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Forest Saami heritage and history

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Abstract

In this paper, I will briefly present my research aiming to define, localise and interpret the archaeological remains that can be connected to Forest Saami culture and economy in the Swedish part of Sápmi, focusing on the early modern and modern period. With the help of an ethnoarchaeological method, I use ethnographic sources to understand the link between the people and the archaeological remains, and to get information on where to find them. One of the main questions is how and why Forest Saami archaeology differs from Mountain Saami archaeology, and how that is related to differences in economy. In three defined research areas, i.e. two earlier Forest Saami *skatteland* (Sw: 'tax paying districts') in the Lule river valley and a third research area, Forsa Parish in Hälsingland, new aspects of Forest Saami history have been investigated, using a combination of archaeological, ethnographic and historical sources. One aim is to bring a Saami perspective into archaeological studies, both concerning the geopolitical framework, the investigation and the interpretation of the results. Methods to be used in Saami archaeology are presented, methods that will be a part of a combined personal, academic, activist and archaeological struggle to enlighten and reclaim this heritage and history.

Key words: Forest Saami, ethnoarchaeology, archaeological survey, ancient monuments, settlement sites

8.1 Introduction and investigation areas

The purpose of this article is to bring new perspectives into research about Forest Saami archaeology in Sweden by presenting preliminary results from an ongoing study. One of the main questions is how Swedish Forest Saami have lived according to historical and ethnographic sources, and which types of archaeological remains can be found. My studies are consistently based on the belief that all research in indigenous areas should be based on the historical cultural and geopolitical geography of the indigenous people residing in the area. This includes making use of interviews and traditional knowledge to investigate and interpret archaeological remains in the chosen areas of investigation. My areas of investigations are situated within the two previous Forest Saami villages of Jokkmokk and Sjöksjö in the Lule Saami area of northern Sweden. In addition, I have studied an area farther south, in the Forsa Parish in Hälsingland (Figure 8.1–8.2).

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Figure 8.1: Overview map. Areas of investigations marked with X. (Map: Gunilla Larsson.)

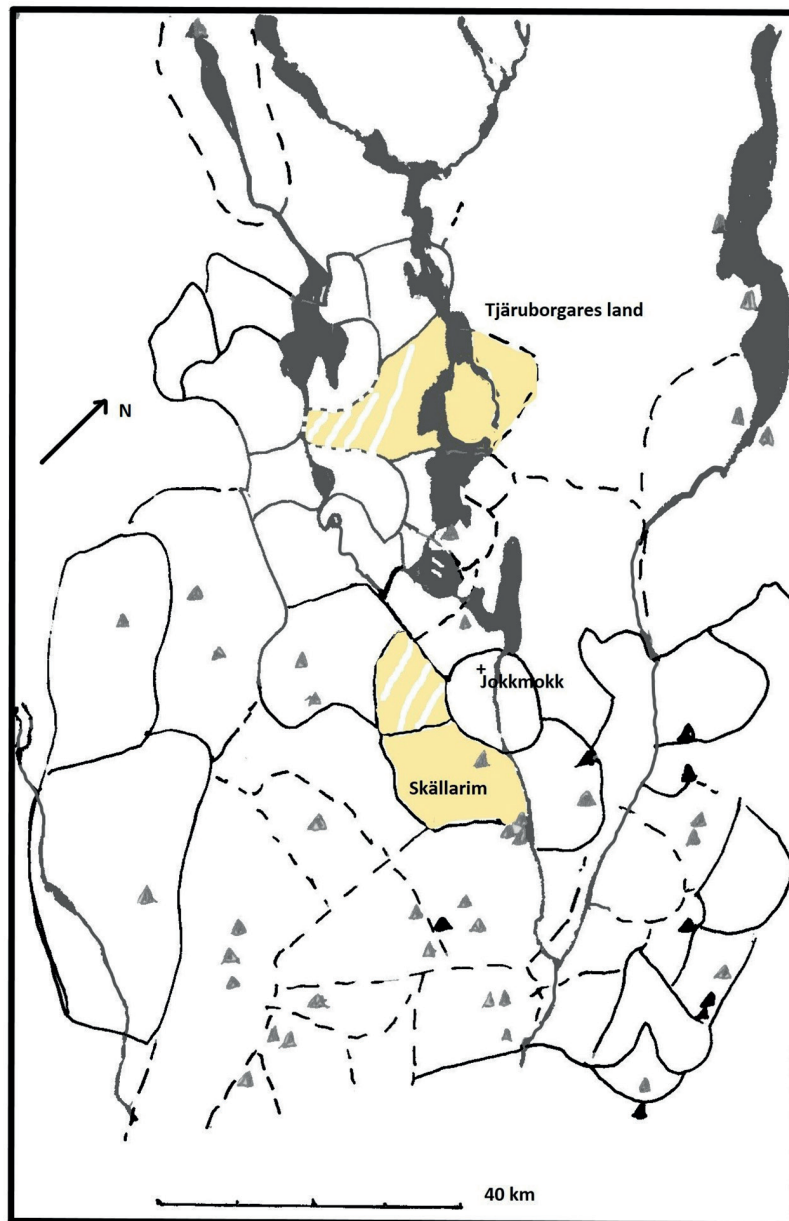


Figure 8.2: Skatteland 'tax paying districts' in Jokkmokk area based on map from Hultblad 1968:118. The investigated skatteland, Tjäruborgares land and Skällarim land, marked. (Map: Gunilla Larsson.)

When christianised as a part of a more intense colonisation by the Swedish state in the 17th century, the villages of Jokkmokk and Sjöksjöck became part of Jokkmokk Parish, together with the Mountain Saami villages Sirges and Tuorpon. The latter areas were colonised very late, and had only a few settlers before the mid-19th century. The Saami village districts were divided into local districts, resource areas for certain family groups, which when the Swedish administration entered into this region, became so-called *skatteland* (Sw), i.e. 'tax paying districts' (Lundmark 1998). One Saami in each *skatteland* was paying tax for the land as landowners and called *skattelapp*, 'tax Saami' in the Swedish administrative system, equal to *skattebonde*, 'tax farmers' who were also landowners (Korpi-

jaakko-Labba 1989, 1994). At the same time there were also existing *kronolappar*, ‘Crown Saami’, who did not own land but rented it from the Swedish Crown, corresponding to the *kronobonde*, ‘Crown farmers’ who were among the farmers who also only rented the land. The *skatteland* could be bought, sold, and inherited (Korpijaakko-Labba 1989, 1994; Lundmark 1998).

The *skatteland* was an area usually 10–20 km in diameter. A Forest Saami had one *skatteland*, where he stayed more or less sedentary throughout the year, and where there were both summer and winter pasture areas for the forest reindeer, fishing lakes, hunting areas and other sufficient economic resources. Originally, this was a designated area allotted by the Saami village to a family group, which was of sufficient size to sustain its inhabitants. The Mountain Saami, on the other hand, had an economy based on reindeer herding with summer pasture areas in the mountains and winter pasture areas in the forest. They used larger areas and generally had at least three *skatteland*, along the specified movement route for the reindeers in the summer-, and spring- and autumn pasture areas. On the way to the winter pasture areas in the forest close to the Swedish coast, Mountain Saami passed through Forest Saami *skatteland* and paid the Forest Saami owner of the land for the reindeer pasture.

In my research, the two northern research areas in Jokkmokk and Sjukksjokk were previously *skatteland* called Tjäruborgares land northwest of Jokkmokk, and the earlier *skatteland* called Skällarim, previously Vaimat-Suobbats (Hultblad 1968: 114), southeast of Jokkmokk, both beside Little Lule River. The Tjäruborgares land covered approximately 100 km², and the *Skällarim* was larger, approximately 400 km². Since the ethnographic documentation is much better for Skällarim thanks to the thorough work of antiquarian Gunnar Ullenius, the main focus has been on this area. In Norrbotten Museum Archive (NMA), there is a large number of handwritten notebooks concerning Forest Saami life in southern Jokkmokk.

At the beginning of the 20th century, both Forest Saami villages in Jokkmokk were dissolved by the government (Manker 1968). The authorities were influenced by the race biologist idea that Forest Saami were not real Saami since they did not live a nomadic life, and since not all were reindeer herders, and many were settled in houses (Lundmark 1998). Instead, Forest Saami were looked upon as a “race mixture” between “real” nomadic Saami and Swedes (Lundmark 1998; Hagerman 2015). Most of the Forest Saami land was put at the disposal of the Mountain Saami villages in the area, creating conflicts that are still going on in Saami society with the few remaining Forest Saami in Serri Saami village, which was created from the remains of the earlier dissolved villages. In the 1940s, the government created Jåhkågasska Mountain Saami villages of parts from both Sirges and Tuorpon (Manker 1947).

The third investigation area is situated in Hälsingland, an area that has been far less investigated concerning Saami cultural heritage. Since the authorities did not want to have Saami in these areas and since the 17th century had tried to move the Saami to the north, there were no Saami ‘villages’ or *skatteland* here, or relevant fiscal documents such as those found in the north. Instead, I have used source materials such as church archives and local historical literature, travel accounts (such as Schreber 1772; Swab 1940 [1796]; Schmidt 1992 [1799]) as well as interviews with local inhabitants. Another important source material is the ‘ethnographic questionnaires’, especially one sent from Uppsala landsmålsarkiv to informants all over the country, called “Accounts concerning the presence of Saami in Swedish districts” (*Berättelser om lappars uppträdande i svenska bygder*, ULMA 1954). In Hälsingland, the informants could tell about many different Saami present here historically; Forest Saami, ‘Parish Saami’ (Sw: *sockenlapp*), Mountain Saami, Saami passing the area on trading journeys, Coastal Saami, and so-called ‘Beggar Lapps’.

The results of the pioneer research work by ethnographer Ingvar Svanberg, archaeologists Inger Zachrisson, Christer Westerdahl, and Bernt Ove Viklund, and also historian Peter Ericson have been taken into consideration (Svanberg 1981; Zachrisson 1997, 2006, 2010, 2011, 2012; Ericson 2003; Viklund 2004, 2008; Westerdahl 2008). For a long time, they have been the only scholars in their

disciplines addressing this topic and, in the beginning, they were questioned because this history is so unknown, even in academia. During the last few years, the regional county museums have engaged in this research too (www.ohtsedidh.se). However, the investigations have often focused only on a minority among the Saami who were employed as so-called 'Parish Saami'. It is important to note, however, that only the father in Saami families would be employed by the Parish (Svanberg 1999), while the other members of the families and many other Saami still remaining in these areas were not, so they have not been part of the discussion. This, I hope, will be changed by this article.

I chose Forsa Parish as my investigation area in Hälsingland, and here Forest Saami settlement sites documented in historical records has been visited, and archaeological monuments and artefacts preliminary surveyed and analysed. The area was previously surveyed by the National Board of Antiquities, but not for Saami archaeological remains. Southern Sápmi, outside the mountains, has never been systematically surveyed for Saami cultural heritage, since the old myth of these areas being without Saami settlement has prevailed into the 21st century. Only after 2000 did Gävleborg County Museum make a survey limited to places with Saami-related names like *Lapp-* and *Kåta-*. One site, Kåtaudden in Lake Järvsjön outside Söderhamn, was archaeologically investigated, and turned out to be a medieval Saami settlement site (Wennstedt Edvinger 2005).

8.2 Tracing Forest Saami economy and archaeological remains: Methods and material

The analysis uses a combination of different methods and source materials used in ethnographic, archaeological, anthropological and historical research, inspired by what Stig Welinder (1992) calls 'historical ethnoarchaeology'. Ethnoarchaeology is the study of things and physical environments among living humans, for which oral accounts and participant observation are also used. Historical archaeology is the archaeological study of dead humans, which can also make use of historical documents. Welinder has combined the terms into 'historical ethnoarchaeology', which he defines as "an ethnoarchaeological study of a historically documented society" (Welinder 1992: 7, my transl.). The historical knowledge of this society plays the same role as participant observation in ethnoarchaeological fieldwork, and the archaeological excavation of the remains of ancient monuments of the historical society the same role as the ethnoarchaeological study of the material culture of a living society, according to Welinder. The ethnohistorical approach is an ethnographic study of a historically known society, which can shed light on the relation between man and artefacts, in this case between people, places and archaeological remains.

My approach in this study includes four steps. The first step is to gather information, ethnographic and historical sources to map the settlement pattern and sites of importance in the annual cycle for subsistence and the economy. Descriptions, travel accounts, stories, traditions, interviews, and church archival records have been studied to locate places with settlements and economical activities, and also obtain information on how and when the sites were used. The second step has been to visit the sites mentioned in the records, see what kind of archaeological remains can be identified, and study the topography and environmental setting of the sites. Similar topographical places within the research areas will later be surveyed in order to identify and locate more remains of the local Forest Saami life and history. Preserved Saami artefacts and handicraft locally and in museum collections have also been surveyed. Archival records have given information about the families that have been living here in relation to the Swedish population and changes in life and settlement pattern. These changes have been analysed against a historical background. The third step is to choose some sites for archaeological excavation, and to answer questions like when the sites were established, how people lived on them

and at what time of the year. In my research so far, the first two steps have been almost finished in my research areas, and the third step will hopefully be conducted in the coming years. The fourth step will be an archaeological survey in the same type of environments for similar types of remains, to trace other and earlier Saami sites that could provide information about the Forest Saami history in the area.

The methods used for the archaeological survey are methods partly developed by the local office FR Nord in Luleå for the National Board of Antiquities (established 1984), with the aim of finding types of remains different to those in southern Sweden (Klang 1987: 32–58; *Fornminnesinventeringen – nuläge och Kompletteringsbehov*). New types of ancient monuments were then observed and identified, some of which were found in connection with known Saami settlement sites. In my research, I have targeted Forest Saami settlement sites and surveyed in the areas both old and new types of archaeological remains to document.

As mentioned earlier, the types of archaeological remains to be found depending on economy and livelihood. Therefore, my work has begun by analysing past Forest Saami life based on written accounts and historical material. From the 17th to 19th centuries there are descriptions, sometimes detailed, by priests working in the areas, travellers, ethnographers and scientists (Lundius 1983[1670s]; Rheen 1983 [1671]; Linné 1975 [1732]; Högström 1747; Laestadius 1831, 1833; von Düben 1873). In the 20th century, ethnographer Ernst Manker made some documentation of the remaining Forest Saami villages and their material culture (Manker 1967). Recent historical research has been done by Bertil Marklund (2015). This is a thorough investigation concerning the northern areas, while the Forest Saami south of Ångermanälven river are not documented. In archaeology, important recent contributions have been made by Ingela Bergman (e.g. Bergman 2018).

To get a Saami perspective, since the written records are mostly written by non-Saami, in all three research areas I have interviewed Forest Saami living in the area, and also visited some of the sites together with them, where their ancestors have lived. As an ethical consideration, since they do not want to appear with their names, I have chosen not to refer to all of them in the text. There is a deep bitterness at having been part of a history that attempts have been made to erase, and for not being treated as real Saami which is seen as racist. There is also a mistrust of researchers in general.

8.3 Forest Saami life, society and economy

Many popular descriptions of Saami life have been generalised according to the Mountain Saami way of life but, for the Forest Saami, life, society and economy have been very different. At the beginning of the 20th century, Forest Saami and Sea Saami were erased from historic writing due to the ideas of race biologists, and especially Herman Lundborg who travelled around in northern Sweden to show that Forest Saami were a dangerous racial mixture between ‘real’ nomadic Saami (the Mountain Saami) and Swedes, and also what he believed to be the degenerating effects of mixing races (Hagerman 2015). These ideas of the Saami as only a homogenous group, an exotic primitive people in the northern mountain areas consisting only of nomadic reindeer herders, were rooted in 19th-century social Darwinism and race biology have been very prevalent (Lundmark 1998: 86) and still are. It has left Forest Saami and non-reindeer-herding Saami like the Sea Saami in the shadow in archaeological and historical writing until recent decades. It also resulted in a law in 1928, where all Saami who did not have their main income from reindeer herding lost their traditional rights to land and water (Lundmark 1998), resulting in still ongoing conflicts between different groups of Saami with different access to land rights (see also Brännström in this volume). Only some of the Saami population, the Mountain Saami, previously derived their main income from reindeer herding and lived a semi-nomadic life.

Forest Saami have lived in a combined economy in the forested areas of Sápmi. Here, forest reindeer herding was practised, developed in the middle of the first millennia AD (Aronsson 1991, 2005, 2009), but equally important were hunting, fishing, handicraft and trade (Ullenius 1937: 124; Hultblad 1944: 108; Hedman 2003, 2007; Karlsson 2006: 55, with references to Aronsson 1995: 54; Marklund 2015). Some Forest Saami were not reindeer herders at all but lived from other activities such as fishing, and they were sometimes referred to as *fiskelappar*, ‘fishing Laps’, in the records. Of course, all Saami have hunted, fished and done crafts for subsistence, but for the Forest Saami an important part has also been to provide furs, dried fish and handicraft products for the market. In historical sources, the name *granlappar*, ‘spruce Laps’, is sometimes used for Forest Saami (Fjellström 1986).

In archaeological research in Sweden, the focus for a long time has been on reindeer herding, but it is important to note that the situation is different in Finland, where Forest Saami archaeology has been a major topic. In recent research in Sweden, the possibility for farming in Forest Saami society has been discussed. For instance, in the project led by Ingela Bergman et al., “Cultural heritage, landscape and identity processes” (Bergman 2018), results indicate that, since the Iron Age, small-scale agriculture has been engaged in by Forest Saami, based on pollen analysis from bogs in the vicinity of settlement sites, including Udtja, not far from my research areas south of Jokkmokk (Hörnberg et al. 2014, Hörnberg et al. 2015, Josefsson et al. 2017). Saami farming was still widespread 100 years ago (Lundmark 2002: 145). A report for the government in 1923 concluded that almost half the Saami population, 43.8%, was farming (Lundmark 2002: 145). More than one third, 35.6% were living only from agriculture, while 8.2% combined farming with reindeer herding. This did not fit into the Swedish idea about ‘Saaminess’ and, in the Reindeer Herding Act of 1928, influenced by race biological ideas, it was stated that only Saami who lived from reindeer herding were Saami according to the law. Saami have cultivated both barley and rye among cereals. It is possible that this cultivation dates back a long way. Earlier investigations in the Tornedalen project with sampling sites closer to the coast in Västerbotten, Norrbotten and Österbotten have also revealed small-scale clearings starting at the latest in the period AD 500-1000, with cultivation of barley, rye, oats and hemp (Sundström 1983), which is long before the Swedish colonisation. According to oral traditions, hemp has been used for sails by Saami on seagoing vessels (Larsson 2007). From Hälsingland, there was some quite odd information that the Parish Saami were not allowed to enter into marriage “if they did not do farming or other allowed work” (Holmberg 1893: 33).

The accounts from the southern Saami areas in the 17th century also mention the cultivation of turnips. Lundius (1983: 29) tells that “In Uhmå Lappmarck, the Saami sow turnips in a special place, namely on their reindeer pasture grounds upon which they dig up a small area and sow turnips, but they do not grow large, only like a small apple”. Umeå Lappmark was a Forest Saami area at this time. The cultivation of turnips is also mentioned in accounts in the Nensén collection from the early 19th century (Drake 1918). Among the Forest Saami in the south, sheep were also kept. Until the 16th century, the southern Forest Saami produced considerable quantities of *vadmal*, a cloth made of filted wool, for selling, as can be seen in the records of trade products from Ume and Ångermanna lappmark 1555–1561 (Fjellström 1986: 182). In the ‘Sockenlappska’ word list, more than 60 words were connected with agriculture and animal husbandry, which is more than the 50 words related to reindeer herding. The handicraft is reflected in 15 words related to tailor’s work, and 20 to the shoemaker’s work (L-G. Larsson 2018: 191–192, 198).

Studies also shows that activities like boat-building, seafaring, smithing and, last but not least, handicraft and trade, have been important activities (Westerdahl 1987, 2008; G. Larsson 2007, 2014a, 2014b, 2015, 2019; Bennerhag 2009, 2010; Broadbent 2009, 2010). Also, the importance of taking and using bark has been observed in recent research by Ingela Bergman, together with Lars Östlund and Olle Zachrisson (2004).

Reindeer herding among the Mountain Saami is well-known, at least in summer. The annual cycle of seasonal migration and use of settlements is shaped by the reindeer pasture. The mountain reindeer migrated from the summer pasture in the mountain valleys, earlier by the Norwegian fjords, to the winter pasture by the Swedish coast in pine forest with reindeer lichen. In between, there were spring and autumn camps. Recent excavations at a summer camp site in Hellemobotten, Norway, in the Lule Saami area indicate that this kind of reindeer herding was established at the end of the Viking age (Andersson 2017). Each *sijdda* (SaaL), a group of families, had their own route used during the seasonal migration, and their own camp sites and resting places along the way.

The reindeer herding of the Forest Saami was completely different. Very little is, however, described in ethnographic and historic sources, so an important goal has been to learn more about the annual cycle of forest reindeer herding before colonisation, as well as similarities and differences between north and south. Since the summer pasture areas of the forest reindeers were on the bogs in the forest, both summer and winter pasture areas were situated within the skatteland, so the Forest Saami did not need to live a nomadic life. When and how the annual migration took place have been questions that need to be answered. Not all Forest Saami were reindeer herders. If they were, only a few reindeers were kept, for milking, transport and attracting wild reindeer during the wild reindeer hunt.

8.4 Traces of Forest Saami life and economy on the Skällarim land

Skällarim *skatteland* was situated southeast of Jokkmokk, south of the Little Lule river (see Figure 8.3), belonged to the dissolved Forest Saami village Jokkmokk, and has had an area of ca 15 x 20 km, according to the reconstruction by Ullenius (n.d.). The old name for the land was *Vaimat-Suoppatlandet* (Hultblad 1968: 114). Most of the Skällarim land has never been surveyed for ancient monuments. During the regulation of the river and damming for the Letsi hydropower plant, only the shores of the river were surveyed. Thanks to information from Saami descendants in the area and the thorough documentation by Ullenius (n.d.), the earlier settlement sites and life of inhabitants on the land could be documented.

Ullenius tells us that the settlement sites that have been used traditionally among the Forest Saami in the area were of two types called *kiedde* and *kärta* (Ullenius n.d.). *Kiedde*, in the Lule Saami language today called *giedde* (ordbok.sametinget.se), was an open camp site. *Kärta* which, in the Lule Saami language today would probably be called *gárdde* ‘fence’ or ‘a place fenced in’, was fenced in by a timber fence of a type very peculiar to the Forest Saami settlements (Ullenius 1937: 107–126; Manker 1968: 156). In Swedish, they are called *bovallar* ‘seasonal pasture farm’, which seems a good term since they are very similar in appearance and function as *fåbodvall*, ‘summer pasture farm’ for the Swedish peasants in the north. On the settlement site, there was at least one hut, *goahte* (SaaL), on the main settlement site two or more. There were also lots of timbered storage houses, *ájtte*, and storage pits for meat and milk sometimes called *buorna* (Johansson 1989: 66); a word for an ice storage pit is *jiegnabuornna*. There were also drying and storage facilities like *luovve*, a raised platform, and timbered houses for goats. Huts that were used in the northern Forest Saami areas were either square, six-sided or eight-sided timber huts, or birch bark huts, which are constructed in a similar way to a turf hut (Fjellström 1986; Manker 1968).

One of the investigated sites is the main settlement site for the Rim family on the Skällarim land, which was situated close to the present village Skällarim (pers. comm. R. Harnesk, N. Nilsson, and M-B. Öhman 2016). In the surroundings is the extensive Skällarim heath with vast grounds covered with reindeer lichen, which were splendid winter pasture areas. Through the 18th and 19th centuries, various family members lived here, often siblings with their families (Hultblad 1968). Still today, descendants whom I have interviewed are settled in the village.

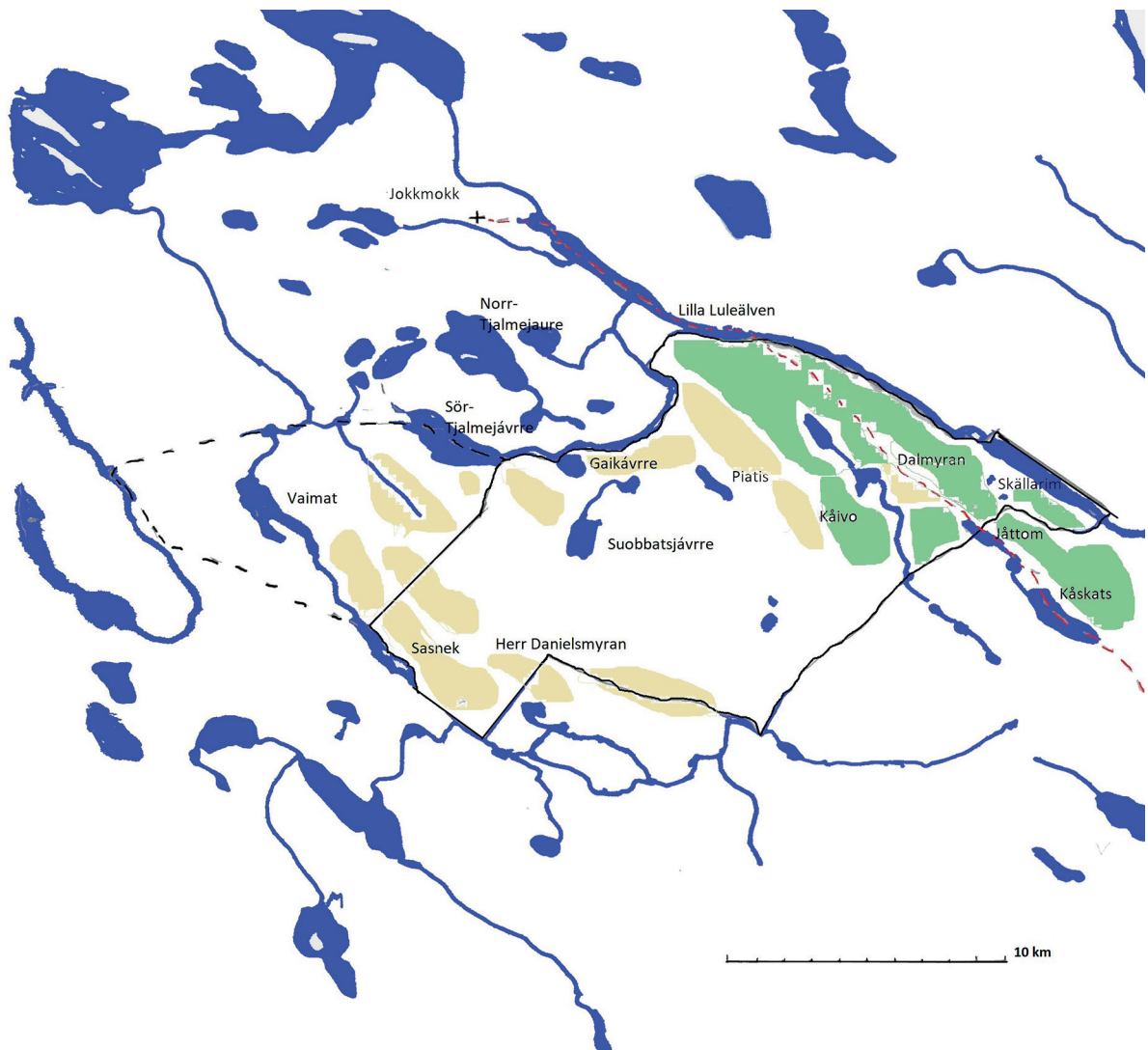


Figure 8.3: The Skällarim skatteland based on maps made by Ullenius in Norrbotten Museum Archive. The western part belonged to the land until the late 18th century. Sites mentioned in the text marked. The heath with winter pasture for the forest reindeer on the land marked with green, the bog areas with summer pasture marked with yellow. (Map: Gunilla Larsson.)

The archaeological remains were easy to find. A sudden change in vegetation was visible, from the dry heath to a bright green grass area, with juniper and herbs that like high nutrition (Figure 8.4). According to Ullenius, the *bovall* had been enclosed by a timber fence long ago so was of the type *gårdde*, but nothing of the fence remained. Here it had been two *goahhte*, of the type birch bark huts, and two timbered storage houses, of which one large storage house still remained. One of the storage houses had been used for clothes, equipment, harnesses, driving equipment for reindeers and tools. The other was for dried meat, dried fish, dried blood, cheese and other food (Ullenius 1937, Ullenius n.d.). Also visible were the remains of a big, underground storage, *buorna*, usually called 'boplatsgropar' (settlement pits) in the National Register for Ancient Monuments FMIS. Reindeer milk was mixed with herbs and stored in wooden bottles in these settlement pits, such as the dishes *kombo* or *gompá*, reindeer milk mixed with angelica (*Angelica archangelica*) and *juobmo* made from sorrel (*Rumex acetosa*) together with reindeer milk (Fjellström 2000: 241–252; Qvarnström 2006: 16–18). Sorrel grew in large quantities on the settlement sites (Aronsson 2000) and was so popular that disputes about it were taken to court sometimes (Svanberg and Túnon 2000a). From reindeer milk, cheese was also made and stored in the *ájtte*. Milk products from reindeer milk were important among all Saami, and constituted two thirds of the diet around 1900 (Awebro 2000: 187).



Figure 8.4: The main settlement site for the Rim family on the Skällarim land close to Skällarim village, clearly visible as vegetation traces in the environment. (Photo: Gunilla Larsson.)

In Skällarim there had also been arrangements for storage of the type *luovve* (Ullenius n.d.), a wooden construction of which nothing remained. Close to this settlement, towards the Little Lule river, there was also a 'lying hen' consisting of a big boulder on top of three smaller ones. This is a type of ancient monument that often occurs in a Saami context. In the Forest Saami area, such stones have represented a guardian spirit for the settlement and something to which sacrifices could be made. They

have often been interpreted by researchers as altars (B. Johansson 1999 based on B. O. Viklunds material; Westerdahl 2008: 82–85).

Another settlement site was identified at Piatis, further north on the Skällarim heath. This was used by the Svart/Svärata part of the family in the early 19th century. Here a settlement site of the type *giedde* was observed, clearly visible as vegetation traces in the same way as Skällarim, and featured several house foundations and remains from timbered houses.

In spring, the families were separated and moved to different fishing lakes. Two of the families moved to spring settlement sites by Lake Suobbatjaur. The reindeer were let free and an intense period of fishing, hunting, collecting material for handicraft and tar-making started (Ullenius n.d.). By this lake, there were two settlement sites, one of which was visited. It was of the open type *giedde*, identified through lush vegetation. It was located by a small stream just north of the lake. Archaeological remains included several storage pits, *buorna*.

Important activities in spring were also to find material for handicraft. Wood for making bowls and wooden cups, wood for making skis, twigs for making whisks, roots for making baskets, birch bark and other handicraft material were collected, often for transport home next winter (Ullenius 1932: 12). Bark used to prepare skins and furs was also collected at this time. Bark for food was collected before Midsummer. The bark was roasted in big pits for several days, before being crushed and eaten in reindeer milk as a delicacy called *rueppes kuesmer* (Lundius 1983: 32). In the vicinity of the lake, there is a pine tree with traces of many collections of bark (pers. comm. G. Norstedt 2018). At Persbacka settlement on the opposite side of Little Lule River from Skällarim, many pine trees show traces of bark collection.

On a ridge close to the boat park by Lake Suobbatjaur, near a spring settlement site on the Skällarim land (Ullenius n.d.), there are pits with remnants of charcoal, which may be the remains of charcoal-making, a cooking pit or the special pits described for roasting bark. In the lake in spring, pike and perch was caught. Pike was dried and used to be an important trading product. In the rivers, they fished for grayling and trout (Ullenius n.d.).

Until the 19th century, the Saami burned tar in several places in spring time (Ullenius n.d.; pers. comm. N. Nilsson 2015). Not far from a spring camp site, a *giedde*, by Lake Jåttomjaure, are the remains of two tar-making pits used by the Saami on the skatteland (pers. comm. N. Nilsson 2015). Like those on Tjäruborgares land, it was of the same type as the Swedish population used. Another two large tar-making pits were located at Dalmyran after information by local inhabitants just north and north-east of an enclosed settlement site, a *gårdde*. They were situated close to the old winter road to Jokkmokk. The tar was produced for selling and usually sold on the tar market held in July at the market place by Edefors, downstream on the Lule river. Before Jokkmokk was established as a marketplace in 1605, there were also markets on *Herrakiedde* and the *Tälvatis* heath southeast of Skällarim (Ullenius 1937).

After Midsummer, the reindeer were again collected and those of the different families separated. Now the most intensive part of reindeer herding began, the milking season. The families moved between different summer pasture settlements. They were always situated close to bogs where the reindeers had summer pasture. On the settlement sites that were often of the type *gårdde* and surrounded by the typical timber fence, the reindeers were gathered two or three times a day for milking and resting (Ullenius 1937; Ullenius n.d.). One of the best preserved *gårdde* is the partly reconstructed *Kåivovallen*, which includes the birch bark *goahte*, remains of a goat house, a storage house and a timbered fence.

The *gårdde* found during the survey by the bog *Dalmyran* featured a small foundation for a timber house, a milking meadow, cleared areas for cultivation and the remains of an almost completely disintegrated timber fence. By the bog there was a well, so there was no need for a storage pit, since the wooden bottles with the reindeer milk products could be stored in the well instead.

The summer pasture areas that were also used on the Skällarim land were Jutsavare, Suoppatvare, Kaikjaure, S. Tjalmejaure, Sasnek and Herr Danielsmyran towards the River Appoälven. On the first four sites, settlement traces from summer camp sites were found during the survey. Behind the settlement at Kaikjaure, a construction of boulders, a so-called 'lying hen', was also found, as an important guardian of the settlement. The Forest Saami families that were not reindeer herders, instead moved to summer settlements by the fishing lakes in June.

Summer activities also included harvesting hay and leaves for the goats. Hay was taken by the Skällarim creek. Ullenius mentions the use of small timbered lodges that he calls *störhus* (Sw), where people could overnight during the harvest (Ullenius n.d. with drawing). The remains of one such house that he mentions was located beside a bog.

From August and to Michaelmas at the end of September, the reindeer were let free again and not herded. This was an intensive period of fishing, hunting and bird-hunting. The Little Lule River area beside Skällarim was famous for its salmon-fishing spots, the best in the whole river (Ullenius n.d.). Salmon was caught with fish spears and a trap net called a *not*. Fishing with a *not* was also done in Tjalmejaure. By that lake, there was one timbered storage house for the fishing equipment, but no remains have been found. Fishing using nets was also done on the land in Suobbatjaure, Kojkaure and Sörtjalmejaure. The fish that were caught were salmon, trout, grayling, perch, pike and roach. Fishing with hook and fishing spear was also done in the lakes (Ullenius n.d.).

Ullenius says that, in Skällarim, birds were trapped with a type of trap called a *flake* (Sw) at Jottomvare, by Larve, Koivokielas and Piatis. Traps for capercaillie, so-called *tjädervin* (Sw), existed on Jottomvare, Koskatsvare, and Kåivokielas, and traps for black grouse, so-called *orrvin* (Sw) by almost every bog and lake (Ullenius n.d.), but no remains were found. The importance and methods of the bird hunt were already described in detail by Nicolaus Lundius in 1674 (1983: 16–18). We have not recorded any archaeological remains from bird hunts in the surveyed areas.

At the end of September, the reindeer herd was gathered and the families moved to the main camp again. The reindeer herd was herded and kept together throughout the winter, and protected against predators. In winter, from the 17th century, trading journeys were also made to the present market place in Jokkmokk in early February, and before that close to Herrakiedde by Borgarbackarna, south-east of Skällarim land. The site was situated by the winter road, documented by Ullenius and retraced by local inhabitants of Skällarim (Ullenius n.d., pers. comm. R. Harnesk 2017). Surveys here uncovered traces of fireplaces at the site. In olden days, Edefors had a market, which continued to be used in summertime until the 19th century and, before the Saami were forced to move inland, a market was held at Heden outside Luleå.

At the Forest Saami settlement sites by Skällarim and Kojkaure, older archaeological remains such as fire-cracked stones, debris from the manufacture of quartz tools and a quartz arrowhead were also found.

8.5 Traces of Forest Saami life and economy on the Tjärborgares land

The *skatteland* 'Tjärborgares land' (Hultblad 1968: 72) was situated on an island almost encircled by Little Lule river, north-west of Jokkmokk (see Figure 8.2), earlier within the Jokkmokk Forest Saami village before it was dissolved by the government. The *skatteland* was approximately 10 km wide. Lake Randijaure in the south-east and Lake Parkijaure in the west have been regulated and dammed for electrical power plants. The island has three bigger mountains: Påtjunäive, Råvväive and in the south Átjek, which was a holy mountain and one of the most important sacred places in olden

days for the Saami along the Lule river, devoted to the god Átjek/Tor (Manker 1957: 192–193). A cave here has been interpreted as having been connected with the sacrificial site and was one of few earlier registered places (Jokkmokk Raä 48: 1–2). A survey along the banks of the river was made before the building of the hydroelectric dam, resulting in the discovery of a few stone age settlement sites close to the island. The National survey for ancient monuments in the 1990s was mainly further upstream of Little Lule River towards the Kvikkjokk area. Since a mine is planned in the area called Kallak (Gállok), an archaeological investigation was made in 2011 by Norrbotten County Museum (Lundmark and Palmbo 2011; *Miljökonsekvensbeskrivning Kallak Norra provbrytning*). This resulted in many new registered ancient monuments.

My survey was performed in 2012. Central on the land is Lake Gállokjaure, famous for its fishing, and a lake whose name is also a Saami surname, Kallok (pers. comm. T. L. Tuorda 2012). On the northern side of the lake are bogs, and here two open settlement sites of the type *giedde* were found. This was a perfect place with possibilities for summer pasture on the bog and fishing in the lake. At one of the sites on the northern side of the lake, located beside a bog, the old remains of a timber hut (Jokkmokk Raä 4939) that had been observed earlier by local inhabitants was identified together with a storage pit, a so-called *buorna* (Larsson 2015). The hut had been a timber hut of the traditional Forest Saami type with walls of three rows of timber, which supported a pyramid-shaped roof. The notches where the timbers were connected were of a type that was used until the 18th century in some areas (Arnstberg 1977). However, a study by the author of the connections used on the remaining timber huts from the 18th century in Arvidsjaur indicates that, in Lapland too, the more modern vertical notches came into use at this time, which indicates that this hut was older.

The other settlement site by Lake Gállokjaure was at a place a little elevated in the terrain and where a small stream passed beside it from the lake. Here, the foundations for a timber hut or timbered house were discovered (Jokkmokk Raä 4947), together with traces of fireplaces. It had foundations of supporting stones for the first round of logs for the square timbered building. Two storage pits were found (Figure 8.5). In the vicinity were good bogs for the summer pasture of the Forest reindeer. Fire-cracked stones were also found at the settlement site.



Figure 8.5: Storage pit, *buorna*, on a Forest Sámi settlement site beside Gállokjaure. (Photo: Gunilla Larsson.)

Remains from commercial activities in Tjäruborgares land include tar production, as in Skällarim. The inhabitant of the land in the 18th century lived from making tar for selling, so he was called *Tjäruborgare*, ‘the one who trades with tar’, as was his land (Hultblad 1968; G. Larsson 2015). Several tar-making pits have been registered (Jokkmokk Raä 4938; Raä 4941).

One of the sites with a tar-making pit (Jokkmokk Raä 4938) was only 600 metres north-west of one of the settlement sites by the lake (Figure 8.6). This was of the same type and construction as the tar-making pits used by Swedish peasants, with a funnel-shaped pit, built on a slope, with a furrow to a pit below for the tar barrel.



Figure 8.6: The tar making pit (Raä 4938), close to the settlements by Gállokjaure. (Photo: Gunilla Larsson.)

The survey by Norrbottens Museum also revealed several traces of another commercial activity, bark recovery, and several trees with traces were identified (Lundmark and Palmbo 2011).

Another source of income that has left no traces was pearl collecting (Hultblad 1968). In an earlier article, I wrote about the *bårre* (SaaL), which was specially built and used for collecting the pearl shells from the bottom with a scoop (G. Larsson 1997, 2007). During my surveys, I found remains of these log rafts in many places in other areas (G. Larsson 1997).

A commercial activity that has always been important to the Saami is trade, according to all sources. Trading journeys left maritime archaeological traces here, as the 'Tjärborgares land' is situated along Little Lule River, one of the main trading routes between Sweden and Norway. Transport was boats, which were pulled on portages on land beside the rapids (Larsson 2006). These portages were called *mårka* or *muorkke* (SaaL). The remains of two portages were identified during the survey (Figure 8.7), passing beside the rapids between the lakes Parkijaure and Skalka, called 'the old *muorkke*' and



Figure 8.7: The old portage on Tjärborgares land, where boats on journeys were pulled on land beside the rapids between Parkijaure and Skalka in Little Lule River. (Photo: Gunilla Larsson.)

‘the new *muorkke*’. On ‘the old *muorkke*’, the boats had also been pulled on the portage between the lakes (pers. comm. Jerry Tjärnlund and Elisabeth Ek in Björkholmen, 2012). It was used by both travellers and merchants, and someone who described this *muorkke* and travelled here was Carl von Linné on his journey in Lapland in 1732 (Linné 1975). When tourists started to travel in Lapland and Kvikkjokk, ‘the new *muorkke*’ was established. Tourists came by boat along Lake Parkijaure to the beginning of the portage where a house to rest in was situated, walked along the *muorkke*, and took the next boat further upstream on Lake Skalka.

Since this land was surveyed for only four days, and there are more bogs on the island that have never been surveyed, there may be more Forest Saami settlement sites that are not known on the land. There are no detailed written accounts about Forest Saami life and settlement sites as on the other *skatteland* in my investigation, Skällarim, but the knowledge from Skällarim was used to find the archaeological remains in Tjäruborgares land, concerning a topographical setting for the settlement sites and the types of remains to be found.

8.6 Forest Saami traces in Forsa Parish, Hälsingland

My investigation areas in the Middle of Sweden, Forsa Parish in Hälsingland (Figure 8.8), are situated in areas with a multicultural society, where Saami and Germanic peoples lived together for millennia (Zachrisson 1997, Larsson 2019). In the early modern and modern period, Saami, Swedes, Roma and Finnish people have lived together and depended on one another here. The different ethnic groups have been specialised in different kinds of works and handicrafts.

Many Saami were probably previously living in Central Sweden, but in the 17th and 18th centuries there were royal orders for the Saami to be displaced from these areas to an inland area in the north (Stiernman 1733: 2570–2571, 1753: 866). A decree in 1671 stated that Saami should be imprisoned in irons until they agreed to move north (Stiernman 1753: 866). After new decrees in 1720 and 1723 (Stiernman 1733: 2570–2571), partly because King Fredrik blamed the Saami for bad hunting seasons (Tervalaampi 2017), the Saami were not only captured and taken to prison, but prison transport was also arranged to ensure that they reached the area where they were allowed to live, which partly later became geographically specified and known as ‘Lapland’.

The peasants protested against the deportations (Svanberg 1999: 33). In 1730, they asked for permission “...to keep one or two Saami as they are necessary and convenient for much household work and handicrafts, such as fishing equipment, baskets and other things, which are of the nature that the inhabitants here neither can make such things, nor want to do it.” (Uppsala landsarkiv, letter of 13 Nov 1730). This is the background for the ‘Parish Saami-institution’ with so-called *sockenlappar*, ‘Parish Saami’ (Svanberg 1999). One Saami family in each parish was allowed to stay and, just like the parish had a parish shoemaker, tailor and carpenter, there was now also a Parish Saami, the father in the Saami family, who was supposed to put horses, dogs and cats to death, work that Swedish people did not want to do and looked upon as unclean.

Saami were also esteemed hunters who were good at hunting and killing wolves and bears, which were a threat to the cattle, something that the peasants mentioned in their protest letters against the displacement of Saami from the area. Saami hunted the wolves on skis, maybe a Saami invention, while Swedes used trapping pits that were not effective. A very well-known hunt was in 1727, when the Saami Joen Andersson and his son Olof Jonsson killed the famous Enånger Bear that for a long time had harassed the peasants and killed many domestic animals. It was here in Forsa Parish on a hunt for lynx between Blackås and Fuskås that they killed this bear (Broman 1954: 743).

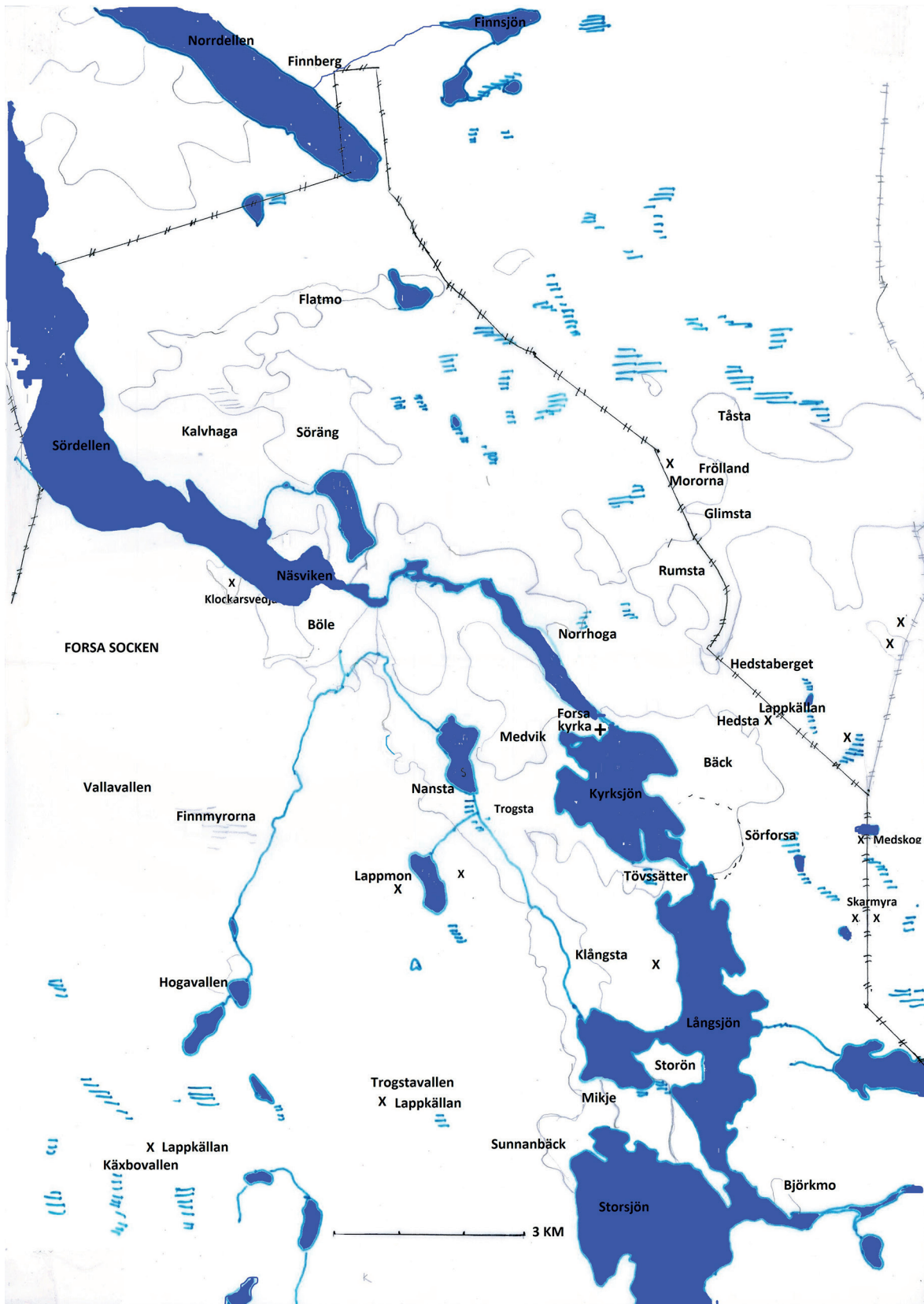


Figure 8.8: The area of investigation in Forsa Parish, Hälsingland. Sites mentioned in the text marked on the map. (Map: Gunilla Larsson.)

Despite earlier efforts to force the Saami to move, old people in their answers to the questionnaires in the ethnographic investigation in 1954 could tell much about all the Saami remaining in these areas (ULMA 1954), and among the groups of Saami living here there were also Forest Saami.

In Forsa Parish, according to church archives from the 18th and 19th centuries, Saami lived at at least eight sites (Figure 8.8). These were all situated in remote places in the forested areas, close to the parish borders. The 'Parish Saami' of Forsa Parish lived at Skarmyra. Several Saami families lived at Medskog at the beginning of the 19th century. Of these, the father of one family, Lars Jonsson Häll was called '*stadslapp*', i.e. 'town Saami', in the church archives (Birth and baptism rolls 1774–1831, Marriage roll 1815, Death roll 1826), and he had the same work as the Parish Saami in the countryside, but served the inhabitants of the parish of Hudiksvall. The present land owner Erik Nilsson said that, in addition to the usual work of a Parish Saami such as killing horses, dogs and cats, he also castrated animals and helped to dig graves at the Hudiksvall Parish graveyard (pers. comm. E. Nilsson 2015). The other families at Medskog, and also the Saami living on the other documented sites in Forsa Parish, were Forest Saami with a subsistence mainly from handicraft and trade.

Medskog is one of the best-preserved Forest Saami localities in Forsa (Figure 8.9), where forestry has still not destroyed the archaeological remains. On the farm of the land owners, a lot of Saami handicraft products are preserved (Figure 8.10), made by the Saami who lived at Medskog (shown by the landowner Erik Nilsson 2015). Recorded before a recent forest clearing campaign, one site was registered and saved (Forsa Raä 315), including foundations for an almost square timber house, foundations for a timbered storage house, both with support stones for the first round of logs, a settlement pit, and the remains of an underground cellar.



Figure 8.9: A coffee break during documentation of a storage pit at Medskog, Forsa Parish. (Photo: Gunilla Larsson.)



Figure 8.10: A basket made by Sámi living at Medskog in the household of the landowner. This was used for carrying food to festivities among the peasants, a so-called *förningskorg*. (Photo: Gunilla Larsson.)

The house is preserved, but in approximately 1900 was moved by the landowner at that time to the island Storön on Lake Långsjön where it was rebuilt and used as a summer pasture farm (pers. comm. E. Nilsson 2015). When it was rebuilt, it was extended with a hall and chamber to be a so-called *enkelstuga* (Sw) 'single house', the most common older Swedish house type in the northern half of the country (Erixon 1947). It was still possible to measure the size and shape of the original Saami-built house, which had been 3,8 x 4,5 meter, with one single room and an open fireplace in the corner. Another similar Saami timbered house moved from the forest at Lapparne in Norrala Parish to Skärså by the coast (pers. comm. M. Frelin 2015) to be used as a summer house, was measured by the author and had originally been of similar size and shape, ca. 4 x 5 m with one room. It had later been extended like the house at Medskog by the Swedish couple that moved it to the present location to be used as a summer house. It corresponds with similar house foundations found in Saami contexts in other areas of Hälsingland, Gästrikland and Uppland (Wennstedt Edvinger and Ulfhielm 2004: 25, G. Larsson 2020). At Kåtaudden in Järvssjön outside Söderhamn in Hälsingland, the author documented a house foundation in 2015, ca. 4 x 5 m and one room, and by Ingboviken in Tärnsjö, Nora Parish, Uppland, a preserved house built by the Parish Saami at the end of the 18th century (pers. comm. L. Pettersson 2015, great grandson of the last Parish Saami here). An examination of that house by the author revealed that the now extended summer house originally had also been an almost square house, ca. 4 x 5 m, with only one room, like the other Saami houses I have so far recorded in Central Sweden.

Not far away, east of the settlement remains in Medskog, was a *vall* (Sw), an old pasture area of the same size and with the same vegetation traces of grass and herbs as the *gjedde/gårdde* (SaaL). On, for instance, the Skällarim land, I recorded something that may have been a milking ground for reindeer.

On the edge of the clear cutting by Medskog, east of the settlement site, was a possible tar ditch with traces of charcoal. A 'traditional type' of tar-making pit was observed beside the medieval Saami settlement site at Kåtaudden in Järvssjön (Wennstedt Edvinger and Ulfhielm 2004; Wennstedt Edvinger 2005). Informants in Hälsingland often talk about Saami tar-making. For instance, in Rengsjö Parish, the local inhabitants could show the exact location of the tar pits used by 'Lapp-Thomas' and 'Lapp-Dora' who lived on an island in Skidtjärnen, and who had big production of tar for trading purposes. These, however, were of a different kind to the traditional ones, a type today called *tjärtrattar*, built on flat land with the vessel for collecting the tar at the bottom of a funnel-shaped pit. The 'tjärtratt type' of the tar-making pit resembles a prehistoric pit for making charcoal, and has also been registered in Rengsjö (for instance Rengsjö Raä 104). In recent years, similar tar pits have begun to be found in different places in Central Sweden. Maybe it is worth examining a possible connection with early Saami settlement sites in the area.

The present landowner at Medskog is Erik 'Västerängarn' Nilsson in Sörforsa. On his farm, lots of handicraft artefacts made by the local Saami were found. There were baskets for bread, baskets for carrying food to festivities (Figure 8.10), so-called *förningskorgar* (Sw), and baskets for the storage of wool, all bound in a technique that the 18th-century peasants complaining about the displacement of Saami said that only Saami could make (see above). Nilsson also preserved belt pockets with tin embroideries of the type called *lomma* (Sw) made by Saami women for the Swedish women's traditional dress in Forsa Parish, as in most parishes in Hälsingland. In the late 18th and early 19th century, a type of *lomma* came into fashion with tin or silver embroideries on broadcloth and leather. Purses and bags made in this way were typical Saami handicraft from the Middle Ages to the present day, and are a protected Saami trade mark called 'Sámi Duodji' (SaaN). According to my opinion, several circumstances indicates that the word *lomma* in Swedish language may derive from the South Saami word *loamma*, which means 'pocket'. This kind of belt pockets/belt bags were used in Saami society long before and after the period when it was a fashion in Scandinavian dresses, and in Swedish the word *ficka* was used for ordinary pockets. Saami shackles to bags and belt bags made of reindeer antler were

known from the Viking Age until the 17th century (Zachrisson 2015). The word is already known around 1775 as *lhomma* among the southern Saami in sockenlappska, and in Lexicon Lapponicum 1780 as *lomm* (L-G. Larsson 2018: 198).

Many ancient monuments of different types were found in the forest belonging to *Trogsta*, another of the Saami settlement sites in Forsa, where according to the local inhabitants a Saami *lomma*-seamstress called 'Lapp-Elsa' lived at the beginning of the 19th century. During the survey, a trapping pit system, charcoal-making pits and settlement pits, *buorna* were recorded.

In the area in the vicinity of the Saami settlement sites, there are also remains that can be connected with hunting culture. On Hedstaberget, Ängesberget och Finntjärnsberget are registered trapping arrangements for birds made using rows of stones (Forsa Raä 17, 291 and 405). The place names are interesting; the bird trap arrangement on Hedstaberget is called Lappstan (*Lapp* is an old Swedish word for Saami), and *Finn-* in Finntjärn and Finntjärnsberget, may derive from the Old Norse word for Saami, *Finn*, still used in the name of the region Finnmark in Norway.

There are some indications of a prehistoric and medieval Saami presence in Forsa Parish. A so-called *fångstmarksgrav*, 'hunting ground grave', (Forsa Raä 210) at Nansta has been registered and excavated. It was a remote lonely grave in the forest (Zachrisson 2014: 45). Its appearance, location and content distinguish this type of grave from the contemporary 'Germanic' graves. The latter are located close to the agricultural areas by the villages, are constructed as earth-covered mounds and contain funereal gifts. The grave was investigated in 1969 by Fredriksson Hoberg. It was said to be a male burial ground, and among the objects there were two skin-scrapers of Saami type. Funereal gifts also included a dog, a larger mammal and an iron tool for woodwork (SHM inv.nr. 29211). A similar hunting ground grave with the same types of Saami skin-scrapers in Ängersjö Parish, Hälsingland, have been dated to the 7th century (Isaksson et al. 1977).

Another type of ancient monument nowadays associated with Saami are the pitfall trap systems. A system of four pitfalls in a row was found on the same hill as the grave described above. In Sweden, these are mainly found in areas where there has been documented Saami presence (Zachrisson 1997). Earlier they were seen as preceding the introduction of agriculture, but now we know that they continued and are still used today (Ljungdahl and Aronsson 2005). During the expansion of the agricultural settlements in Härjedalen, there was even an increase in the number of pitfalls used, and in the historical period peasants also started to use pitfalls. Single hunting pits have also been found outside the Saami area in Sweden. Placed in systems, they are in the north and date to the historical period related to the organised Saami hunting of wild reindeer (Lundius 1983; Johansson 1951, 1989), an important part of the Forest Saami economy before wild reindeer were eradicated in the 19th century (Rankama 2001). Around 1674, Lundius describes how the Saami in Umeå Lappmark made these pitfall systems and covered them with twigs and reindeer lichen to attract the wild reindeer (Lundius 1983: 22). In Central Sweden, it may have been the forest reindeer *Rangifer tarandus fennicus*, which was caught. They are specially adapted to the forested area and are bigger than the mountain reindeer *Rangifer tarandus tarandus* (Rankama 2001). Pitfall systems were used from the Stone Age until the 19th century, when hunting with pitfalls was forbidden in 1864.

In old Norse sources, Saami are often mentioned as good smiths and associated with metal handicraft. In Northern Sweden, traces of iron production have often been found at Saami prehistoric and medieval settlement sites (Broadbent and Edvinger 2009; Broadbent 2010, Bennerhag 2009, 2010). In Forsa, there were also finds of iron slag at the excavated hunting ground grave at Nansta (Raä 210) mentioned above (Isaksson et al. 1977). These find may be seen in connection with a find from the same hill in 1867 of 25 spade-shaped substance irons (Forsa Raä 329). In this way, the iron produced in the Iron Age was traded.

Locally produced Saami handicraft from Forsa parish, for instance purses, horse equipment made from reindeer antler and baskets, was found in the collections of Hälsinglands Museum, and has also

been preserved by private individuals on many farms. Trade with these products was important for the Saami living in these areas. According to the answers to the questionnaires, the Saami would travel to markets as far south as Småland, Blekinge and Skåne to trade their products (ULMA 1954, no. 22637, no. 23182). My informants said that these journeys also reached west to Norway (pers. comm. E. Nilsson 2015). According to several informants (K. Haglund 2015, E. Nilsson 2015, C. Olmås 2016), Saami and Swedish peasants in Hälsingland made joint trading expeditions to many towns and markets. The Saami went first with the *rajd* (Sw), which is the long row of härkar (reindeer oxen, castrated to become draught animals) pulling *akkjas* (Saami sleighs) filled with merchandise, and making trails in which the peasants followed with their horse drawn sleighs.

8.7 Comments on the results

The ethnoarchaeological survey has given valuable insight into the annual life of Forest Saami, the kinds of houses and settlement sites that were used and in the kinds of environments in which they were found. We therefore know that, for instance, foundation stones for timbered houses and the remains of timbered fences could be expected at settlement sites, besides earlier known structures. Areas beside bogs that today are left out of investigations because settlements are not expected, as in Tjäruborgares land by the Kallak mining site outside Jokkmokk (Lundmark and Palmbo 2011: 16), should be included because here the Forest Saami summer settlement sites with milking meadows of the type *gårdde* are mostly found.

On the *skatteland* in my investigation area, often two or three families lived and worked together in reindeer herding in wintertime, but were separated from spring to autumn. These results are interesting, because a similar cooperating reindeer herding group within the Saami village is called *sijdda* (SaaL) in the Lule Saami area, responsible for the herding in wintertime (Kuoljok 2011: 89). It is possible that, during taxation, an earlier Saami division of the Saami village into resource areas for such cooperating reindeer herding groups was used when the *skatteland* was created, and maybe these were called *sijdda*, an area of suitable size to sustain the families living on the land. There are no traces of large winter villages for whole Saami villages, *tjiellde* (SaaL), of the type described by Tanner (1929, see also Wallerström, this volume). As Karlsson has observed (2006) these big villages do not seem to exist in Northern Sweden. Also, in Aronsson's investigations at Maitum, the winter sites are small, for one to two families (Aronsson 2009b: 11). Available results therefore indicate that these are the winter settlement sites for the families living on the *skatteland*. On the Skällarim land, a similar site was the main camp at Skällarim, used when the families were gathered there in wintertime.

The ethnographic documentation shows that, in my research areas in the north, there was often one main settlement site for the families living on the land, used from autumn to spring. As in the peasant's summer pasture system in Northern Sweden, *fäbodväsendet* (Sw), in spring Forest Saami also took the animals, reindeers and goats to summer pasture settlement sites situated by bogs in the forest, and used during the milking season between midsummer and the beginning of August, where the reindeers were gathered two or three times a day for milking and resting. This is one of the most obvious differences between Forest Saami and Mountain Saami settlements. The vegetational traces are on the other hand similar, with grass and herbs indicating high nutrition in the ground because of the manure from the reindeers. When such a place was found using a special geological survey stick, the remains of hearths were identified, both from fireplaces on the milking meadow and from hearths in earlier huts. Often it was the remains of storage pits that were first found on the sites, sometimes foundations for huts, timber huts or timbered houses. In the vicinity, the remains of commercial activities and religious places like 'lying hens' were often found.

The Forest Saami settlement sites found during the survey were of two types, *giedde* without a fence, and *gårdde* with a timber fence, specific to the Forest Saami sites and very different from the fence used in mountain reindeer herding. In two places in Skällarim skatteland, the remains of a timber fence were visible.

The archaeological remains of houses and huts could also differ. While the turf hut and the tent hut *lavvú* earlier dominated as buildings among the Mountain Saami, the birch bark hut and timber huts are more specific to the Forest Saami in the Lule River valley. In southernmost Sápmi, all remains and documented houses were almost square timber houses with one room and a fireplace in the corner, which is different to the Swedish so-called 'single room cottage' with a rectangular shape including an entrance room and small chamber in addition to the main room. Support stones from timber huts were visible at Gállokjaure in Tjäruborgares land, at Dalmyran in Skällarim land and in the south at Medskog in Forsa Parish, as well as on Kåtaudden in Järvssjön. In Skällarim, there were also remains of timbered storage houses both by the main settlement site, and at the Kåivo settlement site. At Kåivo, there was also a timbered goat house, connected to a separate timber fence within the *gårdde*. The timbering technique seems to be very old and widespread in Forest Saami society, and is mentioned in all of the 17th-century accounts that served as sources for Shefferus' *Lapponia* (1673, see *Berättelser om samerna i 1600-talets Sverige* 1983).

The Forest Saami settlement sites that I have found in the south, in documents and during surveys in Forsa Parish, are all situated in remote places in the forest, often beside roads connecting parishes, and close to the parish borders. They are situated in remote places far from agricultural society. These are areas where the national survey for ancient monuments has rarely been, and they have never been surveyed for Saami cultural heritage during the national survey.

There are also Forest Saami remains of commercial activities, which have earlier not been associated with Saami, but played an important economic role. Tar production and trade, for instance, were the most obvious and were important in both north and south. Interesting is also that, in the south, tar pits of the so-called *tjärtrattar* (Sw) type, built on flat land, were seen as specifically Saami. The identified remains of that type were registered as charcoal-making pits. In the north, the other type, so-called *tjärdalar* (Sw), were used, placed on slopes and of the same types as the peasants used. In the vicinity of the historically known settlement sites, systems of hunting pits and bird catching arrangements were often found. The importance of pearl collecting among Saami, has often been dismissed. The inhabitants at Tjäruborgares land in the 18th century lived from a combination of pearl collecting, tar-making, trade and small-scale forest reindeer herding. Where there was old forest preserved in my northern research areas, traces of bark recovery could be found, supporting earlier research results concerning the importance of these economic activities. Where there was old forest preserved in my northern research areas, traces of bark recovery could be found, supporting earlier research results concerning the importance of these economic activities (Bergman et al. 2004).

My preliminary results, based on the ethnographic documentation and church archives show that most of the Forest Saami living in Forsa Parish in the 18th and 19th centuries were not 'Parish Saami'. They continued to live as before, even after the royal edicts about displacements. Handicraft for sale was very important, together with some hunting and fishing. An important observation is that many economic activities have focused on production for market, so were dependent on market demand, which changed over time and space. Earlier ethnographic accounts about Saami (such as Fjellström 1986) were guided by a presupposed view that the Saami economy was primitive, handicraft was for household use rather than being larger, specialised handicraft for market that is evident from my material. In the research areas, beside the production of tar for market, the production of handicraft products for market, like the production of baskets, ropes, fishing equipment and belt purses was also made to meet the needs and demand of Swedish agricultural society. It linked these ethnic groups to one another. Especially in the south, according to the answers to the questionnaires, letters, travel

accounts and local history books, the production of handicraft and trade journeys were the main sources of income for the Forest Saami families.

Handicraft was often combined with small-scale reindeer herding. The reindeer were used as draught animals on trading journeys together with the peasants to markets in Sweden and Norway. These journeys have left archaeological remains such as the occurrence of the remains of Saami handicraft in museum collections and on farms. The remains of Saami portages, *muorkke*, are another kind of archaeological remains from trading journeys, but by boat, as documented in Tjäruborgares land.

8.8 Conclusion

Forest Saami lived in the remote areas of Central Sweden, both before and after the royal edicts about the displacement of the Saami to the north in the 17th and 18th century (Svanberg 1999; G. Larsson 2019), something that has not been found until the last decade (Broadbent 2009, 2010; Zachrisson 2012; G. Larsson 2018, 2019; L-G. Larsson 2018; Nordin 2017). Traces of their handicraft have been found on farms and in local museums. Saami are also present in the church archival records. In both the north and south, it seems that some of the economic activities in the forest that we often find archaeological traces of, like burning tar and iron production, may have been performed by these remote people, the Forest Saami, and if surveyed, many Saami ancient monuments are present in these areas. However, they are often situated far from the agricultural areas in places that have seldom been investigated, so the Saami history in these areas has been overlooked until now.

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Abbreviations

Raä = Riksantikvarieämbetet. Swedish national database and topographic archive of cultural heritage sites.

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Elisabeth Ek, Björkholmen, Lappland (local informant, Tjäruborgares land). 2012.

Mats Frelin, Skärså, Hälsingland (owner of a former Saami house). 2015.

Karin Haglund, Hudiksvall, Hälsingland (local informant). 2015.

Roland Harnesk, Skällarim, Jokkmokk, Lappland (landowner). 2016.

Elisabet Hällström, Överkalix, Lappland (grandmother from Skällarim land). 2016.

Tor Lundberg Tuorda, Randijaure, Jokkmokk, Lappland (Saami landowner, Tjäruborgares land). 2012.

Erik Nilsson, Västeräng, Forsa, Hälsingland (landowner). 2015.

Nils Nilsson, Skällarim, Jokkmokk, Lappland (landowner on Skällarim land). 2015.

Christina Olmås, Hovra, Färila, Hälsingland (local informant). 2015.

Erik Olsson, Trogsta, Forsa, Hälsingland (landowner). 2018.

Lars Pettersson, Björklänge, Uppland (descendant of Saami). 2015.

Mattias Pirak, Jokkmokk, Jähkagasska Saami village, Jokkmokk, Lappland (reindeer herder Tjäruborgares land). 2012.

Jerry Tjärnlund, Björkholmen, Lappland (local informant, Tjäruborgares land)

Martha Trolin, Forsa, Hälsingland (local informant). 2018.

May-Britt Öhman, Skällarim, Jokkmokk (Saami descendant, landowner on Skällarim land). 2012, 2016.