "there were a lot of fish bones on the island. Iso-Antti ensured his good luck in fishing by taking one of each species that he caught to the island." The information reported by Paulaharju is rather consistent with Itkonen. According to Paulaharju, the island is only about four metres in diameter, rises up to one and a half metres from the water surface, and is located three hundred metres from the shore. However, Paulaharju mentions that the sieidi is located near the Vuopioniemi headland.

An island corresponding to the descriptions by Paulaharju and Itkonen could not be found in Lake Iijärvi. The coordinates of the register over ancient sites place Seita-laassa on a small island located approximately 900 metres south of Vyeppenjargâ, with a reference to Matti Aho. However, a photograph by Matti Aho (1997, 112) shows an island named Seitasaari, which is located further to the southwest. According to Aho, the island is about 4 x 10 m in size, and its grassy top rises up to a height of 2 m from the water surface. Also Ilmari Mattus (2009) and Voitto Valio Viinanen (2003, 145) have both interpreted the island in question as the sieidi meant in the sources. The island is located 700 metres northeast of Myeisinjargâ (Moisanieniemi?), and is thus also not in the immediate vicinity of the shore. In connection with the inspection visit, the size of the island was estimated as significantly smaller than that marked on the map, about 10 x 20 m in area and 2–2.5 m in elevation. Aho estimates the size as even smaller than this. The rocky, cairnlike island has a steep north-western shore, but south-eastern part of the island is rather gently sloping. If only the top part of the island is visible during a time of high water, the island "shrinks", which may be the reason why noticeably different sizes have been reported for the island in different sources.

The part of Lake Iijärvi in question contains many small islands and islets, as well as large boulders closer to the shore, so the exact location of the sieidi is difficult to verify. However, Seitasaari is the island closest to Myeisinjargâ.

T. I. Itkonen also mentions a flat-surfaced sieidi stone that rises out of the water near the island of Vuöhppisuolo.

Written sources: 1932 Paulaharju; E. Itkonen 1933; T. I. Itkonen 1946

Inspected in 2010

*Photograph by: Anssi Malinen*

37.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Seitalampi (Siäidááláddu)**

Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place

Reliability: 1.7

Preservation:

Register number: 148010563

Basic map sheet: 3823 10 OTSAMO

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7642 120, Easting = 3493 140, z = 140 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7638929, y = 492971

From the northern bank of the River Juutuanjoki, about 600 m downstream from the source of the river, a high-banked moraine headland extends out into the river. About 100 m northwest of the headland is the pond of Seitalampi, which is 120 m long. There is a rather large stone in the middle of the pond. The site of Sieid-Ämmir is located nearby. Northeast of Seitalampi rises the hill of Pieni Otsamo, which is also called Seitavaara. Ismo Korteniemi heard from the farmer at Jurmukoski that in addition to the nearby Sieid-ämmir, fishermen have also offered to Seitalampi: when returning from a fishing trip, fishermen had to throw a fish into the pond as an offering, otherwise their nets would be "tied up" the next day.

Checked by: 1988 Arponen

38.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Seitasaari (Sieiddásuolu)**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.3

Preservation: unlocalized

Register number: 148010531

Basic map sheet: 3842 06 KIESVAARA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7697 860, Easting = 3510 500, z = 220 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7694647, y = 510324

The small island of Seitasaari, on which "it is said that there was a god's head", is located around the middle of Lake Säytsjärvi, in a narrow place near the Paksumaa summer house. There used to be a sieidi stone on the island. Folk memory relates that people used to row past the island when they went fishing with dragnets, and if the sieidi moved, people would place some fish on it.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932

39.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Seitavaara (Sieidivääri)**

Other names: Muddusjäyri, Seitivääri (Paulaharju), Mu(t)tusjärvi

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.3

Preservation: unlocalized

Register number: 148010143

Basic map sheet: 3823 11 SYRMINIEMI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7656 740, Easting = 3493 770, z = 220 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7653543, y = 493600

The hill of Seitavaara, on the top of which there is an offering place, rises on the western side of the headland of Syrminiemi, east of Lake Muttusjärvi (or Isojärvi). In another source, however, the offering place is mentioned as being located at the foot of the Seitavaara hill (Itkonen 1963). Itkonen writes that there used to be an offering hill on the headland, one that was high and curiously shaped and visible from afar. According to Itkonen, there are two different sieidis, a large round stone on the Syrminiemi headland and another on Seitavaara. Reindeer antlers were offered there. Nowadays the locals speak of a sieidi that is located on the slope of the hill or in the water on the shoreline.

A hand-written report from Inari also mentions Muddusjäyri. In addition, the same report mentions a place of worship at Lake Pielpajärvi. In pagan times, there was an offering place near Pielpajäyri, where people gathered in midwinter, when a market was also held. During the Christian period, the first church was built in 1639 on a site already considered as sacred, like the Inari chapel in Kuusamo.

Written sources: Ahnger s.a.; Äimä 1903; Fellman 1906; I. Itkonen 1910; Paulaharju 1927; Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1932; T.I. Itkonen 1946; T.I. Itkonen 1963; Laitinen 1977

40.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Sieidisuálui**

Other names: Seitasaari, Sieidilássá, Siéidilässa

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.0

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: 1000011431

Basic map sheet: 3841 12 KASARISELKÄ

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7663 140,

Easting = 3530 393, z = 120 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7659941, y = 530209



Note: Added after analyses.

Ojanlatva has carried out an archaeo-logical survey of the island of Sieidisuálui in the middle of the Kasariseikä part of Lake Inarijärvi, about 3.9 km southeast of the island of Naarassaari and 5.8 km west of the island of Koutunkisaari. Information on the sieidi is based on a photograph in the online photo archives of the Geological Survey of Finland, depicting a "Lappish" offering stone at Seidisuollo in Lake Inarijärvi. Small test holes dug on the island did not reveal any traces of offering activities. The island in question is not mentioned in written sources. Instead, an island at the mouth of the Suolisvuono fjord is mentioned as being a sieidi. Voitto Valio Viinanen and Urpo Aikio have identified this island as being located east of the headland of Pisteriniemi, at the mouth of the Sortolahti inlet. Sieidisuálui is the northernmost of three small islands (Northing = 7681 181/x = 7677974, Easting = 3550 386/y = 550194). It is said that reindeer antlers used to be found on the island and that reindeer and birds were offered there.

Written sources: Äimä 1903; Itkonen 1963

Reported site visit: 2008 Ojanlatva

Photograph: Curt Fircks. 1905. Archive code: "GTK, Vanhatkuvat nro 1448 oikaistu".

41.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Sieid-Ämmir**

Other names: Jurmunkoski, Seita-ämmil (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Offering place/sieidi

Reliability: 1.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: 148010562

Basic map sheet: 3823 10 OTSAMO

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7641 990, Easting = 3493 230, z = 140–145 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7638799, y = 493061

On the northern bank of the River Juutuanjoki, about 600 m downstream of the source of the river, a high-banked moraine headland extends out into the river. At the tip of the headland are a few largish stones and tall pines. It is said that three goldeneye bird houses hung in the pines, and that it was forbidden to collect eggs from them. According to Paulaharju, the site was a fishermen's offering place. According to Itkonen, the headland on the northern bank has a small hillock where a fish sieidi used to be located. The site of Seitalampi is located nearby.

Written sources:

Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1963 (informant: Heikki Mattus 1910)

Checked by: 1988 Arponen

42.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Sitakallio (Sittekällee)**

Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place/sieidi  
Reliability: 1.7  
Preservation: intact

Register number: 148010814  
Basic map sheet: 3931 07 VAIJOENJÄNKÄ  
Old map coordinates: Northing = 7702 328, Easting = 3525 384, z = 193 m ASL  
ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7699113, y = 525202

Sitakallio is located at the southern end of Lake Iijärvi, about 1.5 km south of the mouth of the River Vaijoki and Järvelä, to the southwest of Vyeppenjargâ. Sitakallio is a bedrock outcrop that rises about 40 cm above the water surface and is about 3.5 x 2 metres in size (Figure 24). The following has been said about the stone: "Men fishing with dragnets, especially 'the old man of Simona', an old Inari Lappish man, who died a few years back, used to place perches on this stone as offerings to ensure that the stone would continue to give fish."

Written sources: E. Itkonen 1933

Inspected in 2010

43.

Municipality: Inari  
Site name: **Siuttavaara (Čiuttavárri)**  
Other names: Čiuttavärri

Monument class: Sieidi  
Reliability: 3.0  
Preservation: lost

Register number: -  
Basic map sheet: 3821 12 JUNNASVARRI  
Old map coordinates:  
Northing = 7660 067, Easting = 3452 601, z = 325 m ASL (the top of the hill)  
ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7656869, y = 452448

According to Paulaharju, it is said that there was a sieidi site at Čiuttavärri, on the east bank of the River Inarijoki, north of Angeli. The sources do not make it clear whether the sieidi was located on the top of the hill or on the riverbank. An informant interviewed by Paulaharju (SKS KRA 19326) states: "At Tsiuttavaara on the bank of the River Inarijoki, there is an old sieidi site. There is a stone in a hole that earlier used to be worshipped." Matti Aho has interpreted a cracked stone on the bank of the River Inarijoki as a sieidi. In addition, the island of Äijänsaari is located west of Siuttavaara in the River Inarijoki.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932

44.

Municipality: Inari  
Site name: **Säytsjärvi (Seávžejávri)**  
Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi  
Reliability: 1.0  
Preservation: intact

Register number: 148010530  
Basic map sheet: 3842 03 VUOMAVAARA  
Old map coordinates: Northing = 7697 580, Easting = 3509 892, z = app. 220 m ASL  
ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7694367, y = 509716

The site is located about 52 km to the north of the Inari church. The sieidi stone is located on the western bank of Lake Säytsjärvi near the Paksumaa summer house. The sieidi is on a headland at the edge of the shore ridge. The sieidi is about 70 cm high and has been described as shaped like "the nose of a giant fish" (Figure 38). The distance from the lake is about 20 metres. An old homestead is located nearby, and Jussa Aikio is said to have lived there about a century before Paulaharju's visit.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932

Inspected in 2007

45.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Tuulispää (Piegguaivááh)**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 3.0

Preservation: lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3841 01 INARI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7641 111, Easting = 3505 122, z = 195 m ASL (top)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7637921, y = 504948

According to the sources, the sieidi is located about 7 km south-southeast of the Inari church, on the Tuulispää fell. According to Itkonen, offered antlers were found there.

Written sources: Fellman 1906; I. Itkonen 1910; T.I. Itkonen 1948

46.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Ukonjärven Ukko (Äijih)**

Other names: Äijih

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.0

Preservation: intact

Register number: 148010146

Basic map sheet: 3832 09 VESKONIEMI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7631 597,

Easting = 3521 765, z = 142.5 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7628410, y = 521584

There is a steep-sloped island named Ukko or Äijih in the eastern part of Lake Ukonjärvi, between the lake and the open water area of Joensuonselkä. Legend tells that there was an underground tunnel from Ukko to Akku located north of Lake Ukonjärvi. In the archaeological survey in 2007, a sieidi was identified on a lower hilltop rising on the northern side of Ukko. The sieidi is a largish stone under which bones were offered.



Written sources: I. Itkonen 1910; Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932

Reported site visit: 1988 Kankaanpää; 2007 Ojanlatva & Harlin

47.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Ukonsaari (Äijih)**

Other names: Ukko, Äijih, Ukonkivi

Monument class: Offering place/sieidi

Reliability: 1.0

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: 148010053

Basic map sheet: 3841 05 UKONSELKÄ

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7650 720, Easting = 3511 780, z = 140 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7647526, y = 511603

In the Ukonselkä area of Lake Inarijärvi, between the islands of Hautuumaasaari and Kuusisaari, there is a high-ridged bedrock island, which is nowadays a popular tourist destination. The island is 100 m long and 30 m high (Figures 51 and 52). In 1873, a Crusader-era ornament of eastern origin was found in a cave at the western end of the

island. In later excavations, it was observed that finds concentrated in the south-western part of the island.

Written sources: Fellman 1906; Itkonen 1910; Paulaharju 1914; Paulaharju 1927; Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1962

Excavated by: 1873 Evans

Test pits by: 1968 Sarvas

Reported site visit: 1988 Kankaanpää

Excavated by: 2006 Okkonen

Inspected in 2007

48.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Vesikivi (Rijdokedgi)**

Other names: Ison-Antin Annin vesikivi (Itkonen)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.7

Preservation: location uncertain

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3931 07 VAIJOENJÄNKÄ

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7706 059, Easting = 3529 757, z = app. 195 m ASL (Rijdokedgi)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7702842, y = 529573

According to Itkonen, Vesikivi is a stone with a pit in its middle, located to the south of the headland of Neitiniemi. "On this stone, the now deceased Anni of Iso Antti used to gather fish guts, fish heads, and other remains. This was how she tried to placate the stone in the hope of good luck when fishing." Neitiniemi is located on the western bank of Lake Iijärvi, between Isolahti and Rovaniemi. However, to the south of the headland, there are several larger and smaller stones, none of which clearly corresponds to Itkonen's description of a stone with a pit. In addition, a stone named Rijdokedgi has been marked on maps to the north of an island named Ánnáájäämmiimläässáš, located south of the headland. Ilmari Mattus (2009) states that this stone is named "Ison-Antin Annan jatakivi" [The fishing stone of Anna of Iso-Antti], which got its current name for being such a good fishing site that people almost argue over the right to use it. According to a photograph by N. Piipanoja (Paulaharju 1932, 34), however, this fishing stone seems to be located near the island of Annansaari. The stone near the headland of Neitiniemi, on the other hand, is mentioned as being named "Ison-Antin Annin vesikivi" [The water stone of Anni of Iso-Antti].

Written sources: E. Itkonen 1933

Inspected in 2010

49.

Municipality: Inari

Site name: **Äijihkedgi**

Other names: Ukonkivi

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.3

Preservation: intact

Register number: 1000011428

Basic map sheet: 3841 10 SARMINIEMI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7649 185, Easting = 3534 239, z = 119.5 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7645991, y = 534053

The sieidi is located on the western end of the small island of Ukonsaari, to the west of the island of Katsomasaari, a part of the Koutuki chain of islands, in the eastern part of Lake Inarijärvi. The cracked stone, a couple of cubic metres in size, stands in shallow water near the shore. Based on folk tradition and the toponym, it is a sieidi.

Reported by: 2002 I. Mattus

Reported site visit: 2008 Ojanlatva

**Unlocalized sites in Inari:**

**Akujärvi**, Inari. Itkonen mentions Lake Akujärvi, located southeast of the mouth of the River Ivalojoiki. According to him, there was an offering place by the lake (Itkonen 1948). The lake in question could be either Alempi [Lower] or Ylempi [Upper] Akujärvi (Northing = 7621 271/x = 7618089, Easting = 3528 662/y = 528478).

**Sulkusjärvi**. Paulaharju (1914) mentions that the old man of Hietajärvi told of a sieidi stone at Sulkushjauri (the centre of the lake: Northing = 7635 876/x = 7632687, Easting = 3565 548/y = 565349).

**Galguaive/Kalgoaivi**, Inari. On top of the Muotkatunturi fells, east of the upper reaches of the River Kiellajoki, there is or has been a domesticated reindeer sieidi to which Kittiniila (1846–1919) has made offerings (Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946).

**A small island in Lake Iijärvi**, Inari. Paulaharju mentions a fishermen's offering place in a small island in Lake Iijärvi without further defining the location (Paulaharju 1927, 1932).

**Vaassilaki**, Inari. This place might be Vaassiluáivi/Vaasseliselkä northwest of the Suolisvuono fjord (Northing = 7696 615/x = 7693402, Easting = 3557 396/y = 557201).

**Lemminkorsa**, Inari. On the fell of Viipustunturi, in the River Lemminjoki valley, there is a fell ravine to which offerings have been made (Paulaharju 1932). According to Itkonen, near the tree line on the Viipustunturi fell, in Nihaseskäidi, there is a bedrock outcrop as high as a room, named Sieide-käeð'gi (Itkonen 1948; Itkonen 1962).

**Paadarjärvi** (Paatari), Inari. The lake (Northing = 7642 434/x = 7639243, Easting = 3482 419/y = 482254) is located west-southwest of the centre of Inari. It is mentioned that there are two sieidi stones on an island or in an inlet of the lake. Sources also report a sieidi between Lakes Paadarjärvi and Lankojärvi (Northing = 7675 003(x = 7671799, Easting = 3495 475/y = 495305) (Fellman 1906; Itkonen 1946).

**Langojavre**, Inari. Fellman mentions a sieidi formed of two stones on the shore of Lake Langojavre. The larger of the stones is grey, and on top of it is an anthropomorphic white stone (Fellman 1906 II, 157).

**Pissikivensaari**, Inari. There is a sieidi stone at the fishing homestead of Lake Muddusjärvi (Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946). The island in question might be located at the north end of Lake Muddusjärvi in the bottom of the Keinolahti inlet near Piskivaara. Anna Brita Mattus (SKS KRA 19325) has described the island as follows: "On the island of Pissikivensaari in Lake Muddusjärvi, there is a homestead at the end of the island and a stone like sugarloaf on the shore of the homestead. This stone is a fish sieidi."

**Ulkukivi**, Inari. There is a sieidi stone in the south-western end of Lake Pautujärvi (basic map sheet 3931 10), at the shore of the lake. Lake Pautujärvi is located east of Lake Iijärvi. A stone's throw from Ulkukivi there is another sieidi, **Taavetin kivi** (Paulaharju 1932). According to Erkki Itkonen (1933), this whitish, large stone, about 8 metres high, is located south of the goahti place of Lemetti-Niila (?), 20 metres from the shore. The stone has a tapering tip and is surrounded by cracks. "Niiles-Jouni Nuorgam had reminisced about the stone being used as a reindeer god in earlier times. Offerings were made to it in the autumn for good reindeer luck. There are still bones and charcoal in the cracks and surroundings of the stone. However, Niiles-Jouni did not know where the stone came by its name, whether perhaps a man named Taavetti once made a god out of it. During the period that Niiles-Jouni remembered, the stone has not been used as a god." One of these may be the stone that P. Ravila has described "on the shore of Lake Pautujärvi" (MV:KTKA Suom.-ugr. 280:69).

**Teuja**, Inari. There is a sieidi stone to the north of Lake Iijärvi, around the middle of Teuja and Kuorboaivi (Paulaharju 1932).

**Sieidiluohtha**, Inari. There is a large cubical, granary-shaped stone near Kaikunuora and the island of Kaamas-saari in Lake Inarijärvi, at the bottom of an inlet named Sieidiluohtha. When a place name was mentioned, the sieidi moved of its own accord to indicate that wild reindeer could be caught there (Äimä 1903; Itkonen 1946; Itkonen 1963). There are also unlocalized sieidis in **Suörretievja** above Lake Njallajärvi and between Stuurraluovärrä and another fell, 6 km west of Lake Iijärvi (Itkonen 1946).

**Ahkkujäyri**, Inari. Could this be Lake Akujärvi (Northing = 7621 304/x = 7618122, Easting = 3528 562/y = 528378) (Fellman 1906; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1948)?



**Vehirsaari**, Inari. On the island of Vehirsaari in Lake Inarijärvi, on a southern headland, there has been a stone that the Skolt Sámi had rolled onto the bedrock. On the highest corner of this stone was a cairn built of smaller stones (Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia 1860; Itkonen 1948).

**Ivalon ranta**, Kyläjoen suu, Inari. According to Itkonen, gold digger P. Timonen had reported seeing remains of antlers in a rugged place near the cliff on the shore at Ivalo, at the mouth of the River Kyläjoki (Itkonen 1910; Itkonen 1948).

**Silhvári**, Inari is a hill by Viätserjäyri near the River Patsjoki [Paatsjoki] (Paulaharju 1932).

## Kemijärvi

50.

Municipality: Kemijärvi

Site name: **Kattilavaara**

Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place

Reliability: 3.0

Preservation: lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3632 09 SOPPELA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7394 904, Easting = 3522 414, z = app. 280 m ASL (top)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7391812, y = 522232

It is said that near the Kattilavaara hill, close to the headland of Kelloniemi at the western end of Lake Kemijärvi, there was an "old place of worship" near which a skull had been lifted into a tree. Andersson also mentions the hill of Termusvaara, located north of Kattilavaara, which is, according to him, sacred on the basis of its name. He also adds: "Opposite the hill is the island of Termussaari in Lake Kemijärvi, which according to ancient knowledge has been the burial ground of unbaptized folk". Andersson might mean here the headland of Termusniemi, which is located northeast of Kattilavaara.

Written sources: Appelgren 1881; Andersson 1912

Reported site visit: 1989–1990 Kotivuori

51.

Municipality: Kemijärvi

Site name: **Rovajärvi**

Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place

Reliability: 3.0

Preservation: location uncertain

Register number: 320010110

Basic map sheet: 3623 10 ROVAJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7402 300, Easting = 3492 260, z = 226,5

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7399205, y = 492090

According to information by K. M. Wallenius, there has been an offering spring in the quagmire to the south of the Rovaselkä area, about 800 m east of Lake Rovajärvi.

Reported site visit: 1956 Erä-Esko; 1989–90 Kotivuori

52.

Municipality: Kemijärvi

Site name: **Seitakallio**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sacred place/sieidi

Reliability: 2.0

Preservation: lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3632 04 LUUSUA

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7371 830, Easting = 3515 684, z = app. 150 m ASL (the middle of Seitakorva)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7368748, y = 515505

Seitakorva is in the River Kemijoki between Seitakangas and Seitavaara. Seitakallio is located near Seitakorva in a place that is not exactly located.

Written sources: Fellman 1906; Itkonen 1946

53.

Municipality: Kemijärvi

Site name: **Ämmänvaara 1**

Other names: Ämmänniemi, Bessousing (Appelgren)

Monument class: Offering place

Reliability: 2.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: 320010043

Basic map sheet: 3632 09 SOPPELA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7391 000, Easting = 3526 150, z = app. 230 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7387910, y = 525966

The site is located about 23 km southeast of the church of Kemijärvi. The hill is located on a headland west of the village of Ämmälä. The hill is steep-sloped and rocky, except for its eastern edge. The vegetation is dry pine heath with birch growing on the lower slopes. At the top of the hill, the trees are quite sparse. The pines with dates carved on them, mentioned in earlier archaeological survey reports, were not found during the inspection. According to a nearby summer cottage dweller, there had been a forest fire here at some point.

Written sources: Hj. Appelgren 1881; Fellman 1906; Andersson 1912

Reported site visit: 1879 Appelgren; 1956 Erä-Esko; 1990 Kotivuori.

Inspected in 2007

## Kittilä

54.

Municipality: Kittilä

Site name: **Ahvenjärvi**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 3.0

Preservation: lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3722 08 POKKA

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7561 154, Easting = 3442 492,

z = app. 295 m ASL (the centre of the lake)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7557996, y = 442343

Note: Added after analyses.

Lake Ahvenjärvi is a small lake about 60 m northeast of the church village of Kittilä. It is located in the upper reaches of the River Paanosenoja, a tributary of the River Kitinen, west of the area of Lopsunselkä. Paulaharju's description does not quite make clear whether Lake Ahvenjärvi has been considered as a *säiva* lake and whether the sieidi stone mentioned in the same context has been located in the immediate vicinity of the lake. During the inspection visit, no especially conspicuous stones could be observed on the shores of the lake. Therefore more information is required before any certain stone here could be identified as a sieidi.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1922

Inspected in 2010







**Ämmänvaara 1, Kemijärvi**

55.

Municipality: Kittilä

Site name: **Haltioletto**

Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place

Reliability: 2.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: 261010049

Basic map sheet: 2741 02 JERISJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7538 494, Easting = 3380 914, z = 257.5 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7535345, y = 380789

Haltioletto is a small island in the northern part of Lake Jerisjärvi. There is no further information on the nature of the offerings made here, but according to Kotivuori, the site could be interpreted as an offering place based on information from 1856, according to which a clay pot "full of strong alcoholic liquid" was found on the island. The island is also known to contain summer graves.

Written sources: Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1932

Reported site visit: 2002 Kotivuori

56.

Municipality: Kittilä

Site name: **Jänkkjärvi**

Other names: Jänkijärvi (Fellman), Jänkäjärvi (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.0

Preservation: destroyed

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2741 10 SIRKKA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7529 312, Easting = 3412 542, z = 187 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7526167, y = 412404

Lake Jänkkjärvi is located east of the River Ounasjoki, near Sirkankylä and Hossa. The island of Seijansaari (Seitasaari on the map) is located near the western shore of the lake. There used to be an anthropomorphic sieidi stone on the island, but it was later destroyed. According to Paulaharju, this happened when the old people of his time were children.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1922; Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946

57.

Municipality: Kittilä

Site name: **Korteniemi**

Other names: Seitaniemi (Itkonen)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.0

Preservation: lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2743 04 KUIVASALMI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7524 565,

Easting = 3426 239, z = 190 m ASL (headland)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7521422, y = 426096



The headland of Korteniemi is located on the eastern shore of Lake Rastinjärvi (formerly named Kuivasalmenjärvi, Kuivasalmi, or Rasti). There used to be a sieidi stone on the headland. The homestead of Päiviönkenta is located next to it. The headland of Haudanniemi is on the western shore of the lake. Korteniemi is a boggy headland with eutrophied shores. Birch trees growing on the headland obstruct visibility.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1922; Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946

Inspected in 2009



58.

Municipality: Kittilä

Site name: **Levi**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 3.3

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2741 10 SIRKKA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7523 487, Easting = 3409 729, z = 530 m ASL (top)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7520344, y = 409592

Fellman mentions that the Levi fell: "was considered with a certain respect."

Written sources: Fellman 1906

59.

Municipality: Kittilä

Site name: **Pyhäjärvi**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 3.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2744 03 ALMUNAROVA

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7571 561, Easting = 3420 226, z = 283 m ASL (the centre of the lake)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7568399, y = 420085

There are three lakes named Lake Pyhäjärvi in Kittilä. The Lake Pyhäjärvi between Ulvomaselkä and Pyhävasa corresponds to Paulaharju's description of a lake in the upper reaches of the River Kapsajoki.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932

Reported site visit: 2002 Kotivuori

60.

Municipality: Kittilä

Site name: **Pyhätunturi 1**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 3.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2732 05 + 06 LAINIOTUNTURI, LINKUKERO

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7513 048, Easting = 3384 584, z = 485 m ASL (top)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7509910, y = 384457

The Pyhätunturi 1 fell is located to the west of Lake Pyhäjärvi, on the border of Kolari and Kittilä.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932

61.

Municipality: Kittilä

Site name: **Pyhätunturi 2**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 3.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2741 07 + 2732 09 ONGASJOKI, AAKENUSTUNTURI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7522 711, Easting = 3400 677, z = app. 450 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7519569, y = 400544

The Pyhätunturi 2 fell is located between the Kätkätunturi fell and the Katajavaara hill, according to Paulaharju from Sirkankylä to the direction of Lake Aakenusjärvi.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932

62.

Municipality: Kittilä

Site name: **Saarijärvi**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.7

Preservation: lost

Register number: 1000000802

Basic map sheet: 2733 04 MOLKOJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7469 779, Easting = 3423 875, z = 192.00 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7466658, y = 423733

The site is located about 42.5 km south-southeast of the church of Kittilä, on the northern shore of Lake Molkojärvi, about 180 m north-northwest of the mouth of the River Ylijoki. Andersson (1914, 106) describes the sieidi as follows: "There used to be a good place to catch powan on the north-western shore of Lake Saarijärvi, in the so-called Lämmin lahti inlet. In the bottom of the inlet, there was a sieidi site in the tussock bog near the stand of fir trees on the shore. In the time that we speak of, quite a pile of reindeer antlers has been seen at the sieidi site, and they were naturally offered to this sieidi of Lake Saarijärvi." It is not known whether the sieidi was wooden or stone.

Written sources: Andersson 1914

Reported site visit: 1998 Kotivuori

63.

Municipality: Kittilä

Site name: **Saivonpalo**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 3.3

Preservation: lost

Register number: 1000000955

Basic map sheet: 2742 02 RAATTAMA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7563 375,

Easting = 3382 893, z = app. 270 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7560216, y = 382768



Note: Added after analyses.

The sieidi stone is located to the west of the village of Raattama, on top of Saivovaaranpalo to the east of the Saivovaara hill. The sieidi stone could not be found in the archaeological survey in 2007 or the inspection in 2009. According to Kotivuori, local people have knowledge of the site. Also the villagers of Raattama have reported this lone sieidi stone on the heath next to an old path that was used for going down to Lake Saivojärvi to fish. Unto Alttö has also mentioned the sieidi in his 2008 interview. The top of the hill is thickly forested with no access to water, which is not a typical location for a sieidi. During the inspection visit in the summer of 2010, a stone was observed on top of the hill in a place where the basic map also shows a large stone. This might be a sieidi.

Reported site visit: 1998 Kotivuori; 2007 Kögäs et al.

Inspected in 2009; 2010

64.

Municipality: Kittilä

Site name: **Särkijärvi**, Other names: Rytiniemi

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 3.0

Preservation: lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2742 10 LOMPOLO

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7560 164, Easting = 3412 112, z = 255 m ASL (Rytiniemi)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7557007, y = 411975

Lake Särkijärvi is located along the course of the River Tepastojoki, between Pulju and Tepasto, on the eastern side of the river. The headland of Rytiniemi is located on the western shore of Lake Särkijärvi. A white-sided sieidi stone used by wild reindeer hunters used to stand there. Rytiniemi is covered with low bogland vegetation and sparse stands of pines (Figure 22). No large boulders can be seen on the headland. If a sieidi has stood here, it has been atypical for the environment. On the northern shore of the lake, on the headland of Reikäkivenniemi, there has also been a sieidi. This sieidi was a large, round, flat stone right at the water's edge. There was a hole of three fingers' width in the stone. Kenttämaa is located north of Rytiniemi.

Written sources: Fellman 1906; Paulaharju 1922; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946

Inspected in 2009

65.

Municipality: Kittilä

Site name: **Taatsi**, Other names: Tatshe kallio, Tatsha Seita (Fellman)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.0

Preservation: top broken

Register number: 261010041

Basic map sheet: 3722 09 UURREKARKIA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7571 640, Easting = 3440 370, z = 280 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7568478, y = 440221

The site is located about 69 km northeast of the Kittilä church. This rock formation is about 10 m high and is located on the northeast shore of Lake Rotkojärvi, 11 km to the northwest of the village of Pokka. Lake Rotkojärvi is located about 500 m upstream from the north-western end of Lake Taatsinjärvi. The offering place is a natural, high rock column that tapers upwards in a notched manner (Figures 37 and 87). The top of the column held a stone resembling a "four winds hat". This stone was later pushed over by "unbelievers".

Written sources: Fellman 1906; Andersson 1914; Paulaharju 1922; Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1932

Reported site visit: 1958 Erä-Esko, Checked by: 1987, 1992, and 1996 Torvinen

Inspected in 2007, Excavated by: 2008 Äikäs &amp; Núñez

66.

Municipality: Kittilä

Site name: **Taatsinkirkko**

Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place

Reliability: 2.3

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: 261010041

Basic map sheet: 3722 09 UURREKARKIA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7571 662,

Easting = 3440 211, z = 280 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7568500, y = 440063



Taatsinkirkko is a steep boulder rising vertically out of the lake west of the Taatsi sieidi. It is not clear what kind of offering activities were carried out at the site.



Written sources: Fellman 1906; Paulaharju 1932

Reported site visit: 1958 Erä-Esko, Checked by: 1987, 1992, and 1996 Torvinen.

Inspected in 2007

### Unlocalized sites in Kittilä:

**Immeljärvi**, Kittilä. The sieidi stone has been located south of Sirkankylä on the shore of a lake (lake coordinates: Northing = 7525 009/x = 7521866, Easting = 3406 973/y = 406838) (Äyräpää 1931). Nowadays there is a road running along the lakeshore, so the stone may have been destroyed.

**Kuusivaara**, Kittilä. There are four places named Kuusivaara in Kittilä. Paulaharju writes of the god of Kuusi-vaara (Paulaharju 1932, 8, 49; see also Itkonen 1948, 317) and the stone image of Kuusivaara (Paulaharju 1932, 49, an oven built of seven stones). No precise locations for these sites are given.

**Nälkäjärvi**, Kittilä. Lake Nälkäjärvi (Northing = 7517 430/x = 7514290, Easting = 3416 092/y = 415953) is located east of the River Ounasjoki. Paulaharju mentions a place named Seitalahti here, but it could not be localized more precisely.

**Sirkkajärvi**, Kittilä. According to Paulaharju, a headland named Seitaniemi was located to the north of Lake Sirkkajärvi (Northing = 7527 569/x = 7524426, Easting = 3407 800/y = 407665), with a sieidi stone that has since probably been lost (Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946). The headland could not be located on the lakeshore.

**Sotkajärvi**, Kittilä. South of Lake Kuivajärvi (Paulaharju's Kuivasalmen-järvi) lies Lake Sotkajärvi (Northing = 7517 738/x = 7514597, Easting = 3426 613/y = 426470), at the end of which (to the east?) there was a fish sieidi that has since been lost (Ervasti 1737; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946).

**Immelvaara**, Kittilä. No place named Immelvaara could be found in Kittilä (Ervasti 1737).

**Lovikivi**, Kittilä. Lovikivi is a sieidi mentioned by Itkonen in Alakylä of Mokka. Alakylä (Northing = 7475 605/x = 7472481, Easting = 3409 163/y = 409027) is located east of the River Ounasjoki, between the river and the Rakkavaara hill. Itkonen (1946) states that a human figure could be seen in the stone. Paulaharju does not name the stone as an actual sieidi but rather as a place where witches used to sing and fall into a trance (Paulaharju 1932).

**Korsajärvi**, Kittilä. Lake Korsajärvi is an oblong lake (Northing = 7591 110/x = 7587940, Easting = 3416 811/y = 416672) located west of the Korsa-tunturi fell. A more detailed location for the sieidi on the lakeshore is not available. The entire lake may have been considered as sacred (Itkonen 1946).

**Peälduvaroaivi/Peltovarreoivve**, Kittilä. The site is located 20 km from Pulju (Fellman 1906; Itkonen 1946).

**Puljujärvi**, Kittilä. There are four lakes named Puljujärvi in Kittilä, the most likely of which seems to be the one located north of the village of Pulju (Northing = 7574 452/x = 7571289, Easting = 3410 095/y = 409959). There are hunting pits to the north and south of the lake, and Kenttätieva is located on the western shore. The sieidi's location is not known (Fellman 1906; Itkonen 1946).

**Aakenusjoki**, Kittilä. Itkonen mentions a sieidi at the River Aakenusjoki, which joins with the River Ounasjoki at the Kittilä church (Northing = 7511 814/x = 7508676, Easting = 3406 103/y = 405968) (Fellman 1906; Itkonen 1946).

**Rautusjärvi**, Kittilä. Itkonen (1946) mentions a sieidi in Jokela at Lake Rautusjärvi (Northing = 7533 180/x = 7530033, Easting = 3414 543/y = 414405).

**Seitakuusi**, Kittilä. The old sieidi site of Seitakuusi has been located on the shore of Lake Lalvajärvi, upstream of the River Kitinen from Lake Taatsijärvi, at the foot of the Korsatunturi fell. There is also an old homestead in the same place (Paulaharju 1932).

**Pyhitys**, Kittilä. Pyhitys is located near Lake Koskamojärvi (Northing = 7495 031/x = 7491900, Easting = 3434 640/y = 434493), west of Lake Kelontekemäjäjärvi (Ervasti 1737).

**Kuusamo**

67.

Municipality: Kuusamo

Site name: **Pyhävaara**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 2.3

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 4524 03 RUKAJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7339 453, Easting = 3597 421, z = 460 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7336384, y = 597209

There are two hills named Pyhävaara in Kuusamo. The southernmost one corresponds better to Itkonen's description. This Pyhävaara is located south of the Rukatunturi fell, about 19 km north of the centre of Kuusamo (compare Itkonen: 10 km north of the church). According to the Metsähallitus website (<http://www.luontoon.fi/page.asp?Section=965>), there used to be a sieidi on top of Pyhävaara as late as 1830, probably influencing the toponym (Pyhävaara means "Sacred Hill"). However, there are no other signs of this possible sieidi.

Written sources: Itkonen 1946

Inspected in 2006

68.

Municipality: Kuusamo

Site name: **Tiermasvaara**

Other names: Termusvaara

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 2.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 4613 02 KÄYLÄ

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7360 799, Easting = 3602 907, z = 290 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7357721, y = 602693

Itkonen and Fellman mention the hill of Termusvaara in Kemijärvi. This might be the same as Tiermasvaara, nowadays in the municipality of Kuusamo, west of Lake Tiermasjärvi and between the hills of Raiskiovaara and Nyppylävaara.

Written sources: Fellman 1906; Itkonen 1948

69.

Municipality: Kuusamo

Site name: **Iivaara**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 3.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 4523 09 KEMILÄ

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7303 456, Easting = 3622 607, z = app. 470 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7300401, y = 622385

Note: Added after analyses.

The hill of Iivaara is located about 30 kilometres southeast of the Kuusamo church, to the south of Lake Naamankajärvi.

Written sources: Ervasti 1737



***Tiermasvaara, Kuusamo***

## Muonio

70.

Municipality: Muonio

Site name: **Isosaari**

Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place

Reliability: 3.0

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2741 02 JERISJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: x = 7537 872,

y = 3378 864, z = 260 m ASL (the centre of the island)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7534724, y = 378740



The island of Isosaari in Lake Jerisjärvi has been mentioned as a former offering place.

Written sources: Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1932

71.

Municipality: Muonio

Site name: **Kaarantojärven Seitaniemi**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.0

Preservation: intact

Register number: 1000009400

Basic map sheet: 2724 05 SONKAMUOTKA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7569 628, Easting = 3349 901, z = 244 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7566467, y = 349788

The site is located on the headland of Seitaniemi on the north shore of Lake Kaarantojärvi. According to Paulaharju, there is a sieidi stone here. The metre-high stone photographed by Paulaharju is probably the sieidi stone marked on the modern basic map. The mark on the map is on the shore about 100 m east of Seitaniemi. According to Paulaharju, the stone is on the shore right at the water's edge. In the same place there is also a homestead and some pits, which have been interpreted as fish pits. The basic map also shows a sieidi stone on the western shore of the lake (Northing = 7568 868/x = 7565707, Easting = 3349 114/y = 349002). The stone on the western shore corresponds to the other sieidi stones in the area (see photograph). It is a stone that stands out from its surroundings and sticks up out of the water a few metres from the shore.

Written sources:

Ahnger s.a.; Paulaharju 1922; Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946

Inspected in 2008

72.

Municipality: Muonio

Site name: **Kalliorova**

Other names: Junkirova (on modern maps)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 3.3

Preservation: location uncertain

Register number: 1000006365

Basic map sheet: 2723 11 OLOSTUNTURI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7542 377, Easting = 3368 745, z = 315 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7539227, y = 368625

The hill of Junkirova, located about 8.5 km east-southeast of the Muonio church, has in earlier archaeological surveys been considered the same as Kalliorova, mentioned by

Paulaharju. Junkirova is located north of the Muonio-Kittilä road and Lake Junkijärvi. In 2004, Krapu reported in the north-western part of the hilltop a bedrock block of 5 x 4 x 2 m in size, partly detached from the bedrock and lying on top of smaller stones. The block is located on a plateau to the west of the hilltop between a forest road and a larger pond. Krapu states that the stone closely resembles the description by Lauri W. Pääkkönen (1902, 19): "A Lappish sieidi lying on four stones. There is a similar one in Kalliorova, 5 km east of the Muonio church." However, there are several boulders both on this plateau and on top of the hill that could fit the description of a sieidi lying on four stones. In my view, one of these could not be definitely identified as a sieidi stone without further research.

Even Junkirova's connection with Kalliorova is not entirely indisputable. Furthermore, Kalkinrova to the west of Junkirova is very stony on top.

Written sources: Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1932

Reported site visit: 1995 Oksala; 2004 Krapu

Inspected in 2008

73.

Municipality: Muonio

Site name: **Keimiöniemi**

Other names: Jierisjärvi (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.3

Preservation: location uncertain

Register number: 1000006363

Basic map sheet: 2741 02 JERISJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7540 615,

Easting = 3376 360, z = 265 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7537466, y = 376237



Keimiöniemi is a headland on the northern shore of Lake Jerisjärvi. It is about 2.5 km long and 1 km wide. On the south-western edge of Keimiöniemi, there is a boulder sized 7 x 6 x 2.5 m and tapering upwards. A piece split off from the boulder leans against it and forms a hollow on its southeast side. A path to the southern end of the Keimiöniemi fishing homestead runs right past the stone. Krapu considers this stone, which stands out from its surroundings, as the most logical option for a sieidi on Keimiönniemi, even though no description of the sieidi by Äyräpää has been preserved. This boulder is the only natural formation that clearly differs from its environment on the whole headland. However, there is also younger settlement on the headland that could have affected the preservation of the sieidi, and full certainty of the nature of the stone as a sieidi cannot be obtained without further research.

Written sources: Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1932

Reported site visit: 1995 Oksala; 2004 Krapu

Inspected in 2008

74.

Municipality: Muonio

Site name: **Kirkkopahta**

Other names: Pakajärven Seitapahta (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.0

Preservation: intact

Register number: 1000009401

Basic map sheet: 2714 11 PAKASAIVO

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7504 638, Easting = 3365 624, z = app. 230 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7501503, y = 365505

The site is located about 40 km to the south-southeast of the church of Muonio. Kirkkopahta is on even ground to the west of a forest road (Figure 21). The boulder is 6 x 7 m in size and 1.8 m in height. In the northeast and northwest corners, there are hollows under the



stone. The vegetation is sparse pine heath. No old bones could be found at the sieidi in the excavations in 2009.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1922; Paulaharju 1932

Reported site visit: 1995 Oksala, Checked by: 1992 Torvinen

Inspected in 2007

Excavated by: 2009 Äikäs & Núñez

75.

Municipality: Muonio

Site name: **Porviniemi**

Other names: Polviniemi, Kirkkokivi  
(Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.3

Preservation: intact

Register number: 1000000537

Basic map sheet: 2742 01 PALLASTUNTURI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7554 620,

Easting = 3381 628, z = app. 270 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7551465, y = 381503



The site is located at the northern end of Lake Pallasjärvi, on the narrow headland of Porviniemi sticking out into the lake. To the north of the headland is the boggy area of Ylisenpäänjankka with duckboards leading over it to Porviniemi. The sieidi stone is in the southern part of the headland, to the west of a path running along a ridge. The sieidi stone clearly resembles a human face in profile. Coins, among other things, have been left on the stone, but no old bones could be found in the 2009 excavations. The stone is a reddish granite boulder about 1.5 x 1.5 m in size and cubical in shape. The remains of a pit are located right next to the stone. The identification of the stone as a sieidi was uncertain already at the time that Paulaharju made his notes. Unto Altto has mentioned the sieidi in his 2008 interview.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946

Reported site visit: 2002 Kotivuori; 2007 Köngäs et al.

Inspected in 2008

Excavated by: 2009 Äikäs & Núñez

76.

Municipality: Muonio

Site name: **Pyhäkero**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 3.0

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: 261010062

Basic map sheet: 2742 01 PALLASTUNTURI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7556 762, Easting = 3378 166, z = 770 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7553606, y = 378042

The site is the top of a fell on Pallastunturi, about a kilometre to the southeast of Taivaskero. According to Paulaharju, Pyhäkero is probably a Sámi sacred place.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932

77.

Municipality: Muonio

Site name: **Saitavaara**

Other names: Saijanvaara (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sieidi  
Reliability: 1.3  
Preservation: intact

Register number: 498010029  
Basic map sheet: 2714 06 SAITAVAARA  
Old map coordinates: Northing = 7521 035, Easting = 3353 336, z = 367  
ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7517893, y = 353222

The sieidi stone is located between highway 21 and the River Muonionjoki, about 3 km to the west of Lake Saijan-järvi, on a steep and rugged stony hill. On top of the hill, a flat stone has been erected and supported by 15 smaller stones set around it (Figure 27). This group of stones corresponds to Paulaharju's description of a sieidi. Near the sieidi, on top of the hill, there are pines on which dates have been carved. The oldest carvings date from the 19th century.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946

Reported site visit: 1995 Oksala

Inspected in 2009

78.

Municipality: Muonio  
Site name: **Seitaniemi**  
Other names: Törmäslompolon seita (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sieidi  
Reliability: 2.7  
Preservation: lost

Register number: 498010027  
Basic map sheet: 2723 12 TORAS-SIEPPI  
Old map coordinates: Northing = 7543 686, Easting = 3374 206, z = 265.5–260 m ASL  
ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7540535, y = 374084

The site is located about 13.5 km east of the Muonio church. The Seitaniemi headland is located in the north-western corner of Lake Jerisjärvi, to the north of the bridge in the area of Törmöslommo-lampi. The vegetation on the headland consists of low birches, firs, sprigs, and moss, and at its narrowest place the headland is boggy. The precise location of the sieidi is no longer known. There are plenty of stones on the headland under the moss cover. The sieidi stone could thus have been covered by the vegetation. There are also a few larger stones in the shallow water near the shore. According to Samuli Paulaharju, somewhere on the headland there was a sieidi to which antlers of wild or domesticated reindeer were offered as late as the 1870s and 1880s. There may still be antlers preserved under the peat. In another book, Paulaharju mentions that the sieidi was a stone column about one metre high with a tapering end and that it was later lost. In addition, he writes that the place is associated with local folk tales of burning fires and spirits manifesting in the form of a "moss-bearded Lapp geezer". The supposed area in which the sieidi was located is probably in the northern part of the headland.

Additionally, Paulaharju and Itkonen mention a sieidi located at the southern end of the headland of Seijanniemi/Seidanniemi, at the southern end of Lake Jerisjärvi. This sieidi is a tall, erected stone.

Sources: Paulaharju 1922; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946

Reported site visit: 1995 Oksala; 2004 Krapu; 2007 Köngäs et al.

Inspected in 2007

79.

Municipality: Muonio  
Site name: **Äkäsjärvi**  
Other names: Äkäsjärvi E Ruonankaula

Monument class: Sieidi  
Reliability: 2.0  
Preservation: intact



Register number: 498010050

Basic map sheet: 2732 03 ÄKÄSKERO

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7521 735, Easting = 3377 935, z = app. 270 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7518593, y = 377811

The site is located about 28 km to the southeast of the Muonio church. The sieidi stone is located on the eastern shore of the southern part of Lake Äkäsjärvi, near Ruonankaula, on top of a bank. A high bedrock cliff rises up to 15 m from the lake surface at this location. On top of the cliff, there is plateau in the stony moraine terrain with an open view down to the lake. The distance from the stone to the lake is about 50 metres. The sieidi is an erected flat stone with a slight resemblance to the profile of a human face (Figures 43 and 81). It is 1.2 m high, 0.7 m long, and 0.35 m wide. On the stone's lakeward side, a modern, altarlike construction has been made, consisting of a flat stone of about 25 cm in diameter and small pebbles placed around it. Visitors have placed coins on this structure. Because of the local tradition, the stone is viewed here as a sieidi, but the basis for its exact monument class as a sieidi would require further research.

Reported site visit: 1995 Oksala; 2002 Kotivuori; 2004 Krapu

Inspected in 2007

80.

Municipality: Muonio

Site name: **Äkässaivo**

Other names: Kirkkopahta, Ruona Äkäslinkka (Kotivuori), Äkäsjoenäsaivo (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: 498010034

Basic map sheet: 2732 03 ÄKÄSKERO

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7515 092,

Easting = 3379 195, z = 250 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7511953, y = 379071



The site is located about 35 km to the southeast of the Muonio church, to the west of Hangasmaa. A rock formation named Seitapahta rises up to the west of Lake Äkässaivo, about 30 m from the *säiva* lake. The rock formation is about twenty metres high. There are no historical sources referring to the sacredness of this formation. Rather what seems to be sacred is the *säiva* lake itself and the cliffs rising up from it, Kirkkopahta and Hammaspahta, between which a narrow strait runs from the *säiva* lake to the River Äkäsjoki.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1922

Reported site visit: 1988, 2002 Kotivuori, 1995 Oksala

Inspected in 2007

Excavated by: 2010 Äikäs & Núñez

### Unlocalized sites in Muonio:

**Keräsjärvi**, Muonio. On the lakeshore, there has been a wooden sieidi used by fishermen that has since then decayed (Paulaharju 1932). The centre of the lake is Northing = 7564 837/x = 7561678, Easting = 3373 977/y = 373855.

### Unlocalized sites in Pudasjärvi:

**Litojoki**, Pudasjärvi. According to Itkonen, there is an erected stone that is a sieidi along the River Litojoki (Itkonen 1946). The location of this sieidi is not known today.

## Pelkosenniemi

81.

Municipality: Pelkosenniemi

(Itkonen: Sodankylä)

Site name: **Pyhäjärvi**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 3.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3642 02 MAIRIVAARA

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7440 511, Easting = 3509 795, z = app. 170 m ASL (the centre of the lake)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7437401, y = 509618

Lake Pyhäjärvi is located to the northeast of the Pyhätunturi fell.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1941; Itkonen 1946

82.

Municipality: Pelkosenniemi

Site name: **Uhriharju ja Pyhänkasteenlampi**

Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place

Reliability: 2.3

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: 583010017

Basic map sheet: 3642 01 PYHÄTUNTURI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7436 900, Easting = 3508 360, z = 419

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7433792, y = 508184

The site is located about 17 km south-west of the Pelkosenniemi church. The offering ridge rises on the north side of the Ukonhattu peak of the Pyhätunturi fell. The offering ridge is a bedrock and moraine formation about 600 m long and 150 m wide, running from west to east (Figure 20). To the east of the ridge, at the bottom of the Pyhäkuru ravine, there is a small pond named Pyhänkasteenlampi. According to local tradition, this pond has been an offering place for the forest Sámi. The waterfall of Pyhänkasteenputous runs into the pond through a ravine to the south of Uhriharju, and a rock formation at the opposite end of the pond has been thought to be an offering stone. The precise location of the rock formation could not be identified during the inspection visit.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1939

Reported site visit: 1961 Erä-Esko, Checked by: 2007 Rautiainen; 2007 Kotivuori

Inspected in 2007

## Pello

83.

Municipality: Pello

Site name: **Kotavaara 2**

Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place

Reliability: 2.3

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2641 11 RATTOSJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7419 857, Easting = 3407 322, z = 125 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7416755, y = 407186

The site is located about 38.8 km to the east-northeast of the church of Pello. In 1956, Aarni Erä-Esko reported a possible offering spring at the foot of the Kotavaara hill to the west of the hill. The spring water is known to have been used for healing. Among others, Mikko Heikkilä had stated that the water "made the eyes soft". The spring in question has later been destroyed. The water flows through a dead-end road built on top of the spring on the eastern side of the road from Pello to Meltaus, at around the 25 kilometre post. There is no information on whether or not the spring is associated with Sámi traditions. The location of the spring could not be found during the inspection visit. The coordinates are about 900 metres to the north-northeast from the 25 kilometre post.

Checked by: 1956 Erä-Esko

Reported site visit: 1984 Kortenieniemi

Inspected in 2010

84.

Municipality: Pello

Site name: **Kylänsaari 2 Niemi**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 3.3

Preservation: lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2623 11 LEMPEÄ

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7387 757, Easting = 3359 928, z = 80 m ASL (the centre of the island)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7384668, y = 359811

The island of Kylänsaari is located in the River Torniojoki, south of the village of Juoksenki. According to the find information of a stone ice pick (PPM 318 =991) found on the island, the artefact was discovered "on the shore of the island, in an earthen grave set in a place where the old folk used to know that a Lappish sieidi once stood". Nowadays the tradition of a sieidi place is lost, but in a 1977 interview (carried out by Karl Sundman at the Department of History, University of Oulu), local history buff and forest engineer Hannes Mäkikyrö mentions Lapp remains on Kylänsaari. Mäkikyrö relates having read of a sieidi located on the island in a letter written by a surveying engineer dating from the 1850s. He mentions a large stone in the middle of the Kyläsalmi strait as a possible sieidi.

Reported site visit: 1984 Kortenieniemi

85.

Municipality: Pello

Site name: **Pyhäselkä**

Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place

Reliability: 3.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2632 06 SIRKKAKOSKI

Old map coordinates: Northing =7400 272, Easting = 3377 821, z = app. 200 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7397178, y = 377697

Pyhäselkä is located about 19 km to the southeast from the church of Pello. Leinonen (1958, 43) has written in a book on local history that: "It is said that Pyhäselkä on the shore of Lake Koutusjärvi is a Lappish offering place." Pyhäselkä probably means the area of Pyhäinvaara on the western shore of Lake Koutusjärvi. According to Kortenieniemi, the alleged offering place might be the steep cliff of Pyhäinpaheikko, which drops 20–30 metres down to the lake.

Reported site visit: 1984 Kortenieniemi

## Posio

86.

Municipality: Posio

Site name: **Ajakkajärvi**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 3.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3633 01 PERÄ-POSIO

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7346 216, Easting = 3542 736, z = 250 m ASL (the centre of the lake)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7343144, y = 542546

Lake Ajakkajärvi is located north of Perä-Posio. According to Itkonen, however, the lake is located in Enontekiö.

Written sources: Fellman 1906; Itkonen 1946

## Rovaniemi

87.

Municipality: Rovaniemi

Site name: **Molkoköngäs**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 3.3

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3644 02 MAIRIVAARA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7442 713, Easting = 3416 548, z = app. 125 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7439602, y = 416409

Note: Added after analyses

Ervasti mentions Molkoköngäs by the River Ounasjoki as being a sacred place.

Written sources: Ervasti 1737

88.

Municipality: Rovaniemi

Site name: **Lapinniemi**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.7

Preservation: lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 2542 12 TERVOLA

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7333 992, Easting = 3400 716,

z = app. 35 m ASL (estimate)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7330925, y = 400583



According to Calamnius, there has been an islet named Seitasaari opposite the parsonage of Lapinniemi in Ylikylä in Tervola. Calamnius (1868, 200–201) writes: "In old books, the entire chapel of Tervola is named *Lapinniemi*, the parsonage is named *Lapinniemi* [...] In the river, there is even an islet named *Seitasaari*, which used to be a headland, as can be seen from the quality of the soil, and used to be called *Seitaniemi*. Legend states that the Lapps used to hold their courts on this island, which is why there was enough stones set here in

a circle for all the Lappish chiefs and elders to sit on. In the middle of the circle was a larger stone upon which the god statue or sieidi stood. These stones have even been seen in our times, but now they have been washed away in floods and taken by people to be used, for example, for the church foundation and steps." Seitasaari has been located next to the modern Kirkkosuvanto as a headland cut off from Jurvanoja, in the same place as the old churches are nowadays. A sieidi pine is also marked on maps near the churches. This tree is the only older pine there and stands out from the rest of the shore vegetation, but there is no written tradition of the pine having been used in connection with offering.

Written sources: Calamnius 1868; Z. Castrén 1894

Inspected in 2009

89.

Municipality: Rovaniemi

Site name: **Somosen kirkko**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 1.7

Preservation: intact

Register number: 699010104

Basic map sheet: 3612 10 OIKARAINEN

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7375 580, Easting = 3459 720, z = 90 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7372496, y = 459563

Somosen kirkko [The church of Somonen] is a large boulder on forested ground north of the mouth of the River Raudunjoki. According to local tradition, the place has been considered sacred, but there is no information on any connection with the Sámi. Juror Johan Hoikka had also studied the site already in the 1860s. Nowadays there is a cross, bell, and benches at the site (Figure 98).

Reported site visit: 1956 Erä-Esko; 1987 Kotivuori

Inspected in 2009

### Unlocalized sites in Rovaniemi

**Ounasjoki**, Rovaniemi. According to Itkonen, a sieidi was located in the direction of the River Ounasjoki from the church. (Itkonen 1946).

### Salla

90.

Municipality: Salla

Site name: **Sallatunturi**

Other names: Salla-tunturi, Kuolajärvi (Fellman)

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 3.0

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 4621 07 RUUHITUNTURI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7408 710, Easting = 3578 688, z = 345 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7405613, y = 578483

According to Fellman, the Sallatunturi fell was seen as the great deity of Kuolajärvi (nowadays the municipality of Salla). It is located south of the Pieni Pyhätunturi fell.

Written sources: Fellman 1906

91.

Municipality: Salla

Site name: **Suomujärvi**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.0

Preservation: intact

Register number: 732010015

Basic map sheet: 3634 05 MOROTTAJA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7388 220, Easting = 3556 930, z = 255 m ASL (the coordinates in the Register over Ancient Sites have been corrected based on a map estimate)  
ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7385131, y = 556734

The site is located in the south-western part of the municipality of Salla, north of Karhujärvi and Morottaja. The sieidi stone is at the western end of the northern shore of Lake Suomujärvi, about 500 m east-southeast of the hunting pits. Erä-Esko visited the site in 1961, guided by forest engineer Osmo Koponen, on whose statement the site was interpreted as a sieidi.

Checked by: 1961 Erä-Esko

Reported site visit: 1989 Poutiainen

### Unlocalized sites in Salla:

**Rakkulaniemi**, Salla. On the headland of Rakkulaniemi, on the shore of Lake Kallunkijärvi (Northing = 7397 637/x = 7394544, Easting = 3586 887/y = 586679) in Salla (formerly Kuolajärvi), there have been "stove foundations, wild reindeer pits, and even a sacred offering place, where reindeer antlers have been offered by standing them on the ground" (Appelgren 1881).

### Savukoski

92.

Municipality: Savukoski

Site name: **Kallioniemi**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.3

Preservation: intact

Register number: 1000016037

Basic map sheet: 3733 04 SAVUKOSKI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7468 020, Easting = 3549 310, z = 167.5 m ASL  
ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7464900, y = 549118

Note: Added after analyses

The sieidi is located along the River Kemijoki, northwest of the centre of Savukoski, on a rocky headland extending out into the river. According to Samuli Paulaharju (1939, 1941), the rock at Kallioniemi was used by all fishermen and travellers. It was a "bad and sacred shoreline rock, an ugly and torn stone. When people rowed past it, they had to throw their shoes out of the boat and walk barefoot along the shore and around the stone. Only then could they continue their journey."

Written sources: Paulaharju 1939; Paulaharju 1941

Checked by: 2010 Seppälä

93.

Municipality: Savukoski

Site name: **Sienisokka**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi  
 Reliability: 1.0  
 Preservation: intact

Register number: 1000016802  
 Basic map sheet: 3732 10 SEITAJÄRVI  
 Old map coordinates: Northing = 7497 430, Easting = 3537 080, z = 252.5 m ASL  
 ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7494298, y = 536893

Note: Added after analyses

The sieidi is located at the mouth of the River Siyliönjoki, which runs into Lake Arajärvi, on the south-eastern shore of the river, about 50 m south-southwest of the road leading to the river shore. There is local tradition associated with the stone, and Samuli Paulaharju, among others, has written about it. The stone is a low stone set in the ground, 1.5 m wide, 2.5 m long, and about a metre high. The old Arajärvi homestead (register number 742 010 041) is located northeast of the site.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1939; Paulaharju 1941; Itkonen 1946

Checked by: 2009 Kotivuori

94.

Municipality: Savukoski  
 Site name: **Seitajärvi 1**  
 Other names: Seitakivi, Sodankylä (Itkonen)

Monument class: Sieidi  
 Reliability: 1.0  
 Preservation: intact

Register number: 742010018  
 Basic map sheet: 3732 10 SEITAJÄRVI  
 Old map coordinates: Northing = 7496 972, Easting = 3538 055, z = 240 m ASL  
 ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7493839, y = 537867

Lake Seitajärvi is located east of Lake Arajärvi. To the north of the headland of Seitaniemi, which is located on the western side of Lake Seitajärvi, there is a low stone rising about 0.3 metres above the water's surface near the shore. This stone is probably not the one that Paulaharju describes as being located on the north shore of the lake, in the water near the Seitajärvi house, in front of Seitaniemi. Several sieidis are said to have been located in the vicinity of Lake Seitajärvi. This stone corresponds reasonably well to Andersson's (1914, 31) description of a sieidi located "in the lake in front of the headland of Seitaniemi, on the south-western shore of the lake [...] about 10 fathoms towards the lake." According to him, the stone rises about half a metre above the water surface, and the part sticking out of the water is oblong in shape. The homesteads of Keijitsa and Kurisia are located on the other side of the lake. According to Itkonen, Sienisokka between Lakes Seitajärvi and Arajärvi has also been an offering place. Andersson states that this name has been used for the isthmus between the lakes.

Local tradition also mentions a fir tree, Seitakuusi, near the path from the Seitajärvi house to the lakeshore. A man named Seita-Mikko, who lived in the house, offered perches to the tree.

Written sources: Fellman 1906; Andersson 1914; Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1939; Paulaharju 1941; Itkonen 1946

Checked by: 1973 Erä-Esko & Pesonen

Inspected in 2010

## Sodankylä

95.

Municipality: Sodankylä  
 Site name: **Keivitsa**  
 Other names: Keevitsa



Monument class: Sieidi  
 Reliability: 1.0  
 Preservation: broken

Register number: 1000000423  
 Basic map sheet: 3714 12 PETKULA  
 Old map coordinates: Northing = 7510 863, Easting = 3498 727, z = app. 310 m ASL  
 ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7507725, y = 498555

The site is located about 34 km to the northeast of the Sodankylä church. The hill of Keivitsa rises about 7 km to the east-southeast of the Vajukoski power plant. The sieidi has been located on top of the steep-sloped hill. According to Tallgren, the anthropomorphic sieidi stood on a conical stone with a length of 4 metres. The destruction of the sieidi began already 40 years before Tallgren's time. In earlier inspections, it was deduced that the bottom stone of the destroyed, cairn-like sieidi is located under the triangulation tower. Now the tower has also been destroyed and the stone has been covered by a pile of other stones. The terrain on top of the hill is very rocky. According to Sarkkinen, there are also signs of more recent offering activities on top of the Keivitsa hill. About 50 m to the northwest of the triangulation point, a 0.7-m-high anthropomorphic stone construction has been erected at the very edge of the northern slope. A fatty substance has been brushed on the top of the statue's head and in the locations of the eyes and mouth, which indicates a continuation of the old offering traditions. Additionally, there was a large stone block near the old god statue with large split chunks of quartz set on top of it.

Written sources: Tallgren 1910; Andersson 1914; Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1939; Paulaharju 1941; Itkonen 1946

Checked by: 1907 Tallgren; 1993 Sarkkinen

Inspected in 2007

96.

Municipality: Sodankylä  
 Site name: **Kussuolinkivaara**  
 Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi  
 Reliability: 1.3  
 Preservation: slightly cracked, but not decayed

Register number: 1000011890  
 Basic map sheet: 3742 07 VAARANAAPA  
 Old map coordinates: Northing = 7550 330, Easting = 3521 950, z = 315 m ASL  
 ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7547176, y = 521769

The hill of Kussuolinkivaara, which according to Paulaharju was venerated by hunters, is located southeast of Lake Sompiojärvi. The site is located about 80 kilometres to the northeast of the Sodankylä church, to the north of the Lokka reservoir. According to local tradition, there has been an old sieidi place on top of the hill of Kussuolinkivaara, which is located 4.6 kilometres to the east-northeast of the highest point of the Mutenia hillock. The sieidi is formed of a carved wooden pole erected between stones (Figure 7). It is located in the nearly highest spot of a ledge formed of boulders. This location is the same as in old photographs. The sieidi has undoubtedly been located in the same place at least since the end of the 19th century, and apparently even longer. Another kind of wooden sieidi may have been located here earlier, namely a boat-shaped sieidi mentioned in written sources. The visible height of the sieidi tree is 1.5 metres, and a length of 0.5 metres is shoved between the rocks. The diameter is 10–15 centimetres. The knob at the end of the sieidi has originally been girdled in a bevelled manner, but the wooden surfaces have worn out to the extent that details can no longer be observed. A pine cone has been put into a hole in the sieidi, and a chunk of quartzite has been set at its base.

Written sources: Andersson 1914; Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1939; Paulaharju 1941

Checked by: 2003 Kotivuori

Inspected in 2010

97.

Municipality: Sodankylä  
Site name: **Pyhäkumpu**  
Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place  
Reliability: 2.0  
Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -  
Basic map sheet: 3624 08 VUOJÄRVI  
Old map coordinates: Northing = 7442 820,  
Easting = 3485 190, z = 212 m ASL  
ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7439709, y = 485023



Pyhävuopaja is located near the River Riestojoki, and the mound of Pyhäkumpu is at its edge. According to Paulaharju, several wild reindeer hunting pits can be seen on the mound. Also according to him the top of the mound used to be an offering place. In Paulaharju's time, this location functioned as a summer sporting ground, a place to hold raucous parties, and bonfire mound. During the inspection visit, it was observed that the offering place had been destroyed, probably due to sand removal.

Written sources: Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1939; Paulaharju 1941; Paulaharju 1944

Reported site visit: 1991 Arponen

Inspected in 2008

98.

Municipality: Sodankylä  
Site name: **Pyhä-Nattanen**  
Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place  
Reliability: 2.7  
Preservation: extensive area

Register number: 1000000465  
Basic map sheet: 3742 04 SOMPIOJÄRVI  
Old map coordinates: Northing = 7559 720,  
Easting = 3515 600, z = 508.4 m ASL  
ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7556562, y = 515421



According to Paulaharju, there are stone settings and boulders that have been worshipped at the Nattastunturi fells. Some of these also have an anthropomorphic shape. According to Andersson, there was also a sieidi at the Nattastunturi fells. The name Pyhävaara mentioned by Ervasti might also refer to the Pyhä-Nattanen fell.

Written sources: Ervasti 1737; Fellman 1906; Andersson 1914; Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1939; Paulaharju 1941

Inspected in 2010

99.

Municipality: Sodankylä  
Site name: **Seitasaari**  
Other names: Seitakallio, Orajärvi (Itkonen)

Monument class: Sieidi  
Reliability: 2.0  
Preservation: extensive area

Register number: 1000000420  
Basic map sheet: 3713 11 ORAJÄRVI  
Old map coordinates: Northing = 7475 120, Easting = 3492 540, z = 185 m ASL  
ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7471996, y = 492370

The site is located about 11.2 kilometres to the southeast of the Sodankylä church, on the Seitasaari island in the north-western part of Lake Orajärvi. On the north-eastern end of

the island, on the headland of Seitaniemi, there is a stony, grass-covered mound that is said to be an offering place. According to Itkonen, there is a place named Seitakallio in Seitaniemi in Lake Orajärvi. An iron axe has also been found at the site. According to Andersson, the sieidi stone is located 10 fathoms from the tip of the headland towards the lake.

Written sources: Andersson 1914; Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1941; Itkonen 1946

Test pits by: 1957 Erä-Esko

100.

Municipality: Sodankylä

Site name: **Sompiojärvi**

Other names: Akankivi (Itkonen), Mutenianjoki

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.3

Preservation: lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3742 04 SOMPIOJÄRVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7553 892, Easting = 3517 379, z = 245 m ASL (Juikenttä)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7550737, y = 517199

According to Itkonen, there is a sieidi stone called Akankivi at Lake Sompio-järvi. The location of the sieidi stone has not been verified archaeologically, but in Paulaharju's map (1979 [1939], 163) it is marked in the eastern part of the lake. According to Paulaharju, Akankivi is located at the mouth of the River Pyhäleipunen, at the edge of Pyhäkaavi. According to Andersson, Akankivi is located to the east of the lake, about 3/4 of a kilometre from the shore. Itkonen also mentions a sieidi stone known as Pyhäkivi near the River Mutenianjoki, which runs from Lake Sompiojärvi to the southwest near the area of Juikenttä. Pyhäkivi is probably connected with the headland of Pyhäkivenniemi, something mentioned by Paulaharju. According to Andersson, Pyhäkivi is located about 0.5 kilometres downstream of the Mutenia village. Andersson also states that according to some stories, the entire River Mutenianjoki has been held to be sacred. According to Paulaharju, the headland of Pyhäniemi in Lake Sompiojärvi and the River Pyhäleipunen have also been worshipped. According to Holmberg, the sieidi is located on the bank of the River Mutenianjoki, about half a kilometre from the village of the same name.

Written sources: Ervasti 1737; Andersson 1914; Holmberg 1915; Äyräpää 1931; Paulaharju 1939; Paulaharju 1941; Itkonen 1946

### Unlocalized sites in Sodankylä:

**Aasankallio**, Sodankylä. The sacred place is a flat bedrock area near Tanhua, on the shore of Lake Luirojärvi (Fellman 1906; Paulaharju 1941). Also Elsa-Marja Aikio (Sammallahti 1975, 114–115) refers to a sieidi at Lake Luirojärvi. Andersson (1914) also mentions two sacred stones near the Tanhua houses on the shore of Lake Luirojärvi.

**Luirontunturi**, Sodankylä. Only the area of Luironkangas can be found, not a fell named Luirontunturi. According to Itkonen, there has been a stone statue at a sacred spring on this fell (Itkonen 1946).

**Palkuvaara**, Sodankylä. In the topographic archives of the National Board of Antiquities, there is piece of paper that mentions the following: "In Sodankylä, in the heartland of the Kelujärvi village, south of Palkuvaara [does this mean Palkisvaara, which is located south of Kelujärvi?], there is a sieidi. (Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat II [The records of the Finnish Antiquarian Society II], p. 377)"

**Tankajoki**, Sodankylä. In the forest near the River Tankajoki, in the village of Sompio, three stones of different sizes have been located in a flat and otherwise stoneless place. (Fellman 1906; Itkonen 1948).

**Suksivaaranlehto**, Sodankylä. Near the Kiurujärvi house in Suksivaaranlehto (Northing = 7500 616/x = 7497482, Easting = 3509 562/y = 509385) there have been sieidi stones to which reindeer antlers and ram horns were brought (Fellman 1906; Itkonen 1948).

**Seitajärvi**, Sodankylä. According to Paulaharju, Lake Seitajärvi is located west of Lake Luirojärvi. The lake is associated with a bog named Seitajärvenaapa, which contains an island named Seitasaari (Paulaharju 1941).

## Utsjoki

101.

Municipality: Utsjoki

Site name: **Aihtetsohkka (Áitečohkka)**

Other names: Aitt-johk-čohka (?) (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Offering place

Reliability: 2.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: 890010026

Basic map sheet: 3914 01+3912 10 TUODDAR-MA

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7736 730, Easting = 3464 040, z = 410 m ASL (top)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7733501, y = 463883

The site is located about 40 km south-west of the Utsjoki church. According to Paulaharju, there is an "offering hollow" on top of the Aihtetsohkka fell, located about 2 km southwest of the Aittijoki houses on the bank of the River Tenojoki.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932

102.

Municipality: Utsjoki

Site name: **Annivaara (Ánnevárri)**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.7

Preservation: lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3932 03 UTSJOKI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7755 667, Easting = 3506 750, z = 372 m ASL (top)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7752430, y = 506576

The hill of Annivaara is located east of Lake Mantojärvi (Mandojäyri) and southeast of the centre of Utsjoki. According to Paulaharju, there is a stone sieidi on top of the Annivaara hill, but it cannot be located today.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932

103.

Municipality: Utsjoki

Site name: **Guivin laki**

Other names: -

Monument class: Offering place

Reliability: 1.0

Preservation: intact

Register number: 1000001003

Basic map sheet: 3913 06 KUIVI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7726 650, Easting = 3477 730, z = 635 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7723425, y = 477567

According to Sámi tradition, the Guivi fell, located in the Paistunturi fell area, is sacred. Erkki Nickul visited the top of the Guivi fell in 1961 together with Artto Sverloff and Antti Semenoja. He found six offering caves and hollows there. In 1999, only one of these, Cave C, could be found. It is located 15 metres from the signpost at the top of Guivi towards the direction 176°/360°. The cave is a small natural hollow formed under a large stone, and its edges have been outlined with dry-stone walls. The cave is 35 cm deep and 20 cm high. The cave contains female reindeer antlers.

Written sources: Itkonen 1962

Reported site visit: 1999 Valtonen, Checked by: 1961 Nickul

Checked by: 2000, 2002 Valtonen

104.

Municipality: Utsjoki

Site name: **Karegasnjarga-Ailigas (Gáregasnjárga Áilegas)**

Other names: Karigas-njarga-Ailigas, Ailigastunturi, Ivvarkuivi (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.7

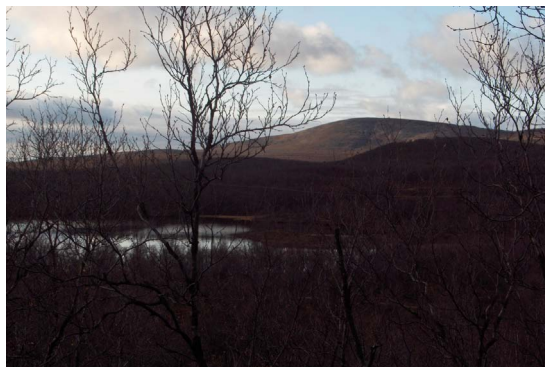
Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3913 01 AILIGAS

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7707 710, Easting = 3461 980, z = 545 m ASL (top area)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7704493, y = 461824



The Ailigas fell is located about 10 km northeast of Karigasniemi. There is no closer location for the sieidi stone. The sieidi stone should be located in the upper reaches of the River Karigasjoki, about twenty kilometres into the fell terrain. A path over Ailigas and Karigasvuoma to the Muotkatunturi fells passed the site. A wild reindeer fence has been located at the site.

Written sources: Fellman 1906; Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932

105.

Municipality: Utsjoki

Site name: **Kirkonkylän Ailigas (Áilegas)**

Other names: Ailegas, Ailigastunturi (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 3.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3932 03 + 3941 01 UTSJOKI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7757 420, Easting = 3502 770, z = 280–340 m ASL (top)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7754183, y = 502597

The fell is located east of the mouth of the River Utsjoki.

Written sources: Fellman 1906; Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932

106.

Municipality: Utsjoki

Site name: **Ladjokeädgi (Ládjogeađgi)**

Other names: Javribainjarga, Jäyribai-njarga, Jäyribainjarga (Paulaharju), Làd'do-keäđ'gi (Itkonen)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.3

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: 890010027

Basic map sheet: 3914 05+3914 02 NUVVOS-AILIGAS

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7740 400, Easting = 3467 050, z = 115 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7737170, y = 466892

The Ladjokeädgi fish sieidi is located about 3.5 km southwest of the village of Talvadas, in a place where the bank of the River Tenojoki rises steeply (Figure 16). The stone is cubical and sized about 2 x 2.5 x 2.7 m. It resembles a chair or a typical Finnish flat-backed salt cellar hung on a wall, from whence come the names "Stallun istuin" [Stallu's seat] and "Salkkarikivi" [Salt cellar stone].

Written sources: Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1962

Reported site visit: 1985 Kankaanpää

Inspected in 2010

107.

Municipality: Utsjoki

Site name: **Njallavaara (Njallavárri)**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sacred place/sieidi

Reliability: 3.3

Preservation: lost

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3941 08 NJALLAVARRI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7774 558, Easting = 3524 060, z = 240–338 m ASL (top)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7771314, y = 523879

The hill of Njallavaara or Njallavárri is located about 12 km to the southwest of Nuorgam, on the east bank of the River Tenojoki. The possible sieidi stone cannot be located more closely.

Reported by: 1954 E. Innola

108.

Municipality: Utsjoki

Site name: **Njuohkarggu**

Other names: Njuohkargtunturi (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.3

Preservation: intact

Register number: 890010031

Basic map sheet: 3932 09 NJUOHKARGGU

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7758 770, Easting = 3524 760, z = 255 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7755532, y = 524579

The sieidi stone is located in the reindeer round-up area on the north-eastern shore of Lake Njuohkarjavri, on an approximately 200-m-wide isthmus, 18 km south of the Alaköngäs rapids in the River Tenojoki. In the middle of the round-up fences, about 50 metres from the opening of the round-up enclosure, there is a rhombus-shaped stone about 3 x 3 x 0.5–0.8 metres in size. To the southwest of this stone is a pale, angular quartzite chunk sized 150 x 110 cm. Reindeer herder Antti Aslak Länsman has said that the chunk originally stood on top of the flatter stone, but when the round-up place was built, it was pushed down because people thought it might frighten the reindeer. Under the larger stone, in its north-western side, there is a small hole that continues deeper than an arm's length. There was a piece of birch bark in the hole, but no other finds were discovered at the site.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932

Checked by: 1987 Rankama

109.

Municipality: Utsjoki

Site name: **Nuvvus-Ailigas (Nuvvus Áilegas)**

Other names: Áilegas

Monument class: Sacred place

Reliability: 3.7

Preservation: extensive area

Register number: -

Basic map sheet: 3914 05 + 3914 02 NUVVOS-AILIGAS

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7747 748, Easting = 3472 904, z = 530 m ASL (top)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7744515, y = 472743

The fell is located east of the River Tenojoki and northeast of Nuvvus.

Written sources: Fellman 1906; Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932

110.

Municipality: Utsjoki

Site name: **Onnela**

Other names: -

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.3

Preservation: intact

Register number: 890010034

Basic map sheet: 3932 03 + 3941 01 UTSJOKI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7758 820, Easting = 3501 910, z = 65 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7755582, y = 501738

The sieidi is located about 5 km north-northeast of the Utsjoki church, in the shallow water on the western side of the River Utsjoki, near the Utsjoki-Nuorgam road. From the Utsjoki bridge, there is a walking distance of about 100 m upstream to the stone. The stone is low, rough, and unobtrusive. A belt-like bulge can be seen running across the stone. The size of the stone is about 1 x 0.5 m. During high water, the stone is covered by water.

Written sources: Fellman 1906; Paulaharju 1932

Reported site visit: 1985 Kankaanpää

111.

Municipality: Utsjoki

Site name: **Ravdojavri**

Other names: Roavvisielg-jäyri, Roavvijäyri, Rovasielg-jäyri (Paulaharju),

Roavvetšielgjavri (Itkonen)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.0

Preservation: intact

Register number: 890010025

Basic map sheet: 3931 01 PETSIIKKO

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7707 300, Easting = 3506 950, z = 230 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7704083, y = 506775

Petsikko is located on the border between Inari and Utsjoki. According to Itkonen, the sieidi was located on the shore of Lake Roavvetšielgjavri. The sieidi has been thought to be a stone located on a small island in the southern end of Lake Ravdojavri, located about 2 km west of the top of Petsikko. There is a roundish, light grey stone there, about 1.5 m tall and 1 m wide. A man named Soavva-Piettari (1789–1851), who lived at Lake Säytsjäyri and later at Lake Mierasjäyri, is said to have worshipped the stone. The place has not been inspected by an archaeologist.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946

112.

Municipality: Utsjoki

Site name: **Seitigädgi**

Other names: Utsjoen suu (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.0

Preservation: intact

Register number: 890010033

Basic map sheet: 3932 03 + 3941 01 UTSJOKI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7758 013, Easting = 3500 911, z = 65 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7754776, y = 500739

The site is located about 4.5 km north of the Utsjoki church. The sieidi stone is at the water's edge on the western shore of the River Utsjoki, behind the health centre (Figures 17 and 35). During high water, the stone is partly under water. It is 80 cm high, 90 cm wide, and 140 cm long. Its shoreward side has three grooves that are about 10 cm wide, and there are holes in the stone in the direction from which the river flows.



Written sources: Fellman 1906; Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932

Reported site visit: 1985 Kankaanpää.

Inspected in 2007

113.

Municipality: Utsjoki

Site name: **Sieiddakeädgi**

Other names: Outakoski, Seitigädgi, Seitibakte (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 1.0

Preservation: intact

Register number: 890010016

Basic map sheet: 3913 03+3911 12

OUTAKOSKI

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7729 000,

Easting = 3460 180, z = 170 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7725774, y = 460024



The site is located about 47 km southwest of the Utsjoki church, to the east of the Utsjoki-Karigasniemi road, near the Seitaoja (Laitila) house, about 100 m up the slope from the road. The sieidi is located on the stony and rather steep slope of Sieddenjunni. The stone is oblong and sized about 5 x 3.5 x 1.5 m. In its south-western end, there is an almost human-sized hollow. A local man, Samuel Aslak Laiti, said that fish have been brought to the sieidi. The location of the sieidi has been marked incorrectly on maps as further to the south than the real location. There is also a tall boulder in the more southern location, but it does not correspond to the description of the sieidi.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1927; Paulaharju 1932

Reported site visit: 1985 Kankaanpää

Soil samples by: 2005 Halinen

Excavated by: 2008 Äikäs & Núñez

114.

Municipality: Utsjoki

Site name: **Suttesája eli Sulaoja**

Other names: Hannujärven Seitalampi, Suttesgáldu

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 3.0

Preservation: intact

Register number: 1000000913

Basic map sheet: 3913 01 AILIGAS

Old map coordinates: Northing = 7701 910,

Easting = 3465 630, z = 275 m ASL

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7698695, y = 465472



The site is located near the Karigasniemi-Kaamanen road, to the north of the road and 11 km east of Karigasniemi, near the place from where the hiking route through the Kevo nature reserve starts. This area contains the spring of Sulaoja or Suttesája, which is associated with Sámi tradition. The spring is located in a ravine between moraine ridges. The offering place is at the north-eastern end of the Suttesgáldu pond. This place is not mentioned in written sources.

Checked by: 1989 Arponen & Rankama; 2002 Kankaanpää

Inspected in 2008

115.

Municipality: Utsjoki

Site name: **Vulležiid girku**

Other names: Vulledsiikirkku, Vullitse-kirhkku (Paulaharju)

Monument class: Sieidi

Reliability: 2.0

Preservation: lost

Register number: 1000009686

Basic map sheet: 3914 10 UHTSASKAIDDAS

Old map coordinates:

Northing = 7734 427, Easting = 3495 856, z = app. 170 m ASL (according to informant)

ETRS-TM35FIN: x = 7731199, y = 495686

The site is located in the Kevo nature reserve, on the western slope of Mádjokskáidi, on a hillock rising on the south-eastern shore of the River Mádjohka, which empties into the River Kevojoki. The place is marked on the basic map. According to an informant, this is a sieidi place. The place has not been inspected and the location is not verified. It is said that there are also other sieidis in this area.

Written sources: Paulaharju 1932

Reported by: 2007 Valtonen (informant: Samuli Aikio)

### Unlocalized sites in Utsjoki:

**Akkavärri/Akkavarre**, Utsjoki. Located below the mouth of the River Utsjoki, on the top of a fell (Fellman 1906; Itkonen 1948)

**Akkujärvi**, Utsjoki. Located near the Outakoski rapids (Fellman 1906).

**Čuorguanoja**, Utsjoki. Located near Vullitse-kirhkku (Paulaharju 1932).

**Gumppi-kirhkku**, Utsjoki. The offering place is a hillock located between Lakes Bálddotjávri (Paldojävri) and Vuokojärvi (Vuokojäyri), near Ollila (Ollila's coordinates: Northing = 7728 369/x = 7725143, Easting = 3503 036/y = 502863) (Paulaharju 1932).

**Pietsän-kirhkku**, Utsjoki. Located on the River Kevojoki, three fourths upwards of Kadja-Nilla (Paulaharju 1932).

**Arkokeädgi**, Utsjoki. Located on the Jeskadamunturi fell (Itkonen 1946).

**Seitasuvanto**, Utsjoki. Located on the River Kalgojohka (Itkonen 1946).

**Keädgepassi**, Utsjoki. Located on a fell on the border between Utsjoki and Inari (Paulaharju 1932, Itkonen 1946).

**Toresoivve**, Utsjoki. Is the top of a fell between Lake Muondesjavri and the River Tenojoki (Fellman 1906).

### Removed:

**Pakasaivo, Lapin helvetti**, Muonio (498010010). The site is a *sáiva* lake, but according to written sources, offering activities are associated only with the nearby site of Kirkkopahta.

**Uhrilampi**, Sodankylä (1000000464). No mention of offering activities is associated with the site.

**Perunka**, Rovaniemi (699010547). The wooden sieidi carved out of a birch trunk seems rather new, and there is no written tradition related to it.

**Suohpajavri 2**, Utsjoki (1000009838). Bones have been found at the site, but it may be a bone cache with no associated offering activities. The site is not mentioned in written sources.

## ***SIEIDIS EXCAVATED DURING THE WRITING OF THIS DISSERTATION***

All the excavations described here have been carried out under the Human-animal relationships among Finland's Sámi 1000–1800 AD: DNA and stable isotope analyses of bones from ritual sites project. The parties responsible for the fieldwork were the Laboratory of Archaeology at the University of Oulu, the Department of Biology at the University of Oulu, and Metsähallitus. The responsible director of the research was Professor Milton Núñez, and fieldwork was directed by MA Tiina Äikäs. In addition, osteologist, Dr. Anna-Kaisa Salmi (formerly Puputti) and a group of archaeology students participated in the fieldwork. The objective of the research was to acquire bone samples for C14, DNA, and stable carbon isotope analyses and to clarify the nature and extent of ritual activities at the sites. In connection with the excavations, all finds were documented, regardless of their age. However, finds dating to the 20th century were left in place. The sites are presented here in the order in which they were studied.

### ***KITILÄ 41 TAATSI***

Basic map sheet 3722 09 Uurrekarkia

Northing = 7571 640, Easting = 3440 370, z = 280 m ASL

The sieidi at Taatsi in Kittilä is formed of a high bedrock outcrop located on a steep bank. No previous excavations have been carried out at the site, but it is mentioned in written sources and known as a touristic site. The site is characterized by its location on a stony slope, where stone material has rolled downslope and mixed the stratigraphy. Clearly outlined test pits could not be dug in the stony slope, but instead the sieidi was studied by making small test holes in the hollows of the sieidi stone itself and under the rocks in the crag surrounding the sieidi stone. As far as the environment permitted, small holes of about 20 to 30 cm in diameter and 10 to 20 cm in depth were dug at the base of rocks lying on the ground. Of all the excavated sieidis, Taatsi showed the greatest variety of offered animals, and the bone finds were rather well preserved. The finds consisted of the bones of reindeer (*Rangifer tarandus*), an unidentified mammal, capercaillie (*Tetrao urogallus*), scaup (*Mergus* sp.), some kind of fowl, an unidentified bird, pike (*Esox lucius*), perch (*Perca fluviatilis*), trout (*Salmo trutta*), and an unidentified fish (Tables 13 & 14). Taatsi also provided the oldest dating: a pike bone near the sieidi was dated to 1040–1220 A.D. Datings from reindeer bones were no older than 80 BP. In addition to bones, the finds included a bone ring (KM 37853:1) and modern artefacts dating to the late 20th and 21st centuries. The finds concentrated to the west of the sieidi, the side that is dominated by a view over the nearby sacred place of Taatsinkirkko (Figure 99). Both fish and bird bones were found only to the west of the sieidi, both next to the stone and slightly further away in the crag. Bones were found in the cracks of the sieidi stone, on the surface and deeper in the ground. In addition to the sides of the sieidi, the inspection also covered a plateau at the top of the bank with a connection to the top of the sieidi. A test pit was dug in the plateau, and bones were found. The area was studied at a radius of approximately 30 metres from the sieidi, but the finds were concentrated around the sieidi. The finds farthest away from the sieidi were located at a distance of about 10 metres.

**Table 13.** The distribution of species in the bone finds from Taatsi expressed in number of identified specimens (NISP) and minimum number of individuals (MNI) (Puputti 2008b).

Taxon	Scientific name	NISP	MNI
Reindeer	<i>Rangifer tarandus</i>	9	2
Mammal	<i>Mammalia</i>	1	
Capercaillie	<i>Tetrao urogallus</i>	2	1
Scaup	<i>Mergus sp.</i>	1	
Fowl	<i>Galliformes</i>	1	
Bird	<i>Aves</i>	1	
Pike	<i>Esox lucius</i>	2	1
Perch	<i>Perca fluviatilis</i>	225	1
Trout	<i>Salmo trutta</i>	12	1
Fish	<i>Pisces</i>	4	
Total		258	

**Table 14.** The anatomical distribution of reindeer by number of identified specimens (NISP) at Taatsi (Puputti 2008b).

Anatomical element	NISP
Skull ( <i>cranium</i> )	4
Tooth ( <i>dens</i> )	1
Sacrum ( <i>sacrum</i> )	1
Tibia ( <i>tibia</i> )	1
Calcaneus ( <i>calcaneum</i> )	1
Metatarsus ( <i>metatarsus</i> )	1

Finds: KM 37853:1

Dating: Late Iron Age/historical period

Excavated area: approximately 4 m<sup>2</sup>

Total area studied: approximately 855 m<sup>2</sup>

Field season: 9 to 13 June 2008

## ENONTEKIÖ 1 NÄKKÄLÄ

Basic map sheet 2814 07 Näkkälä

Northing = 7616 192, Easting = 3360 665, z = 370 m ASL

No previous excavations have been carried out at the Näkkälä sieidi, but it is mentioned in written sources. Three excavation areas were opened at the sides of the sieidi stone, and additionally two test pits were dug to the west of the stone. Eight test pits were dug farther away from the sieidi stone in order to find out how the bones are distributed. The test pits were 1 x 1 m in size, and they were dug all the way down to the leaching layer. It was observed that the finds were concentrated on the side of the shore, about 2 to 3 metres from the sieidi (Figure 88). The bones found close to the stone concentrated on its eastern and southern sides. However, phosphate samples taken at the site later indicate that ritual activities were carried out in the entire area around the sieidi (Figure 92). The bone material from Näkkälä consists of

50 bone fragments, from which reindeer and bear (*Ursus arctos*) could be identified (Table 15). Most of the reindeer bones were antlers and teeth, which seems to indicate that mainly skulls or loose antlers were left at the site (Table 16). However, the material also included bones of meatier body parts. Six reindeer bones and a bear bone were dated, giving dates in the range 1165–1290 A.D. In addition to the bones, finds from the Näkkälä sieidi included a bone button (KM 37851:3), coins from 1866 and 1906, and modern artefacts.

**Table 15.** The distribution of species in the bone finds from Näkkälä expressed in number of identified specimens (NISP) and minimum number of individuals (MNI) (Puputti 2008c).

Taxon	Scientific name	NISP	MNI
Reindeer	<i>Rangifer tarandus</i>	21	4
Cloven-hoofed animal	<i>Artiodactyla</i>	1	
Bear	<i>Ursus arctos</i>	4	1
Mammal	<i>Mammalia</i>	18	
Fish	<i>Pisces</i>	6	
Total		50	

**Table 16.** The anatomical distribution of reindeer by number of identified specimens (NISP) at Näkkälä (Puputti 2008c).

Anatomical element	NISP
Antler ( <i>cornu</i> )	5
Mandible ( <i>mandibula</i> )	1
Tooth ( <i>dens</i> )	12
Radius ( <i>radius</i> )	1
Tibia ( <i>tibia</i> )	1

Finds: KM 37851:1–3

Dating: Late Iron Age/historical period

Excavated area: 16.45 m<sup>2</sup>

Total area studied: 102.5 m<sup>2</sup>

Field season: 5 to 9 August 2008

## UTSJOKI 16 SIEIDDAKEÄDGI

Basic map sheet 3913 03 + 3911 12 Outakoski

Northing = 7729 000, Easting = 3460 180, z = 170 m ASL

No previous excavations have been carried out at Sieiddakeädgi in Utsjoki, but Petri Halinen took phosphate samples at the site in 2005. In connection with the 2008 fieldwork, a total of seven test pits were dug at the sides of the sieidi stone. The interior of the cave-like hollow southwest of the stone was also excavated. Several bones of wild or domesticated reindeer were found around the stone, concentrating on the western side of the stone. In addition, a large number of coins was documented from the cave-like hollow, the oldest of which dated to the late 19th century. However, only a small amount of bone altogether was found in the test pits around the sieidi stone. Instead, small test holes in the slope to the northwest of the sieidi revealed the majority of the bone finds (Figure 93). Bones were observed in an extensive area

on the slope slanting away from the sieidi. The most distant bones were 11 metres away from the sieidi. One of these small test holes was enlarged into a test pit of 1 x 1 metres, which yielded bones throughout the total area of the pit in an approximately 15-cm-thick layer. The total material consists of 116 bones, 62 of which could be identified (Table 17). The identified bones were all reindeer bones (Table 18). The material included 36 antler fragments. Ten datings were made of the reindeer bones, indicating that the sieidi was used between 1165 and 1660 A.D. In addition to bones, finds from the sieidi included three coins from the late 19th century, green bottle glass from the 19th century, and modern artefacts.

**Table 17.** The distribution of species in the bone finds from Sieiddakeädgi expressed in number of identified specimens (NISP) and minimum number of individuals (MNI) (Puputti 2008a).

Taxon	Scientific name	NISP	MNI
Reindeer	<i>Rangifer tarandus</i>	62	2
Mammal	<i>Mammalia</i>	54	
Total		116	

**Table 18.** The anatomical distribution of reindeer by number of identified specimens (NISP) at Sieiddakeädgi (Puputti 2008a).

Anatomical element	NISP
Antler ( <i>cornu</i> )	36
Skull ( <i>cranium</i> )	5
Tooth ( <i>dens</i> )	17
Mandible ( <i>mandibula</i> )	1
Vertebra ( <i>vertebrae</i> )	3

Finds: KM 37852:1–5

Dating: Late Iron Age/historical period

Excavated area: 10.74 m<sup>2</sup>

Total area studied: 532 m<sup>2</sup>

Field season: 11 to 15 August 2008

### **INARI 327 KOSKIKALTIOJOEN SUU**

Basic map sheet 3844 03 Suoijanperä

Northing = 7691 304, Easting = 3543 579, z= app. 120 m ASL

No previous excavations have been carried out at the sieidi at Koskikaltiojoen suu [The mouth of the River Koskikaltiojoki], which is better known as the sieidi of Lake Nitsijärvi. In connection with inspections, different interpretations have also been presented concerning the location of the sieidi. During the excavations, bones brought by animals were observed in a cave-like hollow formed between two stones leaning against each other southwest of the sieidi. The sieidi itself is formed of a large stone partly split into several blocks. It is located right on the shore of the river. Six test pits were dug around the sieidi and into its crevices, in addition to which a narrow excavation area of 1 x 2.5 m was opened east of the stone. Some of the test pits were on top of the sieidi stone and consisted of natural cracks in the stone. Other stones, however, were opened in the ground under the sieidi in places where an overhanging part of the

stone formed a cave-like hollow below the sieidi. Most of the test pits were located to the east and south of the sieidi, in an area naturally more abundant in such hollows and depressions (Figure 89). The test pits were dug down to the bottom of the leaching layer or, when they were located in hollows of the stone, down to the stone's surface. In addition, small test holes were made around the sieidi stone, but they did not yield any finds. Two other large stones in the near vicinity were studied by means of three test pits. The sieidi at Koskikaltiojoen suu provided the most extensive find material of all the sieidis studied during the project: 430 bone fragments (Table 19). Most of the bones are reindeer teeth, other skull parts, and upper vertebrae of the spine, but also a fairly large number of capercaillie bones was found (6% of the number of fragments and 31% of the minimum number of individuals) (Tables 20 & 21). The finds concentrated to the east and south of the sieidi, under overhanging parts of the rock. In addition to bones, modern coins were also found. There were no archaeological artefact finds from the sieidi. Nine bones were dated. Eight of them came from the excavation area opened to the east of the sieidi and dated to 1440–1670 A.D. The capercaillie bone found south of the sieidi was slightly older, dated to 1270–1400 A.D.

**Table 19.** The distribution of species in the bone finds from Koskikaltiojoen suu expressed in number of identified specimens (NISP) and minimum number of individuals (MNI) (Puputti 2010a).

Taxon	Scientific name	NISP	MNI
Reindeer	<i>Rangifer tarandus</i>	146	11
Mammal	<i>Mammalia</i>	235	
Cloven-hoofed animal	<i>Artiodactyla</i>	2	
Capercaillie	<i>Tetrao urogallus</i>	24	5
Fowl	<i>Galliformes</i>	1	
Bird	<i>Aves</i>	1	
Unidentified	<i>indet.</i>	2	
Total		430	

**Table 20.** The anatomical distribution of reindeer by number of identified specimens (NISP) at Koskikaltiojoen suu (Puputti 2010a).

Anatomical element	NISP
Antler ( <i>cornu</i> )	8
Frontal bone ( <i>frontale</i> )	3
Temporal bone ( <i>temporale</i> )	6
Occipital bone ( <i>occipitale</i> )	2
Maxilla ( <i>maxilla</i> )	22
Maxillary tooth ( <i>dens maxillare</i> )	30
Mandible ( <i>mandibula</i> )	24
Mandibular tooth ( <i>dens mandibulare</i> )	19
Tooth ( <i>dens</i> )	20
Atlas ( <i>atlas</i> )	3
Axis ( <i>axis</i> )	2
Cervical vertebra ( <i>vertebrae cervicales</i> )	6
Vertebra ( <i>vertebrae</i> )	1



**Table 21.** The anatomical distribution of capercaillie by number of identified specimens (NISP) at Koskikaltiojoen suu (Puputti 2010a).

Anatomical element	NISP
Skull ( <i>cranium</i> )	1
Coracoideum ( <i>coracoideum</i> )	8
Scapula ( <i>scapula</i> )	4
Humerus ( <i>humerus</i> )	7
Ulna ( <i>ulna</i> )	1
Femur ( <i>femur</i> )	2
Metatarsal bone ( <i>tarsometatarsus</i> )	1

Finds: -

Dating: Middle Ages/historical period

Excavated area: 8 m<sup>2</sup>

Total area studied: about 2550 m<sup>2</sup>

Field season: 6 to 9 July 2009

### **MUONIO 229 PORVINIEMI**

Basic map sheet 2742 01 Pallastunturi

Northing = 7554 659, Easting = 3381 590, z = app. 270 m ASL

No previous excavations have been carried out at Porviniemi, but it is mentioned in Paulaharju's book *Seitoja ja seidanpalvontaa*, and it is also associated with a still-living folk tradition. The sieidi stone was studied by opening an excavation area of 2.6 x 2.4 m around it, with the sieidi stone in the centre. However, with the exception of modern artefacts and one fish bone, the excavations did not reveal any signs of human activity in the near vicinity of the sieidi. The modern finds consisted of coins, unchewed chewing gum, bottle glass, and a fishing fly, among other things. Phosphate analyses were also carried out to study activities around the sieidi. In addition to the sieidi itself, the remains of a pit to the north of the sieidi were also excavated. This has been interpreted earlier as a hunting pit. Carbon samples were taken from the pit remains, providing a terminus ante quem of 7000 BP for the digging of the pit. It does not therefore seem to be related to the activities carried out at the sieidi. A fragment of a flint blade was also found at the tip of the headland (KM 38154:1).

Finds: KM 38154:1

Dating: Stone Age/historical period

Excavated area: 11.96 m<sup>2</sup>

Total studied area: 1040 m<sup>2</sup>

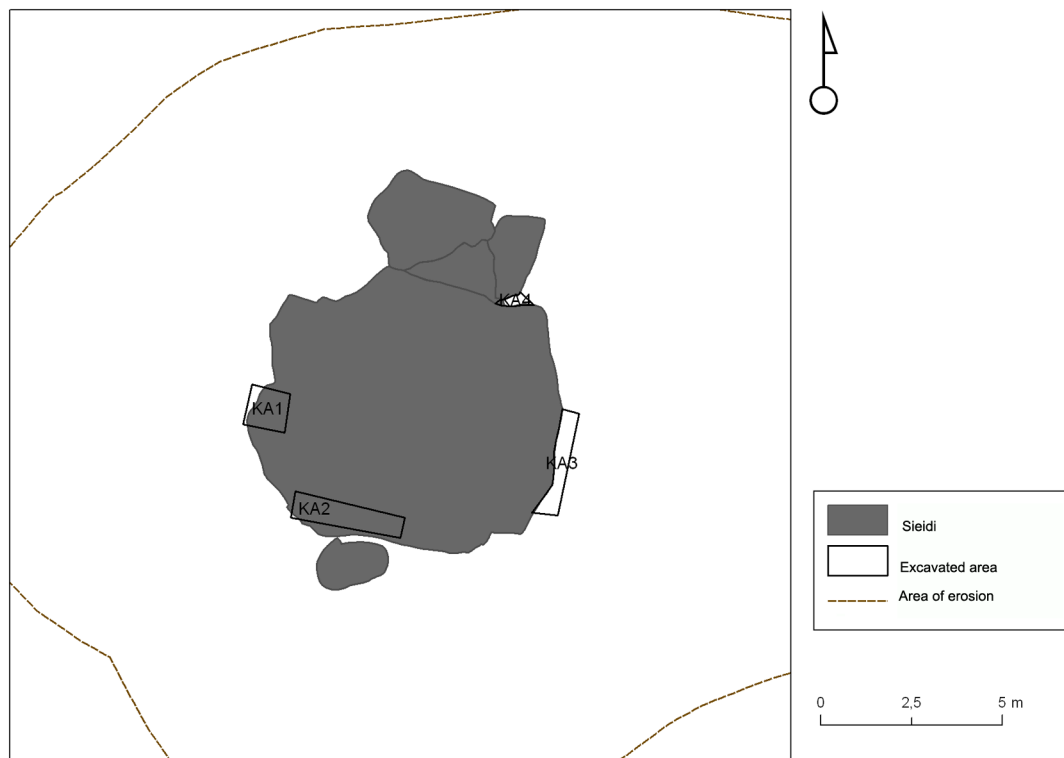
Field season: 3 to 8 August 2009

### **MUONIO 10 KIRKKOPAHTA**

Basic map sheet 2714 11 Pakasaivo

Northing = 7504 638, Easting = 3365 624, z = app. 230 m ASL

Kirkkopahta is a sieidi site mentioned by Paulaharju in relation with the nearby Lake Pakasaivo. No previous excavations have been carried out at the site. The fieldwork was carried out by opening four test pits around the sieidi stone (Figure 100). The ground around the sieidi was eroded, so the test pits were placed in locations where an overhanging part of the rock had protected the ground. Also, in the smaller test pit, a place where the soil was mixed was checked. However, no finds were discovered in connection with excavations around the sieidi, with the exception of modern artefacts. There were no bone finds, except for elk skulls that had recently been left at the site. In addition to the skulls, modern finds included clear bottle glass, coins, a bunch of flowers, and quartzite chunks set on top of the sieidi. Phosphate analyses were also carried out to study activity around the sieidi.



**Figure 100.** The locations of excavated areas at Kirkkopahta.

Finds: -

Dating: historical period

Excavated area: 9.33 m<sup>2</sup>

Total area studied: 396 m<sup>2</sup>

Field season: 10 to 12 August 2009

### **ENONTEKIÖ DIERPMESVÄRRI**

Basic map sheet 281408

Northing = 7667 864, Easting = 3268 944, z = 861 m ASL

The fell of Dierpmesvärri is located southeast of Kilpisjärvi, to the south of Lake Dierpmesjävi. On its south-western slope, about 2 kilometres from the western peak of the fell, there is a sieidi stone located between two small streams. The stone is a four-metre-high slab with a white

and tapering top. In connection with the fieldwork, five excavation areas were opened around the stone, but they proved to be poor in finds. Altogether, four bones of wild or domesticated reindeer or a large mammal were found during the excavations, one of which seemed to have been brought there fairly recently (Table 22). Datings showed also the other bones to be modern. The possible moving of bones away from the sieidi was examined by means of test pits. A total of nine test pits of 30 x 30 cm each was dug around the sieidi, but they yielded no finds. In addition to the bones, modern coins were also found at the site.

**Table 22.** The distribution of species in the bone finds from Dierpmesvárri (Salmi 2010).

Taxon	Scientific name	Bone	Excavation area
Reindeer	<i>Rangifer tarandus</i>	Cornu	1, surface find
Reindeer	<i>Rangifer tarandus</i>	Cornu, frontale	1
Mammal	<i>Mammalia</i>		3
Reindeer	<i>Rangifer tarandus</i>	Cornu	4

Finds: -

Dating: historical period

Excavated area: 5.25 m<sup>2</sup>

Total area studied: about 400 m<sup>2</sup>

Field season: 12 to 14 July 2010

### **MUONIO 34 ÄKÄSSAIVO**

Basic map sheet 273203 Äkäskero

Northing = 7515 070, Easting = 3379 110, z = 250 m ASL

Paulaharju (1962 [1922], 169) has mentioned that the Sámi respected Lake Äkässaivo in Muonio. Its high banks named Kirkkopahta and Hammaspahta were considered as significant. However, it is unclear whether any offering activities were associated with the säiva lake. In more recent tradition, a rock formation to the north of the säiva lake, in a bedrock depression 300 m north of the River Äkäsjoki, is also considered as a sieidi. The rock formation in question is 30 metres high and 10 x 30 m in area. The ground around the rock formation is stony, and no excavation areas could be opened in it. Instead, the stony area was studied at a radius of about 10 metres from the rock formation by digging holes into the ground at the base of the stones. However, no bone material indicative of offering activities was found around the rock formation. The only bone finds were those of small rodents. Modern visits to the site were indicated by snuff, reindeer meat, a feather, and a tract. In addition to the rock formation, the slopes of the shores of the säiva lake were also studied by means of small test holes under stones. However, no signs of offering activities were found during the fieldwork.

Finds: -

Dating: historical period

Excavated area: about 5 m<sup>2</sup>

Total studied area: about 400 m<sup>2</sup>

Field season: 12 to 14 September 2010

**BONE MATERIAL SCIENTIFICALLY DATED DURING THE PROJECT**

Site	Lab. no. / field no.	Uncalibrated dating (BP)	Calibrated (AD) 1 $\sigma$ /2 $\sigma$ <sup>1</sup>	$\delta^{13}\text{C}(\text{‰})$	Material	Context
Taatsi	Hela-1878 / 534	900 $\pm$ 25	1040–1180 / 1040–1220	-23.5	pike bone	East of the sieidi, at the foot of the stone
Taatsi	Hela-1879 / 259	modern		-21.1	reindeer bone	West of the sieidi, approx. 7 m from the stone
Taatsi	Hela-1880 / 308	80 $\pm$ 25	1690–1920 / 1690–1920	-20.1	reindeer bone	West of the sieidi, approx. 5 m from the stone
Näkkälä	Hela-1881 / 1244	modern		-20.7	reindeer bone	KA1
Näkkälä	Hela-1882 / 1355	795 $\pm$ 25	1220–1260 / 1205–1280	-19.6	reindeer bone	KK3
Näkkälä	Hela-1883 / 1357	785 $\pm$ 25	1220–1265 / 1215–1280	-18.6	reindeer bone/ tooth	KK3
Näkkälä	Hela-1884 / 1264	780 $\pm$ 25	1220–1270 / 1215–1280	-18.9	reindeer bone/ tooth	KA3
Näkkälä	Hela-1885 / 1133	830 $\pm$ 25	1185–1255 / 1165–1260	-19.9	bear bone/tooth	KA2
Näkkälä	Hela-1886 / 1392	740 $\pm$ 30	1255–1290 / 1220–1290	-20.5	reindeer bone	KK10
Näkkälä	Hela-1887 / 1354	modern		-20.0	reindeer bone	KK6
Sieiddakeädgi	Hela-1889 / 2000–02	290 $\pm$ 25	1520–1650 / 1510–1660	-18.2	reindeer tooth	KK9
Sieiddakeädgi	Hela-1890 / 1949	800 $\pm$ 25	1220–1260 / 1185–1275	-19.5	reindeer bone	KK9
Sieiddakeädgi	Hela-1891 / 1963	575 $\pm$ 25	1315–1410 / 1300–1420	-19.7	reindeer bone	KK9
Sieiddakeädgi	Hela-1892 / 1580	740 $\pm$ 25	1260–1285 / 1225–1290	-20.9	reindeer bone	KK2
Sieiddakeädgi	Hela-1893 / 2028	325 $\pm$ 25	1510–1640 / 1480–1650	-19.4	reindeer bone	KK9
Sieiddakeädgi	Hela-1894 / 1895	425 $\pm$ 25	1435–1470 / 1420–1620	-18.9	reindeer bone	KK4
Sieiddakeädgi	Hela-1895 / 2022	295 $\pm$ 30	1520–1650 / 1490–1660	-19.5	reindeer bone	KK9
Sieiddakeädgi	Hela-1896 / 1894	830 $\pm$ 25	1185–1255 / 1165–1260	-18.0	reindeer bone/ tooth	KK5
Sieiddakeädgi	Hela-1897 / 1974	295 $\pm$ 25	1520–1650 / 1490–1660	-20.2	reindeer bone	KK9
Sieiddakeädgi	Hela-1898 / 2069	295 $\pm$ 25	1520–1650 / 1490–1660	-19.0	reindeer bone	KK9
Koskikaltiojoen suu	Hela-2194 / 229	333 $\pm$ 30	1490–1640 / 1470–1650	-19.1	reindeer bone/ tooth	KA1
Koskikaltiojoen suu	Hela-2195 / 339	655 $\pm$ 30	1280–1390 / 1270–1400	-21.2	capercaillie bone	KK1
Koskikaltiojoen suu	Hela-2196 / 352	325 $\pm$ 30	1510–1640 / 1470–1650	-18.6	reindeer bone/ tooth	KA1
Koskikaltiojoen suu	Hela-2197 / 406	313 $\pm$ 30	1520–1650 / 1480–1650	-18.5	reindeer bone/ tooth	KA1
Koskikaltiojoen suu	Hela-2198 / 330	362 $\pm$ 30	1460–1630 / 1440–1640	-19.0	reindeer bone/ tooth	KA1
Koskikaltiojoen suu	Hela-2199 / 411	338 $\pm$ 30	1490–1640 / 1470–1640	-19.6	reindeer bone	KA1
Koskikaltiojoen suu	Hela-2200 / 487	367 $\pm$ 30	1450–1620 / 1440–1640	-19.6	reindeer bone	KA1
Koskikaltiojoen suu	Hela-2201 / 583	309 $\pm$ 30	1520–1650 / 1480–1650	-19.5	reindeer bone	KA1
Koskikaltiojoen suu	Hela-2202 / 594	259 $\pm$ 30	1520–1800 / 1510–1960	-20.6	capercaillie bone	KA1
Ukonsaari	Hela-2494 / KM18349:4	276 $\pm$ 30	1520–1665 / 1510–1800	-18.5	reindeer bone	Near the mouth of the cave
Dierpmesvärri	Hela-2513 / 1	67 $\pm$ 30	modern	-20.6	reindeer antler	KA1
Dierpmesvärri	Hela-2514 / 4	90 $\pm$ 30	modern	-21.7	reindeer antler	KA4

1) OxCal v3.10., Reimer *et al.* 2004